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## Campana Reliefs Produced in Achaea (Greece) Repertoire, Function, Semiotics

### Abstract

*Recently in Achaea, as part of an archaeological exhibition, we displayed a selection of locally fabricated Campana-type reliefs mounted on a specially designed installation, meant to instruct the viewer in how to visualise their original architectural function and impact. The ensemble offers new perspectives into how material culture may be affected by social circumstances. The craftsmen of this particular workshop specialised in architectural decoration and, apart from panels / metopes (grouped, on the grounds of size, into at least two sets / series), the line of production encompassed eave revetments, crests / finials, stamped roof tiles and sima parts with extraordinary relief decoration. Although we are looking at elements destined for different registers of a building, their subject-matters seem to conform to a specific notion conveyed through allegorical representations. Our investigation goes beyond matters of iconography, to explore the socio-political and ideological context of these creations and their commissioning. Rather than a manifestation of romanisation, we conceptualise a case of merged traditions with a series of 'bicultural' artefacts addressing the Greeks and the Romans alike. Immigrant and native craftsmen collaborated on Greek terrain, drawing from the mythical and the recent past, which involved both peoples, to adorn elements originating from the Etruscan architectural tradition. The commissioner's choice falls into place, when we take into account politics and especially the history of Dyme prior to its assimilation by Patras. Finally, we discuss the montage and probable position of these Campana-type elements in a building, from a structural viewpoint.*

Ἀνήκω σὲ μία χώρα μικρή.

Ἔνα πέτρινο ἀκρωτήρι στὴ Μεσόγειο, ποὺ δὲν ἔχει ἄλλο ἀγαθὸ  
παρὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦ λαοῦ, τὴ θάλασσα, καὶ τὸ φῶς τοῦ ἡλίου.

Εἶναι μικρὸς ὁ τόπος μας, ἀλλὰ ἡ παράδοσή του εἶναι τεράστια  
καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ποὺ τὴ χαρακτηρίζει εἶναι ὅτι μᾶς παραδόθηκε χωρὶς διακοπή.  
... Χαρακτηριστικὸ αὐτῆς τῆς παράδοσης εἶναι ἡ ἀγάπη της γιὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπιὰ,  
κανόνας της εἶναι ἡ δικαιοσύνη.

... Σ' αὐτὸν τὸν κόσμο, ποὺ ὀλοένα στενεύει, ὁ καθένας μας χρειάζεται ὅλους τοὺς ἄλλους.  
Πρέπει ν' ἀναζητήσουμε τὸν ἄνθρωπο, ὅπου καὶ νὰ βρίσκεται.

*I belong to a small country.*  
*A rocky promontory in the Mediterranean, with nothing to distinguish it*  
*except for the struggle of its people, the sea and the sunlight.*  
*Our land is small, but its tradition is immense*  
*and has been handed down through the centuries without interruption.*  
*... This tradition is characterised by love of the human;*  
*justice is its norm.*  
*... In this gradually shrinking world, everyone is in need of all the others.*  
*We must look for man, wherever we can find him.*

Giorgos Seferis 1963

Recently, we displayed in Patras Archaeological Museum for the first time a group of Campana-type<sup>1</sup> reliefs manufactured locally at Dyme.<sup>2</sup> The particular workshop specialised in architectural decoration typologically originating from the ‘old Italic’/Etruscan tradition, with some eastbound affinities. To adorn these elements, craftsmen drew from the Greek mythical and Hellenistic past, also alluding to contemporary socio-political conditions. Divergence from the basic classification of Campana plaques can be justified by the workshop’s location: in an eastern province of the Roman Empire, with a mixed population, the adoption of a foreign manner was likely to be contaminated, resulting in bicultural variants.

A rescue excavation at Dyme,<sup>3</sup> in western Achaea, brought to light kilns where terracotta fictile revetments that typify ancient Italian architecture were manufactured. This rare find, so far unique on Greek soil,<sup>4</sup> immediately suggests the involvement of foreign craftsmen, actually verified by the workshop’s stamps reading a Greek and a Roman name. Since the relevant publication<sup>5</sup> selectively presents some of the recovered plaques identifiable as of Campana-type, there is ample scope for an examination of all the material from scratch, focusing on aspects of technique, design and visual narrative. Our proposal for their display – for the very first time – in the periodical exhibition “Mediterranean Patras” in 2019 instigated their study anew, which revealed a lot about the elements’ peculiarities, montage and relation to each other. All of them are mould-made and, since none is coloured, paint would be applied after the firing process. While the joining of more fragments is in progress, the inclusion of *antefices* in

1 For the cross-fertilising discussions I heartily thank the instigator and kind host of the conference, Arne Reinhardt, whose erudite feedback was beneficial to this paper, and Rudolf Känel, a connoisseur whose eloquent drawings, providing insight into the actual montage of the pieces, helped us better understand the finds from Dyme. Sincere thanks are due to the Archaeological Council for unanimously granting me permission to publish this material and, last but not least, to the Ephor Anastasia Koumoussi, for supporting and facilitating my research in western Greece.

2 Partida 2019b.

3 Vasilogamvrou 1998; Philippa-Touchais 2004/2005.

4 Some Campana-type fragments are ascribed to the entablature of Augustus’ Trophy for the naval battle of Actium: Zachos 2015, 65.

5 Vasilogamvrou 2008.

the ‘chaîne opératoire’ is being explored; a palmette is small enough to have served as a finial, as on the pierced crestings from Castrum Inui, Cosa and Gabii<sup>6</sup> or the Campana plaque in Zurich.<sup>7</sup> In this paper we offer a more detailed and comprehensive picture of the Campana-type finds from Dyme, aiming to contextualise them and, furthermore, to identify their role functionally, architecturally and socially.

## Glances at the Historical and Physical Setting

Dyme was overshadowed by Patras, the famous *Colonia Augusta*, where veteran legionaries were settled by Emperor Augustus. They transplanted to Greece their burial customs, along with trends in art, such as the elaborately carved marble cinerary urns. Curiously, despite the well-documented luxury of Roman Patras, no private or public edifice has so far yielded Campana reliefs. So, how do the Italic-type plaques fit in the history of Dyme?

Although advantageously located at the entrance to the Corinthian Gulf, Dyme was a πόλις ἀλίμενος, with no port, according to Strabo (geogr. 8, 7, 5), even though his report is supposedly contradicted by residues tentatively associated with a harbour installation.<sup>8</sup> Dyme was a founding member of the Achaean League and, with the support of King Philip V, it opposed the Aetolians in 219 BCE. The vindictive plundering and destruction of the town by Sulpicius Galba in 208 BCE (Liv. XXXII, 22.10; Paus. VII, 17.5) punished the Achaeans for relying on Macedonian support to counteract the alliance of Rome with Pergamon and Aetolia.<sup>9</sup> Although the town was rebuilt by Philip, Dyme never recovered from that blow,<sup>10</sup> which justifies its sworn loyalty to the Macedonian king and its long-lasting animosity toward Rome.

The demographic decline during the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE (Δύμην λειπανδρήσασαν, χηρεύουσαν ἀνδρῶν)<sup>11</sup> continued in several areas until the reign of Emperor Claudius.<sup>12</sup> The fertile land of Dyme was destined to receive three successive waves of newcomers<sup>13</sup> but also to become a stage for the Civil Wars. A large number of pirates from Cilicia and Anatolia were settled here by Pompey in 67 BCE<sup>14</sup> and the introduction of Phrygian/Anatolian cults<sup>15</sup> may be reflected in the art, as we shall see. Rather than the newcomers, it was the foreign imposition and social discrimination that sparked the revolt of the people of Dyme. Cicero is severely judgmental towards political decisions

6 Tortorella 2016a.

7 Hedinger 1987, 76 f. pl. 11, 1.

8 Identification based essentially on the residues' vicinity to the seafront. Filis 2016/2017, 378 f. fig. 37.

9 Polybius and Appian, cited by Rizakis 1995, 154–156.

10 Smith 1854, <<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.04.0064:entry=dyme-geo>> (31.03.2022).

11 Amandry 1981, 46 citing Plutarch (Pomp. 28, 7). Cf. Rizakis 1987/1988, 25.

12 See his letter to Gallio, proconsul of Achaëa in CE 52, expressing his concern about the depopulation: Mulliez 2001, 299 no. 28; 302.

13 Dyme was colonised by the Romans after 44 BCE, earlier than Patras (14 BCE): Amandry 1981, 47 f.; Rizakis 1990a, 267.

14 Rizakis 1987/1988, 25. 34.

15 Rizakis 1995, 159 no. 1 after Appian, Cassius Dio, Strabo.

made in Rome and he presents the pirates of Dyme, as well as the small landowners, as victims of the colonial policy implemented by Caesar<sup>16</sup> in 44 BCE. Since the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE, Dyme had suffered intense strife rooted in social inequalities<sup>17</sup> – most likely the cause of the arson of the public archive and the notorious agitation in 115 or 144 BCE.<sup>18</sup> That protest was caused by a combination of socio-political, constitutional and financial reasons. Military action had drained the public funds, the Romans pressed for the payment of indemnities, and the new laws aroused political discontent, while the ‘ancient nobles’ or civic elite<sup>19</sup> sought to maintain power.

Friction was generated largely by the fact that the Romans colonised pre-existing communities. Land redistribution was their pretext for interfering with the Greek rural landscape.<sup>20</sup> Although the cadastre is generally viewed as an instrument to suppress social upheaval and to enforce order,<sup>21</sup> it actually exacerbated social stratification. The territory of Dyme shrank considerably, even though it used to be quite sizeable; the extent is estimated<sup>22</sup> to approximate that of Patras in its floruit as a Roman colony. In fact, Patras’ increase, over doubling, resulted from the annexation/appendage of Aetolian sites (Calydon, Pleuron) and Dyme. By the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, Dyme had been assimilated<sup>23</sup> by Patras and placed under its jurisdiction. The intervention of proconsul Fabius Maximus to settle the internal affair by convicting the instigators of the protest proves that Dyme was not autonomous/self-governed. The struggles for liberation during the Republican period and the Roman occupation,<sup>24</sup> marked by slaughters, captivity, subjugation and desolation, are memorable. Such a context of unrest is where the Campana reliefs may be embedded.

## Revetment Plaques – The ‘Large Series’

### The Struggle for the Delphic Tripod

There can be several readings of iconography and the choice of particular subject-matters which disclose something of contemporary society. In the terracotta plaque rendering the feud between Apollo and Hercules for the possession of the Delphic tripod<sup>25</sup> (Fig. 1), the modelling of the god’s hair is quite interesting; pulled back and tied with the front curls coiled around a wreath, it is very similar to the hairstyle of

16 Cic. Att. 16, 1. Cf. Strab. 8, 7, 5; App. Mithr. 14, 96; Rizakis 2001, 182. 190 f. On that era: Rizakis 1990b.

17 Doukellis 1991.

18 Referred to in a letter by Proconsul Fabius Maximus Eburnus, addressing the people at Dyme: Kallet-Marx 1995.

19 Rizakis – Camia 2008.

20 Rizakis 1990a, 276.

21 Doukellis 1991.

22 Karambinis 2018, 287–290. 311 figs. 6. 7.

23 Rizakis – Camia 2008, 244 citing Kahrstedt; Chaniotis et al. 2008, <[http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772\\_seg\\_a58\\_301](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a58_301)>.

24 Papapostolou 2014, 245.

25 II 15156, II 15157, II 15158. Ht. 53 cm, l. 46 cm, (max.) th. 6 cm (measured at the listel). Vasilogamvrou 2008, 118. 121–123 figs. 8. 10. 11. On this theme, see Möller-Titel 2019, 20–45. 304–316 nos. 1–30; Borbein 1968, 176–178; Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 19.



**Fig. 1** Revetment plaques (the 'large series') from Dyme. To the right, the feud for the Delphic tripod. Patras, Archaeological Museum of Patras, Inv. 15156–15158.

Image: © Elena C. Partida, with the kind permission of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture.

Pylades in Patras Museum, a Roman replica of a Severe Style statue. Hercules, on the right, may be compared to the contemporary archaistic relief figure from Nicopolis.<sup>26</sup> He is bearded, although the struggle for the tripod is generally ascribed to an early period in the hero's life, when he was young and immature (as portrayed in respective reliefs from the Palatine Hill). The two figures in profile flank the tripod, the top of which has been broken off. The missing part is preserved on another fragment, which, although fitting thematically and in its dimensions, cannot be joined. We gather that it belonged to another slab with the same subject-matter. The ribbed cauldron is reminiscent of archaic ritual bowls/*phialai*, supposed to have inspired the shape of certain architectural elements.<sup>27</sup> The tripod legs terminate in animal paws, revealing the artist's mastery and attention to detail. A plain projecting listel runs along the top of the slab, while an Ionic ovolo in relief (egg-and-dart, with only the pointed endings of the darts) marks the lower edge, thus inverting the norm for a crowning moulding.<sup>28</sup> Peg-holes are preserved with a tiny ledge to accommodate the nail's head (this occurs only on the 'large series'). The popularity of the mythical dispute spread beyond vase-painting,

26 Zachos 2009, 278 fig. 11 detail of hemicylindrical base of marble monument (for the whole pedestal: *ibid.* 275 fig. 7).

27 Such as the Archaic daisy-shaped *echinus* from a treasury's column-capital at Delphi: Wilson Jones 2016, 647.

28 See Röhden – Winnefeld 1911, 31–34 and the untypical revetment plaques from Giancola in Southern Italy: Manacorda 2012, 195 fig. 3, 48. I owe this reference to Arne Reinhardt. On the mouldings typology, see J. ALBERS in the present volume.

as shown by the cornelian cylinder seal in the Hermitage.<sup>29</sup> However, the iconic three-dimensional representation of this subject-matter is found only in the pediment of the Siphnian treasury at Delphi (525 BCE).

For Octavian, Apollo was the supreme deity, warranty of peace for all Roman citizens.<sup>30</sup> The frequent employment of the tripod as a motif (in Campana reliefs and Arretine ware) is supposed to allude to *pax Augusta*.<sup>31</sup> Alternatively, considering that Mark Anthony claimed hereditary ties with Hercules,<sup>32</sup> the strife between Apollo and Hercules is taken to prefigure the battle between Octavian and Anthony and the underlying message is political, just as the Siphnian treasury's pediment is considered to allude to the First Sacred War.<sup>33</sup> The moral/existential aspect has considerable weight: the attempt to seize a cardinal religious emblem disrupted harmony, order and balance,<sup>34</sup> so the strife may be an allegory of criminal aggression, the uncivilised versus the moral perfection of the divinity.<sup>35</sup> Such an interpretation mirrors the situation at Dyme, the upheaval and hostilities that the town experienced, the orchestrated influx of foreign settlers, the imposition of the Roman cadastre and – amid chaos – the locals' pursuit of peace and security.

The central part of the Delphi pedimental composition was reproduced on clay reliefs from the Palatine Hill.<sup>36</sup> Their similarity to the plaque from Dyme is noteworthy, in terms of the archaizing style, the staging of the figures and their almost theatrical posing, their posture in confrontation, the bodies' modelling, the size, the ovolo moulding, and the ribbed cauldron. The design of the tripod is also shared, except for the Nike-figures between the legs, which may recall a Syracusan votive offering at Delphi.<sup>37</sup> In all representations of the feud (Delphi, Palatine, Dyme, Piraeus<sup>38</sup>), the firmly clenched fingers around the symbol show that, diachronically, the gesture of grabbing

29 Kruglov 2001, 236.

30 Hekster – Rich 2006, 160–163.

31 Möller-Titel 2019, 39–41, 44f.

32 Bobaridis 2006, 7. According to Plutarch (Ant. 60, 2–6; Pizakis 1995, 257), the temple of Hercules at Patras was destroyed (set on fire by a thunderbolt) prior to the battle at Actium, while Mark Anthony stayed in town. The episode was regarded as ominous. The provenance from Patras of a portrait of Mark Anthony, today in the Museum of Fine Arts at Budapest (Inv. 4807) is little known. <<https://www.mfab.hu/artworks/roman-marble-portrait-of-a-man/>> (31.03.2022). Interestingly, the temple of Apollo on the Palatine hill was built by Octavian in response to a prodigy, a lightning strike, through which the god supposedly communicated his will: Hekster – Rich 2006.

33 Parke – Boardman 1957.

34 Our reading is not far from R. Neer's reference to κόσμος and ἡσυχία (Neer 2001, 292–296).

35 Lernould 2000.

36 Heilmeyer et al. 1988, 289 cat. 121; P. PENSABENE in the present volume. Octavian interfered with the administration of Delphi by restructuring the Amphictyonic Council and granting excessive voting power to the new member-state, Nicopolis (Partida 2019a, 71). By the time Pausanias (X, 11) visited Delphi, the Siphnian treasury's opulence still stood out. But the Emperor's visit was no prerequisite for a reproduction of the pedimental composition. Any member of his court/entourage or any artisan was likely to serve as a carrier of inspiration.

37 Combining the dedicatory epigram with verses by Bacchylides, the ex-voto of the tyrant of Syracuse in circa 478 BCE probably featured a Nike supporting the cauldron of a golden tripod: Courby 1927, 249–254.

38 Neo-Attic marble relief in Piraeus Archaeological Museum, Inv. 2116. 2028. 2059. 1834.

is the core of the scene and the key to its expressiveness. But how to account for such shared details and principles of composition? Is it possible that the artists in Rome and Dyme drew from a common model, a direct prototype? Rather than consulting books of models (it is doubtful that these even existed),<sup>39</sup> the Neo-Attic sculptor was familiar with real works of art. With a portion of archaic sculpture still in place, archetypal raw models were available and the sculptor of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE would be more fervently motivated by admiration of time-honoured monuments and sites like Delphi, which had great impact due to their sanctity. David Strong<sup>40</sup> was highly perceptive: “The designer of the processional frieze of the Ara Pacis found inspiration not in the humble processions of Republican sculpture but in the great Panathenaic procession of the Parthenon. The classical character... appealed to Roman patrons and officials of the state... for the elegant simplicity and clarity of its style”.

### Nike (“Kitharödenrelief”)

The winged Nike was another iconographic means of promoting Octavian’s victory as divine will, and was also employed at Nicopolis.<sup>41</sup> A piece from the kiln at Dyme<sup>42</sup> represents in relief a winged female figure in profile, dressed in *chiton*/tunic and *himation*/mantle (Fig. 2). Even though stylised, the delicate dense pleats of her garment allow the volume and motion of her leg to be made out. The border of the *himation* is discernible, as well as a fair part of the wing, with the feathers’ details rendered by incision. Clearly the figure was a Nike. We estimate it was equivalent in size to the feud plaque (Fig. 1), so part of the ‘large series’ (preserving one of the characteristic revetment holes, too).

Another fragment<sup>43</sup> depicts a dressed, standing figure in right profile, of whom only the feet are preserved (Fig. 3). Although the figure appears to be barefoot, thin soles are visible. Drapery is pleated, with part of its border folded, so as to imply movement. Taking into account that the figure’s toes barely touch the ground, we assume that a winged Nike is illustrated, just about to ‘land’. The slanting position of the feet, however, is characteristic of the “Kitharödenrelief”<sup>44</sup> and the two fragments are likely to belong to the same plaque, rendering the encounter of Nike with Apollo Kitharodos. The figure of Nike is traditionally associated with the summit of monuments. The ones at Dyme, albeit not at roof level, have the same airborne appearance. Our overview of the finds from this workshop showed that almost all themes come in pairs. Repetition can be explained as a device in visual narrative, to symmetrically encompass the whole<sup>45</sup> or

39 Kruglov 2001, 235 f.

40 Strong 1961, 20.

41 Zachos 2003, 89; Zachos 2009.

42 Π 15164. Ht. 22 cm, l. 21 cm, th. 2 cm. Vasilogamvrou 2008, 118 fig. 4. On the theme, see Borbein 1968, 186 f.; Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 17–19.

43 Π 18293. Ht. 10 cm, l. 11 cm, th. 2 cm.

44 Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 18 fig. 25.

45 Likewise on terracotta Campana plaques from the temple of Apollo Palatine, Cleopatra appears between sphinxes, waving her *sistrum* as she does in Virgil’s description of the battle of Actium. She appears as the repeated sima decoration, encompassing the whole: Kellum 2000, 161.



Fig. 2. 3 Fragments of revetment plaques from Dyme, the left representing a winged figure. Patras, Archaeological Museum of Patras, Inv. 15164 (left). 18293 (right).

Images: © Elena C. Partida, with the kind permission of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture.

to give rhythm. Likewise, more than one Campana plaque from the Palatine Hill had the theme of the feud. In this respect, the letter ( $\Lambda$ ,  $\Delta$  or  $V$ ) incised on the rear side of the fragment depicting Hercules was probably an assembly mark.

## Revetment Plaques – The ‘Small Series’

### Bucolic Scene Featuring Orpheus-Apollo

Along the same lines – of notional and allegorical Apollonian harmony – is the plaque depicting a bucolic scene:<sup>46</sup> a male figure in short *chiton*/tunic with a jagged border is sitting on a rock with his legs crossed (Fig. 4). A tree-trunk nearby indicates that the scene takes place in the open air, although the seated figure is barefoot. To the left is a he-goat, whose hide is diligently rendered, bending his head as if subdued or charmed. Part of the lower body of a smaller animal, also woolly and with a short tail (goat?), is discernible, springing up toward the male figure in a playful attitude. Ground-level is suggested by a listel projecting above a moulding of inverted palmettes with five petals inscribed within semicircular arches with volute endings. A peg-hole is preserved on the plaque. Wild goats were frequently depicted in art, with the earliest representations found in Minoan Crete.<sup>47</sup> Within the pastoral pantheon, Hermes Κριοφόρος as protector of shepherds<sup>48</sup> usually appears bearing a ram on his shoulders, though, in a statue from Kos, Hermes is seated on a rock with a ram sitting next to him.<sup>49</sup> To the existing documentation<sup>50</sup> of this topic let us add the Roman intaglio gems in the British

46 Π 18292 (ht. 16 cm, l. 19 cm, th. 2 cm)

47 Eiring 2004, 443–446; Karapidaki 2011, 1.

48 Stroszeck 2004; Aston 2014, 371.

49 Sirano 1997.

50 Stroszeck 2004; Karapidaki 2011; Campbell 2014.





**Fig. 4** Part of a revetment plaque (the ‘small series’) from Dyme representing a bucolic scene. Patras, Archaeological Museum of Patras, Inv. 18292.

Image: © Elena C. Partida, with the kind permission of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture.

Museum.<sup>51</sup> However, in all these artworks, the animal seems alert/watchful rather than enchanted. In addition, Hermes customarily wears (winged) sandals, whereas our figure is barefoot. Of course, an iconographic variation cannot be precluded.

Alternatively, the protagonist of our bucolic scene could be identified as Apollo Karneios, the beardless ram-god protector of pastures and shepherds, worshipped in the Peloponnese.<sup>52</sup> Also highly popular in Roman iconography<sup>53</sup> and regularly in interaction with animals was Orpheus, who plays the lyre, taming the fauna gathered around him – a theme widespread in the Hellenistic, as well as the Roman period.<sup>54</sup> On the plaque from Dyme, the he-goat’s stance encourages an interpretation of the triangular object near the seated figure’s arm as a lyre: enchanted by the melody, the strong creature is tranquil and obedient, as in the Roman mosaic from Edessa,<sup>55</sup> the mosaic

51 <[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1859-0301-110](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1859-0301-110)> (31.03.2022); <[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1799-0521-26](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1799-0521-26)> (31.03.2022); <[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1923-0401-418](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1923-0401-418)> (31.03.2022); <[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1923-0401-419](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1923-0401-419)> (31.03.2022).

52 See the annually celebrated Karneia in Sparta: Stroszeck 2004, 232.

53 Also on Campana reliefs: Simon 1962.

54 Harden 2014, 41.

55 Today in Dallas Museum of Art. Pitman-Gelles 2012, 142; <<https://web.archive.org/web/20221126094454/https://dma.org/art-deaccessioned-artworks/orpheus-taming-wild-animals>> (30.11.2023).

floor of a Roman villa in Great Britain,<sup>56</sup> and the marble sarcophagus at Thessaloniki,<sup>57</sup> all of which depict Orpheus or Apollo as an animal charmer (in this guise, the two mythical beings may be fused). The small animal leaping toward the seated figure is almost always part of the scheme. On the plaque from Dyme, lyre-playing must be excluded, as the fingers of the figure's right hand grip his left forearm (which might be mistaken for the lyre's wrist-strap). A similar stance occurs in a Campana fragment described as a 'celebration before Dionysos'.<sup>58</sup> However, given that the fragment from Dyme closely resembles the aforementioned works in terms of content and arrangement of the representation, it makes better sense as a celebration of Nature with Orpheus or Apollo in the epicenter, so probably a variant in Hermann von Rohden and Hermann Winnefeld's codification. Variations are anticipated in a provincial 'atelier', where imported trends are bound to blend with local traditions.

### Amazonomachy

Part of a terracotta plaque in relief depicts an Amazon<sup>59</sup> and a male warrior in battle (Fig. 5). The latter is nude, depicted frontally, striding and wearing only a *chlamys*/cloak clasped around his neck, with the pleats gathered together in the background behind the figure. He is fully armed with a sword and a shield, of which the grip and the ornate border are fashioned with exceptional accuracy. To the right, a kneeling Amazon wears a girt short *chiton* that leaves her breast partly uncovered. She has dropped her armour; sword and shield, with the characteristic crescent contour (πέλιτη), can be seen fallen in the background. The male warrior drags the Amazon by the hair, using his left foot to immobilise her and then strike the lethal blow with his sword. The Amazon's desperate attempt to fight back, using both hands to push her enemy away, is rendered in a richly expressive manner. The scene is vivid, full of motion and energy. Ground-level is suggested by a listel projecting above a moulding of inverted palmettes, with five petals inscribed within semicircular arches with volute endings. Two peg holes are preserved. The Amazonomachy plaque is estimated to be equivalent in size to the bucolic/orphic one. They both fall into the 'small series', and also have identical mouldings.

56 Bristol Museum <<https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-bristol-23529098>> (31.03.2022). The floor was uncovered during the construction of the Bristol-to-Bath railway section, in 1837. It belonged to a Roman villa in Newton St Loe and it illustrates Orpheus, a mythical poet and musician, charming wild animals.

57 <<http://ancientrome.ru/art/artworken/img.htm?id=6242>> (31.03.2022) and <<http://ancientrome.ru/art/artworken/img.htm?id=6243>> (31.03.2022). Thessaloniki Archaeological Museum Inv. AMΘ 1246.

58 So far, one of a kind. Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 59 fig. 112. Rohden and Winnefeld considered this scene to be the counterpart of the 'sacrifice of a he-goat' ("Bockopfer"), which is somewhat better documented (Rauch 1999, 97–100).

59 Π 14970. Ht. 19 cm, l. 25 cm, th. 2 cm. Vasilogamvrou 2008, 118–121 fig. 9. On the theme, see Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 121–125 (though the closest parallel to the plaques from Dyme comes from Zurich (Hedinger 1987, 72 f. pl. 10, 2), <<https://archaeologische-sammlung-uzh.zetcom.net/de/collection/item/6897/>> (31.03.2022) having in common even the palmette-moulding along the lower edge.



**Fig. 5** Part of a revetment plaque from Dyme, depicting an Amazonomachy. Patras, Archaeological Museum of Patras, Inv. 14970.

Image: © Elena C. Partida, with the kind permission of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture.



**Fig. 6** Part of a revetment plaque from Dyme, depicting an Amazonomachy. Patras, Archaeological Museum of Patras, Inv. 18291.

Image: © Elena C. Partida, with the kind permission of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture.

Part of a second relief plaque representing an Amazonomachy<sup>60</sup> was apparently produced in the same matrix (Fig. 6). The battle against the Amazons is regarded<sup>61</sup> as a celebration of the victory at Actium over the feminine forces of the East, implying Cleopatra. A different approach, however, reveals the fight to be against insubordinate, undisciplined tribes, ending in the supremacy of civilisation. That craftsmen never copied passively can be induced from the many variants and the divergence from (any) original prototype<sup>62</sup> in figurative and floral compositions alike. Entirely different is the rendering in the Neo-Attic marble relief from Piraeus<sup>63</sup> with a fascinating body-curve, and the altar frieze of the trophy erected by Augustus at Nicopolis.<sup>64</sup> There the Amazon is represented riding on horse-back, as in the classical architectural sculpture from Epidauros and Delphi; by contrast, the plaques at Dyme capture the final stage of the duel, with the combatants depicted frontally and on foot, as on two fragments in Cologne<sup>65</sup> and Dresden.<sup>66</sup> By comparing the artefacts, we infer that the artist of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE preferred artistic polyphony over sterile imitation.

### Pierced Crestings (“Flammenkelche”)

A series of non-figurative mould-made plaques with floral decoration indicates that both kinds of Campana reliefs, revetments and crests (Figs. 7, a–c), were manufactured at Dyme. A stepped lower zone is decorated with contiguous relief semicircular arches with volute endings. From every joint between the arches emerges a small fluted cone, which schematically renders a bud or the calyx of a flower. The cones are capped by smaller, inverted cones, with impressed or punctuated decoration; more foliage appears in between and in the background, simulating stems rendered with plasticity. A set of lower parts<sup>67</sup> belongs to this series, having the same decoration: schematic/stylised simulations of natural plants stem from every pair of contiguous semicircular arches with volute endings. The cones seem modelled after meadow/ἀγρωστόδη flowers, *silene colorata conica* or *papaver dubium*, which thrive on either side of the

60 II 18291. Ht. 17 cm, l. 24 cm, th. 2 cm. Vasilogamvrou 2008, 119–121.

61 Kellum 2000, 163.

62 Although occasionally the same matrices could be used, as in the case of Marino and Via Gabina: Painter 2005, 28.

63 Piraeus Archaeological Museum, Inv. 2116. 2028. 2059. 1834. Kokkorou-Alevras 2001, 327 fig. 6.

64 Zachos 2003, 83 f. fig. 29.

65 Berger 1994, 90 f. fig. 6. Here the rich, elaborate pleating may be taken as a manifestation of classicism.

66 <<https://skd-online-collection.skd.museum/Details/Index/639880#>> (17.08.2023). The (Amazon’s) hand pushing against the warrior’s thigh particularly recalls the gesture on the pediment of the temple of Asklepios at Epidauros and the pedimental sculpture attributed to the temple of Artemis Triklaria in Patras (of the 4<sup>th</sup> and the late 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, respectively), where the Amazon presses against the warrior’s rib-cage.

67 II 18288 (max.) Ht. 12.4 cm, l. 30.2 cm, th. 2.5 cm; II 18297 (max.) Ht. 12 cm, l. 10 cm, th. 2 cm; II 18289 (max.) Ht. 11.5 cm, l. 24 cm, th. 2.5 cm. Vasilogamvrou 2008, 118, fig. 7. On the motif, see Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 230 fig. 470 and, recently, Tortorella 2016a, 173 figs. 10–12, who already points out the similarity with relevant finds from Dyme.

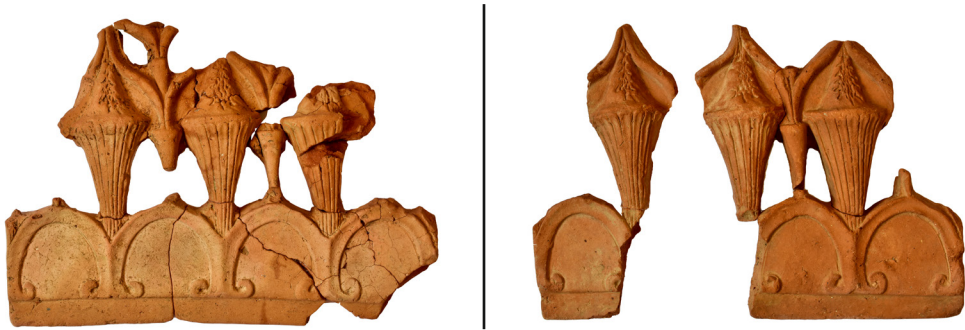


Fig. 7, a. b Vegetal crestings from Dyme. Patras, Archaeological Museum of Patras, Inv. 18286 (left). 18287 (right).

Images: © Elena C. Partida, with the kind permission of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture.



Fig. 7, c Crestings and *simae* from Dyme, as temporarily exhibited in 2019. Patras, Archaeological Museum of Patras, From left to right: Inv. 18295, 18296 (*simae*) and Inv. 18297, 18288, 18287a, 18287b, 18286, 18290a, 18290b, 18289 (crestings).

Image: © Elena C. Partida, with the kind permission of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture.

Adriatic Sea.<sup>68</sup> Formalised plants were recovered among the finds from Via Gabina,<sup>69</sup> Nicopolis,<sup>70</sup> the Republican temple at Largo Argentina<sup>71</sup> (resembling those from Dyme), the sanctuary of Asclepius in Castrum Inui,<sup>72</sup> domestic premises at Fregellae,<sup>73</sup> and Herod's Palace in Jericho.<sup>74</sup>

68 Based on Strid – Tan 1997 and Pignatti 1982. For this piece of information I thank the agriculturist/botanist Yannis Skordas.

69 Painter 2005, 25.

70 Special thanks are due to K. Zachos and Ch. Kappa for sharing photos of some of their finds.

71 Zink et al. 2021, figs. 5. 7.

72 Tortorella 2016a, 172. figs. 10–12.

73 Känel 2010, 266.

74 Reinhardt (in press); cf. the chapter “Luftiger Dachschmuck” by A. REINHARDT in this volume.

With the aid of conservator Vassilis Kyrkos, we mended several fragments.<sup>75</sup> With their mould-made uniformity, some pieces may even be interchangeable (Figs. 7, a. b). We were able to calculate by approximation the panels' original dimensions, which are substantial: maximum preserved length 37 cm and height<sup>76</sup> 27.5 cm. The technique combining cut-out/à jour and relief is hardly unusual in crestings.<sup>77</sup> Aesthetically, the optical effect of such reticulate design set against the blue sky was very attractive, and reminiscent of perforated finials in Etruscan temples. However, their overall delicacy and thin bottom ledge (2–2.5 cm) seem inconsistent with a free-standing element at the top of a building, enduring winds and weathering (Fig. 7, c). It has been argued<sup>78</sup> that pierced slabs were set in plaster/stucco and thereby anchored in masonry. Since our fragments were found at production stage, we cannot expect any traces of mortar/stucco. Calderone's proposal<sup>79</sup> to restore such reticulate plaques above a door-lintel is appealing, for one additional reason: the floral marble mouldings which encircled door-frames in Greek architecture (the lotus-and-palmette framing the doors of the north porch of the Erechtheion, the Siphnian and the Cyrenean treasury<sup>80</sup> at Delphi) provide tangible monumental prototypes. The answer, however, will come from a technical detail of the *simae*.

## ***Simae*, Set against Dyme's Artistic Background**

### **Sima with a Lion-Head Waterspout**

The line of production at Dyme included terracotta gutters richly decorated in relief. On one of them<sup>81</sup> (Fig. 8), the relief lion-head spout is flanked to the left by heraldic/affronted goat- (or ram-)heads rendered in perfect detail. To the right of the spout, a winged hermaphrodite Cupid holding a wreath<sup>82</sup> emerges from a flower bud. The craftsman excelled in the subtle execution and remarkable expressiveness of the animal heads. Although the figurine of Eros/Cupid resting on a calyx is present in the coroplastic art of Hellenistic Thessaloniki,<sup>83</sup> the bulk of evidence attesting to Eros being the lord of the gardens of Dionysos and Aphrodite, and of the whole vegetal realm, is provided by vase-painting from South Italy and especially Apulia,<sup>84</sup> in particular the red-figure ware first produced by Greeks who migrated to Magna Graecia after the Peloponnesian War.

75 II 18286 (max.) Ht. 27.5 cm, l. 37 cm, th. (bottom) 2.5 cm, th. (top) 4 cm; II 18287 (max.) Ht. 26 cm, l. 14.5 cm, th. (bottom) 2.5 cm, th. (top) 4 cm; II 18299 (max.) Ht. 26 cm, l. 22.5 cm, th. (bottom) 2.5 cm, th. (top) 4 cm; II 18290 (max.) Ht. 24 cm, l. 23.5 cm, th. (bottom) 2.5 cm, th. (top) 4 cm; II 18298 (max.) Ht. 12.5 cm, l. 18 cm, th. (top) 4 cm.

76 The possibility of an upper 'tier' with palmette-finials is being explored.

77 In addition to the aforementioned examples, see A. REINHARDT in the present volume.

78 Calderone 1975, 65 citing Borbein and Rohden – Winnefeld 1911.

79 Calderone 1975.

80 Partida 2020, 183 fig. 4.

81 II 18295/15162. Ht. 17 cm, l. 30 cm, max. th. 7 cm. We have been able to identify two sima parts, so far.

82 For occasional resemblance between Nike and Eros, see Heuer 2015, 68.

83 Adam-Velenē et al. 2017, cat. 372 of 250–200 BCE. On top of an eight-petal flower calyx rests a Cupid.

84 Red-figure amphoras of the Darius painter, 340–320 BCE: Kästner – Saunders 2016a, cat. 4. 5.



Fig. 8 Sima from the 'Campana-workshop' at Dyme. Patras, Archaeological Museum of Patras, Inv. 18295.

Image: © Elena C. Partida, with the kind permission of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture.

Relevant representations in Delos<sup>85</sup> are attributed to the Italian community of the island. Cupid is frequently depicted as a young hermaphrodite inhabiting lush landscapes, seated on a flower or enclosed in blossoming tendrils.<sup>86</sup> Apulian vase-painters and their clientele (Greek and Italic peoples, alike) considered Eros to be a primordial creative force, documented in Hesiod's *Theogony*, the Orphic cosmogony<sup>87</sup> and Homer's *Hymn to Demeter*.<sup>88</sup> So, literature and visual culture suggest that flora was the by-product of the god's procreative powers. Being the daemon of vegetation, Eros unleashes the fertilising power of nature, source of vigour and life. On a *pelike* from Apulia, in Madrid National Museum,<sup>89</sup> Eros is reclined over an enormous calyx emerging from a profusion of foliate; he merely touches the flower with his tip-toes and, through this magic contact, fertility spreads.

On the *sima* from Dyme, Eros will be the adjudicator of the goats' rivalry, leading to survival of the fittest. The he-goat or wild goat, as the untamed, insubordinate creature symbolising savage force, goes back to Minoan times.<sup>90</sup> A wild goat is hunted by a

85 Barrett 2011, 256.

86 Occurring on nearly 80 examples, as estimated by Heuer 2019, 10.

87 Heuer 2019, 11.

88 Cabrera 2005, 153–155.

89 Cabrera 2013, 500.

90 In a Cretan initiation rite, ἀγρίματα (*Capra aegagrus*, the main ancestor of domestic goat) represent the savage force against which the youth have to test their strength and masculinity: Eiring 2004, 443–445; Karapidaki 2011, 1.

winged Eros in the painted decoration of a Hellenistic jar from Crete<sup>91</sup> and the carved marble frieze of the theatre at Miletos. On our *sima*, the goats flank an acanthus leaf; its association ‘par excellence’ with Augustus<sup>92</sup> is also inferred from the stylised vegetal motifs which adorn the chariot of Augustus in the relief frieze of the altar at Nicopolis.<sup>93</sup> However, antithetical wild goats flanking a stylised palmette or, more commonly, the Tree of Life are also indicative of Near Eastern (Anatolian<sup>94</sup> or Assyrian<sup>95</sup>) provenance. Moreover, the positioning of the animals typifies Phrygian tradition.<sup>96</sup> Although the motif of a doubled goat’s head on either side of an acanthus calyx is known from *antefices* in Central Italy,<sup>97</sup> the circumstances at Dyme favour its introduction directly from the East. The pirates settled here in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE were potential carriers of foreign customs into Achaëa, as they were of Phrygian/Anatolian cults, attested by ancient authors.<sup>98</sup> In this respect, the acanthus leaf could be a conventional abbreviation of the Tree of Life.

Foliolate pattern is a constituent element of the “Kulturkreis” (‘cultural unity’) of the western Greek arc, the so-called Hellenistic vegetal *koine*.<sup>99</sup> On *simae* from Hellenistic Messene, the ‘glorification of the floral symbol’ is related to Aphrodite.<sup>100</sup> Foliage on gravestones, on the other hand, is common to western Greece but typical of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE grave-*stelae* with sofa-capital from Dyme.<sup>101</sup> Here tendrils spring antithetically from an acanthus leaf, perhaps evocative of rebirth and nature’s regenerative powers.<sup>102</sup> Exemplary of this category of grave-*stelae* are those of Ἀρχέλαος,<sup>103</sup> a mercenary from Dyme, and Νικαία.<sup>104</sup> The latter falls in the category of composite tombstones,<sup>105</sup> ascribed to a local workshop using stone from Mount Erymanthos. However, seeing the elaborate blossoming tendrils and lotus bud in the lower part, we realise that, in principle, the composite *stèle* of Νικαία is not far from the contemporary (2<sup>nd</sup> century

91 Of the ‘Hadra’ type, today in the MET (accession number 90.9.9, <<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/245546>> [06.12.2023]). ‘Hadra’ vases were exported from Crete to Alexandria, used as ash urns for foreigners who died during their stay in the Ptolemaic capital. See Eiring 2004, 447f.

92 Roth-Congès 1983; Sauron 1993.

93 Zachos 2009, 284.

94 Şerifoğlu 2015, 220.

95 Negahban 1996, 61. 70. 77 (antithetical wild goats climbing either side of a tree, originating from western Iran of the 9<sup>th</sup> century BCE). On the wild-goat-and-tree imagery, rooted in Iran, and its special significance for Cyprus: Bushnell 2008.

96 Glendinning 2002.

97 Pensabene – Sanzi di Mino 1983, pls. 129. 130.

98 Appian, Cassius Dio and Strabo, cited by Rizakis 1995, 159 no.1.

99 Themelis 1994, 159. Although Pausias of Sicyon is credited in ancient sources with developing the art of flower painting, mimetic depiction of elements of the natural world became a specialty of Apulian artisans: Heuer 2019, 7.

100 The respective *simae* from Messene are attributed to her temple: Themelis 1994, 164.

101 Inv. no. 2731: Papapostolou 1975, 291–304; Papapostolou 1993, 56–59. 69–73.

102 Persisting in carved marble funerary urns of the Roman Imperial period. Petropoulos 2018.

103 Rizakis 1995, 290 no. 493.

104 Papapostolou 1975; Papapostolou 1993, 48–52. 61. 72. 80–84; Rizakis 1998, 68.

105 Their upper part is in the form of a shallow *naiskos* with Corinthian engaged columns crowned by a pediment. Papapostolou 1993, 48–56.



BCE) funerary *naiskos* of Tertia Horaria from Rheneia<sup>106</sup> in the Cyclades, with exuberant foliage. This could be the equivalent of the South Italian excessive richness of floral décor, in its stone/sculpted version.<sup>107</sup> Is it the effect of shared eschatological beliefs, or a case of transmission of style? The kinetics of art impedes our tracking the exact origins of a trend; besides, the influence was frequently two-way.<sup>108</sup>

Aside from demonstrating strong Hellenistic influence, the decoration of our sima is affiliated to different regional traditions. Its shape as an architectural element, too, suggests influence from the East, as we shall see.

### Sima with a Human-Faced Waterspout

On another segment of a terracotta gutter,<sup>109</sup> mended from many fragments, the mouth of a bearded figure in relief assumes the function of a spout (Fig. 9). His hair-locks in radial arrangement are crowned with a wreath of ivy-leaves and a large flower above his right temple. Automatically one might recognize in it a Dionysos mask, paralleled by the architectural terracotta from Pompeii.<sup>110</sup> However, a more plausible interpretation derives from style, religion and political geography. In Delos<sup>111</sup> the appliqué revetment of a *situla* for rituals in honour of Isis (2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE) was shaped as a bearded face crowned with ivy-leaves, a personified river or river-god. Rivers are often associated with myths and the local pantheon. The personification of the Nile in mosaic floors of Roman Patras<sup>112</sup> was counterbalanced by coinage from Roman Aigion representing the river Selinous that crossed through east Achaëa.<sup>113</sup> Deification of rivers was common to Greeks and Romans, as indicated by the over-life-size wreathed figure of Danube on the Column of Trajan in Rome. Along these lines, the bearded face on our sima could represent the river Acheloos, a natural and territorial boundary to the north, separating the provinces of Achaëa and Epirus.<sup>114</sup> More plausibly, though, the personified river could be Larissos, flowing at a short distance from Dyme. The local cult of goddess Athena was named after this river,<sup>115</sup> which formed the geopolitical borderline between West Achaëa and Elis.

106 Ridgeway 2001, 200 fig. 23.

107 See also the wall relief from a funerary monument in Taranto (4<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE): Heuer 2019, fig. 19.

108 Traceable also in motifs and patterns of mosaic floors: Papapostolou 2009a, 213, 218.

109 Π 18296/15163. Ht. 15 cm, l. 29 cm, max. pres. width 13 cm.

110 Rohden 1880, 31 fig. 21 pl. 23, 1.

111 Chatzidakis 2003, 334.

112 Papapostolou 2009b, 26–31; Papapostolou 2009a, 240–242.

113 Katsonopoulou 2016, 23. On coins from Aigion, River Selinous is rendered in human form, in a reclining position, holding an amphora from which water is poured.

114 Karambinis 2018, 291.

115 A temple of Athena Λαρισαία was erected by the river bank (Paus. 7, 17, 5).



Fig. 9 Sima from the 'Campana-workshop' at Dyme. Patras, Archaeological Museum of Patras, Inv. 18296.

Image: © Elena C. Partida, with the kind permission of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture.

### Structural Details

Both *simae* preserve a technical detail, which allows insight into the montage and sequence of ornate courses in elevation. A shallow groove (2.7 cm wide) of rectangular cross-section runs along the upper surface of both gutters. The bottom of the cut-out plaques fits precisely into this groove, allowing for lead-pouring and reproducing the combination of sima with a cresting (Figs. 10, a–d), known from the area of the house of Augustus on the Palatine Hill. Such vertical development of architectural decoration (Figs. 11, 12) verifies the role of the reticulate plaques as finials and reinforces Rudolf Känel's proposed restoration of the *compluvium* at Fragellae.<sup>116</sup>

The mounting of the two sima-parts for exhibition purposes made obvious their difference (Fig. 7, c). The one with Eros is identifiable as a sima only because of the spout. Its broken lower edge is paradoxically straight (Figs. 10, c; 13). Contrary to the customary cross-section of a sima, here the lower part grows thinner toward its base (forming a recessed band underneath the relief decoration) and almost vertical in profile, as if meant to be affixed or inserted, like a crest. If this was the case, then what we see is the sculptured parapet that *edged* the actual sima and was probably stabilised in position by lead-pouring. The shape of this element recalls the archaic parapet-*simae* exemplified in Thasos and Larisa on Hermos.<sup>117</sup> Dentellated parapet-*simae* originated from Asia Minor and they are regarded as forerunners of the monumental marble Ionic friezes.<sup>118</sup>

116 R. KÄNEL in this volume; Känel 2010, 268.

117 Ridgway 1966, pls. 59 a. c. For a possible example from Delphi (the treasury of Corfu), see Winter 1994, pl. 128 and Partida 2011, 225.

118 Dinsmoor 1950, 44. 64. 131 f.



**Fig. 10, a. b** Rear side (left) and profile (right) of the sima with human head in relief. Patras, Archaeological Museum of Patras, Inv. 18296.

Images: © Elena C. Partida, with the kind permission of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture.



**Fig. 10, c. d** Montage test: crestings set on top of the sima. Patras, Archaeological Museum of Patras, Inv. 18296.

Images: © Elena C. Partida, with the kind permission of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture.



**Fig. 11 Montage test: crestings set on top of the sima.**

Image: © Elena C. Partida, with the kind permission of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture.

By contrast, the sima with the relief face from Dyme, although roughly equal in height to its counterpart, preserves the lateral joint (Figs. 10, a. b) to adjoin the contiguous element of the gutter-course (unfortunately, the area where a flange would be expected is broken).<sup>119</sup> A fair part of the L-shaped profile (typical of gutters) is preserved, with a steady base which must have exceeded the currently preserved width of 13 cm (Fig. 14). The interior of the gutter is modelled so as to divert water toward the spout. Of interest is the bulge of the walling inside the gutter, as if to accentuate the curved lateral joint (Fig. 10, a).

119 Mistaken for an angular gutter while preparing the exhibition of 2019.



**Fig. 12** Montage test: crestings set on top of the sima.

Image: © Elena C. Partida, with the kind permission of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture.



**Fig. 13** Cresting on top of the sima with the lion-head spout. Rear view.  
Image: © Elena C. Partida, with the kind permission of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture.



**Fig. 14** Patras, Archaeological Museum Inv. 18296: sima from the 'Campana-workshop' at Dyme, as exhibited in 2019.  
Image: © Elena C. Partida, with the kind permission of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture.

## Interpreting the Evidence

The cut-out stylized flowers of the crestings from Dyme call to mind the Greco-Italian natural environment. Architecturally, however, they derive from the old Italic modes, with certain eastbound affinities, whereas the relief representations on the revetment plaques draw from Greek mythology and iconography. At the portal between East and West, Dyme is caught up in an exchange of influences. The town's fortification wall, built of mud-brick,<sup>120</sup> the composite tombstones, and subsequently the Campana reliefs, delineate a solid background in crafts, thus qualifying Dyme to play a decisive role in configuring the artistic legacy of Achaëa. The prominence of nature and harmony in the creations of the workshop at Dyme is sensational, bearing influence from Hellenistic as well as Archaic prototypes, and inspired by the recent as well as the mythical past. At first sight, the figurative scenes may be taken to allegorically commemorate Octavian's victory at Actium, but a deeper reading reveals that the plaques reverberated with the native inhabitants' turbulent everyday life. Even though the outcome of the battle at Actium enabled the Roman Empire to grow in size and invincibility, what we see in these reliefs surpasses a martial victory. The symbolic feud and combats ending with the supremacy of the civilised world make a statement about the struggle for liberation and peace, the struggle to subdue savage forces, to suppress the barbaric element, and to attain balance over havoc/chaos and anarchy; in short, to safeguard cosmic harmony. The population of Dyme was not unalloyed. Within a brief time-span over the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE, the indigenous population were obliged to co-exist with pirates from Anatolia, foreign settlers and Roman colonists; they had to endure social discrimination, inequality and loss of property. The reliefs under examination may be a visual reflection of Dyme's quest for peace and stability – ideals highly valued by Cicero at the time and, later, by Seneca.<sup>121</sup> The citizens' peace was equated to *ius, mores, libertas, securitas*; but *otium* (leisure in quietness, ἀπραγία, spare time in tranquillity) was an ingredient of people's welfare.

In turn, the articulation of architectural ornament and the entablature synthesis also show a mixture of westbound and eastbound traditions, a combination of the Italic pierced crestings set against the sky, with the rise of the eaves parapet, a descendant of the archaic parapet-sima. Legible on two stamped pan-tiles<sup>122</sup> is the imprint of the workshop's signature in semicircular arrangement, reading A . ATII . FELIX. On another rectangular stamp, we read the Greek name MOSCHI[ON].<sup>123</sup> Signatures corroborate what the motifs, the style and the modelling bespeak, that is, the collaboration of craftsmen of different backgrounds. The choice of subject-matters addressed the people of two cultures at the same time: they indirectly alluded to Octavian's triumph

120 In the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE. On the mud-brick perimeter wall, see Tsaknakē 2019, 35. 51–53 and Petropoulos 2019, 108 f. On earthen architecture and a comparandum from Tunisia: Russel – Fentress 2016, 135 fig. 4.

121 Karamboula 2016, 144. 146. 151.

122 II 18285 (max.) l. 47 cm, w. 28 cm, th. 3 cm. and II 18294 (max.) l. 22 cm, w. 10 cm, th. 3 cm.

123 Vasilogamvrou 2008, 118 f. We note that the name recurs on a gravestone from Achaëa: Papapostolou 1993, 56–57, fig. 13.

but also to the upheaval within the society of Dyme, commemorating the struggle for freedom and order. So, rather than a manifestation of romanisation,<sup>124</sup> we propose a case of merged traditions. In a Roman province, artists of different origins literally *mould* their own understanding of different prototypes. The mechanism of allegorical expression was 'legible' to both people. Craftsmen, working side by side at Dyme, drew from Greek mythology and the Hellenistic *koine* visual culture, to adorn architectural elements typologically originating from the Etruscan/Italic tradition, with a hint of the archaic East. Considering the town's anti-Roman disposition,<sup>125</sup> we interpret this as a liberal artistic statement of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE. Regardless of the commissioner's identity (whether a member of the Senate, the civic elite or even the Imperial family), a return to old, classical prototypes is unlikely to have been ordained. It was rather a conscious choice made by the artist because those works impressed him.

The spectrum of architectural elements manufactured at Dyme, along with the total absence of pottery finds, indicates that this workshop specialised in architectural decoration. Based on their size and mouldings, the relief panels may be classified in two groups, suggesting two friezes reasonably at two different levels, while the cut-out crestings were fixed on top of the *simae*, vertically extending the decoration. The *simae* indicate that we are looking at the exterior of a superstructure. The size and delicacy of the recovered parts point to the entablature and eaves revetment probably of a courtyard, where they would be comparatively less exposed to weathering.

The ensemble from Dyme is unified by symbolism and conceptual coherence, a planned overall iconographic programme. Although the parts were destined for different courses, all subject-matters seem to converge on a specific thematic axis. This reinforces our assumption that they probably furnished the elevation of a single edifice. Their dimensions denote their position, that is, the set of bigger plaques fits the entablature of a portico or a peristyle, whereas the smaller one fits the frieze of a *compluvium* or a baldachin, the cladding/veneer of some altar or even an interior wall. It is not imperative to associate our series with villas of the Roman elite. On the analogy of Nicopolis, where Italic-like terracotta *simae* were related to the trophy-monument of Augustus,<sup>126</sup> the series from Dyme could have furnished some public,<sup>127</sup> secular, or religious edifice. In terms of size, the bigger series at Dyme is equivalent to those from near the Palatine Temple<sup>128</sup> and Cosa, where 75 plaques (each 44–46 cm wide) add up

124 As regards the reverse process, of hellenisation, an interesting aspect is epigraphically attested in Messene, where hellenised Romans, together with Greek citizens, contributed to funding the repairs to buildings of the sanctuary, after a severe earthquake in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE: Themelis 2016, 545. On the fully hellenised appearance of Roman colonies in Greece: Nijf – Alston 2011, 9.

125 Amandry 1981, 46; Rizakis 1987/1988, 23 f.

126 Kappa 2007.

127 Bibliography is mostly devoted to matters of iconography. With the majority of Campana plaques being holdings or acquisitions in collections disconnected from their original context, their provenance is impossible to ascertain. Luckily the excavation results from Via Gabina and Basilica Aemilia shed light on the position and function of such plaques in a building. For public premises, see Reinhardt 2016a. For the probability of Campana reliefs fitting in a domestic shrine, see Bøggild Johannsen 2008a.

128 See Pensabene 2017b, 45–47. 53. 56–64. 126–131; Rizzo 1976/1977, 49–51.



to a figural frieze 33 m long,<sup>129</sup> reasonably from a public edifice. Compared with their counterparts from Via Gabina (recovered near the stylobate of a peristyle), both the plaques and the crestings from Dyme seem to be larger.


Being the only ‘Campana workshop’ recovered so far on Greek soil, the ‘atelier’ at Dyme might theoretically meet the demands of the Western Greek arc (Achaea, Nicopolis, Elis, Messene). But did it really supply clients beyond Dyme? And how extensive was the use of ‘Campana reliefs’ within and beyond the Roman foundations in Greece? Given that Patras has yielded no Campana fragments so far, we gather there was neither regular commissioning nor mass production. The finds from Dyme represent, then, an extraordinary occasion, for which the workshop was established. In Classical Greek sanctuaries, workshops were usually short-term installations, put up specifically to meet the demands of a monument. The one at Dyme seems to have been abandoned early, at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE,<sup>130</sup> which might denote its short-term operation, scheduled to produce the architectural decoration possibly of one particular edifice.

The manufacture of Italic-type artefacts in an eastern province<sup>131</sup> of the Roman Empire is better conceptualised in a spatial and anthropological perspective. The vegetal pierced crestings from Nicopolis<sup>132</sup> – a Roman foundation with a mixed, mostly Greek, population – seem hard to parallel exactly. In the case of Dyme, divergence from the basic classification is obvious in the crestings, the untypical mouldings along the lower edge of the plaques (instead of crowning ones), the parapet-sima, and the variant rendering of known figurative scenes. The above bespeak an experimentation that dismisses sterile reproduction; this derives from the encounter of artists and, ultimately, from the workshop’s geographical location.

## Bibliography

For the works cited in this article, please refer to the comprehensive BIBLIOGRAPHY at the end of the volume.

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129 Found amid architectural terracottas: Rizzo 1976/1977, 51–55.

130 Philippa-Touchais 2004/2005, 1358.

131 On the evidence from the provinces, see Reinhardt (in press).

132 As far as I can tell by the photos kindly shared by K. Zachos and Ch. Kappa, for which I am grateful.