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Graeco-Roman sculpture in the Levant: the marbles from the Sanctuary of Pan at Caesarea Philippi (Banias)

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Introduction

In 1992, during the fourth season of excavation at the Sanctuary of Pan (the Paneion) at Caesarea Philippi, a deposit of broken marble sculptures was discovered in one of the buildings atop the elevated sanctuary terrace. Twenty-eight individual sculptures may be reconstructed from the 245 fragments recovered.¹ They range in scale from colossal to miniature. Most are expertly carved in a Graeco-Roman style and represent standard Graeco-Roman deities and mythological figures. Subjects include: a colossal, helmeted head of Roma or Athena, life-size heads of Athena, Zeus or Asklepios, Apollo or a Muse, Dionysos, a life-size torso of a nymph, a life-size leg of a Capitoline/Medici Aphrodite, an Artemis Rospigliosi (two-thirds life-size), and 10 small-scale statuettes including the torso of a dancing satyr and a "Weary" Herakles. Many of the pieces may be dated stylistically from the second half of the 1st through the late 4th or early 5th c. A.D.

Nothing about these sculptures — neither their material, their style, nor their subject-matter — is characteristic of the context in which they were discovered. There is no native source of marble in the Levant and no local tradition of carving marble. Figurative and architectural sculpture is generally carved of local materials such as limestone and basalt. Furthermore, the Graeco-Roman style and subject-matter of the sculptures from the Paneion stand out in the Semitic milieu of the Roman Near East, where local sculptural styles were distinctly not Graeco-Roman and subject-matter often included Semitic deities.

In fact such finds are rare. Among the hundreds of Roman-period sites in the Levant, only a few have yielded large groups of marble sculpture.² In Judaea/Syria-Palestina major groups come from the port city of Caesarea Maritima and the Decapolis center of Beth Shean/Scythopolis.³ In Syria-Phoenicia, a large group comes from the Temple of Asklepios-Eschmun

1 Prior to the excavations of 1988-94, only one other marble sculpture was discovered at this site: an over-life size bust of Antinous; for the most recent publication and bibliography, see H. Meyer, *Antinoos: die archäologischen Denkmäler unter Einbeziehung des numismatischen und epigraphischen Materials sowie der literarischen Nachrichten. Ein Beitrag zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte der hadrianisch-frühantoininischen Zeit* (Munich 1991) 99-100, pls. 88, 4-5 and 89, nr. I 77.

2 By "large", I mean 5 or more sculptures; by "group" I refer to finds from a single site, but not necessarily from a single context at that site. Because many of these sculptural groups are not yet fully published, it is difficult to determine exact numbers of pieces discovered at each site. My estimates of the numbers of Roman marble sculpture discovered at each site are based on publications, personal communications from excavation directors or sculpture specialists, and first-hand surveys of marble statuary found in Israel and Jordan. I would like to thank Hans-Dieter Bienert and Thomas Weber for allowing me access to Dr. Weber's photoarchive of Roman marble sculpture discovered in Jordan which is housed at the German Protestant Institute of Archaeology in Amman.

3 R. Gersht is publishing the corpus from Caesarea Maritima. For her most recent articles, see "Seven new sculptural pieces from Caesarea," in J. H. Humphrey (ed.), *The Roman and Byzantine Near East: some recent archaeological research* (JRA Suppl. 14, 1995) 109-20; ead., "Three Greek and Roman portrait statues from Caesarea Maritima," *Atiqot* 28 (1996) 99-113. On selected finds from Beth Shean/Scythopolis see Y. Tsafir and G. Foerster, "Urbanism at Scythopolis," *DOP* 51 (1997) 129-31; Y. Turnheim and A. Ovadia, "Dionysos in Beth Shean," *RdA* 18 (1994) 105-14; and G. Foerster and Y.

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at Sidon⁴ and another from the nymphaeum at Apamea.⁵ In Syria-Coele, over 250 fragments were found at Antioch-on-the-Orontes.⁶ In western Arabia, sizeable groups have been found at Philadelphia/Amman, Gadara, Petra, and Jerash.⁷

In the Roman Near East, no other body of artifacts is more representative of the *mores* of the occupying Graeco-Roman culture than marble sculptures, carved in non-local materials and foreign style, representing distinctly non-Semitic subjects, and imported and displayed on a selective basis. Finds of Roman marble statuary in this region reflect a larger and related regional phenomenon: the varying degree of assimilation to and/or adoption of mainstream Graeco-Roman culture from province to province and site to site.

The sculptures from the Paneion provide new evidence for the import of Roman marble sculpture to the Levant by virtue of their context – both locally and regionally. First, the pieces are securely associated with a single context – a pagan sanctuary to Pan. As such, their subject-matter, style and materials may be studied and interpreted by comparison with those of the sculptural assemblages from other Levantine sanctuaries. Furthermore, while Caesarea Philippi sits on the border between Palestine and Syria and was at one time part of the Herodian kingdom, regionally the site is firmly situated in a Phoenician/Syrian environment, as its absorption into the territory of Roman Syria reveals.

In this article I will introduce some of the sculptures from the Paneion and argue, based on stylistic, technical and isotopic analyses, that both their sculptors and their marble may be associated with Asia Minor, in particular with the sculptural workshops of Asia and Caria. Based on the Anatolian origins of the sculptures from the Paneion, I will then consider the position of Caesarea Philippi within the broader context of the Roman Near East. First, I will look at patterns of trade and ports of entry by which marble statuary reached Caesarea Philippi and other provinces of the Levant, especially Palestine. Then I will undertake preliminary comparisons with sculptural groups from other pagan sanctuaries in the Levant to reveal the highly hellenized character of the Sanctuary of Pan at Caesarea Philippi.

The historical and archaeological context of the sculptures from the Paneion

The Sanctuary of Pan was founded sometime before 200 B.C. as a rural shrine to the pastoral god Pan.⁸ It was centered around an enormous natural grotto on the southwestern slopes of Mount Hermon, just above one of the sources of the Jordan river. During the Hellenistic period, the cult focused on the grotto and no buildings were constructed on top of the lofty, adjacent terrace. In 19

Tsafrir, "A statue of Dionysos as a youth recently discovered at Beth Shean," *Qadmaniot* 23 (1990) 52-54 [Hebrew].

4 R. A. Stucky, *Die Skulpturen aus dem Eschmun-Heiligtum bei Sidon* (AntK Beih. 17, 1993).

5 A. Schmidt-Colinet, "Skulpturen aus dem Nymphäum von Apamea/Syrien," *AA* 1985, 119-33.

6 R. Stillwell (ed.), *Antioch on-the-Orontes 2: the excavations 1933-1936* (Princeton 1938); id. (ed.), *Antioch on-the-Orontes 3: the excavations 1937-1939* (Princeton 1941); D. M. Brinkerhoff, *A collection of sculpture in Classical and Early Christian Antioch* (New York 1970).

7 For publication of the sculptures from the Theater in Amman, see F. el Fakharani, "Das Theater von Amman in Jordan," *AA* 90 (1975) 377-403. For publication of the sculptures from the nymphaeum at Gadara, see P. C. Bol *et al.*, "Gadara in der Dekapolis," *AA* (1990) 193-266. For the pieces from Petra, see T. Weber and R. Wenning, *Petra: Antike Felsstadt zwischen arabischer Tradition und griechischer Norm* (Mainz am Rhein 1997) 120-25. Catalogue entries on several of the pieces from Gerash appear in V. A. Clark, "Sculpture," in F. Zayadine (ed.), *Jerash Archaeological Project 1981-1983* (Amman 1986) 264, pl. 22, 1-2 and in H. Kraeling, *Gerasa, city of the Decapolis* (New Haven 1938) pl. 31 C. For a general survey of Roman marble sculpture from Jordan, see T. Weber, "A survey of Roman sculpture in the Decapolis: preliminary report," *ADAJ* 34 (1990) 351-52.

8 Polybius' mention (16.18.2; 28.1.3) of Antiochus III's defeat of the Ptolemaic general Scopas at 'το πανειον' in 200 B.C. gives a *terminus ante quem* for the foundation of the sanctuary.

B.C., the sanctuary received its first monumental architecture when Herod the Great constructed a temple to Augustus and Roma in front of the grotto.⁹ Then, in 2/1 B.C., Herod's son Philip founded the city of Caesarea Philippi in the plain, some 250 m south of the sanctuary. Afterwards, the city became the capital of the Herodian kingdom until it passed into the Roman province of Syria in A.D. 95. During the 2nd and 3rd c. A.D., archaeological and epigraphic evidence shows that the Paneion became an important regional sanctuary where local élites honored Graeco-Roman deities and Roman emperors. Thus, from its Hellenistic foundation through the first three centuries A.D., the Sanctuary of Pan was transformed from a rural cult site into a metropolitan religious center.

By the early 3rd c., the sanctuary included the Augusteum and 5 temples atop the terrace to the east, housing at least 19 associated sculptural niches. Construction on the terrace began at the westernmost end at some point in the 1st c. A.D. and continued through the 3rd c. to include (from west to east and in order of construction): an open-air court dedicated to Pan and the nymphs, a large ashlar temple to Zeus and Pan, an open-air court to Nemesis, a tripartite building whose function is unclear, and an apsidal court, perhaps dedicated to Pan. The sanctuary seems to have gone out of use in the middle of the 5th c.¹⁰

The sculptures from the Paneion were discovered in the central hall of the tripartite building and in the street in front of it, in a mixed deposit of the early Islamic period, which included ashlar blocks, other building materials and earth.¹¹ Thus, the archaeological context of the sculptures from the Paneion affords neither dates of manufacture or dedication nor evidence for their original display locations. Since the sanctuary is situated high above the city center on a mountain-side terrace, it seems safe to associate the sculptural finds with the sanctuary rather than with the city of Caesarea Philippi below. Moreover, since these sculptures are far too numerous to have been displayed in the tripartite building alone, all of the temples at the sanctuary should be considered as possible original display contexts. To date, no other significant fragments of marble statuary have been discovered in any of the other excavations at or around the city of Caesarea Philippi.¹²

The style and carving of the sculptures from the Paneion

The sculptures from the Paneion are characterized by the following technical features: highly-polished drapery and flesh; square or rectangular neck struts (large areas of roughly cut marble left at the backs of necks); emphatic and plentiful drill-work in the hair, beards and drapery; and eyes with undrilled pupils, pointed inner corners, and little indication of tear ducts (other than the occasional drill-hole at their inner corners). To determine the origins of the sculptures from the Paneion, these features must be compared to those of the statuary carved in the Roman-period workshops of Greece and Asia Minor, both of which are thought to have supplied marble statuary to the Levant. Some scholars have noted previously that most of the imported marble sculptures found in the Levant have stylistic and technical features

9 Jos., *AntJ* 15.363, *BJ* 1.404-6. For the identification of the temple in front of the grotto as the Augusteum, see Z. U. Ma'oz, "Banias" in E. Stern *et al.* (edd.), *The new encyclopedia of archaeological excavations in the Holy Land I* (New York 1993) 140.

10 For identifications and dates of these buildings, see Ma'oz *ibid.* 136-43, and A. M. Berlin, "The Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman pottery," in Z. U. Ma'oz *et al.*, *Paneion I: excavation at the Sanctuary of Pan at Caesarea Philippi-Banyas, final report* (Jerusalem, forthcoming).

11 This date is based on early Islamic pottery from the deposit. See A. Boaz in Ma'oz *et al.*, *ibid.*

12 V. Tzaferis kindly informs me (1995) that during 8 years of excavation at the city center, only one or two small fragments of marble sculptures have been found. A fragmentary torso of a small-scale nude Aphrodite was discovered in the fields of Kibbutz Snir which lie atop the territory of ancient Caesarea Philippi (S. Dar, "A relief of Aphrodite from Paneas, Israel," *JBAA* 144 [1991] 117, pl. 16 B; U. Avida, *Aphrodite: a Greek goddess* [The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, catalogue nr. 184, 1978] 64, nr. 14).

specific to Anatolian workshops.¹³ Z. Pearl, in his chemical and mineralogical analysis of some 200 Roman-period sculptures, architectural elements and sarcophagi found in Israel, concluded that the marble of artifacts imported to Roman Israel was quarried in Asia Minor and Greece but not in Italy.¹⁴

Technically, the sculptures from the Paneion are not comparable to the statuary carved in the workshops of Roman Greece. They are easily distinguished from Attic and Peloponnesian products, which share many stylistic and technical features and are characterized by: smoothed (but rarely polished) skin surfaces; tool marks left unsmoothed on drapery surfaces and occasionally even on faces; an absence of neck struts; chiselled rather than drilled hair, with drill-work used only for accent; and rounded inner corners of eyes with indications of tear ducts.¹⁵ Nor are the sculptures from the Paneion similar to the pieces carved in N Greek workshops, which are characterized by: smoothed and often lightly polished faces, necks and limbs; occasional rasp marks left on drapery; an absence of neck struts; more prevalent drill-work in the hair; more variation in the shape of the inner corners of eyes and the indication of tear ducts; and Venus rings carved on the necks.¹⁶ Rather, the Paneion pieces are most similar technically and stylistically to the sculptures carved in the workshops of Roman Asia Minor. Though regional styles have proven difficult to define, and many scholars speak of a unified "Asiatic" style that existed from the late 1st through the 3rd c. A.D.,¹⁷ archaeological and epigraphic evidence suggests that sculptural production centers existed in Caria (Aphrodisias), Asia (Ephesos), and Pamphylia (Side and Perge) from the 1st through the 3rd c. A.D. and beyond.¹⁸ Thus, several specific comparisons of the sculptures from the Paneion with pieces from

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- 13 E.g., C. Vermeule and K. Anderson, "Greek and Roman sculpture in the Holy Land," *BurlMag* 123 (1981) 11-12; R. Gersht, "The Tyche of Caesarea Maritima," *PEQ* 116 (1984) 113-14; L. M. Stirling, *Mythological statuary in late antiquity: a case study of villa decoration in southwest Gaul* (Ph.D. diss. Univ. of Michigan 1994) 57-76, 82-85; J. H. Iliffe, "A heroic statue from Philadelphia-Amman," in G. E. Mylonas (ed.), *Studies presented to David Moore Robinson I* (St. Louis 1951) 709-11.
- 14 Z. Pearl, *Archaeological marble in Israel: chemical and mineralogical analysis* (M.Sc. thesis, Weizmann Institute of Science, Rehovot 1989) 68.
- 15 Opinions differ about the similarity of Attic and Peloponnesian products. B. Ridgway notes that there are definite connections between Corinth and the Attic sculptural workshops ("Sculpture from Corinth," *Hesperia* 50 [1981] 437-43). C. E. De Grazia argues that there was not an established Corinthian workshop until the late Roman period (*Excavations of the American School of Classical Studies at Corinth: the Roman portrait sculpture* [Ph.D. diss., Columbia Univ. 1973]). M. C. Sturgeon, however, differentiates between Attic and Corinthian products and suggests that there were local Corinthian workshops at least during the 2nd c. A.D. ("Roman sculptures from Corinth and Isthmia: a case for a local 'workshop'," in S. Walker and A. Cameron (edd.), *The Greek renaissance in the Roman empire* (BullInstClassStud Suppl. 55 [1989] 114-21). This survey of the stylistic and technical features of Attic and Peloponnesian statuary is based on first-hand inspection of the pieces displayed in the National Archaeological Museum and the Agora Museum in Athens, the Olympia Museum, and the Corinth Museum and storerooms. I would like to thank C. K. Williams II and N. Bookidis of the American Excavations at Corinth for granting me access to the Corinth materials.
- 16 The following conclusions are based on first-hand examination of sculptures displayed in the Thessaloniki Museum and the Dion Museum.
- 17 On the unified "Asiatic style," see B. S. Ridgway, *Roman copies of Greek sculpture: the problem of the originals* (Ann Arbor 1984) 89.
- 18 For the sculptural workshop at Aphrodisias, see P. Rockwell, "Unfinished statuary associated with a sculptor's studio," in R. R. R. Smith and K. T. Erim (edd.), *Aphrodisias papers 2* (JRA Suppl. 2, 1991) 127-43. Although this workshop is dated to the 4th c. A.D., substantial quantities of three-dimensional and relief sculpture dated from the Julio-Claudian period onward argue for the existence of sculptors' workshops at Aphrodisias from the early Imperial period. Evidence for local sculptural production at Ephesos comes from: large groups of statuary designed for individual monuments, such as the Fountain of Trajan and the monuments of Caius Laecanius Bassus; multiple examples of the same sculptural type such as the 5 Tritons from the Bassus monument; the *puntelli* that cover the back side of the late



Fig. 1: Artemis Rospigliosi (cat. 15). Photo author.

Ephesos and Aphrodisias will illustrate that the Paneion statues may be associated with the workshops of Asia Minor in general and with the workshops of Caria (Aphrodisias) and Asia (Ephesos) in particular.

A nearly complete Artemis Rospigliosi, accompanied on her right by a hound and hare, is among the pieces (fig. 1). Both the flesh and drapery of this figure are highly polished. Such high polish, especially on drapery, is common on sculptures carved in Asia Minor but it contrasts with the rasp marks frequently found on the drapery, flesh, and faces of statuary carved in Greek workshops.¹⁹ In addition, four of the 5 fully preserved heads from the sanctuary have

Antonine Dionysos from the Fountain of Trajan (M. Aurenhammer, *Die Skulpturen von Ephesos, Bildwerke aus Stein: Idealplastik 1* [ForschEph X/1, 1990] 19, 62-63); and a lintel block from the city that shows a series of scenes from a sculptor's workshop (Istanbul Archaeological Museum nr. 775T; G. Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines I* [Constantinople 1912-14] 78-80, nr. 13). Pamphylia too must have had one or more regional workshops as attested by: the large number of sculptures found at both Perge and Side; multiple examples of the same type from these sites; two unfinished heads discovered at Side (J. Inan, *Roman sculpture in Side* [Ankara 1975] 7-8); sculptors' tools and unfinished blocks recovered from the region (displayed in the Antalya Museum); and epigraphic evidence from Side, which identifies sculptors working at the site during the Hellenistic period (Inan *ibid.* 7-8). Note, however, that in his review of Inan (*BjB* 179 [1979] 781) A. Linfert argues that the small number of unfinished pieces found at Side is not sufficient to prove the existence of local sculptural workshops, especially in light of the absence of nearby marble quarries.

¹⁹ For high polish on pieces from Asia Minor, see Ridgway (*supra* n.15) 444. For rasp marks visible on



Fig. 2. Head of a goddess wearing a *stephane* (Hera, Hygieia, or Aphrodite), front view (cat. 5). Photo author.



Fig. 3. Same right profile. Photo author.

neck-struts, a technical feature most commonly associated with the workshops of Asia Minor.²⁰ One example from the Paneion is the life-size head of a goddess wearing a *stephane*, who may be identified as Hera, Hygieia, or Aphrodite based on her headpiece and hairstyle (figs. 2-3). Such neck-struts are extremely rare on statuary found in Greece. Another technical characteristic of the sculptures from the Paneion that associates them with the workshops of Asia Minor is the emphatic and plentiful use of the drill in hair, beards, and drapery. On a head of Zeus or Asklepios from the sanctuary (figs. 4-5), deep drill channels outline the locks of hair and the curls of the beard. On both sides of the face, deep drill channels separate a hood of hair from the temples and cheeks. This approach to the hair is not common to all Anatolian workshops

flesh and drapery of Attic and Peloponnesian pieces, see De Grazia (supra n.15) 55; P. Graindor, "Les cosmètes du Musée d'Athènes," *BCH* 39 (1915) 272-73; J. Marcadé, "Sculptures argiennes," *BCH* 81 (1957) 452; M. C. Sturgeon, "A new group of sculptures from ancient Corinth," *Hesperia* 44 (1975) 281, 300; ead., *Sculpture I: 1952-1967* (Isthmia 4, Princeton 1987) 6; ead. (supra n.15) 115; ead., "The Corinth Amazon: formation of a Roman classical sculpture," *AJA* 99 (1995) 503.

²⁰ J. Inan and E. Rosenbaum, *Roman and Early Byzantine portrait sculpture in Asia Minor* (London 1966) 10; J. Inan and E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *Römische und frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik aus der Türkei: neue Funde* (Mainz am Rhein 1979) 3; Ridgway (supra n.17) 87-88. Several scholars have suggested that neck-struts were designed to protect the structurally weak neck from breaking, especially during transport (Ridgway *ibid.* 88; F. Braemer, "Les relations commerciales et culturelles de Carthage avec l'Orient Romain à partir de documents sculptés" in *Carthage et son territoire dans l'antiquité* [Histoire et archéologie de l'Afrique du Nord. Actes du IV^e colloque int. 1, Paris 1990] 190).



Fig. 4. Head of Zeus or Asklepios, front view (cat. 4). Fig. 5. Same, left profile. Photo courtesy IAA. Photo author.

but seems most widely used in production centers along the western coast. The “black and white” effect created by the deep drill-channels seen here differs markedly from the technique used on Pamphylian works, which were carved with drill-channels of varying depths that create a layered effect.²¹ In contrast, the hair of sculptures carved in Greece is worked mainly with a chisel and merely accented by drillwork.²² Another technical feature common to all of our heads and one comparable to Anatolian sculptures is the rendering of the eyes: as with the classicizing head of Athena wearing an Attic helmet (fig. 6), all the sculptures from the Paneion have eyes with pointed inner corners and little indication of tear ducts, except for tiny drill-holes at their inner corners.²³

In addition to these technical similarities, several of the Paneion pieces are stylistically similar to individual sculptures from Aphrodisias and Ephesos. For example, the Paneion head of Apollo or a Muse (fig. 7) echoes a head from Aphrodisias, thought to represent Aphrodite (fig. 8).²⁴ Comparable features include the shape of the face, the rendering and shape of the eyes, the polish of the face, and the contrast between the polished face and the heavily drilled hair. Right profiles of these same pieces show that the heads are particularly close in

21 This conclusion is based on first-hand examination of sculptures displayed in the Antalya Museum.

22 De Grazia (supra n.17) 54; Graindor (supra n.19) 272; J. Marcadé and É. Raftopoulou, “Sculptures argiennes (2),” *BCH* 87 (1963) 186-87; Sturgeon (supra n.19) 6; Sturgeon (supra n.15) 115.

23 Although several technical features of this head compare to other sculptures from the Paneion group, its classicizing style and archaizing ‘snail shell’ curls distinguish it from the other sculptures preserved at the site.

24 On display in the Aphrodisias Museum, Inv. Nr. 11-269.

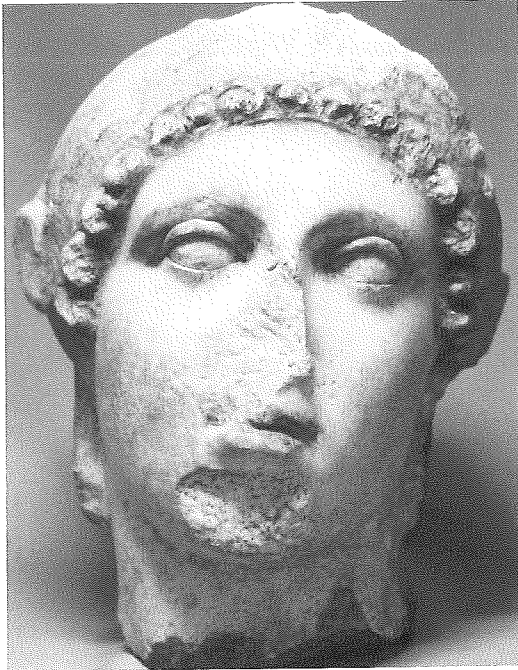


Fig. 6: Head of Athena wearing an Attic helmet, front view (cat. 2). Photo author.

the drilling of the hair (figs. 9-10). Both have several deep, continuous, undulating channels piercing an otherwise solid mass of hair. This technique seems to be common to Aphrodisian sculptors, since several other heads from the site have similarly worked hair. Another Paneion sculpture, a statuette of a satyr or faun (fig. 11), may also be associated with the workshops at Aphrodisias. The back of the creature (fig. 12) has an S-shaped tail and an unusually rendered backbone, both of which find parallels in two statues from Aphrodisias: the Pan of a *spinario* group (fig. 13) and the satyr from the small group of a satyr with the young Dionysos.²⁵ The spines of all of these creatures are depicted with single chisel lines that run down their backs, fork just above their buttocks, and then extend horizontally to separate the buttocks from the lower backs. Both figures have S-shaped tails nestled into the triangular-shaped area created by these forks. Although this rendering of the spine is uncommon, several Pans and satyrs from Aphro-



Fig. 7: Head of Apollo or a Muse (?), front view (cat. 6). Photo author.



Fig. 8: Head of Aphrodite from Aphrodisias, front view. Photo author (courtesy R. R. R. Smith, Aphrodisias Excavations).

25 For the *spinario* group, see K. T. Erim, "Aphrodisias: results of the 1967 campaign," *TurkArkDerg* 16-1 (1967) 69, and M. J. Mellink, *AJA* 72 (1968) 143, pl. 55.6. For the small group of a satyr and young Dion-



Fig. 9. Head of Apollo or a Muse (?), right profile (cat. 6). Photo, author.



Fig. 10. Head of Aphrodite from Aphrodisias, right profile. Photo author (courtesy R. Smith, Aphrodisias Excavations).

disias have this trait. Finally, the Paneion torso of a nymph (fig. 14) recalls the sculptural type, posture, and formal and technical characteristics of an Aphrodite or nymph from the Fountain of Trajan at Ephesos (fig. 15).²⁶ Especially similar are the arrangement of the drapery around the lower hips, the position of the shell above the pubic region, the rounded edges of the drapery folds, the clean, even drill channels that indicate separations between folds, and the highly polished drapery and flesh.

Thus, both technical similarities and several direct stylistic comparisons make the sculptures from the Paneion most similar to statuary created in the workshops of western Anatolia.

ysos, see K. T. Erim, "The satyr and young Dionysus group from Aphrodisias," *Türk Tarih Kurumu-yayın Lari Dizi VII sa 60a 2* (Ankara 1974) 767-75, and R. R. R. Smith in C. Roueché and R. R. R. Smith (edd.), *Aphrodisias papers 3* (JRA Suppl. 20, 1996) 60-61, fig. 62. Both groups are currently on display in the Aphrodisias Museum. I thank R. R. R. Smith for directing my attention to this technical feature.

²⁶ Ephesos Museum Nr. 768; see F. Miltner, "Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos," *ÖJh* 44 (1959) 339, pl. 183. While another nymph, recently discovered at Beth Shean/Scythopolis, represents the same sculptural type, it is in no way comparable to the Paneion nymph in style. Furthermore, the fountain attachment of the Beth Shean nymph is rendered differently from that of the Paneion nymph (see Tsafirir and Foerster [supra n.3] fig. 38).

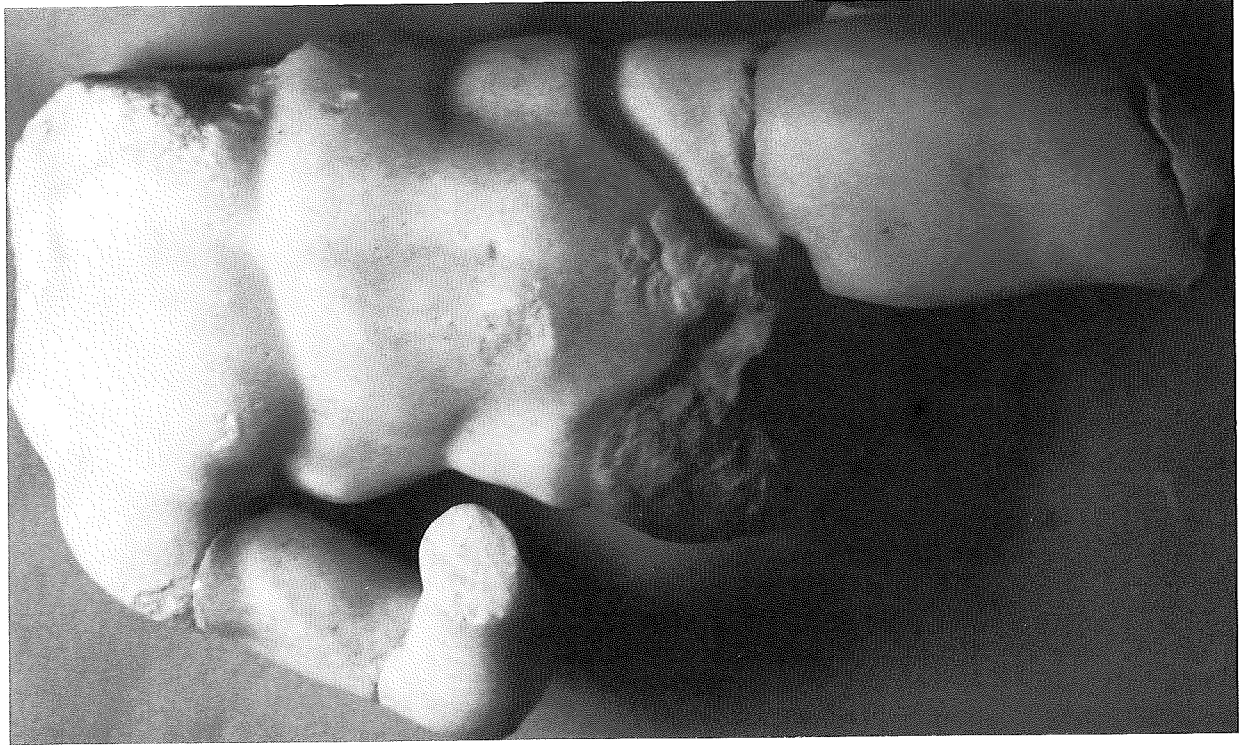


Fig. 11. Torso of a dancing satyr, front view (cat. 20) (portion of left leg shown here belong to a different figure, erroneously attached). Photo author.

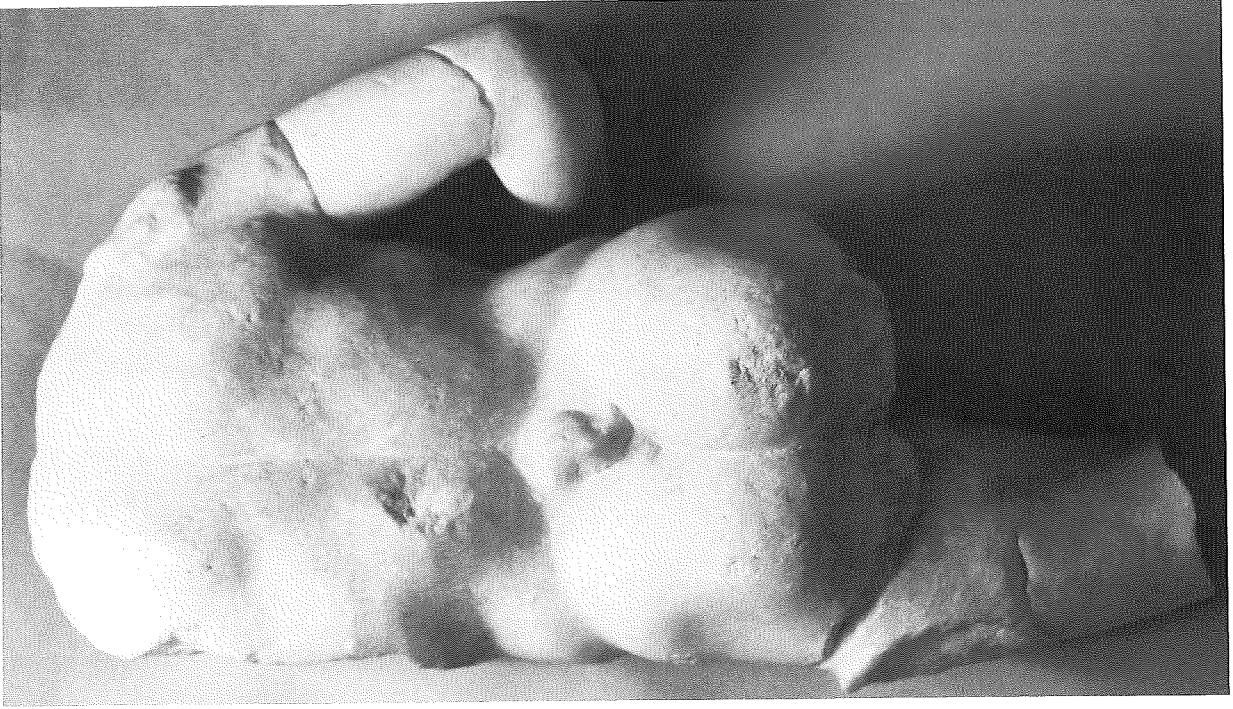


Fig. 12. Torso of a dancing satyr, back view (cat. 20). Photo courtesy IAA.



Fig. 13. Detail of the Pan from the spinario group from Aphrodisias, back view. Photo author, published courtesy R. Smith, Aphrodisias Excavations



Fig. 14. Torso of a nymph, front view (cat. 11). Photo author.

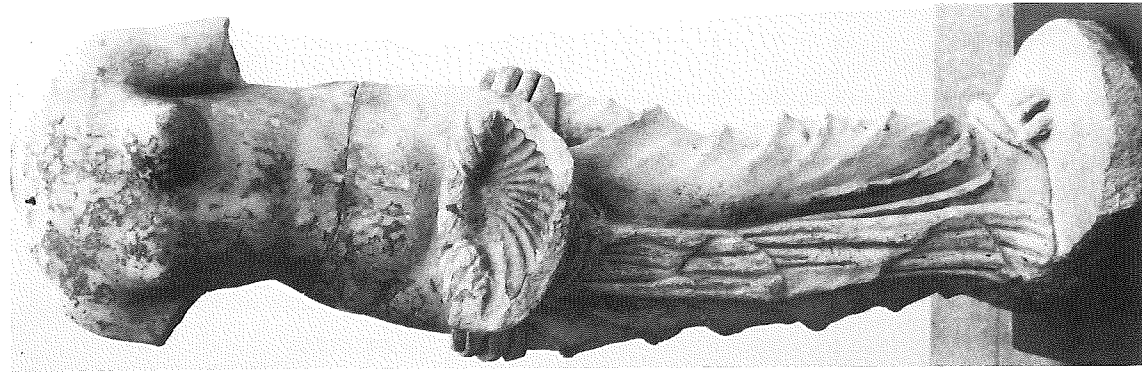


Fig. 15. Torso of a nymph from Ephesos, front view. Photo author, published courtesy M. Aurenhammer, OAI.

TABLE 1: DATA FROM ISOTOPIC ANALYSIS OF 10 MARBLE SCULPTURES FROM THE SANCTUARY OF PAN AT CAESAREA PHILIPPI*

<i>Cat. Nr.</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Desc. of Crystals</i>	<i>Minerals</i>	$\delta^{18}\text{O}$	$\delta^{13}\text{C}$	<i>Possible Quarry</i>
15	Artemis Rospigliosi	small-medium, glittering	calcite	-4.05	3.13	Afyon 46.0%, Marmara 19.3%, Ephesus 2.0%
4	Head of Zeus/ Asklepios	med, glittering, flaky	calcite	-3.22	2.59	Usak 68.4%, Marmara 65.1%, Mylasa 59.6%, Afyon 46.0%, Heracleia 14.1%
14	Right shoulder, upper arm, and breast	large, chunky, glittering	calcite	-2.31	2.59	Marmara 93.5%, Usak 62.5%, Denizli 59.3%, Miletus 33.9%, Afyon 27.9%, Carrara (if marble is very fine grained) 53.9%
12	Torso of youthful, nude god (Dionysos?)	tiny, glittering	calcite	-1.69	3.74	Denizli 64.9%, Marmara 25.3%, Afyon 8.3%
8	Fragment of head (Dionysos?)	large, chunky, glittering	calcite	-3.87	1.78	Aphrodisias 95.8%, Afyon 78.9%, Miletus 69.7%, Ephesus 37.5%, Usak 37.2%
25	Forequarters of bovine	small, closely packed, translucent	calcite, feldspar	-6.44	1.71	Naxos/Apiranthos 67.8% (if coarse grained, Archaic), Denizli 38.8%, Afyon 37.2%, Naxos/Apollonas 15.4% (if coarse grained, Archaic)
no catalogue	Tree limb (?) (W60/2236)	medium, translucent	calcite	-1.63	3.42	Marmara 54.4%, Denizli 41.6%, Paros/Chorodaki 32.1% (if fine grained)
29	Base with human and animal feet	medium, glittering	calcite, quartz	-3.36	1.15	Ephesus 65.3%, Afyon 64.2%, Aphrodisias 49.3, Miletus 19.7%
20	Torso of dancing satyr	medium, closely packed	calcite	-4.96	-1.73	Afyon 13.5%, Ephesos 1.6%
1	Head of Roma	large, highly translucent	calcite dolomite	-3.71 -3.29	0.93 1.45	Afyon 70.1%, Ephesos 67.2%, Aphrodisias 39.7%, Miletus 28.6%

* Columns 1-3 refer to the Paneion sculptures as presented in Friedland, diss. Columns 4-6 repeat data presented in Heimann and Porat (supra n.27). The quarry possibilities and percentages listed in column 7 are derived from comparing the delta figures at the Paneion with the Classical Marble Data Base (supra n.27). These numbers give the percentage possibility that the marble originated in the listed quarry. However, a higher percentage for one quarry rather than another does not necessarily mean that the marble comes from first quarry and not the second (N. Herz, pers. comm.).

Moreover, many characteristics of the 6 pieces introduced here are shared by the other sculptures from the site. Since there is only occasional, scattered archaeological evidence from the Levant for the existence, during the Roman period, of marble-carving workshops that produced sculpture in a classical tradition, it seems reasonable to suppose that the sculptures from the Paneion were imported to the Levant as fully-carved works of art.²⁷

The marble provenience of the sculptures from the Paneion

The physical characteristics of the marble and preliminary results of isotopic analysis also associate the sculptures from the Paneion with Asia Minor. The marble of the majority of the sculptures has large, white, translucent crystals with no foliation or color-banding. Isotopic analysis was performed on samples taken from 10 sculptures and the results were compared to the Classical Marble Data Base (data and quarry possibilities are listed in Table 1).²⁸ While future sampling of quarries may alter preliminary conclusions, it seems reasonable to draw attention to the marble proveniences suggested by this analysis. As is common in the results of isotopic analysis, the delta figures of the Paneion marbles compare with the isotopic signatures of several Turkish quarries as well as those of Naxos, Paros, and Carrara.²⁹ To narrow further the range of sources, the chemical composition of these 10 pieces was tested and determined to be either dolomitic or calcitic. From this additional mineralogical analysis and the history of use of particular quarries, the Greek and Italian quarries were eliminated as possible sources. For example, the analysis of the sample taken from a fragmentary right shoulder, upper arm, and breast shows that the marble used to make this piece may have come from one of 5 different quarries in Turkey or Carrara. Carrara may be ruled out as a possible quarry source, since its marble tends to be very fine grained, whereas the marble of the Paneion piece is large grained. Similarly, the sample taken from the forequarters of a bovine shows that the marble used comes from one of two quarries in Turkey or from either Naxos/Apiranthos or Naxos/Apollonas. These Greek quarries may be ruled out, since historical evidence shows that both were mined only during the Archaic period and not in the Roman period.

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- 27 The limited evidence for the carving of marble sculpture and relief in the Levant comes from: a marble protome in its quarry state found at Caesarea Maritima (R. Gersht, "The importation of sculpture to Caesarea," in O. Rimon *et al.* [edd.], *Caesarea – a mercantile city by the sea* [Hecht Museum, Haifa, catalogue no. 12, 1995] 36); a totally unworked block and several half-carved blocks discovered among the architectural elements from the Severan theater frieze at Beth-Shean/Scythopolis (A. Ovadia and Y. Turnheim, "Peopled" scrolls in Roman architectural decoration in Israel: the Roman theater at Beth Shean, *Scythopolis* [RdA Suppl. 12, 1994] 105, 122); and the garland sarcophagi in their quarry state from Tyre (J. B. Ward-Perkins, "The imported sarcophagi from Roman Tyre," *BMusBey* 22 [1969] 137). For a summary of the evidence for and debate concerning the existence of marble carving workshops in the Roman Levant, see my dissertation 57-61.
- 28 Ariel Heimann and Naomi Porat of the Geological Survey of Israel extracted the marble samples from the statuary and analyzed them at their laboratory in Jerusalem; see A. Heimann and N. Porat, "The excavations of the Sanctuary of Pan (Baniyas): geological reports" in *Geological Survey of Israel Report GSI/5/95* (Jerusalem 1995) 18-29 [Hebrew]. I thank Norman Herz (University of Georgia) for comparing the delta figures of the Paneion samples with his data-base and statistical program to determine the quarry assignments reported here (analysis done in June 1998). For a discussion of the statistical program, see M. Pentia, "Carbon and oxygen isotopic ratio bivariate distribution for marble artifacts quarry assignment," *Romanian Journal of Physics* 40 (1995) 363-79.
- 29 For the limitations of isotopic analysis, see K. Germann *et al.*, "Determination of marble provenience: limits of isotopic analysis," *Archaeometry* 22 (1980) 99-106, and L. Moens *et al.*, "Scientific provenience determination of ancient white marble sculptures using petrographic, chemical, and isotopic data," in *Marble: art historical and scientific perspectives on ancient sculpture* (Malibu 1990) 113. Marble from Turkish quarries is particularly difficult to identify, since many of these quarries have not yet been discovered and others have not been adequately sampled (S. Kane, pers. comm.).

The evidence thus far available suggests that all of the sampled sculptures from the Paneion were made of marble from Turkish quarries. Because each sampled sculpture from the Paneion is associated with at least two (usually more) different Turkish quarries, and because the marbles from many of these quarries have identical physical characteristics and are not distinguishable by any scientific method, it is impossible to be more specific. Possible quarry sources are Marmara, Afyon, Ephesos, Usak, Miletus, Heracleia, Aphrodisias, Denizli, and Mylasa. The results of the isotopic analyses already performed are strikingly uniform and point to sources in Turkey. It is probable that most of the unsampled sculptures also originated in Turkish quarries, since the marble used for the majority of the sculptures from the Paneion is remarkably homogeneous in grain size, grain density, and the ability to take a high polish.

The suggestion that the marble comes from quarries in Asia Minor corresponds with the conclusions of Pearl's scientific study of imported white marble artifacts discovered in Israel.³⁰ Pearl has analyzed Roman period statuary, architectural elements, and sarcophagi using a sequential, multi-method analysis which includes isotopic analysis, electron spin resonance (ESR) supported by atomic absorption spectroscopy (AAS), and X-ray diffraction (XRD). Pearl concluded that different combinations of quarries seem to have supplied the marble for statuary, architectural elements, and sarcophagi. Architectural marble was imported primarily from the Turkish quarries of Proconnesos and Dokimeion, while the marble of imported sarcophagi came from Proconnesos, Dokimeion and the Greek quarry on Mount Pentelikon. Sculptural marble came primarily from Asia Minor, especially from Aphrodisias and Dokimeion, though a small number of statues found in Israel were made of Greek marble from Paros, Thasos, and Hymettus.

Implications of the Anatolian origins of the sculptures from the Paneion

The Anatolian origins of the sculptures from the Paneion have two important ramifications. First, it is instructive to compare the seemingly uniform Asiatic origins of the marble statuary from the Paneion with the sources of the marble sculptures from Caesarea Maritima and Beth Shean/Scythopolis, the other two major sites in the Levant whose marbles have been subjected to scientific analyses. The statuary found in these two cities is not homogeneous in origin. Of 31 sculptures sampled from Caesarea Maritima, 5 were made of marble from Thasos/Cape Vathy, 8 from Pentelikon, 1 from Paros, 11 from Aphrodisias/Afyon, 2 from Hymettus, and 5 from Marmara.³¹ Eight of the sculptures found at Beth Shean/Scythopolis were analyzed: 2 are made of marble from Pentelikon, 1 from Paros, 3 from Afyon/Aphrodisias, 1 from Marmara, and 1 from Hymettus or Marmara.³² The marble of the two colossal heads found at Tel Naharon near Beth Shean/Scythopolis is thought to have been quarried at Thasos/Cape Vathy.³³ Thus, Caesarea Maritima and Beth Shean/Scythopolis received marble statuary from multiple Greek and Turkish quarries, whereas Caesarea Philippi seems to have imported statuary largely from Asia Minor. The comparison of Caesarea Maritima and Beth Shean/Scythopolis

30 Pearl (supra n.14) 14-28 (methodology) and 68 (conclusions). Subsequent studies by other scholars which have focused on marble objects found at single sites in Israel have upheld Pearl's conclusions: M. L. Fischer *et al.*, "Isotopic and artistic analysis of Corinthian marble capitals from Caesarea: a case study," and R. Gersht and Z. Pearl, "Decoration and marble sources of sarcophagi from Caesarea," in R. L. Vann (ed.), *Caesarea papers* (JRA Suppl. 5, 1992) 214-21 and 222-43; Z. Pearl and M. Magaritz, "Stable isotopes and the Roman marble trade: evidence from Scythopolis and Caesarea, Israel," in H. P. Taylor *et al.* (edd.), *Stable isotope geochemistry: a tribute to Samuel Epstein* (The Geochemical Society, special publications; San Antonio 1991) 295-303.

31 Pearl (supra n.14) Table 7.2.

32 Pearl (supra n.14) 50-55.

33 Z. Pearl and M. Magaritz, "The marble source of the Tel Naharon-Scythopolis heads," *'Atiqot* 20 (1991) 46-48.

with the Paneion may seem somewhat uneven, since the former were large cities in which statuary was displayed in a variety of architectural contexts, while the latter is a sanctuary with a single architectural setting. However, two points should be emphasized. First, no sculptures have been found in the city of Caesarea Philippi itself. More importantly, though the sculptures from the Paneion were dedicated in one architectural setting, they were not all erected at a single point in time as a cohesive sculptural group, but were the result of beneficence by a variety of patrons over many years. It is more likely, then, that the consistency of source material of the sculptures from the Paneion is due to larger patterns of trade and exchange, rather than to patterns of dedication at the site itself. The distinction between the sources of marble for sculpture at Caesarea Maritima, Beth Shean and Caesarea Philippi may reflect the fact that sculpture reached Palestinian and Phoenician cities through different trade routes and ports of entry. For Caesarea Philippi, the most likely port of entry is Tyre, which is thought, based on the many quarry-state sarcophagi discovered here, to have housed marble yards that received statues and architectural elements.³⁴ Caesarea Philippi is located just 29 miles east of the port along the Tyre–Damascus road.³⁵

The Anatolian origins of the sculptures from the Paneion also must be considered in the context of the patrons of this Levantine sanctuary. Evidence regarding the patrons of sculptural dedications at the Sanctuary of Pan is limited to 6 dedicatory inscriptions dated between A.D. 63/4 and 221/2 (there is no epigraphic evidence for sculptural dedications by Herodian dynasts).³⁶ Though only one of these inscriptions may be securely associated with an extant sculpture,³⁷ all are important for reconstructing a cultural and ethnic picture of the sculptural patrons of the sanctuary. Such a picture may be derived from the languages in which the inscriptions are recorded and the names of the dedicators, their fathers, and their families. Although inscriptions written in Latin have been discovered at Caesarea Philippi, all of those associated with sculptural dedications at the sanctuary are written in Greek — that is, their patrons were rooted in the Hellenistic milieu of the Roman east. Yet within this cultural context, the names of several patron–father pairs reveal a more mixed ethnic background. While all of the dedicators of marble statuary have Roman names (recorded in Greek letters), the names of their fathers include one Semitic (Selamanes), one Greek (Lysimachos), and one Roman (Markos) name. B. Isaac argues that the presence of individuals with Roman names in this region is unusual and may indicate associations with the Roman army.³⁸ He also notes that individuals with Roman names who have fathers with Semitic names, such as Quadratus/Marcellus, son of Selamanes, are likely to be natives of this area who had served in the Roman army.³⁹ The epigraphic evidence, then, indicates that at least some of the patrons of the mainstream Graeco-Roman sculptural assemblage found at the Paneion were local peoples.

That local peoples chose to dedicate imported, Graeco-Roman marble sculptures seems symptomatic of the dedicants' desires to be assimilated both to a Hellenistic and Roman milieu. Imported marble sculptures carved in an Asiatic style have not been found in most Levantine cities, and their acquisition and dedication must have been a concerted act. Furthermore, these white marble sculptures provided a vivid contrast to locally carved statuary in rough gray/

34 Ward-Perkins (supra n.27) 132-38; Gersht and Pearl (supra n.30) 238-39.

35 I. Roll, "The Roman road system in Judaea," in L. I. Levine (ed.), *The Jerusalem cathedra* 3 (1983) 145.

36 Although there are numerous other inscriptions from the sanctuary, only these 6 mention sculptural dedications. The epigraphic material from the Sanctuary of Pan has been studied by B. Isaac and will be published in his "Inscriptions from Baniyas" in Ma'oz *et al.* (supra n.10). I thank Prof. Isaac for sharing with me his forthcoming publication upon which much of the following discussion is based.

37 The bust of Antinous carries an inscription that records a dedication from M. Loukkios Phlakkos to the hero Antinous (Meyer [supra n.1] 99).

38 Isaac, *ibid.* (forthcoming).

39 Isaac, *ibid.* (forthcoming).

white limestone or black basalt. These statues would have made a strong hellenizing statement. This mainstream, Graeco-Roman character of the Sanctuary of Pan differs from that found in other religious centers in the Levant. In those centers classical gods were conflated with already existing Semitic deities. In the future I hope systematically to compare the sculptures from the Paneion with the assemblages from other neighboring Levantine sanctuaries such as those at Tyre, Sidon and Palmyra. Here, I offer one brief comparison to underscore the importance of such a study. At the Temple of Allat in Palmyra, the Graeco-Roman goddess Athena was conflated with the Semitic deity Allat from the 2nd c. A.D. on.⁴⁰ This conflation is borne out not only in the epigraphic evidence but also in the sculptural group found at Palmyra. The majority of the sculptures from the temple are carved in limestone and represent Semitic warrior gods, dressed as nomadic desert people and mounted on camels.⁴¹ However, two marble statues, carved in the classical tradition, were also discovered, and one, a colossal adaptation of the Phidian Parthenos, seems to have served as the temple's cult statue.⁴² Thus, the varied subject-matter, iconography, material, and style of the sculptural group from the Temple of Allat at Palmyra reflects the mixed character of the deity worshipped there.

Why was the sculptural collection from the Sanctuary of Pan so different from that at other religious centers in this region? I would like to suggest two reasons. First, Semitic deities never held sway at Caesarea Philippi. The sanctuary was originally founded in the Hellenistic period and was from the first dedicated to a Graeco-Roman god. Second, as the capital of Herodian dynasts, the city and its nearby sanctuary became a venue where these client-kings expressed their connection to the imperial core through mainstream Graeco-Roman architecture and dedications. In the 2nd c. A.D., when the city and its territory had become part of the Roman province of Syria, local élites adopted these patterns and continued to patronize the sanctuary in like manner. Continuing examination of the style and material of sculptural dedications at Levantine sanctuaries will reveal more about patterns of trade, cultural interaction, and religious syncretism in the Roman Near East.

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40 J. Teixidor, *The Pantheon of Palmyra* (Leiden 1979) 61-62.

41 M. Gawlikowski, "Le temple d'Allat à Palmyre," *RA* 1977, 265-66.

42 Gawlikowski (supra n.37) 266. It seems that Gawlikowski identified the Palmyra statue as a Parthenos type based on its Attic helmet topped by a sphinx and flanked by other animals, and such helmets do seem to be unique to the Parthenos type (N. Leipen, *Athena Parthenos: a reconstruction* [Royal Ontario Museum 1971] 29, 32-33). However, the narrow, diagonal aegis worn by the Palmyra Athena is more commonly found on the Mattei and Charchel/Hephaistea Athenas (G. B. Waywell, "Athena Mattei," *BSA* 66 [1971] 377).