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DEDICATION. EXPLORATION. INNOVATION.

THE ESQUILINE GROUP:  
APHRODISIAN STATUES IN THE NY CARLSBERG GLYPTOTEK

Plates 69 – 88

The present article concerning the five Roman marble statues from the Via delle Sette Sale on the Esquiline Hill in Rome (Fig. 1) should be viewed as part of an ongoing debate on the date of these sculptures and does not claim to provide a definitive answer. As we all, of necessity, have to work with reproductions when we study sculpture I have decided to contribute to the discussion a set of photographs which do justice to the statues and which can help colleagues to form an opinion on them. Coming

from the field of Greek sculpture I have felt a continuous frustration regarding these statues which seem in some way so Hellenistic but of course belong within the discourse on Roman imperial statuary. I have been and indeed still am uncertain about their date, especially as their inscriptions suggest they were executed during the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. But as I am still not convinced that such a date is correct, I should like to examine the evidence once again.<sup>1</sup>

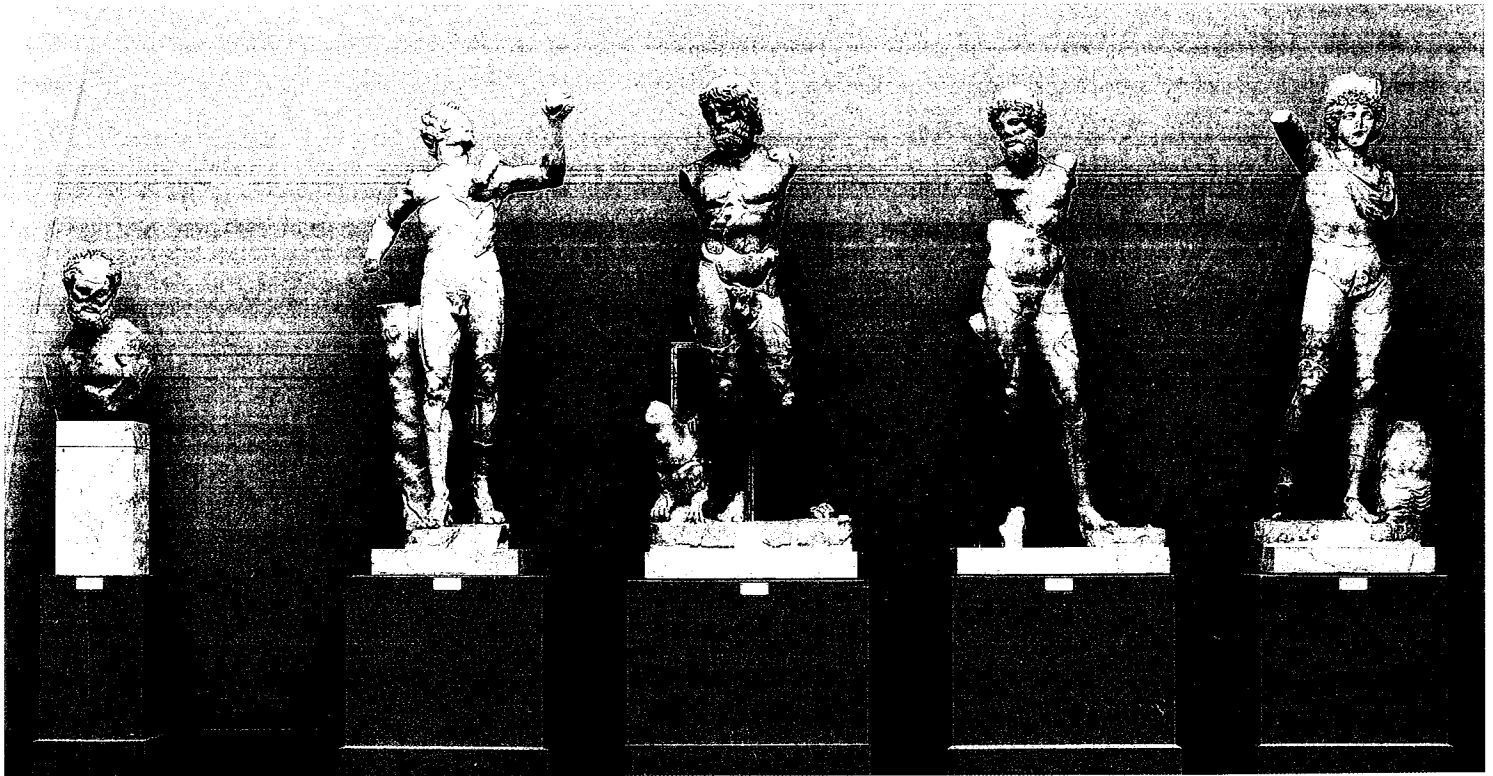


Fig. 1 The Esquiline Group in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 1987

List of abbreviations please refer to p.129.

<sup>1</sup> During the last ten years numerous colleagues have passed through Copenhagen and have been willing to share their expertise on the statues. In every case it has been an enrichment and I should like to thank: A. Claridge, A. Delivorrias, N. de Chaisemartin, J. Fejfer, K. Fittschen, N. Hannestad, C. Häuber, R. R. R. Smith, B. Ridgway, P. Rockwell, J. van Voorhis, C. Vorster, S. Walker, D. Willers and many others.

The new photographs were taken by Ole Haupt, Thora Fisker designed Fig. 5, my English was revised by Neil Stanford and Jan Stubbe Østergaard. Amanda Claridge and Marianne Bergmann have read the final draft and have contributed many valuable suggestions. I am grateful to all of them. It is a great honour to be able to present the statues in »Antike Plastik« and I thank the editor, Professor A. Borbein also for letting me include the recent work by Marianne Bergmann in the proofs of this article.

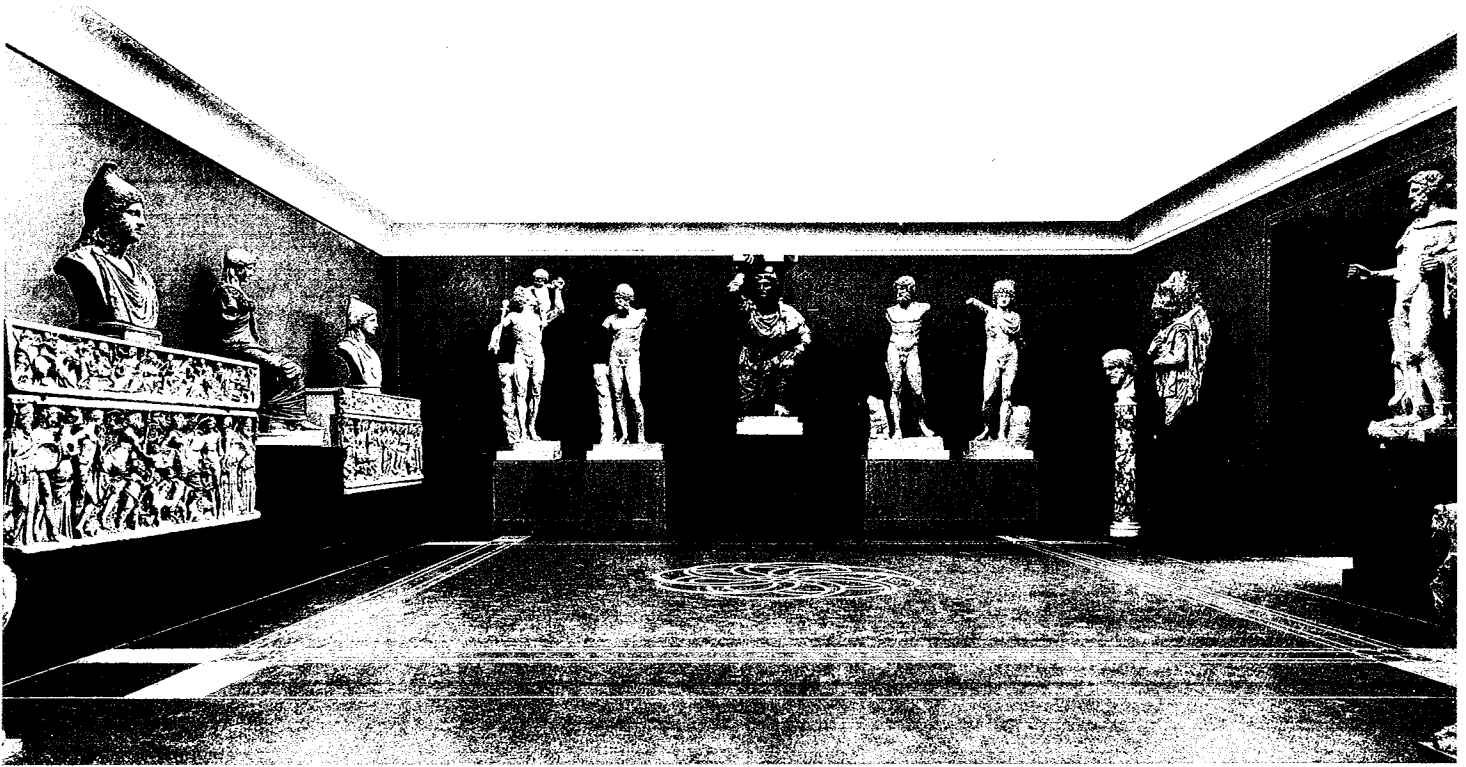


Fig. 2 The Esquiline Group in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 1906

The five statues in question were found in Rome in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and were acquired for the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in 1893. They all have plinths inscribed with names of artists from Aphrodisias but their Carrara marble shows that they were made in Italy. The main problem regarding these statues is their date, which has been the subject of scholarly debate throughout the last fifteen years since the inscriptions can be firmly dated to 320–50 AD whereas the statues stylistically belong to the period around 200 AD. This contentious issue will be addressed in the following catalogue of the sculptures.

#### SATYR WITH THE INFANT DIONYSOS/BACCHUS

Pls. 69c.70–73. Figs. 3.4

Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek I. N. 619

White Carrara marble with grey streaks

H. 174 cm; 165 cm without plinth

The figure has been restored from numerous fragments, and most of the middle section of the torso is missing altogether. Moreover, it has recently been noted that two fragments on the left side of the torso, inserted during the latest restoration, cannot be from the statue at all as the colour of the marble is quite different (Pl. 71b). They must have belonged to one of the other statues in the group. The missing parts of the torso have been filled in with plaster.

The upper and lower section of the left arm as well as the wrist are likewise restored in plaster. The holes in the left hand are a result of the restoration of the fingers. The nose is missing and there are chisel marks from a former restoration of the nose. The right cheek and strands of hair are battered. Of the child only the lower legs and the left hand and wrist are preserved. The position of the right leg is indicated by an attachment surface on the back of the Satyr, while the heel of the left leg was joined to the Satyr's chest. The child's hand was carved together with the Satyr's. On the Satyr's upper right arm the chipped surface indicates that he held a *pedum*. Part of a strut above the right elbow is difficult to explain. A large square cutting (5 x 5 x 2 cm) on the back right of the head is surrounded by an attachment surface and to the right of it there is a circular cutting with a small pinhole in the middle. This cutting must have served as an attachment for the right hand of the child holding a tuft of the Satyr's hair. The pinhole in the circular cutting must have supported another lock of hair.

The tree-trunk support is preserved to its full height and it attached to the Satyr's right thigh, with a further strut joining his right calf to the support.

The figure shows a Satyr with pointed animals' ears and short hair with three locks rising over the forehead. He has sideburns (though on the left cheek they have been chipped off) and small tufts of hair on each side of the chin; the

mouth is open with teeth showing.<sup>2</sup> He is walking on tiptoe holding the infant Dionysos straddled over his outstretched left upper arm and supporting him by holding the child's left hand. The dancing or prancing movement is enhanced by the vivid turn of his head as he gazes up at the child (Fig. 3). The movement is counteracted by the way his right arm, which originally held the *pedum*, is held away from his body.

The Satyr's strength is emphasized by the tensed muscles in his legs: particularly prominent are his thigh-muscles as well as those above the knee and the calves. Veins run from the crotch over the inside of the right thigh and down both shins to the feet, and also along his arms. The feet are broad and the toes have particularly prominent joints quite different from the more "civilized" feet of the statues of Poseidon and Zeus.

The pupils appear just under the thick eye-lids and are carved in lunate rather than bean shape, somewhat deeper than Poseidon's, but not drilled like those of ›Zeus‹ (Fig. 5); the brows are arched. The cheekbones are high and very pronounced, the muscles in the jaws discernible under the flesh, the chin angular and the lips full and parted to show the upper teeth.



Two other versions of this type of statue were found in a sculptor's workshop in Aphrodisias, one larger (H. 214 cm) and one smaller (H. 110 cm), the head of the latter is missing (Figs. 6.7).<sup>3</sup> P. Rockwell thought that they were both finished statues which had subsequently been brought in for re-working while J. Van Voorhis regards the smaller version as unfinished.<sup>4</sup> Both have parts of a goatskin preserved over the left arm, of which there is no trace on our statue. All three versions of this group show a pronounced rendering of the muscles of the wiry, sinewy body of the Satyr who lacks a tail, but retains his pointed ears. The type is Hellenistic and belongs to the same 'family' as the dancing Satyrs and the Satyrs teasing a leopard, all of which show a

<sup>2</sup> Similar tufts originally copied from goats are characteristics of the Hellenistic satyrs and centaurs.

<sup>3</sup> Erim 1974, 767ff.; Erim 1986, 65; P. Rockwell in: Aphrodisias Papers 2, 130ff.; R. R. R. Smith in: Aphrodisias Papers 3, 57ff. I wish to thank Julia A. Van Voorhis for letting me read her unpublished manuscripts on the Satyrs from the sculptor's workshop at Aphrodisias.

<sup>4</sup> Rockwell, op. cit., 130; J. Van Voorhis, The Sculptor's Workshop at Aphrodisias and the Production of Ideal Sculpture in Late Antiquity, AIA Annual Meeting 1997.



Fig. 3.4 Satyr with the infant Dionysos. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek I. N. 619

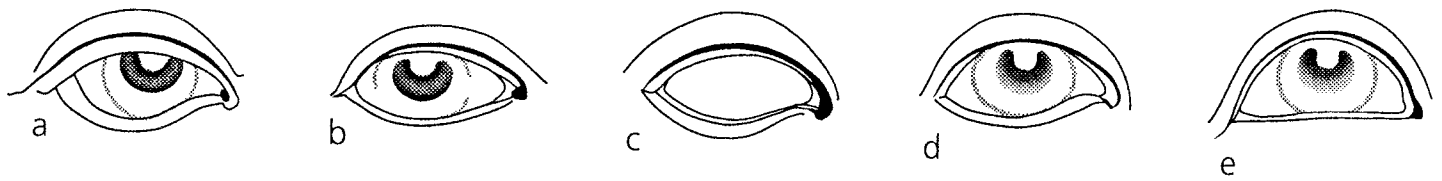


Fig. 5 Eye renderings: a. Satyr; b. 'Zeus'; c. Herakles; d. Poseidon; e. Helios

torsional movement in the outstretched stance.<sup>5</sup> This is underlined by the narrowness of the plinth which only follows the contour of the feet. The man carrying an infant is a motif which can be traced back to the Hermes with the infant Dionysos at Olympia.

The fact that three (or perhaps four) versions of the same general type were produced by Aphrodisian artists, would indicate that this was an Aphrodisian favourite.<sup>6</sup> Other finds of unfinished ideal statues in large scale in the same workshop show that the sculptors preferred to carve their statues freely. Only very few traces of measuring points or other traces of working from a model remain. As the two versions in Aphrodisias have not been conclusively dated, it is impossible to determine whether all date from the same period or whether the statue in Rome is a copy of one of the others.<sup>7</sup> R. R. R. Smith believes that the two versions in Aphrodisias belong to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD and were executed in the same workshop as three versions of the "Old Fisherman" in different sizes. As we shall see below others have dated both these types to the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>8</sup>

#### PLINTH<sup>9</sup>

H. 8–10 cm; max. W. 37 cm; max. D. 55 cm; Front 14 cm

Only a part of the inscription is preserved: written in small letters in two lines it is located on the front of the plinth under the right foot of the Satyr.

ΦΛ(leaf)ΖΗΝΩΝ ΑΡΧ[ΙΕΡΕΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ]  
ΣΗΜΟ(tatos)ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣ[ΙΕΥΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ]<sup>10</sup>

Bibl.: Poulsen 1951, Cat. 521; Squarciapino 1943, 41f. pl. 12a; Erim 1974, 769ff., pls. 257, 265; Moltesen 1990, 139 figs. 1, 3, 9, 10; Hannestad 1994, 112 fig. 73; Kiilerich – Torp 1994, 310, 315 pl. 56,1; LIMC VIII (Suppl. 1997) 1130 s. v. Silenoi no. 218 (Simon); Bergmann 1999, 14, 35 pl. 18,1.

STANDING GOD WITH A STAFF,  
PERHAPS ZEUS/JUPITER

Pls. 69f.74–76.78

Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek I.N. 620  
Bluish-grey Carrara marble  
H. 182 cm; 173 cm without plinth

The figure has been pieced together from numerous fragments now forming the left leg resting on the plinth, most of the torso and the head, part of the left shoulder, the right thigh and upper leg, and part of the right foot. Only part of

the body has been filled in with plaster to indicate the extent of the damage suffered by the statue. The tip of the nose is missing. The remains of a strut can be seen on the right thigh. It connected the statue to a support at the same height as that of the Satyr and the Poseidon. Small broken surfaces on the back of the neck show that the ends of the spiral curls of hair touched the back of the neck and were undercut (Pl. 76b).

The figure originally rested on its right leg with the left set slightly forward and to the side, its foot flat on the ground. The left arm was raised and probably held a staff, of which the end can be seen beside the left foot. Its lowered right arm perhaps held an attribute. The head is turned to the right with downward gazing eyes. The hair radiates from the top of the head and is held by a fillet from where the strands of hair fall in elongated spiral curls with ends accentuated by drilled holes. The deeply undercut double s-curls are a characteristic of the Helios, too. The drill has been used extensively to divide the strands of hair leaving small bridges, and was also used for the mouth and nostrils. The long beard falls in rows of neat locks and the pubic hair is short and wispy. The iris is rendered by a thin incised line, and the pupil by a deeply drilled 'bean' (Fig. 5).

The type of figure is very close to the Poseidon except for the position of the right arm and the stance with the left foot placed firmly on the ground in a classical 5<sup>th</sup> century

<sup>5</sup> R. R. R. Smith, *Hellenistic Sculpture* (1991) fig. 154; the large group from Aphrodisias is a copy of a Hellenistic original from the 3<sup>rd</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. For Hellenistic Satyrs see: Villa Albani II (1990) 316ff., pl. 213–215 (Dancing Satyr); C. Dierks-Kiehl, *Zu späthellenistischen bewegten Figuren der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts* (1973) 71ff.; K. Kell, *Formuntersuchungen zu spät- und nachhellenistischen Gruppen* (1988) 40ff.

<sup>6</sup> Fragments of a left foot and part of a left thigh show that there was perhaps a fourth version of the group. I thank J. Van Voorhis for this information.

<sup>7</sup> In a recent paper given at the AIA conference in Chicago in December 1997, J. Van Voorhis who is publishing the statues from the workshop argued that the large Satyr was of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and the others could be later copies.

<sup>8</sup> R. R. R. Smith in: *Aphrodisias Papers* 3, 57ff.; A postcard from the Museum at Aphrodisias of the large Satyr statue states in the caption: "By Flavius Zeno, 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD" for which there is no proof at all.

<sup>9</sup> *BullCom* 14, 1886, 318 no. 2 pl. 11.12; *IG XIV* 1269; Squarciapino 1943, 14 no. 18; Roueché – Erim 1982, 106; Moretti 1990, no. 1596; Häuber 1991, 321.

<sup>10</sup> The second half of the text in two lines was preserved when the inscriptions were published in the *BullCom* 14 1886, no. 2 pl. 11.12 but is now missing.

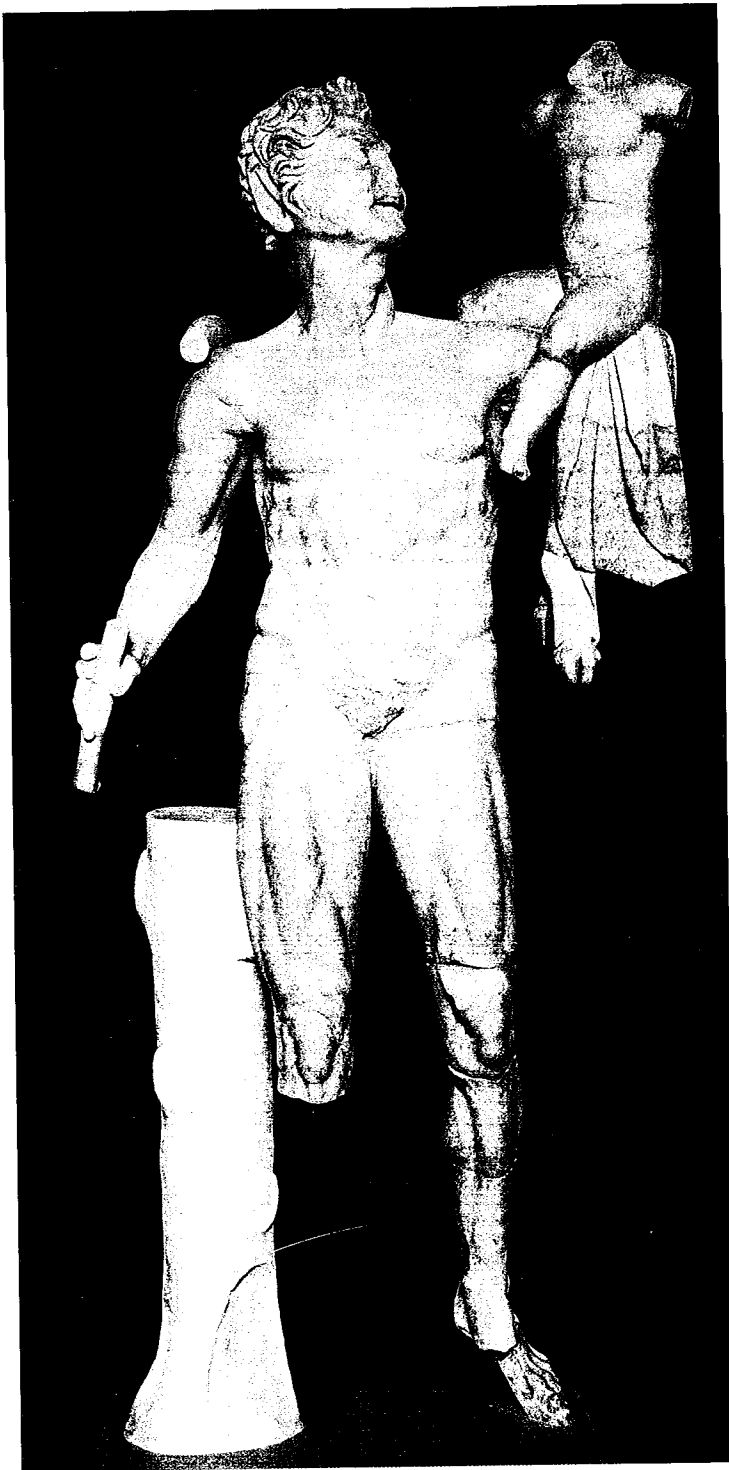


Fig. 6 Large Satyr with the infant Dionysos from the sculptor's workshop. Aphrodisias, Museum

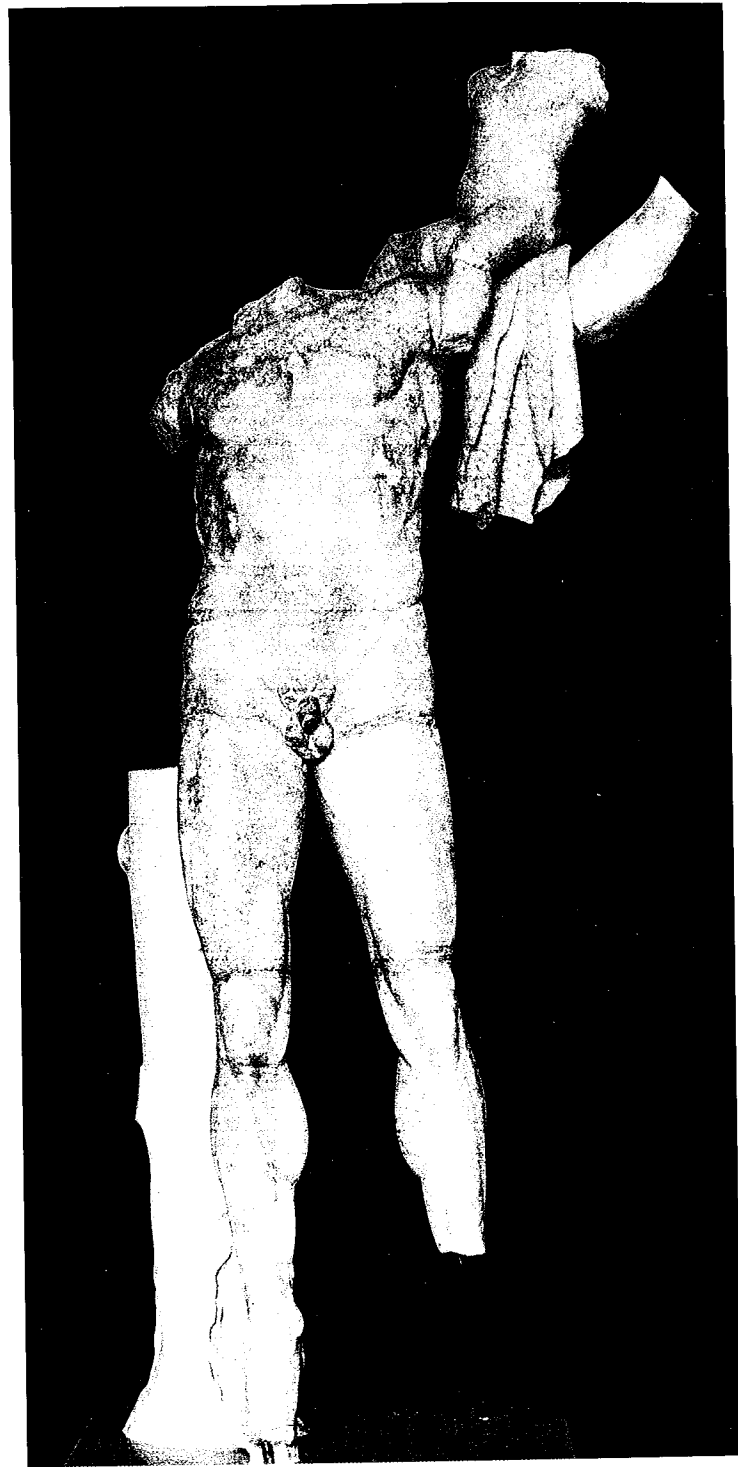


Fig. 7 Smaller Satyr with the infant Dionysos from the sculptor's workshop. Aphrodisias, Museum

attitude. As the figure was probably supported by a staff or something similar, and is of the same age as the Poseidon, it has been identified with Zeus/Jupiter but this theory cannot be confirmed in any way. The hair is tidier than in most of the representations of Zeus and therefore the figure could equally well represent any other of the Olympians or a hero.

The hair and face closely resemble those of the portrait from Aphrodisias of the high priest L. Ant. C. Dometeinus Diogenes firmly dated to the Severan period because of the

small portrait busts adorning his headdress and the characteristic coiffure of the statue of his wife.<sup>11</sup> The use of the drill in the s-shaped curls ending in a drilled hole is very similar, though the curls of the priest's hair and beard are more dense.

<sup>11</sup> J. Inan and E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *Römische und frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik aus der Türkei. Neue Funde* (Mainz 1979) 210ff. nos. 186, 187 pls. 138, 1.2; 139; 140; Erim 1986, 65 figs.; R. R. R. Smith - Chr. Ratté, *AJA* 100 (1996) 29f. fig. 27.

## PLINTH<sup>12</sup>

H. 7.5–8 cm; max. W. 29 cm (by left foot)

Only a small part of the plinth is preserved from under the left foot to the outer edge with the point of a staff or sceptre. The distance from the foot to the edge shows that the plinth was probably originally of the same width as the one belonging to the Poseidon. On the front only the last part of an inscription is left.

[ ]ΠΟΔΙΣΙΕΥΣ

The close relationship in the execution of the statue to the Poseidon led M. F. Squarciapino to ascribe the plinth to Flavius Chryseros.<sup>13</sup> The small lettering following its upper edge is, however, more reminiscent of the inscriptions of Flavius Zeno. As we shall see later the inscriptions of the two artists are not consistent with the style of the statues.

Bibl.: F. Poulsen 1951, Cat. 522; Squarciapino 1943, 40 pl. 11; Moltesen 1990, 142 figs. 15, 16; Hannestad 1994, 113 fig. 74; Kiilerich – Torp 1994, 309 pl. 55, 1, 57, 1; Bergmann 1999, 15.52 pl. 49, 4.

## HERAKLES/HERCULES

Pls. 86–88b

Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek I. N. 621

Bluish-grey Carrara marble

H. 63 cm

Originally fully restored like the others, the statue was dismantled in 1949 and since then only the head and a part of the shoulders and chest have been mounted. The rest is lost. A plinth in two fragments with two feet and the tip of the tail of an animal belongs to this statue as proved by the marble analysis.<sup>14</sup>

A chip has been broken off above the forehead and the nose and the lobe and rim of the left ear are missing. The break in the torso follows the attachment of the left arm at the shoulder, and leads from under the left breast across the chest up to the neck on the right side. On the back only the uppermost part of the neck is preserved. The head had been broken off but has been reattached.

The statue represents a bearded man with short cropped unruly hair swept in wisps from the back of the head towards the front. A narrow band of short locks at the base of the back of the neck is swept to the sides. The ears are carefully carved and seem somewhat swollen. The head is turned towards his left and the deep-set eyes gaze downwards. The broad forehead is divided by a horizontal line and the lower curved part arches over the deep-set eyes which have no indications either of iris or pupil

(Fig. 5). The beard around the open mouth is short and the thick locks divided into strands of hair are combed forward.

A very similar head, probably also of Aphrodisian workmanship, was found in the Roman villa at Silahtarağa on the Golden Horn in Turkey, though much more sketchy in its execution and with round drilled pupils<sup>15</sup>.

The chest is very muscular having a high, pronounced pectoral with a plastic rendering of the nipple; the ribs are seen across the chest and the rhomboid depression between the pectorals and the stomach is conspicuous. The shape of the *trapezium* leads to extremely sloping shoulders similar to those of a statue of a young Hercules found in the sculptor's workshop in Aphrodisias (Fig. 8).<sup>16</sup>

The position of the feet on the plinth shows that the statue rested on both feet with the left posed to the side and forward giving a three-dimensional movement (Pl. 88b). The twisted point of an animal's tail suggests that the figure was engaged in an encounter with an animal. It is impossible to decide definitely what kind of tail it is – it could be from either Cerberus or the Nemean lion – though the long, twisted, soft tufts look more leonine than canine.

The general type of the statue – a bearded man with a mature athlete's anatomy – goes back to the Lysippean Hercules Farnese.<sup>17</sup> He must have had a support at his left side, probably the club either covered by the *leonté* or bare. If he had the skin over his left arm the tail of the animal could have been visible between his legs although this motif belongs mainly to the Hercules wearing the lion-skin around his neck.

## PLINTH<sup>18</sup>

a) max. W. 32 cm; max. D. 41 cm; H. 11–13 cm;

b) max. W. 19.5 cm; max. D. 35.5 cm; H. 9 cm

Although the link between the torso and the plinth is missing, the marble analysis and the interpretation of the statue confirm that they belong together.

<sup>12</sup> BullCom 14, 1886, 321 no. 15 pl. 11.12 (here the fragment with the letters PO is missing); IG XIV 1482; Squarciapino 1943, 15 no. 22; Moretti 1990, no. 1609; Häuber 1991, 323.

<sup>13</sup> Squarciapino 1943, 40; followed by Poulsen 1951, no. 522; Kiilerich – Torp, 310 support this from a stylistic point of view.

<sup>14</sup> See below.

<sup>15</sup> De Chaisemartin – Örgen 1984, 33–34 pl. 22.23; Kiilerich – Torp 1994, 315 pl. 58, 2.

<sup>16</sup> Erism 1986, 66 fig.; R. R. R. Smith, *Hellenistic Sculpture* (1991) fig. 335.

<sup>17</sup> LIMC IV (1988) 783f. s. v. Herakles nos. 681a–737 (Palagia).

<sup>18</sup> BullCom 14, 1886, 318 no. 3 pl. 11.12; IG XIV 1270; Squarciapino 1943, 14 no. 17; Roueché – Erism, 105; Moretti 1990, no. 1597; Häuber 1991, 322.



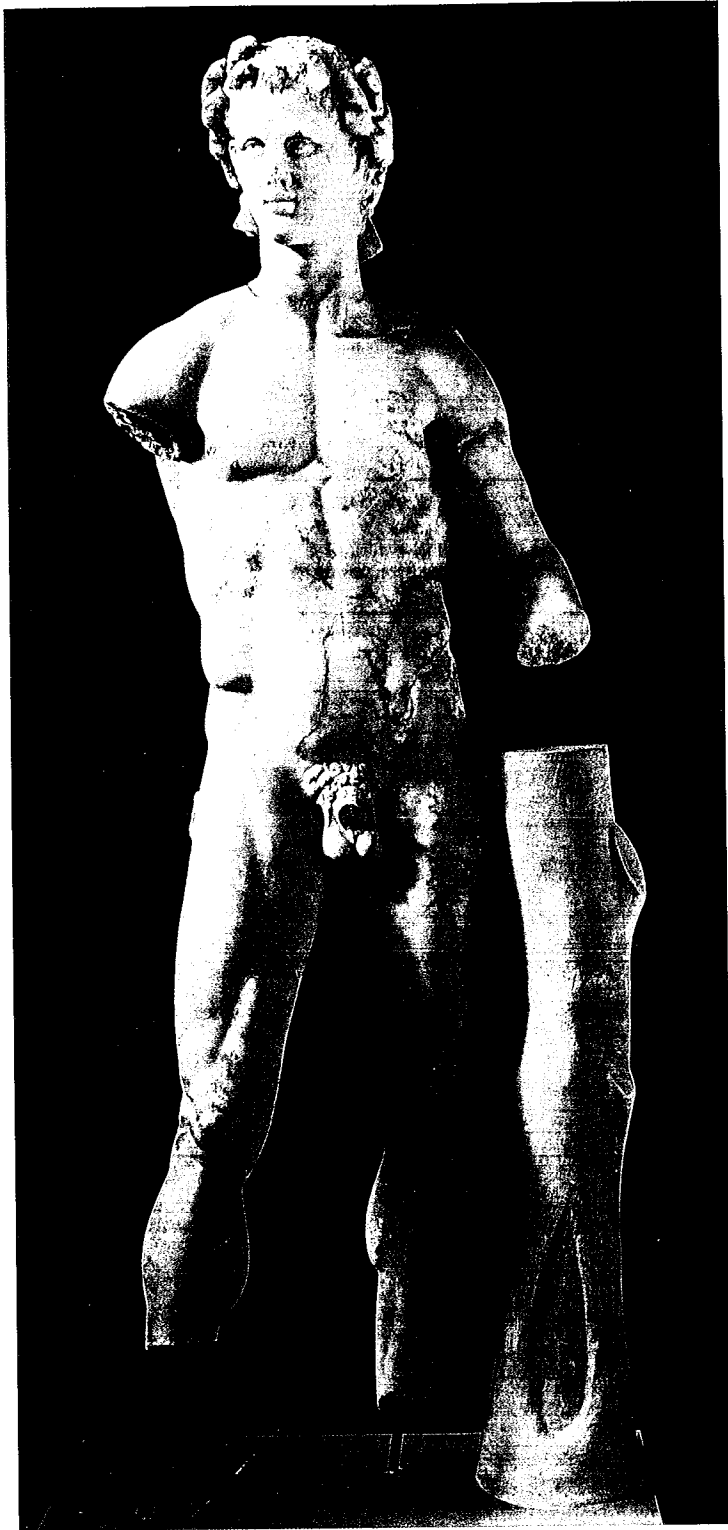


Fig. 8 'Young Herakles' from the sculptor's workshop.  
Aphrodisias, Museum

Two fragments of the plinth are preserved with the middle part missing. Fragment (a) preserves the right foot and the tip of an animal tail, fragment (b) the left foot with the heel protruding beyond the edge. The inscription runs on the front from the right big toe to the outer side of the left foot.

ΦΛ ΖΗ[ΝΩΝ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣ ΚΑΙ]ΔΙΑΣΗΜΟ(tatos)  
ΑΦ[ΡΟΔΙΣΙΕΥΣ]  
[ΕΠΙΟΙ]ΕΙ

Bibl.: Poulsen 1951, Cat. 523; Squarciapino 1943, 41 pl. 12b, Moltesen 1990, 139 figs. 6–8; Hannestad 1994, fig. 75; Kiilerich – Torp 1994, 310 fig. 58,1; Bergmann 1999, 18.

POSEIDON/NEPTUNE

Pls. 69e.77.79 – 81

Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek I.N. 622  
Bluish-grey Carrara marble  
H. 184 cm; 174 cm without plinth

The head is intact, both arms are missing and the legs are only preserved to the knees. The right foot and the toes of the left are attached to the plinth like the front paws and body of the *Ketos* that served as a support for the statue and that left a trace of a strut on the right thigh. The length of the legs, necessary for the reconstruction, was taken from the similar statue of 'Zeus'. The statue rested on its right leg and had the left set back to the side only resting on the ball of the foot in a Polykleitan stance. The left arm was held outwards and probably supported the trident. The right arm was lowered. The head is turned to the right and the eyes gaze downwards. Part of a strut on the back of the left thigh might have supported the trident that left a trace of the end of the shaft in front of the left foot. The muscles of the knees are accentuated in the same manner as in the Satyr.

The hair radiates from the top of the head where it is executed quite summarily and has a depression though no fillet is present; perhaps the latter was made of bronze. The hair at the front falls in long unruly locks, the ends of the side and back hair can be seen on the shoulders, showing that it was completely undercut and longer than in front. The beard is also untidy and the drill has been used extensively to separate the individual locks in both hair and beard leaving small bridges between the grooves. The roots of the hairs in the beard are rendered by finely incised lines in contrast to those of the 'Zeus'. The pubic hair is sparse and more detailed than the 'Zeus' with a midrib in every lock of hair.

The head is very well preserved with a rather short, broad nose. Both irises are incised and more pronounced than in the 'Zeus', and the pupils are executed more shallowly and seem to have been carved with a chisel rather than drilled as in the 'Zeus' (Fig. 5).

The animal support which identifies the statue as Poseidon/Neptune is the *Ketos* characterized by its lion's paws

and the fin-like protuberances on its front.<sup>19</sup> The head is missing but the neck, which is turned outwards, is tubular and has traces of a beard on the front. The head probably turned upwards to the left so that the muzzle was seen in profile, and perhaps the *Ketos* had a crest on its back. The tail could have been curled upwards to the strut on the figure's right hip. On each side of the neck were leaf-like fins. The *Ketos* often features in the retinue of the sea-gods, particularly Poseidon.

It will be evident that apart from the *Ketos* the two statues, 'Zeus' and Poseidon, belong to the same general type of Olympian gods with long beards, supported on a staff or trident, and may well be confused.

In a recent study Anja Klöckner relates the 'Zeus' as well as the Poseidon to a type she named the Poseidon Ince Blundell after the statue in Liverpool.<sup>20</sup> However, they only follow the same general scheme and differ very much in style as well as in workmanship.

An unfinished statue of Poseidon found in the West-Odeion area of Aphrodisias and associated with the sculptor's studio seems to represent the same general type of statue and the same size although the rather poor photographs available do not do justice to the figure.<sup>21</sup> Two statues of the same general type, one with the attributes of a Poseidon in Madrid, and a Zeus in Cyrene were ascribed to an Aphrodisian workshop by M. F. Squarciapino.<sup>22</sup> So the type seems to have been popular with the Aphrodisian artists.

#### PLINTH<sup>23</sup>

W. 79 cm; D. 36 cm; H. 8–10 cm

The plinth is very large, the sides are finished with the flat chisel and rasp, the front is polished. The outline of the plinth reflects the size of the block from which the entire figure was carved and demonstrates how much material had been removed to produce the whole figure with arms and trident in one piece. The surface of the plinth is carved with undulating waves indicating the sea.

On the front of the plinth from the left paw of the sea-monster to the left foot of Poseidon runs the inscription with two lacunae.

ΦΛ(leaf)ΧΡΥΣΕΡΟ[Σ ΑΦΡΟ]ΔΕΙΣΙ[ΕΥΣ ΕΠΟΙ]ΕΙ

Out of the five statues the Poseidon has been regarded as the most handsome, and in fact Carl Jacobsen would have gladly bought only this one. As mentioned the type is consistent with other representations of the sea-god.<sup>24</sup> The head is very impressive with the wild hair and the expressive face dominated by the broad and rather short nose. Some of these traits occur also in the two Tritons (Fig. 9)



Fig. 9 Triton from the Horti Lamiani Musei Capitolini  
Inv. 1119

which came to light together with the portrait bust of Commodus as Hercules in Horti Lamiani on the Esquiline.<sup>25</sup> Here we find the long undercut hair, the extensive use of the drill and the double s-curly, the broad and short nose. Significantly, the rendering of the leaf-like fins on the bodies of the Tritons is very similar to the technique used on the *Ketos*. The fine polished surface is also similar. The bust of Commodus is the epitome of virtuosity in Carrara marble and like the Esquiline statues it demonstrates the work-

<sup>19</sup> LIMC VIII (1997) 731ff. s. v. *Ketos* (Boardman).

<sup>20</sup> A. Klöckner, *Poseidon und Neptun. Zur Rezeption griechischer Götterbilder in der römischen Kunst* (1997) 109f. 252 nos. IS 2.3.

<sup>21</sup> Rockwell, *op. cit.* (above, n. 3) 134 fig. 13. According to Julia Van Voorhis this statue has been used several times for students carving practice.

<sup>22</sup> Squarciapino 1943, 35ff. pls. 8.9.

<sup>23</sup> BullCom 14, 1886, 235. 319 no. 9 pl. 11.12 (only one fragment represented); IG XIV, 1276; Squarciapino 1943, 13 no. 10; Roueché – Erim 1982, 106 pl. 8 B; Moretti 1990, no. 1599.

<sup>24</sup> Klöckner *op. cit.* 251f. no. IS 2.

<sup>25</sup> Helbig<sup>4</sup> II, no. 1486; M. Cima – E. La Rocca (edd.), *Le tranquille dimore degli dei. La residenza imperiale degli horti Lamiani* (1986) 88ff.

manship of an artist bold enough to set no limits to his range of techniques, and of what he might, thus, achieve in marble.<sup>26</sup>

Bibl.: Poulsen 1951, Cat. 524; Squarciapino 1943, 39 pls. 12c. 13; Moltesen 1990, 139f. figs. 11.12; Kiilerich – Torp 1994, 309. 315 pls. 55,2. 57,2; LIMC VII (1994) 452 s. v. Poseidon no. 27 (Simon); Bergmann 1999, 15 pl. 18,2.

## HELIOS/SOL

Pls. 69a.b.82–85

Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek I. N. 623  
White Carrara marble with grey streaks  
H. 182 cm; 172 cm without plinth

Restored from numerous fragments. Missing are: the lower part of the bent left arm, the right arm from above the elbow, the middle part of the right foot, the head of the horse, the upper part of the right thigh, the right buttock, parts of the left thigh, the whole left hip, and several large patches on the surface of the body. All except the left hip are filled in with plaster. The lower part of the face and the nose are damaged.

A young man is standing frontally resting on his left leg with the right brought back and turned somewhat outwards. He is supported on his left side by the front part of a horse emerging from the ocean rendered as waves. The head of the horse was probably attached to his thigh with a strut the contour of which can be seen on the upper left leg. His left arm was bent at the elbow and held back whereas the right arm was raised and stretched forward. The head is held high and the gaze turned upwards. Around his neck is a small cloak covering the left breast and shoulder and falling down to the waist on the back with a row of small folds over the left shoulder. Around his head he wears a diadem with a double row of rays on the front and a triple band on the back. The hair is rather long and parted in the middle at the back. Under the band it falls in curls twisted into double-s locks. The back of the cloak which forms a kind of collar shows traces of the ends of at least some of the locks, indicating that they were completely undercut. The rendering of the hair as double-s locks with drilled holes between the loops resembles the 'Zeus' (Pl. 76) and is

a very characteristic feature of many of the Aphrodisian sculptures.

While the head was originally thought to be that of Cybele,<sup>27</sup> the restored figure was recognized as a representation of Helios standing in the pose of *Sol Invictus*, perhaps with his right hand open in a sign of benediction or salute and perhaps with a globe or torch in his left hand.<sup>28</sup> The horse at his side represents the horses which were believed to rise from the sea and draw his chariot across the sky, the same idea as in the horses on the east pediment of the Parthenon. This type of statue has been regarded as a derivative of Helios the Colossus of Rhodes by Chares of Lindos, and P. Moreno has recently put forward the theory that, in fact, it copies a statue of the personification of the people of Rhodes derived from the Colossus.<sup>29</sup>

In the old restoration of the Helios the upper row of rays was restored as a crenellated mural crown and the headdress was therefore thought to be a mixture of a mural crown and the rays of the sun. This rather distinctive headdress has been interpreted as referring to the mural crown of the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias who has the bust of Helios on her dress.<sup>30</sup> The upper row of rays has been broken off but there is no doubt they were originally also pointed like the lower row, so the headdress bears the double rays as appropriate for the Sun God.<sup>31</sup>

The Helios is rendered very differently from the other statues. He is younger, with no pubic hair indicated, he is less muscular, rather soft and fleshy in the body, broader and heavier and without the tall elegance of the Zeus and Poseidon. The muscles in both the torso and the legs are much less pronounced, e. g. the iliac crest and the knee muscles. The very deeply drilled locks of hair are in contrast to the smooth and clearly-defined features of the face. This makes it the statue which, at first glance, could most reasonably be of a late date.<sup>32</sup> A comparable depiction of a young Helios/Sol is a statue (often interpreted as a portrait of Caracalla) in North Carolina.<sup>33</sup> The young, rather fleshy musculature, the short cloak and the pose are very similar. They also share the horse-support and the headdress with sun-rays although the so-called Caracalla actually had rays of bronze. The style, however, is that of the Severan period. A figure of a young Apollo (or rather Helios) from the

<sup>26</sup> K. Fittschen – P. Zanker, *Katalog der Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen I* (1985) 85f. pls. 91–94.

<sup>27</sup> *BullCom* 14, 1886, 298.

<sup>28</sup> For *Sol Invictus*: S. E. Hijmans, *The Sun which did not rise in the East; the Cult of Sol Invictus in the Light of Non-Literary Evidence*, *BABesch* 71 (1996) 115ff.

<sup>29</sup> P. Moreno, *Scultura ellenistica* (1994) 135 fig. 166; 144f.

<sup>30</sup> Kiilerich – Torp 1994, 310 with references.

<sup>31</sup> This double row of rays is best seen on the famous metope from the

Athena temple in Ilium now in Berlin: LIMC V (1990) 1031 s. v. Helios no. 380 Helios-Apollon (Yalouris), ca. 300 BC.

<sup>32</sup> The statue has even found its way into a popular French book as an example of late antique sculpture, F. Baratte, *Manuels de l'Ecole du Louvre. Histoire de l'art antique: L'Art romain* (1996) 244f.

<sup>33</sup> C. C. Vermeule, *The rise of the Severan Dynasty in the East: Young Caracalla, about the year 205, as Helios-Sol*, *North Carolina Museum of Art Bulletin* XIV,4 (1990) 30ff.

Roman villa at Silaharađa has been compared to our figure. It also has the double-s curls with drilled holes and shares the stance and cloak.<sup>34</sup> R. Fleischer has suggested that the cutting at the back of the head was originally intended for the insertion of marble rays.<sup>35</sup>

#### PLINTH<sup>36</sup>

a) W. 27 cm; D. 22 cm; b) W. 30 cm; D. 35 cm; H. 8–10 cm

The plinth, of which the middle part is missing, is rounded on the front and the inscription runs from the right foot along the front and ends under the horse on a polished but somewhat undulating surface:

ΦΛ(leaf)ΧΡΥΣΕΡΟΣ ΑΦ[ΡΟΔΕΙΣΙΕΥ]Σ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ

Bibl.: Poulsen 1951, Cat. 525; Squarciapino 1943, 39f. pl. 10; Erim 1974, 768ff.; LIMC IV (1988) 623 s. v. Helios/Sol no. 460 Sol/Genius Populi Romani (Letta); Moltesen 1990, 133ff.; B. Kiilerich, in: L. Rydén – J. O. Rosenquist (edd.), Constantinople and the East. Aspects of Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium (1993) 86f., fig. 1; P. Moreno, *Scultura ellenistica I* (1994) 128. 145 fig. 166; II note 248; Kiilerich – Torp 1994, 309f. 315 pl. 56,2. 57,3; Hannestad 1994, 111f.; Bergmann 1999, 15 pl. 21,2.

#### FRAGMENT OF A PLINTH<sup>37</sup>

Pl. 88c

Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek I. N. 623a  
H. 9–11 cm; L. of front 25.5 cm  
Bluish-grey Carrara marble

The surface is worn and damaged and has many dark patches. On the upper surface are the vague traces of a right foot which has been hacked off. The angle of the break on the left side seems to indicate that the person stood on his left leg with the right turned outwards.

On the straight front of the fragment part of an inscription is preserved:

[Φ]Λ(leaf?)ΧΡΥΣΕΡΟΣ ΑΦ

Bibl.: Poulsen 1951, Cat. 526.

#### FRAGMENT OF A PLINTH WITH A LEFT FOOT<sup>38</sup>

Pl. 69d

Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek I. N. 539  
H. 18.5 cm; H. of plinth 5–6 cm; W. 22 cm; D. 27 cm  
Bluish-grey Carrara marble

Part of a plinth with a left foot and instep, with a break through the instep and heel. The foot is turned slightly outwards and seems to be of the same size as those of the other statues (26–27 cm, i. e. natural size) and shares the same characteristic feature of the second toe being the longest.

The arch is low and seems to lean inwards which supposes that the figure rested on its right leg and set the left to the side. The upper part of the foot is soft, rather broad and the instep is high. It is comparable to the feet of the young Helios rather than the bearded gods or the Satyr. This could perhaps have been the foot of the young Paris whose head was mentioned by R. Lanciani among the fragments of sculpture from the Sette Sale.<sup>39</sup> On the straight front of the plinth part of the inscription:

[\_\_\_\_\_]ΕΥ[Σ Ε]ΠΟΙΕΙ

Bibl.: Poulsen 1951, Cat. 527.

#### FRAGMENT OF A RIGHT LEG

Fig. 10

Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek I. N. 623b  
H. 50 cm  
Bluish-grey Carrara marble

The fragment is of a male right leg from the groin to below the knee. On the side a large fractured area from a support of the same kind as on the other statues. On the front of the thigh there are traces of a circular strut (Diam. 5 cm) which must derive from an attribute. The leg is very muscular showing the same tensed muscles and fine veins on the inside of the thigh as on the Satyr. The leg seems to be turned slightly outwards at the knee and must have been the “Standbein” of a statue in a pose similar to the Poseidon. Whether this leg belonged to the inscribed plinth I. N. 623a or not is impossible to say; it was acquired together with the two plinths I. N. 623a and I. N. 539.

#### FRAGMENT OF A RIGHT KNEE

Fig. 11

Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek I. N. 619a  
H. 20 cms  
White fine-grained marble with grey streaks

The fragment shows the part from somewhat above to just below the knee. The knee is much less muscular than the previous and is very flat at the back. The rendering of the

<sup>34</sup> De Chaisemartin – Örgen 1984, 90; Kiilerich – Torp 1994, 315.

<sup>35</sup> R. Fleischer, *Gnomon* 60 (1988) 62.

<sup>36</sup> BullCom 14, 1886, 319 no. 6 pl. 11.12; IG XIV 1273; Squarciapino 1943, 13 no. 11 pl. A; Roueché – Erim 1982, 106; Moretti 1990, no. 1600.

<sup>37</sup> BullCom 14, 1886, 319 no. 7 pl. 11.12; IG XIV, 1274; Squarciapino 1943, 13 no. 10; Moretti 1990, 1601.

<sup>38</sup> BullCom 14, 1886, 320 no. 13 pl. 11.12; IG XIV 1280; Moretti 1990, no. 1608.

<sup>39</sup> BullCom 14, 1886, 298.



Fig. 10 Fragment of a right leg. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek I.N. 623b

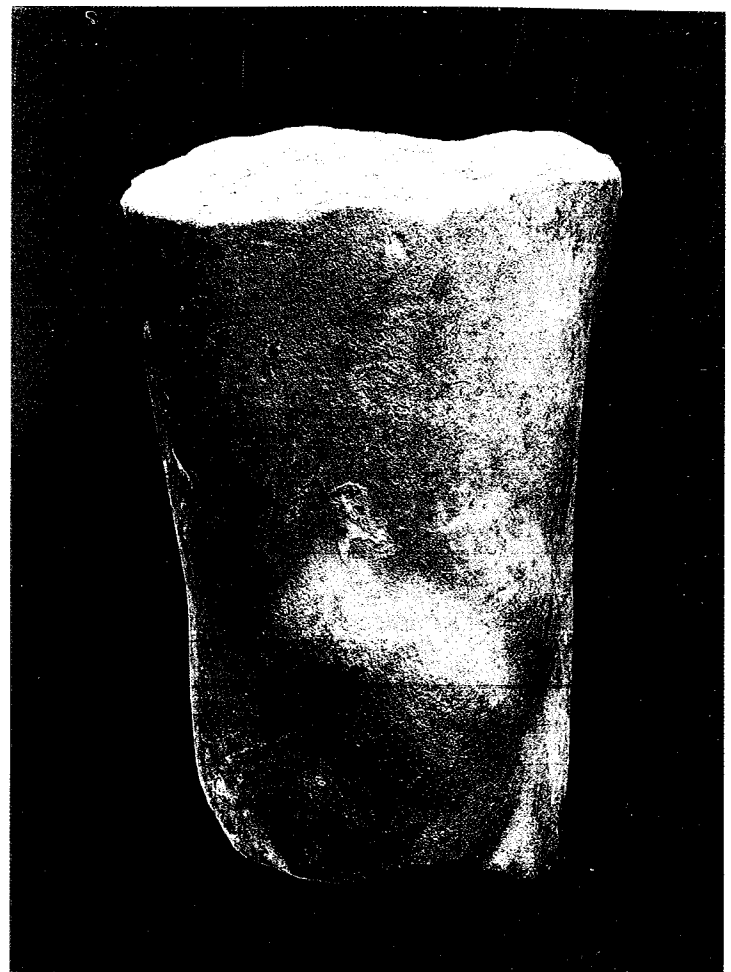


Fig. 11 Fragment of a right knee. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek I.N. 619a

knee is very similar to that of the Helios, with which it is also consistent in size. As the marble is different it cannot have been part of the same statue as the plinth I.N. 539. The fragment was found incorporated as supporting material inside the torso of the Satyr in 1984.

### THE MARBLE OF THE STATUES

In the *Bullettino Comunale* 1886 the marble of the inscribed plinths was correctly identified as being from Carrara whereas, strangely enough, the torsoes and heads were considered to be of Greek marble.<sup>40</sup> Arndt defined the bluish marble as resembling Proconnesian and was convinced that it came from Asia Minor.<sup>41</sup> This has been the consensus ever since. Squarciapino called it “marmo venato di Afrodizia”.<sup>42</sup> This could only mean either that the finished statues were imported from Aphrodisias, or that the marble was imported and worked by Aphrodisian sculptors using the marble of their homeland. Recent isotopic analyses of all the plinths and all the five statues have shown conclusively that the marble is from Carrara.<sup>43</sup> This means that

the statues were carved in Italy and probably in Rome, a fact which, as we shall see, is highly significant. As samples were taken from both the statues and the bases the results seemed to confirm the correctness of the restorations.<sup>44</sup>

The sculptures fall into two distinct groups each recognizable by their colour. The first group made of bluish grey marble consists of the Heracles, ‘Zeus’, and Poseidon, plus

<sup>40</sup> BullCom 14, 1886, 297f. Pluto (Zeus?), Cibebe (Helios), and Hercules are considered to be of Pentelic marble, while the Satyr, and the so-called Juno, now missing, are said to be of Greek marble.

<sup>41</sup> P. Arndt, *La Glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg* (1896–1912) 222.

<sup>42</sup> Squarciapino 1943, 38ff.

<sup>43</sup> K. Matthews – S. Walker in: *Aphrodisias Papers*, 145ff. The 13 samples were analyzed by Keith Matthews of the British Museum. The results have also been run by Norman Herz, Center for Archaeological Sciences, The University of Georgia, who showed that the first group, Helios and Satyr are made from marble from Collonata or Miseglia, while the second group comprising all the other statues is from Collonata. A core sample from the plinth of Hercules analyzed by Luc Moens at the Instituut voor Nucleaire Wetenschappen at the University of Gent also confirmed the Carrara provenance.

<sup>44</sup> Except for the three fragments on the left side of the Satyr.

the two plinths; the second made of the “white with grey streaks” marble and comprising the Helios and the Satyr with the infant Dionysos. The two groups do not correspond to the works of the two artists who left their signatures, so we must surmise that they both worked on two consignments of marble either from two different quarries, or taken from the same quarry at different times. All five statues were apparently carved from single blocks of quite large dimensions as can be deduced from the size of the plinths and the extent of the spread of the arms. The only indication of joining is the cutting in the back of the Satyr’s head for the attachment of the infant’s hand (Fig. 4) and we must envisage that there were once several long struts visible. All five have also been completely finished on the back, even on the back of the tree-trunk support.<sup>45</sup>

Carrara or Luni marble is a low-grade metamorphic marble quarried in the Apuan Alps. Although some marble was used by the Etruscans it was only quarried extensively from the mid-first century BC. In the imperial period it was used in large quantities for architectural elements, but also for sculpture though it was never as popular for statues and portraits as the Greek marbles from Paros and Pentelicon. There were several different quarry areas in the Carrara region in antiquity: Torano, Miseglia, and Colonnata, and several different qualities of marble were quarried. They were all fine-grained and ranged in colour from pure white to blue and grey. The very fine-grained compact quality of Carrara marble could be brought out by polishing to a degree where the surface became almost like porcelain. The marble responded very well to the drill as can be seen in the hair and beards of our statues. This characteristic sheen of the surface of the skin is found on some of the best portraits of the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD when Carrara marble seemed to be favoured e.g. for the bust of Commodus as Heracles and the two Tritons found together with it in the Palazzo dei Conservatori.<sup>46</sup> A group of portraits from the early third century AD of the emperor Maximinus Thrax and some young princes acquired for the Glyptotek in the same years show, albeit in a different style, the same quality of marble and the same treatment of the surface.<sup>47</sup> This exceptional workmanship, however, is not often found in ideal sculpture, not even in Rome, and shows that this group of statues was very special and could perhaps be an imperial commission.

The style is purely Greek and follows a Hellenistic rather than a Roman tradition. The ‘Zeus’ and Poseidon are tall and slim with beautifully accentuated muscles especially in the legs and thighs. The oblique lines of the shoulders and the hips meet in an angle forming a perfect chiasmic contrapposto. The torsos show a high degree of naturalism in the musculature and even the veins are seen along the side of the thighs and in the region of the abdomen. The Satyr

who is rendered in motion and on his toes has his muscles tensed and therefore more pronounced, showing the veins running from the crotch over the inside of the thigh and another vein crossing his shin. The long elegant legs and narrow hips find parallels in the sarcophagi of the Antonine period e.g. the sarcophagus from Vigna Casali in the Glyptotek with the representation of Dionysus and Ariadne.<sup>48</sup> Here we find the tall and slim figures with long legs standing close together as perhaps was the case with the large group of statues from the Esquiline, and all are of the same height. The Satyr on tiptoe to the right is of the same general type as our Satyr. The Hercules was of a more massive build with a broad neck and sloping shoulders; his pectorals are very highly placed and have a characteristic diamond-shaped depression dividing the breasts from the abdomen. The Helios on the other hand is very different in having hardly any muscles either in the torso or the legs, probably denoting his youth. His frontal pose could perhaps indicate a position in the centre of the group.

## THE INSCRIPTIONS

As evident from the above, the five statues in Copenhagen were signed with the form usual for a manufacturer, *epoiei*. If we suppose that the names are those of the persons who made the statues we have two sculptors, Flavius Zeno and Flavius Chryseros from Aphrodisias, signing their works in Rome. Flavius Zeno made the Satyr and the Hercules whereas Flavius Chryseros made the Poseidon, the Helios and the two plinths, and probably also the ‘Zeus’. The difference in style between the works signed by the same person, however, suggests that the names were not necessarily those of the sculptors but rather those of the people who owned the workshop.<sup>49</sup>

The inscriptions found on the statue plinths were published in the *Bullettino Comunale* 1886 by C.L. Visconti who drew the right conclusion about the marble being from the Carrara quarries and also thought that the sculptures could be of a rather late date due to the fact that the sculp-

<sup>45</sup> By comparison the sculptures from the workshop in Aphrodisias were carved lying down from front to back and were never finished on the back. Rockwell, *op. cit.* (above, n. 3).

<sup>46</sup> Palazzo dei Conservatori Inv. 1120. 1119.1121: Helbig<sup>4</sup> 1486 (H. v. Heintze); Cima – La Rocca 1986, 88–95 pl. 10 fig. 58–64 (M. Bertolletti – L. Bonofiglio – E. La Rocca).

<sup>47</sup> I. N. 818. 823. 819. 826: Poulsen, *op. cit.*, cat. nos 164–67; Johansen, *op. cit.*, 100ff. nos. 39–42; and the two young princes I. N. 821. 822; Johansen, *op. cit.*, nos. 16.17.

<sup>48</sup> I. N. 843: F. Poulsen 1951, cat. 778; J. Stubbe Østergaard in: NCGCat. Imperial Rome (1996) 96ff. with bibl. – I wish to thank Susan Walker for drawing my attention to the Antonine legs.

<sup>49</sup> Roueché – Erim, 108f.

tors did not use the patronymic.<sup>50</sup> In the find of statue-bases from the Sette Sale the name Flavius Zeno appeared three times, and Flavius Chryseros four times, Flavius Andronicus twice, and four plinths only had traces of the inscription by an *Afrodisieus*.

Flavius Zeno's name was known from two other inscriptions found in Rome. The first was published in 1731, and is now lost.<sup>51</sup> The other was found together with a lot of sculptures in 1874 on the Esquiline in a small bath building belonging to a private villa in the Via Ariosto.<sup>52</sup> We may note that this inscription (Fig. 12) in size, letter forms, and in content is identical to the inscriptions on the Satyr and



Fig. 12 Inscription from the private baths in the via Ariosto. Now lost

the preserved parts of the inscription on the Hercules base.<sup>53</sup> Unfortunately this plinth is also lost, but the fragment certainly belonged to our group. It was made of Carrara marble, and had preserved a left foot of fine workmanship. Why this fragment was found some 200 m from the others is impossible to say, but there are several other instances of fragments even of the same statue being found far apart.<sup>54</sup>

Returning to our inscriptions, they were quite naturally thought to be from the time of the statues which were unanimously dated from their hair-style and eye-rendering to the late 2<sup>nd</sup> – early 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. In 1982, C. Roueché and K. Erim published some new inscriptions from Aphrodisias which were assumed to mention the same artists.<sup>55</sup> In the inscriptions from Rome Flavius Zeno signed himself, “Flavius Zeno high priest and *διασημότατος* = *perfectissimus*, of Aphrodisias, made (this)”. The two inscriptions from Aphrodisias, however, tell us more of the man. In one written on a columnar marble base we read: “With Good

Fortune, Flavius Zeno, high priest and *comes*, made (this) and set it up for his country”. The other on a rectangular marble block says: “Flavius Zeno, high priest and *comes*, made (this) and set it up for his country at his own expense, by (the terms of) his will, (carried out) by his children”.

In the earlier publications the title of Flavius Zeno was given as *diasemos*, whereas it should rightly be *διασημότατος* = *perfectissimus*. Roueché in her analysis of the inscriptions showed that whereas the title *perfectissimus* was found in the imperial administration from the time of the Severi, it was not until the reign of Constantine that men of provincial eminence used this title. Flavius Zeno also described himself as high priest, which can only be taken as a provincial or municipal position. Flavius Zeno was in addition *comes*, a title which was originally bestowed by the emperor on his companions, but which after the 320s gained far less exclusive currency and could be used without imperial approval.

Flavius Andronicus was also mentioned in an inscription found in Aphrodisias. On a rectangular marble base was inscribed: “With Good Fortune Flavius Andronicus, the *διασημότατος* made this and gave it to his own country.” Flavius Andronicus' name was found twice in the Sette Sale material.<sup>56</sup> He has no other title.

The study of the inscriptions led to the conclusion that the titles used by the Aphrodisians in the inscriptions could not be dated earlier than the second quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. The possible explanations seemed to be that either the statues were made in the 4<sup>th</sup> century or they had been made around 200 AD and were given new inscriptions on their bases more than one hundred years later. There is no clear evidence for such a reuse of the plinths from the cutting of the letters or the surrounding surfaces but the possibility cannot be excluded.<sup>57</sup> For the chronology of the inscriptions the date of the *thermae* in the Via Ariosto

<sup>53</sup> BullCom 14, 1886, pl. 11.12 shows them together.

<sup>54</sup> e.g. the so-called Torello Brancaccio where one part was found in the area of the sisters of Cluny and the other 80 m away in the Via del Statuto; Häuber 1990, 48 n. 109; Häuber 1991, 248f. 313; *Iside, il mito, il mistero, la magia*. Exhibition Catalogue, Milano 1996, 308ff.

<sup>55</sup> Roueché – Erim 1982, 102ff.; C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity. The Late Roman and Byzantine Inscriptions Including Texts from the Excavations in Aphrodisias*, JRS Monograph 5 (1989) 25ff. nos. 11–13. A. Claridge, *JRA* 10 (1997) 447ff. (Review of Hännestad 1994) suggests that perhaps the sculptors in Aphrodisias were not necessarily the same as the ones in Rome.

<sup>56</sup> BullCom 14, 1886, 320 nos. 11.12; Moretti 1990, nos. 1592. 1593.

<sup>57</sup> A re-use of an earlier statue with a new 4<sup>th</sup> century inscription on the plinth is found in the statue of the “Mother-in-law” in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, I. N. 710: F. Johansen, *NCGCat. Roman Portraits III* (1995) no. 87.

<sup>50</sup> BullCom 14, 1886, 316ff. pl. 11.12 with facsimiles drawn by Gregorio Mariani who often worked for the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut and copied Etruscan tomb-paintings for Carl Jacobsen. C. Weber-Lehmann in: *NCGCat., The Copies of Etruscan Tomb Paintings in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* (1991).

<sup>51</sup> Roueché – Erim 1982, 105 n. 9.

<sup>52</sup> BullCom 1, 1872–73, 314 no. 47 only mentions an inscription by a person from Aphrodisias. For the actual inscription, BullCom 8, 1880, 30 no. 197; BullCom 14, 1886, 317 no. 1; IG IV, 1545; for the sculptures found in the *Thermae*, BullCom 3, 1875, 79 ff.; Cima – La Rocca 1986, 57f. 183 ff. A sketch of the baths by R. Lanciani in M. Buonocore, *Appunti di Topographia Romana nei Codici Lanciani della Biblioteca Vaticana I*, 1997, 280 fol. 182 v.

mentioned above is very important. The building was previously dated by R. Lanciani to the time of Diocletian or Constantine.<sup>58</sup> Recently, however, M. Steinby has shown that the tile-stamps used in this building and in several others in the same area should probably be dated to the time of Maxentius.<sup>59</sup> This creates a serious problem stressed several times by E. La Rocca: one of the inscriptions dated by the philologists to ca. 337–50 was found re-used in the foundations of a building dated to 305–10 AD!<sup>60</sup>

## THE DATE OF THE SCULPTURES

From the first mention of the sculptures they have been dated stylistically to the time of Hadrian or at the latest the Antonine period.<sup>61</sup> This was due to comparisons of the execution of the hair and beard with that of portraits of the second century, and also the drilling of the pupils which only dates from the time of Hadrian and onwards.

In 1987 I had the pleasure of presenting the statues in the Aphrodisias conference in London where I could document that they were made of Carrara marble and therefore were made in Rome by Aphrodisian artists who had also worked in their hometown although we are not able to identify any of their statues there.<sup>62</sup> I pointed out that if the statues were made in the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD we would have to reconsider our views on the sculpture of this period. This challenge has been taken up by many colleagues.

In 1988 Niels Hannestad spoke on late antique sculpture at the International Congress of Classical Archaeology in Berlin and took the Esquiline statues as evidence that the production of statues in the classical tradition as well as the copying of earlier sculpture did not end in the mid 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD but continued well into the 4<sup>th</sup>.<sup>63</sup> The characteristics of the late sculpture were the combination of earlier and later stylistic traits and a mannered and misunderstood rendering of the anatomy.

This statement was taken as rather provocative and caused a number of colleagues to visit the Glyptotek in order to study the statues at first hand. Since then an ongoing debate on the date of the statues has flourished and has found supporters of the high as well as the low date.

M. Floriani Squarciapino, who in 1943 had virtually invented the School of Aphrodisias, accepted the late date as plausible as so many works of high quality had been made in Aphrodisias in late antiquity.<sup>64</sup> “In fondo la cultura afrodisiense, mantenutasi ad altissimo livello nel V secolo potrebbe aver conservato agli inizi del IV, specie in opere che, pur senza esserne copie fedeli, si ispirano ad antichi prototipi di divinità pagana, uno stile vicino a quello del prototipo stesso, specie se questo era stato, come è provato dal Satiro col piccolo Dioniso, una creazione di scultori locali.”<sup>65</sup> In 1988 R. Fleischer reviewed the book “Les documents sculptés de Silaharağa” by N. de Chaisemartin and E. Örgen which treats the sculptures found in a Roman villa in the vicinity of the Golden Horn, now in Istanbul.<sup>66</sup> Here at least three sculptures bear a close resemblance to the Esquiline statues in Copenhagen, the Apollo/Helios, the head of Hercules, and a torso close to ‘Zeus’, dated by the authors to the Antonine period. Fleischer suggested that this group of sculpture as well as those in Copenhagen were made by Aphrodisians in the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century following the date given to the inscriptions by Roueché and by comparing the style of the Silaharağa statues with other works of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.

In recent years more sculpture from the excavations in Aphrodisias itself has been published. The finds in the area of a sculptor’s workshop near the temple of Aphrodite is of particular interest in this context. Here were found the two versions of the Satyr with the infant Dionysus (Figs. 6.7), the statue of a young Hercules (Fig. 8), a reworked (?) statue of Poseidon and several unfinished statues.<sup>67</sup> The sculptures are not dated stratigraphically but the workshop must have been destroyed by an earthquake some time in the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. Both Satyrs apparently show traces of repairs and therefore must have been finished some time before. It is not clear from the publication if it is possible to say anything certain about the date. J. Van Voorhis is working on the publication of the ca. 300 fragments of statues from the workshop and will try to reconstruct the archaeological history of the complex from the excavation notebooks. This work will be of great interest for the study of the Esquiline group.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Lanciani 1899, 28; BullCom 3 1875 79ff.

<sup>59</sup> M. Steinby in: Società romana e impero tardo antico II (1986) 141.

<sup>60</sup> La Rocca, 1987, 11f.: repeated in a workshop on problems of late antique sculpture at the Danish Institute in Rome, Nov. 3<sup>rd</sup> 1995.

<sup>61</sup> Poulsen 1951, 364; Squarciapino 1943, 39; J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School* (1934) 242f.; G. M. A. Richter, *Three critical periods in Greek sculpture* (1951) 47; EAA VII (1966) 1251 s. v. Zenon (Moreno).

<sup>62</sup> Moltesen 1990, 133ff.

<sup>63</sup> N. Hannestad, *The Classical Tradition in Late Roman Sculpture*, Akten des XIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Klassische Archäologie,

Berlin 1988 (1990) 516f.; idem, *The So-Called Daughter of Marcus Aurelius or Some Remarks on Late Roman Sculpture*. Studies in Ancient History and Numismatics presented to Rudi Thomsen (1988) 195ff.

<sup>64</sup> M. Floriani Squarciapino in: *Aphrodisias Papers* 2, 123ff.

<sup>65</sup> op. cit. 126.

<sup>66</sup> R. Fleischer, *Gnomon* 60 (1988) 61ff.; review of de Chaisemartin – Örgen.

<sup>67</sup> Rockwell, op. cit. (above, n. 3), 128ff.

<sup>68</sup> R. R. R. Smith – C. Ratté, *AJA* 100 (1996) 7; J. Van Voorhis, abstract of paper given at the AIA meeting in Chicago December 1997.



The director of excavations at Aphrodisias, Professor R. R. R. Smith, has found a relationship in style as well as in technique between the two Satyrs, the young Hercules and the statue of an old fisherman the torso of which is now in Berlin. They all have several particularities in common: the anatomical style of the feet, the hair at the back of the head worked free from the nape, and veins on the right side of the torso, which form an inverted V. This last phenomenon, I might add, is also found on the 'Zeus' in Copenhagen.<sup>69</sup>

The late dating of the statues has been welcomed by Scandinavian colleagues. In 1994, B. Kiilerich and H. Torp, approaching the statues from the later period of Theodosian art, concluded that the statues could be even later than suggested by the inscriptions.<sup>70</sup> Kiilerich opts for a date in the third quarter, and Torp in the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. After a thorough analysis of the five statues the authors found so many differences between them that they concluded that the statues had not necessarily formed an ensemble nor perhaps had they even stood in the same building. This seems strange when one takes into account the circumstances of discovery and our marble analyses. Similarly they date all the sculptures found in the marble workshop in Aphrodisias to c. 390 AD on account of an unfinished portrait of Valentinian, although there are works among them which were in for repair.

In his book "Tradition in Late Antique Sculpture", Niels Hannestad elaborates on his previous arguments for a late date, regarding the musculature as mannered and in some instances as misunderstood.<sup>71</sup> There is, I believe, consensus, that the sculptures from Silaharađa should be dated to the same period as the Esquiline group – whenever that may be – and that their style is Aphrodisian. Another group of sculptures was brought into the discussion by N. Hannestad, namely the large collection of statues and reliefs found in the villa at Chiragan in the South of France.<sup>72</sup> In her recent publication of the sculptures from Chiragan Marianne Bergmann dates the large single commission of statuary for the villa to the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. With the sculptures from the Esquiline, from Silaharađa, and Chiragan as

starting points she defines a "Kunstkreis", a group of workshops from Asia Minor, primarily from Aphrodisias and Afyon, which were formative in creating a new style for the new Roman capital in Constantinople. The hallmarks of this "Kunstkreis" are a series of technical and stylistic traits, many of which we have met in the Esquiline group: the mannered rendering of the muscles, – or as it were the fleshiness – the undercut locks of hair, the double S-curls with drill-holes, and the drilled irises in the eyes. Bergmann then attributes many single works of art from the whole Mediterranean to the wider circumference of this circle several of which are firmly dated in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century.

There has, however, also been considerable criticism of the late date. In a recent article, D. Willers reviews the whole problem of the production of "Idealstatuen" and shows convincingly that, in fact, the copying of traditional Greco/Roman types does stop in the later 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>73</sup> Pagan themes and pagan gods are still produced after Constantine but they appear in smaller formats. "Aber die Veränderung der Darstellungsformate bedeutet auch eine Veränderung der Inhalte. Die Kleinkunstwerke setzen nicht einfach eine bestehende Tradition fort und richten sich an ein anderes Publikum als die lebensgroße Idealstatue."<sup>74</sup> I remain convinced that the question of size is very important. There are several splendid sculptures from the 4<sup>th</sup> century, apart from portraits, but they are small in size, often wrongly proportioned and with many attributes, and only a few have been dated by other than stylistic criteria.<sup>75</sup> Apparently the taste for luxury was satisfied in other media such as mosaic, silverware and sarcophagi rather than full size statues. Willers explains this phenomenon as the desire for allegory which could be expressed by a rich use of attributes more appropriate for figures in small size. If one compares these small-size groups with the Esquiline statues, the more idealized and calm style of the latter becomes evident.

That it can be difficult to date Aphrodisian sculpture is shown by the fact that the Zoilos Frieze was originally dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, whereas in fact Zoilos was

<sup>69</sup> R. R. R. Smith, *Hellenistic Sculpture under the Roman Empire: Fishermen and Satyrs at Aphrodisias*, in: O. Palagia – W. Coulson (edd.), *Regional Styles in Hellenistic Sculpture*, 1998, 253 ff.

<sup>70</sup> B. Kiilerich in: *Aspects of Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium* (1993) 86; Kiilerich – Torp 1994, 307ff. pls. 55 – 60.

<sup>71</sup> Hannestad 1994, 110ff.

<sup>72</sup> É. Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule Romaine* (1908) 29ff.; Hannestad 1994, 127ff.; Prof. M. Bergmann from Göttingen has published the sculptures from the Roman villa at Chiragan for which she advocates a 4<sup>th</sup> century AD date. I am grateful for having been able to read her unpublished manuscript on the material for a lecture in Rome and for many valuable discussions.

<sup>73</sup> D. Willers, *Das Ende der antiken Idealstatue*, *MusHelv* 53 (1996) 170ff.

<sup>74</sup> op. cit. 183.

<sup>75</sup> e.g. the Ganymede group from Carthage: E. Gazda in: *Excavations in Carthage 1977 VI* (1981) 125ff.; – Venus removing her sandal from Alexandria: Hannestad 1994, 123 figs. 80 – 82; – a figure of Christ: A. Giuliano (ed.), *Museo Nazionale Romano, Le Sculture I 1* (1979) 325ff. cat. 192; – group of statuettes from a Mithraeum in Sidon now in the Louvre: *Revue du Louvre* (1968) 307f. fig. 8, dedicated by Flavius Gerontius in 389 AD, Kiilerich – Torp, 313f. The problematical dates of these sculptures are treated by I. Dresken-Weiland, *Reliefierte Tischplatten theodosianischer Zeit. Studi di antichità cristiana* 43 (1991) 6ff.

active in his city in the last part of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.<sup>76</sup> Another similar instance is the statue of Scholastikia in Ephesos traditionally dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD which, however, must be redated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> on account of a similar statue found in context.<sup>77</sup>

The advocates of the late date have shown that parallels to details in the statues e.g. the eye renderings, the mannered muscles and the double S-locks with drill-holes can certainly be found in works of the 4<sup>th</sup> century but these may rather be characteristics of the Aphrodisian workshops than chronological indicators.<sup>78</sup> In none of the articles cited have there been parallels to the overall character of this group: 1) the sheer size of the monument consisting of at least seven full size naked males (presuming that they do come from an ensemble), 2) the size of the single blocks of fine Carrara marble carefully chosen in two different colours, 3) the amazing workmanship with the surfaces finished to the point of high polishing even on the backs and the supports, 4) the studied diversity in hair and beard, and in the different eye-renderings, showing the virtuosity of the artists who could justly be extremely proud of their Aphrodisian background (Fig. 5).<sup>79</sup> They must have been the best of their generation. Their artistic expertise would rapidly decline if not exploited to its full potential and would not have survived the decline in sculptural output in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>80</sup>

## THE PROVENANCE OF THE STATUES

In the late 1880's the western slopes of the Esquiline, the Colle Oppio, was developed for housing. New streets were laid out and old streets were extended and renamed. The greatest landowners in the area were Prince Brancaccio and his American wife Mrs. Hickson-Field whose land stretched from the Largo Brancaccio where he built his huge new palace (1886–95) right down to the Golden House of Nero. The architect for the new palace was Luca Carimini who also supervised the building development of the rest of the Brancaccio property.

The great water reservoir for the Thermae of Trajan, the so-called Sette Sale, was situated inside the Brancaccio

property, and south of it streets were laid out for housing. Several interesting architectural remains were found in this area on both sides of the Servian Wall and also a large number of sculptures which only in recent years have been examined with a view to possible association with the relevant buildings.<sup>81</sup>

In the spring of 1886 the Via Buonarroti was extended on the western side of the Via Merulana, and renamed Via Poliziano. Here on the corner of Via Botta the Church of San Giuseppe was located, close to which a new convent for the Sisters of Cluny was built, also by the architect Luca Carimini.<sup>82</sup> To make room for this, some late antique or medieval walls (“muri dei tempi di mezzo”) were torn down and turned out to be full of fragments of marble sculpture which had intentionally been chopped in pieces.<sup>83</sup> R. Lanciani later mentioned that there were “about one thousand fragments of statuary, evidently belonging to one and the same edifice”. The fragments were carefully collected by Carimini who later, probably in 1892, had the statues restored in plaster.<sup>84</sup> The report for the *Bullettino Comunale* numbers ten heads of statues and many limbs, torsoes, plinths, and fragments of plinths of which no less than twenty were inscribed with an artist's name.<sup>85</sup> Of these, most were signed by named Aphrodisian artists: Flavius Zeno, Flavius Andronicus, Flavius Chryseros, and Polyneikes, whereas the rest were very similar fragments signed by Aphrodisians whose names were not preserved.<sup>86</sup> It was evident from the beginning that the statues were not found *in situ* but that they had been brought there as building material. On the other hand the fact that they so evidently had constituted an ensemble seemed to indicate that their provenance was somewhere in the vicinity. It was also evident that the statues had been produced in a workshop of artists from Aphrodisias who were perhaps not of the first generation in Rome. This was surmised from the fact that they nearly all had the name Flavius and therefore had obtained their Roman citizenship under the Flavian emper-

<sup>76</sup> M. F. Squarciapino in: *Aphrodisias Papers* 2, 124.

<sup>77</sup> V. M. Strocka, *Zuviel Ehre für Scholastikia*. *Lebendige Altertumswissenschaft*. Festgabe zur Vollendung des 70. Lebensjahres von Hermann Vetters (1985) 229ff.; L. Stirling, *JRA* 8 (1995) 535.

<sup>78</sup> Willers, *op. cit.* 183, cautions against confusing “Zeitstil” and “Lokalstil”.

<sup>79</sup> The renderings of the eyes may be compared with the similar eye-renderings from the Province reliefs of the mid 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD: Claridge, *op. cit.* (above, n. 55) n. 54 fig. 1.

<sup>80</sup> I wish to thank Amanda Claridge, an expert working on Roman marble, for this information and for sharing her expertise regarding the Esquiline group with me.

<sup>81</sup> C. Häuber in: M. Cima – E. La Rocca (edd.) *Le Tranquille dimore degli dei*. La residenza imperiale degli horti Lamiani (1986) 173ff.; Häuber 1990 11ff.; Häuber 1991.

<sup>82</sup> Häuber 1991, 314. The convent was founded in 1890.

<sup>83</sup> *BullCom* 14, 1886, 234ff. 297f. 316ff. (publication of the inscriptions). R. Lanciani, *The Destruction of Ancient Rome* (1901, reprint 1980); A. L. Cubberley (ed.), *Notes from Rome by Rodolfo Lanciani*, (1988) 207; Häuber 1990, 51ff. fig. 33 is the only sketch we have of the site.

<sup>84</sup> Moltesen 1990, 135 n. 7 fig. 4; another statue from the same find was also acquired from Carimini for the Glyptotek in 1892. It is the torso of an Athena of the Ince Blundell Hall type, I. N. 536: Poulsen 1951, cat. 100.

<sup>85</sup> In Cubberley, *op. cit.* 207 R. Lanciani mentions twenty inscriptions in all, of which seven were incomplete; Lanciani 1901, 42 mentions 17 in all.

<sup>86</sup> *BullCom* 14, 1886, 316ff. pl. 11.12.

ors.<sup>87</sup> In the publication of the inscriptions supporting their late antique date, however, the explanation is rather that the *nomen* Flavius without the *praenomen* in the time of Constantine became rather an indication of rank.<sup>88</sup>

## THE ACQUISITION FOR COPENHAGEN

In the summer of 1893 Carl Jacobsen, the founder of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek wrote to his agent in Rome, Wolfgang Helbig, that he had received from Munich Paul Arndt's "Photographische Einzelaufnahmen Antiker Sculpturen" and made a list of the sculptures he was interested in buying. Among them were EA nos. 166–170 which show Helios and Poseidon before restoration.<sup>89</sup> Later he sent the photographs of these and other sculptures to Helbig. Helbig immediately found out where the sculptures could be bought and answered that the group of sculptures were works by Aphrodisian artists and that they were owned by Mr. Sarti, an engineer. The Poseidon (EA 166) and the City Genius i. e. the head of Helios (EA 167), were the best of the lot but Helbig advised Jacobsen only to buy them if they were very cheap. In November Helbig gave Sarti's price for the five statues as 13.000 Francs. But he was not enthusiastic about them and wrote to Jacobsen: "Alle diese Sculpturen – auch der Poseidon – sind untergeordnete Scarpellinarbeiten. Doch gebe ich zu, dass die Inschriften ihnen ein gewisses kunsthistorisches Interesse verleihen. Wäre ich Director des British Museum, in dem die grossen Schulen der klassischen Kunst in glänzender Weise vertreten sind, so würde ich die Statuen erwerben, damit auch einer der letzten Ausläufer der antiken Plastik, die Steinmetzschule von Aphrodisias durch ein bezeichnendes Ensemble gegenwärtigt werde. Hingegen scheint es mir fraglich ob die Glyptothek einem so unbedeutenden Ausläufer in nachdrücklicher Weise Rechnung tragen darf." Jacobsen only wanted the Poseidon and Sarti only wanted to sell them en bloc. Helbig lectures Jacobsen on the Aphrodisian artists in Rome, haggles over the price and reluctantly agrees to buy them for 12.000 Francs. For fear that the Commissione delle Belle Arti might refuse to grant the export permit he calls the artist's inscriptions, "masons' marks".

In the meantime (Nov. 17<sup>th</sup> 1893) Paul Arndt had written to Carl Jacobsen in a much more positive tone: "Dass sich endlich jemand findet, der für die Sculpturen von Aphrodisias Geschm. hat, und dass Sie es sind, der die Sachen auch kaufen kann, freut mich ungemein. Im Kreise der Archaeologen ist das Interesse an römischer Kunst leider beklagenswert geringes. Ich habe Helbig wiederholt vergeblich aufgefordert, die Sachen für Sie zu erwerben – danach ebenso Berlin und Dresden. Ich möchte mich allerdings dagegen aussprechen, dass Sie nur 1 oder 2 Stücke der Gruppe kaufen. Die Statuen bilden einen zusammengehöri-

gen Complex, wahrscheinlich ein grosses Weihgeschenk. Diese Statuen müssen zusammenbleiben, einzelne Teile aus dem Ganzen herauszureißen wäre Barbarei. Das dürfen Sie nicht thun. Ich glaube, die ganzen Sachen zusammen sind noch ziemlich billig. Als ich sie vor 2 Jahren zuerst bei einem kleinen Steinmetzen in der Nähe des Laterans entdeckte, in Trümmern, noch nicht zusammengesetzt und ergänzt, da waren sie für wenig Geld, 4000 oder 5000 Francs zu haben. Damals wollte Niemand die Sachen. Jetzt sind sie in den Händen, wie ich höre, eines großen Händlers der natürlich das Doppelte oder Dreifache verlangt. Wer sie jetzt besitzt, weiss ich nicht; Hartwig kann Sie eventuell darüber aufklären. Ich besitze eine grosse Photographie der 5 zusammengesetzten Statuen, die ich Ihnen, falls Sie wünschen, gern sende. Die Sculpturen sind nicht von feiner Arbeit, flott decorativ, aber etwas oberflächlich; indessen als einzige, sichere Documente der aphrodisischen Kunstschule in Rom um die Wende des 2. und 3. nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts von grosser Bedeutung für römische Kunstgeschichte und deshalb in jeder Beziehung würdig, in Ihrer Sammlung zu stehen. Ich als Museumsvertreter würde die Stücke unbedingt und zwar in ihrer Gesamtheit zu erwerben suchen".

In March 1894 the statues arrived in Copenhagen and Carl Jacobsen was very disappointed. He felt that he had been misled by the photographs in the EA and sent the statues directly to the store-rooms. Two months later the parts of two plinths and the thigh of one more statue joined the group in Copenhagen.<sup>90</sup>

In 1906 the new building for the Collection of Ancient Sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek was inaugurated with more space for decorative sculpture and the five statues were placed in one of the skylight corner galleries (Fig. 2). Here they remained until the evacuation during the Second World War after which they were again dismissed to the store-rooms.

## DE-RESTORATION

In the puritan post-war era most of the sculptures in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek have been de-restored – that is, the restorations in plaster have been removed and old dowels

<sup>87</sup> Notes from Rome, 207.

<sup>88</sup> Roueché – Erim 1982, 107.

<sup>89</sup> Although it is not explicitly stated in the text to the EA where the statues were at the time, it is interesting that the captions to the previous nos. 164, 165 mention that the sculptures were in the "Studio Carimini". No. 163 was bought by Carl Jacobsen from Carimini. C. L. Visconti, BullCom 14, 1886 324 tells us that it was the architect who had a competent person restore the statues.

<sup>90</sup> W. Helbig to C. Jacobsen 15. 5. 1894 (in the archives of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek) I. N. 623a and I. N. 539, pls. 33.34 and fig. 6.

have been taken out. In this process, the very fragmented Aphrodisian statues have been taken apart, cleaned and reassembled one after the other beginning with the Helios and ending with the Satyr. In fact the Hercules was dismantled as early as 1949, and only the upper part of the figure, chest, shoulder and head are now preserved. When removing the plaster which filled the chest of the Satyr the fragment of a right knee (I. N. 619a) was found embedded in the torso (fig. 11).<sup>91</sup> The method currently used to fill in the gaps between the fragments in plaster is aesthetically unsatisfactory and we are trying to find a better solution.

It was Paul Arndt himself who first published the statues in 1907 in "La Glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg" which appeared in fascicles from 1896–1912. He cast doubt on the reconstruction of the individual pieces and the appurtenance of the inscribed plinths with the statues. The correctness of the modern reassembly of the statues has now been confirmed.

## THE ORIGINAL SETTING

As the statues were found broken up to be used as filling material in the walls of a later building we do not know where they were originally placed. The walls in which they were imbedded have not been dated firmly, but according to E. La Rocca most of the buildings in this part of the Esquiline were constructed in the 4<sup>th</sup> century like the above mentioned baths in via Ariosto.<sup>92</sup> In Antiquity the Esquiline Hill was an enclave for the Roman upper class: here were the Horti Maecenatis and the Horti Lamiani and the whole area consisted of temples, gardens and villas.

As the *Bullettino Comunale* mentioned ten heads, and as we have at least seven (out of possibly 14?) plinths, the statues must have constituted an ensemble of quite considerable size. Arndt thought that the statues had formed a kind of 'sacra conversazione' which seems very unlikely.<sup>93</sup> Due to their findspot near the Baths of Trajan it was surmised that they belonged to this building from a later phase of redecoration, a possibility which cannot be ruled out. G. E. Rizzo thought that all the fragments came from a sculptor's studio, and R. Lanciani embroidered on this theory: "One day their workshop and their exhibition rooms came to grief; whether by fire, or by the fall of the building, or by violence of men I cannot tell."<sup>94</sup> It is highly unlikely that the statues were still in the workshop as they are completely finished as regards their surface treatment and they do not seem to have been repaired either. On the other hand they cannot have been placed out of doors for a long period of time. P. Gauckler believed that they were thrown in a dump after having been broken in transit from Aphrodisias.<sup>95</sup> S. Ricci on the other hand developed the theory that

they had adorned a '*curia athletarum*' of Greek athletes from the Thermae Traiani near S. Pietro in Vincoli.<sup>96</sup> F. Poulsen suggested that they were placed on high pedestals in niches perhaps in a nymphaeum.<sup>97</sup> Recently C. Häuber has suggested that the statues had been brought from the nearby Temple of Isis and Serapis which is believed to have been located in the area south of the Convent of the Sisters of Cluny.<sup>98</sup> Many statues with Egyptian motifs were found in that area such as the famous Torello Brancaccio,<sup>99</sup> but there is nothing in the choice of themes, the gods Zeus, Poseidon, and Helios, the hero Heracles, and the Satyr with the infant Dionysos, to suggest any Egyptian influence.

The ensemble which according to the list of heads also comprised a female with long locks, perhaps Juno, and a young man, thought to be Paris would be more appropriate for the adornment of a large villa where divine and heroized beings could be exhibited in a secular rather than religious setting. It seems that the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century saw increased building activity on the Esquiline perhaps after a fire which, at any rate, hit the Velia between 306 and 308 AD. La Rocca supposes that such destruction led to a complete rebuilding of the area using the damaged statuary as building material. On the former Imperial *horti* were built elegant large *domus* for the most important men in the city. So that, rather than having been placed as a decoration in a late antique *domus* our statues could have been built into its walls.<sup>100</sup>

If, however, we could be certain that the statues were made later in the 4<sup>th</sup> century an obvious candidate for their location would have been the late Roman villa on top of the Sette Sale, part of which was excavated in the 1960s.<sup>101</sup> Only a small part of the villa survived but the size and elegance of three large halls indicate a large mansion in which such a group could well have been exhibited.

It seems that we cannot solve the problem of the date of the statues in Copenhagen at present and that we shall have to await the results of the work done on sculpture in Aphrodisias or perhaps finds of similar statues in Carrara

<sup>91</sup> I. N. 619a, fragment of a right knee in white marble.

<sup>92</sup> La Rocca 1987, 11.

<sup>93</sup> Arndt, op. cit. (above, n. 41) 223.

<sup>94</sup> G. E. Rizzo, *Ausonia* 3 (1908) 11 n. 1; Lanciani 1899, 42.

<sup>95</sup> P. Gauckler, *CRAI* (1908) 354f.

<sup>96</sup> S. Ricci, *BullCom* 19 1891, 185ff.; M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae I* (1993) 330.

<sup>97</sup> Poulsen 1951, 364.

<sup>98</sup> Häuber 1990, 43ff.; Häuber 1991, 325.

<sup>99</sup> above, n. 53.

<sup>100</sup> La Rocca 1987, 11.

<sup>101</sup> L. Cozza, *RendPontAc* 47, 1974–75 (1976) 79ff.; G. Guidobaldi, *L'edilizio abitativa unifamiliare nella Roma tardoantica*. Società romana e impero tardoantico II (1986) 167ff.

marble in well-documented excavations in metropolitan Rome. In any case, we cannot yet exclude the possibility that the statues from the Esquiline were made in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD and received their inscriptions in c. 320 AD shortly after which they were broken up and used as building material.

In addition to the abbreviations set out in *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1997, 611ff., the following are also employed:

- |                              |   |                       |  |
|------------------------------|---|-----------------------|--|
| Aphrodisias Papers           | C. Roueché – K. T. Erim (eds.), <i>Aphrodisias papers. Recent work on architecture and sculpture</i> , <i>JRA Suppl.</i> 1 (1990).  | Erim 1974             | K. T. Erim, <i>The Satyr and Young Dionysos Group from Aphrodisias</i> . <i>Mélanges Mansel I–III</i> (1974) 767–75.   |
| Aphrodisias Papers 2         | R. R. R. Smith – K. T. Erim (eds.), <i>Aphrodisias papers 2. The theatre, a sculptor's workshop, philosophers, and coin-types</i> , <i>JRA Suppl.</i> 2 (1991).   | Erim 1986             | K. Erim, <i>Aphrodisias City of Venus Aphrodite</i> (1986).  |
| Aphrodisias Papers 3         | C. Roueché – R. R. R. Smith (eds.), <i>Aphrodisias Papers 3. The setting and quarries, mythological and other sculptural decoration, architectural development, Portico of Tiberius, and Tetrapsylon</i> , <i>JRA Suppl.</i> 20 (1996). | Hannestad 1994        | N. Hannestad, <i>Tradition in Late Antique Sculpture. Conservation, Modernization, Production</i> (1994).  |
| Bergmann 1999                | M. Bergmann, <i>Chiragan, Aphrodisias, Konstantinopel. Zur mythologischen Skulptur der Spätantike</i> , <i>Palilia</i> 7 (1999).  | Häuber 1990           | C. Häuber, <i>Zur Topographie der Horti Maecenatis und der Horti Lamiani auf dem Esquilin in Rom</i> , <i>KölnJb</i> 23 (1990) 11–107.                       |
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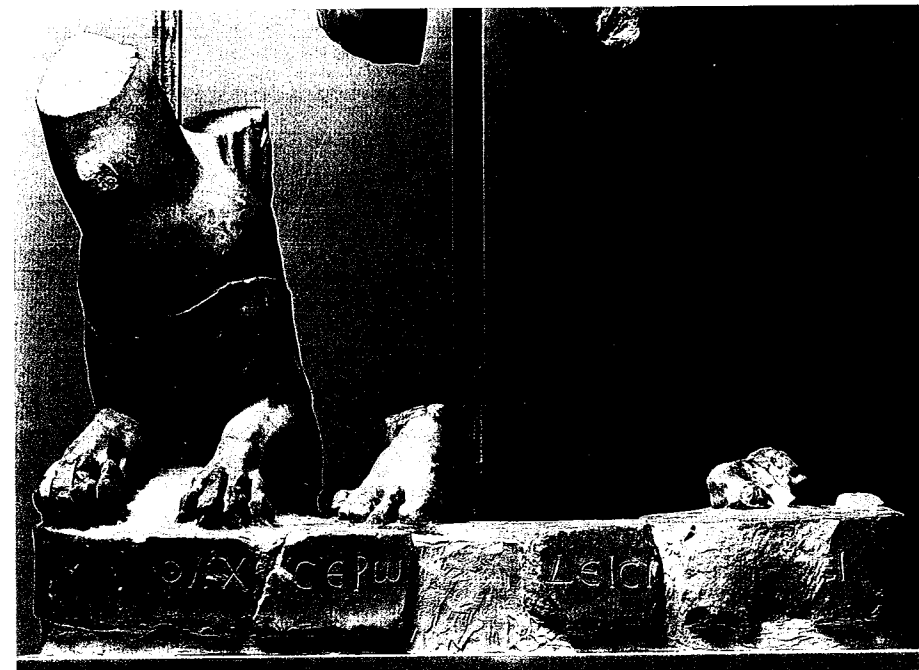
b. Plinth of Helios. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek I.N. 623



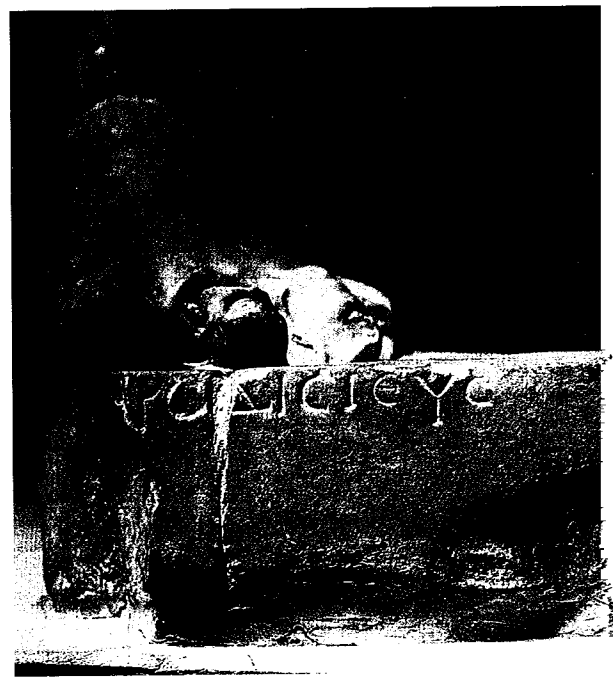
c. Plinth of Satyr. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek I.N. 619



d. Plinth. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek I.N. 539



e. Plinth of Poseidon. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek I.N. 622

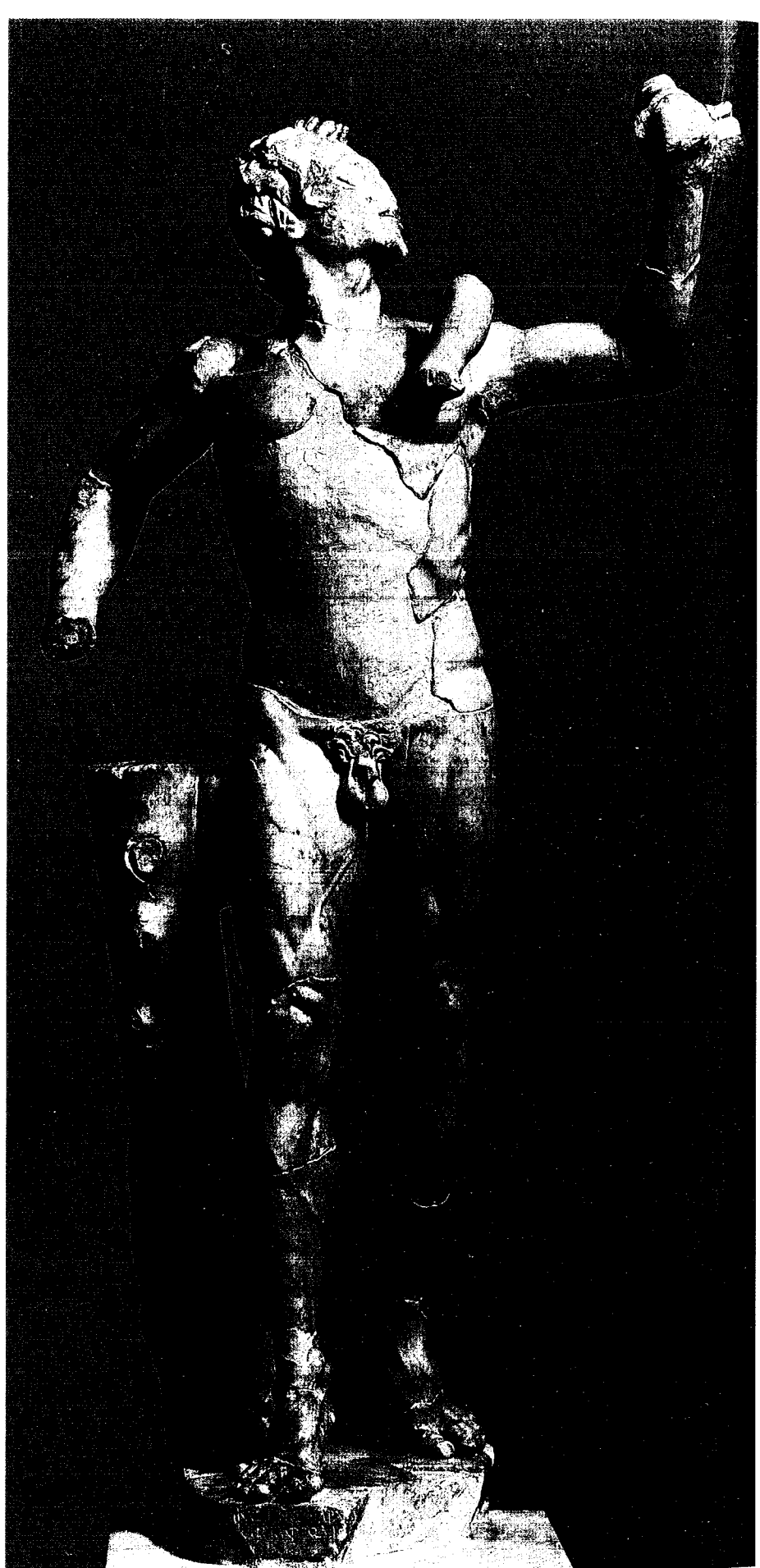


f. Plinth of Zeus. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek I.N. 620

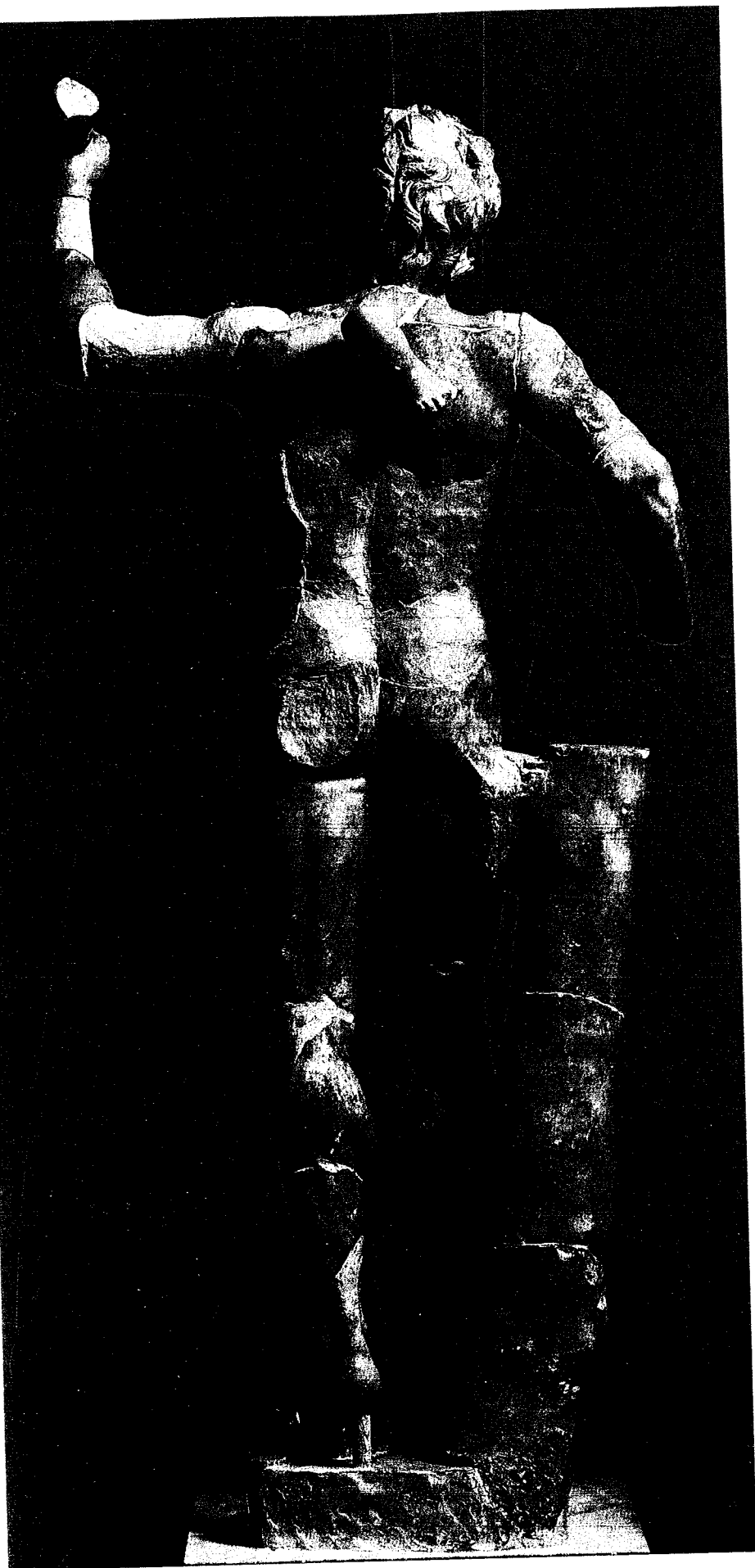




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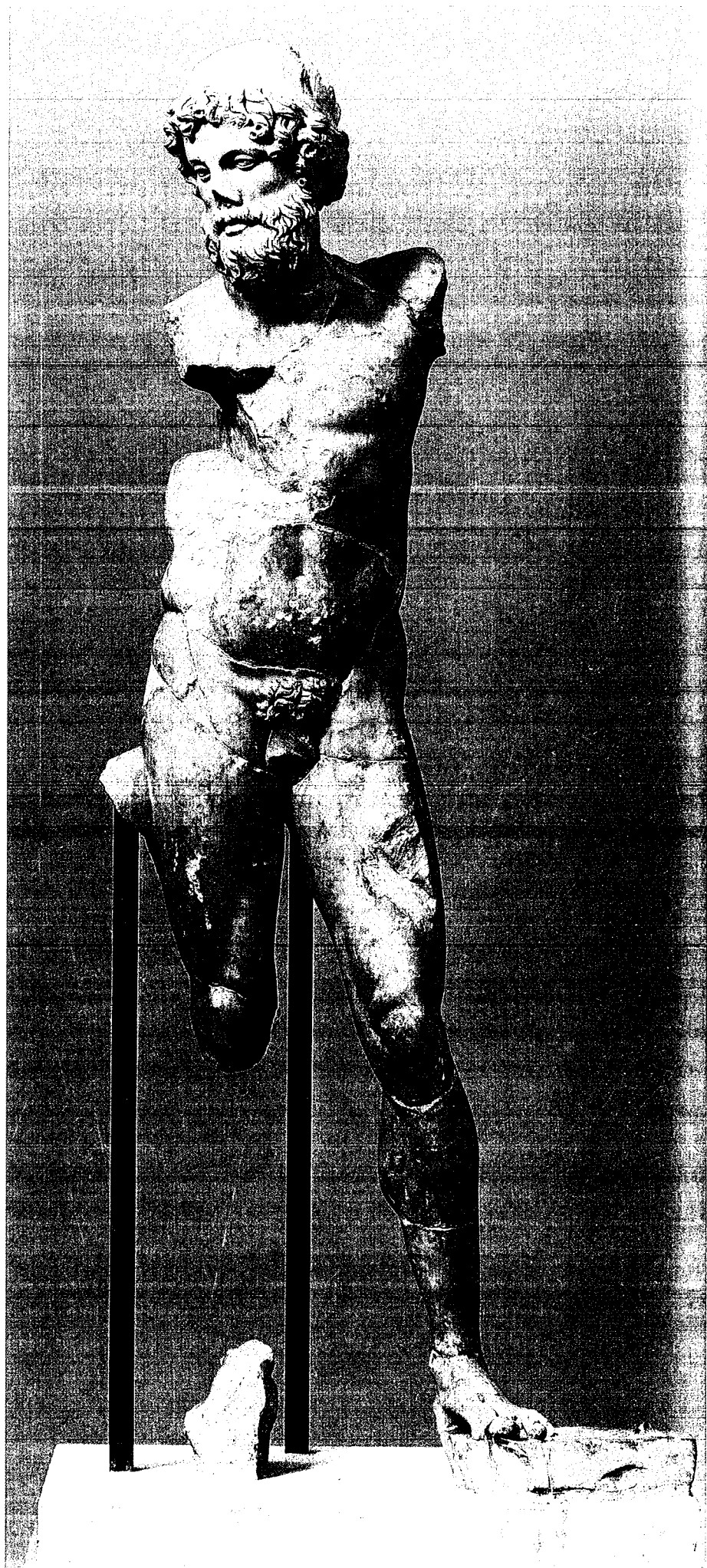
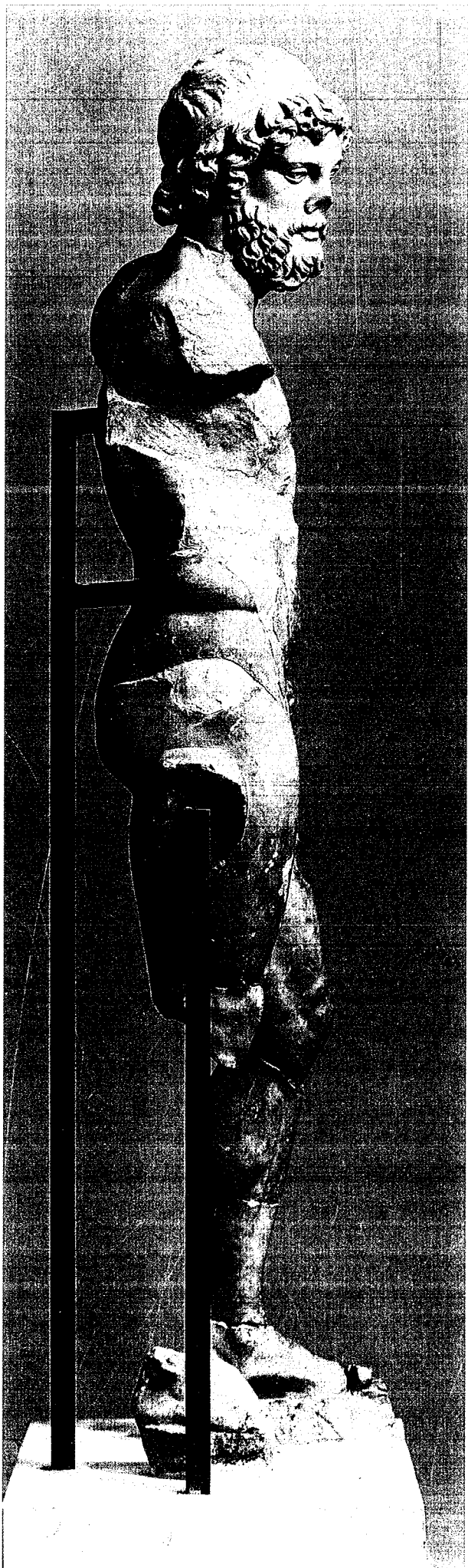
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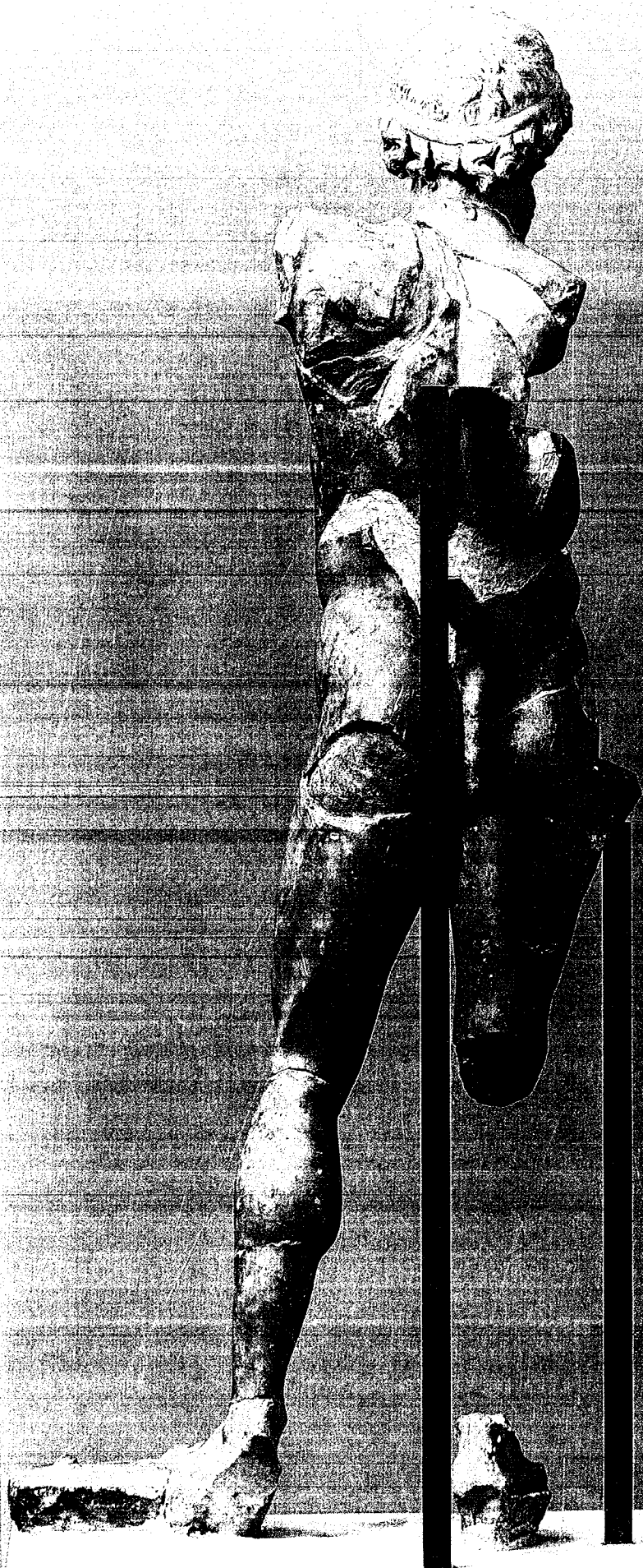


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'Zeus': Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek I.N. 620







a



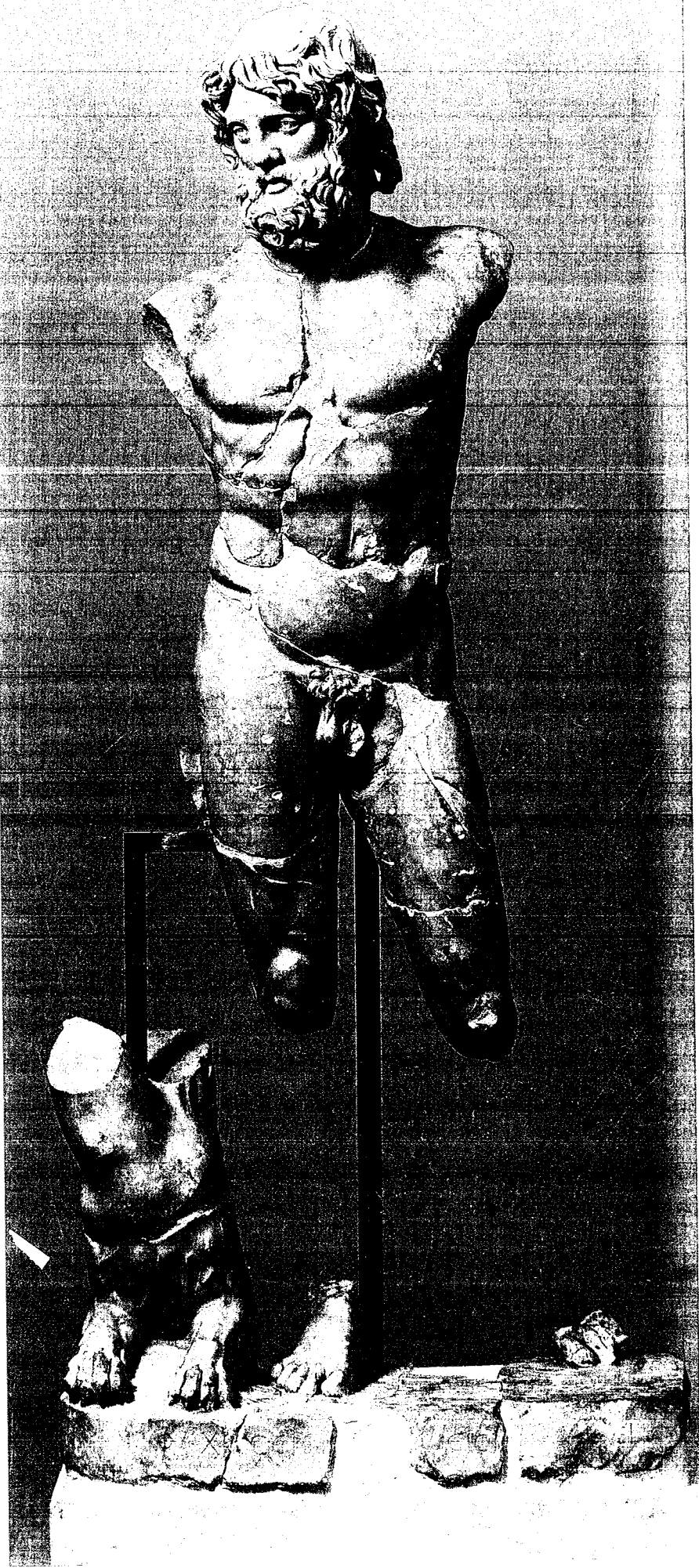
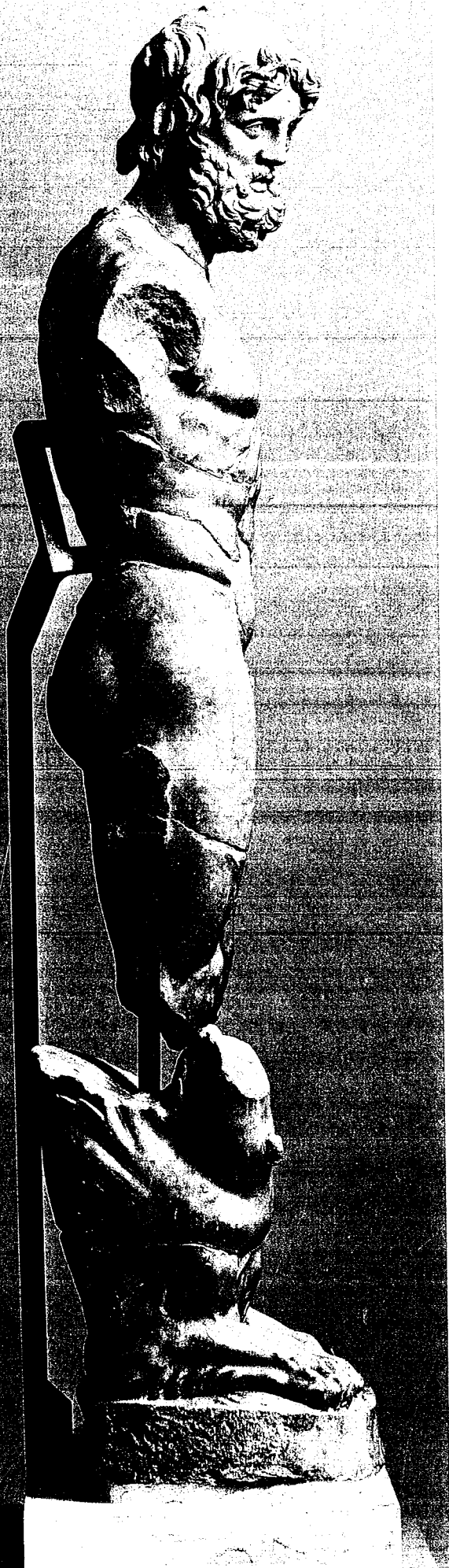
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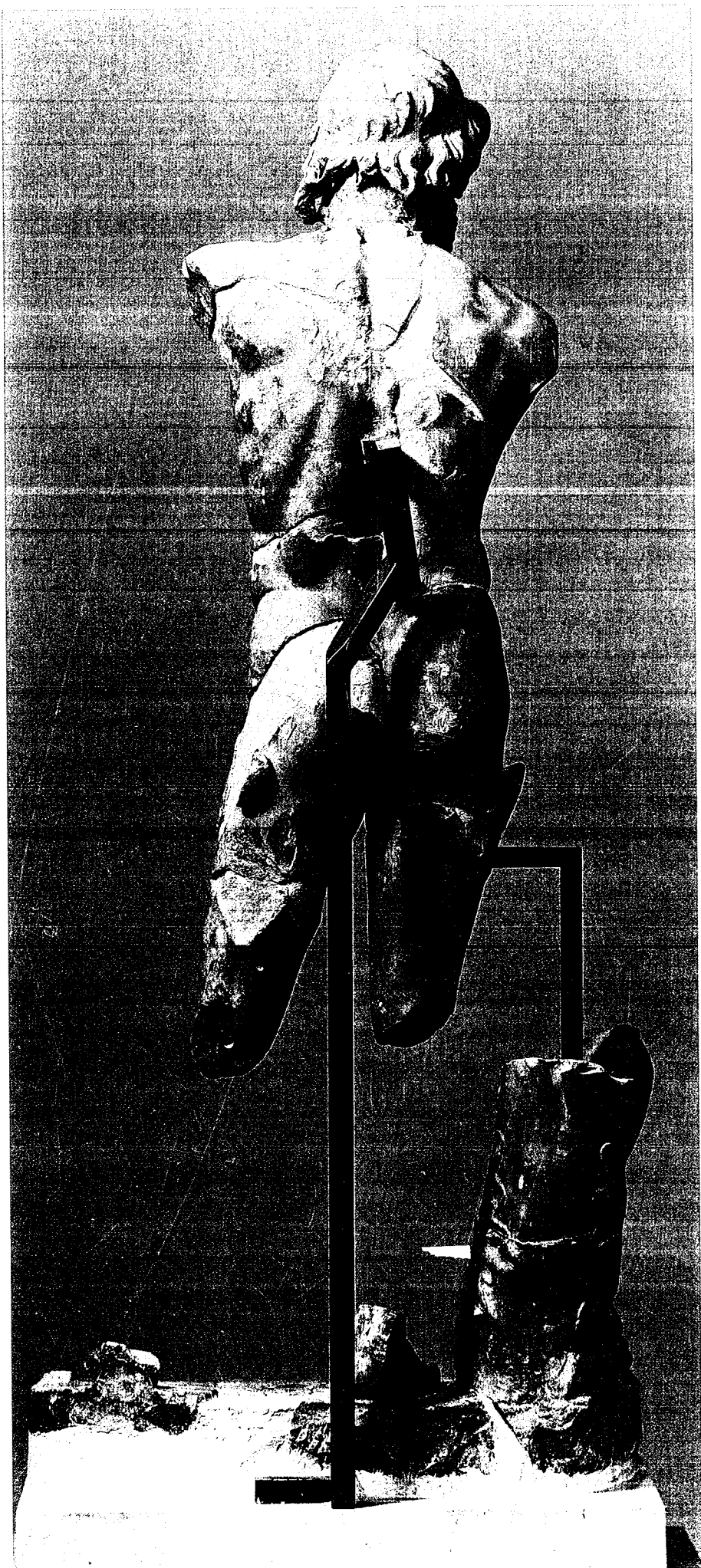


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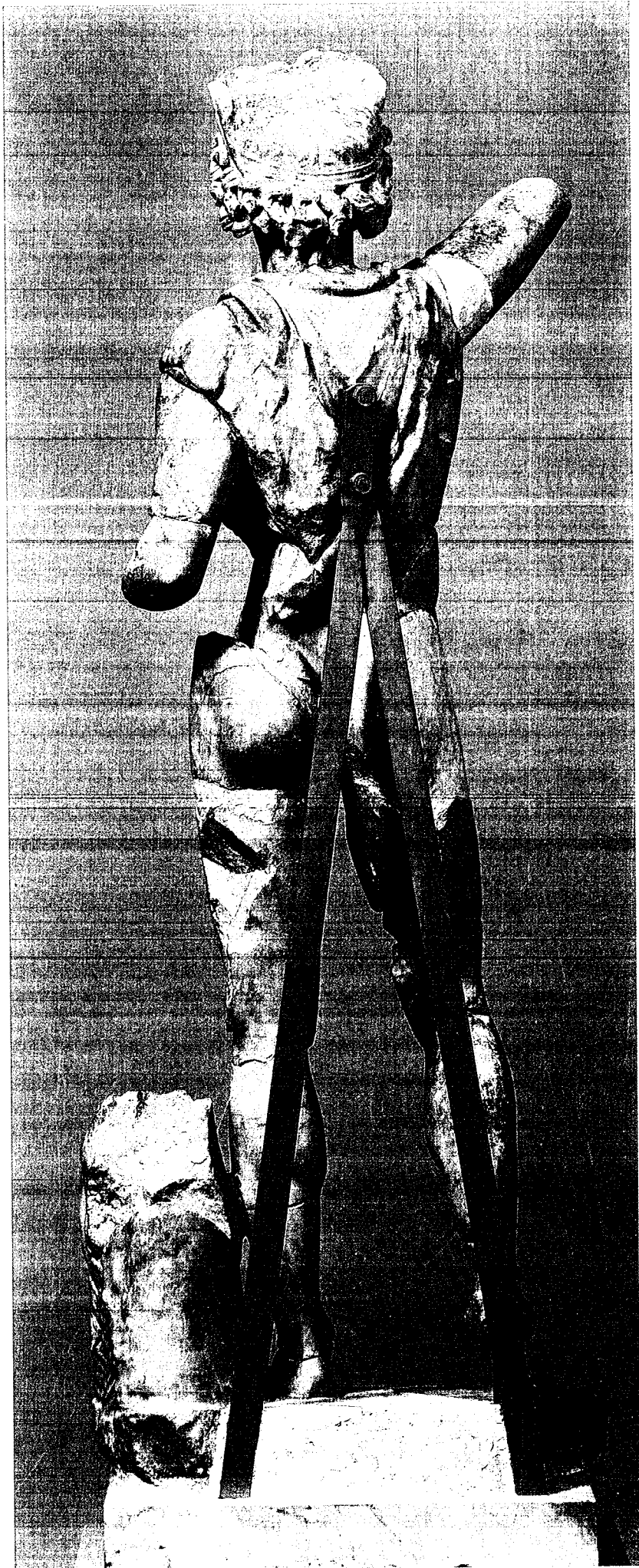


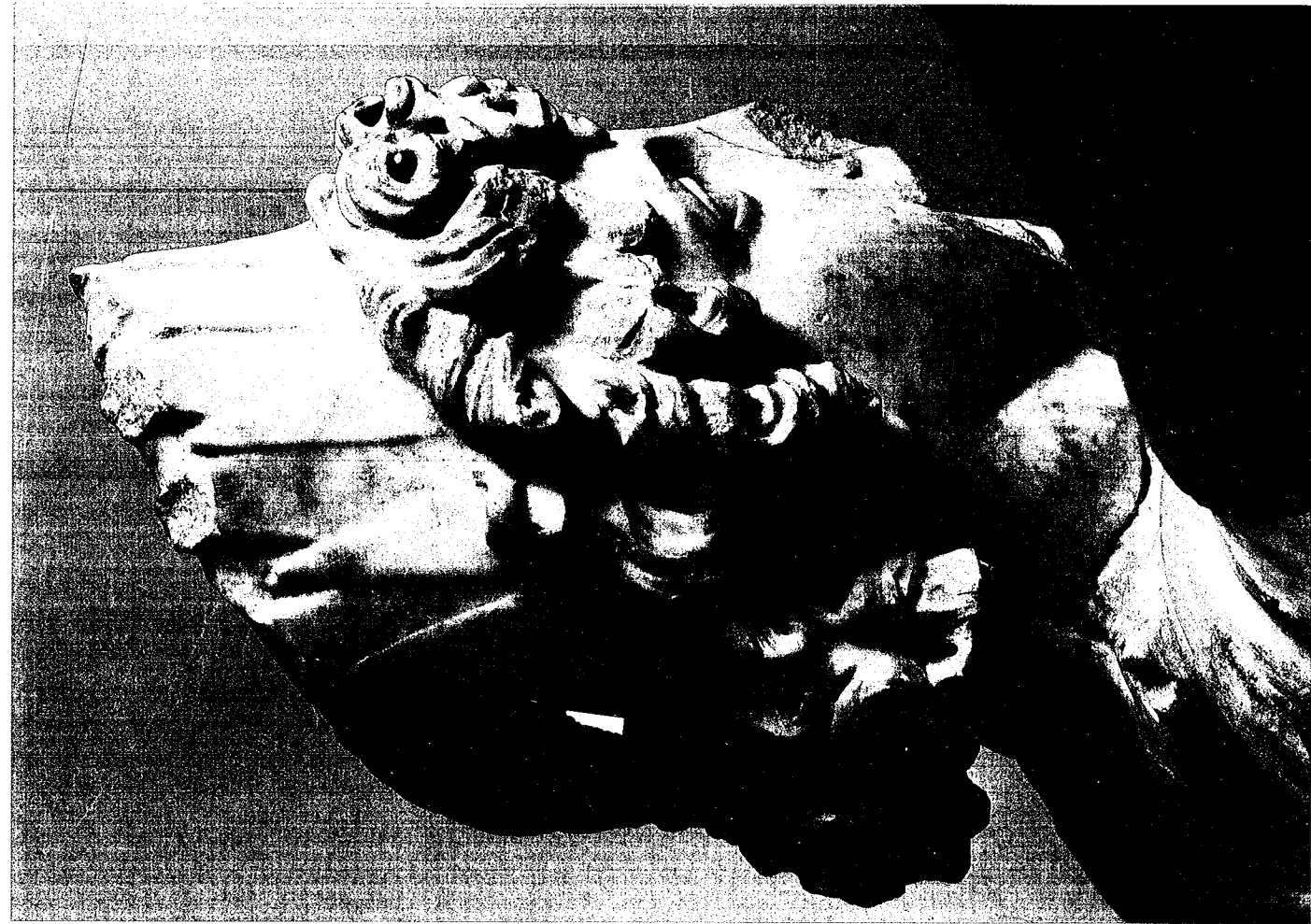


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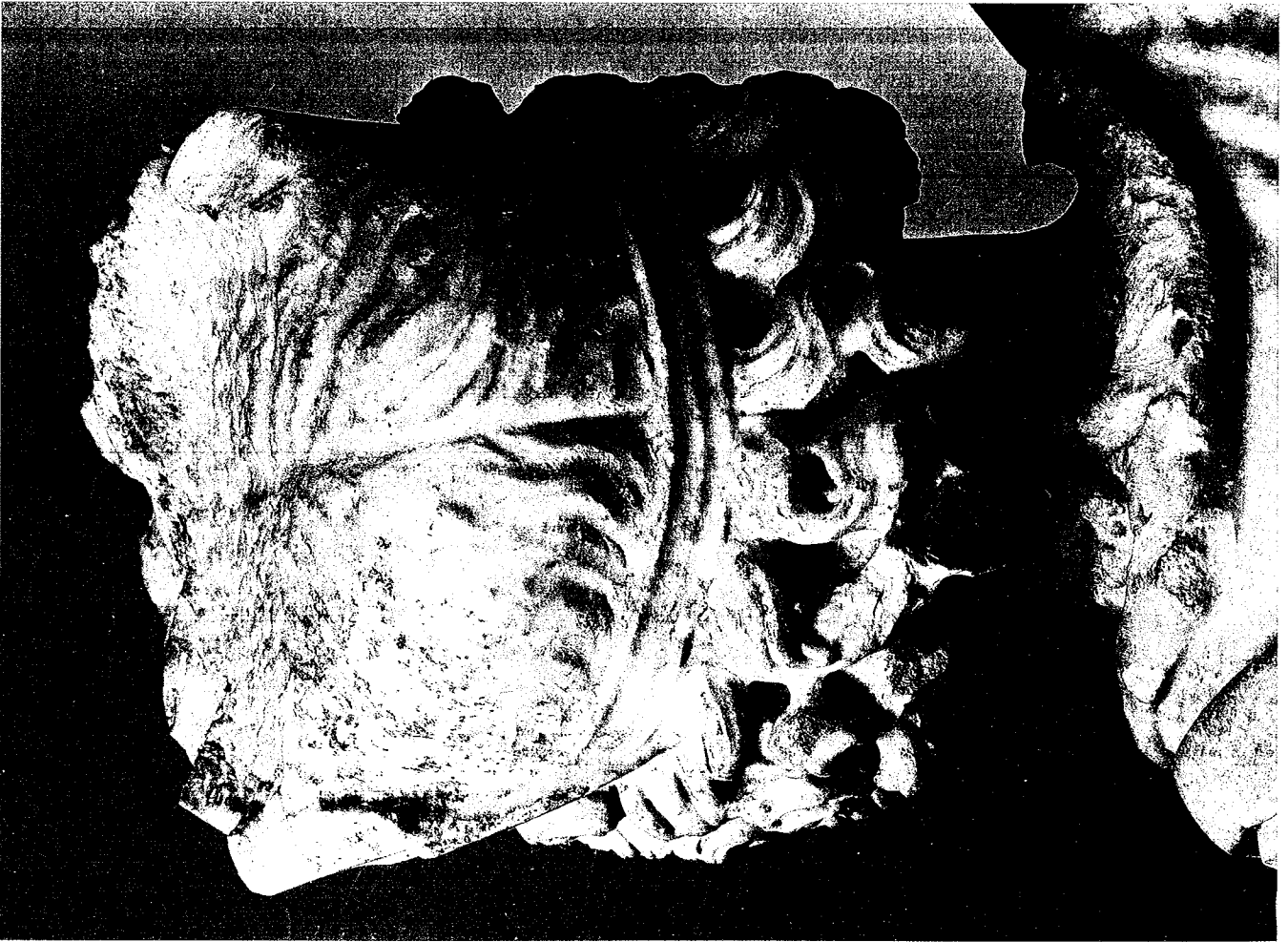




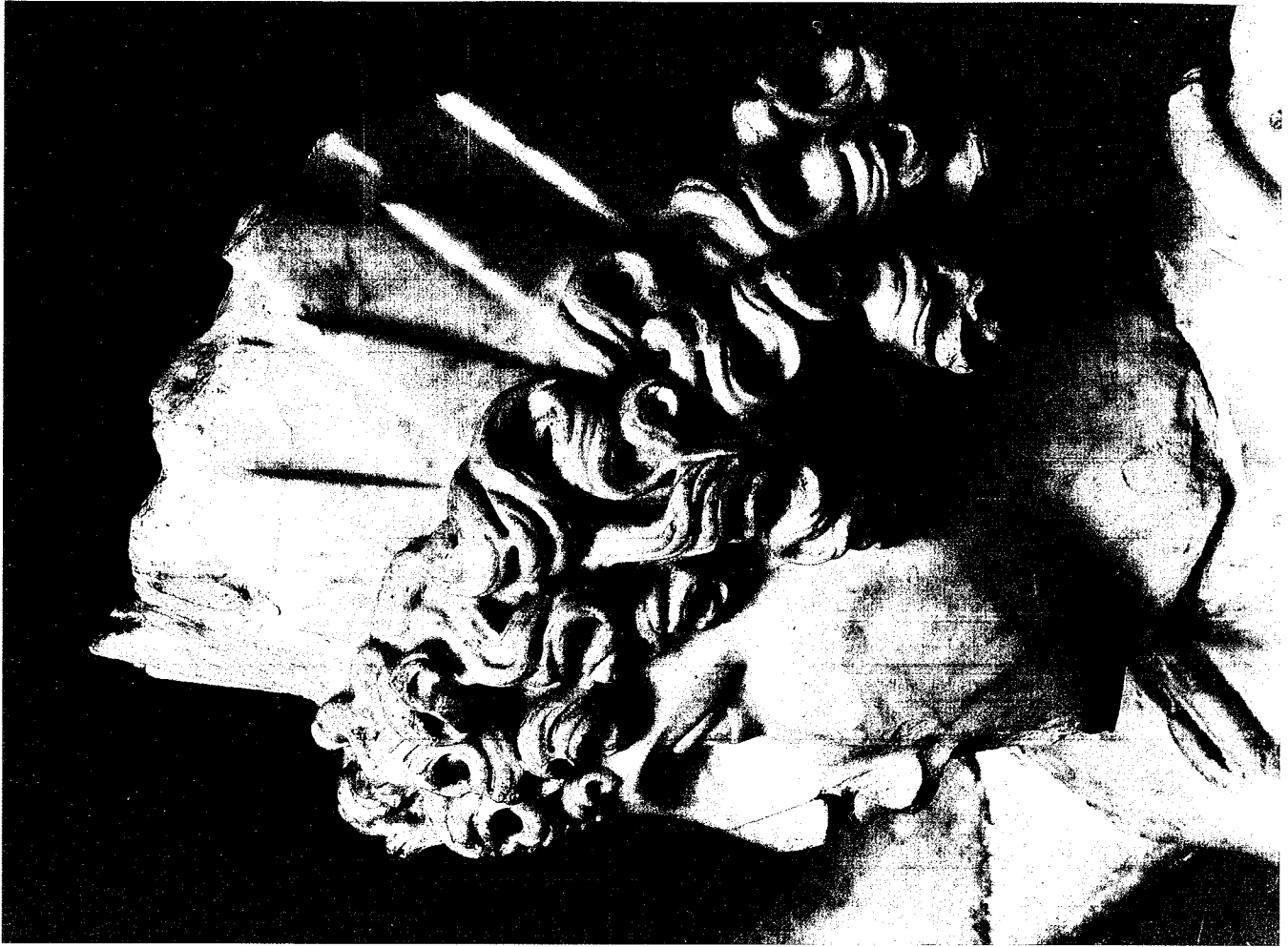
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Herakles. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek L.N. 621

b





a

Herakles. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek I.N. 621



b

Herakles. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek I.N. 621



c

Plinth. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek I.N. 623a