Caveat emptor:
The intellectual consequences of undocumented excavation, with special reference to Roman period archaeological material from Turkey

The Institute of Economics and Social Sciences
of
Bilkent University

by

Shannon M. Haley

In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts

in

The Department of Archaeology and History of Art
Bilkent University
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I certify that I have read this thesis and in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Archaeology and History of Art.

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ABSTRACT

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with special reference to Roman period archaeological material from Turkey.

Shannon M. Haley
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June 2000

This paper explores how undocumented excavation affects archaeological research. Roman period remains in Anatolia are often victim to undocumented excavation. The problem is extensive and reflects the modern esteem for classical antiquities. Undocumented excavation has many negative effects. It changes site topography and stratigraphy and results in the loss of an artefact's archaeological context. The problems presented by undocumented excavation are explored in three different case studies. The first chapter studies sculptures attributed to the sites of Perge and Boubon. The second chapter focuses on third century coin hoards attributed to a variety of sites in Anatolia. The third chapter discusses the mosaics of Zeugma and Antioch. The study of these different bodies of evidence demonstrated that undocumented excavation presents very complex problems for archaeological research. The loss of archaeological context means there is no way for a scholar to verify an artefact's authenticity. The attribution of an artefact to a specific site may be based on a scholar's expectation of where such an artefact should be found. In this way, unprovenanced material corrupts the data available to the archaeologist. Over time, this results in the acceptance of beliefs about the role of these artefacts in the past, even though these beliefs rest on data that is far from secure.

Ö Z E T

Bu çalışma, belgelemesi tam olarak yapılamayan bir kazının bilimsel bir arkeolojik araştırmayı nasıl etkilediğini inceler. Anadolu'daki Roma dönemine ait olan kalıntılar sistemli bir şekilde araştırılmamanın kurbanıdırlar. Aslında bu sorun hem geniş boyutludur hem de diğer yandan eski eserlere gösterilen günümüzdeki saygıyı da yansıtır. Sistemli olarak yapılmayan ve belgelemesi düzgün olmayan kazıların bir dizi olumsuz etkileri söz konusudur. Bu tür kazılarda topografya değişmekte, stratigrafi bozulmakta ve bütün bunların sonucunda da eski eserin ait olduğu buluntu durumu geri dönülmemecesine kaybolmaktadır. Bu çalışmada sistemli bir belgelemeye dayanmayan kazıların ve eserlerin yarattığı problemler üç farklı örnek göz önüne alınarak değerlendirilmiştir. İlk bölümde Perge ve Boubon'dan geldiği bilinen heykeller incelenmiştir. Çalışmanın ikinci bölümünü konu olan eserler ise Anadolu'daki bir dizi merkezden geldiği söylenen ve üçüncü yüzyıla ait olan sikke defineleridir. Üçüncü ve son bölümde ise Zeugma ve Antiokhia'dan gelen mozaikler irdelenmiştir. Bu üç farklı boyuttaki malzemeler üzerinde yürütülen çalışma bizlere bir kez daha belgelemesi düzgün olmayan kazıların arkeolojik araştırmalar için ne denli karmaşık problemler yaratabildiklerini kanıtlamaktadır. Arkeolojik açıdan buluntu durumunun kaybı, ileride bilimadamının söz konusu eserin gerçekliğini bile sorgulayamamasına neden olabilmektedir. Bir eserin belli bir merkezin ürünü ya da buluntusu olarak değerlendirilmesi, araştırmacının söz konusu eserin nerede bulunmuş olabileceği beklentisine dayanır. Sonuçta, buluntu yeri belli olmayan eserler, arkeologun sahip olduğu verileri de şühesiz bozmaktadır. Bu durum zaman

geçtikçe söz konusu eserlerin geçmişte taşıdıkları rolün ve anlamın ne olduğu konusunda gerçekte hiç de sağlam olmayan temeller üzerinde duran bir takım inançların veya dogmaların yerleşmesine sebeb olur.

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Table of Contents

List of Plates

Introduction

The nature of the problem, the methodology and the limitations of study.

Writing during the fifth century BC, Herodotus describes the Persians' burning and looting of sanctuaries and cities in Anatolia.[1] Later authors, including Livy, Diodorus, and Pausanias, describe the depredation of Anatolia by Romans such as L. Scipio Asiagenus, Gaius Verres, Cotta and Constantine the Great.[2] While the appropriation of cultural material in antiquity is historically well documented, evidence suggests 'plundering' in the past differs from its closest modern equivalent: undocumented excavation fuelled by the high prices paid for cultural material of all kinds by private and institutional collectors.

Although some archaeological and historical evidence suggests material remains of the past played a role in ancient societies, these instances have been noted for their rarity.[3] During the Roman period, cultural property

[1]For example, the Persians sack and burn the temple and sanctuary of Didyma at Miletus. Herodotus, 6.18-21.

[2]On L. Scipio Asiagenus, see Livy, 37.59.3-5. On Gaius Verres, see Cicero, *in Verrem*, II, I, 49-51 and 61 cited in J.J. Pollitt, *The Art of Rome, c.753 BC - AD 337. Sources and documents.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1988. On Cotta, see Memnon in F. Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*: no. 434, chs. 27-39, cited in M. Vickers and D. Gill, *Artful Crafts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1996: 70 and *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1972: 'Cotta,' p. 294. On Constantine the Great, see A.H.M. Jones, *The later Roman Empire AD 284-602: a social, economic and administrative survey,* v.1. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1964: 92, with references.

[3]Material remains of past civilizations functioned as heirlooms or to legitimise rulership in ancient societies. B. Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1989: 29 and G. Daniel, *150 Years of Archaeology*. Great Britain: Duckworth. 1978: 16. On the rarity of these references, see B. Trigger, 1989: 30. See also A. Schnapp, *The discovery of the past.* London: British Museum Press. 1996:11-79,

was confiscated for a variety of reasons: as spoils of war, as liquidated wealth for personal use or to fund war campaigns, and, in some cases, simply to be replaced with larger and more impressive items.[4] Wealthy Roman citizens are thought to have collected works of art in a fashion suggested by some to resemble the tastes and activities of twentieth century collectors.[5] Unlike today however, collecting during the Roman period was largely limited to a small and elite sector of society with the political and economic resources required for such a pastime. Moreover, 'collecting' great works of art formed an important and accepted part of the process of conquest. When Cicero prosecuted Verres for his despoilment of Sicily and Asia Minor, the charges cited Verres' plundering of sacred places, especially those of Rome's allies, but emphasized his failure to grant the state treasury a share of his spoils.[6] Thus, an item's intrinsic material value often governed how highly it was regarded; gold was worth more than silver, silver more than bronze, and bronze more than stone, etc.[7] Artistry was admired but added little to the overall value of an item.[8]

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who argues the activity of collecting the material remains of past cultures is an aspect of human nature, and finds evidence for its practice as early as the second millenium BC.

[4]M. Vickers and D. Gill, 1996: 55-76.

[5]C.C. Vermeule, *Greek sculpture and Roman taste*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1977; E. Bartman, 'Sculptural collecting and display in the private realm,' pp. 71-88 in E. Gazda (ed), *Roman art in the private sphere*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1991.

[6]N. Spivey, *Understanding Greek sculpture. Ancient meanings, modern readings*. London: Thames and Hudson. 1997: 219-220.

[7]The ratio of the value of unworked bronze to silver was 100:1 and the ratio of bronze to gold was 1000:1 or higher. M. Vickers and D. Gill, 1996: 100.

[8]For example, the Prices Edict of Diocletian indicates fine workmanship added a maximum of 5% to the intrinsic worth of an item in silver. M. Vickers and D. Gill, 1996: 203. The emperor Hadrian's well known passion for Greek art provides a notable exception to this general trend. See Aurelius Victor, *de Caesaribus* (epitome) XIV, 2. Cited in J.J. Pollitt, 1988: 175.

In fact, through the Middle Ages, interest in the past, where there is evidence for it, remained philosophical and speculative in nature and continued, for the most part, to be governed by the inherent value of an item.[9] This episteme remained largely unchanged until the development of humanist ideology and the inception of excavation for the systematic study of material culture during the Renaissance.[10] Undocumented excavation and collection of antiquities contributed to the development of humanist scholarship during this period and, subsequently, to the burgeoning of Western nationalism during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries and the formation of the discipline of archaeology.[11] The twentieth century emphasis on the value of material remains of past cultures in terms of their aesthetic appeal and authenticity is a phenomenon rooted in relatively recent history, and stems from changes in attitudes and perceptions of the past since the Renaissance.[12]

Today, undocumented excavation represents a profound loss of irreplaceable cultural material.[13] Archaeological artefacts in contemporary

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[9]G. Daniel, 1978: 14; B. Trigger, 1989: 29.

[10]See for example, D. Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1985.

[11]S.M. Pearce, *On collecting. An investigation into collecting in the European tradition.* London and New York: Routledge. 1995.

[12]A. Appadurai notes, 'These relics belong to a particular economy of exchange and demand in which the life history of the particular relic is essential, not incidental, to its value. The verification of this history is also central to its value,' in A. Appadurai, 'Introduction: commodities and the politics of value,' pp. 3-63 in A. Appadurai (ed), *The social life of things. Commodities in cultural perspective.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1986: 23. See also D. Lowenthal, 'Counterfeit art: authentic fakes?' *IJCP* 1, 1 (1992): 79-103.

[13]This is suggested by the rapid increase in legislation protecting cultural property, particularly in domestic laws since the 19th century, and during the twentieth

society stem from what is viewed as a non-renewable resource of global significance, the archaeological record, and are seen as precious repositories of artistic beauty, craftsmanship and cultural information, as well as financial worth.[14] The evolution in the understanding of the archaeological record during the twentieth century has strained the 'previously fruitful three-way marriage of connoisseur, market-maker, and scholar.'[15] Since the 1950s, the increased use of advanced forms of technology has changed the types of information available to archaeologists from the many more mundane remains at a site, particularly in the form of trace organic material.[16] In addition, the formation of the archaeological record is now understood as a diachronic process, during which it is subject to a variety of human and natural forces. These forces act as agents of bias affecting the way material culture is constituted in the archaeological record and how it may be interpreted to illuminate a past cultural system.[17] From the archaeologist's perspective, the effects of undocumented excavation are multifarious; it dramatically changes

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century, in multilateral agreements. International agreements indicate the protection of such property is a global concern. These agreements include the Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (1954), the UNESCO Convention on the means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export, and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property (1970), and the UNIDROIT Convention on Stolen of Illegally Exported Cultural Projects (1995). E. Herscher, 'International control efforts: are there any good solutions?' pp. 117-128 in P.M. Messenger, (ed), *The Ethics of collecting cultural property: Whose culture? Whose property?* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico. 1989: 120. J. Greenfield *The return of cultural treasures* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1995: 185-7.

[14]E. Herscher in P.M. Messenger (ed), 1989: 117-128.

[15]D. Gill and C. Chippindale, 'Material and intellectual consequences of esteem for Cycladic figures,' *AJA* 97(1993): 601-659, esp. 601.

[16]G. Daniel, 1978: 327.

[17]M.B. Schiffer *Formation processes of the archaeological record.* Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1987: 14-16; D. Clarke, 'Archaeology: the loss of innocence,' *Antiquity* 47(1973): 6-18; L. Binford, *In pursuit of the past: decoding the archaeological record.* New York: Thames and Hudson. 1983: 19-23.

site topography and stratigraphy, resulting in the accelerated decomposition of exposed remains, pollutes the corpus of artefacts which serve as the archaeologist's source of data, and destroys the complex relationship between an artefact and site.

Thus, while the Roman period confiscation of cultural material and twentieth century undocumented excavation for the private and institutional collection of antiquities are superficially similar, during the Roman period, confiscated cultural property remained in systemic (albeit secondary) context. In the twentieth century, when studying the Roman practice of appropriating cultural material, the intervening time period mitigates our perception of a break between the primary and secondary contexts of the material plundered by Romans during the expansion of empire. This, combined with the change in the ethos regarding the material remains of the past, means the appropriation of the material remains of past cultures in the twentieth century results in its removal from archaeological context, an important aspect of the way cultural material is valued.[18]

Furthermore, the moral and legal climate before the twentieth century allowed undocumented excavation to remain a relatively public endeavor.[19] Consequently, the integrity of the artefacts was largely maintained and the

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[18]M. Shanks, *Experiencing the past.* London and New York: Routledge. 1992: 99-104.

[19]Popular attitudes and domestic laws began to change during the later 19th century; however, the first multilateral statement on the importance of protecting cultural property as a limited, global resource is the Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (1954). E. Herscher in P.M. Messenger (ed), 1989: 120.

name and location within a particular site were a matter of public knowledge.[20] Changes in values during the twentieth century renders undocumented excavation clandestine, resulting in the removal of artefacts from archaeological sites without any form of record and often in piecemeal fashion for ease of transport and sale across international borders.[21] Subsequently, the artefacts, often with falsified documents and provenance, are introduced into private and institutional collections where they form part of the corpus of material available for scholarly research.[22]

Awareness of the past and its manipulation in the present evolved in multiple directions in the twentieth century.[23] In particular, the undocumented excavation incited by the late-twentieth century appetite for antiquities, irrespective of the nature of the values assigned these artefacts in the past, stands as the single most significant factor contributing to the appearance of unprovenanced antiquities in private and institutional collections.[24] In particular, Turkey has been noted as one of countries most affected by the

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[20]E. Bacon (ed), *The great archaeologists and their discoveries as originally reported in the pages of the Illustrated London News.* London: Secker and Warburg. 1976.

[21]P.M. Messenger, 'Preface,' pp. xvi-xx in P.M. Messenger (ed), 1989: xvi.

[22]O.W. Muscarella, ' "Ziwiye" and Ziwiye: the forgery of a provenience,' *JFA* 4 (1977): 197-219.

[23]For the diverse roles the past plays in the present, see for example: P. Gathercole, and D. Lowenthal, *The politics of the past.* One World Archaeology. London: Unwin Hyman. 1990; E. L. Green (ed), *Ethics and values in Archaeology.* New York: Free Press. 1984; P.L. Kohl and C. Fawcett, (edd) *Nationalism, politics and the practice of archaeology.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1995.

[24]The best introductions to the issues engendered by the modern esteem for archaeological artefacts are provided by C. Renfrew, *Loot, Legitimacy and Ownership: The Ethical Crisis in Archaeology.* Amsterdam: Eenentwintigste Kroon-Voordracht. 1999; D. Gill and C. Chippindale, 1993: 601-659; K. W. Tubb (ed), *Antiquities: trade or betrayed?* London: Archetype Publications. 1995.

twentieth century appetite for antiquities.[25] During one eight month period in 1991, over 6500 individual artefacts, ranging from terracotta figurines to large sculptures and tombstones, were seized by the Turkish authorities.[26] It is estimated that countries such as Turkey effectively recover only 5% of illegally exported remains.[27] Thus, a conservative estimate would indicate 130,000 antiquities were removed during that same period. Of the confiscated artefacts, approximately 85% were Hellenistic or Roman in date.

Such a scale of undocumented excavation suggests an additional difference between the often socially sanctioned incidence of 'looting' in the past, where such activity was motivated by the intrinsic worth of an artefact or its significance as a trophy, and today.[28] Modern undocumented excavation is fuelled by the demand for artefacts of all kinds, whose value is determined largely by the subjective criteria of aesthetics and authenticity, and at a scale attained by only the most legendary accounts of plunder during antiquity.[29] This trend suggests ancient artefacts are entering a state of commoditisation,

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[25]M. Rose and Ö. Acar 'Turkey's war on the illicit antiquities trade,' pp. 71-89 in K.D. Vitelli (ed), *Archaeological ethics*. Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira. 1996.

[26]J. Blake, 'The protection of Turkey's underwater heritage--legislative measures and other approaches,' *IJCP* 3, 2 (1994): 273-93.

[27]*The Times*, 20 February 1995, cited in Anon, 'Chronicles,' *IJCP* 4, 2(1995): 363.

[28]The antiquities market is suggested to be second in scale only to the markets in drugs and guns, a black market trade measured in billions of dollars. Turkey was recently noted as the single largest supplier of antiquities to the west. On the scale of the antiquities market in general, see K. D. Vitelli, 'The international traffic in antiquities: archaeological ethics and the archaeologist's responsibility,' pp. 143-55 in E.L. Green (ed), 1984: 144. On the status of Turkey as the largest single supplier, see Anon, "That they steal mosaics in Turkey," *The Economist*. April 24th – May 5th, 2000: 97.

[29]Alexander's Persian campaigns of 333-331 BC accumulated 180,000 talents of booty, which has been reckoned in modern terms at anywhere between $2.5 million and $33 billion. N. Spivey, 1997: 218.

defined as the "situation in the social life of any 'thing'...in which its exchangeability (past, present, or future) for some other thing is its socially relevant feature," with significant implications for archaeological studies.[30]

This link between the antiquities trade and undocumented excavation has received a great deal of attention, particularly since the 1970s.[31] Little attention however, has been devoted to the ways in which this relationship affects archaeological research. In 1993, two archaeologists, David Gill and Christopher Chippindale, published an article demonstrating the effects of the antiquities market on the archaeological understanding of Cycladic figures and the Bronze Age culture that produced them. In this case, the twentieth century appetite for Cycladic figures generated a preponderance of figures of uncertain provenance and doubtful authenticity. Gill and Chippindale suggest this may have biased archaeological research by polluting the corpus of material available for study, by limiting the range and depth of research questions, and by imposing modern values on the interpretation of Bronze Age Cycladic culture.

Gill and Chippindale suggest their observations may be germane to all

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[30]A. Appadurai in A. Appadurai (ed), 1986: 13.

[31]This view has been expressed in popular magazines including TIME, Newsweek, and National Geographic, as well as in books such as K. Meyer, *The Plundered Past*. London: Hamish Hamilton. 1972. Scholarly attention to the issue was first achieved by the work of Clemency Coggins, particularly with her seminal article, 'Illicit Traffic of Pre-Columbian Antiquities' *Art Journal* (Fall 1969): 94-98. The *Journal of Field Archaeology* created a regular feature called 'The Antiquities Market' as a forum for news and discussion, and the journal *International Journal of Cultural Property*, the first issue of which was published in the 1980s, is dedicated entirely to issues of this nature.

other bodies of material culture affected by undocumented excavation.[32] Michael Vickers, in a similar study, provides the most succinct statement regarding the nature of the problem. His comments are worth quoting in full:

> Archaeologists of whatever persuasion frequently find themselves making aesthetic judgments regarding the material remains of the past...The danger of confusing how artefacts seem to us and how they appeared to those who knew them in their own times is especially great in the field of classical archaeology, for it is undeniably the case that certain categories of Greek and Roman relics have been among the most highly valued (in aesthetic, scholarly and financial terms) of all artistic traditions. Small wonder that it is difficult to separate our respect for the inherent beauty of some of these objects, the long traditions of scholarship associated with them, and the high prices they fetch in the sale rooms, from their role in antiquity. Such a separation is, however, vital, if we are to seek a valid understanding...rather than create yet another myth...[33]

The problem, as it affects the archaeology of the Near East and classical Greece has been explored in recent publications, however the material of the Roman period from Turkey has, thus far, not benefited from such an approach.[34]

In some cases, classical antiquities have been traced to a particular site in Turkey, through reconstruction using inscriptions and other evidence, or through the confiscation of material and the interrogation of its illegal excavators by Turkish authorities. The publication of these artefacts provides

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[32]D. Gill and C. Chippindale, 1993: 601-659.

[33]M. Vickers, 'The impoverishment of the past: the case of classical Greece,' *Antiquity* 64(1990): 455-63, esp. 455-6.

[34]O.W. Muscarella, 'Unexcavated Objects and Ancient Near Eastern Art,' in L.D. Levine and T. Cuyler Young, Jr. (edd), *Mountains and Lowlands: Essays in the Archaeology of Greater Mesopotamia.* Malibu: Undena. 1977: 153-207; O.W. Muscarella, *Unexcavated Objects and Ancient Near Eastern Art: Addenda.* Monographic Journals of the Near East. Occasional Papers 1/1. 1979: 1-19; S.L. Dyson, *Ancient Marbles to American*

a venue to explore the 'intellectual consequences' of undocumented excavation.[35] While such dubious circumstances of 'restitution' illustrate the hypothetical nature of this exercise, little advantage has been taken of the ways these unique sets of circumstances may provide insight into the particular effects of undocumented excavation on the archaeological understanding of sites and bodies of material.

This study aims to explore the epistemological implications of undocumented excavation for the study of Roman material remains dating to the first through third centuries AD and attributed to sites within the modern political boundaries of Turkey. The Ottoman antiquities law of 1906, which, with minor changes, essentially remained in effect until 1973, when the law was first substantially revised by the Turkish Republic, provides a point of departure because this date marks the genesis of a clandestine antiquities market based on the illegal export of Turkish antiquities.[36] This study does not intend to address legal, moral or ethical issues related to undocumented excavation and the antiquities market. The consistent use of the term 'undocumented excavation' throughout this paper is an effort to avoid the

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Shores. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1998: 277; C. Renfrew, 1999: 12-17.

[35]D. Gill and C. Chippindale, 1993: 601.

[36]The 1869 law was the first to deal specifically with antiquities, and provided for the division of finds between the excavation team, the landowner and the state. The 1906 law was the first to declare blanket state ownership of all cultural property as well as a blanket prohibition on the export of cultural property without special license. The use of the 1906 date as a departure point for this study is corroborated by contemporary values as expressed in multilateral agreements to protect cultural heritage, the spirit of which is to respect the domestic laws protecting the heritage of different countries, though the first of these was the 1970 UNESCO agreement, and is not retroactive. The revised Turkish 1973 law includes a section (Article 43) mandating the publication of archaeological research in Turkey within two (the initial excavation report) to five years (the final excavation report). For a history of Ottoman and Turkish antiquities laws, see J. Blake, 1994: 273-93.

legal, moral, and ethical issues implicit in the use of the term 'illegal'. Such issues, while in some cases impossible to extricate, are largely secondary to the primary aim of this investigation.[37]

The clandestine nature of the phenomenon and tendency for this type of information to be omitted or to receive only cursory mention in publication presents particular challenges to an investigation of this nature.[38] The editorial policies of major academic journals compound this trend; since the 1970s, many journals refuse submissions publishing unprovenanced material.[39]

As demonstrated above, undocumented excavation motivated by the financial rewards of the antiquities market provides the clearest manifestation of the ways modern values bias archaeological research. With this relationship as the basic premise, three classes of artefacts affected by undocumented excavation have been selected for study; classical sculpture, coin hoards, and mosaics. The nature of the material and the development of different methodologies for each within the discipline of archaeology suggested their individual treatment in separate chapters. Within each class of material, suitable case studies were predicated by the extent of their

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[37] In particular, this study does not intend to comment on the efficacy of the Turkish government or other guardians of cultural heritage; the protection of unexcavated remains requires an internationally coordinated, multi-faceted and long-term approach.

[38] For example, the tendency to accept unprovenanced material when found in modern museums, as in object-oriented studies where the discipline is historically disposed to such material and the issue of its archaeological context is unaddressed. On the other hand unprovenanced material may be rejected, as in field work, where a disturbed context is 'contaminated,' and the material and its context does not receive the same treatment in publication as secure contexts. In the end, both attitudes result in a dearth of published information regarding the contexts of artefacts, even when this information is available.

[39] O.W. Muscarella, 'On publishing unexcavated artefacts,' *JFA* 11(1984): 61-65.

publication. The dearth of published information clearly identifying material stemming from undocumented excavation constitutes the primary obstacle to a study of this nature. For each case, the approach has been first to review published information specific to the undocumented material under consideration in order to evaluate the strength of the evidence provided by each. Second, the significance of the undocumented excavation in each case has been weighed by balancing the published interpretation of the undocumented material against the prevailing interpretations of each as part of a larger body of material (whether classical sculpture, coin hoards or mosaics).

For classical sculpture, the best-documented cases involve the sites of Perge and Boubon.[40] While material of the sculptures attributed to these sites is diverse, marble at Perge and bronze at Boubon, the similar nature of the problems raised by fragmentary sculpture and its attribution to particular buildings suggested that the undocumented excavation that occurred at these two sites should be treated together.

A number of sensational coin hoards presented likely candidates for the study of undocumented material with respect to numismatic studies.[41] The recent publication of a number of these hoards suggested an approach slightly different from the site-based method used with sculpture. These publications revealed a significant concentration of third century Roman issues and, in

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[40]J. Inan, *Boubon sebasteionu ve heykelleri üzerine son araştirmalar.* Kazı Monografileri Dizisi 2. Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat yayınları. 1994; N. Başgelen, 'Herakles heykeli', *Arkeoloji ve Sanat* 3, 14 (1991): 30-32.

[41]For example the Elmalı Hoard; see M. Rose and Ö. Acar 'Turkey's war on the illicit antiquities trade,' pp. 71-89 in K.D. Vitelli, 1996.

some cases, the circumstances of their retrieval from unauthorised excavators.[42] This suggested a chronological anchor for this chapter. As the third century AD is a period for which knowledge is heavily dependent on numismatic evidence, the issues of this period provided the material to assess the effects of the undocumented excavation of coin hoards on numismatic studies of the third century AD.

For the third body of material, mosaics, the extensive publication of the rescue excavations at Zeugma provided the most obvious candidate.[43] The mosaics from Zeugma form the most securely documented artefacts considered in this study.[44] Unlike the sculpture and coin hoards considered in chapters one and two, the mosaics were discovered *in situ* after an unauthorised attempt had been made to remove them. Given the dominance of the Antioch pavements in mosaic studies of this region and as comparanda for the Zeugma mosaics, the circumstances of their discovery are also reviewed.[45]

This thesis aims to explore how contemporary values associated with antiquities in modern contexts affect the body of data available for research by

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[42]C.S. Lightfoot (ed), *Recent Turkish coin hoards and numismatic studies.* Oxbow Monograph 7. British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara Monograph 12. Oxford: Oxbow. 1991; R. Ashton (ed), *Studies in Ancient Coinage from Turkey.* RNS Special Publication 29. British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara Monograph 17. Oxford: Oxbow. 1996.

[43]D. Kennedy, (ed), *The twin towns of Zeugma on the Euphrates. Rescue work and historical studies.* JRA Supplement 27. 1998.

[44]Although the mosaics under consideration were subsequently stolen from the site; Doole, J. 'In the news,' *Culture without Context* 4 (Spring 1999): http://www mcdonald.arch.cam.ac.uk/IARC/CWOC/issue4.

[45]S. Campbell, *Mosaics of Antioch.* Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. 1988.

introducing material of limited utility and uncertain authenticity, as well as by implicitly colouring the lens used to interpret material remains. The need for this perspective has been suggested by recent scholarship. Ultimately, it is hoped this perspective will contribute to the understanding of an historically rooted phenomenon ('looting') and how changes in perceptions of the past and in the values associated with material remains of the past effectively bias both the body of material available to archaeologists, and additionally infiltrate archaeological interpretations of this data through the imposition of modern values on the material remains of ancient societies. This argument may seem self-evident; however, as D. Gill and C. Chippindale demonstrated with Cycladic figures, the effects of undocumented excavation on archaeological research are more extensive than is commonly understood.[46]

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[46]D. Gill and C. Chippindale, 1993.

Chapter One

Sculpture. The southern baths at Perge and the sebasteion at Boubon: religious or secular spaces?

Recent studies suggest modern scholarship creates an artificial distinction between religious and secular spaces in the ancient urban landscape.[47] Correspondingly, sculpture attributed to a primarily 'religious' architectural context is often perceived to fulfil a religious function whereas similar sculpture in a primarily 'secular' architectural context is not.[48] This *a priori* assumption, where

> ...[The use of] the term [belief] in describing classical antiquity reveals the false application of an admittedly dubious modern model belief/disbelief to a period when no such dichotomy existed,[49]

may contribute to the codification of uncertain knowledge stemming from

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[47] C.R. Phillips relates this to the dominantly Christian perspective of modern researchers. Curran and Price also subscribe to this view. C.R. Phillips, 'The sociology of religious knowledge in the Roman Empire to AD 284,' *ANRW* II.16.2 (1986): 2697-2711; J. Curran, 'Moving statues in late antique Rome: problems of perspective,' *Art History* 17, 1 (March 1994): 46-58; S.R.F. Price, *Rituals and power. The Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1984: 11-22; J. Elsner, *Art and the Roman viewer.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1995: 243-5.

[48] For example, baths and imperial temples are often secularised in archaeological literature, and sculpture in these architectural contexts is likened to sculpture in modern museums. See M. Marvin, 'Freestanding sculptures from the baths of Caracalla,' *AJA* 100 (1996): 347-84, esp. 379, J. E. Stambaugh, 'The functions of Roman temples,' *ANRW* II 16.I (1978): 554-608, and S.R.F Price, 1984: 136-146. Price admits the imperial cult was probably incorporated into gymnasia in Anatolia in some cases, yet remains cautious in his interpretation of the role of imperial statues found in these contexts. Cf. F. Yegül, who argues baths were primarily secular in function, in *Baths and bathing in classical antiquity.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. 1992: 124-127; see also, C.C. Vermeule, *Greek sculpture and Roman taste.* Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan. 1977: 11.

[49] C.R. Phillips, 1986: 2702.

undocumented excavation because it may be seen to underpin the attributions of unprovenanced sculpture to specific sites and buildings.[50]

The sculptures attributed to the sites of Perge and Boubon respectively are particularly suited to an investigation of the way the modern belief/disbelief model is perpetuated by undocumented excavation. In the first case, a statue of Hercules attributed to the southern baths at Perge provides an example of undocumented excavation at a site under exploration periodically since 1945.[51] In the second example, the undocumented excavation of bronze statues attributed to a sebasteion at Boubon represents a case where the appearance of the statues in museums drew attention to the site, which was otherwise largely unknown.[52]

In 1980, while excavating at Perge on the southern coast of Anatolia, Jale Inan discovered the bottom half of a marble statue in the gallery of Claudius Piso in the southern baths (Plate 1).[53] The statue was tentatively

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[50]Some studies discuss the problems of context in archaeological and art historical studies and see the general reticence to deal with issues of context as a product of the dearth of sculpture stemming from secure archaeological contexts. They do not discuss the role of modern undocumented excavation in perpetuating these problems. B.S. Ridgway, 'The state of research on ancient art,' *Art Bulletin* 68(1986): 7-23; E. Gazda and A.E. Haeckl 'Roman portraiture: reflections on the question of context,' *JRA* 6(1993): 289-302.

[51] M.T. Boatwright, 'The city gate of Plancia Magna in Perge,' pp. 189-207 in E. D'Ambra (ed), *Roman art in context*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall. 1993: 189-207, esp. 205, note 10.

[52] Boubon was first identified through inscriptions by nineteenth century travellers. J. Inan notes most archaeologists, even specialists in the Roman period of Anatolia were unaware of the exact location of the site of Boubon prior to the appearance of the statues and the surrounding controversy. See J. Inan, *Boubon sebasteionu ve heykelleri üzerine son araştırmalar*. Kazı Monografileri Dizisi 2. Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat yayınları, 1994: 6. On the role of 19th century travellers in the identification of the site, with relevant references, see J. Inan, 'Der Bronzetorso im Burder-Museum aus Bubon und der Bronzekopf im J.-Paul-Getty Museum,' *IstMitt* 27/28(1977-78): 267-9.

[53]For a brief description of the site and its history, see G.E. Bean, *Turkey's*

identified as a 'weary Hercules' of the Farnese type on the basis of the Hellenised rendering of the musculature, the stance, and the lower half of a club (Plate 2).[54] The upper half of a similar statue came to light in the exhibit of the Leon Levy and Shelby White collection held at the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1990-1991 (Plate 2).[55] This upper half of a 'weary Hercules' was evidently acquired by Levy in 1981.[56] The statue is perhaps the most published of a number of other unprovenanced sculptures attributed to Perge.[57] Owing to its appearance in a private collection, there is no documentation of the archaeological context or the condition of the upper half-statue before cleaning.

In an effort to determine if the two half-statues together formed a

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southern shore. An archaeological guide. New York and Washington, DC: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968: 45-58. For the find spot of the lower half-statue, see N. Başgelen, 'Herakles heykeli', *Arkeoloji ve Sanat* 3, 14 (1991): 30-32.

[54]N. Başgelen, 1991: 30-32.

[55]The current owners of the upper half-statue of Hercules began their collection in the early 1970s, after the enactment of the 1970 UNESCO agreement protecting cultural heritage. Two of the statues discussed here stem from their collection, and have been traced to Anatolia. The statue first came to the attention of the Turkish government when it was published in the catalogue, edited by D. von Bothmer (*Glories of the Past*, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1991). The statue is jointly held by the Levy-White collection and the Boston Museum of Fine Art; N. Başgelen, 1991: 30-32.

[56]Thus the acquisition predates the U.S. implementation of the 1970 UNESCO agreement in 1983; A.G. Hingston 'U.S. Implementation of the UNESCO Cultural Property Convention,' pp. 129-148 in P.M. Messenger (ed), 1989; and on the date of acquisition, see Ö. Acar and M. Rose, pp. 71-89 in K.D. Vitelli (ed), 1996.

[57] Only an estimated 5-12% of stolen material is recovered. This statistic is limited to documented theft from museums or archaeological depots. Undocumented excavation, while still considered theft from a Turkish legal perspective is a larger and less quantifiable problem. On the percentage of stolen material that is recovered, see the article on the report by the English Heritage and Council for British Archaeology in *The Times*, 20 February 1995, cited in Anon, 'Chronicles,' *IJCP* 4,2(1995): 363 and J. Walsh, 'Your masterpiece is missing,' *TIME* 25 November, 1991: 44-53. On artefacts from Perge rescued from the antiquities market, see T.M.P. Duggan, 'The importance of rescue archaeology,' *Turkish Daily News* 27 April 1998. On two Roman sarcophagi rescued from looters in 1997, who were offered 3 billion TL per piece, and on the second century garland sarcophagus attributed to Perge in the Brooklyn Museum, see J. Blake, 1994: 273-93.

complete Hercules, plaster casts were taken of both halves and brought together at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in 1992. These labours did little to resolve the issue. Representatives of Turkey unequivocally report the fit between the two halves; the representative of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts argued the break was ancient and there was no evidence the upper half had been broken from a complete and unexcavated statue of Hercules.[58]

The upper half-statue of the Levy-White collection is unmistakably the 'weary Hercules'; his head, with the characteristic full beard and classicised features, slumps in exhaustion as he leans on his club.[59] The publication of the piece in the catalogue of the 1990-1 exhibit associates the piece with western Anatolia and copies in the tradition of Roman period Pergamene re-workings of a Hellenistic original attributed to Lysippus of Sikyon (c. 330 BC).[60] The catalogue speculates the piece originally formed part of a sculptural group where Hercules contemplates his son Telephus, nursed by a hind, and probably stemmed from a bouleuterion or a gymnasium-bath complex.[61]

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[58]Ö. Acar and M. Rose, 1996: 78.

[59]R. Volkommer, 1998: 79-82, with illustration of the Farnese 'weary Hercules'.

[60]D. von Bothmer (ed), 1990: no. 172, p. 238. The attribution of the sculpture to Lysippus is disputed. See A. Stewart, *Greek Sculpture*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1990: 290.

[61]The suggestion is based on unspecified parallels in coin types, which is a common practice in sculptural studies. In fact, the best parallel composition for the group comes from a wall painting in the basilica at Herculaneum. Coin types, because of their legends identifying the issuing authority and date of issue, are often used to identify imperial portrait types and imperial temples. For the identification of the statue as part of a Heracles and Telephus group, see D. von Bothmer (ed), 1990: no. 172, pp. 237-8. For the parallel composition in the wall painting at Herculaneum, see G. Gassiot-Talabot, *La peinture romaine et paléochrétienne*. Lausanne: L'Univers de l'Art. 1965: 37. For an example of the use of coin types in the identification of sculpture in the round, see S. Wood *Roman portrait sculpture. 217-260 AD.* Leiden: E.J. Brill. 1986 and C.C. Vermeule, 'Matidia the Elder, a pivotal woman of the height of Roman imperial power,' pp. 71-76 in N. Başgelen (ed), *Festschrift für Jale Inan Armağani*. Armağan Kitaplar Dizisi 1. Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları. 1989. For cautionary comments regarding the use of coins for the identification of

The lower half-Hercules is only slightly more documented, despite its discovery in a controlled excavation. The find spot has been variously reported as a Roman villa or the southern baths, located near the Gate of Plancia Magna in the southern quarter of the city.[62] None of the primary excavation reports of the southern baths discusses the circumstances of its discovery.[63] One of the few publications to treat the sculptural program in the context of the architectural remains of the southern baths neglects any mention of the Hercules.[64] No published information describes the actual archaeological context of the lower half-statue, any evidence indicating undocumented excavation took place, or the condition of the lower half-statue when excavated (for example, the condition of the break).

Consequently, the identification of this half-statue, if one does not accept a join with the Levy-White Hercules, requires some caution. While the 'weary Hercules' type is one of the most popular extant statue types during the Roman Imperial period, particularly in baths, a recent study of Hercules in his

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works in other media, particularly cult statues and their temples, see T. Drew-Bear, 'Representations of temples on Greek imperial coinage,' *ANSMN* 19(1974): 27-64.

[62]Ö. Acar and M. Rose suggest the find spot was a Roman villa and unequivocally date the statue to AD 170-172. They quote the excavator, Jale Inan, relevant museum publications and articles in *Connoisseur* and the *New York Times*. This article was originally published in *Archaeology*, and subsequently republished in the anthology of articles edited by K.D. Vitelli (1996). The provenance for the excavated half of the statue accepted for my research, the southern baths at Perge, is based on a published interview with Jale Inan; N. Başgelen, 1991: 30-32, M. Rose and Ö. Acar, pp. 71-89 in K.D. Vitelli (ed), 1996.

[63]J. Inan, 'Perge Kazısı 1982 Çalışmaları,' *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantası* 5 (1983): 199-206; J. Inan, 'Perge Kazısı 1983 Çalışmaları,' *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantası* 6 (1984): 323-343; J. Inan, 'Perge Kazısı 1984 Çalışmaları,' *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantası* 7 (1985): 397-420.

[64]M.E. Özgür, *Sculptures of the Museum in Antalya* I. Antalya: Antalya Museum. 1996.

various manifestations notes two other heroes, Theseus and Jason, also carried clubs.[65] Perhaps even more problematic, another statue discovered in the southern baths at Perge depicts Marsyas with club and lionskin.[66] Moreover, the emperors Commodus, Caracalla, and Maximianus Heraclius, among others, appear in the guise of Hercules, and honorific statues are as typical of bath decoration as depictions of Hercules.[67]

While the fit of the two half-statues is impossible to ascertain, accepting the identification of the piece as Hercules raises a number of questions about the role of the statue in its proposed context.[68] The gallery of Claudius Piso, with a terminal apse, runs on a northeast axis from the frigidarium and parallel to the palaestra.[69] Finds from the gallery include sculptures of Hygieia, Aphrodite, Meleager, a seated Muse, Apollo

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[65]Marvin suggests Hercules is popular in baths on the basis of the study of inscriptional evidence by H. Manderscheid, *Die Skulpturenausstattung der kaiserzeitlichen Thermenanlagen.* Berlin: Monumenta Artis Romanae 15. 1981, which I have been unable to consult. There are few bath complexes in Turkey with extant sculptures of Heracles. Exceptions include the sites at Odessos, Smyrna (the Baths of Diana), and Ephesus (the Baths of Scholastika and the East Gymnasium). See C.C. Vermeule, *Asia Minor. Sites and sculpture.* Boston: Department of Classical Art, Museum of Fine Arts. 1992: 21, 84-5, 170-2, 200, 218. On the popularity of Hercules in baths, see M. Marvin, 'Freestanding sculptures from the Baths of Caracalla,' *AJA* 87(1983): 347-384, esp. 379, with relevant bibliography. On the use of the club by a variety of figures, see R. Volkommer, *Herakles in the Art of Classical Greece.* Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph 25. Oxford: Alden. 1998: 'Introduction.'

[66]M.E. Özgür, 1996: no.14; Marsyas is identified in the dedicatory inscription.

[67]On emperors as Hercules, see R. Volkommer, 1998: 95. On the popularity of honorific statues in baths, see M. Marvin, 1983: 378.

[68]Not least because of the poor calibre photographs documenting the state of preservation of the Antalya half-Hercules which, to the best of my knowledge, was removed from display in the foyer of the Antalya Museum sometime between 1996 and 1998. There are few studies of sculptural programs in bath buildings. Exceptions are M. Marvin, 1987: 347-384, and S.G. Bassett, '*Historiae custos*: sculpture and tradition in the baths of Zeuxippos,' *AJA* 100 (1996): 491-506.

[69]J. Inan, 1985: 397-420, with plans of the southern baths.

Kitharoidos, Marsyas, Nemesis, and a dancer (Plate 1).[70] With the exception of the dancer, extant inscriptions recording the identities of the statues and their dedication by Claudius Piso corroborate all the identifications of the statues. The gallery and the dedications all date to the second century AD.[71] In this respect, the absence of comprehensive publication is regrettable; the consistent preservation of dedicatory inscriptions in this case suggests the discovery of such a dedication in association with the Hercules statue, if it did indeed form part of this group, might be expected.

Studies of sculptural groups in baths suggest statues of Hygieia, Apollo Kitharoidos, and Muses are often found in association with one another. Aphrodite is also typical. Second in popularity to personifications and classical deities are idealised young men.[72] The statue of Meleager fills this capacity and is particularly appropriate as the brother of Hercules' wife, Deianira.[73] In this context, the Hercules of the 'weary' type is also often found, and may reflect his capacity as patron of the palaestra as well as of springs.[74] By the third century, Hercules was also established as a major protector of the

[70]In the absence of a comprehensive report of the baths and their finds, this discussion relies on the publication of the Perge sculpture by the Antalya Museum. M.E. Özgür, 1996. The statues discussed here are numbers 10, 13,14, 15, 17, 22, 24, and 29.

[71]A. Farrington, *The Roman Baths of Lycia.* British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara Monograph 20. Ankara: British Institute of Archaeology. 1995: 33.

[72]M. Marvin, 1983: 378-9.

[73]*Oxford Classical Dictionary,* Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1970: 'Deianira,' p.318 and 'Meleagros,' pp. 666-667.

[74]One role may not preclude others; Hercules in his capacity as protector against evil spirits, 'Apotropaios,' also protected against disease. It is in this capacity that he became patron of springs; R. Volkommer, 1988: 85. On the popularity of Hercules in baths, see supra note 65 and M. Marvin, 1983: 379, with relevant bibliography.

Roman Empire, and in particular of the emperor's person.[75] Epigraphic evidence suggests that it is in this capacity that he most frequently appears in baths.[76]

The incorporation of the gallery into a bath complex with an asymmetrical bath block at Perge reflects a larger pattern observed in bath complexes in Anatolia.[77] The synthesis of gymnasium and bath block characteristic of baths in Anatolia in general during the imperial period often included the incorporation of a feature some would identify with an imperial *Kaisersaal* into the palaestra.[78] While these have been identified largely due to the extant sculptural and architectural decoration at major imperial bath complexes at sites like Sardis, Aphrodisias, Side, and Ephesus, the identification of smaller scale imperial cult spaces in general has proved problematic.[79] Andrew Farrington, in his study of Lycian baths, tentatively suggests a nymphaeum-like screen wall with niches in the north baths at Perge may be associated with the imperial cult.[80] In his discussion of the south

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[75]Hercules also served in this capacity during the reign of Trajan. J. Bennett, *Trajan Optimus Princeps*. London and New York: Routledge. 1997: 69.

[76]That this may be a slanted view based on a bias towards Imperial bath complexes is offset by the far higher number of extant provincial baths. M. Marvin, 1983: 379.

[77]Sites with similar bath complexes include Miletus, Aspendos, and Side. F. Yegül, 1992: 215-313, esp. 291-301, with plans and bibliography.

[78]More cautious scholars would identify such a feature simply as *marmorsaal*. See S.R.F. Price, 1984: 144, note 34 and F. Yegül, 'A study in architectural iconography: *Kaisersaal* and the imperial cult,' *Art Bulletin* 64(1982): 7-31.

[79]Although S.R.F. Price suggests the identification of these spaces is more problematic than suggested by Yegül. F. Yegül, 1982: 7-8; S.R.F. Price, 1984: 144, note 34. On the problem of the identification of imperial cult spaces in general, see K. Tuchelt, 'Zum Problem ,Kaisareion-Sebasteion' ' *IstMitt* 31(1981): 167-186.

[80]A. Farrington, 1995: 29, catalogue no.106.

baths, however, Farrington suggests the gallery of Claudius Piso, the find spot of the Hercules half-statue under consideration here, resembles the *Kaisersaal* of bath complexes in Anatolia.[81] The sculptural program reviewed above argues against this identification, particularly in the notable absence of imperial portraits from this gallery.[82] While this does not preclude the association of the gallery with the imperial cult, another feature provides a more likely possibility. A feature similar to the one Farrington links to the imperial cult in the north baths at Perge occurs in the southwestern corner of the palaestra in the southern baths. Excavation of this feature, an aediculated nymphaeum, produced three statues of the Severan imperial family (Plate 1).[83]

The imperial cult is attested from a number of inscriptions at the site of Perge.[84] The second century renovations of the Hellenistic city gate by Plancia Magna illustrate it would not be unusual to represent the city founders, the imperial family, personifications and deities together.[85] The presence of a nymphaeum with a number of imperial statues within the bath complex itself

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[81]F. Yegül also favours this interpretation; F. Yegül, 1992: 302, and A. Farrington, 1995: 33, catalogue no.107.

[82]The sculptural decoration of extant sebasteia indicates depictions of the emperor, with or without additional representations of deities and personifications, form one of the few characteristic features. S.R.F. Price, 1984: 170-206, and for a specific example, R.R.R. Smith, 'The imperial reliefs from the sebasteion at Aphrodisias,' *JRS* 77 (1987): 88-138.

[83]M.E.Özgür, 1996. The statues discussed here are catalogue numbers 38, 39, 40.

[84]S.R.F. Price records only the award of a neocorate (the award of the privilege to dedicate a temple to the emperor) under Valerianus and Gallienus. M.T. Boatwright refers to inscriptions that record Plancia Magna's status as a priestess of the imperial cult. No temple structures have been identified at the site. S.R.F. Price, 1984: 271; M.T. Boatwright, in E. D'Ambra (ed), 1993: 191, 201-2.

[85]M.T. Boatwright in E. D'Ambra (ed), 1993: 189-207.

corroborates the ambiguity between what we understand as religious spaces versus secular spaces, and the role sculpture played in these contexts. Several examples of similarly ambiguous features elsewhere corroborate such a hypothesis. A nymphaeum, built on a natural spring and framing Hadrian in the central niche, in the Letoon at Xanthos has been associated with the imperial cult. A similar nymphaeum with a dedication to Vespasian occurs in Side.[86] An inscription of Hadrianic date from Magnesia on the Maeander indicates an altar known as the 'Hearth of Caesar' was for rent, among various other commercial enterprises under the supervision of the *gerousia* (the Council of Elders), to bathers for their sacrifices. The Baths of Caracalla in Rome furnish two additional examples; the late antique Mithraeum in its substructures and, in the precinct of the same complex, the altar dedicated to Diana, Silvanus, and Bona Dea.[87] At Perge, the plan of the south baths indicates circulation through the building from the southern entrance, past the nymphaeum with portraits of the Severan imperial family, through the palaestra, where additional standing portraits of Hadrian, Trajan, and an unidentified nude were found. This area communicates directly with the deities and personifications housed in the gallery of Claudius Piso through an open colonnade (Plate 1).[88] That the clearcut modern perception of a 'secular'

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[86]On Xanthos see S.R.F. Price, 1984: 147-8. On Side see A.M. Mansel, *Die Ruinen von Side*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. 1963: 73-76, no plan is provided.

[87] On the inscription at Magnesia on the Maeander, see F. Yegül, 1982: 12. On the Mithraeum at the Baths of Caracalla, see J. Curran, 1994: 51. On the altar found in the precinct of the Baths of Caracalla, see M. Marvin, 1983: 375-6.

[88]M.E.Özgür, 1996. The statues of the palaestra are catalogue numbers 31, 36, 41. The plans provided by both A. Farrington and F. Yegül do not show the nymphaeum at the southern entrance, but do indicate the open colonnade between the palaestra and the gallery of Claudius Piso. F. Yegül, 1992: fig.384; A. Farrington, 1995: fig.71. The plan provided in J. Inan, 1985: fig.2 includes both features, as does the plan used in Plate 1 here.

bath may not obtain is suggested by the wealth of associations elicited by the sculptural program of the south baths at Perge, and not least perhaps because of the potentially central role of the 'weary' Hercules, as patron of springs, the palaestra, and the protector of the Roman emperor, who himself may have been associated with the palaestra and the nymphaeum in the architectural and sculptural program in this complex.[89] The overall sculptural program of the baths suggests figures with sacred associations crosscut boundaries in architecturally defined spaces.

This investigation of the Hercules statue within the sculptural and architectural program of the baths suggested that the demarcation between religious and secular sculpture and spaces popular in archaeological interpretation may not be valid. To approach the problem from a different angle, the site of Boubon is selected for further analysis.

The site of Boubon is located on a hill called Dikmen Tepe, approximately 2 kilometres from the modern town of Ibecik. The current state of knowledge regarding Boubon can best be described as ambiguous.[90] The site first came to the attention of archaeological circles in 1968 when C.C. Vermeule presented his observations regarding a number of 'south-western

[89]Hercules also figures prominently in the program of the sebasteion at Aphrodisias, as do Marysas and Dionysus. See M. LeGlay, 'Les leçons d'Aphrodisias de Carie,' *JRA* 4 (1991): 356-368, and R.R.R. Smith, 'Myth and allegory in the sebasteion,' pp. 89-100 in C. Roueché and K.T. Erim (edd) *Aphrodisias Papers. Recent work on architecture and sculpture*. JRS Supplement 1 (1990): 95-100.

[90]To my knowledge, no plan of the site is published. For a brief description and history of the site, see G.E. Bean, *Lycian Turkey*. London: John Murray. 1989: 164-6, and on the history of Boubon and the province of Lycia, D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*. Princeton: Princeton University. 1950: 240-3, 518-23, 542-7, 616-23.

Anatolian' bronze statues which had appeared in museums and private collections. C.C. Vermeule voiced his hypothesis regarding the different statues as members of a single group from 'an eastern Roman colonial temple...[which] has also yielded several groups of marble statues and busts, and was a foundation by collateral descendants of the Antonine dynasty, who ultimately became Christians,' at the 69th general meeting of the American Institute of Archaeology.[91] His attribution was based on formal analysis of the sculptures in question, and in itself serves an example of the hazards of the study of unexcavated material. Later studies, particularly those based on excavation at Boubon, illustrate the inaccuracy of these statements in every aspect, except his localisation of the group in the 'east.'

In 1967, investigations at Boubon, conducted by a representative of the Burdur Museum, were prompted by rumours of undocumented excavation at the site and the museum's acquisition of an over-life-size bronze male torso said to have come from Boubon (Plate 11).[92] Subsequently, a number of articles were published attempting to isolate the size and composition of the Vermeule group, and its provenance.[93] Jale Inan's access to the reports of the

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[91]C.C. Vermeule, 'Life-sized statues in America,' *AJA* 72 (1968): 174.

[92]The provenance of this bronze torso is itself uncertain; E. Arföldi-Rosenbaum suggests the torso was bought by the museum. J. Inan and E. Arföldi-Rosenbaum, *Römische und frühbyzantinische Portat-plastik aus der Turkei. Neue Funde.* Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern. 1979: 47. J. Inan argues that the museum acquisition records show that the torso was found at Boubon; J. Inan, 1994: 6. See also M. Mellink, 'Archaeology in Asia Minor,' *AJA* 73 (1969): 203-227, esp. 216.

[93]The lists published in these articles vary remarkably; Inan's 1994 list includes nine fragments while Vermeule's 1992 list, which is essentially the same as Kozloff's, includes 24. Of the following, only C.C. Vermeule's 1992 list has been available for my study: P. Oliver-Smith, 'The Houston bronze spear bearer' *Antike Plastike* 15 (1975): 95ff; C.C. Vermeule, 'The late Antonine and Severan bronze portraits from southwest Asia Minor,' in Eikones. Festschrift H. Jucker, *Antike Kunst* Beiheft 12 (1980): 185-90; A.P. Kozloff, 'The Cleveland bronze: the emperor as philosopher,' *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Arts*

1967 Burdur Museum excavation and her own work at the site in 1990 suggested the bronzes originated at Boubon.[94] Nonetheless, these bronzes owe their purported origin at Boubon largely to their formal qualities, their timely appearance in collections subsequent to the period when the looting is thought to have occurred, and the looter's diary.[95]

While Inan's attribution of seven bronzes to the site of Boubon has gained acceptance in archaeological literature, the evidence will be reevaluated here because the attribution is far from secure and reflects the codification of uncertain knowledge that stems directly from undocumented excavation fuelled by the antiquities market.[96]

The 1967 excavations exposed the remains of a U-shaped building

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74, 3 (1987): 82ff, C.C. Vermeule, 1992: 202-205.

[94]For a brief summary in J. Inan and E. Arföldi-Rosenbaum, 1979: 47-49. For more detail, see J. Inan, 'Der bronzetorso im Burdur-Museum aur Bubon und der Bronzekopf im J. Paul-Getty Museum,' *IstMitt* 27-28 (1977-78): 267-87; J.Inan, 'Neue Forschungen zum Sebasteion von Boubon und Seinen Statuen,' pp. 213-239 in J. Borchhardt and G. Dobesch (edd), *Akten des II Internationalen Lykien-Symposions.* Wien 6-12 Mai 1990, 1993; and most recently J. Inan, *Boubon sebasteionu ve heykelleri üzerine son araştırmlar.* Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları. 1994.

[95] J. Inan, 1994: 6-7.

[96]One measure of the acceptance of the attribution to Boubon is the Leon Levy-Shelby White collection catalogue. Inan's attribution of their over-life-size bronze Lucius Verus to Boubon is directly cited, with the added authority of C.C. Vermeule, who now also accepts Boubon as the most likely provenance of the 'group' while still disagreeing about its particular composition. D. von Bothmer (ed), 1991: 240-41, no.174. The provenance of the bronze group has also infiltrated archaeological literature, 'all the statues...discovered [*sic*] in the building were bronze,' see C.B. Rose, *Dynastic commemoration and imperial portraiture in the Julio-Claudian period.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1997: 171, cat. no.109, and note 1. B.S. Ridgway used the headless 'Marcus Aurelius' [*sic*] from Boubon as an example of the 'philosopher type' in Roman imperial portraiture, with no illustration or other indication that the identification of the statue is dubious. B.S. Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture I. The styles of ca. 331-200 BC.* Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin. 1990: 226, 241 note 18; and S.R.F. Price, 1984: 263-4, cat. no. 82.

(4.8m x 6.5m) and a number of inscriptions (Plate 3).[97] The results of these excavations, combined with the evidence provided by the diary of an illegal excavator, allowed Inan to propose a hypothetical reconstruction of the structure.[98] The results of Inan's investigations in 1990 did not significantly change the general picture.[99] All of the bronzes attributed to Boubon appeared as fragments (heads, torsos, and arms) in private and institutional collections worldwide.[100] The post-hoc assemblage of bronze fragments ultimately allowed Inan to 'reconstruct,' from dispersed fragments, seven of the fourteen statues suggested by inscriptions.[101]

The reconstruction of the sculptural group itself presents a number of difficulties. The excavation of the building revealed inscriptions with fourteen dedications to emperors and their wives.[102] Of these, eleven are secure; the remaining three are heavily reconstructed.[103] The identification of the building

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[97]Notes from these excavations form the basis of the first study published by J. Inan. J. Inan, 1977-78: 268.

[98]Inan credits the Turkish investigative reporter, Ö.Acar with obtaining the diary and allowing her to use it. J.Inan in J. Borchhardt and G. Dobesch (edd) 1993: 213, note 2.

[99]The initial excavations by the Burdur museum took three days. Inan's 1990 excavation lasted less than two weeks. J. Inan, 1994: 7.

[100]The particulars of the locations of fragments of four different bronzes changed between the list published in 1993 and the list Inan published in 1994. In the most recent list (1994) the location of one is currently unknown; five are located in private collections. Cf. J.Inan in J. Borchhardt and G. Dobesch (edd), 1993: 239 and J. Inan, 1994: 26.

[101]J.Inan, in J. Borchhardt and G. Dobesch (edd), 1993: 239.

[102]Poppaia Sabina, Nerva, Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, Commodus, Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, young Caracalla, Caracalla as emperor, Gordion, Phillip the Arab (or Decius or Trebonianus), Valerianus, Gallienus and Salonina. J.Inan in J. Borchhardt and G. Dobesch (edd), 1993: 215-37.

[103] The well-preserved dedications include Poppaia Sabina, Nerva, Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, Septimius Severus, Iulia Domna, young Caracalla, Caracalla as

as a sebasteion rests largely on the titulature of the imperial figures; nine of the eleven are honoured with the title *sebastos.*[104] The majority of the dedications are inscribed inside the lower courses of the northern and eastern walls of the building, just below a ledge where the statues would have stood. The remaining inscriptions are inscribed on four freestanding bases lining the western wall (Plate 3).[105] Inan's work, revealing *in situ* inscriptions, supports her hypothesis that imperial statues stood in dynastic groups lining this particular chamber.[106]

The specific composition of the 'south-western Anatolian' group and the resulting identification of these imperial statues as particular emperors is, however, open to question. One of the primary problems raised by the sculpture is its fragmentary nature.[107] The single firmly identified statue is a portrait of Lucius Verus in the Leon Levy and Shelby White collection in New York (Plate 6).[108] Two other full standing nude statues lack heads but Inan attributes two heads in diverse locations to these figures. Accepting the join of these disparate parts, one is identifiable as Septimius Severus; the other as

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emperor, Gordion, Gallienus and Salonina. J. Inan, 1994: 11-23.

[104]The formula of a dedication to Nero suggested to C.P Jones that the dedication encompassed both a statue of Nero and the larger structure; however, such formulae have been used for the dedications of altars, temples and bath buildings. In this inscription, the building is not explicitly mentioned or identified as a sebasteion. C.P. Jones 'Some new inscriptions from Bubon,' *IstMitt* 27/28 (1977-78): no.5, pp. 290-91, 294.

[105] J. Inan, 1994: 11-23.

[106]Ibid.: 26.

[107]There is a strong possibility the statues were broken to facilitate transportation and sale.

[108] The statue is missing only its right arm. J. Inan, 1994: 13-14.

Caracalla (Plates 8 and 10).[109] The statues Inan identifies as Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, and Valerianus all lack heads (Plates 5, 7, and 11).[110] One bodiless head, the young Caracalla, is also assigned to an inscription at the site (Plate 9). What becomes clear upon review of the evidence is the circular nature of the attributions. A number of bronzes of unknown origin, with similar formal characteristics, are identified as a group, and on the strength of their assumed association, are combined with inscriptional evidence from a known site, to suggest the historical identities of otherwise unidentifiable heroic nude statues.[111]

The circular logic of Inan's attributions also appears to rely on the archaeological convention where the interpretation of sculptural programs is constructed using the artificial dichotomy between religious and secular spaces noted above. The sebasteion at Boubon is celebrated as one of the few examples with evidence for such a continuous series of dedications exclusively to the imperial dynasties.[112] While the existence of an imperial

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[109] The poor preservation of the Caracalla head illustrates the inconclusive nature of the reconstruction; nothing remains of the neck on either the statue or the head to definitively support the join. J. Inan, 1994: 16-18, 20.

[110]The statue, identified as Valerianus, is the statue from the Burdur Museum. J. Inan, 1994: 20-22.

[111]Workshop attribution studies present their own problems. Such approaches have received criticism for a basis in art historical attribution rather than in sound archaeological method, which gives too much primacy to an 'artist's hand' when we are uncertain of how workshops functioned (e. g. which characteristics of an extant bronze are significant? Is it technical features, such as the type of weld, which could also be *ad hoc* technical solutions, or a function of mass manufacture?). The 'Boubon' group was first noted by C.C. Vermeule but is also now the subject of a study by S.C. Jones suggesting the existence of a southwestern Anatolian workshop where six of the ten bronzes attributed to the workshop are 'from the area of Boubon.' Jones also discusses the difficulties of workshop attribution. See C.C. Vermeule, 1968: 174 and S.C. Jones, 'The Toledo bronze youth and east Mediterranean bronze workshops,' *JRA* 7 (1994): 243-256.

[112]S.R.F. Price, 1984: 159-161.

group is supported by the extant inscriptions, the language of the inscriptions does not emphasise any particular cultic associations with the statues.[113] Moreover, statues of Olympian deities frequently lacked identifying inscriptions, and since the identity of several of the heroic nude figures is in fact unknown, they could represent Olympian, imperial, or civic personages.[114]

In attributing the bronze group to Boubon, Inan relies heavily on the evidence provided by the looter's diary: however, as she notes, the only architectural feature recognised by the looter was the theatre (*sinemasi)*; other structures are 'houses.'[115] The area around the building itself is unexcavated, as is the site as whole, and due to the undocumented excavation at the site, the precise plan and its relationship to surrounding structures is uncertain (Plate 4). Survey at Boubon identified the area of the agora and the remains of a theatre.[116] The diminishing state of preservation at the site since the 19th century elicited comment from G.E. Bean:

> Spratt in 1842 found [the remains] disappointing; he saw only a walled acropolis, a small theatre of coarse sandstone, and

[113]In the absence of *theos* and in the use of the accusative case as opposed to the dative. The dative was used in the dedication to Vespasian at Cestrus. Price argues the dative has 'religious overtones,' unlike the accusative. S.R.F. Price, 1984: 179; S.R.F. Price, Gods and emperors: the Greek language of the Roman imperial cult,' *JHS* 54 (1984): 79-95.

[114]C.C. Vermeule's 1992 list includes a possible statue of Zeus, unidentified male and female fragments, an eagle, two heads of Alexander and a celestial divinity, in addition to the unidentified heroic nude statues argued by Inan to be the emperors Marcus Aurelius, Commodus and Valerianus. As noted above (supra note 104), the building is not explicitly identified as a sebasteion in a building inscription, and there is no indication it was dedicated exclusively to the imperial families. See C.C. Vermeule, 1992: 202-205. On the lack of identifying inscriptions with Olympic deities, see D. Fishwick, 'Votive offerings to the emperor?' *ZPE* 80 (1990): 121-130, esp. p. 124-5. On the frequent subjugation of the emperor to Olympian deities, S.R.F. Price, 1984: 146-56.

[115] J. Inan, 1994: 7.

[116]M. Mellink, 'Archaeology in Asia Minor,' *AJA* 73 (1969): 203-227, esp. 216.

> several terraces strewn with the prostrate remains of temples and other buildings. The present writer in 1952 saw much the same, but on a second visit in 1966 found the scene completely changed. The entire slope of the hill had recently been dug from top to bottom by the villagers in search of loot; their pits left hardly a yard of space between them. Of the ruins, such as they were, nothing now remains...[117]

In addition to the building explored by Inan, the presence of a bouleuterion is possible and C.C. Vermeule has suggested the attribution of the statues to such a space.[118] Further, as illustrated above, images of emperors peopled diverse structures; the Boubon statues could also come from a bath building.[119] That no such structure exists, when in the 27-36 known cities of Lycia there are archaeological remains of at least 31 different baths, is surprising.[120] The presence of a bath complex at Boubon has been inferred from inscriptional evidence by A. Farrington, who argues a bath was built circa AD 160.[121] Given the poor state of preservation described by G.E. Bean at the site itself and in light of the limited state of knowledge regarding Boubon's urban topography before the undocumented excavation, Inan's attribution of the sculptural group to a single structure excavated at the site brokers little confidence.

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[117]G.E. Bean, 1989: 164.

[118]In the end, a variety of civic buildings and spaces are possible. On the bouleuterion as a possibility, see C.C.Vermeule, 1992: 202. That the building may be a prytaneion has also been suggested, see C.P. Jones, 1977-78: 295.

[119]Also noted by S.R.F. Price, 1984: 172.

[120]On the number of towns in Lycia, see D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*. Princeton: Princeton University. 1950: 522. On the evidence for baths at Boubon, although no architectural remains have been identified, see A. Farrington, 1995: 117. On the absence of a bath complex as unusual, see S. Mitchell, *Anatolia*, vol.1. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1993: 215-17.

[121]A. Farrington, 1995: 124, 145, 152.

The undocumented excavation at Boubon occurred in the late 1960s; undocumented excavation also occurred at a number of other sites in southwestern Anatolia during the same period, and these sites provide viable contexts for the Boubon bronzes, individually or as a group.[122]

For example, G.E. Bean observed the effects of undocumented excavation at Cestrus (Macar Kalesi) in Cilicia during the late 1960s.[123] Cestrus provides the single known parallel for the U-shaped building revealed at Boubon. Inscribed marble bases in the building indicate that statues of Titus, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian (2) and Sabina surrounded a central statue of Vespasian (Plate 12, bottom).[124] No sculpture appears to have been attributed to this site which remains unexcavated; however, a plan has been published by G.E. Bean and T.B. Mitford showing the structure dedicated to Vespasian facing another structure dedicated to Antoninus Pius across an agora strewn with marble dedications (Plate 12, top).[125] While Price and Inan both note the

[122]In addition to sites discussed in the text, a nymphaeum at Oinoanda was a victim of undocumented excavation sometime between 1968 and 1972. An imperial temple with dedications to Septimius Severus and a priest of the imperial cult was unearthed during digging for the construction of a mosque near Boğazköy (ancient Panemoteichos of southwest Pisidia) during the summer of 1993; no investigations were made at the site until September 1993. On Oinoanda, see N.P. Milner and M.R. Smith, 'New votive reliefs from Oinoanda,' *AnatSt* 44 (1994): 65-76, esp. 71, note 44. On Panemoteichos, see S. Mitchell, 'Three cities in Pisidia,' *AnatSt* 44 (1994): 129-148, esp. 138-142. On the period of undocumented excavation at Boubon, see J. Inan, 1977-78: 267-8.

[123]G.E. Bean and T.B. Mitford, 1970: 157, note 20.

[124]S.R.F Price notes one additional parallel, the metroon at Olympia. S.R.F. Price, 1984: 161. On Cestrus, see G.E. Bean and T.B. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964-8*. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Denkschriften Band 102. Wien: Herman Bohlaus. 1970: 155-70.

[125]Two inscriptions record the dedication of this small, two cella temple (10m x 7m) to Antoninus Pius and the imperial cult. The same inscriptions also record the dedication of a bronze statue costing 1,000 *denarii* and another costing 70 *denarii*, presumably stone, to Antoninus Pius. G.E. Bean and T.B. Mitford, 'Sites old and new in Rough Cilicia,' *Anat.St.* 12 (1962): 185-216, esp.211-214. A plan was published in G.E. Bean and T.B. Mitford, 1970: 155-170.

parallel of the Boubon structure to that at Cestrus, neither remark upon Bean's observation that the plan of the latter structure is uncertain due to the large pit dug in the cella of the structure and the subsequent outfill, which obscures the thickness of the walls and possible relationships to surrounding structures.[126]

The site of Cremna was also victim to undocumented excavation during the 1960s, and presents another viable context for the statues. A group of four half-life-size marble muses, currently in the J. Paul Getty Museum and an inscribed stele, confiscated from smugglers and housed in Burdur Museum, are attributed to Cremna. All of these statues show traces of red paint indicating they were recently dug up. J. Inan also conducted excavation in a building 'Q' in 1970-2 after thirteen full size marble statues were confiscated by authorities.[127] Epigraphic evidence suggests the remains of a colonnaded hall with a room and statues were dedicated to Hadrian, which S.R.F. Price associates with the imperial cult.[128] Aside from the roughly contemporaneous incidence of looting at the sites of Boubon and Cremna, a number of reasons suggest the feasibility of an attribution of the Boubon bronzes to Cremna.[129]

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[126]S.R.F. Price, 1984: 161 and J.Inan, in J. Borchhardt and G. Dobesch (edd), 1993: 237.

[127]S. Mitchell, et al., *Cremna in Pisidia*. London: Gerald Duckworth. 1995: 16, 54-5, 152-8.

[128]S.R.F. Price, 1984: 270. On the hall dedicated to Hadrian, see J.B. Ward-Perkins and M.H. Ballance, 'The caesareum at Cyrene and the basilica at Cremna,' *PBSR* 56 (1958): 137-194, and S. Mitchell, 'The Hadrianic forum and basilica at Cremna,' pp. 229-245 in N. Başgelen (ed.) *Festschrift für Jale Inan Armağani*. Armağan Kitaplar Dizisi 1. Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları. 1989. Even if the Cremna structure had not been associated with the imperial cult, R. Krautheimer's study of the basilica suggests these civic places also filled religious functions, and this may have been reflected in their decorative schemes. R. Krautheimer, 'The Constantinian basilica,' *DOP* 21 (1967): 115-40.

[129]Inan says during the course of her work at Cremna, she asked villagers where the bronze statues had been excavated, and they said Boubon. Under the circumstances, few people would respond differently. J. Inan, 1994: 6-7.

Boubon may have remained a relatively modest town until the later second century, as it was not until the reign of Commodus (AD 180-192) that it was awarded the highest status in the Lycian League.[130] On the other hand, Cremna, a Roman colony in Pisidia, prospered by the Hadrianic period (AD 117-138), as indicated by marble dedications and extensive building activity.[131] This period witnessed the construction of no less than four temples dedicated to Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, as well as a colonnaded street and two propyla, all of which would have provided a suitable context for the dedication of imperial statues.[132] In fact, a number of scholars initially attributed the 'southwest Anatolian' bronze group to the site of Cremna, and it was only after the publication of Inan's excavation results that the attribution was rejected.[133] Nonetheless, as demonstrated above, the evidence fails to make a compelling case for the attribution of the

[130]While such a comparison is problematic, there is a notable dearth of material other than coarse stone at Boubon. In this case, undocumented excavation further problematizes the comparison; marble would be less likely to escape undocumented excavators than more humble materials. Nonetheless, A. Farrington argues for a correlation between status in the League and large scale building projects. Given the relationship between imperial cult and bath buildings suggested by the evidence cited here, the same relationship may obtain for buildings dedicated to the imperial cult. G.E. Bean, 1989: 164 and A. Farrington, 1995: 118-19.

[131]Evidence for building activity during the Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods is sparse; however, two fragmentary dedications to Claudius and Nerva have been located. The *floruit* of the city is suggested in S. Mitchell, et al., 1995: 53, 79-84.

[132]Another large sanctuary and temple of Severan date has been located, although the dedication is unknown. S. Mitchell, et al., 1995: 118-139.

[133]P. Oliver-Smith, 'The Houston bonze-spearbearer' *Antike Plastike* 15 (1975): 95; A.P. Kozloff, 'The Cleveland bronze: the emperor as philosopher,' *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Arts* 74, 3 (1987): 134, cited in J. Inan, 1994: 6, notes 13,14. See also N. Hannestead, who, while admitting an Antonine or Severan imperial shrine at Cremna is the accepted context for the Cremna statues, argues 'a 4th-century villa is definitely more probable.' Hannestead goes on to note, 'The proposed identification of the structure [at Cremna] as a shrine may be due to the find circumstances being similar to those for the Boubon bronzes,' in N. Hannestead, *Tradition in late Antique sculpture*. Acta Jutlandica LXIX:2, Humanities Series 69. Aarhus: Aarhus University. 1994: 122-23 and note 208.

'southwestern Anatolian' bronze group to Boubon.[134]

The importance of images in Roman cult practices has been emphasised in research that integrates the study of ancient sources with iconographic studies of images in their larger architectural and cultural contexts.[135] J. Elsner argues,

> ...the very same image might be subjected to these radically different kinds of viewing (either at the same time by different viewers or at different times), and might carry divergent and even contradictory meanings according to the spectator's initial presuppositions. Such meanings might be single or multiple, simple or complex, material, political, psychological, ethical or religious.[136]

The argument expressed above corroborates the ambiguity presented by sculptural programs in their contexts at Perge and Boubon. Elsner suggests a tension underlay imperial portraiture, where images of the emperor straddle a cusp between divine and human roles. Ultimately the viewer decides, and this same tension underlies art of the imperial period in general.[137] In this way, the argument may also fit Hercules who, like the emperor, could appear as human,

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[134]An example of how undocumented material leads to the codification of uncertain knowledge can be found in S.R.F. Price, who despite his caution regarding the material at Boubon, falls prey to the ambiguity of the finds. Central to his argument regarding the nature of the relationship between Hellenistic ruler cults and the imperial cult is the bronze head of Alexander that Inan includes in her initial publication of finds attributed to the site (C.C. Vermeule's list actually attributes two different Alexander heads to the site). Inan's most recent publication denies that any head of Alexander formed part of the sculptural program. See S.R.F. Price, 1984: 161-2. For Inan's initial attribution of the Alexander head, J. Inan, 1977-78: 274. For Inan's retraction of the attribution, J. Inan, 1994: 23.

[135] See for example, J. Elsner, 1995: 18; and E. Kitzinger, 'The cult of images in the age before iconoclasm,' *DOP* 8 (1954): 85-150.

[136]J. Elsner, 1995: 48.

[137]J. Elsner, 1995: 167-72; and also S.R.F. Price, 'Between man and god: sacrifice in Roman imperial cult,' *JRS* 70 (1980): 28-43.

hero, and god.[138]

Elucidating the role of sculpture in Roman spheres proves a field of study subject to the cautionary note, "...unless we are wary, when the object 'speaks' to us, it is likely to do so...in our own language and, indeed, in our own cultural dialect: the voice we hear may be our own."[139] Testimony from the Roman imperial period provides some illumination; however, this is limited in extent and gives voice to a small and elite sector of society.[140] The occasions where sources provide general descriptions of the cult have themselves elicited a variety of modern interpretations.[141] As S.R.F. Price notes, Roman writers rarely felt the need to explain their own social institutions.[142] However, Cicero, writing during the first century BC, declared the Roman city to be 'a universal city, of gods and men' where the communication between gods and men, most evident in cult, was strengthened by sculptural symbols on prominent display in the urban landscape. Even statues that did not receive sacrifices recalled or imitated statues that did.[143]

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[138] R. Volkommer, 1988: 'Introduction,' and 85-7.

[139] J. Wiseman, 'Scholarship and provenience in the study of artifacts,' *JFA* 11 (1984): 73.

[140] S.R.F. Price, 1984: 3.

[141] These largely revolve around the relative credulity of the ancients, where it is argued either the elite did believe the Emperor was a god or the elite did not, and the worship of the emperor was reserved for the more ingenuous lower classes. See A.D. Nock, 'Deification and Julian' *JRS* 47 (1957): 115-23. For an argument in favor of the credulity of the upper classes, see G.W. Bowersock, 'Greek intellectuals and the imperial cult in the second century AD' pp. 293-326 in G.W. Bowersock, *Studies on the eastern Roman Empire*. Goldbach: Keip Verlag, 1994.

[142] S.R.F. Price, 1984: 3.

[143] Cicero, *de legibus* I, 23; cited in J. Curran, 1994: 51. This argument with respect to baths is also made by J. DeLaine, 'This...glosses over the potential ambiguities often attendant on Graeco-Roman religion, which is both all-pervasive and at the same time often private in nature,' p. 352 in 'Roman baths and bathing,' *JRA* 6 (1993): 348-58.

For example, the *Fasti Praenestini* record rituals observed on 1 April, where humble women prayed to Fortuna Virilis in the baths, and, with respect to the same rite, the women washed the statue of Fortuna Virilis in the baths prior to re-adorning her.[144] Similarly, the AD 104 foundation of C. Vibius Salutarius bequested biannual civic celebrations to the city of Ephesus. These celebrations involved the procession of statues of Artemis, the Roman emperor, and the city founders from the Temple of Artemis through the length of the city, reflecting both the dynamic role of diverse sculptural types and the fluidity of ancient urban topography.[145]

Further evidence for the diverse activities in 'secular' spaces may also be gleaned from the queries of the urban praetor, Valerius Publicola, to Augustine.

> Ought a Christian to bathe in the baths or hot baths in which sacrifice is to be made to images? Ought a Christian to bathe in the baths on their feast day, either with them or without them? Ought a Christian in a sitting bath in which the pagans have gone down, coming on their feast day and there in the sitting bath they perform some sacrilege, if the Christian knows it, go into the same sitting bath?[146]

To offset the potential bias of a clearly polemic Christian testimonial, another example is provided by the pagan grammarian of the fifth century, Maximus writing to Augustine,

> There is no sure evidence for the Greek fable that Mount

[144] A. Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Italiae* XIII.2 (Rome, 1963), p. 27 and Ovid *Fasti* IV, p.145; both quoted from J. Curran, 1994: 51.

[145] G.M. Rogers, *The Sacred Identity of Ephesos*. London and New York: Routledge. 1991: 80-126.

[146] Augustine, *Epistulae* XLVI; quoted from J. Curran, 1994: 51.

> Olympus is the dwelling place of the gods, but we see and feel
> sure that the market place of our town is occupied by a crown
> of beneficent deities.[147]

With invariably contradictory literary testimony preserved for study, these references are intended only to corroborate the archaeological evidence explored above in illustrating that ancient perceptions of images may not have been governed by the dichotomy between religious and secular that modern scholarship has since imposed upon it.[148]

The impact of undocumented excavation in the cases of the Perge and Boubon statues becomes particularly significant in light of the recent emphasis on the importance of the exploration of manifestations of cult by individual city or province due to the divergent nature and extent of practice in different sectors of Roman society.[149] Similarly, technological studies have increasingly contributed to the identification of workshops and provenance through the study of technical minutiae, the properties of marbles, and the composition of bronzes. Opinions vary in their optimism about the success of technical studies, and all note the results of technical studies are only truly informative

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[147] Augustine, *Epistulae* XVI, 1; quoted from J. Curran, 1994: 53, with references.

[148] The understanding of the secular function of baths rests largely on their perception as social centres and their association with *luxuritas*. That this is seen to exclude religious associations may also be a function of a modern Christian interpretive framework. The cult of Dionysus provides an example of perhaps 'morally questionable' activities with cultic significance. Dionysus often figures prominently in the sculptural programs of baths, and plays a central role in the decorative program of the south portico of the sebasteion at Aphrodisias. For a sample of literary references suggesting the primarily secular function of the baths, see F. Yegül, 1992: 30-42, 124-127. On Dionysus in bath complexes, see S.G. Bassett, 1996: 491-506 and M. Marvin, 1983: 347-84. On Dionysus in the sebasteion, see R.R.R. Smith, 'Myth and allegory in the sebasteion,' pp. 89-100 in C. Roueché and K.T. Erim, *Aphrodisias Papers. Recent work on architecture and sculpture*. JRS Supplement 1 (1990): 95-100.

[149] For example, A. Smith (ed), *Subject and ruler: the cult of the ruling power in classical antiquity*. JRS Supplement 17 (1996), with studies of the imperial cult in Hispania

with well-documented material.[150] Sculptures attributed to Perge and Boubon are thought to reflect the production of two specific workshops.[151] In both cases, undocumented excavation problematises workshop identification because, as R.R.R. Smith points out, a large body of material is necessary to gain a broad enough sense of similarities that stem from a specific workshop as opposed to purely stylistic connections which may stem from workshop connections within a larger locale.[152]

In addition to raising questions of workshop identification, the appearance of material from Perge and Boubon on the antiquities market and its subsequent publication reflects the twentieth century affection for artists.[153]

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and Greece.

[150]These same technologies in many cases also facilitate the production of modern copies. See Y. Miniatis, N. Herz, Y. Basiakos, (edd) *The study of marble and other stones used in antiquity.* London: Archetype Publications. 1995; S. Doeringer, D.G. Mitten, A. Steinberg (edd.) *Arts and technology: a symposium on classical bronzes.* Cambridge: MIT Press. 1970.

[151]The existence of a workshop at Perge has been suggested by stylistic comparison to other regional sculpture. While no workshop has been localised specifically at Boubon, the bronzes attributed to this site constitute 50% of the material suggested to stem from a workshop in the eastern Mediterranean. On Perge, see J. Inan and E. Rosenbaum, *Roman and early Byzantine portrait sculpture in Asia Minor.* London: Oxford. 1966: 34-35. On the eastern Mediterranean bronze workshop, see S.C. Jones, 1994: 243-256.

[152]In a similar vein, Inan suggests the existence of a workshop at Perge with two caveats; her study only includes material derived from archaeological excavation and the lack of sufficient material from Perge. In light of the scale of undocumented excavation noted here, the identification of a workshop at Perge may have been stymied by the undocumented excavation of sculpture at the site. On workshop identification in general, see R.R.R. Smith, 'Hellenistic sculpture under the Roman empire: fishermen and satyrs at Aphrodisias,' pp. 253-260 in O. Pelage and W. Cousin, (edd.) *Regional schools in Hellenistic sculpture.* Oxbow Monograph 90. Oxford: Oxbow. 1998. On Inan's reservations regarding the incorporation of material from American and European museums in her study and on the workshop at Perge, see J. Inan and E. Rosenbaum, 1966: xiii-xv, 34-35.

[153]The identification of sculptures as the product of specific workshops or artists and as known historical personalities (i.e. emperors and their families), increases their market value. The policy since the 1970s in archaeological journals, where unprovenanced artefacts are not accepted for publication, reflects this trend. On publishing unprovenienced material, see O.W. Muscarella, 'On publishing unexcavated artifacts,' *JFA* 11(1984): 61-65 and F.S. Kleiner, 'On the publication of recent acquisitions of antiquities,' *AJA* 94(1990): 525-27. On a 'possible' head of Domitia from Turkey for 1.8 million dollars, see M.Rose and Ö.Acar in

The modern 'myth of the artist, in which his works play the role of relics, gains supremacy...' over the original function and intent of the artefact, which was most likely created by an artisan of relatively low social standing.[154] In the publications of the sculptures attributed to both sites, a common vein is their categorisation according to their relationship to artists and works known form the Classical and Hellenistic periods, reflecting a broader trend in the study of Roman period sculpture.[155] Most studies of 'artists' in antiquity illustrate the relatively low status of artisans and the hardships of their profession.[156] As Plutarch notes, "It does not necessarily follow that we esteem the workman because we are pleased with the work," having stated that "no well-born

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K.D. Vitelli, (ed.) 1996: 71-89. On a bronze plaque of the Emperor Claudius for 26,000 pounds, in *The Times*, 10 November, 1992, cited in Anon, 'Chronicles,' *IJCP* 2,2 (1993): 342. On a dozen Roman bronzes from Suffolk, England valued at 1.5 million pounds, in *Guardian*, 28 January, 1993, cited in Anon, 'Chronicles' *IJCP* 2,2 (1993): 351. On the post-Renaissance predilection for artists, see B.S. Ridgway, 1984: 1.

[154]Ernst van de Wetering, 'The autonomy of restoration: ethical considerations in relation to artistic concepts,' in Lavin (ed), *World Art* 3: 849-53, quoted from D. Lowenthal, 'Counterfeit Art: Authentic Fakes?' *IJCP* 1,1 (1992): 84, and n.29.

[155]B.S. Ridgway comments, 'Our approach to Greek and Roman sculpture had been heavily tinted by romantic conceptions about artists, and by a thoroughly modern understanding of creative originality which was projected back into the classical past without proper consideration for its different social and economic conditions,' (1994:1). The sculptures from Perge and Boubon are often discussed in terms of their formal qualities, and in terms of their relationships to works thought to be by 'famous' artists known from antiquity. On Boubon, see M.A. Del Chiaro, 'New acquisitions of Roman sculpture at the Santa Barbara Museum of Art,' *AJA* 78(1974): 68-70, J. Flemberg 'A Roman bronze head,' *MedHavsMusBull* 26/27 (1991-92): 55-66, J.Inan, 1977-78: 267-87. On Perge, see N. Başgelen, 1991: 30-32. Works reflecting this larger trend in Roman period sculpture from Turkey include J. Inan *Roman sculpture in Side*. Ankara: Turk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi. 1975, and J.Inan and E. Rosenbaum, 1966. On the implications of this trend in scholarship, see also E.W. Leach, 'The politics of self-presentation: Pliny's *Letters* and Roman portrait sculpture,' *Classical Antiquity* 9(1990): 14-39, where the idealisation of portraiture as reflective of Hellenistic influences is argued to stem from a modern dichotomy between veristic and idealised portraits.

[156]In fact, the term 'artist' is not differentiated from 'craftsman'. In most cases, this role was fulfilled by slaves or freedmen. See A. Burford, who emphasises the difference between the well-paid artist with innate genius since the Renaissance and the more humble craftsman-artist of antiquity. A. Burford, *Craftsmen in Greek and Roman society*. London: Thames and Hudson. 1972: esp. p.207; D. Brown 'Bronze and pewter,' pp. 25-41 and D. Strong and A. Claridge 'Marble sculpture,' pp. 195-207 in D. Strong and D. Brown (edd.) *Roman crafts*. London: Gerald Duckworth. 1976.

youth, having seen the Zeus at Olympia would wish to be a Phidias."[157]

Undocumented excavation perpetuates the tendency towards historically rooted object-oriented studies of Roman period sculpture, and this contributes to the tenacity of *a priori* interpretive constructs, such as the one discussed here, the modern perception of a dichotomy between religious and secular spaces.[158] Today, 'The authentic worth of unrestored objects divested of recognisable form is solely academic; aesthetic defence of time's erosions is a quixotic passion for...limbless torsos.'[159] In addition to the aesthetic value placed on fragmentary statues, which would have been a trifle bizarre for the ancient viewer, the modern practice of conserving bronzes with their age-derived, often green or brown patina, is at odds with the ancient practice of using secondary materials for nipples, teeth, lips, eyes and of gilding or oiling bronzes.[160] Marble statuary would also have received surface treatment, including wax-based paint. This may explain the tendency for sculpture in bath buildings to be centred around unheated rooms, as a wax-based paint

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[157]Plutarch, *Vitae Parallelae Pericles* 2.1, in M. Vickers and D. Gill, 1996: 95.

[158]'The beginning of the study of Roman portraiture is linked to museums and private collections...Many of the portraits...had either no provenance or a shaky one...There was consequently a disinclination to move past the museum context of the portraits and to view them...as components of a society. Standard portrait methodology has not changed...the whole process is driven by collecting and connoisseurship...with little regard for the ways in which the process varied by region,' in C.B. Rose, 'The imperial image in the eastern Mediterranean,' pp. 108-120 in S.E. Alcock (ed), *The early Roman empire in the east.* Oxbow Monograph 95. Oxford: Oxbow. 1997: 108-109.

[159]D. Lowenthal, 'Counterfeit Art: Authentic Fakes?' *IJCP* 1,1 (1992): 82.

[160]D. Haynes, *The technique of Greek bronze statuary.* Mainz/Rhein: Philipp von Zabern. 1992: 106-120; P.T. Craddock, 'A short history of the patination of bronze,' pp. 63-70 in M. Jones (ed.) *Why fakes matter.* London: British Museum. 1992; J. Frêl, 'Some observations on classical bronzes,' *J. Paul-Getty Museum Journal* 11(1983): 117-122; D. Fishwick, 'Statue taxes in Roman Egypt,' *Historia* 38(1989): 335-347.

would melt in the heated rooms of a bath complex.[161]

The 'quixotic' passions of modern collectors combined with the vagaries of survival contribute to obfuscation of the potential significance of the material used for sculpture in different contexts during the Roman period.[162]

> 'A friend of mine, a distinguished archaeologist and collector, answered the question as to why he collected bronzes by saying, 'I cannot afford marble sculptures, and I don't have the space to display them.' I found the reply unsatisfactory--good bronzes are sometimes more expensive than good marble sculptures...'[163]

On one level, the intrinsic worth of a sculpture's material played a role in ancient perception.[164] Few gold or silver statues survive from antiquity and the gilding of bronze rarely withstands time, although their existence is attested in ancient sources.[165] The tendency in antiquity to raid sanctuaries and temples for gold, silver, and bronze dedications in times of crisis as well as the practice of melting down dedications to make other objects reflect the likelihood that

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[161] M. Marvin, 1983: 352-3, 377-8.

[162] D. Lowenthal, 1992: 82.

[163] H.A. Cahn, 'Some thoughts on collecting bronzes,' pp. 271-277 in S. Doeringer, D.G. Mitten, and A. Steinberg (edd) 1970: 272.

[164] '...the display and reuse of cult figures brought as spoils of war to Rome...[were not] viewed simply as material treasure. These works were appreciated as artistic masterpieces and exploited not only for their religious and propagandistic values but also as dual symbols of personal prestige and of Rome's imperium...Marble becomes the predominant medium...Bronze, gold and silver become increasingly important...,' in R.A. Gergel, 'Roman cult images,' *JRA* 3 (1990): 286-9, esp. 289.

[165] See C.C. Vermeule, *Greek and Roman sculpture in gold and silver*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts. 1974, with references. On the likelihood of a preference for more precious materials, particularly with imperial portraits, see S. Wood, 1986: 5-6. On the preference of bronze over marble in reference to a controversial passage in Pliny (*NH* 36.37), see B.S. Ridgway, 'Laoköon and the foundation of Rome,' *JRA* 2(1989): 171-181, esp. 180-1.

intrinsic value of an object took precedence over its artistry in antiquity.[166] In addition, a number of studies suggest a sculpture's material may also have served an iconographic role, where the choice of material reflects the symbolic content of a statue, perhaps functioning in a fashion similar to attributes and dress in the depiction of deities, personifications, and the imperial family.[167] The iconographic content of sculpture and sculptural groups takes on added significance during the Roman imperial period, as their meaning is increasingly structured by their architectural contexts.[168] The modern esteem for specific classes of material suggested by the collector's comments quoted above, combined with the predominantly formal object-based approach in the study of Roman period sculpture, has clear implications for efforts to refine understanding of the role Roman-period sculpture played in antiquity.

The examples included here reflect the ambiguity in archaeological understanding of the role played by sculptural decoration in two different architectural contexts, imperial sebasteia and urban bath complexes. While the general reticence to consider sculptural programs within a larger context stems in part from the vagaries of survival as well as historically object oriented approaches to the study of sculpture, these examples clearly illustrate the ways in which undocumented excavation, motivated by the current esteem

[166] M. Vickers and D. Gill, 1994: 55-76, with references.

[167] R. Cohon, 'Pavonazetto sculptures of eastern Barbarians,' *JRA* 3(1990): 264-279, P. Stewart, 'Fine art and coarse art: the image of Roman Priapus,' *Art History* 20, 4 (December 1997): 575-588, K. Arafat, 'Pausanias' attitude to antiquities,' *Annual of the British School at Athens* 87 (1992): 387-409.

[168] J. Onians, 'Quintilian and the idea of Roman art,' pp. 1-9 in M. Henig (ed.) *Architecture and architectural sculpture in the Roman empire.* Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph 29. Oxford: Alden. 1990.

for classical sculpture in the antiquities market, further problematises the study of Roman period sculpture.[169]

[169]R. Brilliant, 'Roman art and Roman imperial policy,' *JRA* 1(1988): 111-12.

Chapter Two

Coins: hoards, site finds and circulation in third century AD Anatolia

Ancient coins, as mass-produced artefacts of an official and often documentary character, provide an invaluable tool in archaeological studies. The fact that the bulk of extant coins are today located in museums and private collections worldwide implicitly structures the interpretation of coins.[170] This problem is nowhere more evident than in studies of silver issues during the third century in Anatolia. This chapter will first explore the validity of interpretive constructs used in the analysis of coinage in light of recently published coin evidence. Second, this chapter aims to explore how undocumented excavation precipitates modern questions regarding the authenticity of a coin. The evidence presented suggests both areas of concern follow regional patterns, with significant implications for the understanding of the nature and extent of coinage in third century Anatolia.

Archaeologists traditionally make a distinction between site and hoard coins that may be implicitly structured by systematic, undocumented excavation of coins. Site finds and hoard finds are generally viewed as fundamentally different, where site finds represent deliberate discard or accidental loss, usually of demonetised or small currency.[171] Hoards, on the

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[170]A.H.M. Jones, 'Numismatics and History,' pp. 13-33 in R.A.G. Carson and C.H.V. Sutherland, (edd) *Essays in Roman Coinage presented to Harold Mattingly*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1979: 22-3.

[171]R. Duncan-Jones published a study of bronze coin hoards illustrating that such hoards were both more numerous in relation to higher denomination hoards than had previously been thought, and that the chronological and geographical pattern of deposition suggests a relationship between bronze coin hoards and imperial largesse. Such a study serves as an indicator of the way the traditional interpretive schema for coin hoards does not withstand comprehensive evaluation. See R. Duncan-Jones, *Money and government in the Roman empire*. London and New York: Routledge. 1994. On high denomination coins

other hand, represent a deliberately constituted stash of high denomination coinage, either in the form of accumulated savings or as a lump withdrawal of coin from circulation.[172] Extant hoards are usually thought to represent behaviour motivated by a period of 'crisis', which also conveniently explains the archaeological rediscovery of a coin hoard, in that the 'crisis' prevented the individual from returning to retrieve the hoard.[173] Museum collections occupy an ambiguous position between site finds and hoards. Coins in local museums represent an indeterminate amalgam of accidental finds, excavation finds, and hoard finds.[174] All three groupings constitute important numismatic evidence. The current *a priori* construct guiding interpretation prevents effective reconciliation of the different numismatic picture presented by each because hoards and site finds are viewed as evidence constituted in a fundamentally different way.[175] The underlying assumptions stem in part from the fact that the bulk of numismatic evidence comes from coin hoards and random finds that are currently located in private collections and museums, which precludes any effective study of the contexts in which these finds are preserved in the archaeological record.[176]

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constituting coin hoards, see R. Reece, 'The interpretation of site finds-a review,' pp. 341-355 in C.E. King and D.G. Wigg (edd), *Coin finds and coin use in the Roman world.* The 13th Oxford symposium on coinage and monetary history, 25 - 27.3.1993. Studien zu Fundmunzen der Antike. Band 10. Berlin, 1996: 341.

[172]J.P.C. Kent, 'Interpreting coin-finds,' pp. 201-217 in J. Casey and R. Reece (edd), *Coins and the archaeologist.* London: Seaby. 1974: 202.

[173]T.V. Buttrey, 'The content and meaning of coin hoards,' *JRA* 12 (1998): 526.

[174]Local museum inventories present a wealthy resource for numismatic study, albeit problematised by spotty acquisition records. See C.S. Lightfoot (ed), *Recent Turkish coin hoards and numismatic studies* (1991) and R. Ashton (ed), *Studies in ancient coinage of Turkey* (1996) for recent publications of local museum collections.

[175]D.J. MacDonald, 'Aphrodisias and currency in the East, AD 259-305,' *AJA* 78 (1974): 282.

[176]I am not aware of any other field of archaeological study where the basic reference is the *British Museum Catalogue*. The experience of J. Russel in his study of the mint of Anemurium reflects the growing severity of the situation. He tracked 700 issues of the mint, over 25% of which appeared on the antiquities market since 1990, many of them unique. J. Russel, 'The mint of Anemurium, *OLBA* 2 (1999): 197.

While all aspects of the study of ancient coinage are ultimately affected by the circumstances of coin hoard discovery, circulation studies are particularly susceptible.[177] Studies of coin circulation rely on coin finds to identify the number, location, and production of mints, which in turn contribute to the understanding of how coinage was used in antiquity.[178] For example, during the Roman Imperial period, fundamental questions such as the extent of monetisation and the degree to which the Imperial administration's need to pay troops and civic employees versus market demand governed its supply persist.[179] Persuasive answers to these questions ultimately hinge on the provenance of coin finds, particularly coin hoards, which are generally assumed to represent currency in circulation at the place where they are found, and at the date of the hoard's latest coin.[180]

To explore the ramifications of the use of unprovenanced material in studies of coinage, the third century AD in Anatolia is selected here, primarily because of the notable dearth of literary sources and a complicated succession of emperors and wars during this period. The history of the third century is largely contingent upon the evidence provided by coin series, which serve as a chronological linchpin during this turbulent period.[181]

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[177]T.V. Buttrey, 1998: 527.

[178]For an example of statistical methods used to estimate the size of coinage, see W.W. Esty, 'Estimation of the size of a coinage: a survey and comparison of methods,' *NC* 146 (1986): 185-215. For an example of some critical comments regarding this type of approach, see S.E. Buttrey and T.V. Buttrey, 'Calculating ancient coin production, again,' *AJN* 9 (1997): 113-135.

[179]Cf.: M. Crawford, 'Money and exchange in the Roman world,' *JRS* 60 (1970): 40-48 and C. Howgego, 'Coin circulation and the integration of the Roman economy,' *JRA* 7 (1994): 5-21.

[180]C. Howgego, 'The circulation of silver coins, models of the Roman economy, and crisis in the third century AD: some numismatic evidence,' pp. 219-236 in C.E. King and D.G. Wigg (edd), 1996: 220-221.

[181]A.H.M. Jones in R.A.G. Carson and C.H.V. Sutherland (edd), 1979: 23.

The economic model of the third century AD has been broadly characterised by price inflation and increased state expenditure, primarily on the army. This coincided with monetary inflation, through debasement and increased supply of coinage, and increased taxation, with a consequent public and private tendency to revert to a barter economy.[182] The increased output of *antoniniani* after 238 was followed by the cessation of imperial bronze issues in the middle of the century and of the eastern civic coinages in the 260s and 270s. The period also witnessed the reduced production of gold coins, some reminting of earlier coins and a tendency for private individuals to withdraw earlier and better coins from circulation into hoards.[183]

Circulation in the eastern and western provinces is often characterised by a broad dichotomy dictated by the dominance of civic mints in the east through the 260s. These mints issued both bronze and silver issues for local use. Larger regional mints like those at Lugdunum and Rome supplied coinage for the empire, and in the absence of provincial mints in the west, issues from these mints dominate in the western provinces.[184] With the exception of *inter alia* movements of coinage through taxation or movements of the army, the understanding of these two largely separate eastern and western spheres, corroborated by the corresponding political factionalization of the empire during the same period broadly characterises the economic model of the third century AD.[185] In some cases, the schism between east and

[182] D. Rathbone, 'Monetisation, not price-inflation, in third-century AD Egypt?' pp. 321-339 in C.E. King and D.G. Wigg (edd), 1996: 321.

[183] Ibid.: 323.

[184] K. Butcher, *Roman provincial coins: an introduction to Greek imperials.* London: Seaby. 1988: 15, 22.

[185] C. Howgego, in C.E. King and D.G. Wigg (edd), 1996:219-36; A. Burnett, 1987: 122-124; M. Crawford, 1970: 40-48; C. Howgego, 1994: 5-21

west is further refined to suggest a smaller sphere including Anatolia and Syria-Palestine in the east, where eastern mints predominate. Evidence from western Anatolia and Thrace on the other hand, suggested a dominance of western issues in this second sphere. The larger centres of Greece (Athens and Corinth), with an admixture of issues of both eastern and western mints, occupy a middling ground between these two spheres in the eastern provinces.[186]

Compelling evidence for the impact of coin hoard distribution, as a function of the antiquities market, on archaeological interpretation is provided by the study of the coinage produced by the mint at Ceasarea in Cappadocia during the third century. A basic handbook of Roman Imperial coinage notes the activity of the mint for the reigns of Tiberius (14-37), Gaius Caligula (37-41), Claudius (41-54), Nero (54-68), and Pescennius Niger (194-6).[187] Another handbook notes the activity of the mint for the reigns of Nero, Trajan (98-117), Marcus Aurelius (161-80), and finally Gordian III (238-44).[188] In these studies, the activity of the mint is based on the provenance of the coins, and linked to military campaigns against the Parthians. In fact, the recent work of Roger Bland with new finds produced by coin hoards illustrates a more continuous series of silver issues from the reign of Caligula (37-41)

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[186]This pattern was noted at an early date in T.R.S. Broughton, *Roman Asia Minor*. An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome, v.4. Baltimore, 1938:872-876, and often governs the interpretation of coin finds in Anatolia. See also A. Burnett, *Coinage in the Roman World.* London: Seaby. 1987: 122-126; C.E. King, 'The Eastern issues of Probus: an alternative view,' *NC* 144 (1984): 221.

[187]R.A.G. Carson, *Coins of the Roman Empire*. London and New York: Routledge. 1990: 274.

[188]K.W. Harl, *Coinage in the Roman Economy, 300 BC to AD 700.* Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins. 1996: 102-3; A. Burnett, 1987: 44-5.

through Gordian III (238-44).[189] In light of the new finds (none of which stem from a secure archaeological context), the activity of the mint is more extensive than hitherto realised, which indicates its production may be motivated by factors other than the demands of eastern military campaigns.[190]

Bland's evidence however is, in itself, suspect. The report by Bland cites a collection of coins from Georgia (Colchis), composed of five hoards and stray finds, that were first published in 1934.[191] A study of patterns of hoard reporting through 1970 shows a significantly higher incidence of reported discovery in the U.S.S.R. than in Turkey.[192] The study suggests this reflects the closed market of the Soviet Union; treasure hunters would have less access to the antiquities market in the west.[193] Clark's comments on the situation in Turkey are worth quoting in full:

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[189]R. Bland, 'The bronze coinage of Gordian III from Caesarea in Cappadocia,' pp. 49-95 in R. Ashton (ed), 1996: 65-66.

[190]The authority to mint coinage in the principate and the method of payment for imperial troops and civic employees are both controversial issues which bear to some extent on the patterns of circulation for different denominations noted here however both are beyond the scope of the present discussion. On the authority to mint, see A.M. Burnett, 'The authority to coin in the late Republic and early Empire,' *NC* 7, 17 (1977): 37-63, who argues patterns of minting set up under Augustus continued to govern municipal mints through the later half of the third century. On the method of payment of the Roman army, see M.A. Speidel, 'Roman army payscales,' *JRS* 82 (1992): 87-106, and for the discovery of a bronze coin hoard bearing on this issue, see G.G. Brunk, 'A hoard from Syria countermarked by the Roman legions,' *ANSMN* 25 (1980): 63-76.

[191]K. Golenko, *The monetary circulation of Colchis during the Roman period.* Leningrad. This source is an unpublished English translation held in the British Museum and unavailable for my study. Consequently, I rely on Bland's report of the circumstances of the finds. Additional Georgian hoards were published in 1971 and 1979. Cited in R. Bland in R. Ashton (ed), 1996: 65.

[192]J.R. Clark, 'National patterns of antiquities retrieval: the case for Greek coin hoards,' *JFA* 7 (1980): 455-460.

[193]This view is corroborated by the observed increase in undocumented excavation in southern Russia during the later 1980s, which is related to the likewise recent relaxation of travel restrictions; I. Emetz and A. Golentzov, 'The pillage of the ancient tombs in the Crimea,' *IJCP* 2, 2 (1993): 335. Similarly Prague has been noted as the new center of illicit trade for central and eastern Europe subsequent to the development of the market in the 1980s; *The Guardian*, 15 November 1993, quoted in Anon, 'Chronicles,' *IJCP* 3, 2 (1994): 322.

> Throughout most of Turkey's history, hoard reporting has been virtually non-existent. The recent rapid increase is probably the result of increased contact between rural Turkey and Western Europe through the "guest-worker" program. Many of the hoards reported appear in dealers' catalogues in Germany and Switzerland, and their point of origin within Turkey is usually unknown or concealed. Formerly, many hoards were probably sold piecemeal to travellers inside Turkey, and by the time they reached Europe, they were not recognisable as hoards.[194]

Clearly, the current circulation pattern presented by the mint at Caesarea may reflect the vagaries of coin hoard reporting which, in itself is a function of the scope of the antiquities market.[195]

According to the prevailing interpretive schema noted above, the Caesarea mint should behave like an 'eastern' one, with circulation of silver issues regionally circumscribed by the Taurus Mountains to the south. The lack of site finds suggested to one investigator that Caesarean silver issues did not circulate in Syria and Mesopotamia.[196] A single hoard of uncertain provenance, said to come from Syria and published in 1932, with 22 silver Caesarean issues, indicates this may not be the case, especially as the study by Clark shows an even lower incidence of coin hoard reportage for Syria than for Turkey.[197] Bland further argues that the circulation of Caesarean silver did not extend to the western and southwestern coasts.[198] That this pattern may

[194]J.R. Clark, 1980: 458.

[195]R. Duncan-Jones study of bronze hoards suggests finds of hoards beyond the borders of the empire may be related to increased recruitment beyond the provinces during this period, and the return of soldiers to their homes. As the hoards explored here are primarily silver a direct application of Duncan-Jones' hypothesis regarding bronze coinage is ill-advised. See R. Duncan-Jones, 1994.

[196]K. Harl, 1996: 102.

[197]The details of this find were published by A. Baldwin, 'Un trésor monétaire découvert à Césarée,' *Arethuse* 4: 145-172, however this publication is unavailable in Ankara. Cited by R. Bland in R. Ashton (ed), 1996: 65; and on coin hoard reportage in Syria; J.R. Clark, 1980: 458.

[198]R. Bland in R. Ashton (ed), 1996: 68

also be affected by the history of hoard reportage is corroborated by the individual sale of Caesarean coins said to have been acquired in southwestern Turkey and now in collections.[199] In light of the recalibration in the picture of the Caesarean mint required by the Georgian hoards, and the probable loss of hoards to the antiquities market in the west, it is thus difficult to circumscribe circulation so confidently on the basis of the reported evidence alone.

The situation reflected in the reported finds of Caesarea illustrates a tendency for the dichotomy between coin hoards and site finds to underpin observed patterns in circulation. Bland notes that the evidence presents different patterns for the circulation of bronze coinage versus silver coinage, where bronze circulated primarily to the Southeast in Syria and Mesopotamia and silver circulated primarily near Caesarea itself and in Colchis.[200] Unfortunately, a dichotomy between hoards and site finds parallels this pattern in the circulation of the different denominations.[201] While this may be expected due to the perceived dominance of silver and gold coinage in coin hoards versus the lower value denominations of site finds, other investigators note an increased incidence of bronze hoarding during the third century due to the debasement of silver issues.[202] In addition, as noted above, the incidence of hoard reportage is lower for Syria than Turkey, suggesting that patterns of reportage may artificially structure the evidence used by Bland.[203]

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[199]Two coins in a private collection said to be amassed in Tarsus and two coins purchased in Smyrna. R. Bland in R. Ashton (ed), 1996: 65-6.

[200]R. Bland in R. Ashton (ed), 1996: 65, 68.

[201]R. Bland looks at 7 hoards to characterise the circulation of silver whereas his observations regarding bronze coinage rest on two coin hoards, sixteen excavation reports and two collections (one museum, one private). R. Bland in R. Ashton (ed), 1996: 65, 67.

[202]K. Harl, 1996: 140.

[203]J.R. Clarke, 1980: 459. K. Butcher notes the dearth of reported coin hoards in 'Coinage and currency in Syria and Palestine,' pp. 101-112 in C.E. King and D.G. Wigg (edd) 1996: 108,112.

A similar picture derives from the patterns observed in coin evidence in the western part of Anatolia. When D.J. MacDonald published the later third century coin finds of Aphrodisias in 1974, he contextualised his observations with a survey of finds from Greece, Thrace, Anatolia and Syria.[204] In the numismatic record of third century Aphrodisias, he noted the predominance of coins from western mints, a large number of barbarous radiates (63 of 262 coins), and the near absence of imperial material from the time of Aurelian (270-5) through Diocletian (284-305) in the Aphrodisias finds.[205] The site finds of Priene and Pergamum echoed the pattern presented at Aphrodisias.[206] Hoards from Çanakkale and Ragevo (ancient Philipopolis in Thrace) also paralleled the finds at Aphrodisias. Hoard finds from Anatolia, Greece and Syria-Palestine contradicted this pattern in that issues from the period between Aurelian and Diocletian were represented, the eastern mints of Cyzicus, Antioch and Tripolis dominated, and few barbarous radiates were included.[207] The dichotomy noted by MacDonald between eastern Anatolia and Syria-Palestine on the one hand and parts of western Anatolia, Greece and Thrace on the other, also seems to reflect a division between site finds and hoard finds, and is thus suspect.

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[204]D.J. MacDonald, 'Aphrodisias and currency in the East, AD 259-305,' *AJA* 78 (1974): 279-286.

[205]Barbarous radiates denotes a number of coins thought to be unofficial imitations of imperial issues (*antoniniani)*, the production of which centred in Gaul during the later third century. Unfortunately, under the prevailing interpretive construct, barbarous radiates as low value imitations would be less likely to characterise a coin hoard, usually thought to consist of higher value denominations. The implications of this interpretive scheme and of counterfeiting in general will be considered later in this chapter. On third and fourth century counterfeiting in general, see also P. Bastien, 'Imitations of Roman Bronze Coins, AD 318-363,' *ANSMN* 30 (1985): 143-177.

[206]MacDonald also noted finds at the excavations of Sardis, Troy and Ephesus, however in all three cases the finds were either less than 25 in number for the period in question or remained unpublished in sufficient detail. D.J. MacDonald, 1974: 280.

[207]D.J MacDonald, 1974: 282.

Since MacDonald conducted his study, a number of hoards of *antoniniani* and site finds in Anatolia have been published. The recent coin hoards prove to have significant implications for the understanding of coin circulation during the second half of the third century in Anatolia. For example, a hoard discovered in 1977 near Karaman in the province of Konya consists of 83 *antoniniani*, all products of eastern mints.[208] The specimens represent issues dating from the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus (253-60) through the reign of Diocletian (284-305). In this case, the dominance of eastern mints and the absence of barbarous radiates corroborates the pattern for Anatolian and Syrian coin circulation suggested by MacDonald. Yet in other ways, the hoard occupies an ambiguous position. The third criterion cited by MacDonald, the paucity of issues from the years 270-296 and in particular the absence of issues of Probus, is not borne out by this 'eastern' hoard. As with the western Anatolian and Thracian finds characterising a 'western' circulation, the chronological distribution of this hoard shows only two issues of a total 83 date to the years 270-96. As the hoard was a 'chance' find brought to a local museum however, neither its exact size, composition, or provenance is certain.[209]

Another hoard of even more dubious circumstance has been identified on the basis of accession numbers in the records of the Amasra Museum, roughly equidistant between Istanbul and Sinope.[210] The acquisition cluster in the records indicates that a group of 57 third century *antoniniani* may have

[208]I. Temizsoy, 'The Ihsaniye Hoard of Antoniniani,' pp. 99-103 in R. Ashton (ed), 1996: 99.

[209]I. Temizsoy in R. Ashton (ed), 1996: 99.

[210]S. Ireland with S. Ateşogullan, 'The ancient coins of the Amasra Museum,' p.115-137 in R. Ashton (ed), 1996: 115.

constituted a hoard find. Amasra's location on the Black Sea suggests the coin hoard should reflect a pattern consistent with Thrace and western Anatolia. In this case however, the group lacks barbarous radiates and the issues, which span the years 251-82, represent each successive reign with a number of issues, and in fact the issues of Probus are among the most numerous. Further, while both western and eastern mints are evident, well over 50% stem from eastern mints.[211]

Thus far, recent coin hoard evidence fits poorly into the circulation schema adopted by most scholars in the study of Anatolia during the third century, and used and expanded upon by MacDonald in his effort to reconcile the Aphrodisias site finds with prevailing coin evidence in the region. The new evidence introduced here is no better foundation to work from than the difficult material used by MacDonald; it nonetheless demonstrates how the explanatory power of economic models is contingent upon the number and quality of reports for coin hoards, the majority of which may be dispersed prior to study.[212]

On the other hand, it should be noted that two two coin hoards appear to corroborate MacDonald's observations in an unexpected way. One coin hoard, the reliability of which is reduced by its partial dispersal on the antiquities market, and a second hoard discovered in a controlled excavation

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[211]The lack of barbarous radiates may support the conclusion the group constitutes a hoard because barbarous radiates, due to the lower esteem in which they are regarded by collectors, are less likely to be separated from the hoard for individual sale. S. Ireland with S. Ateşogulları in R. Ashton (ed), 1996: 115-116.

[212]As noted, the consistency of hoard reportage is highly variable. Recently, both an increase and a decrease in reported coin hoards have been observed. While an increase in the past 30-40 years is likely due to the increased use of metal detectors, the apparent contradiction may be more a product of how individual investigators define 'reported'. On the one hand, for one investigator the piecemeal reassembly of suspected hoards from antiquities catalogues constitutes reportage, on the other hand, for another, only publication in academic journals constitutes 'reportage'. Cf. T.V. Buttrey, 1998: 527 and J. Russel, 1999: 197.

both parallel the pattern in the finds at Aphrodisias.[213]

First, the Haydere hoard discovered in 1982 at a village in the ancient province of Caria, about 28 kilometres west of Aphrodisias, surprisingly overturns the dichotomy between coin hoards and site finds which underlay MacDonald's study.[214] This hoard of 2,330 coins consists of both *denarii* and *antoniniani* but it is cogently argued, on the basis of the chronological clustering in the types, that the hoard actually consisted of two deposits, the first c.240 and the second c.270. Because only 50% of the coins were recovered after the attempted sale of the hoard and due to the lack of archaeological context, the validity of this analysis is uncertain.[215] Nonetheless, accepting this argument, it is clear the later series, presumably the second deposit, parallels the coin evidence unearthed at nearby Aphrodisias. Western mints predominate and the chronological sequence, while terminating with Gallienus (260-8), shows a marked attrition in issues as it approaches the 270s. In addition, a modest percentage of barbarous radiates further corroborates MacDonald's observations. A roughly similar picture is presented by the Iasos hoard, which was excavated by Italian archaeologists in the agora of Iasos and consisted of 3,000 coins, almost exclusively

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[213]The preferred approach for this material would be to introduce the hoard with a secure provenance first, and then to correlate the undocumented hoard to the evidence provided by the first. However, the publication of the Iasos hoard does not include information on mints, and therefore the information required to correlate it to the three criteria specified by MacDonald is unavailable.

[214]R. Bland and P. Aydemir, 'The Haydere hoard and other hoards of the mid-third century from Turkey,' in C.S. Lightfoot (ed), 1991: 91-180.

[215]Evidence from recorded coin hoards elsewhere shows multiple deposits are often made in different receptacles. The discoverers of the hoard were apprehended, and during their trial, they testified that the original deposit consisted of 5,578 coins, and no record was made of the archaeological context of the hoard. See R. Bland and P. Aydemir, in C.S. Lightfoot (ed), 1991: 91, and on the importance of context for hoards and the use of receptacles with multiple deposits, see A.E. Robertson, 'The numismatic evidence of Romano-British coin hoards,' pp. 262-285 in R.A.G. Carson and C.H.V. Sutherland (edd), 1979.

antoniniani.[216] The geographic proximity of these finds to Aphrodisias, one with certain provenance, supports the validity of MacDonald's observations, albeit for a much more localised region than he envisioned.

This correlation, combined with the recent evidence of coin hoards from the east noted previously suggests a highly localised pattern in the numismatic record of Anatolia in the second half of the third century.[217] The unexpected correlation between the Iasos hoard and the Haydere hoard, one of which has secure provenance, also calls into question the interpretive dichotomy between coin hoards and site finds underlying the observed patterns of circulation in eastern and western Anatolia.[218] Given the localised patterns suggested here, the dichotomy noted for circulation patterns between east and west during the later third century may be more a function of the nature of evidence (i.e. coin hoards reassembled subsequent to their appearance on the antiquities market and museum collections), supporting conclusions applicable to Anatolia only in the broadest terms.[219]

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[216]The mints of the Iasos coins are unpublished. Therefore, I rely on the observation of R. Bland and P. Aydemir as to its similarity to the Haydere hoard. R. Bland and P. Aydemir, in C.S. Lightfoot (ed), 1991: 1, 102. For the publication of the Iasos hoard, see D. Levi and C. Laviosa, 'La campagne de fouilles en 1969 à Iasos,' *Turk Arkeoloji Dergisi* 19/1: 143-156.

[217]A similar situation pertains for Syria and Palestine, see K. Butcher in C.E. King and D.G. Wigg (edd), 1996: 108,112. M. Fulford recently proposed an economic model incorporating high degree of localisation in coin circulation; see 'Economic hotspots and provincial backwaters: modelling the late Roman economy,' pp. 153-177 in C.E. King and D. G. Wigg (edd), 1996: 176-7.

[218]Another important factor, beyond the scope of this paper, is the relationship between rural and urban contexts. In theory, the east evinced a higher degree of both monetisation and urbanisation than the west. It follows then, that more coins would be found in the east, when the reverse appears to be true. An additional contributing factor is the tendency for a higher density of coin hoards finds in rural areas. This may be related to continued inhabitation at urban sites, the tendency for hoarders to deposit hoards in the countryside, or the importance of rustic villas that served as important economic centers. If the evidence cited in the text is any indication however, at this time it is inadvisable to posit a direct relationship between numbers of hoards recovered and the numbers deposited in antiquity. On the relationship between hoards and rural or urban contexts, see T.V. Buttrey, 1998: 526-532.

[219]A recent study of coin hoards from Britain, Germany and Eastern Europe suggests coin circulation may be much more localised than hitherto assumed. Duncan-Jones

Underpinning circulation studies, indeed all numismatic approaches to the archaeology and history of the Roman Empire, are questions of authenticity. As O. W. Muscarella noted with respect to bronze artefacts of the ancient Near East, the first question when viewing an unprovenanced artefact should not be why is it fake, rather, why is it authentic.[220] This observation gains currency with respect to the studies of Roman coinage of the third century AD simply as a function of the preponderance of modern imitations. The situation is compounded by the abundant historical and archaeological evidence attesting to the practice of counterfeiting in the Roman period.

A number of Roman laws, which evolved during the late years of the Republic, express the concern of the establishment with the practice of counterfeiting coinage.[221] The earliest such law, the *lex Cornelia de falsis* (c.81 BC) deals with the silver coinage, as the Republic had no gold currency at the time. This law established the severe punishment obtained by counterfeiting, which, depending on the social class of the perpetrator, included banishment or death.[222] The laws of the third century AD, preserved in Paul's *Sententiae* (3rd century AD) extend coverage against counterfeiting to include gold issues. The punishment for gold was more severe than for

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does includes some eastern evidence, but the bulk of is evidence is from Europe. R. Duncan-Jones, 'Empire-wide patterns in Roman coin hoards,' pp. 139-152 in C.E. King and D. G. Webb (edd) 1996: 144.

[220]O.W. Muscarella, 'Unexcavated objects and ancient Near Eastern art,' pp. 153-207 in L.D. Levine and T.C. Young, Jr. (edd) *Mountains and Lowlands: Essays in the Archaeology of Greater Mesopotamia*. Bibliotheca Mesopotamica, v. 7. Malibu: Undena Publications, 1977: 169.

[221]P. Grierson, 'The Roman law of counterfeiting,' pp. 240-261 in R.A.G. Carson and C.H.V. Sutherland, (edd) 1979.

[222]The original is lost, but the basic elements have been reconstructed from Ulpian's summary, *Libri de officio proconsulis*. Ibid.: 242-3.

silver; free men were conscribed to the beasts in the amphitheatre and slaves were crucified.[223] Throughout this period, there is no evidence that the counterfeiting of bronze was similarly censured.[224]

The laws suggest a hierarchy of values related to the intrinsic value of the coin.[225] Gold obtained the severest punishment, while counterfeiting bronze fails to even warrant inclusion.[226] The inception of laws against counterfeiting coincides with the first evidence for the manipulation of coinage by the state (turn of the second to the first century BC), indicating that the laws may have served to preserve the integrity of the Imperial stamp of value, which was based on the intrinsic value of the coin as regulated by the state.[227] Even in periods like the third century, where monetary exchange is effected with a fiduciary currency, the gold currency, protected from debasement by taboo until much later in the Empire, functions as an umbrella controlling the value of debased currency like the *antoniniani.*[228]

The archaeological record gives witness to the Roman concern for

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[223]Ibid.: 244.

[224]Ibid.: 244-5.

[225]This may also be reflected in the administrative structures regulating the minting of coin during the principate; Burnett argues different administrative structures governed the minting of silver and gold on one hand and bronze on the other. A.M. Burnett, 1977: 37-63.

[226]The prescription against counterfeiting, with a scale of severity proportional to the intrinsic value of the currency, continued through the later Empire (Theodosian Code, Book IX.21-23). The crime of counterfeiting became conflated with treason, for which the penalty was being burned alive. Especially during the later Roman empire, where the ruler also has divine attributes, the crime of counterfeiting was conflated with implications of blasphemy and sacrilege. P. Grierson, in R.A.G. Carson and C.H.V. Sutherland, (edd) 1979: 240.

[227]E. Lo Cascio, 'How did the Romans view their coinage,' pp. 273-287 in C.E. King and D.G. Wigg (edd), 1996.

[228]L.C. West, 'Ancient money and modern commentators,' *ANS* 6 (1954): 1-9.

counterfeiting expressed in law. The incidence of forgery in antiquity, combined with a high incidence of modern forgeries, further complicates the interpretation of unprovenanced coin finds. Contemporary Roman forgeries include plated and cast issues.[229] Particularly prolific during the third century were cast copies of *denarii.*[230] A second more predominant group of third century forgeries includes the 'barbarous radiates', noted above with respect to finds in western Anatolia.[231] As a group, contemporary counterfeits range from die struck copies nearly indistinguishable from 'official' products to tiny and nearly unrecognisable fractions of official currency.[232] The problem is particularly evident in the upheaval of the third century, when numerous usurpers established short-lived mints throughout the empire. One group, the early issues during the rule of the usurper Carausias (AD 286-93) in Britain, illustrates the difficulties of identifying 'legitimate' versus 'illegitimate' coinage.[233] Carausias' issues are generally characterised by their wide

[229]Although this distinction obscures important diversity in what are commonly designated contemporary forgeries. Moneyers may have been the major perpetrators of false coin yet, if they used their position to obtain authorised dies to produce coins in an unauthorised mint, the moneyer was guilty of theft *(peculatio)* and not counterfeiting, since the coins were struck in legal form, regardless of the weight of the coin and with the exception of gold, to which much more stringent restrictions applied. P. Grierson, in R.A.G. Carson and C.H.V. Sutherland, (edd) 1979: 246-7.

[230]These cluster during the reign of Septimius Severus through Maximinius I, and are probably linked to the introduction of the *antoninianus* in 238, which was overvalued at 2 *denarii* (its intrinsic value worth 1.5 *denarii*), thus making the *denarius* profitable to counterfeit. Other arguments suggest the rise in counterfeiting is due to shortage of coin. On the relationship between the *antoninianus* and the forgery of the *denarius*, see R.A.G. Carson, 1990:287-8 and on the probable relationship between shortage of coin and counterfeiting, see, P. Bastien, 'Imitations of Roman bronze coins,' *ANSMN* 30 (1985): 143-177.

[231]D. MacDonald found a large number at Aphrodisias; their presence is also attested in the Haydere hoard. D.J. MacDonald, 1974: 279-286.

[232]R.A.G. Carson, 1990: 287-88.

[233] Six recently published issues illustrates how the problems of coin hoards and the antiquities market interface. Of the six, only one is recorded as a site find; two were in a museum, one was in a private collection, one was in a hoard, and the present location of the last is unknown. These finds lead Besly to conclude that the 'image of Carausian silver as a small issue needs to be reconsidered,'; E. Besly, 'Carausian *denarii*: some new discoveries,' pp. 223-228 in M. Price, A. Burnett, and R. Bland, (edd) *Essays in honour of Robert Carson and Kenneth Jenkins.* London: Spink. 1993: 223-5.

circulation throughout Britain and their crudity, making them difficult to distinguish from barbarous copies.[234] The prevailing argument is that in the absence of a mint, Carausias recruited manufacturers of barbarous radiates (i.e. forgers) to mint his 'official coin'; however, given the greater legibility of some issues, elsewhere it is argued that the majority were contemporary forgeries.[235] These coin types provide an example of the 'ignorant die-engraver,' illustrated by the mixture of 'good' obverses with what are described as '*appallingly*' barbarous reverses, including a legend describing Mars, but depicting a female personification, such features being used to identify the forgeries.[236]

Contemporary counterfeiting of Roman coinage was endemic, and distinguishing these from modern imitations plagues much of numismatic study.[237] An excellent example of this stems from the issues of Jotapian, who led a revolt in Cappadocia, Cilicia, and Syria in AD 349. While the identification of the mint is controversial, some 20 issues remain, of which five are identified forgeries.[238] These forgeries were identified in 1871 as the product of the infamous 18th century Italian forger Luigi Cigoi, and currently form part of museum collections.[239] Luigi Cigoi is currently credited with 367

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[234]G.C. Boon, 'Counterfeit coins in Roman Britain,' in J. Casey and R. Reece (edd), 1974: 132-135; J.P.C. Kent, 'Carausias II--fact or fiction?' *NC* 117 (1957): 78ff.

[235]Cf. G.C. Boon in J. Casey and R. Reece (edd), 1974: 132-135; and R.A.G. Carson, 1990: 287-88.

[236]My italics. G.C. Boon, in J. Casey and R. Reece, (edd) 1974: 234.

[237]Endemic and epidemic refer by academic convention to relative intensities of contemporary forgery. Endemic denotes widespread and chronic incidence of forgery and epidemic denotes an exceptional geographic and chronological concentration of forgeries; C. King, 'Roman copies,' pp. 237-263 in C.E. King and D.G. Wigg (edd), 1996: 237, 245.

[238]R. Bland, 'The coinage of Jotapian,' pp. 191-206 in M. Price, A. Burnett, R. Bland (edd), 1993.

[239]Other forgers famous for their skill in deceiving scholars include Carl Wilhelm Becker (1772-1830); some 140 pairs of dies of his production have been identified, and examples have appeared in the British Museum Catalogue. R.A.G. Carson, 1990: 290. On

forgeries of coin types of the Roman Imperial period, and his products include die-produced imitations as well as altered originals.[240] While the history of modern forgery begins in the Renaissance in the general spirit of admiration for all things Greek and Roman, the history of deception begins just slightly later in the 18th century.[241] In the twentieth century however, advances in technology have complicated the identification of forgeries.[242] Given the extraordinary market value coins fetch, the likelihood of counterfeiting also increased during the later half of the twentieth century.

The position of Anatolia with respect to historically and archaeologically attested forgery is somewhat ambiguous. Typically, a geographical and chronological concentration of forgery is explained in terms of a shortage of legal tender, and is often correlated with the absence of local mints or the failure of the metal supply to Imperial mints, delaying distribution of coinage to the provinces.[243] In the absence of concrete knowledge regarding Imperial distribution and minting mechanisms, i.e. how coin was supplied to the provinces, this argument is problematic.[244] The effect of the termination of civic issues during the second half of the third century in Anatolia is difficult to measure but the almost simultaneous cessation of production of local mints in the region does suggest the possibility that the region may have been affected by a shortage of coin.

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the Cigoi forgeries of issues of Jotapian, see R. Bland in M. Price, A. Burnett, R. Bland (edd), 1993: 203-4.

[240]R.A.G. Carson, 1990: 290.

[241]The most famous group being the 'Paduans,' produced by Giovanni da Cavino (1500-70), most likely in the nature of an artistic endeavour and not intended as deceptions. A number of 'Paduans' have found their way into Roman coin collections. R.A.G. Carson, 1990: 289.

[242]R.A.G. Carson, 1990: 289.

[243]P. Bastien, 1985: 143.

[244]C. King, in C.E. King and D.G. Wigg (edd), 1996: 237.

A recent study notes the endemic nature of counterfeiting in the Roman Imperial period and the predominance of punch marks, suggesting false coin was rejected as soon as it was recognised. It is prevalent in frontier provinces in the west from the early imperial period, yet the first occurrence in the east does not date before the 4th century in Egypt, and it eventually attains a wide and dense geographic distribution.[245] King suggests it was impossible for these coins to deceive contemporary users; they must have been tolerated for limited periods as acceptable tender, perhaps in the absence of anything better.[246] On the other hand, confronted with the distribution of finds in those western provinces with a military presence, Anatolia, known to have seen a great deal of military activity in the third century, raises a number of questions.[247] Given the high frequency of forgeries in almost all of the western provinces during the third century, why is there a lack of observed incidence of such activity in Anatolia?[248] In the absence of archaeologically attested forgery, the widespread occurrence of such coins elsewhere may indicate that forgeries have not been identified in the past. In Anatolia, there is certainly evidence for the importation of third century 'barbarous radiates,' but again, the nature of the evidence affects the overall picture; the areas of concentrated production of forgeries in the third century are also the areas with the highest reportage of coin hoards.[249] The subjective qualities cited for the identification

[245]ibid.: 237, 245-7.

[246]ibid.: 237, 246.

[247]ibid.: 237, 244.

[248]As noted above, evidence from Great Britain and Gaul indicates epidemic rates of forgery. Forgery has also been noted in the province of Hispania, which interestingly enough correspond to periods where the supply of coinage appears to have been good. M. Abad, 'Currency circulation in Hispania from AD 284 to AD 395,' pp. 13-31 in C.E. King and D.G. Wigg (edd), 1996: 20.

[249]R. Bland and P. Aydemir, in C.S. Lightfoot (ed), 1991: 91-180; A. Burnett, 1987: 125-6; J.R. Clark, 1980: 455-460.

of both contemporary and modern forgeries in the absence of archaeological provenance does little to inspire confidence regarding the dearth of contemporary forgeries in Anatolia.

The evidence of widespread ancient and modern forgery noted above highlights the tendency to rely on subjective criteria in the determination of authenticity in the absence of archaeological provenance. This is to the detriment of the integrity of the corpus of coin finds, and potentially obscures the incidence of forgery in Anatolia, in itself a significant economic phenomenon.[250] The legibility of particular types often results in the tendency for scholars to interpret aspects of Roman culture and imperial policy in the iconography of coins without regard for the legibility of the iconography in the past.[251] In fact, valuation of ancient coins on the art market today in terms of their rarity, state of preservation, and type often finds a corollary in iconographic avenues of research in numismatic studies.[252] The comparative study of coinage has roots in the 17th century, and in the absence of a definitive statement from ancient writers, scholars rely on annalistic histories and the coins themselves.[253]

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[250] A. Burnett points out the first systematic treatment of the forgery of ancient coins during the Renaissance celebrates the artistic superiority of genuine coins over fakes. Coins were the most avidly collected artefact during this period and were central to the humanist conception and reconstruction of antiquity. The subjective qualities noted above as criteria for authenticating a coin likely stem from this formative period of numismatic study; A. Burnett, 'Coin faking in the Renaissance,' pp. 15-22 in M. Jones (ed), *Why fakes matter. Essays on problems of authenticity.* London: British Museum. 1992.

[251] As noted by A.H.M. Jones, perhaps coins issued during the third century compare well to modern postage stamps. A.H.M. Jones, in R.A.G. Carson and C.H.V. Sutherland (edd), 1979: 15.

[252] K. Butcher notes this corollary in *Roman Provincial Coins. An Introduction to the Greek Imperials.* London: Seaby. 1988: 40-41. This relationship has also been noted in relation to the lack of scholarly interest in provincial issues. J. Russel, 1999: 195-208.

[253] As Sutherland notes, the purpose of coinage probably did not elicit commentary from ancient historians because they were annalistic as opposed to analytical, as are modern historians. C.H.V. Sutherland, 'Compliment or Complement? Dr. Levick on Imperial Coin Types,' *NC* 146 (1986): 85. This article is a response to B. Levick, 'Propaganda and the Imperial Coinage,' *Antichthon* 16 (1982): 104-116, who synthesises the debate and

However, some evidence suggests the significant part of a coin for the 'average Joe' was nothing more than the mark of the issuing authority, as an indicator of the security of the currency as a medium of exchange. One example illustrates the point. A number of the *antoniniani* minted in Rome and Gaul during the later years of the reign of Valerian and Gallienus (253-60) indicate errors in the assignation of the number of consulships held per emperor as known from literary evidence.[254] Similar errors are noted in epigraphic evidence for the period, and one investigator is left to argue only that the errors are irreconcilable and with respect to the coin evidence, are too abundant to attribute to die-engraving error.[255] This suggests that the more significant political and historical evidence available to the numismatic historian, or the details of interest to the modern collector, may not have been so significant in the past. As one ancient commentator noted: 'the value [of a coin] was at first measured by size and weight, but in the course of time men put a stamp on it, to save the trouble of weighing and to mark the value.'[256] Other ancient commentators remark that a coin of Nero could be rejected as rotten, while one of Trajan was accepted despite the fact that the coin of Nero was intrinsically more valuable.[257] Another anecdote, from John of Ephesus, suggests that the subtleties modern scholars attribute to ancient coins may not

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cites the relevant literature. On the genesis of comparative coin studies, see R.A.G. Carson, 1995: xi.

[254]C.E. King, 'Dated Issues of Valerian and Gallienus from the mint of Rome, AD 253-60,' pp. 207-222 in M. Price, A. Burnett, R. Bland (edd), 1993.

[255]ibid.: 208-210, 213.

[256]While Aristotle's comment is distinctly removed chronologically from the questions posed by Roman Imperial coinage, a number of scholars argue for the continuity of a Graeco-Roman 'idiom' in coin types. Aristotle, *Politics* i. 9.8, cited in C.H.V Sutherland, 1986: 85. On the origins and continuity of coin types, see A. Burnett, 1987: 1-16; C. Howgego, *Ancient History from Coins*, London and New York: Routledge. 1995: 67-70.

[257]Arrian, *Epictet.* IV, 5, 17; quoted from M. Crawford, 1970: 40-48; p.47.

have been understood because, in the sixth century, the Christian public mistook the personification of Constantinople on the *solidi* as a figure of Aphrodite.[258]

Sutherland argues a reasonable view; the iconography of coins was unintelligible to the average Roman citizen, who was more concerned with its economic role, as guaranteed by the imperial stamp of value.[259] Coin types were likely controlled by regional high level magistrates of the Empire, and the intelligibility of iconography varied with province and social class. He argues that the iconography of coin types, in so far as it was legible, was largely directed towards the maintenance of the Imperial power base with the Roman Army, and as a reminder to the Senate of where Imperial power lay. The greater amount of information and design evident in gold and silver issues corroborates this as these were more likely to circulate in socially elite classes with higher levels of education and often employed directly by the state.[260] Yet a number of studies argue convincingly in support of the integration of coinage in the Roman economy (i.e. its widespread use), suggesting coins may have served well as a vehicle for propaganda as a transaction interface between individuals of all levels of society.[261] The reading of imperial policy writ large in coins has merit. But when contextualised with other contemporaneous and historically attested expressions of imperial policy, it is

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[258]iii.14 (p.192 in R. Payne Smith, *Ecclesiastical History of John, Bishop of Ephesus*) cited in A.H.M. Jones, in R.A. G. Carson and C.H.V. Sutherland, (edd) 1979: 15.

[259]The administration of Roman coinage, both in terms of the selection of types and the distribution of coinage, as well as its role in the economy is highly controversial. See A.H.M. Jones, in R.A.G. Carson and C.H.V. Sutherland (edd), 1979: 13-33.

[260]C.H.V. Sutherland, 'The intelligibility of Roman Imperial coin types,' *JRS* 49 (1959): 46-55, and C.H.V. Sutherland, 1986: 85-93.

[261] On the integration of coinage in the Roman economy at all socio-economic levels, see M. Crawford, 1970: 40-48 and C. Howgego, 'Coin circulation and the integration of the Roman economy,' *JRA* 7(1994): 1-21. On the resulting efficacy of gold and silver issues as expressions of imperial policy, see C. Howgego, 1995: 22.

evident the iconography of coinage ranks below more grandiose statements, namely the manifestation of imperial policy in building and sculptural programs, and in the provision of the *plebs urbana* and the poorer *cives* with *panis et circenses.*[262]

The composite picture presented by undocumented excavation and forgery of coins fuelled by the antiquities market clearly skews the archaeological understanding of the role of coinage during the third century AD. This trend is, in fact, exacerbated by the legal and moral atmosphere proscribing trade in antiquities, which reduces the likelihood that a coin hoard will reach the antiquities market intact. In order to avoid the attention a large assemblage of coins draws, finders divide the lot and slowly release the coins onto the market.[263] The severity of the situation is a function of the astronomical increase in the price a single coin fetches on the antiquities market in the west. Until the 1960s, the market in ancient coins consisted of a limited audience of serious collectors, and ancient coins were in fact low-valued compared to modern coins. Since then, the market has radically recalibrated because coin collecting appeals to a much broader audience. Today, prices vary with the of rarity of the type and its legibility, and common issues of Hadrian in good condition fetch a price of $400 whereas a Roman gold coin of Diadumenianus (AD 217-218) can sell for $75,000.[264] This change in value means dealers of coins today rarely show sincere interest in the significance of a coin.[265] The profit to be made in this market results in the

[262]A. Burnett, 1987: 69 and C.H.V. Sutherland, 1986: 90.

[263]A. Walker, 'The coin market versus the numismatist, archaeologist and art historian,' *JFA* 4 (1977): 255-258.

[264]ibid.: 256.

[265]This includes the tendency to falsify or completely fabricate a provenance for an artefact. This practice becomes particularly problematic when, as in Roman Anatolia, a number of cities shared the same name, eg. Caesarea; O.W. Muscarella, '"Ziwiye" and Ziwiye: the forgery of a provenience," *JFA* 4 (1977): 197-219.

commoditisation of ancient coins, which in turn, means a majority of dealers and collectors view coins as an investment.[266] The picture presented by the commoditisation of ancient coins and the tendency to obscure major finds to avoid unwanted legal attention bodes poorly for the student of coin hoards.[267] As no embargo on a coin hoard is possible under the current American implementation of the 1970 UNESCO agreement, and as the American market is one of the largest, the prospect of a solution seems slim.[268]

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[266]K.D. Vitelli, 'The Antiquities Market,' *JFA* 7 (1980): 455-6.

[267]A group of coins may have a significant clustering that is identified and reconstructed after it hits the market as a hoard, but may not in fact be 'true hoards.' Incorrect designations of 'hoards' are common even with groups of coins found in archaeological context. This is illustrated by the 'geschlossene Fundemasse' uncovered in a water pipe in the Roman baths at Ankara. C. Foss, 'Late antique and Byzantine Ankara,' *DOP* 31 (1977): 29-87, suggests the coin assemblage is a hoard (note 145, p. 63). M. Arslan notes the coins were an accumulation of six centuries, 'Greek and Greek Imperial coins found during the Çankırıkapı Excavations at Ankara,' pp. 107-114 in R. Ashton, 1996: 107.

[268]Vitelli notes the reasons for this: "We had to grant that the inclusion of coins in any eventual embargo presented severe difficulties from the point of view of enforcement: coins circulated widely in antiquity, as today. Proving an archaeological provenance, vs. a place of manufacture, for any coin is practically impossible, yet essential for the terms of an embargo. The size and portability of coins makes them very easy to slip past a customs officer," K.D. Vitelli, 1980: 455.

Chapter Three

Mosaics: the Dionysus and Ariadne mosaic at Zeugma and the mosaics of Antioch

The recent publication of research at the site of Zeugma provides an opportunity to assess the implications of undocumented excavation for the study of Roman mosaic pavements.[269] First, this chapter will review the circumstances of rediscovery of the mosaics and the subsequent rescue excavations at the site. Second, two mosaics from Zeugma and their published comparanda from Antioch are selected to assess the ways undocumented excavation affects both the iconographic interpretation of mosaics and the study of mosaic workshops.[270] Finally, the undocumented excavation of mosaic pavements is argued to reflect a modern esteem for craft and craftsman at odds with the status of mosaics and mosaicists in the Roman period.

Zeugma is located near the modern town of Belkis, close to the border between Turkey and Syria, and in ancient times consisted of twin cities, Apamea and Seleucia, on opposite banks of the Euphrates river.[271] Founded by Seleucus Nicator I during the Hellenistic period, Zeugma grew in

[269]D. Kennedy (ed), *The twin towns of Zeugma on the Euphrates. Rescue work and historical studies.* JRA Supplement 27 (1998).

[270]Discussion will focus on the so-called 'Wedding of Dionysus and Ariadne' and a geometric mosaic, published in S. Campbell and R. Ergeç with E. Csapo 'New mosaics,' pp. 109-128 in D.Kennedy (ed), 1998.

[271]D. Kennedy and J. Kennedy, 'The twin towns and the region,' pp. 31-60 in D. Kennedy (ed), 1998: 31-33.

significance during the Roman period when the city minted its own coinage and became one of three long-term legionary sites in Roman Syria.[272] The city, at an estimated 100 hectares, rivals the size of urban centres like Antioch and Rome.[273] Undocumented excavation at Zeugma came to the attention of excavators when conducting rescue work at the site in the face of its flooding by the Birecik Dam, part of the Southeast Anatolia Development Project (GAP).[274]

The pace of undocumented excavation was observed to increase as the project encroached the site.[275] The Valley of the Mosaics, so-called due to the history of mosaic finds attested by local residents, is located north and slightly east of the ancient urban center of Seleucia on the west bank of the Euphrates. It included the digging of a tunnel three meters deep and 0.7 meters in diameter which had exposed the remains of a structure with mosaic pavements. The site was then subjected to a salvage excavation under the auspices of the Gaziantep Museum and it is the mosaics located in this

[272]Coins from Zeugma have been identified in private collections and on the antiquities market. One of the other three legionary sites, Samosata, has already been flooded. This site would likely have provided useful comparative material, of which there is a notable dearth, for studies of Zeugma. Despite some work at the site, the residential quarters were archaeologically unexplored prior to flooding. See M.Arslan, 'A hoard of coins of Zeugma and Antioch from the mid-third century AD.' pp. 47-48 and 'A small collection from Gaziantep,' pp. 151-3 in R. Ashton (ed), 1996. On Samosata, see D. Kennedy, 'Zeugma, the South-East Anatolia Development Project, and fieldwork on the Turkish lower Euphrates' pp. 11-18 in D. Kennedy (ed), 1998: 17, with references.

[273]D. Kennedy and P. Freeman, 'Rescue excavations (1993),' pp. 60-79 in D. Kennedy (ed), 1998: 61.

[274]D. Kennedy, 'Zeugma, the South-East Anatolia Development Project, and fieldwork on the Turkish lower Euphrates' pp. 11-18 in D. Kennedy (ed), 1998: 13-16.

[275]D. Kennedy, 'Preface', in D. Kennedy (ed), 1998: 7.

structure, the 'Ergeç villa,' which form the central focus of this discussion.[276]

The course of the robber tunnel cut due north through the structure, which was dated to the first century AD and abandoned after a fire during the third century.[277] The plan (roughly 20m square) centres on a peristyle court with a cistern and featured a pitched, tile roof (Plate 13).[278] A vaulted corridor with fresco decoration due west of the peristyle housed a figured mosaic pavement (7m x 3.5m, in area 2 of the plan, Plate 13).[279] Damage to the figured mosaic in this area indicated the robbers' attempt to poach a large segment of the central panel (Plate 15), but the base of the mosaic saved it from theft as it lay on a thin mortar layer above the limestone substrate, so that the mosaic collapsed upon cutting.[280] This allowed the excavators to uncover

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[276]The designation of this site as a villa warrants comment. In conventional nomenclature, 'villa' suggests a suburban or rural location and may denote an economic function. In this case, survey teams are unable to delineate precisely the location of the walls of Seleucia on the west bank, and the area around the structure is unexcavated. For this reason, the 'Ergeç villa' will be referred to as the 'Ergeç house' throughout the remainder of this paper. On the wall circuit at Zeugma, see C. Abadie-Reynal "Mission archéologique de Zeugma. Rapport sur la campagne de prospection 1995," *Anatolia Antiqua* 4 (1996): 311-24. On the term 'villa,' see the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1972: 1121. The site was excavated in three seasons (1992-94). Results were initially published in R. Ergeç, "Belkis/Zeugma Mozaik Kurtarma Kazısı 1992," *IV Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Semineri 26-29 Nisan 1993, Marmaris*: 321-327 and "1993-94 Belkis/Zeugma Kurtarma Kazıları," *VI Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Semineri, 24-26 Nisan 1995, Didim*: 357-69. Ergeç's finds have been synthesised and republished in R. Ergeç, 'Rescue excavations by the Gaziantep Museum (1992-94)' pp. 81-91 in D. Kennedy (ed), 1998.

[277]R. Ergeç in D. Kennedy (ed), 1998: 81, 89.

[278]The Aegean style plan (inward facing with peristyle and pitched, tiled roof) finds parallels at Palmyra. Only the areas immediately adjacent to the peristyle were excavated, so the full extent of the plan is unknown. On the extent of excavation, see R. Ergeç in D. Kennedy (ed), 1998: 81-87. On architectural parallels, see D. Kennedy and J. Kennedy in D. Kennedy (ed), 1998: 38-39.

[279]On the structural context of the figured mosaic, see R. Ergeç in D. Kennedy (ed), 1998: 83. On the dimensions of the mosaic, see S. Campbell, et al. in D. Kennedy (ed), 1998: 117.

[280]Other mosaics at Zeugma are set on a thick mortar base, which allows robbers to remove large sections with ease. R. Ergeç in D. Kennedy (ed), 1998: 88.

the entire, albeit damaged, pavement. The fragility of the pavement bed, however, caused the excavators to conserve the mosaic *in situ*, which ironically resulted in the later successful theft of parts of the mosaic.[281] In addition, a geometric mosaic with a central six-point rosette (5.4m x 4.9m), paved the floor of a painted and plastered triclinium located adjacent to and due west of the figured mosaic (area 3 in the plan, Plate 13; the mosaic is shown in Plate 16).[282] This area was exposed only by the rescue excavations and was undisturbed by undocumented excavation.

The figured mosaic features a symmetrical composition of ten figures framed by geometric bands of 3-strand guilloche and adjacent bands of wave-crests and quatrefoils. The two central, crowned figures, identified as Dionysus and Ariadne, recline on a *kline*, flanked by servants and musicians. The composition and the archaeological context suggest a late second or early third century AD date for the mosaic, and the scene has been argued to depict the wedding of Dionysus and Ariadne.[283] The unauthorised excavators attempted to remove this central scene of Dionysus and Ariadne; the pavement was cut vertically between the fourth and fifth figures of the composition, and continued horizontally over the fifth and sixth figures. As a result, the head of the first female figure to the right of the *kline*, part of Ariadne's left leg and arm, the arm of the first female figure to the left of the *kline,* and part of the

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[281]Doole, J. 'In the news,' *Culture without Context* 4 (Spring 1999): http://www-mcdonald.arch.cam.ac.uk/IARC/CWOC/issue4.

[282]On the structural context of the figured mosaic, see R. Ergeç in D. Kennedy (ed), 1998: 83-85; on the dimensions of the mosaic, see S. Campbell, et al. in D. Kennedy (ed), 1998: 118.

[283]S. Campbell, et al. in D. Kennedy (ed), 1998: 109-115.

geometric border were all lost.[284]

While the identification of the central figures as Dionysus and Ariadne is corroborated by a number of parallels in extant mosaics, the overall composition, if its interpretation as the wedding of Dionysus and Ariadne is accepted, is unique.[285] The wedding scene interpretation is based on the celebratory atmosphere of the composition, and the presence of flautists, a torchbearer, and a gift bearer.[286] Such an atmosphere and figures are not inconsistent with symposiastic scenes featuring Dionysus and Ariadne in general.[287] Similarly, in this interpretation, the jewellery presented by the gift-bearer to Ariadne may be seen as a wedding gift; however, the tradition of gift-giving *(xenia)* is iconographically better attested as an aspect of hospitality, and more fitting given the structural context of this mosaic in the vestibule leading to the triclinium.[288] Ultimately, the identification of the scene as a wedding hinges upon the nature of the object held by the girl to the left of the *kline*. If it is a veil, the wedding is Hellenic, if it is a spindle, it is

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[284]R. Ergeç in D. Kennedy (ed), 1998: 88.

[285]A scene depicting Ariadne and Dionysus reclining on a *kline*, but not argued to represent a wedding was found at Philippopolis. S. Campbell, et al. in D. Kennedy (ed), 1998: 116. Dionysus and Ariadne also figure in mosaics at Thuburbo Maius and Lambaesis in North Africa; C. Kondoleon, 1995: 236-7, 250.

[286]S. Campbell, et al., in D. Kennedy (ed), 1998: 116.

[287]Musicians and torchbearers pepper Dionysiastic scenes in both mosaics and sarcophagi; C. Kondoleon, 1995: 191-229.

[288]Contra S. Campbell, who suggests the area leads to a bedroom; this is the adjacent area with a geometric pavement discussed above. The publication of the house elsewhere in the same volume clearly indicates it functioned as a triclinium. *Xenia* included gifts of items as diverse as tableware, mirrors, writing instruments, and hair and jewelry items. See C. Kondoleon, 1995: 130. On the identification of the triclinium, see D. Kennedy and J. Kennedy in D. Kennedy (ed), 1998: 38-9.

Roman.[289] Unfortunately, the undocumented excavation noted above resulted in the complete loss of the salient object (Plate 15). While the wedding scene interpretation is tenuous at best, the patron of the house is nonetheless celebrated by modern commentators for his taste in selecting an imitation of a famous but currently unknown Hellenistic painting to decorate his house, despite the rarity of these scenes in the Roman mosaic repertoire.[290]

The hermeneutics of allegorical interpretation are well known. Scholars often stretch the limits of reasonable argument and notions of client/artist relationships in the effort to prove the iconographic significance and thematic unity of mosaic pavements.[291] The scene, in this case, is interpreted as a wedding despite the damage to the central figures, which resulted in the destruction of critical evidence. The weakness of this argument is compounded by its emphasis on the relationship of the mosaic composition to an "unknown" Hellenistic painting, and reflects a common preoccupation of classical archaeologists with Hellenistic antecedents in the interpretation of Roman period material culture.[292]

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[289]S. Campbell, et al., in D. Kennedy (ed), 1998: 116. Although veils played a role in both Greek and Roman wedding ceremonies; in the Roman ceremony the bride wore a flame-coloured veil. The colour of Ariadne's veil is more yellow. *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 1974: 'Marriage Ceremonies,' p. 650-1.

[290]S. Campbell, et al., in D. Kennedy (ed), 1998: 116.

[291]C. Kondoleon discusses the 'hermeneutic' arguments regarding iconography of a number of Roman houses, one of which includes a discussion finding symbols of marriage in every single motif in a house in Tunisia. C. Kondoleon, 1995: 322-3.

[292]G.M.A. Hanfmann wrote that most of the mosaics from Antioch are copies of Bellenistic paintings, despite the fact that none date before the first century AD. As D. Levi noted slightly later, 'not one of the mosaics discovered [at Antioch] can be attributed to the Hellenistic period, which, however, left us remarkable ruins of its buildings.' G.M.A. Hanfmann, 'Notes on the mosaics from Antioch,' *AJA* 43 (1939): 229-46; D. Levi, *Mosaics of Antioch*. Princeton: Princeton University. 1947: 2. And on the preoccupation of classical archaeologists with Hellenic antecedents, see I. Morris, 'Introduction', pp. 3-7, and

This has important relevance to an objective assessment of the mosaic. To begin with, the mosaic technique is archaeologically unattested in the eastern Anatolia and Syria until the first century AD, and so any argument for a relationship between mosaic pavements of the Roman period and earlier Hellenistic works, now lost, stretches credulity.[293]

Alternatively, a number of recent studies illustrate the utility of mosaic pavements as a vehicle for the interpretation of social contexts.[294]

> In other words, the decoration of Roman domestic interiors can reveal certain aspects of Roman social realities. The decoration of privileged spaces, that is, the luxuriously appointed town houses and villas throughout the Mediterranean, reflects, in some of their more uncommon compositions, public and private events sponsored by and directly connected to the interests and activities of the

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'Archaeologies of Greece,' pp. 8-47 in I. Morris, (ed),. *Classical Greece. Ancient histories. and modern archaeologies.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1994.

[293]Although tessellated mosaics dating from the second century BC have been found at Delos. Further, if copy books were used, this does raise the likelihood that the mosaic could have a Hellenistic antecedent (see below, note 329). The cessation of production of mosaics at the site appears to coincide with the departure of the legion. See J. Wagner, *Seleukia am Euphrat/Zeugma* Beihefte TAVO B10, Wiesbaden, 1976: 100-107; and on the first century AD as the beginning of mosaic production, see K. Dunbabin, 'Roman and Byzantine mosaics in the eastern Mediterranean,' *JRA* 2 (1989): 315, and J. Balty, 'La mosaïque antique au Proche-Orient. I. Des origines à la Tétrarchie,' *ANRW* II 12.2 (1981): 348-429.

[294]K. Dunbabin suggests, '...we do not have to deal-as we do with media such as silverware-with objects that could migrate from one side of the Empire to the other. They therefore offer as promising a base as one might hope to find from which to measure the absorption of Greaco-Roman visual culture in regions to which it was originally foreign,' in K. Dunbabin, 'Tessellated texts,' *JRA* 12 (1999): 642. It is important to bear in mind mosaic pavements do indeed 'migrate' as a result of undocumented excavation fuelled by profits gained in the antiquities market. See also S. Scott, 'Symbols of power and nature: the Orpheus mosaics of fourth century Britain and their architectural contexts, ' pp. 105-123 in P. Rush, (ed), *Theoretical Roman Archaeology. Second conference proceedings.* Ipswich, Suffolk: Ipswich Book Co., Ltd. 1995; C. Kondoleon, 'Signs of Privilege and Pleasure: Roman Domestic Mosaics,' pp. 105-116 in E. Gazda, (ed), *Roman Art in the Private Sphere.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan. 1991.

patrons.[295]

As one of three long term military bases in Syria, the *legio IIII Scythica* used Zeugma as its main base for the period between AD 66 and AD 249. This suggests a possible relationship between the evolution of a local social elite *vis-á-vis* an increased Roman military presence at the site, which roughly coincides with the appearance of elaborate mosaic pavements in the region.[296]

The evidence from the site supports the possibility of such a relationship; a number of small finds were found in association with the 'Ergeç house'. These included a Roman military dagger, a sword, and fragments of Roman scale armour. All date to the late second or early third century.[297] Finds of military equipment are extremely rare outside of abandoned military sites and forts, and the penalties for loss or sale of such equipment were severe.[298] The rarity of such finds in domestic contexts suggests a possible relationship between the epigraphically attested Roman

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[295] C. Kondoleon, in E. Gazda (ed), 1991: 105. Zeugma is not a Mediterranean site; however, the architecture of the domestic quarter under consideration here shows closer affinities with Aegean-style tile roof houses with peristyles than with the flat-roofed, mudbrick Mesopotamian variety. That the observed affinity of Zeugma houses to Aegean types may reflect vagaries of survival or the tendency for researchers to focus on visible structures in wealthier sectors of the ancient city, does not change the applicability of Kondoleon's argument.

[296] J. Wagner's identification of Belkis and Tilmusa as Zeugma rests on a series of arguments, the most significant of which was based on a series of roof-tiles stamped with the name of the *Legio IIII Scythica*. The fortress remains unidentified and the date of the departure of the legion is uncertain; the period may be extended to 298/299-301. On the presence of the legion at the site, see J. Wagner, 1976: 135-146. On the date of departure of the legion, see M.A. Speidel, '*Legio IIII Scythica*, its movements and men,' pp. 163-204 in D. Kennedy (ed), 1998: 168, 175-176.

[297] D. Kennedy, (ed), 'Miscellaneous artefacts,' pp. 129-138 in D.Kennedy (ed), 1998: 88, 137.

[298] H. Elton, 'The study of Roman military equipment," *JRA* 7 (1994): 491-495.

military presence during this period and residents of this domestic quarter.[299] More compelling evidence for such a relationship is provided by a figured mosaic panel located on a terrace immediately upslope from the 'Ergeç house'.[300] The figured panel, although badly damaged, preserved the name *ΤΕΛΕΓΕ*. A grave stele inscribed with the name Flavius Telegonos has also been identified at the site.[301] The gravestone is the only testament to a soldier of *legio IIII Scythica* found at the site to date. Excavators recently associated the two finds, which are both dated stylistically to the late second or early third centuries AD.[302]

Recruitment patterns during the second and third century AD indicate the Roman legionary recruitment relied increasingly on local populations during the second and third centuries AD.[303] The Graeco-Macedonians, descendants of the original colonists of the site, served as community leaders and as officers, suggesting a degree of interpenetration between social elite

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[299] N.Pollard makes such an argument for the military forces stationed at Dura-Europos and its civilian population in light of papyrus documents and epigraphic evidence. 'The Roman Army as 'total institution' in the Near East? Dura Europos as a case study,' in *The Roman Army in the East*, JRA Supplement 18(1996): 211-227.

[300] R. Ergeç in D. Kennedy (ed), 1998: 89.

[301] J. Wagner, 1976: 135-6.

[302] M.P Speidel, "Appendix III: A soldier of *Legio IIII Scythica* from Zeugma," pp. 203-204 in D. Kennedy, (ed), 1998: 204. On the date of stele, Skupinska-Løvset, I. (1985) "Funerary portraiture of Seleukia-on-the-Euphrates,"*ActaArch* 56: 101-29.

[303] Prosopographic studies must be used cautiously; language is not always an accurate indicator of ethnicity. The dichotomy imposed here between Graeco-Macedonian and Mesopotamian ethnicities is a truism still widely accepted in studies of the Roman Near East. See E. Dabrowa, 'The commanders of Syrian legions (1st to 3rd c. AD),' in D.Kennedy (ed), 1996: 277-296; H. Devijver, 'Equestrian officers in the east,' pp. 77-111 in D. H. French and C.S. Lightfoot (edd), *The eastern frontier of the Roman Empire*. BAR 553(i). British Institute of Archaeology Monograph 11. Ankara: British Institute of Archaeology, 1989; J.C. Mann, *Legionary recruitment and veteran settlement during the Principate*. Institute of Archaeology Occasional Publication 7. London: University of London. 1983: 145-6.

and the Roman military.[304] For example, at Dura-Europus, a papyrus mentions one Julius Antiochus, who served with the *legio IIII Scythica*. His cognomen and unit suggest a Graeco-Seleucid origin at one of the cities of North Syria. His nomen also suggests he may have come from a family established with Roman citizenship by one of the Julio-Claudian emperors.[305] A tombstone of a veteran of this same legion has been identified in the Antakya region, indicating the possibility of veteran retirement in this area, but as the gravestone was confiscated from antiquities dealers, no secure provenance could be ascertained.[306]

This evidence suggests the Dionysus and Ariadne mosaic, particularly in the variety of Greek, Roman, and eastern attire of the figures, may reflect a process of social change precipitated at the site by the presence of the Roman legion.[307] As K. Dunbabin remarks,

> 'Often the selection of figural themes and their placement--primarily in the *triclinia*, peristyles and gardens--were determined by long-established decorative traditions; however, the introduction and institutionalisation of these compositions

[304] A text at Dura-Europos mentions a Heliodoros who served in *legio IIII Scythica*. See N. Pollard in D. Kennedy (ed), 1996: 216.

[305]ibid.: 216, 219.

[306]J. C. Mann also notes an increase in veteran settlement during the second and third centuries in the eastern provinces; J.C. Mann, 1983: 151. On the tombstone of a veteran of *legio IIII Scythica*, see M.P. Speidel in D. Kennedy (ed), 1998: 204.

[307]This is also noted in the funerary sculpture and in epigraphic evidence from the region. The funerary sculpture of this type ceases at roughly the same time as mosaic production, coinciding with the departure of the legion. On the correlations of Zeugma funerary sculpture iconographically and epigraphically to both a broader tradition of Roman portraiture and to regional characteristics, see I. Skupinska-Løvset *Funerary portraiture of Roman Palestine. An analysis of the production in its culture-historical context.* Gothenburg: Paul Åstroms, 1983: 326-328. On the cessation of funerary sculpture, see J. Wagner, 1976: 100-107. For a similar pattern is noted in the ceramic record of the region, see L. Zuroğlu, 'Some Roman names in Greek on eastern sigillata A from Samosata,' pp/ 573-9 in D. H. French and C.S. Lightfoot (edd), 1989.

was a projection of interests and tastes inextricably tied to the process of Romanisation,'[308]

The mosaics and the military finds associated with the 'Ergeç house' and its vicinity suggest the house may have been located in a socially elite residential quarter that included homes for retired or active-duty and high ranking members of the Roman army, reflecting a degree of integration between the resident legion and the social elite in the city of Zeugma.[309] This evidence for a relationship between the evolution of a local social elite *vis-á-vis* an increased Roman military presence at Zeugma, coinciding roughly with the appearance of elaborate mosaic pavements, suggests an emphasis on Hellenistic antecedents which obscures the utility of mosaic pavements for the interpretation of social change in the Roman period.[310]

The extant mosaics at Zeugma also constitute significant additions to the corpus of mosaics in southern Anatolia and northern Syria that have been studied in terms of their production by various local workshops.[311] Geometric

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[308]C. Kondoleon, E. Gazda (ed), 1991: 105.

[309]The closest parallel composition for the Dionysus and Ariadne mosaic, excavated in Georgia, may reflect a similar process where the appearance of figured mosaics in this region may be linked to acculturation. On the parallel from Georgia, see S. Campbell, in D.Kennedy, (ed), 1998: 115, with references, and O. Lordkipanidse, *Archäologie in Georgien. Von der Altsteinzeit zum Mittelalter.* Weinheim: VCH, Acta Humaniora, 1991: 170-3, plate 44. On the movements of eastern legions in the East, see D.Kennedy, 'The Roman army in the East,' pp. 9-24 in D. Kennedy (ed), 1996.

[310] The coincidence of the arrival of the legion and contemporaneous changes in material culture argues for a relationship between these factors, however explaining change in material culture in terms of 'Romanization', requires caution. R. Laurence observes, "key to any understanding of cultural identity within the Roman Empire is a clear conception of how the Romans viewed themselves and what made them distinctly *Roman*. This has been seen to be problematic...'Roman' does not refer to a person's ethnicity, nation, linguistic group, or common descent, but refers directly to a common citizenship,' in 'Introduction,' pp. 1-9 in R. Laurence and J. Berry (edd), *Cultural identity in the Roman Empire*. London and New York: Routledge. 1998: 2.

[311]S. Campbell, "Roman mosaic workshops in Turkey" *AJA* 83 (1979): 287-292.

borders of mosaic panels form the linchpin for such studies; the repetitive elements of geometric bands are argued to reflect the idiosyncrasies of individual workshops.[312] These studies are significant with respect to the discussion of the Zeugma mosaics here because the removal of the valuable central figured panels of mosaic pavements can result in the loss of the surrounding geometric bands.

The mosaics of Antioch serve as the anchor for mosaic studies of this kind in the Near East, and provide the majority of the published comparanda for the mosaics from Zeugma.[313] Unfortunately, the unmanageable manner of the publication of these mosaics has been noted, and elicited some comment to the effect that scholars rarely consult the text, referring rather to the summary chronological table at the rear.[314] This has been partially remedied by S. Campbell in *Mosaics of Antioch*, where she synthesises archaeological evidence in the excavation reports with the mosaic studies by D. Levi.

As Campbell's publication illustrates, the mosaics of Antioch form a

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[312]Ibid.: 287.

[313]No corpus of mosaic pavements in the eastern Mediteranean fails to incorporate comparanda from Antioch. K. Dunbabin, 1989: 313-314. Specific examples include C. Kondoleon, *Domestic and Divine: Roman mosaics in the House of Dionysos.* Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University. 1995; S. Campbell *The Mosaics of Aphrodisias in Caria.* Subsidia Mediaevalia 18. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies 1991; W. Jobst, *Romische Mosaiken aus Ephesos I, Die Hanghauser des Embolos. Corpus der antiken Mosaiken in der Turkei I.* (Forschungen in Ephesos 8). Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. 1977; L. Budde, *Antike Mosaiken in Kilikien I and II* Recklinghausen: Aurel Bongers. 1972.

[314]The difficulties with the publication by D. Levi, *Mosaics of Antioch* (Princeton: Princeton University. 1947) have been noted by K. Dunbabin, 1989: 313, and S. Campbell, 1988: xiii.

highly questionable foundation for mosaic studies in this region.[315] The majority of the Antioch mosaics come from poor archaeological context, few being dated independently, the majority being dated stylistically. Moreover, studies recently show the provincial and localised nature of mosaic production, yet the majority of Levi's comparanda stem from stylistic comparisons with Cilicia or further afield.[316]

In fact, the history of the excavations at Antioch reveals something about the way the modern context of archaeological research conditioned the resulting 'archaeological' evidence. One series of excavations at the site took place during the 1930s as a joint project initiated by Princeton University, the Baltimore Museum of Art and the Worcester Art Museum. One of the primary stated goals of the project, in addition to the interest in a large-scale Graeco-Roman urban center of the late Roman Empire unencumbered by later development, was the acquisition of major archaeological treasures.[317] This was facilitated because, at the time, the site of Antioch was part of the French mandate in Syria, allowing for the legal expatriation of antiquities to the United States.[318]

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[315]"Too often in the past Antioch has been used as comparative material for stylistic dating when it has not been clear whether the example chosen was dated by archaeological evidence. As a result, stylistic dating has frequently been two or three generations removed from a firm contextual date," in S. Campbell, *Mosaics of Antioch.* Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. 1988: xiii.

[316]K. Dunbabin, 1989: 314.

[317]C. R. Morey, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, v.1. Princeton: Princeton University. 1934: 7.

[318]S.L. Dyson, *Ancient Marbles to American Shores.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1998: 167-8. For a brief history of the development of American collections see also C.C. Vermeule, *Greek and Roman sculpture in America.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California. 1981: 11-23.

The ensuing haphazard allotment of spoils resulted in the partitioning of pavements between the foreign sponsors of the project and the local museum. Rarely was the integrity of an assemblage maintained; the panels from particular rooms were divided between the constituent parties, as were groups of pavements from single structures. The report compiled by Campbell reflects the result; documentary photographs are poor, rarely encompassing the entire panels and in many cases it is impossible to reconstruct the relationship between different panels of the same composition or their relation to their architectural context. In many cases, the current location of a piece is unknown. Campbell also notes the agricultural and urban development at Antakya most likely resulted in the destruction of any mosaics left *in situ* and not protected.[319]

Some of the closest parallels quoted for the mosaics at Zeugma stem from Antioch.[320] The geometric mosaic of the triclinium in the 'Ergeç house' and the figured mosaic from the peristyle at 'House D' at Zeugma both feature a two-strand guilloche flanked by stepped pyramids (Plates 14, 16, 17).[321] This

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[319]See S. Campbell's comments in the 'Preface,' and in the catalogue; S.Campbell, 1988.

[320]S. Campbell, et al. in D. Kennedy (ed), 1998: 115-118, 121-2.

[321]The central figured panel from the mosaic at 'House D' had been removed; the geometric pavement was all that remained *in situ*. Enough remained however, to suggest a match with the figured panel in a private collection, currently on loan to the Rice University Museum in Houston, TX. The scene, identified by a mosaic inscription, represents one of four extant mosaics depicting scenes from ancient novels. This identifcation problematises S. Campbell's proposed link for this panel to an earlier Hellenistic painting, as with the Dionysus and Ariadne mosaic, in that the novel depicted here (unequivocally a reference due to the labelling of the figures) does not date prior to the first century AD. See S. Campbell, et al., pp. 124-127 in D. Kennedy (ed), 1998. On the link to a Hellenistic painting, see S. Campbell, et al., pp. 109-128 in D. Kennedy (ed), 1998: 122.

pattern finds a number of parallels at Antioch, as does the three-strand guilloche flanked by wave-crest characterising the Dionysus and Ariadne.[322]

The history and condition of three of the six published border comparanda for both the geometric mosaic from the triclinium in the 'Ergeç house' and the mosaic of 'House D' at Zeugma illustrate this point. The first parallel comes from the 'House of Polyphemus and Galateia' at Antioch, which was not excavated except to remove its mosaic pavement.[323] Six plates document the mosaic panels, but the borders were not included in these so it is impossible to reconstruct the original composition of the entire mosaic. Of the six panels from this house, one is held in Baltimore; the location of the others is unknown. The second parallel observed for the borders of the 'Ergeç house' geometric triclinium mosaic and the figured mosaic of 'House D' stems from the large triclinium of the 'Atrium House' at Antioch. The 'Atrium House' mosaic featured five figured panels; these are now located in four different museums in two different countries.[324] Campbell reconstructs the borders for this mosaic from photographs; the large geometric panel of this triclinium mosaic was not raised or described. No description of the mosaic's context survives, although the presence of Augustan period *terra sigillata* and Serapis lamps of the mid first century AD were noted below the pavement, providing only a *terminus post quem* for the mosaic, otherwise dated to the second

[322]S. Campbell, 1979: 290.

[323]S. Campbell notes that the structure was 'probably a house...and no further excavation [besides the removal of the figured panels] was done.' S. Campbell, 1988: IV A 12, pp. 30-31.

[324]S. Campbell, 1988: IV A 7, pp. 19-22.

century on stylistic grounds. The third parallel comes from 'Bath A' at Antioch, and again, some panels were raised; five reside in the Antakya museum; the location of the remainder is unknown.[325] The context for the lifted panels was not recorded, however these pavements are dated to the first half of the fourth century on the basis of stylistic comparison to 'Bath E' at Antioch, which is dated archaeologically to the first half of the fourth century AD.

A similar situation exists for the geometric border elements, the three-strand guilloche flanked by wave-crest, of the Dionysus and Ariadne mosaic from Zeugma. The primary parallel for the geometric bands of this mosaic was found in the 'House of Trajan's aqueduct' at Antioch.[326] One pavement from this house is held in the Antakya Museum and is there reconstructed in a fashion inconsistent with the layout indicated by the excavation photographs. The present location of the other mosaic attributed to this house is unknown. The 'Agros and Opora' mosaic from the 'House of Meandre' at Antioch provides a parallel composition for the figured panel of the Dionysus and Ariadne mosaic; this mosaic itself is dated on stylistic grounds, on which the excavators in turn based the date of the architectural context.[327]

Through Campbell's work, a great deal of information about the

[325] S. Campbell, 1988: IV A 4, pp. 13-14.

[326] S. Campbell, 1988: IV A 40, pp. 83-84.

[327] R. Stillwell, "Houses of Antioch," *DOP* 15 (1961): 52-53. On the parallel with the Dionysus and Ariadne mosaic, see S. Campbell and R. Ergeç in D. Kennedy (ed), 1998: 115.

Antioch mosaics has been assembled and salvaged using photographs. Unfortunately, for the purposes of workshop identification, elements such as size of the tesserae, size of the pavement, colours, materials, and in most cases the geometric borders themselves, which were inconsistently recorded, can be deduced with only limited success from black and white photographs. The mosaics of Antioch are presumed to represent a corpus of material dated independently through archaeological evidence, and have formed the foundation upon which subsequent mosaic studies are based.[328] Inspection of the historical circumstances and motives of the excavation reveals the largely unsubstantiated assumption regarding the soundness of the archaeological information produced at the site. Questions regarding the role of mosaics and mosaic production in the past hinge upon questions of sound chronology. Whether a repeating pattern or figural scene is the product of a master-apprentice training tradition, drawings specific to each designer and atelier, or circulated copybooks relies on questions of chronology.[329] The Antioch mosaics are an example of the ways in which the modern esteem for antiquities introduces biases into the corpus of material available for study.

The current esteem for high quality craftsmanship is a modern

[328]K. Dunbabin, 1989: 314.

[329] Bruneau argues against the likelihood that mosaicists used copybooks in favor of original drawings by each atelier, Kondoleon studies representations of the 'Triumph of Dionysus' in sarcophagi and mosaics, and argues sculptors' drawings based on a Hellenistic painting were used for mosaics in some cases. In others, as at the House of Dionysus in Paphos, she argues drawings were used but these motifs were selected and divorced from their traditional context and reincorporated into new designs at the discretion of the mosaicist; cf. P. Bruneau, 'Les mosäistes antiques avaient-ils des cahiers de modèles?' *RA* 2 (1984): 241-72 and C. Kondoleon, 1995: 191-221, additional with references.

construct.[330] Two examples serve to illustrate the disparity between the contemporary market value of a mosaic and its lower relative value in antiquity. In 1971, the Newark Museum purchased a Roman mosaic panel, later revealed to have been stolen from the Syrian site of Apamea.[331] The museum intended to develop its teaching collection, and acquired the piece, a relatively small, generic and coarse panel of an Amazon for $6,000. The piece was ultimately returned to Syria. Using the price per area unit of the Amazon as an indicator, the market value of the Dionysus and Ariadne mosaic would be approximately $150,000 in 1971.[332] This may be compared with the price fetched by the admittedly rarer Kanakariá mosaics in 1988; four panels, each less than one meter square, were acquired for $1,224,000.[333] In 1999, the Dionysus and Ariadne mosaic from Zeugma is estimated to achieve a price of $47 million.[334]

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[330]M. Vickers and D. Gill, 1996: 1-32. Though Vickers and Gill deal with pottery and not mosaics, they make a strong case for 18th century roots of the modern obsession with the fine craftsmanship of objects which were held in much lower esteem in antiquity, as they lacked intrinsic value.

[331]S.C. Miller, "A Syrian Odyssey: the return of Syrian mosaics by the Newark Museum," *IJCP* 7 (1998): 166-8. It is interesting to note that the Newark Museum director and author of the article noted an unofficial source indicated the site had been looted subsequent to the failure of the Syrian government to pay its soldiers for several months. Some soldiers visited the site, stole a number of Roman and Christian mosaics and smuggled them to Beirut for sale in order to cover their pay (167).

[332]The Amazon panel was roughly 1 meter square, giving a price of $6000 per square meter. The dimensions of the Dionysus and Ariadne mosaic are seven meters by three and one half meters, giving a total area of 24.5 meters square, and an approximate market value of $147,000.

[333]The transaction was financed by a bank contingent upon the bank's 5% stake in the resale, which was set at $20,000,000 in 1988. The mosaics came from the apse of a church and were 'flattened' to increase their attractiveness for sale. See P. Gerstenblith, 'The Kanakaria mosaics and the United States law on the restitution of stolen and illegally exported cultural property, pp. 105-121 in K.W. Tubbs (ed), *Antiquities: trade or betrayed.* London: Archetype Publications. 1995.

[334]Anon, "That they steal mosaics in Turkey," *The Economist.* April 24th – May

The Prices Edict of Diocletian, issued in 301 AD, serves as an example to inform us of the relative values assigned various items in antiquity, necessary to place the market values attained by these pavements in context. While the reliability of the Edict for deducing absolute values is debatable, particularly in different parts of the Empire, the intent here is to use the document as a barometer for the relative values assigned various goods in antiquity.[335] The parallel serves well in this case because the document dates to roughly the same period as the accepted date of the mosaics, and was issued during the period of imperial residence in Antioch (AD 299-301), the capital of the Roman province of Syria, relatively close to Zeugma.[336]

The intent of the Edict was to stem inflation during the reign of Diocletian. As such, it provides an assessment of the maximum fiscal values assigned to various goods and services.[337] One section of the edict, *de marmoribus,* deals with the price of various types of marble, per unit *pedem.*[338] S. Corcoran and J. DeLaine provide an assessment of the way the prices quoted in the Edict reflect the relative costs of marble veneer versus imitation veneer (both painted and tessellated surfaces). Clearly the critical factor is the

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5th, 2000: 97.

335 S. Corcoran, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs. Imperial pronouncements and government. AD 284-324.* Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1998, with references.

336 S. Corcoran and J. DeLaine, "The unit of measurement of marble in Diocletian's Prices Edict," *JRA* 7 (1994): 265. A copy of the Edict was found at the site of Aphrodisias, see K. T. Erim and J. Reynolds, 'The copy of Diocletian's Edict on maximum prices from Aphrodisias in Caria,' *JRS* 60 (1970): 136.

337 S. Corcoran, 1998: 205-233.

338 Whether this unit is necessarily linear or cubic has been the object of some debate. The study cited here argues for a linear unit. S. Corcoran and J. DeLaine, 1994: 263-73.

intrinsic value of the material, and they deduce painted and tesselated surfaces were roughly equivalent in cost per square *pedem*, and roughly half for an equivalent unit of plain white marble. Given imported materials, painted and tessellated surface represent a fraction of the overall cost for equivalent units in marble veneer. This emphasises the Roman predilection for assessing value in terms of the rarity and intrinsic value of a material and not in terms of the cost of the labour in crafting the material.[339] As the excavators have noted, the mosaics thus far unearthed at Zeugma consist of local material. The stones used in the mosaics are still visible on the banks of the Euphrates today, indicating a low value according to the Prices Edict. Moreover, mosaicists were poorly paid; A. Burford points out mosaicists failed to attain even the respect given panel painters.[340] While there is no question the mosaics discussed here are likely the product of the social elite at Zeugma, the exorbitant commercial value attached to the mosaics today completely skews the values attached to such pavements in antiquity and also affects the nature of scholarly discourse with respect to these pavements. [341]

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[339]M. Vickers and D. Gill make a similar argument, noting the Price Edict adds minute percentages to the intrinsic value of gold plate, "Simple workmanship added .83 per cent and subtle 1.3 per cent," in M. Vickers and D. Gill, 1994: 203.

[340]A. Burford, *Craftsmen in Greek and Roman society*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1972: 215.

[341]The value of a nomadic wool carpet rests with the labour and craft invested in their manufacture, in a process of commoditisation in the twentieth century similar to that of mosaic pavements. The exorbitant financial worth of nomadic carpets in today's market has also been seen as a product of the fascination of the west with the 'other.' The implications of this process for the understanding of the original nomadic cultural context of the carpets has also been studied. This research provides an interesting parallel to the growth in esteem for 'minor arts' such as Graeco-Roman mosaic pavements. See B. Spooner, 'Weavers and dealers: the authenticity of an oriental carpet,' pp. 195-235 in A. Appadurai (ed), *The social life of things: commodities in cultural perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1986; and M. Breu and R. Marchese 'World markets and their impact on Turkish weaving: understanding cultural transformation,' *Anatolica* XXV (1999): 243-248.

The undocumented excavation of antiquities has been noted throughout the history of scholarship at Zeugma. The earliest indication of this activity occurred in the 1860s, and produced the so-called 'Provinces' mosaic, which has since been identified in 41 pieces in 11 different collections worldwide.[342] Similarly, the records of the Victoria and Albert Museum indicate the 1869 acquisition of three mosaic panels for which the provenance is recorded as "Belkis".[343] Survey teams remark consistently in annual reports on the use of building materials from the site in the nearby modern village of Belkis and on the presence of tunnels covered by brush in pistachio groves, as well as more systematic undocumented excavation.[344] A number of studies suggest the looting of archaeological sites, particularly in rural communities, stems from local perception that the buried treasure is a resource intended to supplement the income from their harvest.[345] The activity may also assume a cultural significance by becoming a popular local entertainment.[346]

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[342]The British Consul at Aleppo conducted investigations at Belkis and Djerablis (Carchemish) during this period, and he is thought to have discovered the Provinces mosaic. Several pieces of the Provinces mosaic are still missing. K. Parlasca, "Zum Provinzenmosaik von Belkis-Seleukeia am Euphrat," in M. Donderer (ed), *Mosaique. Recueil d'hommages à Henri Stern.* Paris, 1983: 287-95, and D. Kennedy in D. Kennedy (ed), 1998: 129.

[343]Since 1987, these panels have been in the British Museum, and to my knowledge are otherwise unpublished. The three panels were identified as coming from the same composition in 1987. D. Kennedy in D. Kennedy (ed), 1998: 129, and Cook, B. F. "Roman and Italian acquisitions in the British Museum, 1980-92," *JRA* 8 (1995): 232.

[344]G. Algaze, R. Breuninger, C. Lightfoot, and M. Rosenberg, 'The Tigris-Euphrates archaeological reconnaissance project: a preliminary report of the 1989-90 seasons,' *Anatolica* XVII (1991): 175-240 and G. Algaze, R. Breuninger, and J. Knudstad, 'The Tigris-Euphrates archaeological reconnaissance project: final report of the Birecik and Carchemish Dam survay areas,' *Anatolica* XX (1994): 1-96; and also reports published by C.Abadie-Reynal, et *alii*, in *Anatolia Antiqua.* Each report comments on the destruction of the site. See *Anatolia Antiqua* IV (1996): 311-24, V (1997): 349-70, VI (1998): 379-406, VII (1999): 311-66.

[345]D. Matsuda, 'The ethics of archaeology, subsistence digging, and artefact looting in Latin America: point, muted counterpoint,' *IJCP* 7, 1 (1998): 87-97.

[346]D. Staley, 'St. Lawrence Island's subsistence diggers: a new perspective on

This underscores the conflict in this case. Two aims motivate the Southeastern Anatolia Development Project; industrialisation and the intensification of agriculture. The project provides an unprecedented number of jobs, and ultimately increases irrigable land 300-fold.[347] This constitutes a long-term measure that, in light of recent studies on 'subsistence digging,' should result in the reduction of undocumented excavation in the area.

Yet, the archaeologists themselves help set the conditions for undocumented excavation. The rationale for research at the site expressed by one group of excavators demonstrates the constraints under which research was conducted at the site:

> First, it made sense and was cost-effective to work only in areas that would be flooded. Secondly, it was hoped to identify archaeologically "rich" sites which might catch the eye of potential long-term sponsors. Thirdly, sites were selected on the basis of evidence of modern robbing. For despite the damage they caused, pits and tunnels give some clues as to the depth and nature of the overburden and nature of the ancient remains at various points.[348]

This underlying research rationale therefore also coloured the interpretation of

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human effects on archaeological sites,' *JFA* 20 (1993): 347-355.

[347]Regarding the impact of the project for the archaeology of the region around Belkis/Zeugma, see G. Algaze, R. Breuninger, and J. Knudstad, 'The Tigris-Euphrates archaeological reconnaissance project: final report of the Birecik and Carchemish Dam survey areas,' *Anatolica* XX (1994): 1-96. On the dam project in general, see J.F. Kollars and W.A. Mitchell, *The Euphrates River and the Southeast Anatolia Development Project* Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University. 1991.

[348]D. Kennedy and P. Freeman in D. Kennedy (ed), 1998: 61.

finds. The need for 'sensational' finds for preservation interests and to attract financial support surely encouraged the interpretation of the Dionysus and Ariadne mosaic in such a 'sensational' fashion, and accepting the interpretation argues the extant mosaic is unique, which would appeal to potential patrons of the project at Zeugma. In this way, the modern esteem attached to mosaic pavements affects the research strategy and subsequent interpretation of material from Zeugma, recalling the situation at Antioch. The composite picture presented by research and undocumented excavation at Zeugma and Antioch reflects the ways the antiquities market and the subsequent commoditisation of ancient mosaic pavements bias the corpus of data available for mosaic studies in this region.

Conclusion

A summary of conclusions, their significance, and the future scope of the problem.

> 'But there are subtler examples of the diversion of commodities from their predestined paths...Another, related area is that of the history and nature of the major art and archaeology collections of the Western world, whose formation represents extremely complex blends of plunder, sale, and inheritance, combined with the Western taste for the things of the past and of the other.[349]

As demonstrated in the introduction, undocumented excavation fuelled by the antiquities market stands as the clearest expression of the modern esteem for Roman period material remains, the scale of which may reflect a process of commoditisation of ancient artefacts. This phenomenon, and the 1906 Ottoman antiquities law, which marked the genesis of a clandestine market for antiquities, formed the foundation for this investigation into the effects of the modern values attached to antiquities on the study of Roman period archaeology in Turkey.

Each class of artefact reviewed here, sculpture, coin hoards and mosaics presented different issues; however, the evidence reviewed in each chapter points to broadly similar conclusions. In each case, the codification of uncertain archaeological knowledge stemming from the use of undocumented

[349] A. Appadurai in A. Appadurai (ed), 1986: 27

material was evident. These examples revealed how the predominant interpretive constructs used in the analysis of sculpture, coin hoards, and mosaics in general stem from methodologies based on unprovenanced material developed in the formative stages of the discipline. The material included here is mainly undocumented, in that it lacked a secure context, yet its study confirmed how the modern incidence of undocumented excavation perpetuates *a priori* assumptions used in both the attribution and interpretation of this material. Moreover, close analysis of the evidence provided by the published material for each case called into question these same assumptions and demonstrated the imposition of modern values on ancient material culture.

In chapter one, the study of the sculptures attributed to Perge and Boubon illustrated some of the more fundamental difficulties of undocumented material, including the uncertainty underlying the identification of fragmentary statues and their reincarnation into sculptural programs in specific buildings at specific sites.[350] The evidence reviewed demonstrated that the published conclusions to this effect were far from secure; the codification of uncertain knowledge was evident in the incorporation of these poorly founded conclusions into later studies of Roman period sculpture.

Accepting the identification and attribution of the Hercules statue to the southern baths at Perge allowed the exploration of the sculptural program at the baths within its architectural context. As noted in chapter one, the modern understanding of Roman religious beliefs is coloured by a dichotomy

[350] J. Inan, 1994, and N. Başgelen, 1991.

between belief/disbelief that may not have existed in the past.[351] The exploration of the role of Hercules in the southern baths suggested that the modern belief/disbelief dichotomy obscured significant ambiguity in the ways sculpture in bath buildings, which the modern perspective would consider primarily secular in function, may have been perceived by the ancient viewer. If we turn to the bronze sculptures attributed to Boubon, the methodology governing the attribution of the sculpture to the site was suggested to be circular in nature, and in itself based on these *a priori* assumptions regarding specific sculptural types and the spaces to which such types belong. A brief survey of ancient testimony provided a demonstration of attitudes to sculpture in different contexts during the Roman period, and appeared to corroborate the ambiguity seen between religious and secular spaces in the archaeological evidence.

Finally, the published analyses of the sculpture attributed to both sites emphasised their relationship to Hellenistic antecedents, reflecting the twentieth century predilection for individual artists at odds with the relatively low social status of sculptors in antiquity. Modern conservation practices preserve age-derived qualities of statues, similarly at odds with the treatment of these statues in the past. These practices, which contribute to the market value of a sculpture, compound the complications presented by the interface between the modern values attached to sculpture (as reflected in prices fetched by this type of artefact on the market and in the imposition of the disbelief/belief interpretive construct) and archaeological research.

[351]C.R. Phillips, 1986: 2697-2711

In chapter two, the study of third century AD coin hoards attributed to locations within Turkey and the role these play in defining patterns of coin circulation suggested the most fruitful venue of analysis. The ways in which coin hoards and site finds are perceived to be different was reviewed in order to suggest that these interpretive constructs may be a function of the way these different bodies of numismatic evidence are preserved for study, namely whether or not the coins stem from secure archaeological context. The current understanding of the Roman economy during the third century AD was reviewed and shown to be characterised by geographically delimited patterns of circulation.

Two studies in particular, one of the patterns of circulation of Caesarean third century issues, and another of the patterns of circulation reflected by the site finds at Aphrodisias were selected to evaluate the validity of these geographically delimited spheres of circulation.[352] Both studies concurred in their characterisation of different spheres of circulation for western Anatolia on the one hand, and eastern Anatolia on the other. The evidence cited for both was found to be artificially structured by a dichotomy between site finds and hoard finds. In addition, hoard finds were found to be governed largely by geographic patterns of coin hoard reportage, which further biased the evidence used to define these spheres of circulation.[353] Finally, these spheres of circulation were analyzed in light of recent coin

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[352]R. Bland in R. Ashton (ed), 1996, and D.J. MacDonald, 1974.

[353]J.R. Clark, 1980.

hoard evidence to demonstrate that economic models dependent on the evidence of coin hoards may reflect contemporary patterns in coin hoard reportage (itself a function of economics and the antiquities market) more than the past economic phenomena they purport to explain.

While questions of authenticity should ultimately underpin all studies of undocumented material, this issue was explored in chapter two because the issue of authenticity is the most problematic for numismatic studies due to the prevalence of both ancient and modern counterfeit coins. The evidence for the concern of the Roman administration with controlling the forgery of its issues was reviewed, and found to reflect a hierarchy of value related to the intrinsic value of the coin at odds with the way these same coins are valued today for their rarity and legibility, and in excess of their intrinsic worth. These same subjective qualities were found to play a role in the identification of both ancient and modern forgeries, both of which have infiltrated museum collections. Given that areas where extensive ancient counterfeiting occurs correlates with areas with a high incidence of coin hoard reportage (i.e. in the western provinces), it was suggested that the rarity of locally produced forgeries noted in coin hoards from Turkey indicated that ancient forgeries may remain unidentified. The qualities used to identify forgeries was also argued to lead some scholars to overemphasise the iconographic content of coin types as vehicles for the expression of imperial policy, when evidence suggests such content, if it existed, was certainly subsumed under the primarily economic role of coinage.

Chapter two attempted to illustrate how the effects of the antiquities market as reflected in patterns of coin hoard reportage perpetuated *a priori* assumptions about the differences between coin hoards and site finds, and the nature of coin circulation during the third century AD. Further, the correlation between the subjective criteria used in some venues of numismatic studies and in the valuation of coins on the antiquities market demonstrated the ways in which the modern esteem for ancient coins contributes to the obfuscation of the role of coinage during the Roman period.

In chapter three, the study of the Zeugma and Antioch mosaics was, to some extent, limited by the largely nascent stage of mosaic studies for Syria and Turkey, which limited the comparative material available.[354] Consequently, discussion focused on the iconographic interpretation of the Dionysus and Ariadne mosaic, which was shown to be largely inconclusive due to the damage the mosaic sustained from undocumented excavators.[355] Further, the interpretation of the mosaic in terms of its resemblance to an unknown Hellenistic painting was stressed as obscuring the panel's potential significance as a locally manufactured artefact that may be used as a vehicle for understanding processes of social change at the site, in favour of greater sensationalism.

Chapter three also attempted to illustrate how mosaic workshop studies are particularly susceptible to the problems presented by undocumented

[354] K. Dunbabin, 1989: 313-18.

[355] S. Campbell, and R. Ergeç with E. Csapo in D.Kennedy (ed), 1998.

excavation; the removal of the valuable central figured panels results in the loss of geometric elements, vital to the identification of workshops. This was illustrated in both the attempted removal of the central panel of the Dionysus and Ariadne mosaic from the 'Ergeç house', and in the successful removal of the figured panels of mosaic from 'House D', which left only the geometric elements *in situ*.[356] The comparative material for the workshops thought to have produced the mosaics at Zeugma stemmed largely from Antioch. Yet, the mosaics from Antioch were in themselves a poor foundation for such a study because though they stem from an officially sanctioned excavation, the material was permanently affected by the legal but haphazard division of pavements amongst the American sponsors of the excavation, reflecting the modern demand for such material at the root of the antiquities market. The research rationale of the excavators at Zeugma was noted to be similarly affected by the modern appetite for antiquities; in the hope of gaining financial sponsorship, excavators aimed for sensational finds. This rationale was noted as a potential source for the strained allegorical interpretation of the Dionysus and Ariadne as a wedding scene, the acceptance of which renders the mosaic unique.

The relatively recent occurrence of the undocumented excavation of the 'Ergeç house' (c.1990) limited the utility of this case in illustrating the codification of uncertain knowledge stemming from undocumented excavation because the mosaics from the site remain to be incorporated as comparanda in published studies. This did not diminish the importance of the evidence

[356] R. Ergeç in D. Kennedy (ed), 1998; S. Campbell, and R. Ergeç with E. Csapo in D.Kennedy (ed), 1998.

reviewed; this chapter provided insight into the early stages of the codification of uncertain knowledge noted in chapters one and two. The significance of the mosaic finds from the site and the impact of the Southeastern Anatolian Development Project on the archaeology of the region suggest the mosaics from Zeugma may play as central a role in future mosaic studies as the Antioch mosaics do today.

The case studies here are particularly sensational finds, and the fact that it is these that are the best-documented in archaeological literature in itself illustrates one of the premises of this paper, that the value reflected in the antiquities market also affects archaeological interpretation. A number of other less sensational bodies of material, including terracotta figurines, grave stelae, and sarcophagi, suggested interesting possibilities for investigation, but the fact remains not enough published information exists to study any of them.[357] It is also worth noting that the geographic compass of this investigation, limited to finds attributed to locales within the modern political boundaries of Turkey, artificially delimited the scope of investigation. These modern borders do not correlate to the cultural and political boundaries that existed during the Roman period. In some cases, a brief excursus beyond the

[357]T.M.P Duggan, 'The importance of rescue archaeology,' *TDN* 19 June, 1998; Anon, 'Tombs in ancient city robbed,' *TDN* 30 August, 1998; Anon, 'Historical remains signal red alert,' *TDN* 30 June, 1998; Anon, 'Turkey loses court battle for return of artifacts,' *TDN* 6 November, 1996; M. Christol and T. Drew-Bear, *Un castellum romain pres d'Apamee de Phrygie*. Wien: Östenreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1987; J. Devreker, 'The new excavations at Pessinus,' pp. 105-130 in E. Schwertheim (ed), *Forschungen in Galatien*, Asia Minor Studien 12. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt GMBH, 1994; S. Walker, M.L. Coleman, and K.J. Matthews,s 'Roman sarcophagi from Lycia in the British Museum collections,' pp. 169-176 in J. Borchardt and G. Dobesch (edd) *Akten des II Internationalen Lykien-Symposions*. Wien 6-12 Mai 1990 (1993).

geographic scope of this paper was required by the evidence, as in the brief treatment of evidence from Georgia in chapters two and three.[358] A future study of the effects of undocumented excavation might adopt a geographic focus constrained by borders more relevant to the period under investigation.

The commoditisation of ancient culture seen in the antiquities market, shown here to have such a significant effect on the scholarship of Roman period material remains in Turkey, has infiltrated other aspects of cultural heritage. A recent movement in site conservation and museum management similarly reflects this commoditisation of the past; in some cases, cost-benefit analyses are used to make preservation decisions.[359] Given the effects of the commoditisation of ancient artefacts noted in this study, electing such a course in preservation issues may result in additional complications for the study of ancient cultures by rendering the continued existence of their material remains subject to increased politicisation and commoditisation.[360]

The continued relevance of the issues explored in this paper is also suggested by Turkey's recent candidacy for membership in the European Union, which will most likely further open Turkish markets to the west in a

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[358]Some of the evidence for coin hoards came from modern Georgia, as did one of the primary parallels for the Dionysus and Ariadne mosaic from Zeugma.

[359]J. Carman, G.D. Carnegie, and P.W. Wolnizer, 'Is archaeological valuation an accounting matter?' *Antiquity* 73 (1999): 143-8; Sir G. Elliot, 'Museums and galleries: storehouses of value?' pp. 117-133 in Sir A. Peacock (ed), *Does the past have a future? The political economy of heritage*. Institute of Economic Affairs. Readings 47. London. 1998.

[360] R. Mason, 'Conference reports. Economics and heritage conservation: concepts, values, and agendas for research, Getty Conservation Institute, Los Angeles (December 8-11, 1998)' *IJCP* 8, 2 (1999): 550-562.

reciprocal relationship.[361] The expansion of on-line commerce may have a similar effect; such markets are difficult to regulate and balloon to serve a wider audience with more casual interest in antiquities through on-line auction sites and catalogues.[362]

The aim of this investigation has not been to comment, even passively, on the efficacy of stewards of cultural heritage in the Turkish Republic. Instead, it is hoped the review of the evidence in this investigation has demonstrated that the effects of undocumented excavation are far more insidious than the loss of an artefact's archaeological context. The interface between the modern value attached to antiquities reflected in the contemporary scale of undocumented excavation and the traditions of scholarship associated with different classes of archaeological material suggested here has clear implications for the study of ancient material remains. While the identification of modern biases in the interpretation of material culture proves one of the more challenging endeavors of the archaeologist, it is hoped this investigation has demonstrated that an increased awareness of the more subtle effects of undocumented excavation is necessary if the material remains of past cultures are to speak, not in our language, but in their own.[363]

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[362] J. Greco, 'Gooing, Going, E-Gone! On-line auctions demand extra precautions,' *Arts & Antiques*. September 1999: 64-71.

[363] J. Wiseman, 1984: 73.

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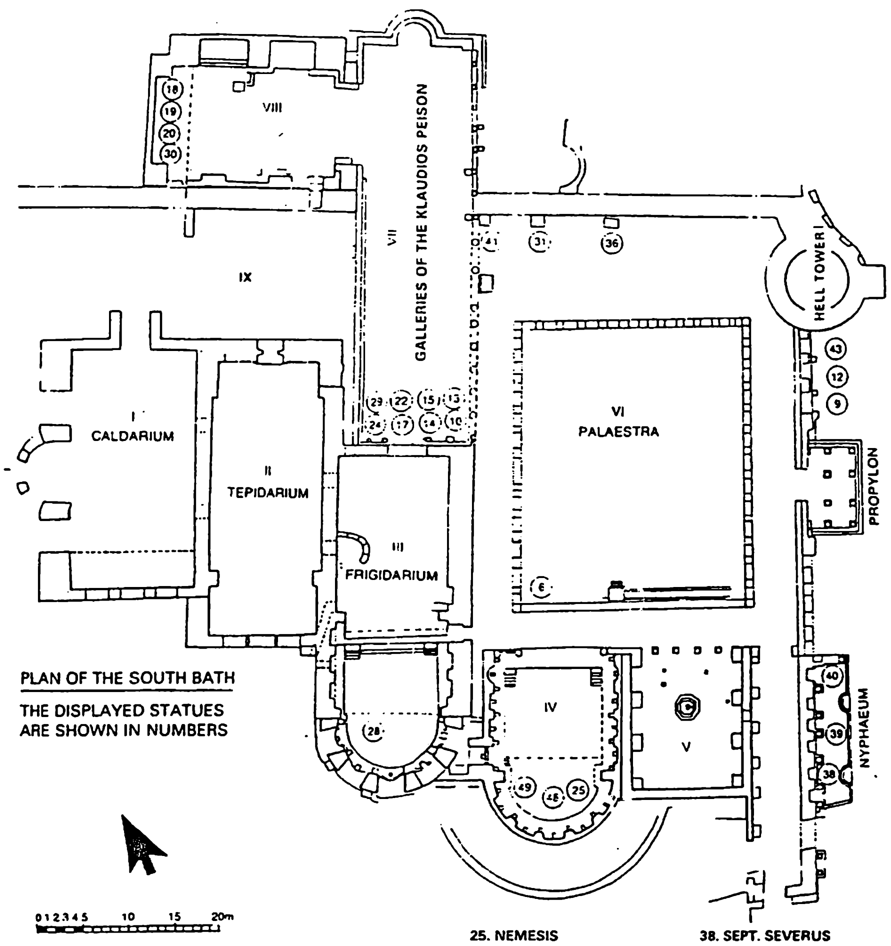
PLATES



1. ZEUS
2. HERA
3. HERA
4. DIOSCUROS
5. HERMES
6. HERMES
7. ARTEMIS
8. ARTEMIS
9. PRIEST OF ARTEMIS
10. MELEAGROS
11. APOLLO
12. PRIEST OF APOLLO
13. APOLLO KITHAROIDOS
14. MARSYAS
15. SITTING MUSE
16. APHRODITE
17. APHRODITE
18. APHRODITE
19. ATHENA
20. ATHENA
21. TYCHE
22. HYGIEIA
23. NEMESIS
24. NEMESIS
25. NEMESIS
26. SERAPIS
27. ISIS
28. HARPOCRATES
29. THE DANCER
30. THREE GRACES
31. TRAJAN
32. HADRIAN
33. SABINA
34. HADRIAN
35. HADRIAN
36. HADRIAN
37. FAUSTINA
38. SEPT. SEVERUS
39. JULIA DOMNA
40. J. SOAEMIAS
41. NAKED EMPEROR
42. PRIEST OF EMPERORS
43. PLANCIA MAGNA
44. TWO WOMEN
45. WOMAN OF LETOON
46. DRESSED WOMAN
47. DRESSED WOMAN
48. DRESSED WOMAN
49. DRESSED WOMAN
50. DRESSED WOMAN

Plate 1: Plan of the southern baths at Perge illustrating the find spots of excavated statues.

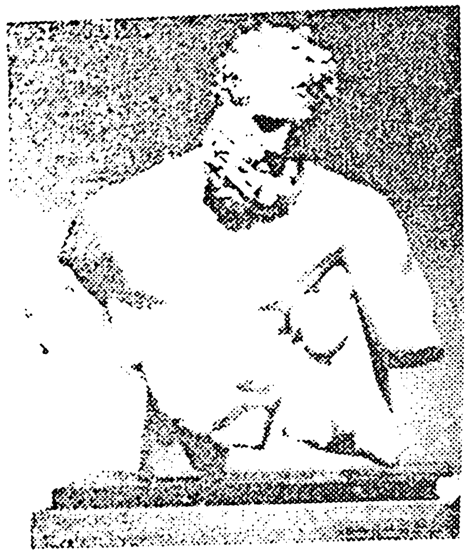


Plate 2.1: Statue of Hercules attributed to Perge (Top part, Levy-White Collection).

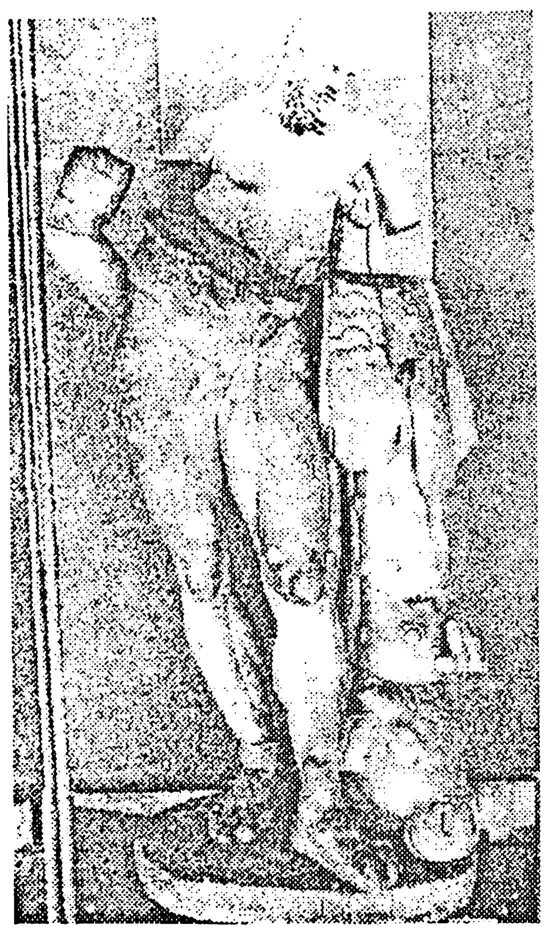


Plate 2.2: Statue of Hercules attributed to Perge (montage of both portions; bottom part Antalya Museum)

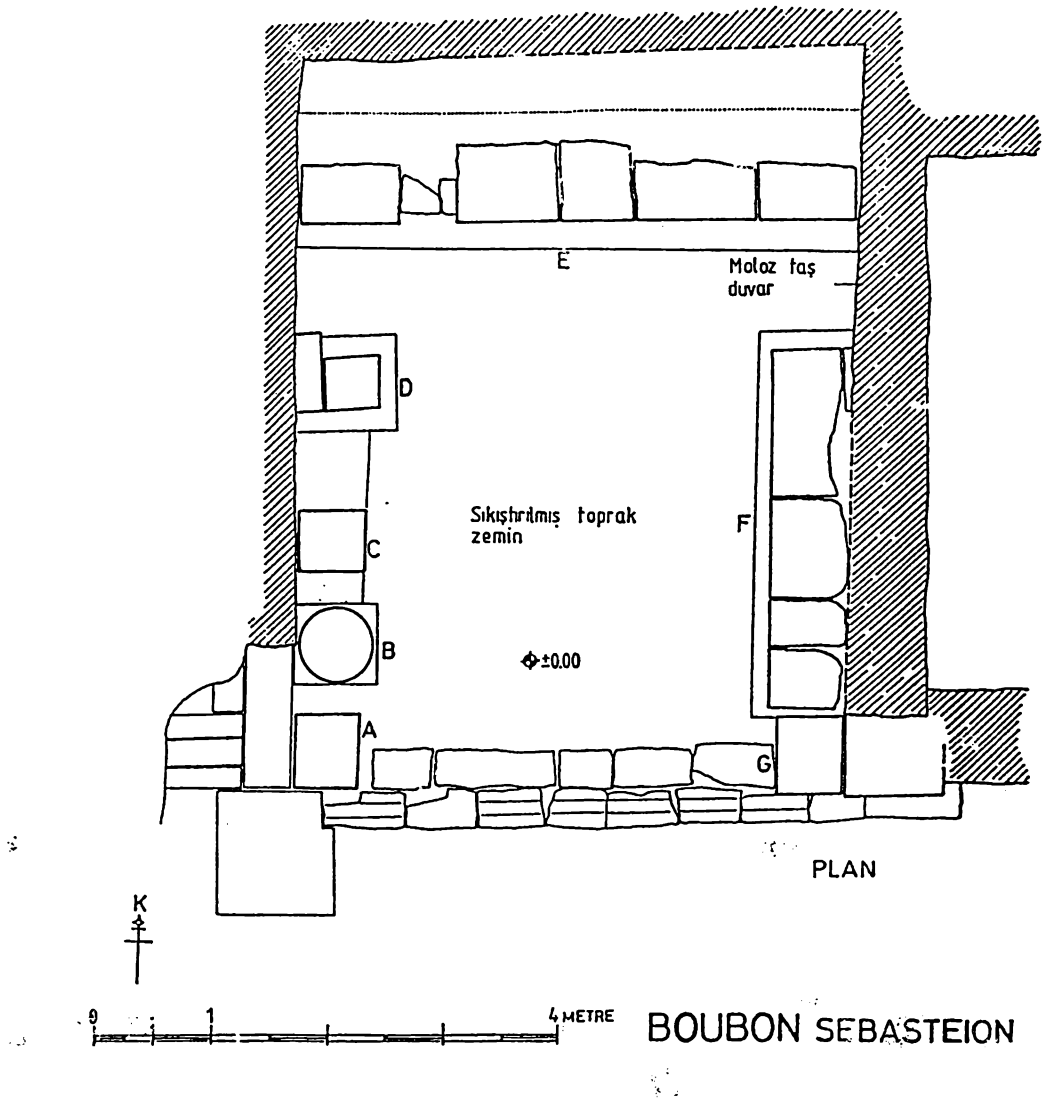


Plate 3: Plan of the sebasteion at Boubon.

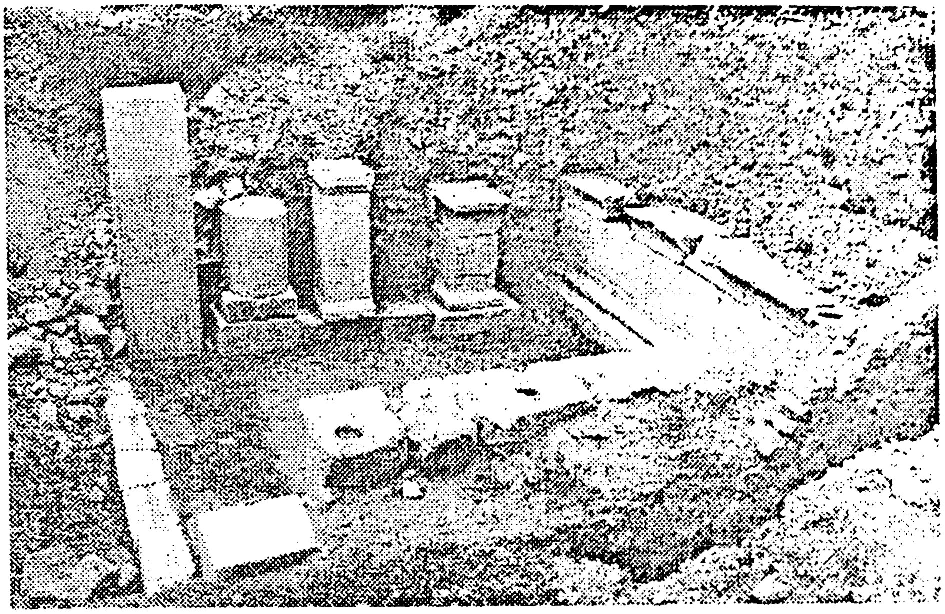


Plate 4: The Sebasteion at Boubon

Plate 5: "Marcus Aurelius" attributed to Boubon (Cleveland Museum of Art).

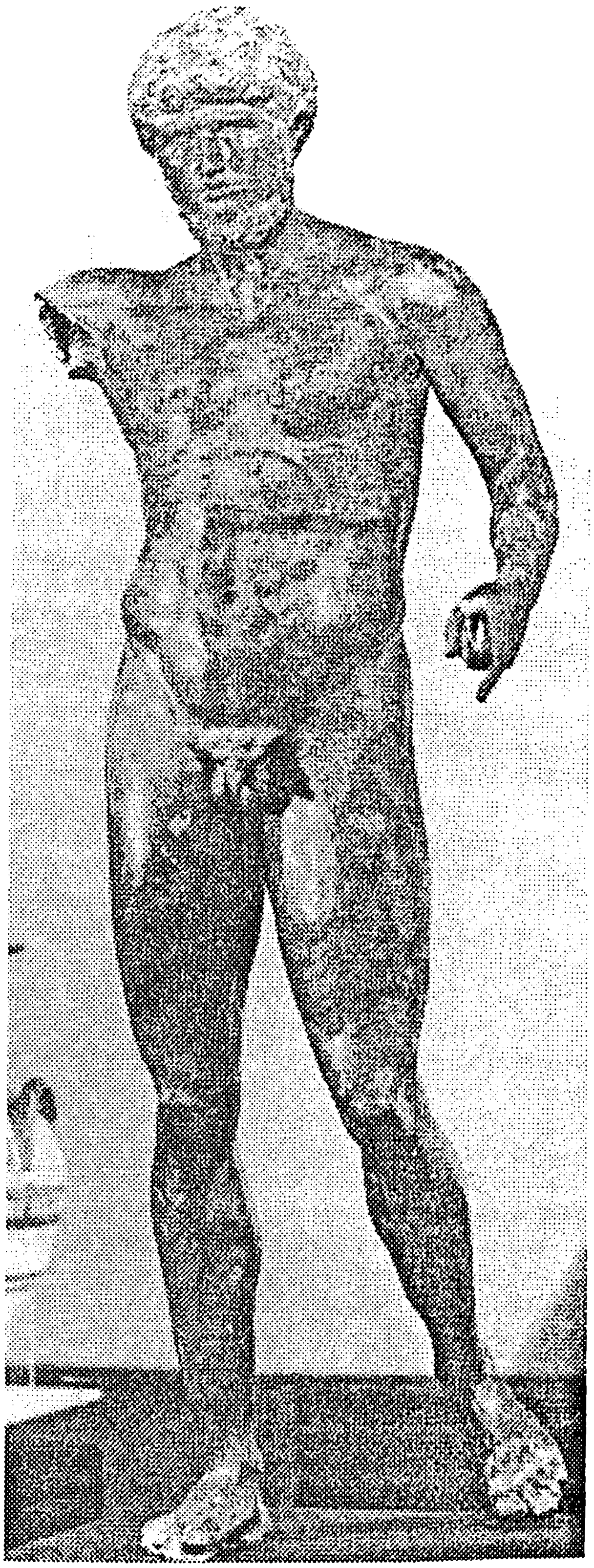


Plate 6: Lucius Verus attributed to Boubon (Levy-White Collection)

Plate 7: "Commodus" attributed to Boubon (location unknown)

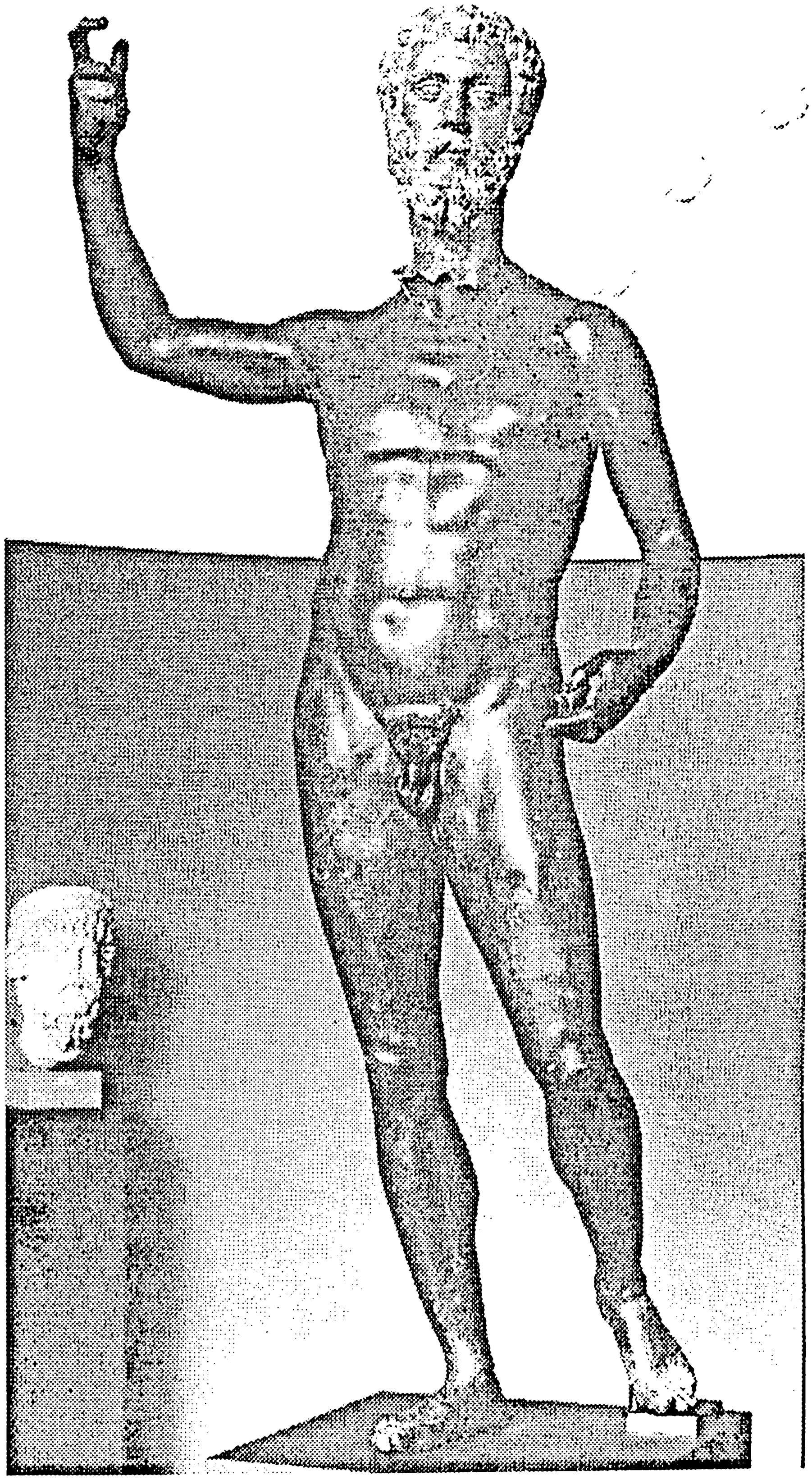


Plate 8: Septimius Severus attributed to Boubon (body E.H. Merrin Gallery, New York; head Ny Calsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen)

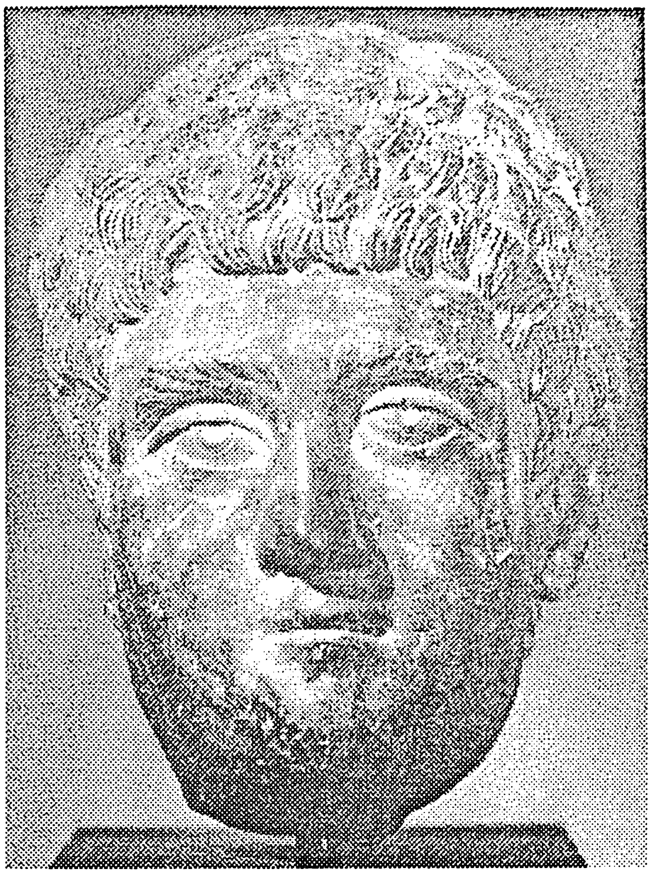


Plate 9: Young Caracalla attributed to Boubon (Lipson Collection)

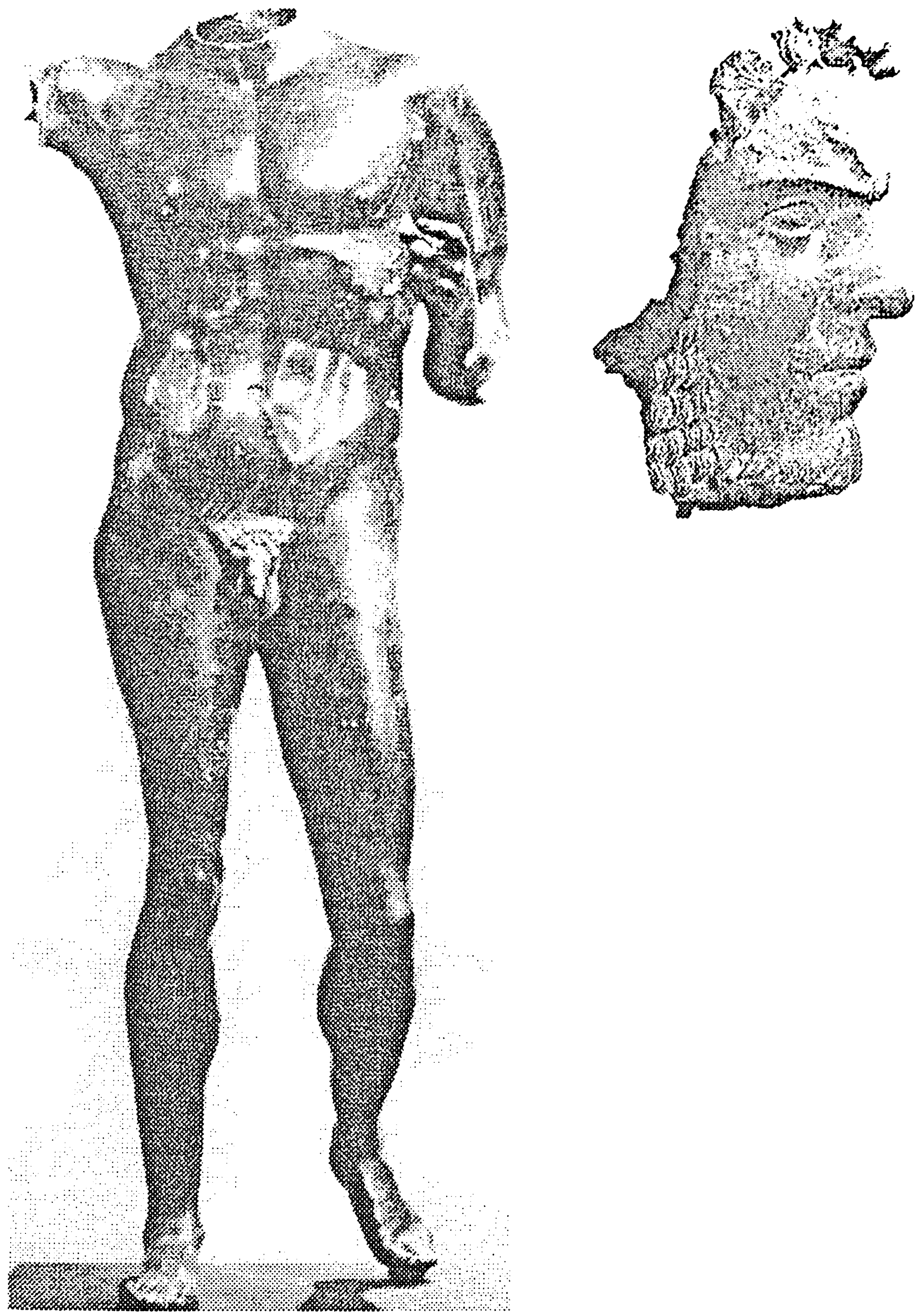


Plate 10: Emperor Caracalla attributed to Boubon (Body, New York Private Collection; Head, Norbert Schimmel Collection)

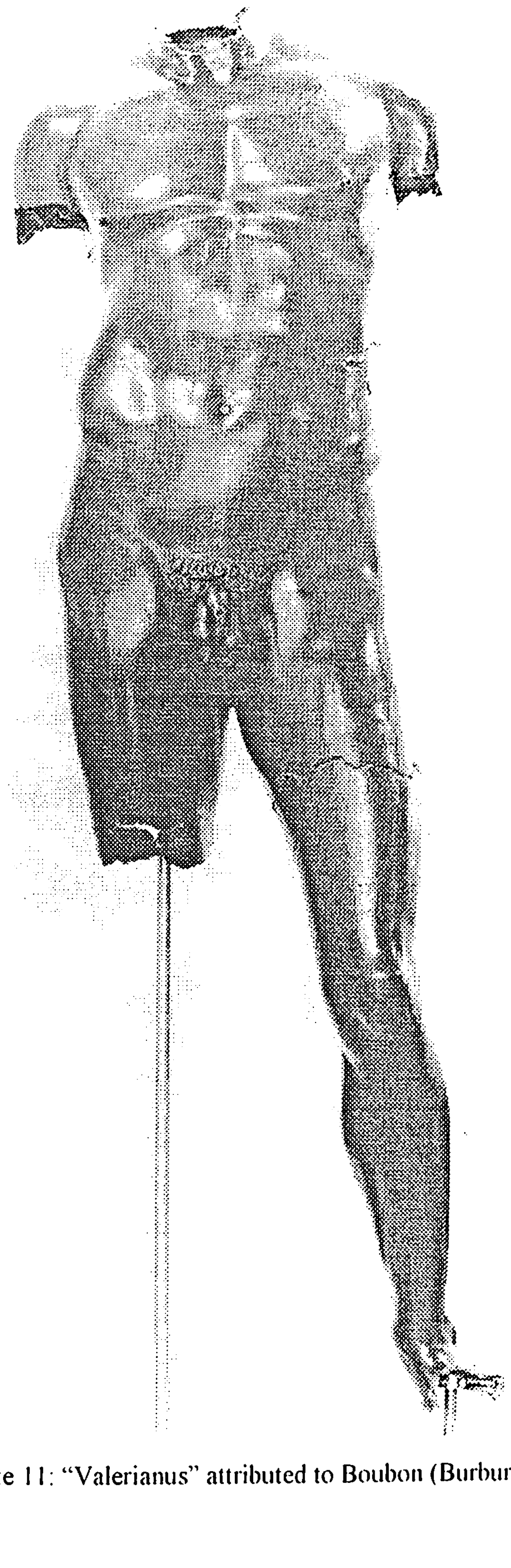
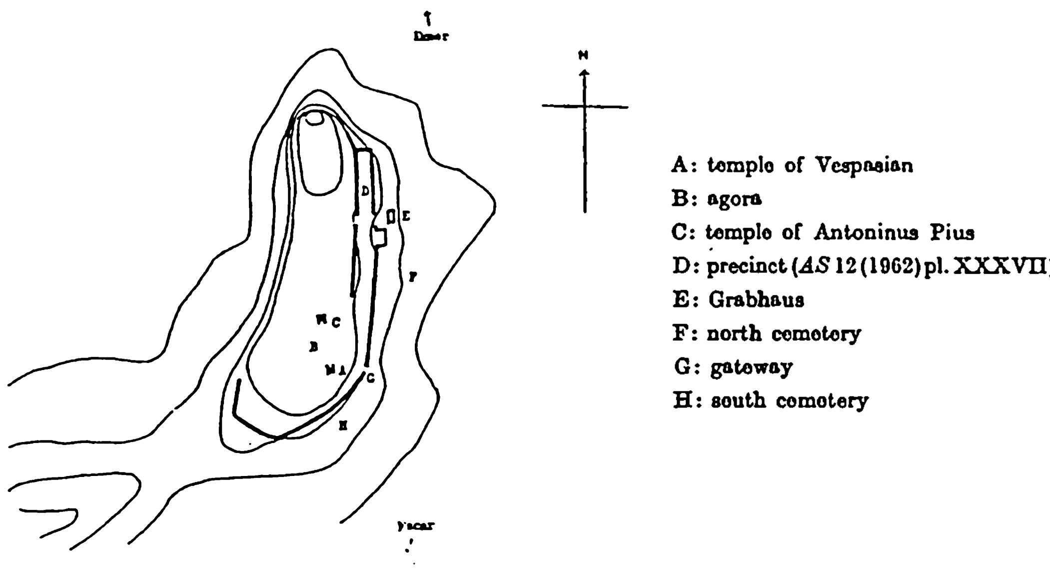


Plate 11: "Valerianus" attributed to Boubon (Burbur Museum)



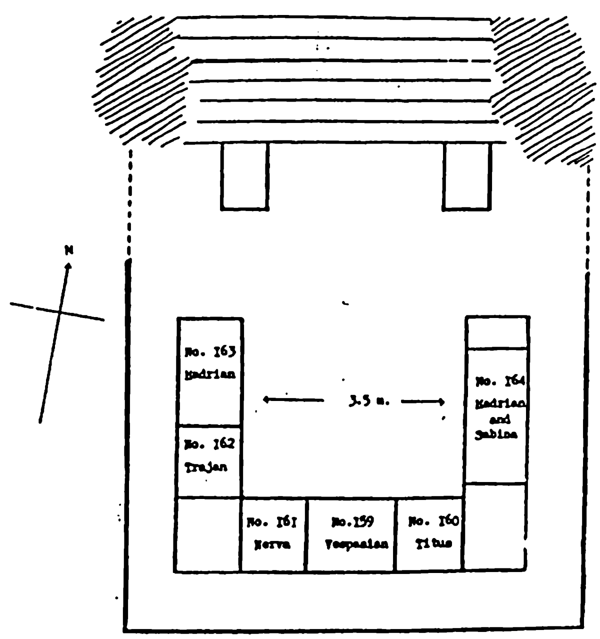


Plate 12: Plan of Cestrus (top). Plan of the Temple of Vespasian at Cestrus (bottom).

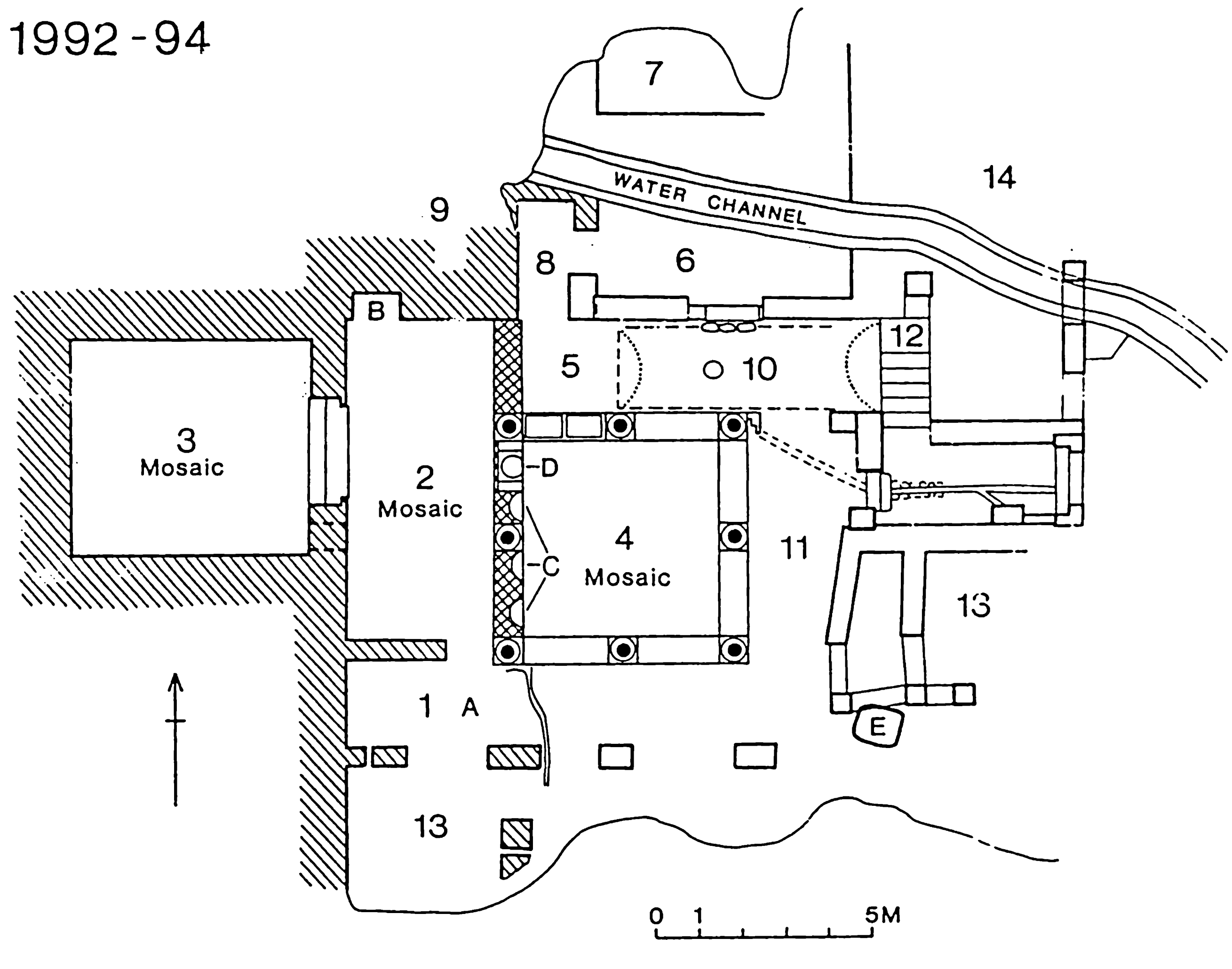


Plate 13: Plan of the Ergeç House.

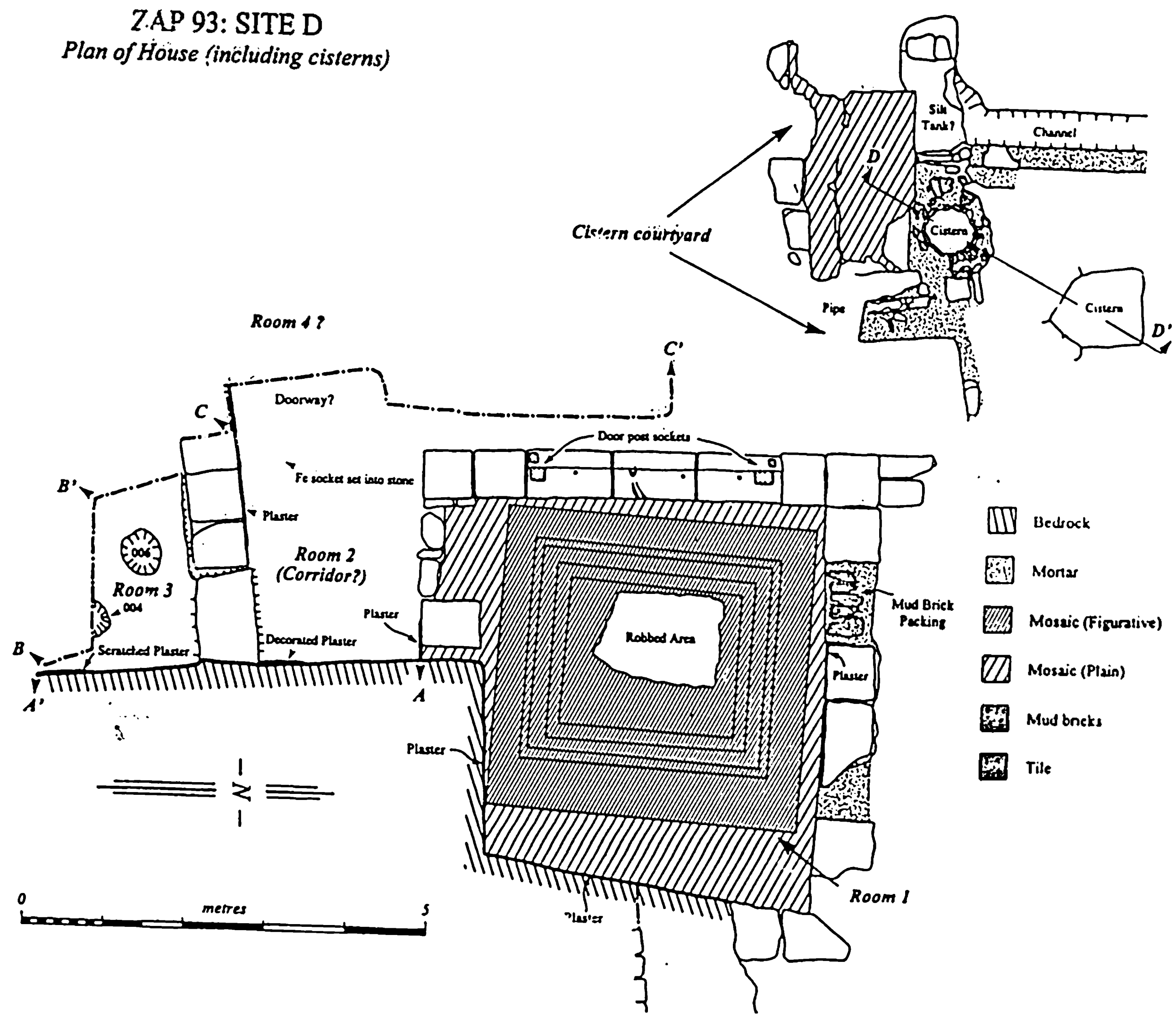


Plate 14: Plan of House D.

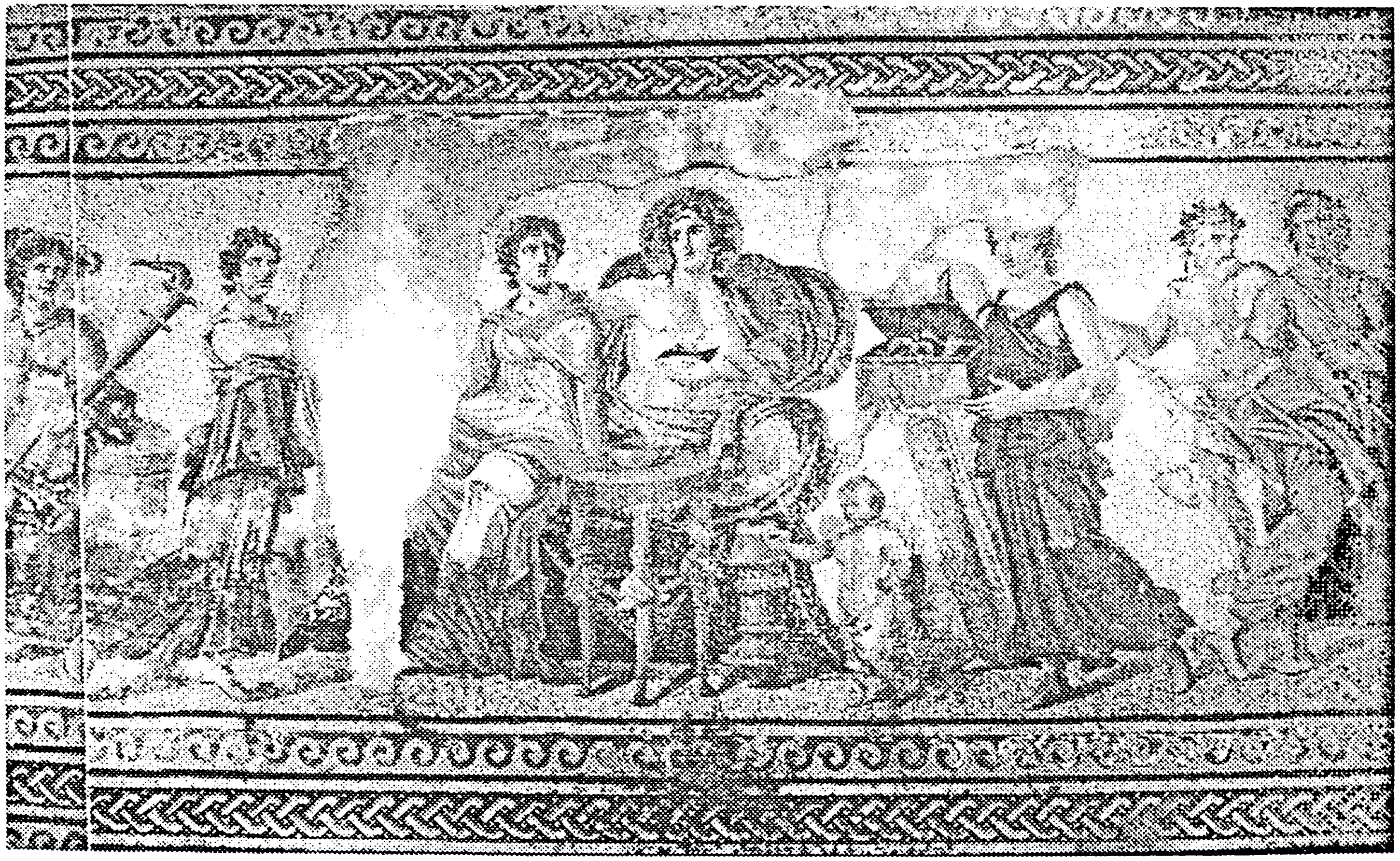
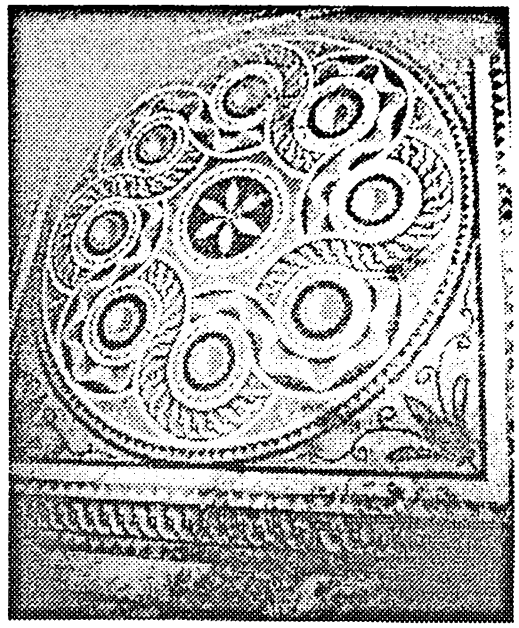


Plate 15: Dionysos and Ariadne Mosaic, Ergeç House, Zeugma (location unknown)

Plate 16: Mosaic medallion, Ergeç house, Zeugma (*in situ*)



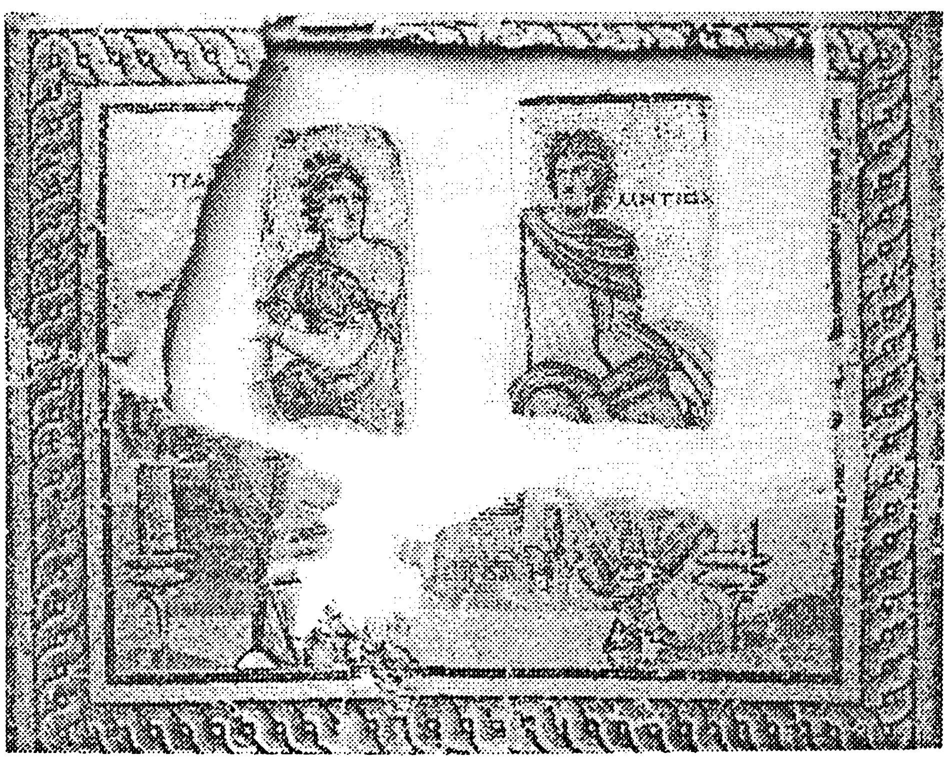


Plate 17: Figured Mosaic, house D, Zeugma (Figures, Ménil collection, Houston)