NOTE ON *APHIDRUMA* 1: STATUES AND THEIR FUNCTION

Studies on the Greek terminology for figurative arts tend to analyse this peculiar vocabulary in the light of specific concrete discriminations: the subject represented (gods or men), the iconographic characteristic (its being iconic or aniconic), the material (marble, wood, bronze or ivory).[1] Unlike other words indicating statues in the Greek language (ἄγαλμα, ξόανον, εἰκών, βρέτας, εἴδωλον, κολοσσός, ἔδος), ἀφίδρυμα does not refer primarily to any of these features of the object, but to a function.

Attestations of the term ἀφίδρυμα are concentrated over the turn of the first centuries B.C. and A.D., in a restricted number of authors who use it in a varied and personalized way.[2] Irad Malkin has convincingly pointed out the functional meaning of the word, which may signify something at once concrete and abstract.[3] An ἀφίδρυμα is, in fact, any sacred object used to begin and found a new cult. It can be a cult statue or its replica, but this is not intrinsic to its meaning. In other words, an image can turn into an ἀφίδρυμα when used to introduce a new cult, but an ἀφίδρυμα does not need to be an image.

A few examples taken from Malkin's analysis can help to define the issue. According to Strabo's account, when Sibylline responses required the introduction of the cults of Aesculapius (in 293 B.C.)[4] and of the Mother of Gods (in 204 B.C.)[5] in Rome, legates were sent to the main sanctuaries in Epidaurus and Pessinus to ask for ἀφιδρύματα to be placed in the new temples (Strabo 12.5.3). Livy relates how the Romans set out for Epidaurus to acquire a statue of the god of medicine, his *signum*,[6]

[1] Among the most recent studies on this subject, see R. Schlesier, 'Idole und Gewerbe: Kultur als Bild und Text', in J. P. Schwindt (ed.), *Klassische Philologie 'inter disciplinas': Aktuelle Konzepte zu Gegenstand und Methode eines Grundlagenfaches* (Heidelberg, 2002), 1–23 at 7–17; D. Steiner, *Images in Mind: Statues in Archaic and Classical Greek Literature and Thought* (Princeton, 2001), 5–19; T. S. Scheer, *Die Gottheit und ihr Bild* (Munich, 2000), 8–33; A. Hermary, 'Les noms de la statue chez Hérodote', in M.-C. Amouretti and P. Villard (edd.), *Eukrata: Mélanges offerts à Claude Vatin* (Aix-en-Provence, 1994), 21–9; A. A. Donohue, *Xoana and the Origins of Greek Sculpture* (Atlanta, 1988).

[2] Later attestations show a shift towards the generic meaning of 'cult statue', as a synonym of ἄγαλμα, ξόανον, εἰκών. This concretization deceived modern commentators, who tried to equate ἀφίδρυμα with precise categories of objects, cinders, and ashes taken from the altars (Brunel), copies of cult statues (Robert), or temple models (Gras). J. Brunel, 'A propos des transferts de cultes: un sens méconnu du mot ἀφίδρυμα', *RPh* 27 (1953), 21–33; L. Robert, 'Fondation cultuelle: statues divines', *Hellenica* 13 (1965), 119–25; M. Gras, 'Le temple de Diane sur l'Aventin', *REA* 89 (1987), 47–61. Issues related to the use of ἀφίδρυμα in ancient literary sources are also addressed by F. Felten, 'Antike Architekturkopien', in G. Erath, M. Lehner, and G. Schwarz (edd.), *Komos: Festschrift für Thuri Lorenz zum 65. Geburstag* (Vienna, 1997), 61–9.

[3] I. Malkin, 'What is an *aphidruma*?', *ClAnt* 10 (1991), 77–97.

[4] D. Degrassi, 'Aesculapius, Aedes, Insula Tiberina', in E. M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*, 6 vols. (Rome, 1993–9[2]), 1 (1993), 21–2. According to the legend, on the arrival of an embassy in Rome, the serpent abandoned the ship and swam to the Tiber island. Taking this as an omen, the Romans built the new temple there.

[5] P. Pensabene, 'Magna Mater, aedes', in Steinby (n. 4), 3 (1996), 206–8. L. E. Roller, *In Search of God the Mother: The Cult of Anatolian Cybele* (Berkeley, 1999), 264–9.

[6] For the meaning of *signum*, see P. Stewart, *Statues in Roman Society: Representation and Response* (Oxford, 2003), at 20–7; R. Daut, *Imago. Untersuchungen zum Bildbegriff der Römer* (Heidelberg, 1975), 32–8.

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but returned from Greece with another manifestation of the god: a sacred serpent that had willingly migrated (Livy, *Per.* 11). As for the ἀφίδρυμα of Cybele, the cult image was the aniconic Black Stone, which was not expected to be removed. The Roman embassy may have carried away another aniconic image, a statue consecrated in the sanctuary (or its copy) or a sacred object of a different kind.

Both Strabo (8.7.2) and Diodorus Siculus (15.49.1–2) say that the Ionians, in order to establish the Panionion, needed to set up sacred objects there (Diodorus: ἀφιδρύματα), taken from the ancestral altars at Helice in Achaea. Diodorus relates that the Ionians sent for the ἀφιδρύματα, while Strabo specifies the terms of the request they submitted to the Achaean confederacy: a statue of Poseidon (τὸ βρέτας τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος), or at least an ἀφίδρυσις of the temple (τοῦ ἱεροῦ). It was not until a year later that they were able to persuade the inhabitants of Helice and bring the ἀφίδρυσις home.

Elsewhere, the ἀφίδρυμα that is translated from a major sanctuary and makes possible the introduction of worship is without doubt a statue. For instance, Strabo makes it clear that the ἀφίδρυμα of Artemis Ephesia that the Phocaeans took on board for founding the colony of Massilia was a ξόανον, later copied in the cult statues of the Iberian subcolonies of Massilia (Strabo 4.1.4).

It is in this light that a significant epigraphical attestation of the term should be read. The inscription, from Magnesia on the Maeander, was set up in the middle of the first century A.D. by Apollonius Mocolles, who describes himself as an ἀρχαῖος μύστης, and it as an ἀρχαῖος χρησμός. The text gives an account of the introduction of Dionysiac worship in Magnesia, recording that the people of that city enquired of Apollo about a sign that had been given: a palm-tree in the town was broken by the wind and an image of Dionysus was found there, ἀφείδρυμα Διονύσου (*Inscr. Magn.* 215.5–7).[7]

Louis Robert interprets the word ἀφίδρυμα here as merely referring to an iconographical feature, and indicating that what was found in Magnesia was a typical and highly recognizable image of Dionysus.[8] In doing so, he misses the implications of the oracular response for the community of Magnesia. The oracle, in fact, answered that they must 'establish temples of the god who delights in the thyrsos, and appoint a priest holy and fit for the task' (ἵδρυε νηοὺς θυρσοχαροῦς· ἱερῆα τίθει δὲ εὖ ἄρτιον ἁγνόν). After accomplishing these first tasks, they should go to the holy plain of Thebes and take in Maenads, who 'will give them the orgiastic rites and good customs and will establish guilds of Bacchus in the city' (αἳ δ' ὑμεῖν δώσουσι καὶ ὄργια καὶ νόμιμα ἐσθλὰ καὶ θιάσους Βάκχοιο καθειδρύσουσιν ἐν ἄστει). The heaven-sent *simulacrum*, which is supposed to become the cult statue of the god, is a proper ἀφίδρυμα, for it constitutes the instrument through which the new Dionysiac worship can start.

A passage from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, which has never been used for discussing the meaning of the term, offers perhaps the best example of functional differentiation between a simple cult statue (ἄγαλμα, ξόανον) and one that has become an ἀφίδρυμα. At *Ant. Rom.* 8.56.2 Dionysius records the events of Roman

[7] H. W. Parke and D. E. W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1956), 1.334–5 and 2.137–8 no. 338 (which I follow for the translation). An oracle dating to the imperial period from Didyma perhaps refers to a similar story: [ἀ]φείδρυμα εὕρον- (*Didyma*, 500.11).

[8] Robert (n. 2), at 124: 'A Magnésie du Méandre, si l'on reconnaît Dionysos dans l'ἀφίδρυμα du platane, c'est apparemment qu'il copie l'image traditionelle du dieu.'

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history that led to the foundation of the temple of Fortuna Muliebris.[9] He relates how the senate decided that the whole expense both for the temple (*νεών*) and for the cult statue (*ξόανον*) should be defrayed from the public treasury. Since another statue (*ἕτερον δ' ἄγαλμα*) had been commissioned by the women with the money they had contributed, both *simulacra* were set up together on the first day of the dedication of the temple. Then, in narrating a magical episode that took place right after the dedication (one of the images uttered some words in a distinct and loud voice), when the two statues of Fortuna had just assumed their function, Dionysius refers to them as *ἀφιδρύματα* (*θάτερον τῶν ἀφιδρυμάτων*).

Like *ἄγαλμα* and *ξόανον*, *ἀφίδρυμα* here describes a cult statue. Unlike them, the word is employed at a crucial point of the story, the dedication, when a religious meaning is conferred on the statue and determines the start of the cult. Before that, the images of Fortuna were simply two inanimate *simulacra*; only after being set up in the temple and becoming *ἀφιδρύματα* could they reveal their peculiar magical qualities. This literary source seems to point most clearly to the difference between a cult image and an *ἀφίδρυμα*, a term that does not refer *per se* to a particular category of objects such as statues, but merely to the recipient of a function.

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[9] K. Mustakallio, 'Some aspects of the story of Coriolanus and the women behind the cult of Fortuna Muliebris', in H. Solin and M. Kajava (edd.), *Roman Eastern Policy and Other Studies in Roman History* (Helsinki, 1990), 125–31; S. Quilici Gigli, 'Annotazioni topografiche sul tempio della Fortuna Muliebris', *MEFRA* 93 (1981), 547–63.

NOTE ON *APHIDRUMA* 2: STRABO ON THE TRANSFER OF CULTS

οἰκεῖται δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἔρυξ λόφος ὑψηλός, ἱερὸν ἔχων Ἀφροδίτης τιμώμενον διαφερόντως, ἱεροδούλων γυναικῶν πλῆρες τὸ παλαιόν, ἃς ἀνέθεσαν κατ' εὐχὴν οἵ τ' ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας καὶ ἔξωθεν πολλοί· νυνὶ δ' ὥσπερ αὐτὴ ἡ κατοικία λειπανδρεῖ καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν σωμάτων ἐκλέλοιπε τὸ πλῆθος. ἀφίδρυμα δ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης τὸ πρὸ τῆς πύλης τῆς Κολλίνης ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης Ἐρυκίνης λεγόμενον, ἔχον καὶ νεὼν καὶ στοὰν περικειμένην ἀξιόλογον.

Eryx, a lofty hill, is also inhabited. It has a temple of Aphrodite that is held in exceptional honour, and in early times was full of female temple-slaves, who had been dedicated in fulfilment of vows not only by the people of Sicily but also by many people abroad; but at the present time, just as the settlement itself, so the temple is in want of men, and the multitude of temple-slaves has disappeared. In Rome, also, there is a reproduction of this goddess, I mean the temple before the Colline Gate which is called that of Venus Erycina and is remarkable for its shrine and surrounding colonnade. (Strabo 6.2.6)[1]

The temple in Rome of the Venus of Mount Eryx was vowed during the Ligurian wars by L. Porcius Licinius as consul in 184 B.C., and dedicated three years later (Livy

[1] Trans. H. Leonard Jones, *The Geography of Strabo*, 8 vols. (Cambridge, MA, 1954), 3.83.

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