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The Life of Statues of Gods in the Greek World

Angelos Chaniotis

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Lives of statues

- 1 On February 10, 2012, the international press reported an incident that occurred in the Siberian town of Uzhur.

An unemployed Russian man has climbed on to a statue of Lenin and set himself on fire, suffering serious burns. “After climbing the steps up to the pedestal of the Lenin monument, the man set fire to himself and, engulfed in flame, fell to the ground,” the police for the Krasnoyarsk region of Siberia said in a statement. The man, 51, climbed on the statue in front of a district administration building in the town of Uzhur, but made no demands before pouring petrol on himself and lighting a match.¹

- 2 Statues of Lenin in the former Soviet Union — more than sixty still exist in Moscow alone — and statues of Kemal Atatürk in modern Turkey share certain features with ancient Greek divine images: they are omnipresent — as diffused as statues of saints in Catholic churches; they follow certain iconographic conventions; they arouse strong emotions; they are the object of worship. On 30 August 2000, in a parade for Victory Day in Izmir, I saw a man, draped in a Turkish flag, running to the statue of Kemal Ataturk and embracing it. And precisely because such emblematic statues of state-founders are objects of worship, express values, and arouse emotions, they also have a lifespan. When the worship ends and the emotions that they arouse are not the positive emotions of affection, loyalty, faith, gratitude, or pride, but hatred, indignation, or contempt, then statues reach the end of their lives, unless their function changes and they are collected or displayed as curiosities or works of art.

- 3 We may observe similar changes of fortune in the lives of Greek divine statues. But in many respects these changes are more complex, not the least because of the fundamental significance of statues for Greek religion. Although divine statues or other divine images were not an indispensable element in the worship of the gods,² they did enhance worship, in particular through their emotive power. It is not a coincidence that the Christians used a term that highlights the importance of statues to label polytheistic worship, calling it idolatry.
- 4 We usually associate statues with immobile and immutable matter. We use expressions such as ‘he stood like a statue’. Such an expression is connected with the idea that statues are incapable not only of movement but also of feeling and cognition. ‘She stood like a statue’ is the title of a poem of Chris Vailancourt,³ which ends with the verses: ‘She stood like a statue. | Beautiful as marble. | But utterly, totally, | completely empty inside.’ Similar ideas existed in ancient Greece. The usual attributes of statues are ἀκίνητος, ἀπαθής, ἄφωνος, ἀναίσθητος;⁴ statues lack movement, feeling, voice, senses. Ἀνδριάντα γαργαλίζεις, to tickle a statue, is a proverbial expression describing efforts made in vain.⁵
- 5 If statues were perceived as lifeless matter, can we then speak of ‘the life of statues’? This would be a very short study, if I were to give a negative answer. My answer is affirmative. Statues of gods in Greek culture had lives, not only metaphorically but also literally – and up to a certain extent this applies to statues of mortals as well.
- 6 First, statues have lives in the Greek sense of *bios*: they have biographies. Statues came into being; they served functions and were the focal point of rituals; they were observed and talked of; they had adventures and travelled; they were destroyed and buried. It is in this sense that the expression ‘life of statues’ has been used by art historians and historians.⁶ Second, statues have a life also in the sense that they have agency: by arousing emotions, they provoke actions that are beyond or contrary to human intentions.⁷ And thirdly, statues of gods are perceived, under certain conditions, as fulfilling vital functions: they become alive. They move, speak, sweat, tremble, and heal.⁸ In the latter cases divine images were receptacles and media of a god’s epiphany.⁹ These three different ways in which divine statues have lives are interlinked but should nevertheless be kept apart.

The ritual lives of statues of gods

- 7 Let me start with the first, metaphorical use of the expression ‘life of statues’, a subject that has attracted a lot of attention in the past. Statues of gods had lives after they left the sculptor’s workshop and before they fell off their bases, pushed by men or shaken by earthquakes. This life began with the dedication of a statue. The accompanying rituals are hardly ever mentioned in the literary sources. What little we know about the consecration of statues of gods has been collected and discussed by Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge.¹⁰ It is thanks to inscriptions that we know that the erection of a statue, either of a god or of a mortal, was celebrated as a festival of great publicity at the latest from the Hellenistic period on – despite the undeniable influence of foreign religions on Hellenistic practices, I suspect that these celebrations have their origins in earlier periods. A decree of Magnesia on the Maeander concerns the placement of the old cult image of Artemis Leukophryene in her newly constructed Parthenon in the early second century BCE. The rituals included a procession, a sacrifice, and the singing of

hymns. All the women were to come to the temple and attend on the goddess, i.e. probably decorate her statue.¹¹ This event, which took place on the goddess' birthday (6th of Artemision), was then annually commemorated in the festival Isiteria.

- 8 The ceremonial dedication of the statue of a divinity certainly served as the model for analogous rituals of dedication (καθοσίωσις, καθιέρωσις) of statues of emperors and benefactors. For this reason, information concerning the consecration and erection of statues of mortals¹² gives us, up to a certain extent, some idea about the festivities that accompanied the consecration of divine images in the Hellenistic and Imperial periods. E.g. in Iasos, the high priest of Septimius Severus and his sons organized a sacrifice when the statues of the emperors were dedicated, providing wreaths for those who attended it, distributing old aromatic wine during the banquet that followed, providing the athletes with olive oil, and organizing a market-fair.¹³ We find here all the typical elements of a festival: sacrifice, banquet, market, and contests. The contemporary consecration of cult images in temples was probably celebrated as festivals in the same manner. In the Hellenistic and Imperial periods there were also rituals for the erection of dedicatory statues of gods, but apart from vague references to ἱδρύσις and καθιέρωσις we lack any concrete information.¹⁴
- 9 After their ceremonial erection divine statues remained a focal point of interest and continual treatment. They were regularly cleaned, washed, dressed, and perfumed.¹⁵ The accounts of the *hieropoioi* at Delos list the regular expenses for the decoration and cleaning of statues.¹⁶ Statues played an important part in ritual dramas, e.g., in rituals of sacred marriage,¹⁷ in rituals that celebrated the periodic arrival of gods,¹⁸ and in the ritual banquet for gods, the *theoxenia*.¹⁹ In Magnesia on the Maeander the stephanephoros carried images of the Twelve Gods, dressed in the most beautiful garments.²⁰ These images were brought to the Agora, where a tent with a *triklinon* was prepared next to the altar of the Twelve Gods. Displaying their statues in this way represented the presence of the supernatural guests.
- 10 The carrying of statues in processions is already attested in early periods (see note 18, on the periodic arrival of gods) but it gained popularity in the Hellenistic period. Images of gods were prominent in the great procession staged by Ptolemy II in Alexandria (ca. 274 BCE) and in the Ephesian celebration initiated by Vibius Salutaris.²¹ Expressions such as θεοφόρος (the individual who carries images of gods)²² and ἄγαλμα πομπικόν (processional statue)²³ are directly connected with this practice.
- 11 A second-century-CE decree from Stratonikeia illustrates the significance of statues as the focal point of rituals in the Imperial period. Thirty young boys, dressed in white, with wreaths and branches in their hands, were to come in a procession to the bouleuterion; there, they were to stand in front of the statues of Zeus and Hekate and sing a hymn, every morning.²⁴ The visit to the statues welcomed the new day.

Itinerant divine statues

- 12 Travel is a very common aspect in the life of divine statues. The literary tradition knows of divine images that fell from the sky or were carried by heroes and brought to places where a new cult was founded, and both literary sources and inscriptions refer to the involuntary journeys of statues, victims of war and theft. I mention only a few inscriptions concerning the latter phenomenon, the violent removal of divine images.

In a letter sent by Octavian to Ephesos, the adoptive son of Caesar requested the return of a statue of Eros, originally dedicated by Caesar to Aphrodite in Aphrodisias, then carried away as booty by Labienus and dedicated to the Ephesian Artemis (38 BCE).²⁵ Not without a sense of humor, Octavian added that a statue of Eros was not a suitable dedication for the virgin goddess of the Ephesians. Another statue of Eros, far more famous, a work of Praxiteles, led a yet more adventurous life. It was removed from Thespiai by Mummius in 146 BCE and given to Athens where it was displayed in the theater of Dionysos, together with Praxiteles' statue of Nike; it was returned to Thespiai, probably after Sulla's victory in 87 BCE, because of Thespiai's support and Sulla's particular connection with Venus/Aphrodite. The festival of Eros was probably re-organized under the new name *Erotidaia Rhomaia* after the return of the statue. It was later taken to Rome, returned to Thespiai under Claudius, taken again by Nero and finally destroyed by fire in Rome around 80 CE.²⁶

- 13 A decree of Pydna concerning the restoration of the statue of Apollo Dekadryos may allude to a similar story of removal and return. The priest and two citizens of Pydna were sent as envoys to Karponidas and Alexiphaes of Demetrias. Accepting Pydnas' request, the two men restored the statue.²⁷ It has been assumed that they were sculptors, honored for repairing a statue damaged by the Romans in 168 BCE or for replacing a statue lost during the temple's pillaging. But the two men are neither designated as sculptors nor are they known as sculptors from other sources. It is more likely that they were in possession of the statue (as traders of war booty) and agreed to return it to Pydna.
- 14 Another interesting case of a traveling divine image is that of the bronze statue of Herakles from Seleukeia on the Tigris.²⁸ A bilingual Greek-Aramaic inscription (ca. 151 CE) records a campaign of the Parthian king Vologeses IV against king Mithradates of Messene. After his victory, Vologeses brought the statue to Seleukeia and dedicated it in the temple of Apollo 'who presides over the brazen gate'. The Aramaic text identifies Herakles with Vahram and Apollo with Nebo. The transportation of statues, especially statues of kings and patron gods, from defeated cities to the capital of the victor was often practiced in the ancient Near East.²⁹ Herakles, whose image figured on the coins of Messene, must have been the patron of this kingdom; the abduction of his statue from Messene and its dedication in the sanctuary of another deity (Apollo) in Seleukeia symbolized not only the complete submission of this kingdom to Vologeses IV, but also the transfer of his protective powers to Vologeses' capital. The statue of Herakles was placed in a temple near the 'bronze gate' because of the apotropaic powers attributed to Herakles (protector of gates) and Apollo Propylaios.
- 15 But divine statues did not have to wait for a war to travel the world; sometimes they were stolen from temples. This was the fate of the cult statue of Hephaistos in Argos (first century CE),³⁰ and of yet another statue of Eros from Laodikeia (254 CE).³¹ Violence was part of the life — or ended the life — of statues.

Peripeties of divine statues: destruction and repair

- 16 Although the destruction of statues is closely associated with the rise of Christianity and the attacks on *eidola*,³² statues of gods have a history of being maltreated, vandalized or attacked already much earlier. If we are to believe Lucian, the statue of

Hermes Agoraios in Athens was covered with bitumen, as sculptors made casts to produce copies.³³ The additional, movable parts of statues, often made of precious metal, could be removed, and the story goes that a man in Kroton was convicted to death for taking the golden beard that had fallen off the statue of Pythagoras.³⁴ An inscription from Kollyda reports that during the celebration of a festival in 197 CE people came together and marched against a sanctuary. Armed with swords, sticks and stones, they attacked the sacred slaves and smashed the statues of the gods.³⁵

- 17 Another potential part of the life of statues was their repair and re-dedication, especially when they had a particular value for a community or family. The re-dedication of honorific statues and statue-bases of mortals is a phenomenon that has attracted significant attention in recent research, especially with regard to statues and statue-bases of the Archaic and Classical period re-used to honor Romans in Athens.³⁶ R.R.R. Smith and C.H. Hallett have recently reconstructed the fascinating story of a statue group of Achilles and Troilos in Aphrodisias, from its original dedication in the first century CE and its later repair to its erection in the civic basilica in the mid-fourth-century CE.³⁷ As late as the third or fourth century CE, the Milesians restored a statue of Neileus, the legendary founder of their city, in the South Market.³⁸
- 18 The restoration of the statues of gods is less often directly attested. This is not surprising, since cult statues were regularly taken care of, cleaned, decorated, and repaired. We have more information about private initiatives for the repair and re-dedication of divine images, especially when they were somehow connected with an individual or his family. A few characteristic examples may serve to illustrate this. Sometime during Caesar's (or Octavians's) rule in Rome an anonymous man at Aphrodisias dedicated a statue of Nike and probably a lion. The monument carried the inscription 'I, Victory, am always with Caesar, of divine descent.'³⁹ It is quite possible that the verb *πᾶρειμι* alludes to the fact that the statue was erected near a statue of Caesar. Three generations later (after 42 CE) Kallikrates 'himself repaired and restored the dedications of his ancestors'.⁴⁰ Because of the emphatic use of the praenomen *αὐτός* ('himself') I suspect that Kallikrates was also the sculptor or the owner of the workshop that did the repair (*αὐτὸς ἐπ' ἰσκευάσα[ς]*). In Aphrodisias, it is not uncommon for prominent citizens to be involved in this profession.⁴¹
- 19 The re-dedication of a divine image was a family affair also in Minoa on Anorgos, where a stephanephoros promised to restore a statue of Tyche. His daughter fulfilled the promise and dedicated this statue to Dionysos Minoites (late second century CE).⁴² In the second century CE, a certain Savinianus in Kos found a statue of Aphrodite, an old dedication by Kallistrate, restored it, and 'preserved it for the goddess'.⁴³ Unfortunately, in this case the context and Savinianus' relation to the original dedicant are not clear.
- 20 These selected examples show that divine statues had *bioi*, and the examination of the contexts of these *bioi* may reveal important aspects of the roles played by statues and their perception. Part of this perception is the belief that statues had agency, a subject to which I now turn.

The emotional agency of divine statues

- 21 The agency of lifeless objects, not only statues, mainly originates in the fact that they may provoke unintended responses, usually emotional responses, and so set a series of actions in motion. Malfunctioning computers and cars that refuse to start cause indignation, and people who talk to electronic devices or physically attack them when they remain stubbornly disobedient are not just an invention of comedians. Such an agency is not limited to the statues of gods. Also the statues of mortals may arouse emotions and trigger responses.⁴⁴ It is said e.g. that when the athlete and statesman Theagenes of Thasos died (early fifth century BCE), one of his opponents came every night to his bronze statue and flogged it, until the statue put an end to all that by falling on him and killing him. Recognized as an agent of homicide, the statue was thrown into the sea. When the Thasians were punished with disease, an oracle advised them to return the exiles. The calamity only ended when the last 'exile', Theagenes' statue, was coincidentally caught in the nets of fishermen and brought back to Thasos.⁴⁵ In this and similar narratives, although images appear to act on their own, it is more likely that they were perceived as instruments of avenging spirits or punishing gods. In these cases, agency did not directly derive from them. Things are quite different in the case of statues that provoked erotic desire directed towards the material object.⁴⁶
- 22 In order to explain the origin of a mark on one thigh of Praxiteles' Knidian Aphrodite, the author of the *Affairs of the Heart* narrates the story of a young man who once passionately fell in love with the statue. All day long he would sit facing the goddess with his eyes fixed upon her and whispering words of love, until one night he slipped unnoticed into the temple and attempted to have sex with the statue in the pederastic manner. The marks on the stone were the result of his amorous embraces. Out of his mind, the young man then committed suicide.⁴⁷ A similar story was told about another statue of Praxiteles, that of Agathe Tyche in Athens.⁴⁸ The predominant element in these narratives, apart from praising a sculptor's skill, are their paradoxes: instead of arousing delight or awe as images of gods, these statues arouse uncontrolled erotic passion; instead of causing a viewer to admire them as works of art, they made him want to have sex with them, although they were unresponsive, lifeless stones. Such paradoxes explain the genesis and popularity of these narratives.
- 23 Such anecdotes, despite their lack of historicity, still reflect an important aspect of the lives of divine images: the emotional interaction between worshippers and statues of gods. This subject deserves a systematic study, which cannot be offered here. I will limit myself to a few examples and observations.
- 24 Texts related to the communication between worshippers and divinities — prayers, dedicatory inscriptions, oracular inquiries, hymns, etc. — show that this communication was emotionally loaded; depending on the occasion, it was filled with gratitude for past services, hope for future protection, fear of divine power, pride in a successful communication with the divine, or anxiety for the small and big problems of everyday life.⁴⁹ What was the role of statues in this emotional communication?
- 25 Both ancient iconography and textual sources attest to the fact that the statue of a divinity was the focal point of the communication between worshipper and divinity. In the case of dedicatory reliefs that show divine figures approached by worshippers it is not always clear whether the divine figures, seated or standing, are to be understood as statues. When worshippers — usually women — appear to kneel before the divine

figures, we are probably dealing with statues.⁵⁰ A terracotta statuette from Korkyra shows a girl near a statue of an enthroned Artemis with raised hands, her small body pressed against the legs of the goddess.⁵¹ Such a scene probably reflects actual practices, as does a votive relief from Echinus, that represents a woman (a mother or a nurse) approaching a statue of Artemis with an infant girl in her hands. The girl extends her arms towards the goddess, as if trying to touch her statue.⁵² But we do not have to turn to ambiguous images. The textual sources provide enough evidence for worshippers approaching, addressing, and directly interacting with divine images. Already our earliest literary source, the *Iliad*, presents Theano approaching the statue of Athena, placing a garment on the knees of the statue, and then saying her prayer.⁵³ This practice is reflected in ancient iconography⁵⁴ and directly attested by the Brauronian temple inventories from Athens (mid-fourth century BCE). These inventories repeatedly mention the placement of dedicated garments on or near the statue (περὶ τῷ ἀγάλματι, τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔχει).⁵⁵ When a thief in Saittai, in Lydia, stole a cloak from a bath and believed that he was facing the wrath of the god Mes for his deed, he ultimately brought the garment to the god (165 CE).⁵⁶ The relief that decorates this 'confession inscription' shows in the lower level the thief carrying the cloak and on the upper level Mes' statue. 'To bring the cloak to the god' (ἐνεγκῖν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν) most likely means that the thief placed the item in front of the god's statue. Similarly, in the early second century CE in Sagalassos votives were placed on the base of statues of Asklepios and Koronis, in the Nymphaion.⁵⁷ The plinths of these statues have cavities — 25 in the case of Asklepios' statue — in which the worshippers placed miniature feet made of bronze. It is difficult to determine whether these votives were representations of healed feet ('anatomical votives') or dedications that symbolized the worshipper's presence near the gods and communication with them.⁵⁸ In either case, the worshippers interacted with the statue in acts of worship. In the context of the statues of healing deities, I should finally mention that in some cases statues were attributed healing properties (see below).

- 26 In the light of this evidence, we can understand a peculiar formulation in the inscriptions from the sanctuary of Meter Theon Autochthon at Leukopetra, near Beroia, which record the dedication of slaves. The dedicants delivered to the sanctuary the ownership documents (deeds of sale or other documents); this action is described with the standard phrase τὴν ὥνην ἔδωκα/ἄπεθέμην. However, three dedicants used the formula 'I have deposited the deed of sale into the arms of the goddess'.⁵⁹ This expression is attested only in this sanctuary. The deviation from the standard formula cannot be regarded as a meaningless variation, especially since the word ἀγκάλαι ('arms') is emotionally loaded. In epitaphs it refers to an affectionate embrace. It is only once attested in a religious context, in connection with the Ptolemaic princess Berenike, who died still an infant (238 BCE) and whose golden statue was to be carried by a priest 'in his arms' (οἶσει ἐν ταῖς ἀγκά[λα]ις).⁶⁰ If the ownership documents were simply deposited in the sanctuary or handed in to the supervisor of the sanctuary, there would have been no reason to create a unique, metaphorical expression. We have to assume that in these cases the worshippers had approached the cult statue of the goddess and placed the document in the arms of the statue in a display of affection. The dedicated slaves were placed under the goddess' motherly protection.
- 27 Finally, I should mention the role of statues in a ritual that was expected to fill those who performed it with the fear of god: the oath. Those who swore an oath, i.e. called

upon them divine punishment in case of perjury, sometimes did not simply invoke a god but also touched the divinity's statue. This is attested through the expression 'to touch the statue' (τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἅπτεσθαι) in the context of swearing in an Athenian inscription.⁶¹

Statues filled with divine power

- 28 Interactions of worshippers with statues of gods such as those described in the preceding section inevitably bring us to one of the core questions of research on divine images: is a statue the image of a god or is it the god? The relation between the divinity and its image is a complex subject, as recent research has established.⁶² I will approach the subject by considering the emotional impact of statues, their agency, and the belief that they served as loci and media of divine epiphanies.
- 29 In the case of portrait statues of mortals, a statue can be referred to with the name of the depicted individual in the nominative, e.g. Φιλειτᾶς ('[this is] Phileitas').⁶³ But when one pointed to a statue of Demosthenes and said or read 'This is Demosthenes', one did not expect the statue to have Demosthenes' rhetorical abilities, exactly as Magritte's pipe is not a pipe. Similarly, when inscriptions name a divinity or refer to the θεός or the θεά, they often mean the divinity's image. For instance, the decree of an Athenian association to honor a certain Dionysios uses the formulation ὅπως ἀφηρωϊσθεῖ Δι[ο]νύσιος καὶ ἄ[ν]ατεθεῖ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ παρὰ τὸν θεόν, ὅπου κα[ὶ] ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ.⁶⁴ To 'dedicate Dionysos next to the god' means, of course, to dedicate his statue next to the statue of the god. A woman in Mantinea 'at all times served the Kore and joined others in adorning her' ([τὰν δὲ Κ]ό[ρ]αν ἐμ παντὶ καιρῷ θεραπέουσα καὶ συνευκ[ο]σμ[οῦ]σα)). In this text, *Kora* is both the goddess, who was being served,⁶⁵ and a statue of the goddess that was being decorated.⁶⁶ In Aphrodisias, the fine for the violation of a grave was to be paid to 'the most sacred goddess Aphrodite', i.e. to Aphrodite's sanctuary, 'for her decoration', i.e. for the decoration of her statue.⁶⁷ These expressions do not imply that the statue had the properties of the goddess. In Greece, divine images were not invested with powers — unlike divine images in the ancient Near East or images used in magic and theurgy.⁶⁸ Of course, there were rituals of consecration (see above), but this does not mean that statues of gods were believed to have powers continually and unconditionally.
- 30 So, why did worshippers interact with the divine images in the way we saw in the previous section? In the case of mortals, statues were regarded as substitutes of the mortal. They created the illusion of the mortal's presence with the whole emotional 'baggage' that goes with it.⁶⁹ We can see this in the case of a funerary relief from Marathon (second/third century CE).⁷⁰ The image of a young man stands on a rectangular base, flanked by his parents. The mother has put her right arm around the shoulders of her son's statue. Unable to have physical contact with her dead child, at least she could embrace his image. As we have seen, also divine statues had the ability to arouse or intensify emotions. The image psychologically prepared the worshippers to address the divinity, and this was an important factor in the efforts of worshippers to communicate with the gods. But it was not the only factor.
- 31 Under certain conditions the statues of gods seemed to have possessed an agency that went beyond the emotional agency that I have discussed. They manifested vital functions, they were filled with life in a very real sense, and they acted.⁷¹ Let us take the

case of a killing statue, this time not the statue of a mortal such as Theagenes (see above), but the statue of a god. In a poem transmitted among Theocritus' idylls, a beautiful youth remained indifferent towards the suicide of the desperate man who had unsuccessfully pursued him. The heartless boy was punished for his cruelty when a statue of Eros fell upon him and killed him.⁷² Whose agency was at work here? The statue's or the god's?

- 32 The answer is provided by Dio of Prusa in a passage often quoted in this context: the statues of gods were 'vessels' (ἄγγεῖα) that accommodated divine epiphanies and facilitated the communication between worshipper and divinity.⁷³ The statue was medium of a god's epiphany, either during the communication with the worshipper, when the divinity indicated through the movement of the statue that it accepted or rejected the requests of praying mortals,⁷⁴ or when the divinity was enraged and made the statue a medium through which the wrath became manifest. According to Herodotus, when the Athenians attempted to remove the old statues of Damia and Auxesia from Aigina (late sixth century BCE), the images were seen falling on their knees to prevent this.⁷⁵
- 33 The gods did not live in their statues, they only visited them. An epigram in the Greek Anthology presents Aphrodite rushing to Knidos to see her statue and wonder where Praxiteles saw her naked and presented her so accurately.⁷⁶ According to Pausanias, Pheidias prayed to Zeus to receive his approval for the statue in Olympia, which the god gave by sending a thunderbolt.⁷⁷ He would not have done this if the god actually inhabited the statue.
- 34 In order to understand the idea that a divine statue manifests a god's power only during a god's epiphany we need to consider a fundamental feature of the divine in Greek religion.⁷⁸ Pagan gods respected the physical laws of time and space. When in the first book of the *Odyssey* the gods held a council to discuss the return of Odysseus, they could only do so because Poseidon was absent, visiting the Ethiopians and receiving a sacrifice of bulls and sheep. While feasting there, he could not be elsewhere. The Artemision of Ephesos burned on the day Alexander the Great was born, because Artemis was in Pella assisting Olympias in her labor, and not in Ephesos, in her temple.⁷⁹ This idea is also expressed in the hymn of Isyllos at Epidauros:⁸⁰ The sick child asks the god 'Please have mercy on me!' And the god responds: 'Take courage. I will come to you in due course. You stay here while I ward off disaster from the Spartans.' While in Sparta Asklepios could not be in Epidauros. One of the healing miracles in Epidauros reports that the god's sons had to perform surgery because Asklepios was not in Epidauros. They cut the patient's head off and could not put it back. The patient was saved only when the god returned and finished the job.⁸¹ Apteros Nike, the wingless personification of victory, is the visual expression of this idea. Without her wings, the goddess of victory must stay in Athens. Numerous divine epithets were created mainly — but not exclusively — in the Hellenistic and Imperial periods precisely in order to indicate that a deity is continually present in a place.⁸²
- 35 The presence of a god in a place was the result of his personal choice; mortals had to compete to attract his attention. In order to achieve this, they appealed to the gods' senses. They used acoustic signals, such as acclamations, ritual cries, ritual songs, praises, and prayers.⁸³ They used visual signals, such as bright clothes, crowns, beautiful animals with gilded horns, and decorated altars, tables, and *klinai*. They used olfactory signals, such as incense, wine, and thighs burning on the altar. And they

removed from the place where the divine epiphany was expected anything that might hinder the god's coming, such as sources of pollution and discord. The primary aim of ritual prescriptions and cult regulations concerning purifications, sacrifices, order in sacred places, and the aesthetically pleasing staging of rituals and festivals is to attract the divinity, remove obstacles that might obstruct the communication with the god, and facilitate the epiphany. A god's coming was not to be taken for granted. We recognize this in Kallimachos' hymn to Apollo, when the poet describes the anxiety of the worshippers anticipating the god's imminent arrival on Delos.⁸⁴ In the first verses the poet observes the movement of the sacred palm tree and the flight of the birds; these are signs that the god is approaching. With the sacred cry εὐφημεῖτε ('use good language') he then urges the worshippers to use pious words, avoiding any articulate or inarticulate sound which might disturb communication with the god and present an obstacle to his coming. Even Achilles' mother, Thetis, eternally mourning for her son's death, has to postpone her lament as soon as she hears this ritual cry.⁸⁵

- 36 Precisely because a god could not be in two places at the same time, he could not continually inhabit his statue. He manifested his power through his statue during an epiphany. A few examples may illustrate this. When the Ephesians sent an embassy to Emperor Caracalla, 'Artemis, the ancestral goddess, was leading the embassy', as a decree states.⁸⁶ As the statue of Artemis was carried by the envoys, Artemis was thought to be present through her statue.
- 37 As a privileged medium of epiphany, the divine image has to be periodically prepared to receive the divinity. This is the aim of the statue's ritual treatment, the removal of stain and its adornment. In an inscription from Olbia (ca. 200–210 CE), the washing of the statue of Zeus Olbios is directly connected with the manifestation of divine power. The decree praises the local statesman and benefactor Kallikrates:⁸⁷

When he became priest of Zeus Olbios, the god who presides over our city, he washed the god in a pure manner, and praying for a good combination of winds he achieved prosperity.
- 38 The epiphany of a divinity through a statue could be staged in various ways, e.g. with the use of glass and gold that reflected light, with the use of perfumes that appealed to the senses, or with windows that let raking light into the temple.⁸⁸ As an agent of divine power the divine image was thought to respond to prayers,⁸⁹ to avert evil, and to have healing powers.
- 39 Longus presents Daphnis prostrating himself in front of the statue of the Nymphs and Pan, praying, and promising sacrifices.⁹⁰ During the devastating pestilence of the mid-second century CE a city in Asia Minor, probably Sardis, received an oracle of Apollo Klarios advising its inhabitants to bring a statue of Artemis from Ephesos, set it up in the temple, and worship the goddess with hymns, sacrifices, praises, and choral dances of girls, 'in order that she might always be to you an unfailing helper'.⁹¹ The physical presence of Artemis' statue in combination with rituals resulted in the presence of her protective powers. In Oropos, a statue (of Amphiaraos?) was called παυσίπονον (fourth century BCE), a statue that made pains stop.⁹² The story is told that the wife of the Spartan king Ariston used to bring her ugly daughter to the sanctuary of Helena; the girl prayed in front of Helena's statue and finally grew to become a beautiful woman.⁹³
- 40 In some cases, divine images had emotive power only by symbolically warning the viewer of the possible consequences of his actions. A Greek-Latin bilingual epigram on

the base of an ithyphallic Priapos at Acireale (third century CE) makes clear what thieves are to expect:⁹⁴

Samios erected me, a Priapus, to watch on both sides, lest thieves from the city or poor people from Akis enter (this estate), so that I may save for him the produce. For to the desecrators I am showing my penis erect, this thick one.

- 41 An inscription under a statue of Athena, represented in full armor (Stratonikeia, undated) threatened evil persons with divine punishment: ‘Against the evil my hand is merciless; but if someone who is pure honors me, I hold this spear above him (in his protection)’.⁹⁵

Conclusions

- 42 In the complex subject that I have approached mainly from the perspective of documentary sources, generalizations are likely to be wrong. Ancient conception must have varied, depending on time, place, and the nature of the cult. Most of the evidence presented in the paper — but also most of the surviving documentary evidence — dates to the Hellenistic and Imperial periods, i.e. periods in which we may expect influences from the Egyptian religion and Oriental cults. This makes a distinction between early traditions and innovations difficult. But such methodological issues left aside, one aspect of the life of statues must have existed in earlier Greek worship: the emotive power of images of gods.
- 43 The emotional impact of statues in Greek culture is certainly connected with their materiality and physical presence. As three-dimensional life-size, or close to life-size, representations they are as close as one can get to the ‘real thing’. Skillful artists could even create the illusion that a statue was alive.⁹⁶ These properties of statues invited people to interact with them, as anecdotes, images, and documentary sources show. Under certain circumstances statues, not only the statues of gods, appeared to have agency. They were believed to kill, heal, or punish; they presented the physical symptoms of life; they aroused emotions that could trigger actions or create the illusion that a direct communication with the statue was possible.
- 44 The statues of gods were part of a dynamic interaction between images and viewers. They were washed and perfumed, anointed, greeted, offered food, touched, kissed, raped, and castrated; women dressed them, men carried them in processions or carried them away, birds left their dung on them, enemies captured them; they were attacked, destroyed, burned, repaired, hidden, or buried. Statues gained a life precisely through this continual interaction with humans.
- 45 Affective responses to statues were part of this life. The divine images were manipulated as visual stimuli of an emotional interaction with the divine. The statues of gods were not gods. But they had a very important role in the competitive and very fragile communication between mortals and immortals who were not omnipresent. They displayed tremendous emotional power and, when the gods decided to reveal their power — in festivals or in every-day situations —, they were a preferred medium of divine epiphany.

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NOTES

1. <http://www.news.com.au/world/man-sets-self-afire-on-lenin-statue/story-fn6sb9br-1226081695395#ixzz1m8Lp4rgf> (accessed on 10 February 2012).
2. PIRENNE-DELFORGE (2010), p. 126–141.
3. <https://hellopoetry.com/poem/1618156/she-stood-like-a-statue/>.

4. KASSEL (1983), p. 1f.; STEINER (2001), p. 136.
5. *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum* I, p. 347 Leutsch-Schneidewin.
6. E.g. SMITH (2007); MYLONOPOULOS (2010), p. 12–18; PETROVIC (2010); CHANIOTIS (2014) and (2017a). Cf. HÖLSCHER (2015): ‘life of images’.
7. CHANIOTIS (2017a).
8. BREMMER (2013) refers to this expression of life as ‘agency’.
9. I use the term ‘epiphany’ to designate any manifestation of divine presence and power, from an earthquake to an epiphanic dream.
10. PIRENNE-DELFORGE (2008).
11. *I.Magnesia* 100: γινέσθω δὲ καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ἔξοδος εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ παρεδρεύετωσαν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τὴν ἐπιβάλλουσαν τιμὴν καὶ παρεδρεῖαν ποιοῦμεναι τῆς θεοῦ.
12. E.g. *I.Ephesos* 3436; *I.Magnesia* 179; SEG 48, 1769; cf. MA (2013), p. 246.
13. SEG 43, 718, l. 15–21: ἐπὶ τε τῇ [ἀνα]στάσει τῶν ἀνδριάντω[v] οἰνοδοσίαν σαπροοδῶ[v] στεφανηφορίας τοῖ συνθύσασι, παράπρασιν τε καὶ ἐλαιοθεσίαν πάνδημον ποιησάμενον. On the dedication of emperors on their birthday, which was celebrated as a festival, see e.g. *I.Cret.* I, xviii 23.
14. E.g. *IDélos* 1764 (Delos, 93 BCE): Ἡρακλῆν ἀνέθηκαν καὶ καθιέρωσαν; *IG XII* 2, 108–109 (Mytilene, late 1st/2nd century): Ἀφροδείτας ἄγαλμα... συνκαθιέρωσαν; *IG XII* 7, 247 (Minoa, late 2nd century CE): καθιερώθη (statue of Tyche); *I.Pergamon* II (Pergamon, Imperial period): καθιέρωσαν τοὺς θεοὺς (Egyptian gods); TAM V 1, 193 (Saïtai, 100 CE): καθιέρωσαν Δία Σαβάζιον; SEG 35, 1232 (Saïtai, 83 CE): Μητρὸς Θεῶν καὶ Διὸς Βατηνοῦ Τύχην καθιέρωσαν. For καθιερώω used for statues of the personified Demos see *IGR* IV 792 (Apameia, 45 CE); *I.Aph2007* 12, 922 (Aphrodisias, 3rd century CE).
15. On the ritual treatment of cult statues see SCHEER (2000), p. 54–66; BETTINETTI (2001); STEINER (2001), p. 105–120; DESPINIS (2004), p. 301f.; MONTEL (2014).
16. E.g. *IDélos* XI 2, 161 A, l. 90f.: εἰς κόσμησιν τοῦ ἀγάλματος; 103: εἰς τὴν κόσμησιν τῆς Ἥρας σφόγγοι... μύρον... (sponges and myrrh for cleaning and anointing; 279 BCE). See also MARCADÉ (1970), p. 98–101. Other examples: *IG V* 2, 265 (Mantineia, 64–61 BCE): [τὰν δὲ Κ]ό[ρ]αν... συνευκ[ο]σμ[οῦ]σα; SEG 48, 1104: ποτὶ τὰν τῶν θεῶν ἐπικόσμησιν (Kos, ca. 200 BCE); *IG II²* 1277, l. 8f.: ἐπεκόσμησαν δὲ κα[ὶ] τ[ῇ]ν θεόν (Athens, 278 BCE).
17. See AVAGIANOU (1991), p. 45–58, for the role of a divine image (βρέτας) of Hera in a ritual of sacred marriage in Samos. The evidence for a sacred marriage involving a statue of Hera in Argos (*ibid.* 36–45) is less conclusive. Images were also involved in the Boiotian festival *Daidala*, which in Pausanias’ times was perceived as a sacred marriage (*ibid.*, p. 59–68) but whose origins are far more complex; see CHANIOTIS (2002).
18. E.g. BURKERT (1988). For the statue of Dionysos Eleuthereus at the Athenian Dionysia see DEUBNER (1932), p. 139.
19. JAMESON (1994).
20. *I.Magnesia* 98, l. 41–45, early 2nd century BCE: φερέτω ξόανα πάντων τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν ἐν ἐσθῇσιν ὥς καλλίσταις καὶ πηγνύτω θόλον ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν, στρωνύτω δὲ καὶ στρωμνὰς τρεῖς ὥς καλλίστας.
21. Alexandria: *Athenaios*, V, 196a–203b. Ephesos: *I.Ephesos* 27 A; ROGERS (1991); GRAF (2011), p. 110–115. Statues in processions: BRODER (2008).
22. Θεοφόροι: e.g., *IG XII* 6, 596 (Samos, 2nd century BCE; cult of Meter?); in a Dionysiac association: *IGUR* I, 160 (Rome, ca. 150 CE). The carrying of divine statues and sacred objects is mainly attested in Egyptian cults; cf. the office of the ἱεραφόροι/ἱεροφόροι (*RICIS* 105/0303, 105/0895, 113/0526, 113/0530, 113/0557, 113/0574, 202/1007, 205/0104, 301/1202).

23. TAM III 1, 136 (Termessos, 1st/2nd century): φιλοτειμησάμενον εἰς κατασκευὴν ἀγάλματος πομπικοῦ ἀργυρέου θεᾶς Ἐλευθέρας. The Delian accounts of 279 BCE mention repairs of the cart on which the statue of Dionysos was carried: *IG IX 2, 161 A, l. 91*: τὴν ἄμαξαν ἣν ἄγεται τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Διονύσου.
24. *I.Stratonikeia* 1101 = *LSAM* 69.
25. *I.Aph2007* 8, 31: ἀπηνέγλη δέ μοι ὅτι ἐκ τῆς διαρπαγῆς Ἔρωσ χρυσοῦς ὃ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τῆς [[Ἀφροδείτης]] ἦν ἀνατεθεὶς εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀνενήνεκται καὶ ὡς ἀνάθημα τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τέθεται ὑμεῖς οὐ ν καλῶς ποιήσετε· καὶ ἀξίως ὑμῶν ἀποκαταστήσαντες τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μου ἀνάθημα τῇ Ἀφροδείτῃ δεδομένον καὶ γὰρ οὐ χαρίεν ἀνάθημα Ἔρωσ Ἀρτέμιδι ('I was also informed that out of the loot a golden Eros, which had been dedicated by my father to Aphrodite, has been brought to you and set up as an offering to Artemis. You will do well and worthily of yourselves if you restore the offering which my father gave to Aphrodite. In any case Eros is not a suitable offering for Artemis').
26. KNOEPFLER (1994); cf. GUTZWILLER (2004), 386f.
27. *SEG* 43, 451: Karponidas and Alexiphaios of Demetrias ἀποκαθεστάκεισαν τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Δεκαδρύου μετὰ πάσης φιλοτιμίας καὶ καλοκαγαθίας ἀποτ[ι]θέμενοι πρὸς μὲν τὸ θεῖον εὐσέβειαν, πρὸς [δ]ὲ τὴν πόλιν χάριτας [ἀ]ξίας ('they restored the statue of Apollo Dekadryos with a lot of love of honor and virtue showing piety towards the divinity and a worthy favour towards the city').
28. *SEG* 37, 1403 (cf. *SEG* 39, 1561): εἰκόνα ταύτην χαλκῇν Ἡρακλέους θεοῦ, τὴν μετενεχθεῖσαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς Μεσσηνίας, ἀνέθηκεν ἐν ἱερῷ τῷδε θεοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ χαλκῆς πύλης προκαθημένου. See BOWERSOCK (1989); INVERNIZZI (1989); BERNARD (1990); POTTER (1991).
29. E.g. BAHRANI (1995).
30. CHARNEUX (1992).
31. *I.Laodikeia* 72: ἔρωτα ὑφηρεθῆναι[ι ὑπὸ] κλοπέων καὶ τοῦ[τον] ἀνέστησεν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων.
32. On the (selective) destruction of statues of gods in Late Antiquity see STEWART (1999); SMITH (2012); KRISTENSEN (2013). Hidding statues of gods: CASEAU (2011).
33. Lucian, *Zeus Tragoidos*, 33: πίττης γοῦν ἀναπέπλησται ὁσημέραι ἐκματτόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδριαντοποιῶν.
34. Iamblichos, *Life of Pythagoras*, 28, 143.
35. *SEG* 57, 1185: Μηνὸς Μοτυλλεῖτου ἰορτῆς γενομένης... συνῆλθεν ὄχλος ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἔχοντες ξίφη καὶ ξύλα καὶ λίθους συντρίψαντες τοὺς ἱεροδούλους καὶ τὰ ἀφιδρύσματα τῶν θεῶν.
36. SHEAR (2007); KEESLING (2010).
37. SMITH – HALLETT (2015).
38. *I.Milet* I 7, 269.
39. REYNOLDS (1982), no. 32: Νίκη πάριμι[ι] θεογενε[ῖ] Καίσαρι ἀεί.
40. REYNOLDS (1982), no. 32: Τὰ προ]γονικὰ ἀν[αθή]ματα αὐτὸς[ς ἐπ]ισκευάσα[ς ἀπο]καθέστησε[ν]. The same Kallikrates also restored honorific statues of his ancestors: REYNOLDS (1982), no. 29.
41. E.g. *I.Aph2007* 11, 16 (Adrastos Hierax); *I.Aph2007* 1160 (Dionysios); *I.Aph2007* 12, 526 (Apollonios).
42. *IG XII* 7, 247: Συντύχη Ἡγέουτὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Τύχης ἀποκατέστησεν, καθὼς ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῆς Ἡγέας Ἀντιόχου στεφανηφορήσας ὑπέσχετο.
43. *IG XII* 4, 538: Μ(ἄρκος) Αἴλιος Σαβεινιανὸς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην εὐρὼν ἀνάθημα Καλλιστράτης ἐπισκευάσας τῇ θεῷ συνεφύλαξα. For εὐρὼν in connection with the discovery and restoration of statues cf. *I.Ephesos* 519: Μἄρκος Οὐλπίος Ἀριστίων ὁ γραματεὺς τοῦ δήμου τὸν ἀνδριάντα εὐρὼν [ἐ]πισκε[υ]ε[ν] ἀπο[κατέστησεν] (*Ephesos*, 2nd century CE).
44. CHANIOTIS (2017a).
45. Pausanias, VI, 11; discussion and further examples: CHANIOTIS (2017a), p. 149f.

46. CORSO (1999), p. 102–104; STEINER (2001), p. 186–207; HERSEY (2009); MYLONOPOULOS (2010), p. 1–3; CHANIOTIS (2017a), p. 153f.
47. Pseudo-Lucian, *Amores*, 13–16.
48. Aelian, *Varia historia* IX, 39.
49. CHANIOTIS (2017b).
50. VAN STRATEN (1974).
51. VÉRILHAC (2014), p. 141; cf. REEDER (1995), p. 312, fig. 93.
52. DAKORONIA – GOUNAROPOULOU (1992). Recent discussion: VÉRILHAC (2014).
53. *Iliad* VI, 302–304: ἡ δ' ἄρα πέπλον ἐλοῦσα Θεανῶ καλλιπάρῃος | θῆκεν Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ γούνασι ἡυκόμοιο· εὐχομένη δ' ἥρ' αὖτο Διὸς κούρη μέγαλοιο.
54. See GUGGISBERG (2013), p. 69, for the representation of an enthroned goddess with a peplos on her knees, from South Italy.
55. *IG* II² 1514, l. 41–43; 1523, II, l. 27f.; 1524, II, l. 202–207.
56. PETZL (1994), p. 3–5 no. 3: ὁ θεὸς ἐνεμέσῃσεν τὸν κλέπτην καὶ ἐπόησεν μετὰ χρόνον τὸ εἰμάτιον ἐνεγκῖν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν ('the god angrily prosecuted the thief and made him, after some time, bring the garment to the god').
57. MÄGELE (2005).
58. Cf. the 'footprints' dedicated to Egyptian deities in Greek sanctuaries: e.g. *IG* XII 2.1, 120 (Thessalonike); *I.Beroia* 34 and 35 (Beroia); CHRISTODOULOU (2011) (Dion).
59. *I.Leukopetra* 3: τὴν ὡνὴν κατεθέμην εἰς τὰς ἀν[κάλας τῆς θεοῦ]; 63: τὰς ἀσφαλείας ἀπεθέμ[η]ν εἰς τὰς ἀνκάλας τῆς θεοῦ; 93: ἦντινα ὡνὴν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔθηκα εἰς τὰς ἀνκάλας τῆς θεοῦ.
60. CHANIOTIS (2011), p. 278f. The statue of Berenike: BERNAND (1992), no. 8, l. 50f.
61. *IG* I³ 254, l. 12 (5th century BCE).
62. A selection of recent discussions: JONES (1998); GLADIGOW (1985/86); SCHEER (2000), p. 44–130; STEINER (2001), p. 79–134; FRANCIS (2003); HÖLSCHER (2007), p. 117f.; GUGGISBERG (2013).
63. *IG* XIV 2486; *SEG* 58, 1130 (2nd century CE). On the use of the nominative on honorific statues see MA (2013), p. 24–30.
64. *IG* II² 1326, l. 45–47.
65. On the meaning of *θεραπεία* and *θεραπεύω* see BASLEZ (2014).
66. *IG* V 2, 265 (64–61 BCE). More examples in notes 16, 43, and 59.
67. *MAMA* VIII 577 (2nd/3rd century CE): προστείμω τῇ ἱερωτάτῃ θεῷ Ἀφροδείτῃ εἰς κόσμον αὐτῆς.
68. DODDS (1951), p. 291–295; DONOHUE (1988), p. 152f., 158f.; STEINER (2001), p. 114–120.
69. STEINER (2001), p. 145–151.
70. *SEG* 46, 286. CHANIOTIS (2014), p. 282.
71. The 'agency' of statues in this sense has been recently surveyed by BREMMER (2013).
72. Ps.-Theocritus, 23.
73. Dio, *Or.*, 12, 59: νοῦν γὰρ καὶ φρόνησιν αὐτὴν μὲν καθ' αὐτὴν οὔτε τις πλάστης οὔτε τις γραφεὺς εἰκάσαι δυνατὸς ἔσται. ... τὸ δὲ ἐν ᾧ τοῦτο γιγνόμενόν ἐστιν οὐχ ὑπονοοῦντες, ἀλλ' εἰδότες, ἐπ' αὐτὸ καταφεύγομεν, ἀνθρώπινον σῶμα ὡς ἀγγεῖον φρονήσεως καὶ λόγου θεῷ προσάπτοντες, ἐνδεία καὶ ἀπορία παραδείγματος τῷ φανερώ τε καὶ εἰκαστῷ τὸ ἀνεῖκαστον καὶ ἀφανὲς ἐνδείκνυσθαι ζητοῦντες, συμβόλου δυνάμει χρώμενοι.
74. *Iliad* VI, 311; Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 519–520; Euripides, *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, 1167; Lucian, *Lexiphanes*, 12. See also STEINER (2001), p. 134, 175f., and 182; BREMMER (2013), p. 8f.
75. Herodotus, V, 86, 3. For similar stories see STEINER (2001), p. 182; BREMMER (2013), p. 10; CHANIOTIS (2017a), p. 150f.
76. *Anth. Pal.* XVI, 160; cf. XVI, 162.

77. Pausanias, V, 11, 9.

78. CHANIOTIS (2009), p. 199f. I cannot discuss here the question how the numerous epithets and the polyonymy of gods relate to the 'identity' of a god; see VERSNEL (2010), p. 60–87. At least in certain cases, multiple epithets imply multiple gods. E.g., an inscription in Hadrianoi reports that Zeus Anabatenos dedicated a statue to Zeus Kersoullos (SEG 59, 148, 2nd/3rd century CE). See JONES (2012) with further examples. This implies that these are two different gods; presumably, Zeus Anabatenos could have an epiphany in one place, while Zeus Kerspoullos had his in another at the same time. And yet, another inscription of the same period from the border of Phrygia and Bithynia (AKYÜREK ŞAHİN [2014], p. 132f. no. 3) implies that Zeus Bronton, Zeus Karpodotes, and Zeus Eucharistos are one god (τὸν βωμὸν σὺν τῇ προτομῇ εὐχῆς χάριν τῷ θεῷ ἀνεστήσαμεν).

79. Plutarch, *Alexander*, 3, 6.

80. IG IV² 1, 128, l. 64–71.

81. IG IV² 1, 122, l. 10–19.

82. Examples in CHANIOTIS (2010): ἀρχηγέτης ἀρχηγέτις (τῆς πόλεως), ἔνδημος, καθηγέτης, καθηγεμών, μεδέων, προηγέτης, προκαθηγεμών, προκαθηγέτης, πάτριος, πατρώος, πατρώος κτίστης, προπάτωρ, πολιάρχης, πολιεύς, πολιάς, προεστώς/προεστῶσα τῆς πόλεως, προκαθήμενος/προκαθημένη τῆς πόλεως, προκαθεζομένη θεός, etc.

83. CHANIOTIS (2009b).

84. DICKIE (2002).

85. Kallimachos, *hymn. Apoll.*, 17–25: εὐφημεῖτ' αἰόντες ἐπ' Ἀπόλλωνος αἰοιδῆ. | εὐφημεῖ καὶ πόντος, ὅτε κλείουσιν αἰοιδοὶ | ἢ κίθαριν ἢ τόξα... | οὐδὲ θέτις Ἀχιλλῆα κινύρεται αἴλινα μήτηρ, | ὀππὸθ' ἰὴ παιῖον ἰὴ παιῖον ἀκούσῃ... | ἰὴ ἰὴ φθέγγεσθε...

86. SEG 31, 955; *I.Ephesos* 2026, ca. 200–205 CE: προεπρέσβευεν ἢ πάτριος ἡμῶν θεὸς Ἄρτεμις.

87. IOSPE I² 2, Olbia: ἱερεὺς δὲ γενόμενος [τοῦ] προεστῶτος τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν θεοῦ Διὸς Ὀλβίου κ[αταλ]ούσας τὸν θεὸν ἀγνῶς, τῆς τῶν ἀέρων εὐκρασί[ας δεόμενος] ἐπέτυχεν εὐετηρίας. I have restored the verb κ[αταλ]ούσας (or κ[αὶ λ]ούσας). The only verbs that produce a participle ending in -οῦσας are ἀκούω, κρούω, λούω, and their composita; only λούω can be restored here.

88. STEINER (2001), p. 101f.; cf. CAIN (1995); CORSO (1999), p. 101.

89. Heraclite, 22 B 5 Diels-Kranz: καὶ τοῖς ἀγάλμασι δὲ τουτέοισιν εὐχονται, ὁκοῖον εἴ τις δόμοισι λεσχηνεύοιτο, οὗτι γινώσκων θεοὺς οὐδ' ἥρωας οἵτινές εἰσί.

90. Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe* II, 24, 1–2.

91. GRAF (1992). For a similar recommendation of the oracle of Klaros to Syedra (erection of statues of Hermes and Dike punishing Ares, first century BCE) see SEG 41, 1411; MERKELBACH – STAUBER, SGO I n° 18/19/01; FARAONE (1991) and (1992), p. 72.

92. *I.Oropos* 380: ἄγαλμα παυσίπονον. On the healing powers of statues of athletes, see TAEUBER (1997); ZANKER (2003), p. 48f.

93. Herodotus, VI, 61.

94. SEG 2, 533: [ἐμὲ Πρίαπον Σ]άμ[ιος — | ἐνταῦθ' ἔθη]κεν ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθ[α βλέπειν, | μὴ εἰσέρχε]σθαι τοὺς ἀπ' ἄστεω[ς κλοπούς, | μήτ' εἰσέρ]χεσθαι τοὺς ἀπ' Ἀκιδ[ο]ς πτωχοὺς, | σώσοντα τ'] αὐτῷ καρπὸν, ὡς ὅρ[θον φαίνω | ἐμὸν πέος] τοῦτο τὸ παχὺ τοῖς σ[υληταῖς]. [*posuit hic] me Samius utroque in[spicientem, | meum en]jormem penem ut osten[dam furibus].*

95. *I.Stratonikeia* 41 = MERKELBACH – STAUBER, SGO I n° 02/06/01: ἡ φαύλοις μὲν ἔχω χέρ' ἀμίλιχον· εἰ δέ τις ἀ[γνός] | τιμῶν, κραδάω τοῦδ' ὑπὲρ αἰγανέην.

96. See e.g. the epigrams written about Myron's cow: *Anth. Pal.* IX, 713–742 and 793–798. Cf. e.g. Lucia, *Phalaris* I, 11: μυκηθμοῦ ἔδει μόνον πρὸς τὸ καὶ ἔμψυχον εἶναι δοκεῖν; *Anth. Pal.* XII, 56: ἔμψυχον ἄγαλμα; XII, 57: ἔμψυχα μαγεύων... ἔπλασεν ἐν κραδίᾳ.

ABSTRACTS

Statues of gods in Greek culture had lives, both metaphorically and literally. The statues of gods had complex ritual lives. They had biographies (*bioi*); they travelled; they were subject to peripetias (destruction, repairs, re-dedication); and they suffered violence. Although they were not an indispensable element of worship, the images psychologically prepared the worshippers to address the divinity, and this was an important factor in the efforts of worshippers to communicate with the gods. Through the arousal of emotions they provoked actions that were beyond or contrary to human intentions; in this sense, they had agency. Finally, under certain conditions they were perceived as fulfilling vital functions. Since Greek gods could not be in two places at the same time, they could not continually inhabit their statues. But they manifested their power through the statue during an epiphany. A statue was a receptacle (*ankeion*) of a god and medium of epiphany.

Dans la culture grecque, les statues de dieux avaient une vie, d'un point de vue tant métaphorique que littéral. Les statues de dieux avaient des vies rituelles complexes. Elles avaient une biographie (*bios*), elles voyageaient, elles connaissaient divers aléas (destruction, réparation, nouvelle dédicace), et elles subissaient des violences. Même si elles n'étaient pas des éléments indispensables au culte, les images préparaient psychologiquement les fidèles à s'adresser à la divinité, et il s'agissait d'un facteur important dans les efforts qu'ils déployaient pour s'adresser à elle. Par la montée d'émotions, elles provoquaient des actions qui étaient au-delà des intentions humaines, voire même contraires à elles. Dans ce sens, elles avaient une *agency*. Enfin, sous certaines conditions, elles étaient perçues comme le siège de fonctions vitales. Puisque les dieux grecs ne pouvaient se trouver en deux endroits en même temps, ils ne pouvaient pas sans cesse habiter leurs statues. Toutefois, ils manifestaient leur puissance par l'intermédiaire de la statue par épiphanie. Une statue était un réceptacle (*ankeion*) pour un dieu et un médium pour l'épiphanie.

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