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# SCULPTORS FROM APHRODISIAS: SOME NEW INSCRIPTIONS

(PLATES VI–VIII)

The city of Aphrodisias in Caria is known to have been the place of origin, during the Roman imperial period, of a considerable number of sculptors, whose 'signatures' have been found at a wide range of sites; the evidence was first collected and presented by Maria Squarciapino, who deduced from this the existence of an Aphrodisian 'school' of sculpture.<sup>1</sup> It was possible to assemble this material because so many Aphrodisian sculptors chose to inscribe their names, with the ethnic 'Aphrodisian', on their work; Squarciapino presented texts from Greece and Italy in which at least 14 different Aphrodisians had 'signed', either on statue bases, or, more frequently, on the sculpture itself.<sup>2</sup> In almost every case the 'signature' is in the form ὁ δεινὰ Ἀφροδισιεύς ἐποίησεν. When Squarciapino wrote, it appeared that virtually all the material so inscribed was produced between the first and second centuries A.D. Only one signed work could be assigned to a later period. Squarciapino herself drew attention to the contrast between this evidence, and the fact that excavations at Aphrodisias had shown that sculpture of a high quality continued to be produced there until well into the fifth century A.D.<sup>3</sup>

Sculptors' 'signatures' have also been found at Aphrodisias, and the current excavations have added substantially to the number already known.<sup>4</sup> These also take the form ὁ δεινὰ ἐποίησεν, but usually omit the ethnic Ἀφροδισιεύς. An exception to this rule, which has recently been published, is the inscription Πολυνεκ[ῆς Ἀφρο]δισιεύς ἐποίησεν on the plinth of one of a pair of statues of athletes found in

The new material presented here is from the excavations at Aphrodisias, conducted since 1961 by Professor K. T. Erim of New York University, with the generous support of many friends, and, chiefly, of the National Geographic Society. We are very grateful to all those with whom we have discussed this paper, and particularly for information supplied by Dr. A. Claridge, Dr. M. Moltesen, Professor L. Robert and Dr. S. Walker. We are also indebted to the British Academy for help with photographic expenses.

<sup>1</sup>M. Squarciapino, *La Scuola di Afrodizia* (Rome, 1943), hereafter referred to as Squarciapino. As well as the conventional abbreviations, the following forms have been used: *BCA* = *Bolletino della Commissione Comunale di Roma*; Lanciani, *Destruction* = R. Lanciani, *The Destruction of Ancient Rome* (London, 1901); Löwy = E. Löwy, *Inschriften Griechischen Bildhauer* (Leipzig, 1885); Ny Carlsberg Catalogue = F. Poulsen, *Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* (Copenhagen, 1951); *Porträtplastik* = J. Inan, E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *Römische und frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik aus der Türkei* (Mainz, 1979).

<sup>2</sup>Squarciapino 12–17; a new, unpublished, inscription of an Aphrodisian sculptor found at Lepcis Magna is mentioned by J. B. Ward-Perkins, *PBSR* 48 (1980), 64.

<sup>3</sup>Squarciapino 20.

<sup>4</sup>Those previously known are a text on a statue base, published most recently by Squarciapino 11 no. 2, and a fragment published by J. M. R. Cormack, *ABSA* 59 (1964), 20 no. 13b, and identified as a sculptor's signature by L. Robert, *Ant. Class.* 36 (1966), 400–1; this fragment, which has been found again by the current expedition, appears to be part of a statue plinth. Some of the finds from the current excavations were considered by K. T. Erim, *Archaeology* 20 (1967), 18–27, and two new sculptor's inscriptions have been published by him in *Porträtplastik*, 214 and 219.

the Theatre at Aphrodisias (Pl. VIa). The same inscription appears on a fragment of sculpture, apparently from a *tabula iliaca*, found at Rome, and on a statue plinth at Priene. The discovery of the two athlete statues makes it possible to date Polyneices to the mid-third century; he is the first sculptor whose work has been found both at Rome and at Aphrodisias, and the first Aphrodisian sculptor attested at another city in Asia Minor.<sup>5</sup>

This evidence has therefore extended into the third century the period during which the activity of Aphrodisian sculptors is specifically attested outside Aphrodisias. The purpose of this article is to present some new evidence from Aphrodisias, and to re-examine some of the previously published material, which seems to provide an indication of the activities of Aphrodisian workshops in the early fourth century.

#### I. THE INSCRIPTIONS

The two inscriptions which follow were excavated by A. Boulanger, in his campaign of 1913,<sup>6</sup> but were never published; they were found again by the current expedition, in the large court which lies along the east side of the Hadrianic Baths. We are particularly grateful to Professor Louis Robert for providing details, from M. Boulanger's notebooks, of their original discovery.

1. Pl. VIb. Found in October 1913, during excavations of the Hadrianic baths 'dans le prolongement nord du mur de la grande salle de l'aleipt(érion), en établissant la voie'—that is, probably, the route for the removal of earth from the excavation. A columnar marble base (H. 1·67, diam. 0·48) with a moulded upper rim; the stone is very weathered, and partly broken away above. The letters are very lightly cut, and elongated: ave. 0·05, *phi* 0·06; the script seems appropriate to the late third or early fourth centuries.

Ἀγαθῆ τύχῃ  
 Φλ(άβιος) Ζήνων ἀρχ[ιε—  
 ρεύς καὶ] κόμητς  
 ἔποίηι καὶ ἀνέ—  
 5 θηκεν τῇ πα—  
 τρίδι *leaf*

The letters underlined have been erased.

*Translation:* With Good Fortune. Fl(avius) Zeno, high priest and *comes*, made (this) and set it up for his country.

Flavius Zeno's title of high priest has been erased, but the first letters can be determined, and the restoration is confirmed by the following text, found by us lying a few feet away.

2. Pl. VIIa. Found in October 1913, in the area of the Hadrianic Baths 'dans la galerie de l'Est', 'au centre de la cour de l'E(st) devant la face E(st) du pilier N(ord)'. A rectangular marble block (H. 0·30, W. 0·56, D. 0·56). The letters are

<sup>5</sup>See K. T. Erim in *Porträtplastik*, 217–21, nos. 190 and 191, and *Ins. Priene*, 214.

<sup>6</sup>For this campaign see A. Boulanger, *CRAI* (1914), 46–53.

clearly cut in a flowing style, with lunate *sigma* and *omega*: 0·03–0·04; probably fourth century.

Φλ(άβιος) Ζήνων ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ  
κόμης ἐποίηι καὶ τῆ ἑαυ—  
τοῦ πατρίδι προίκα κα—  
τὰ διαθήκας διὰ τῶν ἑαυτ(οῦ)  
5 παίδων ἀνέθηκεν *leaf*

*Translation:* Fl(avius) 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.

These two inscriptions clearly concern the same man, although the lettering of the two texts is not at all similar; this is explained by the fact that, while no. 1 was inscribed in Flavius Zeno's lifetime, no. 2 is apparently posthumous, and may be several decades later. The script of no. 1 does not particularly resemble that of any other inscription from the site; the latest dated example of *sigma* in the form used here is in a dedication to tetrarchs.<sup>7</sup> The script of no. 2 is also unusual, and resembles that of an inscription of a governor of Caria of the fourth or fifth centuries.<sup>8</sup>

Before considering the content of the inscriptions, it may be useful to present one other text.

3. Pl. VII*b*. Found by the current expedition in 1964, during excavation of the west side of the Odeon/Bouleuterion (inventory number 64.278). A rectangular marble base, with moulding above and below (H. 1·165, W. 0·57, D. 0·485). The first line (on the upper moulding) is from an earlier inscription—the letters, 0·02, are second or third century—which has been erased from the face, and replaced by lines 2–6 of the present text. In these lines the letters are lightly cut, elongated and irregular; line 3 was inserted after the main text had been cut, and is in smaller letters (0·03–0·035) than those of the main text (0·04–0·05); probably fourth century.

Ἄγαθῆ Τύχῃ  
Φλ(άβιος) Ἀνδρόνικος  
ὁ διασημότετος[ς]  
ἐποίηι καὶ τῆ αὐτο[ῦ]  
5 πατρίδι ἔδωρήσα—  
το *leaf*

*Translation:* With Good Fortune. Fl(avius) Andronicus, the *perfectissimus*, made (this) and gave it to his own country.

The lettering of this inscription most closely resembles that of an unpublished inscription, found in the area of the Hadrianic Baths, which apparently dates from the joint reign of the sons of Constantine (337–350).

<sup>7</sup>Published by P. Paris and M. Holleaux, *BCH* 9 (1885), 79, no. 9; found again by the current expedition.

<sup>8</sup>Published, from a copy by Boulanger, by L. Robert, *Hellenica* 4 (1946), 14, n. 3; found again by the current expedition.

These three inscriptions differ from all the other dedicatory texts known at Aphrodisias, in that the dedicators claim that they ‘made’—ἐποίησαν—as well as ‘gave’ the monuments concerned. As has been said above, the verb ἐποίησαν is regularly used in the inscriptions on their work by Aphrodisian sculptors. Flavius Zeno and Flavius Andronicus both bear *cognomina* which are otherwise attested in inscriptions found at the site; the name Andronicus is found in six other texts (of various periods) while Zeno is the most frequently attested of all names at Aphrodisias. There is, however, no other mention, in the material from Aphrodisias, of a Flavius Andronicus or a Flavius Zeno; but two Aphrodisians with these names are known from a series of texts—apparently sculptors’ inscriptions—from Rome, in which they claim to have ‘made’—ἐποίησαν—the associated statues.

4. The first text to be found at Rome mentioning Flavius Zeno from Aphrodisias, on a broken statue plinth, was published in 1731;<sup>9</sup> an identical text, also on a plinth, was published in 1880.<sup>10</sup> Then, in 1886, a group of plinth inscriptions, all found together during excavations on the Esquiline, were published, including three further examples of the same text.<sup>11</sup> While not all these inscriptions are complete, they all appear to have been identically worded:

Φλ(άβιος) Ζήνων ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ διασημό(τατος) Ἀφροδισιεὺς ἐποίησεν.

*Translation:* Fl(avius) Zeno, high priest and *perfectissimus*, of Aphrodisias, made (this).

See Pl. VIIIa.

The word διασημότατος is abbreviated to διασημο in all the examples of this text, and it was not until these inscriptions were republished in IG XIV that this was correctly interpreted (on Mommsen’s suggestion) as διασημό(τατος). Unfortunately both Löwy and Squarciapino, in their publications of the inscriptions, resolved the abbreviation as διάσημο(ς), and it is in this form that these texts have subsequently been discussed.<sup>12</sup>

5 and 6. The inscriptions of Flavius Zeno found in 1886 were among a group of statuary fragments and plinth inscriptions which were all found together (see

<sup>9</sup>Seen by Doni, and published in *Inscriptiones Antiquae*, Florence (1731), 138, from whence come all subsequent editions; of these the most important are those of Franz, *CIG* 8699, Löwy no. 364, Squarciapino 14, no. 20. Kaibel (at *IG* XIV. 1268) follows Löwy in suggesting that this fragment is the same as that published in 1880 (below, n. 10), but the descriptions of the remaining traces of statuary on the two plinths do not tally.

<sup>10</sup>Mentioned in *BCA* (1872–73), 314, no. 47; published *BCA* (1880), 30, no. 197, whence Löwy p. 258, and again, *BCA* (1886), 317, no. 1, whence *IG* XIV. 1268; Squarciapino 14, no. 19. For the circumstances of the discovery see below, p. 107.

<sup>11</sup>*BCA* (1886), 318, nos. 2, 3, 4, whence *IG* XIV. 1269, 1270, 1271; Squarciapino 14, nos. 18, 17, 16; the latter two inscriptions also published, from the plinths, Ny Carlsberg Catalogue nos. 523 and 521 (illustrated here, Pl. VIII a). The text is also published, from *IG* XIV. 1268–71, as *IGR* I. 173. For the circumstances of the discovery, see below, p. 107, and n. 22.

<sup>12</sup>So, for example, W. Gross, art. Zeno 27, *RE* 10 A (1972), 216–17.

below, p. 107). All the inscriptions were fragmentary, but among them two other texts with names could be determined:

5. Found in four examples<sup>13</sup>

Φλ(άβιος) Χρυσέρως Ἀφροδισιεύς ἐποίηι.

*Translation:* Fl(avius) Chryseros, of Aphrodisias, made (this).

See Pl. VIII*b*.

6. Found in two examples<sup>14</sup>

Φλ(άβιος) Ἀνδρόνικος . . .

*Translation:* Fl(avius) Androni[cus] . . .

In both cases, the end of this inscription is lost; but all these inscriptions show a marked similarity.<sup>15</sup> Given all the circumstances of their discovery, it seems reasonable to conclude, as earlier editors have done, that Flavius Andronicus was also an Aphrodisian, associated with his compatriots, Flavius Zeno and Flavius Chryseros.

The name Chryseros has not been found in any inscription so far discovered at Aphrodisias. There would appear, however, to be strong arguments, if only on the basis of economy, for identifying Flavius Zeno, high priest and *perfectissimus*, from Aphrodisias, with the only Flavius Zeno attested at Aphrodisias, a high priest and *comes*, and for identifying his associate, Flavius Andronicus, with Flavius Andronicus, the *perfectissimus*, at Aphrodisias. This identification would appear to be supported by the general appearance of the inscriptions (nos. 4, 5 and 6, from Rome, most closely resemble no. 3, at Aphrodisias) and by the presence in all these texts of the claim to have 'made'—ἐποίηι—the accompanying sculpture. Further confirmation is provided by consideration of these men's titles.

Because Löwy and Squarciapino, in providing the most easily accessible texts of the inscriptions at Rome, gave the wrong resolution of Flavius Zeno's title, it has never been properly considered. The rank of διασημότατος/*perfectissimus* first appears under the Severi, held by high officials in the equestrian administration; it gradually became more widespread during the third century, but was still only used by imperial officials.<sup>16</sup> Only under Constantine, whose reign saw the widening of the use of several titles, does *perfectissimus* appear as a rank held by men of provincial or municipal eminence.<sup>17</sup> Flavius Zeno describes himself as 'high priest' (see further below, p. 114), which can only be taken as a municipal or a provincial

<sup>13</sup>*BCA* (1886), 319, nos. 6, 7, 8 and 9 (the last of these, with additional fragments, again, p. 235) whence *IG XIV*. 1273, 1274, 1275, 1276 (from which *IGR I*. 174), Squarciapino 13–14, nos. 11, 10, 12, 13. The first two inscriptions are also published, from the plinths, Ny Carlsberg Catalogue nos. 525 and 524 (illustrated here, Pl. VIII *b*).

<sup>14</sup>*BCA* (1886), 235, no. 2, and again, 320, no. 12, whence *IG XIV*. 1266, Squarciapino 14, no. 14; *BCA* (1886), 320, no. 11, whence *IG XIV*. 1267, Squarciapino 14, no. 15.

<sup>15</sup>See the useful facsimile drawings, *BCA* (1886), Plates XI and XII, reproduced in part by Squarciapino, Plate A.

<sup>16</sup>See W. Ensslin, art. *Perfectissimus*, *RE* 37, 1937, 664–83, and H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres* (Paris, 1960), 624, both with lists of examples.

<sup>17</sup>Ensslin, art. cit., 672.

position;<sup>18</sup> Flavius Andronicus does not claim to have held any office. It is difficult to conceive of the use of such a title, by such men, much before the second quarter of the fourth century; at such a date, the *nomen* Flavius, which Andronicus, Chryseros and Zeno use without a *praenomen*, could well be being employed in its fourth-century role as an indication of rank.<sup>19</sup>

Similar considerations must also apply to the dating of the titles of Flavius Zeno, high priest and *comes*, in inscriptions 1 and 2. The title of *comes*, once a rare and significant epithet of the emperor's companions, became widespread under Constantine. It appears initially with explanatory phrases, and it is only from about the mid-320s that the title starts to be used on its own; at about the same time, it ceases to designate only court appointments, and becomes attached to a variety of functions.<sup>20</sup> The rapid spread of the title is indicated by the fact that by 330 Constantine found it necessary to introduce grades of the *comitiva*.<sup>21</sup> The use of this title by Flavius Zeno is, therefore, not likely to be earlier than the second quarter of the fourth century; the script of inscription 1, on the basis of comparison with the available material, suggests a date not later than *c.* 350. All these considerations, therefore, would indicate similar dates for the Rome and the Aphrodisias inscriptions, and make the identification of the men concerned appear highly probable.

We also have a further *terminus ante quem* for Flavius Zeno. Apart from the inscription published in 1731 (above, n. 8), all the other inscriptions from Rome recording Zeno, and his companions, were found during the laying-out and development of the 'new quarters' of the city, on the Esquiline, in the 1870s and 1880s. As has been described above, almost all the inscribed fragments were found together, in the spring of 1886, when the Via Buonarroti was being extended towards the Sette Sale (near the Baths of Trajan), and a site was being excavated for a new convent. The work uncovered several walls of uncertain date, filled with fragments of sculpture, among which were the inscribed plinths.<sup>22</sup>

One other inscription of Flavius Zeno, however, was found in a more precise context. It was excavated, apparently, in 1874;<sup>23</sup> the text was published in 1880, and again, in 1886 (above, n. 9). This fragment was also found with a large number of miscellaneous statuary fragments,<sup>24</sup> all used in the foundation walls of a small private bath building on the Esquiline, east of the ancient Via Merulana, 'at the

<sup>18</sup>The only provincial high priest who is known to have been an official of the imperial bureaucracy, rather than a man of local eminence, is the high priest of Egypt; somewhat misleadingly Ensslin (*loc. cit.*) cites, under municipal notables with the title *perfectissimus*, the high priest of Egypt in 267–68, some 40 years earlier than the other examples, to which it is in fact not properly comparable.

<sup>19</sup>For the adoption of the *nomen* Flavius see A. Mocsy, *Akt. IV Congr. Epigr.* (Wien, 1964), 257–63; J. Keenan, *ZPE* 11 (1973), 33–63.

<sup>20</sup>O. Seeck, art. *Comitiva*, *RE* 4.1 (1900), 633–4.

<sup>21</sup>Seeck, art. *cit.*, 634–5.

<sup>22</sup>The excavations are described in *BCA* (1886), 215 and 234; see also Lanciani, *Destruction* 41–2.

<sup>23</sup>Lanciani, *Destruction* 28, gives the date as 30 January 1873, but in *BCA* (1875), 79, in the first publication of the excavation, he gave the date as January and February 1874. The discoveries are listed in the last fascicule of the first volume of the *BCA*, which covers the years 1872–73; but this fascicule was published in 1874, and could therefore cover discoveries made early in that year. H. Bloch (*l.c.* below, n. 28) says that the building was 'found and destroyed in 1875'.

<sup>24</sup>These are listed in *BCA* (1875), 80; cf. *BCA* (1872–73), 292 ff.

junction of the Via Ariosto with the Piazza Dante'.<sup>25</sup> The building was excavated—before its destruction to make room for the new developments—by Lanciani, who dated it to the reign of Diocletian or Constantine;<sup>26</sup> he noted strong similarities in the construction of the foundation walls to that of another, parallel, supporting wall of the nearby gardens of Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, which should presumably date from the mid-fourth century.<sup>27</sup>

The principal evidence for the dating of this building came from the discovery of large numbers of stamped bricks used in its construction, all bearing stamps known from the first half of the fourth century.<sup>28</sup> These include some stamps found in the Baths of Diocletian, some found in the Baths and the Basilica of Constantine, some known from the Basilica of SS. Nereus and Achilleus, and one which is also found ('multis exemplis') in the Baths on the Esquiline built by Neratius Cerealis (*cos* 358).<sup>29</sup> This material cannot be of a date earlier than the reign of Constantine,<sup>30</sup> but could be as late as the second half of the fourth century.

The reason for arguing for as late a date as possible for this building is, of course, that the inscription of Flavius Zeno, found built into its foundations, cannot, on the basis of the titulature discussed above, be dated much before the 320s. It is not essential to argue that this statue was broken at the same time as the other sculptures signed by Flavius Zeno, which were found in similar circumstances, not far to the west of this findspot, at the Sette Sale (although it is tempting to do so); but it is in any case clear that we must assume a fairly brief period between the cutting of the inscription and the destruction of the statue.

The other feature which all these inscriptions, at Rome and at Aphrodisias, have in common, is that they all include the verb ἐποίησεν; the Aphrodisias inscriptions use the phrases ἐποίησεν καὶ ἀνέθηκεν, ἐποίησεν καὶ ἐδωρήσατο, which are otherwise unattested on the site, while the Rome inscriptions take the form ὁ δεινὰ ἐποίησεν. As has been said above, this is the phrase most regularly used by Aphrodisian sculptors—as by sculptors generally—for 'signing' their work. Such a 'signature' need not necessarily imply that the man named carried out the work with his own hands, but may indicate that he owned the studio from which it came.<sup>31</sup> The inscriptions at Rome have, therefore, since their publication, been taken to be the

<sup>25</sup>Lanciani, *Destruction* 28; also *BCA* (1875), 79–82, with a plan, and *FUR* 30–1.

<sup>26</sup>Lanciani, *ll.cc.*, whence H. Jordan (ed. C. Hülsen), *Topographie der Stadt Rom* I. 3 (Berlin, 1906), 353–4.

<sup>27</sup>*BCA* (1875), 82, noting the similarity—'essa sembra contemporanea'—to the wall described at *BCA* (1874), 59 ff. (whence Jordan-Hülsen, *o.c.*, 368).

<sup>28</sup>*BCA* (1875), 81—'tratti in piu centinaia dalle coperture degli ipocausti'. The stamps are: *CIL* XV. 1567, 1569a, 1579b, 1608a, 1609, 1610. H. Bloch, *I bolli laterizi* (Rome, 1947), 314, n. 237, cites this find as an interesting group, but does not develop the point.

<sup>29</sup>Baths of Diocletian: 1567, 1569a; Baths and Basilica of Constantine: 1569a, 1608a, 1610; Nereus and Achilleus (with no precise findspot): 1569a, 1609, 1610; Baths of Cerealis: 1608a.

<sup>30</sup>See Bloch's observation (*o.c.* at n. 28, 315–16) that, of the stamps of this period, those that are not found in the Baths of Diocletian should be assumed to be later than the reign of Diocletian.

<sup>31</sup>So, in a discussion of Hellenistic practice, A. Stewart, *Attika* (London, 1979), 103; for similar observations on the 'signatures' on Greek pots, see R. M. Cook, *JHS* 91 (1971), 137–8. The largest collection of inscribed 'signatures' is still that of Löwy; J. and L. Robert include, in the *Bulletin Epigraphique*, a rubric, 'Signatures d'artistes'.

'signatures' of three Aphrodisian sculptors, or studio-owners. The dedicatory formulae of the three inscriptions at Aphrodisias are unparalleled there; but the probability, which has been demonstrated above, that the dedicators, Flavius Zeno and Flavius Andronicus, are the same men as those attested in the inscriptions at Rome, strongly suggests that ἐποίησιν is being used in the same sense in the inscriptions at Rome and at Aphrodisias. If this is correct, then Flavius Zeno and Flavius Andronicus are claiming, in their inscriptions at Aphrodisias, to have produced in their own workshops the sculpture which they are dedicating; they therefore join Polyneices (above, p. 103) as Aphrodisian sculptors whose activity is attested both at Rome and at Aphrodisias.

## II. THE STATUES

Nothing remains of the statues dedicated at Aphrodisias. The inscriptions found at Rome were almost all discovered (above, p. 105) in walls made up of statuary fragments. The plinth found in 1874 has not been associated with any sculpture; but, from the fragments found in 1886, in the Via Buonarrotti excavations, five statues were recomposed. These statues—of Zeus, signed by an Aphrodisian whose name is lost, of Poseidon and Helios, signed by Flavius Chryseros, and of Heracles, and a Satyr with the infant Dionysus, signed by Flavius Zeno—are now in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen, together with two inscribed plinths;<sup>32</sup> the whereabouts of the other fragments is not known. While the recomposition of the statues in the nineteenth century did incorporate some extraneous fragments, they have in recent years been dismantled and carefully re-assembled by the museum authorities; there appears to be no doubt that the signed plinths are integral to the statues.<sup>33</sup>

These statues—the so-called 'Esquiline group'—appear homogeneous, and are usually considered to belong to an ensemble, intended to decorate a single area.<sup>34</sup> As has been said, the standard text of the inscriptions most easily available to art historians provided no indication of date; but, on the grounds of style and technique, the statues have always been dated to the second century, and considered to be Hadrianic, or, at the latest, Antonine.<sup>35</sup>

The simplest conclusion that can be drawn from the evidence presented here is that the statues are of the same date as the inscriptions and were in fact carved in the early fourth century, either at Aphrodisias or by Aphrodisian sculptors working at Rome. Squarciapino knew of only one signed work by an Aphrodisian outside Aphrodisias which could be dated later than the second century; this is the

<sup>32</sup>Ny Carlsberg Catalogue nos. 521–7.

<sup>33</sup>We are grateful to Dr. Mette Moltesen, of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, for confirming this point.

<sup>34</sup>Thus Poulsen, Ny Carlsberg Catalogue 364, suggests that they might have decorated a nymphaeum; such a proposal seems preferable to Lanciani's hypothesis, *Destruction* 41–2, that the statue fragments came from a sculptor's workshop in the area.

<sup>35</sup>So Poulsen and Squarciapino, *oo.cc.*; J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School* (Cambridge, 1934), 242–3; G. M. A. Richter, *Three critical periods in Greek sculpture* (Oxford, 1951), 47; P. Moreno, *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica classica e orientale* VII (1966), 1251 (with bibliography); W. Gross, *art. cit.* at n. 12.

statue of a muse, found at Rome, and signed, in Latin, *Opus Atticianis Afrodisiensis*.<sup>36</sup> This statue was substantially altered—including the addition of a head—shortly after its discovery in the sixteenth century;<sup>37</sup> but, although the inscription is sufficiently unusual to invite suspicion, its existence is attested in 1716, and so probably before the existence of Aphrodisian sculptors was sufficiently well known to inspire the forgery of an Aphrodisian ‘signature’.<sup>38</sup> If this work is correctly ascribed to an Aphrodisian sculptor, and correctly dated to the later fourth century, it provides clear evidence that Aphrodisians were still producing copies of Hellenistic work in the late Roman period. We also know, from the results of the current excavations, that sculpture of a very high quality was being produced at Aphrodisias in the early fourth century.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, strong similarities have been demonstrated between at least one of the statues in the Esquiline group—the Satyr with the infant Dionysus—and statuary found at Aphrodisias, which might seem to confirm the probability that the group was produced by men active both at Aphrodisias and at Rome.<sup>40</sup>

Material discovered during the current excavations at Aphrodisias—most notably the recently excavated Julio-Claudian reliefs from the Sebasteion<sup>41</sup>—has already subverted some commonly held views on style in Roman sculpture. In view of all the evidence which we have adduced, we consider it most likely that art historians will come to find a fourth-century date acceptable for these statues. But, because of the unanimity of authoritative opinion at present in favour of an earlier date, it appears incumbent upon us to consider the possibility that these are second-century statues, with fourth-century ‘signatures’.

The major difficulty for such a hypothesis is presented by the use, in the plinth inscriptions, of the verb ἐποίησεν, which, in such a context, is normally taken as a claim by a sculptor to have made a piece of sculpture, or to have had it made in his workshop. It was suggested by some early commentators that Flavius Zeno, because of his unusual titulature, could not be a sculptor, but that the verb indicated that he had commissioned the work.<sup>42</sup> But, as more inscriptions bearing the same phrase appeared, this explanation became less plausible; nor does it meet our problem, since both ‘made’ and ‘commissioned’ would seem to imply contemporaneity.

Ἐποίησεν in these circumstances clearly could not mean ‘made with his own

<sup>36</sup>Squarciapino 20, no. 29; G. A. Manselli, *Galleria degli Uffizi. Le Sculture I* (1958), 164, no. 140.

<sup>37</sup>For the history of the discovery and the alterations, see M. Cristofani, *Prospettiva* 20 (1980), 69–72.

<sup>38</sup>The text was first transcribed by F. Buonarrotti, *Osservazioni sopra alcuni frammenti di vasi antichi di vetro* (Florence, 1716), xxi.

<sup>39</sup>See J. Inan and E. Rosenbaum, *Roman and early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor* (London, 1966), 177, no. 239; K. T. Erim in *Porträtplastik*, 134, no. 80, 223–7, nos. 194, 195, 196.

<sup>40</sup>See K. T. Erim, *Mélanges Mansel* (Ankara, 1974), 767–75.

<sup>41</sup>For preliminary descriptions see K. T. Erim, *AS* 30 (1980), 205 ff., 31 (1981), 177 ff.; for the date of the complex see J. M. Reynolds, *ZPE* 43 (1981), 317–27.

<sup>42</sup>The text itself was questioned, and unsatisfactorily emended, by Franz and Keil (*CIG* 8699 with p. 1262). H. Brunn expressed doubts, and suggested that Zeno might have commissioned the statue (*Geschichte der griechische Künstler I*<sup>2</sup> (Stuttgart, 1889), 401) followed (from the first edition) by G. Hirschfeld, *Tituli statuariorum sculptorumque Graecorum* (Berlin, 1871), 145. Their objections were overruled by R. Neubauer, *AZ* 34 (1876), 70–1, followed by Löwy p. 258.

hands'. But it may be that we have here an extension of the sense 'produced from his workshop'. The re-use and remodelling of statues is well attested at all periods, but particularly in the late third and fourth centuries.<sup>43</sup> The majority of the examples known involve official monuments, which will have been the property of the authorities who decided to have them remodelled; but such re-use was not limited to public monuments. A good example of a privately erected statue which was made by re-using an earlier piece is provided by a statue set up in the fourth century, and inscribed in honour of his mother-in-law, Euboulion, by an anonymous donor in Rome.<sup>44</sup> The donor may have asked the sculptor to remodel a statue which he himself provided; but it is easier to conceive that he placed a commission with a sculptor, who was able to provide an earlier statue body, and to provide a new head for it.

It may be, therefore, that the Aphrodisians are claiming to have provided material from their studios, which they had 'in stock'. It has been suggested that in the Hellenistic period and in imperial times the 'signatures' on sculpture, and particularly on copies of ancient works, conveyed the kind of guarantee of authenticity, quality and prestige that is provided by a modern trademark; the use of an ethnic ('Αθηναῖος, Ἀφροδισιεύς), usually on work which was intended for export or produced abroad, presumably reinforced this prestige.<sup>45</sup> It might be argued that the validating function of such 'signatures' could in time have been extended, and that they might simply indicate the role of the workshop in providing the statues from its stock. It is also, of course, possible that the verb indicates that the statues were modified, mended or embellished in the fourth century; given their subsequent history of destruction and reconstruction, this cannot now be determined.

What is certain is that antique statuary was much in demand at this period, and that statues were being re-used and relocated on a large scale. The principal examples of both come from the foundation of Constantinople, decorated 'paene omnium urbium nuditate'<sup>46</sup>—a claim which appears justified by the list of cities from which statues were brought for the Hippodrome alone.<sup>47</sup> Although Rome provided some of the sculpture used at Constantinople, it too underwent renovation and embellishment of a similar kind; new monuments—most obviously the Arch of Constantine—were composed partly of *spolia*, and buildings were decorated with statues brought from other locations.<sup>48</sup> This clearly resulted partly from the closing

<sup>43</sup>See, in particular, H. Blanck, *Wiederverwendung alter Statuen als Ehrendenkmäler* (Rome, 1969), setting out the known examples from every period, and showing the increase at this time.

<sup>44</sup>Published by F. Poulsen, *Ny Carlsberg Catalogue* no. 552, and, more fully, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 13.2 (1934), 5 ff.; the inscription is published as *IGUR* 1209.

<sup>45</sup>So A. Stewart, l.c. at n. 31. G. M. Richter's suggestion (o.c. at n. 35, 45 ff.) that the practice of signing on the plinth or the actual body of the statue, which is common among Aphrodisian artists, was intended to make the signature less prominent, seems less convincing in light of the range of texts which are found on statue-plinths (usefully collected by U. Kron, *JDAI* 92 (1977), 148 ff.).

<sup>46</sup>Jerome, *Chron.*, ann. 334. On the furnishing of Constantinople see C. Mango, *DOP* 17 (1963), 55 ff., G. Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale* (Paris, 1974), 37 ff.

<sup>47</sup>Ps. Codinus II. 73. For an example see L. Robert, *CRAI* (1969), 42–64.

<sup>48</sup>For general descriptions see R. Krautheimer, *Rome, Profile of a city* (Princeton, 1980), 28 ff.; Lanciani, *Destruction* 30 ff.

down of pagan places of worship; but a more positive attitude is indicated, for example, by the inscription of Gabinius Vettius Probianus (*PUR* in 377) who 'statuam conlocari praecepit quae ornamento basilicae esse posset inlustri'.<sup>49</sup> Similarly, in the fifth century, statues were moved to the Baths of Trajan 'ad augendam . . . gratiam';<sup>50</sup> there is no reason to believe that such decoration was considered in any way inferior to the use of new material. It is also clear that private collectors were acquiring old statues; most striking is the collection at Antioch of material which can be dated from the late second to the early fourth centuries, but similar collections are known to have been made elsewhere.<sup>51</sup>

Against this background, it seems possible to suppose that the Aphrodisians provided a group of antique statues, perhaps refurbished in some way not now detectable, for the furnishing of some building on the Esquiline; this might have been public—for example, the Baths of Trajan—or one of the large private palaces being built in the area by rich senators such as Vettius Agorius Praetextatus. The function of the 'signatures' on the statues would have been to indicate that they were not just second-hand—at a time when so much material was being relocated—but had been newly obtained from a reputable sculptor's workshop.

If this were the correct interpretation, it would be necessary to explain where the statues had spent the preceding century. One possibility is that Flavius Zeno, Flavius Chryseros and Flavius Andronicus were the proprietors, in the early fourth century, of sculpture studios at Rome which had been active since at least the mid-second century, and that the statues, carved by their predecessors, had been kept there, awaiting a buyer. It is of some interest that other Aphrodisian sculptors with the names Zeno and Andronicus are attested in the preceding centuries. The only other attestation of an Andronicus is at Aphrodisias,<sup>52</sup> but of several Zenos, at least one was clearly resident at Rome.<sup>53</sup> This led Squarciapino to suggest that a tradition of sculpture might have continued among several generations of expatriate Aphrodisians, and this could have continued into the fourth century.<sup>54</sup> It is, however, very difficult to believe that a private workshop could have held so much material for so long, in the crowded conditions of Rome; while there is evidence that bulky items were held at the marble yards for remarkably long periods, this only applies to architectural elements, produced from government quarries and intended for government use.<sup>55</sup>

In the case of Flavius Zeno and Flavius Andronicus, it is clear that both were active and important citizens of Aphrodisias; and it remains possible that these

<sup>49</sup>*CIL* VI. 1658; for the date see *PLRE* I, Probianus 4.

<sup>50</sup>*CIL* VI. 1670 (*ILS* 5716), an inscription of Iulius Felix Campanianus (*PLRE* II Campanianus 4).

<sup>51</sup>D. M. Brinkerhoff, *A collection of sculpture in classical and early Christian Antioch* (New York, 1970), esp. 54–5.

<sup>52</sup>*REG* 19 (1904), 136, no. 69, whence Squarciapino 11, no. 2; first or early second century A.D.

<sup>53</sup>*IGUR* 1222; for other Aphrodisian sculptors with this name see Squarciapino 13 ff., nos. 2, 24 and 33; cf. also K. T. Erim in *Porträtplastik*, 214.

<sup>54</sup>Squarciapino 20.

<sup>55</sup>So J. B. Ward-Perkins, *PBSR* 48 (1980), 26, citing a large column cut 50 years before it was used, and marble blocks which waited for several centuries.

statues were actually brought from Aphrodisias. Professor Robert has pointed out how the marble quarries at Docimium seem to have undertaken the export of increasingly large pieces—over a difficult land route—during the imperial period;<sup>56</sup> and further evidence of what was considered possible by the early fourth century is provided by the list of cities from which Constantinople was supplied with statues (above, n. 47), which includes, as well as a large number of coastal cities, Sardis and Tralles. It seems quite possible that obtaining material from a great distance was considered prestigious. It would therefore be unwise to rule out the possibility that these statues—whether they were contemporary products or refurbished ancient works—were exported from Aphrodisias to Rome in the fourth century; and if they were refurbished second-century statues, it is most probable that they were so exported. Similarly, it would appear possible that at least some items in the Antioch collection (above, n. 51) might have been imported as completed items. On this hypothesis, it is tempting to suggest that the inscription of Flavius Zeno which was found in 1874, and which seems to have been buried so soon after it had been cut, came from a statue which had been broken in transit.

### III. THE SCULPTORS

It remains to consider the place of Flavius Zeno and Flavius Andronicus within their own community. Their inscriptions are apparently unique as having been set up by private citizens during the fourth century—a period during which no other private dedications at Aphrodisias can be certainly identified. While this may be partly explained by the fact that these men could provide the monuments from their own workshops, it is none the less striking. Furthermore, they are the only private citizens at Aphrodisias known to have held such high rank; *perfectissimus* and *comes* are otherwise only attested on the site in the titulature of imperial officials.

These inscriptions are therefore unusual in their contemporary context; they are also unprecedented in terms of the preceding centuries. Although sculptors' 'signatures' have been found at Aphrodisias, only one inscription has been found honouring a sculptor,<sup>57</sup> and no other inscriptions in which sculptors appear as donors; nor, at Aphrodisias or elsewhere, is there a precedent for a sculptor adding local and imperial titles to his 'signature', as Flavius Zeno does. It is quite possible that some of the men who appear as prominent citizens of Aphrodisias in preceding centuries were in fact the owners of sculpture workshops; but only Flavius Zeno and Flavius Andronicus are at pains to draw attention to their role as sculptors, by including ἐποίησεν in the phrasing of their dedications.

This may be in part a reflection of a shift in social values; but it is also possible

<sup>56</sup>*Lettres Byzantines*, JS 1961, 97–166, and 1962, 5–74, especially 13 and 26. On the same topic see now also J. B. Ward-Perkins, *PBSR* 48 (1980), 23–69. The practice of inscribing 'signatures' on statues and statue plinths has been associated with the export of sculpture (see Kron, *o.c.* at n. 45, 150).

<sup>57</sup>The inscription (discovered in 1976 and not yet published) was erected—apparently in the third century—by the man's son, and honours him in terminology appropriate to a citizen of moderate status and expectations; unusually, his profession—ἀγαλματοποιός—is given. The well-born young man honoured in *MAMA* VIII. 520 *bis* excelled περί τὴν πλαστικὴν τέχνην, and probably competed in the local sculpture contest (*MAMA* VIII. 519); but this need not imply a 'professional' career.

that it relates to their particular circumstances. Andronicus and Zeno could hold their titles in respect of local offices: Flavius Zeno's titles are unusual, but not impossible, for a provincial high priest at this date,<sup>58</sup> and, although Flavius Andronicus mentions no office in his inscription, he might have held one subsequently, and thereby have acquired the rank of *perfectissimus*, which appears to be an addition to his inscription. But it is perhaps more convincing to assume that these two men both derived their unusual distinctions from what they both had in common—that is, their work in providing statuary, particularly at Rome. Their work at Rome—whether it was making or simply providing statues—must have been undertaken either for a prominent citizen, or, perhaps more probably, for the imperial government; and we should perhaps assume that it was in respect of this that the two men received imperial honours. While there is no parallel for the award of such honours, at this period, for work of this kind, a context is provided by what we know of current imperial concern—as evidenced in laws of Constantine—to encourage the survival and the spread of specialist crafts.<sup>59</sup> If these men were in fact the original sculptors of the Esquiline group, their skill was outstanding by the standards of the early fourth century, and might reasonably have earned special recognition. Furthermore, if it was their craft which had earned them imperial honours, this would explain why Flavius Zeno and Flavius Andronicus chose to make specific reference to it in their inscriptions at Aphrodisias; it might also make Flavius Zeno's use of his title in the inscriptions on his sculpture more apposite than it at first appears.

Flavius Zeno's other title, of high priest, is the latest datable attestation of that office at Aphrodisias; moreover, inscription 1 is the only text on the site where the term 'high priest', which is extremely common on the inscriptions of the preceding centuries, has been erased. The implication is that the title was in some way contentious.<sup>60</sup> 'High priest', at least at Aphrodisias, always refers to the priesthood of the imperial cult. While the municipal high priesthoods of the imperial cult cease to be attested in the Eastern empire at the end of the third century, the provincial high priesthood—which came to mean, effectively, the chairmanship of the provincial assembly—is known to have survived throughout the empire during

<sup>58</sup>For a *perfectissimus* high priest of a provincial imperial cult in the late 330s see *ILS* 6623 (for the date, *PLRE* I Antoninus 8). The title of *comes* for a high priest at such a date is not paralleled, but by the second half of the fourth century provincial high priests were being granted imperial ranks *ex officio*, including (in Africa) that of *ex comitibus* (Jones, *LRE* 764 and n. 117, with references).

<sup>59</sup>On this see Jones, *LRE* 1013–14, quoting (nn. 62, 65) Constantine's appeals for the training of more architects (*Cod. Theod.* XIII. iv. 1, of 334) and *artifices* (*Cod. Theod.* XIII. iv. 2, of 337). The titles of Cyriades, *comes et mechanicus* in the 380s (*PLRE* I from Symmachus, *Rel.* 25 and 26, and *Ep.* V. 76) perhaps suggest an improvement in the status of technicians.

<sup>60</sup>For other examples of the erasure of pagan terminology at Aphrodisias see J. M. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (London, 1982), xv–xvii, and C. P. Jones, *HSCP* 85 (1981), 120 and 126–7. It is not clear that all these erasures have the same status; the removal of the name of Aphrodite and its derivatives is probably to be associated with the change of the city's name in (?) the early seventh century (so Reynolds, l.c.), but the erasures in the text published by Jones, and the one discussed here, require a greater knowledge of pagan terminology, and are therefore perhaps earlier (late fifth century, Jones).

the fourth century and well into the fifth.<sup>61</sup> Aphrodisias, as the provincial capital, was the chief meeting place of the Carian assembly, and Flavius Zeno could very easily have been its high priest.<sup>62</sup> But it is difficult to understand why the title of an office which had general acceptance and imperial approval would have been erased.

It is therefore possible that we are dealing with a different kind of high priesthood. In 311 Maximin, in an attempt to strengthen the institutions of paganism in the face of the advance of Christianity, appointed, 'ex primoribus', municipal and provincial high priests to supervise the practice of pagan religion.<sup>63</sup> Flavius Zeno's title of *comes* means that his inscriptions at Aphrodisias are almost certainly later than the reign of Maximin; but, while these appointments are associated with the institution of Maximin's persecution, it cannot be assumed that they were revoked when the persecution ceased. Julian's revival of the idea in his own reign may even have been based on its survival in some places.<sup>64</sup> It may be, therefore, that we should see Flavius Zeno as one of Maximin's high priests of the pagan cult, either for Aphrodisias or for the province of Caria; one other of these priests is epigraphically attested, at Acmonia in Phrygia.<sup>65</sup> But this is perhaps too much to build on the evidence of one erasure.

The evidence which has been presented here, if it has been correctly interpreted, fills a lacuna in the history of sculpture at Aphrodisias. It shows that Polyneices, in the mid-third century, and Flavius Zeno and Flavius Andronicus, in the early fourth, were benefiting from a new mobility, characteristic of the period, which enabled them either to export finished statuary from Aphrodisias, or, more probably, to work as sculptors both at Aphrodisias and at Rome. Moreover, in the early fourth century Aphrodisian sculptors were either producing sculpture in a style which has hitherto been associated with the second century, or—perhaps—providing earlier statues, which were available to them, for patrons in Rome. These sculptors, or workshop owners, were eminent in their community and proud of their craft, which apparently brought them imperial rank as well as local distinction. It is impossible to determine from these inscriptions whether or not these were 'new men' in Aphrodisian terms; but they seem to exhibit a significant new attitude to the sources of success in the society of the fourth century.

K. T. ERIM  
C. M. ROUECHÉ

<sup>61</sup>Jones, *LRE* 763–4, gives a summary of the evidence; the subject has not recently been examined in any detail, but there are some useful observations by A. Chastagnol and N. Duval in *Mélanges Seston* (Paris, 1974), 87–118.

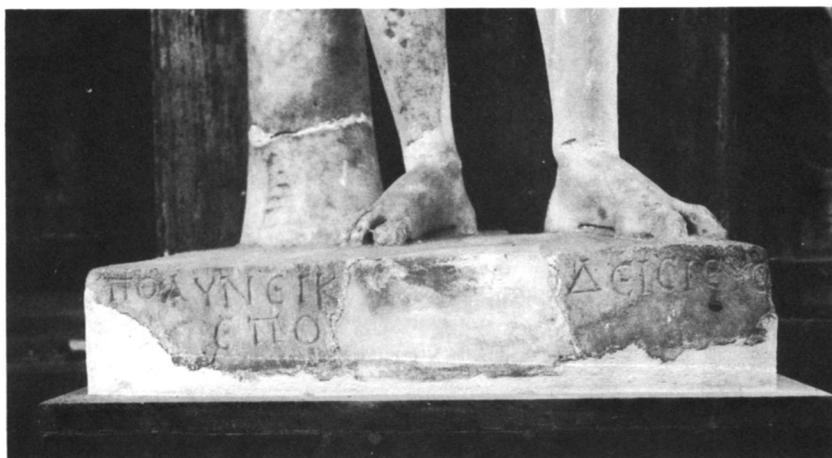
<sup>62</sup>For the evidence see C. Roueché, *GRBS* 20 (1979), 174–5, and n. 9. The editors of *PLRE* I suggested that Zeno (Zenon 9) was high priest of Caria.

<sup>63</sup>Lactantius, *De mort. pers.* 36: *novo more sacerdotes maximos per singulas civitates singulos ex primoribus fecit . . . parumque hoc fuit, nisi etiam provinciis ex altiore dignitatis gradu singulos quasi pontifices superponeret.*

<sup>64</sup>Julian, *Epistulae et Leges*, ed. Bidez and Cumont (Paris, 1922), nos. 84a, 88, 89a; what we know of Julian's institution does not necessarily imply a new invention, and could be referred to a revival of Maximin's arrangements.

<sup>65</sup>Edited most recently by H. Grégoire, *Byzantion* 8 (1933), 49–56. There is no reason to assume that Maximin's scheme was carried out throughout his domain; Lactantius' phrase (above, n. 63) could apply just to a few specific appointments.

PLATE VI



(Photo: M. Rouché)

a Inscription of Polyneices of Aphrodisias



(Photo of squeeze, UCL)

b Text 1: Fl. Zeno, Aphrodisias

SCULPTORS FROM APHRODISIAS BY C. ROUECHÉ AND K. ERIM



(Photo: M. Rouché)

a Text 2: Fl. Zeno, Aphrodisias



(Photo: M. Rouché)

b Text 3: Fl. Andronicus, Aphrodisias

SCULPTORS FROM APHRODISIAS BY C. ROUECHÉ AND K. ERIM

PLATE VIII



*(Photo: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek)*  
a Text 4: Fl. Zeno, IG XIV. 1269



*(Photo: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek)*  
b Text 5: Fl. Chryseros, IG 1276

SCULPTORS FROM APHRODISIAS BY C. ROUECHÉ AND K. ERIM