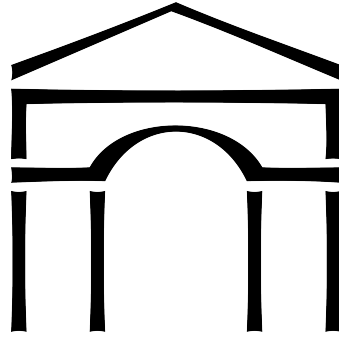


3



# GATEWAYS

Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie und  
Kulturgeschichte des antiken Mittelmeerraumes

Herausgegeben von  
Martina Seifert und Leon Ziemer



# Antike.Architektur.Geschichte

*Festschrift für Inge Nielsen  
zum 65. Geburtstag*

herausgegeben von

Stephan Faust, Martina Seifert und Leon Ziemer

Aachen 2015

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek  
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen  
Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über  
<http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

Redaktion und Layout: Leon Ziemer

Bild auf dem Umschlag:  
Bent Stubbe Teglbyerg, »Invention«, Ölfarbe auf Papier, Hamburg 2004

Copyright Shaker Verlag 2015  
Alle Rechte, auch das des auszugsweisen Nachdruckes, der auszugsweisen  
oder vollständigen Wiedergabe, der Speicherung in Datenverarbeitungs-  
anlagen und der Übersetzung, vorbehalten.

Printed in Germany

ISBN 978-3-8440-4165-1  
ISSN 2366-410X

Shaker Verlag GmbH • Postfach 101818 • 52018 Aachen  
Telefon: 02407 / 95 96 - 0 • Telefax: 02407 / 95 96 - 9  
Internet: [www.shaker.de](http://www.shaker.de) • E-Mail: [info@shaker.de](mailto:info@shaker.de)

## »ANTIKE.KULTUR.GESCHICHTE«

|   |      |
|---|------|
| <i>Vorwort</i> .....  | IX   |
| <i>Tabula Gratulatoria</i> .....  | XI   |
| <i>Schriftenverzeichnis</i> .....   | XIII |
| <i>Abstracts</i> .....  | XIX  |
| <br>  |      |
| Jesper Carlsen.....   | 1    |
| <i>The Personnel of Private and Imperial Baths in Ancient Rome</i>  |      |
| <br>  |      |
| Martin Eckert.....  | 11   |
| <i>Darstellungen und Symbole des Numinosen in den Seefahrer-Heiligtümern der späten Bronzezeit und frühen Eisenzeit</i> |      |
| <br>  |      |
| Stephan Faust.....  | 51   |
| <i>Achill in geselliger Runde. Spätantike Perspektiven auf ein griechisches Heldenleben</i>                             |      |
| <br>  |      |
| Jane Fejfer.....  | 77   |
| <i>In fear of anonymity? Or the context of Hellenistic citizen portraits</i>  |      |
| <br>  |      |
| Wiebke Friese.....  | 113  |
| <i>Lukian's Scholion über die Thesmophorien der Demeter. Rekonstruktionen eines Rituals</i>                             |      |
| <br>  |      |
| Helmut Halfmann.....  | 129  |
| <i>Die Stadt der römischen Kaiserzeit in der altertumswissenschaftlichen Forschung</i>                                  |      |
| <br>  |      |
| Frank Hildebrandt.....  | 147  |
| <i>Whose Cult(ure)? Zu einer ungewöhnlichen Darstellung auf einer apulisch-rotfigurigen Lekythos des Dareios-Malers</i> |      |
| <br>  |      |
| Nadine Leisner.....   | 179  |
| <i>Die Darstellung der Familie in den Nord-West-Provinzen. Eine regionale Bildchiffre?</i>                              |      |
| <br>  |      |
| Henrik Mouritsen.....   | 201  |
| <i>New Pompeian graffiti and the limits of Roman literacy</i>   |      |
| <br>  |      |
| Lambert Schneider.....  | 215  |
| <i>Marmor gefragt. Zur Marmorverarbeitung auf den Kykladen im 7. und 6. Jh. v. Chr.</i>                                 |      |
| <br>  |      |
| Martina Seifert.....  | 239  |
| <i>Das Fehlen der Bilder: Attische Jungensozialisation in demos und polis</i>   |      |

**›ANTIKE.ARCHITEKTUR.GESCHICHTE‹**

|      |       |   |
|------|-------|---|
| X    | ..... | Vorwort   |
| XI   | ..... | <i>Tabula Gratulatoria</i>  |
| XIII | ..... | <i>Schriftenverzeichnis</i>   |
| XIX  | ..... | <i>Abstracts</i>  |
| 1    | ..... | Julian Buchmann<br><i>Treffen bei den Göttern. Räume für Begegnungen in sakralen Bauten<br/>im antiken östlichen Mittelmeerraum</i> |
| 15   | ..... | Julia Daum<br><i>Medianum-Appartements von Ostia</i>  |
| 63   | ..... | Burkhard Fehr<br><i>Das Mirakel der schwebenden Last. Zur Peristasis des griechischen Tempels</i>                                   |
| 81   | ..... | Sabina Franke<br><i>Handlungen auf dem Dach</i>   |
| 89   | ..... | Joachim Ganzert<br><i>Zum Verhältnis von ›Basilikalem‹ zu Altägypten</i>  |
| 107  | ..... | Pontus Hellström<br><i>A Cultic Theatre at Karian Labraunda.<br/>The Monumental Stairs and the Propylon Courtyard</i>               |
| 121  | ..... | Hanne Sigismund Nielsen<br><i>The Delicium on the Ara Pacis</i>   |

**›ANTIKE.ARCHITEKTUR.GESCHICHTE‹**

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Ulfert Oldewurtel .....   | 135 |
| <i>Aktivität auf dem Cancellaria-Relief B – Eine methodische Überlegung</i>   |     |
| Poul Pedersen .....   | 153 |
| <i>On the planning of the Maussoleion at Halikarnassos</i>  |     |
| Birte Poulsen .....   | 167 |
| <i>A signed mosaic from a roman villa by Lake Nemi loc. S. Maria</i>  |     |
| Rubina Raja .....   | 181 |
| <i>Cultic dining and religious patterns in Palmyra. The case of the palmyrene banqueting tesserae</i>                         |     |
| Monika Trümper.....   | 201 |
| <i>Artificial Grottoes in late Hellenistic Delos</i>  |     |
| Leon Ziemer.....  | 231 |
| <i>Zur Konzeption römischer Brunnenfiguren. Überlegungen zu ihrer optischen Verwendung</i>                                    |     |
| Hauke Ziemssen.....   | 249 |
| <i>Überlegungen zur Innovation in der Architektur des 4. Jh. n. Chr.<br/>Die Diokletiansthermen und die Maxentiusbasilika</i> |     |





»Architektur als Werkzeug« lautete der Titel des Berufungsvortrages von Inge Nielsen, der im Jahr 2000 den Beginn ihrer Tätigkeit als Professorin für Klassische Archäologie an der Universität Hamburg markierte – ein Titel, der in seiner Kürze prägnant den Kern ihres wissenschaftlichen Schaffens und ihre Methode umschreibt: die Beschäftigung mit antiker Architektur im kulturhistorischen Vergleich.

Wie ein roter Faden zieht sich dieser Forschungsschwerpunkt durch Inge Niensens Werdegang und ihr Œuvre: Nach einem Studium der Klassischen Archäologie an den Universitäten Aarhus und Wien wurde sie im Jahre 1979 mit einer Dissertationsschrift über die Entstehung und frühe Entwicklung der römischen Thermen promoviert, an die sich 1991 der Dr. habil. mit einer Monographie über »Thermae et Balnea: The Architecture and Cultural History of Roman Public Baths« an der Universität Aarhus anschloss. Unterschiedliche Forschungsstellen und das Amt der Vizedirektorin des Dänischen Instituts in Athen (1998–2000) ermöglichten die Entstehung weiterer Bücher über die byzantinischen Thermen von Gadara (1993) und über hellenistische Paläste (1994, 2. Auflage 1999). In Hamburg legte Inge Nielsen dann einen neuen Schwerpunkt auf den Bereich von Religion und Kult, der seinen Niederschlag insbesondere in monographischen Arbeiten über kultische Theater und rituelle Dramen (2002) und über antike Mysterienkulte (2014) fand.

Das zuletzt genannte Werk – mit dem Titel: »Housing the Chosen. The Architectural Context of Mystery Groups and Religious Associations in the Ancient World« – mag noch einmal verdeutlichen, wo die Erkenntnisinteressen Inge Niensens liegen. Im Zentrum der Monographie stehen sakrale Räume und Bauten von Mysterienkultgemeinschaften und anderen religiösen Vereinen vom 8. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr., wobei das besondere Augenmerk auf den Hellenismus und die römische Kaiserzeit gerichtet ist. Indem Inge Nielsen beispielsweise die Kulteinrichtungen für Demeter, Dionysos und für »fremde« Gottheiten wie Mithras oder Isis und Serapis, aber auch für syrisch-phönizische Götter sowie für den jüdischen und den christlichen Gott vergleichend untersucht, geht sie der zentralen Frage nach, inwiefern Architektur Rückschlüsse auf die Inhalte, Praxis und die soziale Bedeutung antiker Religionen zulässt. Hier offenbart sich der kulturgeschichtliche Ansatz Inge Niensens, bildet doch die Bautypologie in ihren Arbeiten stets die Grundlage für weitergehende, interdisziplinär ausgerichtete Überlegungen. Die zu den Monographien hinzukommende große Anzahl an wissenschaftlichen Sammelwerken, Aufsätzen und Rezensionen belegt die Entwicklung ihrer Schwerpunkte auf beeindruckende Weise. In einem jüngst gemeinsam mit Joachim Ganzert publizierten Band erschließt sie ferner Strategien der Herrschaftslegitimation von der Antike bis in die Neuzeit, und zwar im Sinne der »Bau- und Gartenkultur als historische(r) Quellengattung«. Für einen methodisch-kritischen Umgang mit den Gegenständen der Klassischen Archäologie und ihrer Nachbardisziplinen steht Inge Nielsen schließlich seit 2000 als Mitherausgeberin der Hamburger Zeitschrift *Hephaistos*.

Auch in der Feldforschung war Inge Nielsen viele Jahre lang Jahre aktiv. So nahm sie von 1976 bis 1977 an den skandinavisch-italienischen Ausgrabungen in Ficana bei Rom und 1978 an den Untersuchungen der Mithras-Thermen in Ostia teil. Zusammen mit Svend Holm-Nielsen leitete sie die dänischen Ausgrabungen in Gadara/Umm Qais in Jordanien, und in Kooperation mit Jan Zahle unternahm sie die skandinavischen Ausgrabungen des Tempels von Castor und Pollux auf dem Forum Romanum in Rom, deren Ergebnisse sie in einem gemeinsam mit Birte Poulsen herausgebrachten Band und in zahlreichen weiteren Beiträgen vorgelegt hat. Seit 2005 ist Inge Nielsen außerdem zusammen mit Nicola Bonacasa (†), Antonella Mandruzzato, Alessia Mistretta und Martina Seifert an den Ausgrabungen im Archäologischen Park von Lilybaeum verantwortlich beteiligt.

Internationale Anerkennung für ihre Forschungsleistungen wurde Inge Nielsen als Mitglied der Königlich Dänischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und als ordentliches Mitglied des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, deren Zentraldirektion sie viele Jahre angehörte, zuteil. An ihren Wirkungsstätten wird sie darüber hinaus für ihre großes fachliches Wissen und ihre Diskussionsfreude, ihre dänisch-deutsche Liebenswürdigkeit und Umgänglichkeit sowie ihre Gelassenheit überaus geschätzt.

Die zwei Bände der vorliegenden Festschrift beziehen sich mit ihren Beiträgen thematisch auf die beiden Forschungsfelder von Inge Nielsen: Antike Kultur und Architektur im kulturhistorischen Vergleich. Mit dieser Gabe zum 65. Geburtstag danken wir, die Kolleginnen und Kollegen, die Schülerinnen und Schüler, Inge Nielsen als verdienter Forscherin und akademischen Lehrerin herzlich für die jahrelange, vertrauensvolle Zusammenarbeit.

Stephan Faust, Martina Seifert, Leon Ziemer  
im Dezember 2015

# Tabula Gratulatoria

|                   |                         |                   |
|-------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| Sebastian Adlung  | Hartwig Altenmüller     | Frank Andraschko  |
| Michael Antonakis | Nicola Babucic          | Torsten Becker    |
| Dietrich Berges   | Alexandra Borstelmann   | Julian Buchmann   |
| Jesper Carlsen    | Julia Daum              | Nicola Daumann    |
| Janet deLaine     | Martin Eckert           | Andreas Effland   |
| Stephan Faust     | Burkhard Fehr           | Jane Fejfer       |
| Sabina Franke     | Wiebke Friese           | Thomas Fuchs      |
| André Gaither     | Joachim Ganzert         | Anika Greve       |
| Aylin Güngör      | Helmut Halfmann         | Andrea Harms      |
| Henriette Heidel  | Pontus Hellström        | Frank Hildebrandt |
| Leo Hinrichs      | Christoph Höcker        | Daniela Hofmann   |
| Rolf Hurschmann   | Signe Isager            | Anna Kieburg      |
| Holger Kieburg    | Kathrin Kleibl          | Ines Klenner      |
| Dominik Kloss     | Dieter Kurth            | Kristina Lahn     |
| Nadine Leisner    | Antonella Mandruzzato   | Jelena Martini    |
| Birte Meller      | Alessia Mistretta       | Natalie Möller    |
| Henrik Mouritsen  | Frank Nikulka           | Ulfert Oldewurtel |
| Poul Pedersen     | Marita Podczuck         | Birte Poulsen     |
| Rubina Raja       | Jörg Räther             | Bruno Reudenbach  |
| Lambert Schneider | Hanne Sigismund Nielsen | Lilian Schönheit  |
| Robert Schumann   | Fabian Schwenn          | Martina Seifert   |
| Katharina Slupina | Julian Subbert          | Lioba Tempel      |
| Nils Thiele       | Laura Thielen           | Monika Trümper    |
| Wolfgang Waitkus  | Benjamin Will           | Maria Witek       |
| Paula Rut Zajac   | Leon Ziemer             | Hauke Ziemssen    |



# Schriftenverzeichnis von Inge Nielsen

## **PUBLIKATIONEN**

- I. Nielsen – T. Schiøler, The Water System in the Baths of Mithras in Ostia, 1980  
*AnalRom* 9, 1980, 149–159
- I. Nielsen, Considerazioni sulle prime fasi dell'evoluzione dello edificio termale romano, *AnalRom* 14, 1985, 81–112 1985
- S. Holm-Nielsen – I. Nielsen – F.G. Andersen, The Excavation of Byzantine Baths in Umm Qeis, *AAJ* 30, 1986, 219–232 1986
- I. Nielsen – J. Zahle, The Temple of Castor and Pollux on the Forum Romanum. Preliminary Report on the Scandinavian Excavations 1983 1986 (I), *ActaArch* 55, 1987 (1985), 1–29 1987
- I. Nielsen, L'ultimi indagini al tempio dei Castori 1985, *Archeologia Laziale* 8, 1987, 83–86
- I. Nielsen, The Temple of Castor and Pollux on the Forum Romanum. A Preliminary Report on the Scandinavian Excavations 1983 1987 (II), *ActaArch* 59, 1988 (1989), 1–14 1988
- I. Nielsen, *Thermae et balnea. The Architecture and Cultural History of Roman Public Baths* (1990, 2. Ausgabe 1993) 1990
- I. Nielsen, The Forum Paving and the Temple of Castor and Pollux, *AnalRom* 19, 1990, 89–104
- I. Nielsen, Rez. H. Broise – J. Scheid, *Le balneum del Frères Arvales. Recherches archéologiques à La Magliana* (1987), in: *BJb* 190, 1990, 685–687
- I. Nielsen, From Periphery to Centre: Italic Palaces, in: *Centre and Periphery in the Hellenistic World, Studies in Hellenistic Civilization* 4 (1993) 210–229 1993
- I. Nielsen – B. Poulsen (Hrsg.), *The Temple of Castor and Pollux I*, *LSA* 17 (1993)
- I. Nielsen – F.G. Andersen – S. Holm-Nielsen, *Gadara – Umm Qes III. Die byzantinischen Thermen. Abhandlungen des deutschen Palästinavereins* 17 (1993)
- I. Nielsen, Rez. A. Koloski-Ostrow, *The Sarno Bath Complex* (1990), in: *Gnomon* 65, 1993, 349–351
- I. Nielsen, *Mens sana in corpore sano: The Roman Baths*, in: *The Roots of Western Civilization: Body and Mind*, Grolier Educational Corporation 1994, 33–44 1994
- I. Nielsen, *Hellenistic Palaces: Tradition and Renewal, Studies in Hellenistic Civilization* 5, 1994 (Zweite Ausgabe 1998)

- I. Nielsen, The Hellenistic Palaces of the Jewish Kings, in: In the Last Days. On Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic and its Period, Festschrift für Benedikt Otzen (1994) 181–184
- I. Nielsen, Il Tempio del Foro Romano: L'età Repubblicana, in: Castores. L'Immagine dei Dioscuri á Roma (1994) 107–112
- 1996 I. Nielsen, Oriental Models for Hellenistic Palaces?, in: Basileia. Die Paläste der hellenistischen Könige, Internationales Symposium in Berlin vom 16.12.1992 bis 20.12.1992 (1996) 209–212
- I. Nielsen, Rez. W. Kołataj, Alexandrie, 6. Imperial Baths at Kom el-Dikka, *BiOr* 53, 1996, 733–735
- I. Nielsen, Rez. F. Yegül, Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity (1992), in: *Gnomon* 68, 1996, 50–53
- 1997 I. Nielsen, Royal Palaces and Type of Monarchy: Do the Hellenistic Palaces reflect the Status of the King?, *Hephaistos* 15, 1997, 137–161
- I. Nielsen, Rez. H. Broise – Y. Thébert, Recherches archéologiques franco-tunisiennes à Bulla Regia, 2. Les architectures, 1. Les thermes Memmiens. Etude architecturale et histoire urbaine (1993), in: *Gnomon* 69, 1997, 274–276
- I. Nielsen, Rez. A. Farrington, The Roman Baths of Lycia. An Architectural Study (1995), in: *AJA* 101, 1997, 615–616
- 1998 I. Nielsen, Royal Banquets: The Development of Royal Banquets and Banqueting Halls from Alexander to the Tetrarchs, in: I. Nielsen – H. Sigismund Nielsen (Hrsg.), *Meals in a Social Context*, *ASMA* 1 (1998) 104–135
- I. Nielsen, Rez. R. B. Ulrich, The Roman Orator and the Sacred Stage. The Roman »templum rostratum« (1994), in: *Gnomon* 70, 1998, 275–277
- 2000 I. Nielsen, Early Provincial Baths and their Relations to Early Italic Baths, in: *Roman Baths and Bathing*, *JRA Suppl.*, Ann Arbor 2000, 35–43
- I. Nielsen, *Cultic Theatres and Ritual Drama in Ancient Greece*, *ProcDanInstAth* 3, 2000, 107–134
- 2001 I. Nielsen, The Gardens of the Hellenistic Palaces, in: I. Nielsen (Hrsg.), *The Royal Palace Institution in the First Millennium BC* (2001) 165–185
- 2002 I. Nielsen, *Cultic Theatres and Ritual Drama. A Study in Regional Development and Religious Interchange between East and West in Antiquity*, *ASMA* 4 (2002)
- 2003 I. Nielsen, Rez. S. Busch, *Versus balnearum. Die antike Dichtung über Bäder und Baden im römischen Reich* (1999), in: *Nikephoros* 16, 2003, 312–317

- I. Nielsen, Theater und Kult im antiken Italien, in: W. Hübner und K. Stähler (Hrsg.), *Ikonographie und Ikonologie* (2004) 65–91 2004
- I. Nielsen, Rez. L. A. Bedal, The Petra Pool Complex. A Hellenistic Paradeisos in the Hellenistic Capital. Results from the Petra Lower Market. Survey and Excavations, 1998 (2004), in: *BASOR* 339, 2005, 118–120 2005
- I. Nielsen, Synagogue (synagogue) and Prayerhouse (proseuchê): The Relationship between Jewish Religious Architecture in Palestine and the Diaspora, *Hephaistos* 23, 2005, 63–112
- I. Nielsen, Vorbilder für Räumlichkeiten der religiösen Vereine hellenistischer und Römischer Zeit, in: I. Nielsen (Hrsg.), *Zwischen Kult und Gesellschaft. Kosmopolitische Zentren des antiken Mittelmeerraums als Aktionsraum von Kultvereinen und Religionsgemeinschaften. Tagungsbericht. Hephaistos* 24, 2006, 31–46 2006
- I. Nielsen, Rez. P. Aupert u.a., Saint-Bertand-de-Comminges, 2. Les thermes du forum (2001), in: *Gnomon* 78, 2006, 189–191
- I. Nielsen, Cultic Theatres and Ritual Drama in ancient Rome, in: *Res Bene Gestae. Ricerche di Storia urbana su Roma antica in onore di Eva Margareta Steinby* (Rom 2008) 2008
- I. Nielsen, Das kultische Theater: ein Beispiel architektonischer Innovation im Orient, in: »Austausch und Inspiration«, zu Ehren A. Hoffmann (Berlin 2009) 152–159 2009
- I. Nielsen, The Sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia. May Architecture and Iconography help to trace the Settings for the Rituals?, in: *From Artemis to Diana (Collegium Hyperboreum)* (Copenhagen 2009) 77–109
- I. N. Bonacasa – I. Nielsen, Il progetto archeologico Lilibeo, *Mare Internum. Archeologia e culture del Mediterraneo* 2, 2010, 145–155 2010
- I. Nielsen, Herrscher und Bäder. Die Badegewohnheiten in Palästina in der hellenistischen und früh-römischen Zeit, in: *Kult und Macht. Religion und Herrschaft im syro-palästinensischen Raum. Studien zu ihrer Wechselbeziehung in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit.* Hg. Anne Lykke und Friedrich T. Schipper, Mohr Siebeck 2011, 195–219 2011
- I. Nielsen, 2. Types of Garden, in: K. Gleason (Hrsg.), *A Cultural History of Gardens in Antiquity (A Cultural History of Gardens vol. I.)* London/New York 2013, 41–74 2013

- 2014 I. Nielsen, Creating Imperial Architecture. Chapter Three in: *A Companion to Roman Architecture*, eds. Roger B. Ulrich and Caroline K. Quenemoen, Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World, Wiley Blackwell 2014, 45–62
- I. Nielsen, Housing the Chosen. The Architectural Context of Mystery Groups and Religious Associations in the Ancient World (*Contextualizing the Sacred* vol. 2) (Turnhout 2014)
- I. Nielsen, Die Räumlichkeiten für dionysische Vereine und ihre kulturellen, geschichtlichen und religiösen Kontexte, in: *Otium cum dignitate. Festschrift für Angelika Geyer zum 65. Geburtstag*, Hrsg. Dennis Graen, Mareike Rind und Henning Wabersich, BAR Int. Series. 2605, 2014, 49–60
- 2015 I. Nielsen, The architectural context of religious groups on Delos, in: *Ehud Netzer Volume* (ed. Zeev Weiss), *Eretz-Israel. Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies*, vol. 31, Jerusalem 2015, 141–153
- I. Nielsen, The assembly rooms of religious groups in the Hellenistic and Roman Near East, in: *Religious Identities in the Levant from Alexander to Muhammed. Continuity and Change, Contextualizing the Sacred*, Band. 4 (eds. M. Blömer, A. Lichtenberger, R. Raja), 47–74
- I. Nielsen, Buildings of Religious Communities, in: *A Companion to the Archaeology of Religion in the Ancient World*, hrsg. v. Rubina Raja und Jörg Rüpke (Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World), Wiley Blackwell 2015, 279–292



**HERAUSGEGEBENE WERKE**

- I. Nielsen – B. Poulsen (Hrsg.): The Temple of Castor and Pollux I, *Lavori e Studi di Archeologia (LSA)* 17 (Roma 1993) 1993
- I. Nielsen – P. Guldager Bilde – M. Nielsen (Hrsg.): Aspects of Hellenism in Italy: Towards a cultural Unity? *Acta Hyperborea* 5, 1993 1993
- I. Nielsen – H. Sigismund Nielsen (Hrsg.): Meals in a Social Context. The Communal Meal as a Reflection of Religion and Society in the Hellenistic and Roman world, *Aarhus Studies in Mediterranean Antiquity (ASMA)* 1, 1998 1998
- I. Nielsen – S. Isager (Hrsg.): Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens, vol. III (Athen 2000) 2000
- Seit 2001 Mitherausgeberin der Zeitschrift *Hephaistos* 2001
- I. Nielsen (Hrsg.): The Royal Palace Institution in the First Millennium BC Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens IV, (Athen 2001) 2001
- I. Nielsen (Hrsg.): Zwischen Kult und Gesellschaft. Kosmopolitische Zentren des antiken Mittelmeerraums als Aktionsraum von Kultvereinen und Religionsgemeinschaften. Tagungsbericht. *Hephaistos* 24, 2006 2006
- J. Ganzert – I. Nielsen (Hrsg.), Herrschaftsverhältnisse und Herrschaftslegitimation. Power Relationships and Legitimation of Power. Bau- und Gartenkultur als historische Quellengattung hinsichtlich Manifestation und Legitimation von Herrschaft. »Bau- und Gartenkultur« as a historical source of the manifestation and legitimation of rule and power. Symposium 22.-24. Oktober 2014 (Münster 2015) 2015



## ›ANTIKE.KULTUR.GESCHICHTE‹

### **THE PERSONNEL OF PRIVATE AND IMPERIAL BATHS IN ANCIENT ROME**

(page 1–9)

*Jesper Carlsen*

This paper discusses the slave and freedmen personnel of private and imperial baths in Rome. The point of departure are the inscriptions from Rome that mention slaves and freedmen working in positions relating to bathing facilities. After a brief survey of the different groups of the staff, the last part of the paper focuses on five inscriptions mentioning vilici in relation to imperial baths. It is argued that two of the inscriptions do not refer to the same vilicus thermarum, but that they were two different persons with the same name. The inscriptions also include two foster children and reveal stable family relations that indicate that the vilici thermarum as part of the familia Caesaris apparently had a higher social status, since two vilici thermarum were married to manumitted or free-born women.

### **DARSTELLUNGEN UND SYMBOLE DES NUMINOSEN IN DEN SEEFAHRER-HEILIGTÜMERN DER SPÄTEN BRONZEZEIT UND FRÜHEN EISENZEIT**

(page 11–50)

*Martin Eckert*

In antiquity the polytheistic religions with their general readiness for the creation of syncretistic amalgamations were usually not the reason for conflicts, but rather helped to solve them in a process of identifying mutual religious values and common human concerns. In this article, the Near Eastern goddess of love and war with her consorts is traced along the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age sea-routes throughout the Mediterranean, where she – as the protectress of seafarers – prevaillingly appeared at the seaward sanctuaries that served as meeting places for foreigners and domestic folk. Which individual concerns and personal wishes were expressed by her votives? Which approaches did her service in these ‘contact-sanctuaries’ offer for solving problems due to the agglomeration of a wide-spread array of foreign visitors in the harbour cities and emporia throughout the Mediterranean, issues which later in the Hellenistic era become even more significant?

### **ACHILL IN GESELLIGER RUNDE SPÄTANTIKE PERSPEKTIVEN AUF EIN GRIECHISCHES HELDENLEBEN**

(page 51–75)

*Stephan Faust*

In the Roman imperial era and in late antiquity there was a special interest in images of the childhood and youth of Achilles. In particular, representations of the hero's life and discovery on the island of Skyros, just before he took part in the Trojan War, were extremely popular. Regarding the Late Roman artistic production even narrative cycles were created, consisting of a continuous

## ›ANTIKE.KULTUR.GESCHICHTE‹

sequence of scenes that also show earlier events in the mythical biography of Thetis' son. For instance, the famous silver plate from the Kaiseraugst Treasure was decorated with such a cycle in the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE.

Different interpretations have been offered by scholars in order to explain the significance that the biography of Achilles obviously had to late antique viewers. Sometimes socio-political values like *virtus* were regarded as the basis or even the message of the cycles. This especially applies to the Kaiseraugst plate, because it was found in a military context. Accordingly, the Peleid was interpreted as a role model for Roman officers, and one scholar even suggested that the plate itself was an imperial gift. Besides, the scenes of Achilles' education were interpreted as a representation of *paideia*. If one takes into account the diversity of contexts and media, however, there seem to be several layers of meaning to the image of Achilles in late antiquity. For example, the Skyros episode communicates a discourse on gender and love. As regards the Kaiseraugst plate, which was meant to be viewed and discussed during lavish *convivia*, its elaborate iconography seems to reflect somewhat ironic and, therefore, entertaining ideas about social values, sex and gender.

(page 77–112)

### IN FEAR OF ANONYMITY? OR THE CONTEXT OF HELLENISTIC CITIZEN PORTRAITS

*Jane Fejfer*

This paper looks at the emergence of strong individualization in Hellenistic portrait styles during the late third and second centuries B.C. in relation to a honorific habit that became more and more frequent during that same period in the Greek poleis. It is argued that the new portrait styles performed a pivotal role in establishing and negotiating dialogue between a city and its citizens and in establishing connectivity among the elite citizens themselves. Rather than standing out, saying I, these portrait styles, meant to evoke the appearance of a specific person, helped in shaping you and me relationships, embedding each patron into a system of shared elite civic values. Despite local diversities, the veristic portrait style became a characteristic and important element in a globalized Hellenistic culture from Asia Minor in the east to Italy in the west. It was only during the late Hellenistic/Republican period that the portrait medium in Italy took a radical redirection from the Hellenistic portrait styles prevailing since the third century towards extreme appreciation of old age and exaggerated physiognomy.

## »ANTIKE.KULTUR.GESCHICHTE«

### **LUKIAN'S SCHOLION ÜBER DIE THESMOPHORIE DER DEMETER REKONSTRUKTION EINES RITUALS**

(page 113–128)

**Wiebke Friese**

The festival of the Thesmophoria was the most popular women's-festival of ancient Greece. One of the most cited literary accounts on this festival is a Scholion on Lucian's *Hetairoi dialogoi*, a quite spectacular description of a ritual which, according to most modern scholars, was the essential performance on the second or third day of the three-day festival (Schol. Luc. Dial. meret. ii.1). This paper sets out to question that heritage of reconstructing and interpreting this apparently wide-spread ritual by taking a closer look at where the text comes from and how it has been used to reconstruct ancient Greek women's ritual. In particular it will interrogate the archaeological evidence for this ritual and its interpretation in modern scholarship.

### **DIE STADT DER RÖMISCHEN KAISERZEIT IN DER ALBERTUMSWISSENSCHAFTLICHEN FORSCHUNG**

(page 129–146)

**Helmut Halfmann**

This article explores new approaches to Roman cities. Their aim is to contextualize public buildings as well as architecturally defined spaces in larger urban settings, or cityscapes. In addition to the analysis of architectural detail and typology, recent scholarship has been increasingly interested in aspects of the functionality and meaning of buildings and spaces in ancient cities. By discussing urban settlements in Roman Spain and Asia Minor and making comparisons to modern examples, the author suggests that cityscapes should be regarded as material expressions of political and social ideas, especially concerning important benefactors like the imperial family and members of the local elites. Furthermore, the relation between functionality and ideology in building programmes becomes clear if the individual urban setting as well as the political pretensions of the builders are taken into account.

### **WHOSE CULT(URE)? ZU EINER UNGEWÖHNLICHEN DARSTELLUNG AUF EINER APULISCH-ROTFIGURIGEN LEKYTHOS DES DAREIOS-MALERS**

(page 147–177)

**Frank Hildebrandt**

In 2003, the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg acquired over 150 sherds and fragments of Apulian red-figured pottery attributed to the Darius Painter, which included a lekythos of monumental size. Lekythoi are a very rare shape in the work of the Darius Painter and his workshop. Even more unique is the figural depiction which decorates two thirds of the body. The scene shows a palace with a bearded man with ram's horns sitting on a throne and holding

## ›ANTIKE.KULTUR.GESCHICHTE‹

a sceptre in front of a woman, a huge altar flanked by two tripods and groups of Orientals on the outside. On the pedestal of the naiskos are the remains of an inscription, which unfortunately cannot be deciphered any more. The scene was identified as the visit of Alexander the Great at the sanctuary of Zeus Ammon or a war god of the Caucasian Iberians. But is this correct? Which myth, which cult or culture does the image refer to?

(page 179–199)

### **DIE DARSTELLUNG DER FAMILIE IN DEN NORD-WEST-PROVINZEN EINE REGIONALE BILDCHIFFRE?**

***Nadine Leisner***

On many sepulchral monuments in the north-western provinces, the family is displayed in different compositions. Some of them are clearly inspired by Roman reliefs, such as the so called ›Kastengrabreliefs‹. Here, the family motif was used by freedmen as a cipher for status and wealth, a statement that could be easily transferred into regional traditions. For instance, within the two provinces Gaul and Germany, primarily social climbers used the family motif and the connected role models for their self-representation within the sepulchral landscape.

(page 201–214)

### **NEW POMPEIAN GRAFFITI AND THE LIMITS OF ROMAN LITERACY**

***Henrik Mouritsen***

Taking some recently discovered graffiti fragments from the Insula of the Postumii in Pompeii as its point of departure, the paper revisits the question of ›working class‹ literacy in the Roman world. The new graffiti, relating to small-scale commercial activity, imply a surprising degree of literacy among Pompeians of modest social standing, which might seem to question Harris' ›minimalist‹ model. The context, however, was that of the domus Postumiorum and the paper argues that large households may have played an important role in the dissemination of basic literacy skills beyond the elite. Many slaves and freedmen enjoyed opportunities for elementary schooling that would not have been open to the freeborn poor. The likelihood that this group may have been primarily responsible for the creation of graffiti in Pompeii is further strengthened by a survey of the names occurring in this material, which suggests a strong ›servile‹ presence among the writers and addressees of these messages.

## ›ANTIKE.KULTUR.GESCHICHTE‹

### **MARMOR GEFRAGT**

(page 215–237)

#### **ZUR MARMORVERARBEITUNG AUF DEN KYKLADEN IM 7. UND 6. JH. V. CHR.**

*Lambert Schneider*

The ideas presented in this article, on the occasion of Inge Nielsens 65th birthday, arose during a visit to the ancient marble quarries of Naxos and Paros with their unfinished archaic sculptures still to be seen lying on the ground. Recent research has demonstrated the large degree to which early Greek sculpture was worked out in the quarries themselves, and not in ateliers elsewhere. The Naxian, and subsequently Parian, sculptors at this time did not only manufacture the first monumental marble human figures in the Greek world, but also created the artistic medium ›marble sculpture‹ itself and instigated the demand for it, which for centuries would shape Greek culture. It was not before the second half of the 6th century that, under changing political and economic conditions, a geographical shift took place from the Aegean islands as centre of marble production to Athens. By the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century this shift was almost complete and Athens had become the centre of art patronage and consequently of the marble industry. This article discusses the impact of these processes on the making of sculpture.

(page 239–255)

### **DAS FEHLEN DER BILDER:**

#### **ATTISCHE JUNGENSOZIALISATION IN DEMOS UND POLIS**

*Martina Seifert*

In ancient Greece the Attic ephebia is the most prominent institution boys are thought to be socialized in. While the military and educational function of the ephebia is not part of the current scholarly debate, its significance for boys acquiring the citizen status is under discussion. The paper follows the striking fact that no images of the ephebia in its institutional character exist by exploring the literary evidence as well as the institutional role of the so-called ephebes, e.g. in Attic festivals.

## »ANTIKE.ARCHITEKTUR.GESCHICHTE«

(page 1–14) **TREFFEN BEI DEN GÖTTERN. RÄUME FÜR BEGEGNUNGEN IN SAKRALEN  
BAUTEN IM ANTIKEN ÖSTLICHEN MITTELMEERRAUM**

*Julian Buchmann*

A large number of Syrian and Phoenician sanctuaries were found along ancient Near Eastern trade routes. With a closer look particular similarities become apparent: A special architectural type of rooms, often called »banqueting rooms« for ritual dining. But not all of them fulfilled the same function. Rooms of bi- and triclinia shape can be seen in a multitude of sanctuaries from Greece to Jordan, in Syria e.g. in the ancient city of Dura Europos on the Euphrates. Some of the sanctuaries may have served as places for refreshment on long journeys through the desert, some may primarily have been founded for reasons of pilgrimage. The paper will focus on the geographical extension and the potential functions of these typical kinds of rooms. I intend to integrate research from various disciplines including pictorial representations and literary sources.

(page 15–61) **MEDIANUM-APPARTEMENTS VON OSTIA**

*Julia Daum*

When at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Guido Calza uncovered the first insulae in Ostia, he thought that he had discovered a new standard of living, an apartment for all social classes: the medianum apartment. Until today the medianum apartment is often seen as a standardized living form, but after a closer look, the apartments are more diverse. Even in the research of the last hundred years there is not really an agreement regarding the number of medianum apartments in Ostia. The figure is between 27 and 300. The insulae with these apartments were built in the first half of the second century in the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian. It was a time of intensive growth and lack of living space. The Claudius harbour in Portus was finished, the harbour facilities of Trajan under construction. Many merchants were in Ostia at that time. The bigger medianum units were probably related to the trading activities of Ostia.

(page 63–80) **DAS MIRAKEL DER SCHWEBENDEN LAST  
ZUR PERISTASIS DES GRIECHISCHEN TEMPELS**

*Burkhard Fehr*

The basic meaning of the ancient Greek word πτερόν/πτερά is »feather(s)«, »plumage« or »wing(s)«. When πτερόν was used as a term for the upper zone of the Greek temple-peristyle, which was held aloft by columns, this designation included a metaphor: written sources as well as archaeological evidence show that – in spite of their actual heaviness – the entablature, ceiling and roof of the peristyle were perceived as quasi hovering in the air, comparable to birds. On



## »ANTIKE.ARCHITEKTUR.GESCHICHTE«

the one hand, this achievement of the architect was admired as a triumph of the human *technai*, but on the other hand, many beholders believed that divine help was necessary to create such works. The birds nesting in the *περά* of a peristyle were regarded as wards of the deity to which the respective temple was dedicated. These animals, as well as winged mythical beings like Nike, Hermes or Iris, functioned as a ›medium‹ needed for communication between the divine and the human worlds. Thus they belonged to an intermediary sphere. The architectural term *περόν* connoted this sphere, effectively visualized by that miraculous ›hovering‹ of the weighty upper parts of the peristyle, high above the beholder.

### HANDLUNGEN AUF DEM DACH

(page 81–88)

**Sabina Franke**

Different types of rituals were performed on the roofs of houses and temples in the Ancient Near East. The roof was considered a quiet and secluded place with more direct access to the sky and the gods living there. The substances used in the ritual and sometimes also the patient spent the night under the stars whose light reinforced the healing process.

### ZUM VERHÄLTNIS VON »BASILIKALEM« ZU ALTÄGYPTEN

(page 89–105)

**Joachim Ganzert**

The ›basilical cross-section‹ must be described as actually an *Ancient Egyptian cross-/longitudinal section*, providing as it does a baldachin motif for the significance-enhancing ›crowning‹ of a god or his representative: *basileus* – to be regarded basilically. As characteristics that qualify it as a basilica, above all the (divine) regal (*basilikós*), i.e., (god)reifying functions may be noted, and the correspondingly stately dimensions and furnishings of a structure, prominent among them a Tribuna/Exedra/Apsis. Not only with regard to the dimensions are experiences with very large structures also presented here that one had been acquired in Ancient Egypt, but also with regard to representing i.e., realising the (divine)regal conceptions shared with Ancient Oriental cultures concerned with the exercise of power and dispensation of justice as the god's representative. To the basilical cross-section, then, is added a basilical groundplan/elevation concept with the correspondingly relevant rulership and judicial contexts.

## »ANTIKE.ARCHITEKTUR.GESCHICHTE«

(page 107–120)

### **A CULTIC THEATRE AT KARIAN LABRAUNDA THE MONUMENTAL STAIRS AND THE PROPYLON COURTYARD**

***Pontus Hellström***

The Propylon courtyard, or forecourt, of the Hekatomnid sanctuary of Zeus at Labraunda (4th century BC) may have served as a cultic theatre for ritual drama. The architectural setting of the Propylon area consists of two propyla, a monumental staircase and a large building complex on the fourth, northern side. The monumental stairs may have been a theatron in a cultic theatre where re-enactments of the myth of the god were performed. Zeus Labraundos was a god with Anatolian roots. The Karian name of Zeus was Tarkund, which indicates a Luwian and Hittite ancestry. Rituals preserved in Hittite texts could help envisage the kind of performances that may have been enacted.

(page 121–133)

### **THE DELICIUM ON THE ARA PACIS**

***Hanne Sigismund Nielsen***

On the North Frieze of the Ara Pacis we find a scantily clad toddler clinging to two adult togate males. The toddler was initially identified as Lucius Caesar, son of Julia and Agrippa. Later that definition was given up and he is usually identified as a barbarian prince or hostage. The toddler, however, bears a close resemblance to a funerary monument dedicated to two delicia and his characteristic facial traits can also be found on a sarcophagus monument in the Terme Museum. It was normal that aristocratic and other wealthy families kept delicia as pet children. I argue that the toddler on the North Frieze is a delicum of the imperial family.

(page 135–152)

### **AKTIVITÄT AUF DEM CANCELLERIA-RELIEF B – EINE METHODISCHE ÜBERLEGUNG**

***Ulfert Oldewurtel***

Looking at Roman state art, a certain detail has not been given its due consideration. Not only iconographic attributes can help us to identify the content of what is to be visually communicated by state reliefs, but also the analysis of the activity given to each of the figures in the relief can be of great importance to its interpretation. By means of the Flavian reliefs of the Cancelleria it is the aim of this paper to present this small activity-based methodological addition to the visual analysis of this group of objects to enhance the understanding of Roman visual communication.

## ›ANTIKE.ARCHITEKTUR.GESCHICHTE‹

### **ON THE PLANNING OF THE MAUSSOLEION AT HALIKARNASSOS**

(page 153–166)

***Poul Pedersen***

Reconstructions of the Maussoleion at Halikarnassos have been made for several centuries. They differ a lot because of the insufficient and inconclusive evidence offered by the written and archaeological sources.

In this article the author tries to demonstrate that for understanding the planning of the Maussoleion at Halikarnassos and its main principles there is evidence from Kristian Jeppesen's excavations 1966–77, which has perhaps not been fully and correctly exploited. The excavations demonstrated that a unit of c. 30 cm was applied in important elements from all parts of the structure. On the assumption that this unit was also applied for the planning of the building and that the column spacing of c. 300 cm, demonstrated by Jeppesen, applied to all sides of the structure, it seems to follow that the principles of the planning as well as the actual simple proportions of the Maussoleion are closely related to those believed by Gruben and others to be present in the plan of the temple of Athena at Priene. The circumference of 440 feet mentioned by Pliny should be understood as 440 units of the size of c. 30 cm, on the basis of which Pytheos planned the Maussoleion.

### **A SIGNED MOSAIC FROM A ROMAN VILLA BY LAKE NEMY, LOC. S. MARIA**

(page 167–179)

***Birte Poulsen***

During the Nordic excavations of a Roman villa situated on the western side of Lake Nemi, a room with a signed mosaic floor was discovered. The mosaic is made of black and white tesserae and has a figural medallion surrounded by a geometric pattern. However, a closer look at the mosaic revealed that the panel with the figural medallion and the inscription had been inserted at a later date. The medallion contains five different birds and the inscription – M PA(V) IMENTUM FECIT – and is meant to be read from the entrance. The restoration of the mosaic seems to have taken place during the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. The room has previously been identified as a lararium, but the placing of the inserted medallion could also indicate that the room was used as a triclinium during its later phase.

## »ANTIKE.ARCHITEKTUR.GESCHICHTE«

(page 181–199)

### **CULTIC DINING AND RELIGIOUS PATTERNS IN PALMYRA THE CASE OF THE PALMYRENE BANQUETING TESSERAE**

*Rubina Raja*

The banqueting tesserae from Palmyra remain the most intriguing and telling corpus of evidence for the religious life of the city. The numerous tesserae, first catalogued by Ingholt, Seyrig and Starcky in 1955, in a publication, which recorded more than 1100 different types of tesserae dating to the Roman period, remain the richest source of insight into the diversity of religious life in the city. However, apart from telling us about various religious groups that were active in the city in the first centuries CE, these tesserae also tell us about the choices made by Palmyrenes and not least the knowledge that the local society in Palmyra had about the Roman world, its art and visual culture. In these small tokens a world of knowledge was embodied and expressed in order to show the local society just how international Palmyrene society was.

(page 201–230)

### **ARTIFICIAL GROTTOS IN LATE HELLENISTIC DELOS**

*Monika Trümper*

Artificial grottoes were probably developed as prestigious decorative features at Hellenistic royal courts, most notably in Alexandria, where they symbolized tryphe, magnificence and luxury. The fashion may quickly have spread to the private domestic architecture of different cities, among them Delos, where the phenomenon has received little attention to date. This paper provides the first attempt to comparatively examine three artificial grottoes that were included in late Hellenistic buildings identified as private houses or clubhouses of associations. Based on fieldwork and published literature, for each of the three grottoes the architectural context, location, design, decoration and possible function (cultic and/or profane-ornamental) will be analyzed. The conclusion compares these grottoes and puts them into a wider context in order to better understand their intriguing, if (currently) numerically restricted grotto-mania in late Hellenistic Delos.

(page 231–248)

### **ZUR KONZEPTION RÖMISCHER BRUNNENFIGUREN ÜBERLEGUNGEN ZU IHRER OPTISCHEN VERWENDUNG**

*Leon Ziemer*

The Roman garden areas contained many fountains with small figures around them. Some were used without a connection to a water supply, so they only appeared as »normal« statues. Others, connected to a water pipe, were placed near a functioning fountain basin. The excavations in Pompeii make a closer study of the use of these groups possible. In the small Pompeian garden areas these

## ›ANTIKE.ARCHITEKTUR.GESCHICHTE‹

figures were used to lead visitors through the different scenes of the garden or to offer them fresh water. In some cases the water supported the action which the figure depicted. From a broader perspective the article deals with the conception of the smaller figures mostly used in a private context. It also discusses the problem of building a figure as a copy of Greek models or newly arranged statue with a connection between the water and the motif – the water bubbled or spouted out of the figure in connection to the represented scene.

### **ÜBERLEGUNGEN ZUR INNOVATION IN DER ARCHITEKTUR DES 4. JH. N. CHR.** *(page 249–263)* **DIE DIOKLETIANSTHERMEN UND DIE MAXENTIUSBASILIKA**

*Hauke Ziemssen*

The article focuses on aspects of innovation in two of the most important buildings of 4th century AD Roman architecture: the baths of Diocletian and the basilica of Maxentius. The first was commissioned under the rule of the tetrarchy, the second under emperor Maxentius as sole ruler. While the political background and meaning and the function of the buildings were totally different in each case, many architectural features prove to be very similar, especially the construction of the central cross-vaulted hall and its annexes. Instead of interpreting the basilica as merely copying the architecture of the baths, however, the article argues for a more complex model of architectural innovation. Innovation understood in this way is based on the creation of new architectural features but also – and intrinsically – linked to the development of new performative aspects requiring a specific architectural setting.

