

Introduction

The ancient city of Aphrodisias in Caria has long held an important position in the history of Roman sculpture both for works signed by Aphrodisian sculptors recovered from different sites across the empire and for the wide-ranging and well-preserved statuary excavated in the city itself. Prior to the modern excavation of the city, Aphrodisian sculptors were identified through signed works, mostly portrait sculpture and statues representing mythological subjects that were found in Rome and other parts of the empire. The Young and Old Centaurs made by Aristreas and Papias of Aphrodisias for Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, now in the collection of the Capitoline Museum in Rome, are perhaps the best known of these pieces and exemplify the Hellenistic eclecticism for which Aphrodisias came to be known.

Aphrodisias was never completely covered and received sporadic attention by European travelers in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries who recorded the inscriptions and visible remains.¹ The site, however, remained unexcavated until the early part of the twentieth century, when campaigns carried out in 1904–05 by the French engineer Paul Gaudin investigated several standing monuments, including the Temple of Aphrodite, the Hadrianic Baths, and a structure erroneously called a gymnasium, as well as the city walls and the surrounding necropolis.² In terms of sculptural finds, Gaudin's excavations in the Hadrianic Baths and west end of the South Agora were particularly fruitful, bringing to light a range of freestanding and relief sculpture, most notably three fine late antique portraits (a togate portrait of an emperor, either Arcadius or Valentinian II [Pl. 52.1]),³ and two statues of governors, each represented wearing a long chlamys, an official costume of the time⁴), three

portrait statues of women dating to early second century,⁵ and a rich array of architectural marbles, including several large figural console blocks and pillars richly carved with "peopled scrolls."⁶ In 1939–40 work was resumed by an Italian team under the direction of Giulio Jacobi. These excavations focused on the South Agora and uncovered a series of architectural blocks carved with masks and garlands that comprised the frieze of the agora's surrounding stoa.⁷

In 1961 the systematic excavation of Aphrodisias was initiated under the direction of Kenan Erim of New York University, primarily for the purpose of investigating the sculptural record of the ancient city. The extensive body of marble sculpture recovered by Erim includes the full repertoire of statuary popular during the Roman imperial period, including honorific portrait statuary; mythological works and versions of well-known Greek statue types; figural and non-figural relief sculpture, including sarcophagi; and architectural sculpture, all carved from local marble. The chronology of the sculpture from Aphrodisias spans the late Hellenistic to the late antique period, from approximately the second half of the first century B.C. to the early sixth century A.D. The archaeological significance of Aphrodisias, however, extends far beyond its well-preserved marble architecture and sculpture, with finds including a wide range of epigraphic evidence and other contextual material. The chance survival of a broad spectrum of material sharing a common archaeological context allows us more fully to reconstruct and interpret different aspects of life in the ancient city.

1 Society of the Dilettanti, *Antiquities of Ionia* III (London, 1840) 45–74.

2 For Gaudin's excavations, see M. Collignon, "Notes sur les fouilles exécutées à Aphrodisias par M. Paul Gaudin," *CRAI* (1904) 703–711 and "Les fouilles d'Aphrodisias," *RevArtAnc* 19 (1906) 35–50; G. Mendel, "Seconde note sur les fouilles exécutées à Aphrodisias par M. Paul Gaudin. Campagne de 1906," *CRAI* (1906) 178–84. Gaudin's excavations and those of the later Italian mission are summarized by Erim, *Aphrodisias*, 37–46. The history of Gaudin's campaign and the dispersal of its sculptural finds can also be found in K. Erim, "De Aphrodisiade," *AJA* 71 (1967) 233–243.

3 Mendel, no. 506; J. Kollwitz, *Oströmische Plastik der theodosianischen Zeit* (1941) no. 1; Inan and Rosenbaum 1, no. 66; Smith, "Late antique Portraits," 162, fig. 4, pl. 12.1–2.

4 "Elder Magistrate:" Mendel, no. 508; Kollwitz, no. 2; Inan and Rosenbaum I, no. 243; Smith, "Late antique Portraits," pls. 1.3, 6.2. "Younger Magistrate:" Mendel, no. 507; Kollwitz, no. 3; Inan and Rosenbaum 1, no. 242; Smith, "Late antique Portraits," pls. 1.4, 6.3–4.

5 Statue of woman in Ceres type: Mendel, no. 504; Inan and Rosenbaum I, no. 230; Smith et al., *Portrait Statuary*, no. 89. Statue of woman wearing a peplos: Mendel, no. 503; Inan and Rosenbaum I, no. 229; Smith et al., *Portrait Statuary*, no. 90; Headless statue of a woman in Pudicitia type: Mendel, no. 505; Smith et al., *Portrait Statuary*, no. 91 (with earlier bibliography).

6 Console blocks and pillars from the Hadrianic Baths, Mendel, nos. 493–502; Reliefs with scenes of a gigantomachy, Mendel, nos. 511–514; other marbles, Mendel nos. 515–516.

7 Results of the Italian campaign were published by G. Jacobi, "Gli scavi della missione archeologica italiana ad Afrosiade," *MonAnt* 38 (1939–40). Most of the frieze blocks found during the excavations are in the collection of the Izmir Archaeological Museum. The friezes from the south agora have been discussed by N. de Chaisemartin, "Recherches sur la fries de l'Agora de Tibère," in J. de la Genière and K. T. Erim (eds.), *Aphrodisias de Carie, Colloque d'Université de Lille III* (Paris, 1987) 135–54. "Les modeles grecs classiques des tetes de la frise du Portique de Tibère," *AphPapers* 119–132.

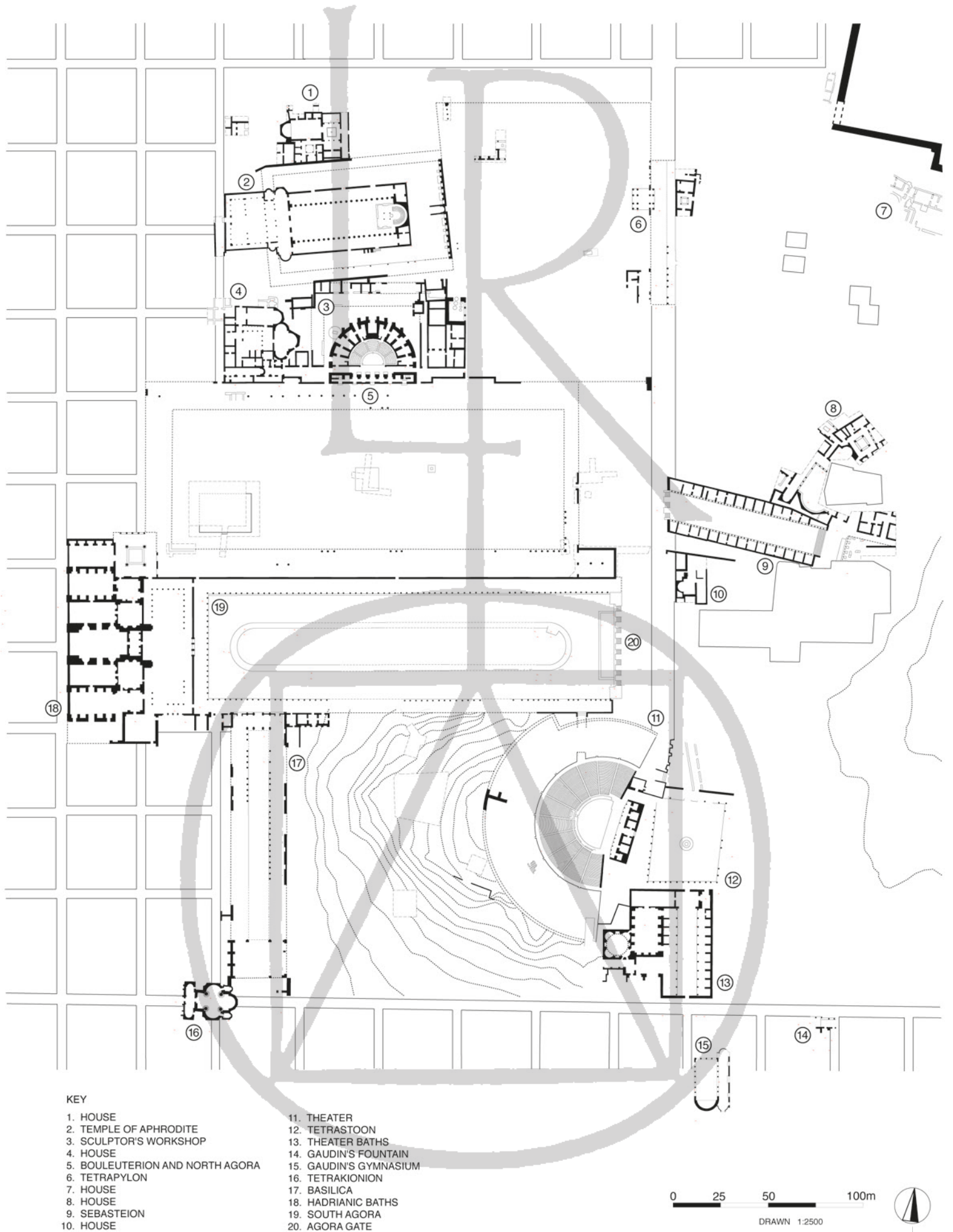


Fig. 1. Plan of City Center, Aphrodisias

A. THE SCULPTOR'S WORKSHOP AT APHRODISIAS

This study focuses on one such archaeological context, a marble sculpture workshop located in the civic center of the city (Fig. 1 no. 3). The workshop was housed in two rooms of a modified stoa situated to the north of the Bouleuterion. Excavations carried out between 1967 and 1969 uncovered the building and its contents, as well as a range of related material from the area immediately to the south and west, which served as a sculptor's yard. Finds included not only a large quantity of marble statuary in various states of completion, ranging from fully preserved to very fragmentary, but also several stone-carving tools; this combination of material allows for the positive identification of the structure. Additional archaeological finds, such as coins, assist in dating and contextualizing the facility, which was active ca. 200–400 A.D.

The primary focus of this study is the marble sculpture that was recovered from the Sculptor's Workshop. Approximately three hundred sculptural fragments were recovered during the excavation of the north and west Bouleuterion area, and of these, roughly half can be associated with the Sculptor's Workshop by find spot, style and/or technique.⁸ A number of fragments were originally inventoried separately and later re-combined (the Large Satyr and Baby Dionysos (15), for example, is composed of twelve inventoried pieces), further reducing the number of works that can be positively associated with the Sculptor's Workshop to 115.

From the range of the sculptural finds, it can be determined that the Sculptor's Workshop specialized in the production of free-standing portrait statues and ideal figures. Within this latter category that includes mythological subjects and versions of older Greek works, Dionysian figures carved in a dynamic Hellenistic style were a particular specialty of the workshop during the third century. In late antiquity, however, the focus of the Workshop's production seems to have shifted to small-scale mythological figures and portraits. The Workshop's portraits can be dated to the late fourth or early fifth century, which tells us that the facility was still active in the Theodosian period, and the style and technique of the late statuettes are consistent with a Theodosian date. In contrast, the scale and technical handling of the large-scale mythological statuary is more typical of Severan statuary, and it is probable that most of this material was either left over from an earlier phase in the Workshop's long history or moved there at a later time. Some material from the Sculptor's Workshop is consistent with an early or high imperial date, but does not share the formal and technical characteristics of the bulk of the Workshop's output, further suggesting that the facility served as a storage depot during the late antique period. Few relief fragments and no sarcophagi can be associated with the Workshop's production on the basis of either find spot or technique. The absence of these latter categories of material

suggests this particular workshop remained highly specialized throughout its history, even during the late antique period when the market for free-standing portraits and decorative sculpture had declined.

The well-preserved archaeological state of the Sculptor's Workshop and its output contributes to the understanding of both sculptural techniques and the organization and day-to-day functioning of marble workshops in antiquity, including the division of labor and the training of apprentices. The unfinished and re-worked marbles provide the most useful information about how marble sculptors worked in antiquity. Sculptures in various stages of completion allow for the reconstruction of the working process from quarry state to finished product. Unusual patterns of working, such as the unfinished head of the otherwise complete statue of a togate figure (1), offer insights into specialization and division of labor within the workshop. Furthermore, pieces in the process of being re-carved provide not only technical information about the process of refurbishing older statuary for reuse, but also a glimpse into the training of sculptural apprentices.

The presence in the Sculptor's Workshop of old statuary, some of which was in the process of being re-worked, demonstrates that the facility participated in the collection, storage, renovation, and resale of "antique" marble statues. There are numerous examples of older statues having been repaired and reinstalled, both in their original locations and in new settings. This phenomenon is well attested at Aphrodisias, where it comprised part of the renovation of the city in late antiquity, most likely as a result of its elevation to the position of a provincial capital.⁹ Additionally, the display of sculptures of varying dates and genres together in late antique Roman houses and in public buildings, such as baths, suggests that old marbles continued to be valued by their owners.¹⁰

The mythological statuary from the Sculptor's Workshop clearly illustrates the longevity of the Hellenistic sculptural traditions for which Aphrodisias is known. The date that many of these statues were produced, however, is controversial. Are they contemporary with the latest phase of activity of the Sculptor's Workshop in the late fourth or early fifth century, a time when sculpture of this type and style has often been thought to have been out of fashion? Or does the mythological sculpture from the Sculptor's Workshop date to an earlier phase of the facility's activity? The exploration of this question is further complicated by several groups of statuary from other sites, most notably a group from the Esquiline hill in Rome, one from Silaharağa in Constantinople, and an ensemble from a villa at Chiragan in southwestern Gaul; these three groups have all at various points been associated with Aphrodisias and assigned a late antique date based on different criteria ranging from epigraphy to technique and style. Epigraphic evidence and archaeological context clearly connect the Esquiline group and Workshop statues to Aphrodisias; the origin of the Silaharağa and Chiragan ensem-

8 The finds that do not belong with the workshop material consist of surface finds, architectural and sarcophagus pieces that are connected to the cemetery that arose around the Temple-Church, and marble fragments that were mixed into to the fill that covered the workshop building. These pieces are not included in the current discussion or catalog.

9 See Ratté, "Late Antique Urbanism" and Smith, "Late Antique Portraits," 156–59, for a discussion of these urban renovations. An examination of one particular late antique urban environment in which older marbles were displayed is provided by the Hadrianic Baths. See Smith, "Hadrianic Baths".

10 This is discussed further in chapter 5, especially p. 67.

bles, however, is less secure as it is based solely on visual comparisons with Aphrodisian material. The late antique dates of the groups are even less certain: epigraphic and archaeological evidence is suggestive of a late antique date, but the technical and stylistic features of the pieces are consistent with statuary produced during the high imperial period. In order to establish a date for the statuary, therefore, one has to privilege one category of evidence over another.

The significance of the Sculptor's Workshop lies in the relative completeness of the archaeological record, and the reconstruction of the Workshop's activity is based upon the fortuitous survival of architecture, sculpture, and other material found together in an identifiable and datable production context. The comprehensiveness of this material, however, gives only the illusion of completeness. When considering the sculpture from the Sculptor's Workshop, it is important to remember that the area experienced a considerable amount of disturbance in its post-antique history, and the sculpture preserved in the rooms of the facility reflects not its full contents, but rather the residue left over from the latest period of its activity and subsequent rebuilding in the area. In other words, these are the pieces that not only were abandoned by the workshop's owners when the facility closed down, but also escaped reuse in later construction projects. The fragmentary state of many of the pieces from the Workshop can be more easily understood in this light.

B. EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE FOR SCULPTORS AT APHRODISIAS

No inscriptions concerning the ownership or activity of the Sculptor's Workshop survive, and it is unlikely that any ever existed; few ancient sculptors signed their works, and fewer recorded their identities and activities in other types of inscriptions, such as dedications made or honors received. A small number of such inscriptions for sculptors have been found elsewhere at Aphrodisias and provide insight into the social roles and status of at least some of the local sculptors. The epigraphic record for sculptors at Aphrodisias includes thirteen signatures, four dedications, two honorary inscriptions, one seat reservation in the stadium, one entry in a donor list, and an inscribed sarcophagus.¹¹

The majority of the inscriptions are signatures, which take the form of the name of the sculptor, who almost certainly is the workshop owner (and not necessarily the carver or carvers who carried out the work), followed by the verb "epoiei" (made it). Rarely is the ethnic designating the origin of the sculptor as Aphrodisian included in the signature, as is customary for signatures found in Rome and other parts of the empire. Aphrodisias was well known across the empire for its sculpture and outside of the city, the Aphrodisian label served both as a mark of quality for the product and a clear indicator of its maker. This identifying detail was unnecessary at Aphrodisias itself, where most (if not all) of the sculpture were the products of local workshops. Both at home and abroad, the signatures served the same pur-

pose, functioning as "trademarks" that attest to the pride of the workshop owner in his product.¹²

The five dedications made by sculptors and the two honorific inscriptions imply that sculptors at Aphrodisias could attain a fairly high level of wealth, rank and social status. This supposition is further supported by the inclusion of references to family lineage, titles and positions (such as priesthoods), and in some cases, moral qualities.¹³ Of particular interest is an unusual dedication made by the winner of the statue-makers' contest, in which the sculptor made a gift of the winning statue to the city.¹⁴ The contest most likely was for an important commission, and after being awarded the commission, the sculptor provided the statue *gratis*. The inclusion of three possible sculptors (a stone cutter, a marble worker, and an image maker) in a donor list made within a Jewish context similarly demonstrates the participation of such craftsmen in public benefactions.¹⁵

In addition to the signatures and the dedicatory and honorific inscriptions, one inscribed seat in the stadium is reserved for a sculptor. As most of the stadium seat inscriptions are for organized groups, it is plausible that this sculptor was the head of such a group or guild.¹⁶ The inscribed sarcophagus for a sculptor M. Aurelius Glykon and a paint dealer Alexandros demonstrates that the sculptural profession was recognized in a funerary context.¹⁷

C. THE "SCHOOL" OF APHRODISIAS

As noted, Aphrodisian sculptors are also known outside their home city. Inscriptions and signed works were found in Rome and its environs, Southern Italy, and Greece (Olympia, Corinth, Paros, and Lyttos). This epigraphic and sculptural material was collected and studied alongside the finds recovered in the French and Italian excavations of Aphrodisias by M. Squarciapino. Squarciapino's important book of 1943, *La Scuola di Afrodizia*, introduced the notion of an Aphrodisian school of sculpture that is characterized in large part by the virtuoso copying of Greek works, particularly those carved in a dramatic

12 Erim and Reynolds, "Sculptors," 518.

13 Erim and Reynolds, "Sculptors," 518–19, docs. 14–19.

14 Erim and Reynolds, "Sculptors," doc. 17. This inscription is discussed further by C. Roueché, *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias in the Roman and Late Roman Periods* (London, 1993) doc. 76.

15 Erim and Reynolds, "Sculptors," doc. 23. For the complete inscription, which J. Reynolds cautiously dates ca. 200, see J. M. Reynolds and R. Tannenbaum, *Jews and Godfearers at Aphrodisias*. Cambridge Philological Society Supplemental Vol. 12 (Cambridge, 1987). For a reevaluation and redating of the inscription to c. 400, see A. Chaniotis, "The Jews of Aphrodisias: New Evidence and Old Problems," *Scripta Classica Israelica* 21 (2002) 209–42.

16 Erim and Reynolds, "Sculptors," doc. 20; C. Roueché, *Performers and Partisans*, doc. 45, block 7; K. Welch, "The Stadium at Aphrodisias," *AJA* 102 (1998) 562.

17 Erim and Reynolds, "Sculptors," doc. 24. The sole representation of a sculptor is found on a sarcophagus fragment and represents its subject dressed in a short tunic and carving a bust. Inv. S-308, reproduced in Smith and Ratté, "Aphrodisias 1994," 27, fig. 24; Smith and Lenaghan, *Roman Portraits*, no. 36.

11 Erim and Reynolds, "Sculptors," 517–538.

Hellenistic style.¹⁸ The peak of the school's activity according to Squarciapino was the Hadrianic period, during which Aphrodisian sculptors are known to have enjoyed imperial patronage, as evidenced by the Young and Old Centaurs signed by Aristreas and Papias of Aphrodisias (who may also have produced the unsigned *Fauno Rosso*) and a relief of Antinous as Silvanus signed by Antonianos of Aphrodisias. All of these sculptures, with the exception of the lattermost (from Lanuvium)¹⁹, were found at Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli.

The idea of a sculptural school implies a distinctive local or regional style or method of working that can be associated with a particular place of production, be it Athens, Rhodes, or Aphrodisias. The definition of what comprises a distinctive or local style, however, is variable, especially given the cultural interactions between cities and between their artisans during the Hellenistic and Imperial periods; capital cities, such as Rome and Constantinople are particularly problematic, given the number and diversity of building and sculptural projects undertaken, which utilized teams of artisans from across the Mediterranean. Furthermore, on a local level, the diversity of sculpture excavated at Aphrodisias by Kenan Erim (whose excavations were initiated almost two decades after the publication of Squarciapino's book) both reinforces the rich Hellenistic afterlife for which the Aphrodisian school was known (for example, the relief sculpture from the Sebasteion)²⁰ and reveals an array of material that does not fit neatly into this framework (such as the sculpted reliefs from the Civil Basilica).²¹

The problems inherent in the identification and definition of an Aphrodisian school of sculpture have taken on new importance as a result of the connections made between Aphrodisian sculptors and sculptural material recovered from the Esquiline (Rome), Silahtaraga (Istanbul), and Chiragan (Gaul) mentioned above. These possible connections have given rise to an expanded notion of the Aphrodisian school as a late antique sculptural school that specialized in the production of large scale mythological statues that were carved in a deliberately retrospective style. Within this model for a late antique sculptural school, the material from the Sculptor's Workshop is positioned as a link connecting Aphrodisian sculpture produced for its home city and that recovered in other parts of the empire. Given the longevity of the workshop's activity (from c. 200-at least 400) and the history of the redeployment of old statues in new display contexts at Aphrodisias, a late date of manufacture cannot be automatically assumed for the contents of the Sculptor's Workshop. Rather, each piece requires an individual assessment of its subject matter, style, and most importantly, technical handling in order to situate it within the diverse activities of the workshop at the latest phase of its activity.

D. WORKSHOP AND SCHOOL

A sculpture workshop is different from a school of sculpture, and the use of the word "workshop" when applied to Roman art can vary widely. The idea of a workshop most often provides a means of categorizing individual sculptures, either through association with a named artist (often known primarily through literary sources) or with a specific geographical location; within this definition, it is more or less synonymous with a school.²² This definition of a workshop is used primarily to organize sculptural material that is considered to be related by form, style, and general provenance, but is not necessarily connected by technique or precise archaeological find spot. In contrast, the identification of the Sculptor's Workshop at Aphrodisias is based not on a specific artistic personality or style, but rather on the archaeology of a particular sector of the site in which extensive evidence for marble carving was found. Products of the Sculptor's Workshop found outside of this specific context can be connected with the facility through the close repetition of minor details and a closely comparable technical handling of the pieces. While there is some overlap between a sculptural school and workshop, the Aphrodisian School, both as defined by Squarciapino and in its more recent (and more problematic) late antique incarnation, provides a means of grouping material from different contexts that share common formal or technical characteristics that are attested at Aphrodisias. Such pieces may be directly connected to Aphrodisias by artist or place of manufacture. Alternatively, they may be further removed, influenced by specific Aphrodisian works or more generally by the Hellenistic afterlife that these work embody, but not the products of sculptors from the city. For the purpose of this study, a workshop refers to a specific point of production, although not necessarily to one artistic hand or even to one chronological period.

Taken together, the sculpture from the Sculptor's Workshop allows a fuller understanding of the production of and market for Roman marble sculpture than has previously been possible. Chapter 2 explores the archaeology of the area located north of the Bouleuterion where the Sculptor's Workshop was located, including the history of the excavations, the phasing of the structures in the area, and the appearance of the workshop during the time of its occupation of the North Bouleuterion stoa. Chapter 3 introduces the repertoire of sculpture produced by the Sculptor's Workshop with a focus on its two specialties, portrait sculpture and mythological statues and small figures. Chapter 4 investigates issues concerning the production of marble sculpture at the Sculptor's Workshop, such as tool use and working practices, division of labor, the training of sculptors, and the reworking of old statuary for reuse. Chapter 5 investigates the mythological sculpture produced by the Sculptor's Workshop within the context of a possible late antique "school" of sculpture that continued producing large Hellenistic-style

18 Squarciapino, *Scuola*.

19 Squarciapino, *Scuola*, 29–31.

20 R. R. R. Smith, *Aphrodisias VI. The Marble Reliefs from the Julio-Claudian Sebasteion* (Mainz, 2013).

21 B. Yildirim, *The Reliefs from the Roman Civil Basilica at Aphrodisias in Caria*, (Ph.D. Diss, New York University, 2001).

22 The variable approaches to the definition of what constitutes a workshop is addressed by V. Goodlett, "Rhodian Sculpture Workshops" *AJA* 95 (1991) 669–81. For the purposes of her study of sculpture production on Rhodes, Goodlett identifies a workshop as "either a single sculptor with a steady production over more than ten years or two or more sculptors who worked together on more than one occasion" (669).

statues well into the fourth and possibly fifth century. The three other groups of sculpture associated with this school (the Esquiline Group, the Silaharağa statues, and some of the material from the late Roman villa at Chiragan) are examined, and the evidence for and against this possibility is thoroughly weighed. The evidence provided by the style and technique of workshop's statues, combined with local patterns of statue commissions and displays, suggests that the Sculptor's Workshop made portraits and small mythological figures in late antiquity, but the large Hellenistic-style pieces are most likely products of an earlier period.

A catalog provides full documentation of the 115 pieces of marble sculpture that can be positively associated with the out-

put of the facility by either find spot, subject matter, or technique. Detailed criteria for establishing a workshop provenance is provided in chapter 2. The catalog is organized thematically and begins with portrait sculpture, most of which can be dated with some precision by a combination of contemporary costume, hairstyle, and technique. Mythological sculpture follows, beginning with Dionysian figures, which are the most numerous, followed by other male figures, female figures, figures carved in a distinctive black-and-white technique, and small fragments. The catalog concludes with sculptural fragments that are not preserved well enough to be assigned to one of the above categories, but can be associated with the workshop by their find spot and technique.