Allison B. Kidd

# The Ionic Capitals from the South Stoa of Aphrodisias' Urban Park: A Case Study of Urban Design in Late Antiquity

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# The Ionic Capitals from the South Stoa of Aphrodisias' Urban Park: A Case Study of Urban Design in Late Antiquity

*Keywords*: Aphrodisias, Ionic, Late Antique, Asia Minor, Architecture
*Schlüsselwörter*: Aphrodisias, Ionisch, Spätantike, Kleinasien, Architektur
*Anahtar sözcükler*: Aphrodisias, İon, Geç Antika Dönem, Küçük Asya, Mimari

## Introduction

The persistence of the Ionic capital in Late Antique Aphrodisias contributes an important aesthetic to the urban milieu of the late Roman and early Byzantine city. Despite the drastic social, political, religious, and economic transformation that occurred in Aphrodisias from the 4th–7th cent. A.D., this continued penchant for one of the oldest architectural orders of the Greco-Roman world was an expression of an enduring civic, communal identity in the Eastern Mediterranean world. Symptomatic not only of this continuity but also of the changes that occurred during a significant temporal juncture in the urban life of Aphrodisias in late antiquity are a group of 18 unpublished late fifth-, early sixth-cent. A.D. Ionic capitals belonging to the South Stoa of the city's urban park, the ›South Agora‹. This paper uses this group to explore the way in which the Late Antique urban population of Aphrodisias consciously maintained classical paradigms and transformed some aspects of their civic space according to contemporary urban needs and expressive concerns. I will examine various economic factors and the concept of varietas (in Greek, poikilia) as a guiding aesthetic principle to explain how and why certain parameters were set for the carving of new materials in the construction of the South Stoa. By tracing the choices made in the production of this material, I argue that patrons and sculptors reconciled a seemingly paradoxical perspective in this ›classical‹ city of late antiquity, one that was simultaneously dependent on the realities of an inherited past and a dynamic present. This paper further expands on a topic initially presented by N. Asgari and I. Jacobs, who have

* I would like to thank the Editorial Committee of Istanbuler Mitteilungen for useful comments on this article. I would also like to express my sincere gratitude to R. R. R. Smith, A. Wilson, B. Russell, and I. Jacobs for their review and critique of its drafts, and for encouraging many fruitful discussions on this topic over the past several summers.

*Sources of illustrations*: *Figs. 1. 3. 4. 7 b. 8–15. 17. 18* = New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias (A. Kidd). – *Fig. 2* = New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias (H. Mark). – *Figs. 5. 19. 20* = New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias (N. D. Gier and A. Kidd). – *Figs. 6. 7 a. 16* = New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias (I. Cartwright).

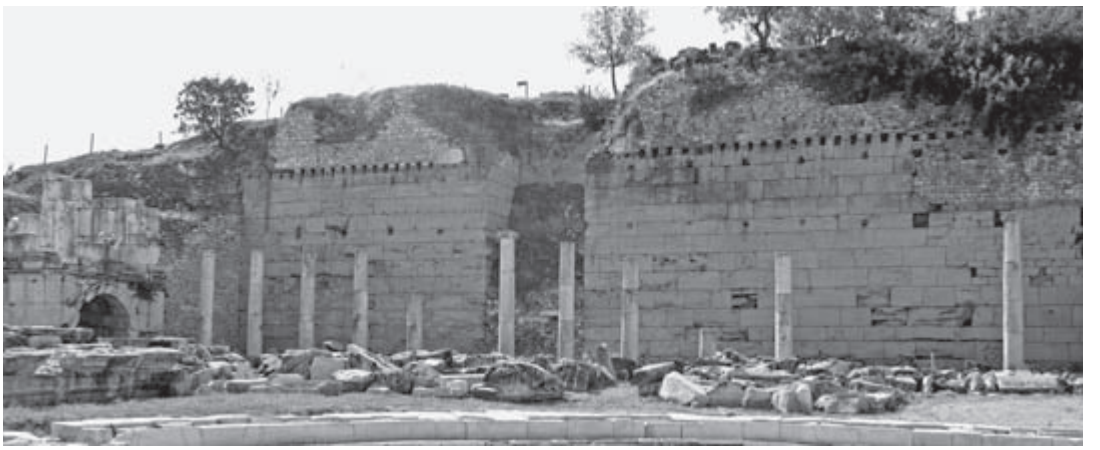

Fig. 1 General view of the South Stoa facing south, with East Gate to left and theater hill retaining wall behind

demonstrated how urban revitalization schemes and access to local quarries encouraged the continuation of sculptural workshops and made monumental construction possible at some sites well into the Late Antique period[1].

The Ionic capitals under review belong to the Late Antique construction of the South Stoa, within the monumental urban park of Aphrodisias, and are dated to the late 5th – early 6th cent. A.D. by means of archaeological and epigraphic evidence as part of a major citywide revitalization project[2]. Only portions of the South Stoa have been excavated, and though only 18 newly carved capitals dated to this later period are presently known, the South Stoa would have once featured just over 80 columns in total (*Fig. 1*). The surviving capitals were carved from local Aphrodisian marble as part of a discrete, contemporary construction project, as proven by their size, technical execution, and uniformity of select motifs. In its Late Antique phase, the South Stoa stood as part of a coherent urban architectural unit, running parallel to and adjoining the northern retaining wall of the city's theater hill, along with a stoa to the west, the North Stoa, and the monumental ›East Gate‹. Together, these structures not only enclosed the urban park but also provided a monumental architectural frame for an important and vibrant public area of the city, which featured a palm grove and a 175 m long pool (*Fig. 2*)[3]. The excavation of the South Stoa began in 1971 under the direction of Prof. Kenan Erim and continued through 1986.

1 Asgari 1988; Asgari 1990; Jacobs 2013, 175. For more on the continuity of sculptural workshops and the production of Ionic capitals in Late Antique Asia Minor, see Beykan 2012.

2 The group of Ionic capitals as a set have never before been published, though they have received passing mention in Waelkens' 1987 study of the architecture of the ›South Agora‹ of Aphrodisias and in de Chaisemartin and Lemaire's 1996 study of the North Stoa, the ›Portico of Tiberius‹. See Wilson et al. 2016, 89 f. and Wilson 2016, 107–109. 111. 124. 129–135 for the dating of the Late Antique restoration and construction work. According to Wilson, significant damage to the architecture of the urban park may have resulted from a severe earthquake that struck the region in A.D. 494, an event recorded in the *Chronicon* of Marcellinus Comes. Given that this earthquake is said to have hit the nearby cities of Hierapolis, Laodicaea, and Tripolis, it is probable that Aphrodisias was also affected. Further evidence for this seismic event is discussed below.

3 For a discussion of the monumental pool and urban park, as well as its post-antique situation in late antiquity, see Wilson 2016 and Wilson et al. 2016. Epigraphic evidence for the dating of the later reconstruction phase is treated in Roueché 1989, 66. 67. 77. 108 f.

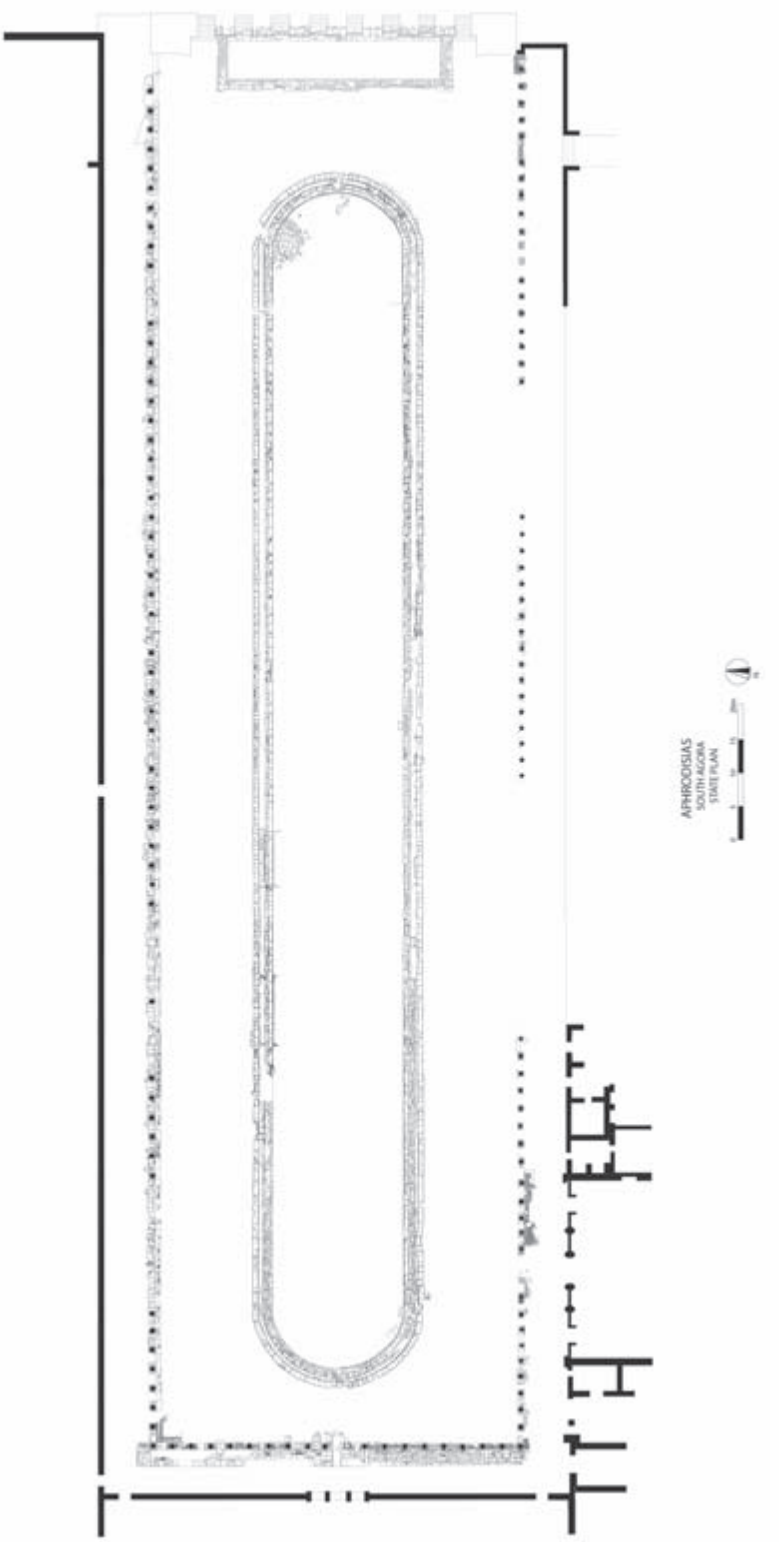


Fig. 2 Plan of Aphrodisias' urban park, the 'South Agora'

The urban park remains the object of systematic interdisciplinary research led by Prof. Andrew Wilson and Dr. Ben Russell, under the direction of Prof. R. R. R. Smith. A full analysis of the South Stoa and its architecture will be presented within the upcoming publication of the urban park as part of the Aphrodisias monograph series[4].

## I. Group Description, Typology, and Discussion

This set of capitals together forms a coherent yet individualized group whose formal variation in detail, upon first glance, recalls the effect of spoliated architectural elements. The size for each fully preserved capital ranges between 58.6–68.5 cm wide, 59.7–67.7 cm deep, and 18.1–51.8 cm high. Some were carved in a white, creamy marble (**4. 5. 14–16**), others were carved in a blue-grey marble (**9. 10. 12. 17. 18**), and yet others in a white, grey-streaked marble (**2. 3**). While similarities of motifs and sculpting do occur across the constituent parts of individual capitals and across the group (see further discussion after catalogue below), no two capitals are alike. In several instances, the decorative scheme of a single capital varies between each face (**4. 9. 12. 14**). No ornamental motif among the group occurs in the same manner twice, apart from the overall consistency of the undecorated abacus and the decoration of several bolsters. Six capitals were left unfinished, with the sculpting of certain elements, such as the bolster, left incomplete (**8–11. 16**). The overall technique and execution of these capitals lacks the clarity and refinement of not only the first-century A.D. Ionic capitals of the North Stoa but also the sixth-century A.D. protome capitals of the nearby Triconch Church at Aphrodisias and the slightly earlier Theodosian examples in the quarries at Proconnesus[5]. In general, the ornamentation of the group is classicizing albeit highly geometric and simplified, and the overall technical execution of their details demonstrates patterns of both regularity and inconsistency.

All but two of these capitals were uncovered during the excavation of the South Stoa during the early 1980s, in two long trenches extending west from the ›East Gate‹[6]. Today these capitals are located near their original findspots, where they fell in situ. As such, the sequence they are presented in the catalogue below follows the order in which they are currently positioned in the South Stoa, starting with the re-erected column nearest the ›East Gate‹ and proceeding westward. The final two capitals were documented in a post-antique field wall within the area of the monumental pool just north of the South Stoa[7]. In each catalogue entry, the preserved height (H), width (W), and depth (D) of each capital is provided in cm, as well as the diameter (Dia.) and depth of any preserved dowel holes, with a full table of measurements for all capitals and their decorative features listed after the catalogue. Measurements are unavailable for four capitals, which currently stand re-erected in the South Stoa (**1. 6. 11. 13**)[8].

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[4] The current archaeological investigation is indebted to the generous support of Mica and Ahmet Ertegün. Associated research is funded by the Headley Trust, the Augustus Foundation, and the Malcolm Hewitt Wiener Foundation.

[5] I thank H. Jeffery for the information and photographs of the protome capitals of Aphrodisias' Triconch Church. For commentary on the capitals of Proconnesus, see Beykan 2012, 35–39.

[6] See in particular the excavation journals Notebook 254: SAgGate I-84, Bk 2; Notebook 271: PortTib S. I-85; Notebook 278: PortTib SE I-86, SW I-86; Notebook 279: PortTib SE I-86, Bk 2.

[7] Notebook 567c: SAg 16.1 (Field Notebook II), p. 60. 70; Notebook 574a: SAg 17.1 (Field Notebook & Binder Data I); Notebook 575a: SAg 17.1 (Finds Notebook I).

[8] These capitals were re-erected in the South Stoa under the direction of K. Erim following their excavation in the 1980s and have thereafter been unavailable for firsthand study.

*Catalogue*

**1.** (*Fig. 3*)

Fig. 3 Cat. 1, face and side views

Complete capital, with portion of fluted column drum preserved below; heavy damage to the echinus on both sides and edges of the volutes. Cut from a reused block, possibly a mill stone, as demonstrated by a circular channel cut on top with large boss in the center. Currently re-erected in the South Stoa on the first restored column from the East Gate; measurements unavailable.

Abacus undecorated. Egg and dart motif on each echinus with bead moulding below; on one side, the eggs on furthest left and right sides are halved. Deeply carved volutes turn four times. Concave leaf pattern featured on bolsters, in which single leaves are positioned horizontally within vertical registers that wrap around the height of the bolsters. There are four registers in total, each separated by a simple band moulding, similar to **4** and one side of **16.** Balteus consists of two plain bands of astragal moulding.

**2.** (*Fig. 4*)

Fig. 4 Cat. 2, face and side views

Fragment in white, grey-streaked marble, approximately half the original size of the capital with half of the echinus, one bolster, and two volutes preserved. Slight damage to volutes. H: 25.6, W: 41.2, D: 63.2.

Abacus undecorated. Egg and dart motif across each echinus with bead and reel below; a moulded border delineates the eggs and the darts point upward, similar to **3**. No differentiation between the echinus and neck. Volutes turn three times. Bolsters decorated with scale-like leaf pattern, similar to **3**. **5**–**7**. **12**. **13**. **15**. **17** and **18**. Balteus consists of two plain bands of astragal moulding.

**3.** (*Fig. 5*)

Fig. 5 Cat. 3, face and side views

Large fragment in white, grey-streaked marble, with most of the echinus preserved and with one bolster and one volute partially missing; damage to other volutes, echinus, and bottom. Portion of the unfluted column drum shaft and dowel hole preserved below. H: 30.3, W: 62.6, D: 65.6. Circular dowel hole in center bottom: Dia.: 4.6, D: 5.4.

Abacus undecorated. Egg and dart motif across each echinus consists of three eggs and two darts with bead and reel below; a moulded border delineates the eggs and the darts point upward, similar to **2** but with more depth of sculpting and attention to detail. Volutes turn three times. Bolsters decorated with scale-like leaf pattern, similar to **2**. **5**–**7**. **12**. **13**. **15**. **17** and **18**. Balteus consists of three plain, equally wide, bands of astragal moulding, like **4**. **5**. **7** and **12**.

**4.** (*Fig. 6*)

Fig. 6 Cat. 4, face and side views

Complete capital in white marble, with portion of fluted column drum shaft and lead dowel preserved below; some damage to volutes and echinus. H: 51.8, W: 63.9, D: 64.5. Circular dowel hole in center bottom: Dia.: 5.1; preserved lead dowel 2.3 x 2.3, preserved L: 3.5.

Abacus undecorated. One face features a single, six-petaled rosette within a banded circle that fills the height of the echinus in raised relief on a flattened ovolo moulding. Below, a broad band encircles the uppermost portion of the column shaft. To either side of the rosette are small laurels. The other face features an egg and dart motif consisting of two eggs and three darts with bead moulding and flat band below; a moulded border delineates the eggs and the darts point upward. Volutes turn three times. Concave leaf pattern on bolsters, similar to **1** and one side of **16**; hints of the scale-like leaf pattern noted on **2**. **3**. **5**–**7**. **12**. **13**. **15**. **17** and **18** on the underside closest to one of the volutes. Balteus consists of three plain bands of astragal moulding, like **3**. **5**. **7** and **12**.

**5.** (*Fig. 7 a. b*)

Fig. 7a Cat. 5, face and side views

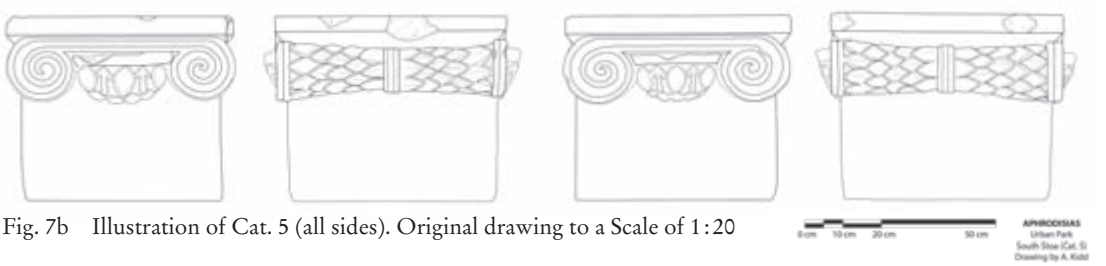


Fig. 7b Illustration of Cat. 5 (all sides). Original drawing to a Scale of 1:20

Complete capital in white marble, with portion of unfluted column drum shaft and dowel hole preserved below. H: 48.5, W: 58.9, D: 67.3. Circular dowel hole in center bottom, lead remnants within: Dia.: 4.1. Found next to the south tunnel of the East Gate[9].

Abacus undecorated. Egg and dart motif on each echinus consists of three eggs and two upward-pointing darts with bead pattern below, similar

[9] Notebook 254: SAgGate I-84, Bk 2, p. 177; Notebook 278: PortTib SE I-86, SW I-86, Bk 1, Find M118, p. 55.

to **15** and **18**; some evidence for incompletion of motif on one face. Volutes turn three times. Scale-like leaf pattern on bolsters, similar to **2**. **3**. **6**. **7**. **12**. **13**. **15**. **17** and **18**. Balteus consists of three flat bands of astragal moulding, like **3**. **4**. **7** and **12**.

**6.** (*Fig. 8*)

Fig. 8 Cat. 6, face and side views

Complete capital; damage to the abacus and volutes. Cut from a reused block, as demonstrated by two offset perpendicular lewis holes and setting line cut into top of block. Currently re-erected in the South Stoa on the sixth restored column from the East Gate; measurements unavailable. Found within area of South Stoa near East Gate[10].

Abacus undecorated. Egg and dart motif on each echinus consists of three eggs and two upward-pointing darts with bead moulding carved in sunken relief below; a slight moulded border delineates the eggs. Volutes turn three times. Scale-like leaf pattern on bolsters, similar to **2**. **3**. **5**. **7**. **12**. **13**. **15**. **17** and **18**. Balteus consists of three thin bands of astragal moulding.

**7.** (*Fig. 9*)

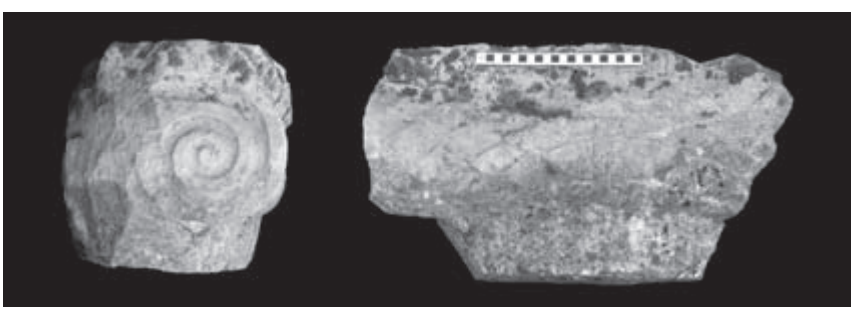

Fig. 9 Cat. 7, face and side views

Small fragment, with one volute and most of a single bolster preserved; a portion of the unfluted column drum shaft and partial dowel hole preserved

[10] Notebook 279: PortTib SE I-86, Bk 2, p. 12. 13. 18.

below; no echinus remains on either side. H: 28.4, W: 36.9, D: 52.8. Circular dowel hole in center bottom, no visible lead: D: 4.3.

Abacus undecorated. Volute turns three times. Scale-like leaf pattern on bolster, similar to **2**. **3**. **5**. **6**. **12**. **13**. **15**. **17** and **18**. Balteus consists of three flat bands across the bolster, similar to **3–5** and **12**.

**8.** (*Fig. 10*)

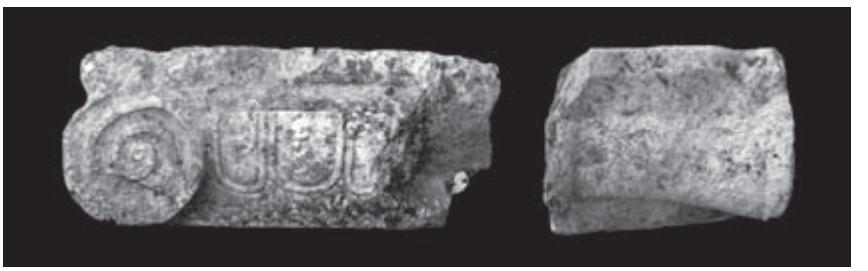

Fig. 10 Cat. 8, face and side views

Fragment, approximately half the size of the original capital with a single volute and balteus preserved; partial echinus preserved on one side. Shows damage and heavy wear to the echinus and volute. H: 24.0, W: 59.2, D: 30.6.

Abacus undecorated. Three-unit *godrons taillés*, or ovular channels, and two darts across echinus; each *godron* bordered by a thin, moulded band. Within the two void spaces below where the *godrons* meet are two small, upward pointing darts. Uneven band of beading below, carved in shallow sunken relief. Volutes turn four times. Unfinished bolster and balteus.

**9.** (*Fig. 11*)

Fig. 11 Cat. 9, face and side views

Complete capital in blue-grey marble, with portion of unfluted column drum shaft and dowel hole preserved below. Slight damage to two volutes. H: 37.0, W: 67.5, D: 67.7. Circular dowel hole in center bottom, no visible lead: Dia.: 3.4; D: 4.3.

Abacus undecorated. Egg pattern across each echinus, delineated by a thin border moulding, consisting of three eggs on one side and two on the other; echinus on one side remains unfinished. No differentiation between the echinus and neck. Volutes turn three times. Bolster and balteus unfinished; point marks visible on one side.

**10.** (*Fig. 12*)

Fig. 12 Cat. 10, face and side views

Complete capital in blue-grey marble, with portion of unfluted column drum shaft preserved below. H: (unobtainable in current position), W: 58.6, D: 63.9.

Abacus undecorated. Egg pattern across each echinus, delineated by thick cushion moulding consisting of three eggs on either side, similar to **11**. No differentiation between the echinus and the neck. Volutes turn three times. Bolster and balteus roughed out, but otherwise unfinished.

**11.** (*Fig. 13*)

Fig. 13 Cat. 11, face and side views

Complete capital, with portion of unfluted column shaft preserved below. Slight damage to the abacus and one volute. Currently re-erected in the South Stoa on the thirteenth restored column from the East Gate; measurements unavailable. Found within area of South Stoa near the East Gate[11].

Abacus undecorated. Egg pattern across each echinus, delineated by thick border moulding consisting of three eggs on either side, similar to **10**. Little differentiation between the echinus and neck. Volutes turn three or four times. Bolster and balteus unfinished.

[11] Notebook 279: PortTib SE I-86, Bk 2, p. 12. 13. 18.

**12.** (*Fig. 14*)

Fig. 14 Cat. 12, face and side views

Complete capital in blue-grey marble, with portion of fluted column drum preserved below; little damage to abacus and volutes. H: 46.0, W: 68.5, D: 65.7.

Abacus undecorated. Egg and dart pattern across echinus; one side consists of three eggs and two darts with bead and reel below, on other side a single large egg with two darts; a moulded border delineates the eggs and the darts point upward. Volutes turn three to four times. Scale-like leaf pattern on bolster, in the manner of **2**. **3**. **5**–**7**. **13**. **15**. **17** and **18**. Balteus consists of three flat bands of astragal moulding, similar to **3**–**5** and **7**.

**13.** (*Fig. 15*)

Fig. 15 Cat. 13, face and side views

Complete capital, with portion of unfluted column shaft preserved below; slight damage to the abacus and volutes. Currently re-erected in the South Stoa on the twenty-third restored column from the East Gate; measurements unavailable. Found within area of South Stoa near the northwest section of the theater hill retaining wall[12].

Abacus undecorated. Egg and dart pattern across each echinus consists of two eggs and one dart; a moulded border delineates the eggs and the darts point upward. Volutes turn two and a half times. Scale-like leaf pattern on bolster, in the manner of **2**. **3**. **5**–**7**. **12**. **15**. **17** and **18**. Balteus left unfinished on one side and incomplete on the other.

[12] Notebook 271: PortTib S. I-85, Find M55, p. 28. 30. 33.

**14.** (*Fig. 16*)

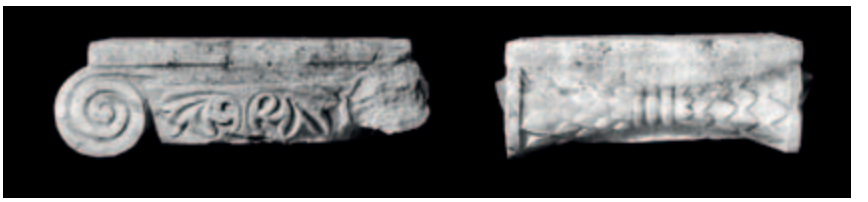

Fig. 16 Cat. 14, face and side views

Nearly complete capital in white marble; missing a single volute with some damage on others. Dowel hole preserved below. H: 18.1, W: 67.4, D: 59.7. Circular dowel hole in center bottom, Dia.: 6.0, D: 7.3. Found in South Stoa near the northwest section of the theater hill retaining wall[13].

Abacus undecorated. Egg and dart motif across one echinus consists of three eggs and four darts; a moulded border delineates the eggs and the darts point downward. Other side features two four-leafed plants springing out toward each volute from a single stem. Volutes turn four times. Scale-like leaf pattern on bolster. Balteus consists of three wide straps.

**15.** (*Fig. 17*)

Fig. 17 Cat. 15, face and side views

Complete capital in white marble, with lower portion of unfluted column shaft and one functional dowel hole. Cut from a reused block, as demonstrated by two additional dowel cuttings on either side of bottom, one visible from the face of the capital. H: 31.6, W: 59.9, D: 61.4. Circular dowel hole in center bottom, Dia.: 4; D: 4.4, square dowel holes to either side, 7.5 x 6.2, D: 4.1; 5.5 x 6, D: 4.1, and a rectangular clamp cutting 5.0 x 3.0, D: 1.6. Found in South Stoa near the northwest section of the theater hill retaining wall[14].

Abacus undecorated. Egg and dart pattern on each echinus consisting of one full and two half eggs and two upward-pointing darts with bead pattern below, similar to **5** and **18**. Volutes turn three times. Scale-like leaf pattern on bolster, similar to **2**. **3**. **5–7**. **12**. **13**. **17** and **18**. Balteus consists of one wide, flat band and two thinner bands of astragal moulding to either side.

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[13] Notebook 271: PortTib S. I-85, Find M49, p. 28. 30. 32.

[14] Notebook 271: PortTib S. I-85, Find M41, p. 28. 29.

Fig. 18 Cat. 16, face and side views

Complete capital in white marble, with portion of fluted column drum and dowel hole preserved below. Minor wear to the abacus. H: 31.1, W: 60.6, D: 65.2. Circular dowel hole in center bottom, Dia.: 4.0, D: 4.0. Found in South Stoa near the northwest section of the theater hill retaining wall[15].

Abacus undecorated. Echinus on each side features a six-petaled rosette set within a banded circle that fills the height of the echinus, similar to **4**. To either side of rosette are upward pointing darts. No differentiation between echinus and neck. Volutes turn three times. One bolster decorated with concave leaf pattern, similar to **1** and **4**; one bolster left unfinished with point marks visible and the shaping of the balteus.

**17.** (*Fig. 19*)

Fig. 19 Cat. 17, face and side views

Fragment in blue-grey marble, with approximately half of the capital remaining and dowel hole preserved below. H: 24.5, W: 37.4, D: 61.6. Circular dowel hole in center bottom, Dia.: 3.9, D: 4.1. Found in the pool of the urban park, reused in a post-antique wall[16].

Abacus undecorated. Egg and dart pattern across the echinus consists of two preserved eggs and one dart (which may be reconstructed as three eggs and two darts) with bead and reel below; a moulded border delineates the eggs and the darts point upward. Volutes turn three times. Scale-like leaf pattern on bolster, similar to **2**. **3**. **5**–**7**. **12**. **13**. **15** and **18**. Balteus consists of two flat bands of astragal moulding.

[15] Notebook 271: PortTib S. I-85, Find M65, p. 28. 30. 35.

[16] Notebook 567c: SAg 16.1 (Field Notebook II), p. 60. 70; Notebooks 574a: SAg 17.1 (Field Notebook & Binder Data I) and 575a: SAg 17.1 (Finds Notebook I), Find SAg.17.1.4440.M1589.

**18.** (*Fig. 20*)

Fig. 20 Cat. 18, face and side views

Fragment in blue-grey marble, with one volute, partial bolster, and partial echinus remaining and dowel hold preserved below. Significant damage to the abacus. H: 24.6, W: 51.2, D: 45.6. Circular dowel hole in center bottom, Dia.: 3.8, D: 4.7. Found in the pool of the urban park, reused in a post-antique wall[17].

Abacus undecorated. Egg and dart pattern across echinus consists of two preserved eggs and one upward-pointing dart (reconstructed as three eggs and two darts) in raised relief, similar to **5** and **15**. The volute turns three times and is ovular, rather than circular. Schematic scale-like leaf pattern roughed out on bolster, in the manner of **2**. **3**. **5**–**7**. **12**. **13**.

## *Group Typology*

The variety of motifs within the group make it inappropriate to categorize these examples according to typological subgroups as have other sculptural studies that examine the form of the Ionic capital in late antiquity, such as the publications of O. Bingöl, J. J. Herrmann, and P. Pensabene[18]. Such diversification demonstrates that the sculptors responsible for the design of these capitals were permitted a range of flexibility in their interpretation and execution of the overall decorative scheme. Thus, for the purposes of this study, motifs within the group are best categorized according to the individual parts of the capital itself.

### Abacus

The abacus is the most common feature of the group. It is undecorated, and its depth in most examples extends just beyond the full length of the bolster and reaches the same width, or just short of, the volutes along each face. In most cases (except for **14**) the shape of the abacus is square, or very nearly. The abacus depth is the most consistent of all measurements pertaining to this set of capitals, with several examples reaching approximately 60 cm in depth (**2**. **3**. **5**. **9**. **10**. **17**). This dimension exceeds the lower depth of the architrave of the South Stoa, which ranges from 46.0–52.0 cm.

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[17] Notebook 567c: SAg 16.1 (Field Notebook II), p. 60. 70; and Notebooks 574a: SAg 17.1 (Field Notebook & Binder Data I) and 575a: SAg 17.1 (Finds Notebook I), Find SAg.17.1.4440.M1590.

[18] Bingöl 1980; Herrmann 1988; Pensabene 1973.

| Cat. No. | H (total) | H (from bottom of Vol to top of Ab) | W | D | LowDia | AbH | AbW | AbD | EchH | VolW | VolH | DistVol | DistEyes | BolL | BalW |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 2 | 25.6 | 22.1 | [41.2] | 63.2 | – | 4.2 | [39.4] | 60.4 | 12.8 | 18.4 | 17.9 | – | – | 57.2 | 3.2 |
| 3 | 30.3 | 24.1 | 62.6 | 65.6 | 48.7 | 5.2 | 61.8 | 60.4 | 13.7 | 17.7 | 18.9 | 27.2 | 44.2 | 58.2 | 4.4 |
| 4 | 51.8 | 26.5 | 63.9 | 64.5 | 49.6 | 5.0 | 62.1 | 61.7 | 14.8 | 17.6 | 21.5 | 23.0 | 42.4 | 59.2 | 6.4 |
| 5 | 48.5 | 22 | 58.9 | 67.3 | 54.3 | 4.3 | 59.4 | 60.4 | 13.5 | 18.5 | 17.7 | 25.0 | 44.0 | 59.9 | 4.2 |
| 6 | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 7 | 28.4 | 21.9 | [36.9] | [52.8] | [25.5] / 51* | 5.0 | – | – | – | 17.9 | 16.9 | – | – | [29.8] / 59.6* | 4.7 |
| 8 | 24.0 | 24.6 | [59.2] | [30.6] | 51.2 | 4.6 | [57.9] / 61* | [30.6] | 15.0 | 18.8 | 20.0 | – | – | [27.4] | – |
| 9 | 37.0 | 23.6 | 67.5 | 67.7 | 45.3 | 3.4 | 60.9 | 60.8 | 17.5, 18.2 | 21.4 | 20.2 | 26.9 | 47.6 | 60.7 | 2.8 |
| 10 | – | 20.5 | 58.6 | 63.9 | 51.2 | 3.4 | 58.6 | 60.7 | 9.6, 10.9 | 17.9, 18.3 | 16.5, 17.1 | 22.0 | 40.4 | 57.1 | 7.6 |
| 11 | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 12 | [46.0] | 24.8 | 68.5 | 65.7 | 52.6 | 5.5 | 61.5 | 62.0 | 13.5, 14.5 | 18.0, 18.5 | 18.5, 19.3 | 31.5 | 49.4 | 60.3 | 3.7 |
| 13 | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 14 | 18.1 | 19.1 | 67.4 | 59.7 | 51.2 | 3.7 | 55.1 | 51.2 | 10.4, 11.1 | 16.2 | 15.4 | 35.0 | 50.6 | 50.5 | 6.9 |
| 15 | 31.6 | 24.2 | 59.9 | 61.4 | 50.6 | 4.6 | 60.9 | 61.4 | 11.0 | 19.8, 20.6 | 18.9, 19.6 | 19.5, 20.8 | 38.5 | 57.0 | 3.8 |
| 16 | 31.1 | 20.5 | 60.6 | 65.2 | 47.6 | 3.0 | 60.0 | 59.2 | 13.8 | 17.2, 17.9 | 17.5 | 26.7 | 43.5 | 58.8 | 3.8 |
| 17 | 24.5 | 23.4 | [37.4] | 61.6 | 47.6 | 3.8 | – | 60.8 | 14.0 | 18.5, 19.6 | 18.5, 19.6 | – | – | 58.5 | 3.9 |
| 18 | 24.6 | 22.4 | [51.2] | [45.6] | 49* | 4.0 | – | – | 13.7 | 21.6 | 18.4 | – | – | – | – |

Table 1 Comparison of Dimensions (in cm) – ***Note***: Partially preserved measurements are indicated by brackets [ ], whereas the estimated full extent is indicated by an asterisk *.

***Explanation of Abbreviations***: H (height); W (width); D (depth); LowDia (lower diameter); AbH (abacus height); AbW (abacus width); AbD (abacus depth); EchH (echinus height); VolW (volute width); VolH (volute height); DistVol (distance from inside of volutes=width of echinus); DistEyes (distance between the eyes of the volutes); BolL (bolster length); BalW (balteus width).

## Echinus

Similar to examples observed elsewhere in Asia Minor from the 3rd cent. A.D. on[19], the horizontal channel that extends from each volute and separates the echinus from the abacus no longer sags as in earlier examples. The channel is reduced to a straight, thin line, and thus lends the echinus more height. While the echinus does extend beyond the full depth of the abacus in most cases, as was typical in earlier Hellenistic and Roman examples, it does so to a much lesser degree and is bound more to the overall block of marble.

Four distinct motifs were carved on the echinus: 1) egg and dart, 2) *godrons taillés* and dart, 3) rosette, and 4) a vegetal pattern. The egg and dart pattern is featured on a majority of capitals within the group, set on an ovolo moulding that varies in its level of concavity (**1–6. 9–13. 15. 17. 18**). On **1. 2. 9–11** and **13**, the ovolo is reduced to such a degree that the echinus subsumes into the neck below and there is little to no differentiation between the echinus and the neck. Among the capitals featuring the egg and dart motif, two or three eggs set below a fillet of varying width may be used in the pattern, with darts positioned on either side of the eggs. The eggs among the group are either outlined by a case moulding (**2. 3**. one side of **4. 6. 9–13. 17**) or left undefined as a simple raised relief (**1. 5. 15. 18**). As opposed to the traditional egg and dart pattern, in which the darts to either side of the eggs point downward, the darts point upward on all egg and dart examples within the group[20]. Completing the egg and dart motif to the bottom of the echinus is an irregular bead and reel or simple bead pattern, which may extend as a slightly raised moulding stretching from the lower inside of one volute to the other (**1–6. 15. 17**), remain undecorated (**11–13. 18**), or unfinished (**9**). While **9** and **11** feature the egg ornamentation, these two capitals display neither the dart nor bead and reel patterns.

Vaguely resembling the egg and dart is the *godrons taillés* and dart, appearing once among the group on **8**. Here, three *godrons taillés*, or ovular channels, appear on a shallow ovolo. Below, the darts and beads are carved in a shallow sunken relief, haphazardly executed and imprecisely delineated in comparison to the ornamental *godron* counterpart, details that suggest that the echinus was either left unfinished or inexpertly crafted.

Two capitals (one side of **4** and both sides of **16**) feature the six-petaled rosette motif set within a circle on a flattened ovolo moulding. On **4** the motif is bordered to the bottom by a broad band that encircles the uppermost portion of the column shaft and is flanked on both sides by what appear to be laurels, while the rosette as it appears on the echinus of **16** is flanked on either side by upward pointing darts, which are left in an unfinished sculpted state of raised and sunken relief.

The single anomaly of the group is **14**. The egg and dart motif that decorates the echinus on one side of the capital is idiosyncratic not only in that its execution is much more meticulous, it is also the only capital of the group to feature downward pointing darts. The three eggs positioned between the four darts are also the most classical elements observed among the group; the uppermost portion of the eggs terminate with the top of the echinus, where a straight, horizontal channel is carved, cutting the uppermost portions of the eggs and thus separating the abacus from the echinus. The eggs are also unique in that they are deeply carved, producing a fully rounded three-dimensional effect, and progress across the width of the echinus with calculated precision, each set within a case moulding. The other side of the capital is exceptional in that it

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19 Herrmann 1988, 10. 160.

20 Except for **14**, discussed below.

features two four-leafed plants that spring out toward each volute from a single stem in a manner similar to the growth pattern of an acanthus. When compared to the set as a whole, there is a significant balance and precision of details in this example. Even so, the style is compatible with other examples from later Roman periods in that it is abbreviated and schematic. This is evident particularly in the rigidity of the vegetal pattern and in the ovolo moulding of the echinus, which does not maintain the same concavity as earlier examples.

### Volutes

In all examples, the volutes were moulded as simple fillets carved in shallow relief, approximately 0.4 cm in depth. The raised relief and the recessed backgrounds of the spirals are often flat and consist of even bands that turn three or four times before reaching the eye. **4** and **8** are unique in that the raised spirals thin and taper slightly as they turn from the outermost edge of the volute to the eye, while **3** maintains a thin and spindly pattern three turns deep. Otherwise, the scrolls vary only in that they may be either regularly or irregularly spaced as they turn. The one preserved volute of **18** is also distinct in that it maintains a width that is 3.2 cm greater than its height, resulting in a much more ovular volute than the comparatively circular composition of the others.

### Bolster and balteus

The position of the bolster is different from most earlier examples in Asia Minor in that it is predominantly engaged with the core of the capital. The bolster takes on a more cylindrical shape, bowing slightly at the center near the balteus, and is confined often to the boundaries established by the abacus above.

The decorative details of the bolster and the accompanying balteus among the group maintain the least diversity and greatest precision. More than any other element of the capital, the bolster is often left unfinished (**8–11**. one side of **16**). A majority of the bolsters feature an overlapping scale-like leaf pattern that grows and twists as it spreads out from either side of the balteus toward the volute (**2**. **3**. **5–7**. **12**. **13**. **15**. **17**. **18**), an arrangement that gives the impression of garland. Among these examples, a simple, undecorated double- or triple-banded astragal accents the center of the bolster. Three examples feature a concave leaf pattern, in which single leaves are positioned horizontally within vertical registers that wrap around the height of the bolsters (**1**. **4**. one side of **16**). There are four registers in total, each separated by a simple band moulding, and a double-banded astragal accents the center of the bolster.

The one exception again is **14**. Its bolsters feature a leaf motif that is arranged in overlapping bands that grow larger as they extend toward the volutes. Similar to the scale-like leaf pattern, this also recalls the effect of garland. The bolsters also demonstrate greater bowing and levity than any other example, to the extent that the balteus appears much like that of the binding of a wreath.

### *Group Discussion*

This group of capitals features a coherent and playful ensemble that once served as an overtly schematic and geometric counterpart to the Ionic order of the urban park's North Stoa. The capitals of the South Stoa are consistently inconsistent in nearly all aspects of their decorative

details. The ensemble is uniform in that an established, limited set of stylistically similar motifs decorate the constituent parts of each capital, yet these motifs are distributed among the capitals of the group with no perceivable regularity. When these motifs are replicated, even on either side of a single capital, the evidence suggests that the individuals tasked with the carving of this group had varying levels of skill. While the group does not exhibit the same virtuosity and refinement as seen in the sculpting of Ionic capitals of earlier Roman Imperial periods, several examples within the group nevertheless demonstrate a high degree of artistic production that is rarely documented for contemporary construction projects that were undertaken elsewhere in Asia Minor[21]. Even so, several capitals within the group were so poorly executed that one is left to question whether these examples were the result of a total lack of skill or the result of great haste (see in particular **9**. **11** and **16**)[22]. Many of the capitals were put in place at varying levels of incompletion, suggesting that the project proceeded with either a certain rapidity or indifference, or a combination thereof. However, due to the displacement of the capitals resulting from earthquakes and human intervention during the post-antique occupation of the area, there is no identifiable pattern between the location of each capital within the South Stoa, their decoration, or their level of finish.

Similarities in technical execution and level of completion demonstrate common stages of workmanship among the group, giving credence to the supposition that at least 17 of the capitals under review belong to a single commission. Beyond stylistic details, the consistency of the central circular dowel hole with evidence for a smaller lead square dowel set into **3**–**5**. **7**. **9**. **10** and **14**–**18** verify that a uniform system of construction techniques was applied to the group as they were erected in the South Stoa. Further binding the group as a single commission is the width and depth of the abacus, which is the group's most common dimension. It establishes the overall width and depth of the capital, and thus provides an indication of the shape and size of the original block from which the capital was sculpted and guides the overall dimensions of the face and sides of the capital. With the exception of **14**, and those capitals for which the full measurements cannot be obtained, the abacus' width and depth are set within a tight range of 58.6–62.1 cm and 59.2–62.0 cm. Much of the volume of the volutes and bolsters are bound to the core of this block, signaling that little work was needed to shape the capitals before finer modeling was undertaken.

Because many capitals among the group also include the lower neck and shaft of the column drum below to varying lengths (**1**. **3**–**5**. **7**. **9**–**13**. **15**. **16**), the overall height of each capital differs greatly. Thus while the capitals may have been carved from blocks that maintained similar proportions in terms of their original width and depth, the same cannot be said in terms of their height. And when the varying use of white, white-grey, and blue-grey marble among the group is taken into account alongside the evidence for cuttings on either the top or bottom of **1**. **6** and **15** that pre-date the carving of the capital itself, it is clear that these capitals were carved from a selection of different marble blocks that were available at the time, some of which were reused architectural blocks. The overall size of **15** and the additional square dowel holes on

21 Jacobs 2013, 447–449.

22 Indeed Jacobs 2013, 447–449 connects the deterioration of skilled sculpting with the unemployment, and thus shortage, of stone carvers and other skilled artisans from the 3rd cent. on, as suggested by Cod. Theod. 13, 4, 2, Cod. Theod. 13, 4, 4, and Cod Theod. 13, 4, 3. While sculptors were probably more plentiful in the 5th and 6th cent. than they were in the 3rd, the prevalence of reused architectural blocks and the frequent appearance of unfinished work and simple, rather than detailed, mouldings among architectural elements is indicative of the situation.

either side of the circular dowel hole on the bottom of the capital match the general size of the block and the cuttings for dowels on the top of the bases for the columns of the North Stoa[23]. It is therefore probable that at least this capital was carved from a column base, perhaps belonging to a former phase of the South Stoa that had been severely damaged. It follows that **1**. **6** and probably several other capitals among the group were carved from other damaged elements of the earlier South Stoa, or possibly the nearby Civil Basilica. Of those capitals that were cut from the same block as a substantially large portion of the uppermost column shaft (**1**. **4**. **5** and **12**), the height of these blocks ranges between 45.0–51.8 cm, a dimension just short of the depth of an architrave, such as the broken example found reused as a seat above the pool walls. Such large architectural blocks by the late 5th cent., in a state too broken to be set back in place as they were originally intended, would have provided sufficient material for these capitals. An unfinished 6th cent. impost capital, partially carved from an earlier Ionic frieze block (now in the courtyard of the Ephesus Museum in Selçuk)[24], demonstrates that this practice occurred elsewhere in Asia Minor. Other examples among the group, such as **9–11**, and **16** seem to have been carved from different blocks. They are of different marble types, and their hasty, uneven execution and level of incompletion belie a freehanded approach to the planning and some of the ornamentation of these capitals, suggesting that their original blocks may have been more amorphous and irregular than redeployed architectural units.

With this information, it is possible to reconstruct a scenario in which the initial stage of production began with the cutting of the block and roughing out of constituent elements. Once a rough shape was obtained, the circular shape of the volutes was outlined on the front and back sides of the capitals before the sculptors took to modeling finer details[25]. In all examples, the volutes are complete and are largely consistent with one another in terms of their design and demonstrated carving technique. The uniform treatment and completion of the volutes imply that one individual, or a limited number of carvers, may have been responsible for the realization of this element. The same may also be said of the regularity with which the bolsters are executed with the scale-like leaf and the recessed leaf motifs, with the exception of **4**, where there is evidence that the sculptor (or sculptors) began to carve traces of the scale-like leaf pattern nearest one volute before applying the recessed leaf motif to the whole of the bolster. Other elements are much more variable. The echinus on **9**, as well as the bolster and balteus on **8–11** and on one side of **16**, were left unfinished. On **11** and one side of **16**, there are hints of the initial shaping of a balteus with the point chisel. The unfinished state of these elements suggests that they were probably the last to be completed during the production process. A similar division occurs with the application of the egg and dart motif. **2–4**. **6**. **12–14** and **17** feature an egg and dart pattern in which the eggs are uniformly and cleanly delineated by a case moulding, whereas the eggs

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23 The average dimensions for a column base from the North Stoa and its dowel hole cuttings are as follows: H: 34.6, Dia.: 81.4; distance from outer edges of square dowel holes: 47.1; dowel holes: 6.7 x 6.2, D: 6.1. The comparative dimensions for **15** are as follows: H: 31.5, D: 61.4, Dia.: 50.6; distance from outer edges of square dowel holes: 45.2; dowel holes: 7.5 x 6.2, D: 4.1; 5.5 x 6, D: 4.1.

24 The capital is unlabeled in the courtyard.

25 Elsewhere in Asia Minor beginning around the 4th cent. A.D., such as at the Basilica-Church at Hierapolis or on the ›Clivus Sacer‹ at Ephesus, it is typical to find sets of Ionic capitals with the volutes, bolsters, and abacus modeled but left unfinished. The examples among this group at Aphrodisias are finished to a higher degree, suggesting that either the unfinished mouldings were the result of the rapidity of the project or the skill of the carvers under employ rather than aesthetic choice.

on **9–11** are unevenly executed, set within a rough, doughy case moulding. No case moulding delineates the eggs on **1. 5. 15** and **18**. Beyond these elements, however, there is no further indication that a certain division of labor between carvers might have been implemented in the execution of the finer details[26].

Of the capitals for which measurements could be taken, **2–5. 8–10. 12. 14–16** and **17** maintain some internal coherence with common proportional standards. While the height of the abacus on these examples ranges between 3.0–5.5 cm, the width and height of their volutes range from 17.2–21.6 cm and 17.5–20.2 cm, with most measuring between 17.5–19 cm in width and height. Thus the ratio of the abacus height to echinus height falls to an approximate 1:3 ratio (especially **2. 4. 5. 14**). The shape of the abacus also appears to guide the height of the capital from the bottom of the volute to the top of the abacus to a certain degree. Unlike the Vitruvian standard, which sees the height of the capital equal one-half the depth of the abacus, these capitals feature a set of proportions where this height ranges from approximately one-third the depth of the abacus (**2. 10. 16**) to two-fifths the depth of the abacus (**3–5. 9. 12. 14. 15. 17**). No further proportional logic or common dimensional standards can be identified among the group. This information suggests that while there may have existed a paradigm that guided sculptors in their execution of these capitals, these craftsmen were not strictly held to this model nor were they bound to follow the formulae that may have once governed the proportions of earlier examples of the Ionic order during the Classical, Hellenistic and early Roman Imperial periods.

The level of variety and consistency of sculptural details among most examples of the group indicates that carvers worked within certain parameters, including the general size of each capital, the overall relationship between the dimensions of the abacus to the size of the capital and other individual elements, and a selection of ornamental motifs. Above all, the selection of motifs is the most consistent, and there can be little doubt that the variety of the group was intentional. Nevertheless, the application and execution of these motifs across the group represent a range of styles and models implemented by many different carvers, some who may not have been comfortable with, or competent in, the sculpting of architectural decoration[27]. While different finishes on different sides of a capital do not necessarily indicate that two or more individuals were responsible for the modeling of different sides or elements of a capital[28], it does seem as if a group of carvers may have been responsible for select tasks within the set. Some were perhaps responsible for the coherence of the group by overseeing the application of motifs, others tasked with the execution of the elevation of the entire order (as indicated by the inclusion of the column shaft), while yet others were responsible for completing finer details, rotating among tasks between different sides of different column capitals as needed.

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[26] Russell 2013, 348 f. notes a similar division of labor in which, in the initial stage, blocks are roughed out with the point chisel, followed by carving completed by different sculptors according to their skills and abilities. Russell emphasizes that »the ability of [the] carvers to divide stages in the working process between multiple specialists depended ultimately on the size of their market« as well as, most likely, the size of the project commissioned.

[27] In an important review of architectural decoration in Roman Asia Minor, Vandeput 1997, 26 highlights the prospect that, in any given period of antiquity, not all workmen came to a project with the same training, experience, perspective, and/or skill.

[28] Rohmann 1998, 26 f.; Lipps 2010/2011, 118–121.

## II. The Economics and Aesthetics of Late Antique Monumental Architecture at Aphrodisias

Given that so few newly initiated construction projects of late antiquity in the cities of the Roman East outside of major urban centers such as Constantinople are well documented[29], the South Stoa of the urban park at Aphrodisias is an exceptional example of the potential of Late Antique aesthetics and design[30]. As evidenced by R. R. R. Smith's analysis of the city's production of statuary during this time, Aphrodisias maintained its sculptural schools and continued access to local quarries well into the Late Antique period[31]. While such access was diminished from the scale of production of the High Imperial period, it nevertheless made new monumental architecture possible and was an important feature of Aphrodisias, which served as the capital of the new province of Caria in late antiquity. The freedom of choice offered by a new construction project (as opposed to one supplied by unaltered, spoliated architectural elements) would have affected the execution and presentation of the group of capitals under review. Even so, economic factors also would have influenced the appearance of these capitals. Given the economic situation of the Roman East in the century preceding the revitalization and restoration of the urban park, there were limits to what even a major investment of funds could achieve in newly initiated construction projects[32]. As such, this group of Ionic capitals expresses the way in which the aesthetic desires of a local population were fulfilled in a Late Antique city when certain funds and resources were available[33].

In the execution of each individual capital and of the group as a whole, it is evident that their carving was cost-efficient and was largely dependent on the ability of the carvers under employ

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29 Jacobs 2013 cites 10 new colonnaded streets built in late antiquity: Skythopolis, Palladius Street (Ionic, dated to the late 4th cent.), Tebessa, ›Allee‹ (Corinthian, late 4th – early 5th cent.), Aizanoi, Late Antique colonnaded street (Ionic, late 4th – early 5th cent.), Sardis, colonnade street in sector MMS (early 5th cent.), Sardis, street in sector HoB (5th cent.), Abu Mina (late 5th – early 6th cent.), Jerusalem, south section of the Cardo (Corinthian, Justinianic), Zenobia, Cardo (Corinthian, mid-6th cent.), Zenobia, Decumanus (6th cent.), Anjar, main streets (Corinthian, early 8th cent.); three new agorae: Aphrodisias, Tetrastoon (Corinthian, second half of 4th cent.), Skythopolis, Byzantine Agora (Corinthian, mid- or second half of 5th cent.), Zenobia, Forum (Corinthian, Justinianic); two new plazas: Sagalassos, Fountain House Plaza (Corinthian, early 6th cent.), Skythopolis, Theatre Plaza (Corinthian, early 6th cent.). As further archaeological investigation is devoted to the study of architecture and urbanism in late antiquity, no doubt more examples similar to that of the South Stoa will be discovered.

30 The use of the term ›aesthetic‹ here conforms to the criteria established by Jacobs 2007, 457 f. as 1) material and formal properties which influence the way people look and respond based on their own account; 2) »qualities and associations as memories or mental associations aroused by the object.« Belonging to the latter are »feelings of nostalgia, familiarity or affection for the object, consideration of the purpose or usefulness of an object, reflections of an ethical nature, and appreciation of the intentions and technical skill of the artist and designer«.

31 Smith 1999; for datable access to the local quarries of Aphrodisias during the 5th cent., see Long 2012, 188 and Russell 2013, 266.

32 With the increasing centralization of public administration and finances under the imperial administration from the late 3rd cent. onward, as well as the frequent occurrence of earthquakes in the region, finances and resources were often stretched for the maintenance of urban infrastructure during late antiquity. Even the Arkadiane at Ephesus, reconstructed in the early 5th cent. with imperial funds, made use of disparate architectural fragments. Jacobs – Waelkens 2013, 249. For more, see Jacobs 2013, 533 f.

33 In contrast, see contemporary examples of the Late Antique Corinthian and Ionic impost capitals featured in R. Kautzsch, Kapitellstudien. Beiträge zu einer Geschichte des spätantiken Kapitells im Osten von vierten bis siebente Jahrhunderts (Berlin 1936) and W. E. Betsch, The History, Production and Distribution of the Late Antique Capital in Constantinople (Ph.D. diss. University of Pennsylvania 1977).

and on the availability of materials. When compared to the capitals of the North Stoa, these are approximately half the size of their northern counterparts and the depth of their moulding is significantly curtailed, retaining much of the shape and density of the rectangular blocks from which they were sculpted. As with other Late Antique examples at Aphrodisias and elsewhere in Asia Minor, such as those of the Tetrapylon Street and those documented at Ephesus in the city's agora and near the Church of St. John, much of the volume of the echinus, bolster, and neck of each capital is largely bound to the overall mass of the block, making the general form of the capital thick and bulky[34]. Rather than carving direct copies of their North Stoa counterparts, where the echinus protrudes more fully from the volume of the capital and the rendering of the volutes, bolster, and abacus is more three-dimensional, such technical alterations helped reduce the overall transaction costs of the commission in terms of both the amount of materials used and time spent carving, not to mention the skill required for the task[35]. Similarly, the inclusion of portions of the column shaft among **1**. **3–5**. **7**. **9–13**. **15** and **16** suggests that carving each capital to a standard height and the carving of each drum independently would have resulted in a greater price. It was more efficient and cost-effective to use the available blocks, both those originating from redeployed architectural elements and those few that may have been freshly quarried, to their maximum potential rather than waste any material for the sake of achieving a fully standardized group[36]. As both the overall size and structural relationship with each column drum varies from capital to capital, it is also possible that independent patrons or a ›nucleated workshop‹[37], or a combination thereof, may have been responsible for the execution of a single order within the colonnade, from base to capital, rather than only for the capital itself. Evidence for the selective funding of portions of the stoa is substantiated by a dedicatory inscription featured on an architrave block belonging to the South Stoa, dated on the basis of prosopography and letter forms to the late 5th cent. A.D. It recognizes a certain Philippos who paid for either the roofing of two sections of the stoa or the construction of these two sections in their entirety[38].

Further considerations of time and skill, and therefore the cost of labor, may also explain why the execution of ornamental motifs vary to such a degree among the group, and why certain details, such as the palmette traditionally seen on the echinus of Ionic capitals, are omitted from the group. Costs were mitigated by the flexible homogeneity of the project, facilitated by the selection of a number of key decorative motifs that were used throughout the group and applied by different carvers with varying levels of proficiency[39]. One of four motifs could be chosen for the decoration of the echinus, executed by carvers who do not seem to have been bound to any rigid, exacting standards that would have increased the time spent on the project and thus

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34 Herrmann 1988, 18, figs. 163. 333.

35 Herrmann 1988, 160. Beyond the economy of effort, solidity seems to have been an aesthetic imperative here.

36 Given that so few new architectural projects were initiated in Aphrodisias during the late 5th cent., it is worth noting the unlikelihood that the city's local quarries maintained any standard system for the cutting and shaping of architectural marbles as was common in the 1st and 2nd cent. A.D. For more on the standardization of architectural marbles during the Imperial period, see Waelkens et al. 1988, 110; Waelkens 1990, 64–70; Wilson 2009, 402 f.

37 According to Wilson 2009, 396, a ›nucleated workshop‹ is defined as a cluster of several individual workshops forming a production complex with shared access to raw materials, labor, or market.

38 Roueché 1989, cat. 66. The text is written in one line along the upper fascia and reads, »Φίλιππος Ἡροδιαν (οῦ) ὁ θαυμ (ασιώτατος) εὐχαριστῶν τῇ οἰκίᾳ πατρίδι τὰ β΄ διάχορα ἐσκέπασεν«. It is probable that the »two sections« mentioned in the text refer to two intercolumniations of the stoa. For what specifically Philippos may have contributed funds, the roofing or the entire construction of this space, Roueché 1989, 108 f. is less certain.

39 Jacobs 2013, 180 notes that among the advantages of diversified collections were speed and price.

increased its overall expense. The consequence of binding the carvers to exacting standards for the execution of ornamental details is demonstrated by the state of the bolster among the group. This component is consistent across all examples in that it is finely molded and features only one of two select motifs, yet it is also the single greatest part of the capital that was left unfinished among the group.

There can be little doubt that the construction of the South Stoa would have incurred a great cost, considering the limited evidence for the use of freshly quarried or carved marble in the city's urban building projects between A.D. 300–700[40]. The city walls, whose construction dates to the mid-4th cent. A.D., are notable for their use of both borrowed and new architectural elements. While the walls have an external face that was constructed almost entirely from reused marble elements arranged in imitation of pseudo-isodomic masonry, its internal face was made of local white marble *petit appareil* blocks. Due to the consistency in type and execution of these *petit appareil* blocks, P. De Staebler suggests that the majority of these were newly quarried for this project, with ca. 100,000 blocks needed[41]. Apart from the city walls, there is much evidence at Aphrodisias for an intensive period of building activity citywide from the 4th–6th centuries A.D.[42]. Even so, the majority of these building works focused on the maintenance, restoration, embellishment, or functional adaptation and/or conversion of existing structures. The only project that would have necessitated substantial quantities of newly carved marble would have been the conversion of the Temple of Aphrodite into the Cathedral of St. Michael, a transformation that expanded the building to approximately four times its original size[43]. Yet even within this project, many elements of the former temple were reused. Therefore, though some sculptors and fresh marble were available at this time, these resources were either unnecessary, insufficient, or considered financially profligate to commit to building fully anew even the most important of buildings at Aphrodisias in late antiquity.

The use of borrowed architectural elements in the Late Antique restoration of the urban park's monumental pool[44] demonstrates that spoliation was deemed an acceptable, cost-efficient solution within the area's greater restoration project. It is thus noteworthy that the South Stoa was newly built, and that time and funds were allocated to the recarving of preexisting architectural blocks specifically for large portions of the building. The Civil Basilica, adjacent to the southwest corner of the urban park, by this time lay partly in ruins and would have provided an ample number of architectural members for the South Stoa project[45]. Given that both a sculpted relief panel and a cornice block from the basilica were re-used for the stylobate of the South Stoa, and that many of the basilica's column pedestals, bases, shafts, and entablature elements were redeployed in the stoa's construction in the area adjacent to the basilica[46], it is important to consider the extent to which direct reuse may have occurred elsewhere along the South Stoa

40 For more, see Smith 1999, 157–159 and Ratté 2001.

41 De Staebler 2008, 289–293.

42 For more, see Sokolicek – Dalgıç 2017, Table 23.1.

43 For the size approximation and other estimates for the project, see Ratté 2001, 130–133. 138.

44 Such as a broken architrave block (see discussion above).

45 Stinson – Outschar 2016, 84 f. states that the South Stoa was constructed »almost entirely of spolia«. Using the construction of the South Stoa and evidence from the excavations of »Context 4« (Stinson – Outschar 2016, 85 f. 90), Stinson dates the first signs of dilapidation of the Civil Basilica to the 5th cent. A.D.

46 See Stinson – Outschar 2016, pl. 41 for an image of the reused relief panel in situ.

and the rationale for the commission of so many newly sculpted Ionic capitals in the area nearest the East Gate and theater hill retaining wall.

At the present state of archaeological inquiry, it is difficult to determine the extent to which an earlier phase of the South Stoa may have existed. The only positive evidence for a stoa dated prior to late antiquity rests with an in situ corbel projecting westward from the East Gate and five sets of cuttings in the face of the theater retaining wall (see *Fig. 1*). The corbel is situated at the very height and depth at which the stoa should connect to the East Gate, and it is an architectural element that would be otherwise useless were it not intended to facilitate some sort of structural transition between the gate and an adjacent building. Yet because the East Gate was built during the mid-2nd cent., it stands to reason that a stoa must have also existed at this time, well before the Late Antique construction. Supporting this conclusion are sets of cuttings in the theater retaining wall, which evidence the insertion of transverse beams, as well as primary and secondary rafters for the attachment and support of the stoa's roof. Discordances among the sets, such as variances in their sizes, depths, and distances apart from each other, suggest that these were fittings for not one but rather two separate phases of the stoa's roofing system.

Excavations, however, have yielded no evidence for an early phase stoa. To date, only three segments of the stoa have been fully excavated: two at its easternmost end extending from the East Gate parallel to the theater retaining wall and one at its westernmost end, extending from the West Stoa parallel to the façade of the Civil Basilica. Of those materials recovered in the area adjacent to the theater retaining wall, all elements of the stoa, including its column bases, column drums, the 18 capitals under review, and architrave were newly carved in late antiquity (there are no known frieze or cornice blocks). Yet of those materials recovered from the western end, a majority were directly reused from the Civil Basilica, with few newly carved Late Antique elements. To reconcile this disparity in evidence for and against the existence of an earlier stoa, it is possible to conclude that an earlier stoa once existed only in the area adjacent to the theater retaining wall but was destroyed beyond repair in a major seismic event. This hypothesis corresponds with P. Stinson's suggestion that an early stoa would not have extended as far as the Civil Basilica, otherwise the stoa would have obscured from view the basilica's prominent façade[47]. Extensive repairs made to the south side of the pool during late antiquity indicate significant levels of destruction in the southern sector of the urban park, probably resulting from a major seismic event[48]. Indeed, the discovery of theater seats within the city walls is indicative of damage to the theater prior to the construction of the Late Antique stoa. Thus it is plausible that if an earlier South Stoa existed in this area, it would have been in such complete ruination that it could not be restored or re-erected, thereby rendering necessary a new stoa. At such time, the decision was made to extend the stoa across the whole south side of the urban park since the basilica had by then gone out of use. While a certain amount of direct reuse was deemed appropriate in the construction of the stoa in the area adjacent to the basilica, a much more elaborate effort was desired for the area adjacent to the theater. As the aforementioned dedication by Philippos indicates[49], these variations in design may have been driven by the fact that different patrons

47 Stinson – Outschar 2016, 84 f.

48 This is evident in the widespread use of blue marble slabs to replace the white marble slabs that originally lined the inner ledge of the pool walls along its south side, as well as a broken architrave block, a column drum, and several seats that seem to once have belonged to the bouleuterion, reused as inner and outer pool seats along the south side. For more on the evidence for earthquake damage in the area, see Wilson 2016, 108. 124. 134.

49 See Roueché 1989, cat. 66 (see above, n. 29).

were responsible for the completion of different portions of the stoa. Until further excavations are conducted, it is not possible to ascertain whether the availability of funding or materials, or a combination thereof guided these patrons' decisions. What is of greatest importance is that, to all patrons involved, the construction of the South Stoa *ex novo* in late antiquity was considered a worthwhile expense, and that for at least part of this project freshly carved Ionic capitals were a conspicuous and important decorative element of the commission.

As the processes of production in late antiquity were revised, significant alterations were made to the canonical form of architectural elements across Asia Minor. At Aphrodisias, the organic forms of earlier classical examples of architectural ornamentation were adapted to a more simplified, closed and tectonic, and schematic sculptural template. Two-dimensionality, the diminution of organic forms, and schematization were not new to sculpting in the Greco-Roman world, yet it was during late antiquity that these qualities became prominent attributes of some aspects of visual culture. As such, the acceptance of a modified version of the Ionic order should not be viewed as a pejorative change but rather a change that is at once traditional, contemporary, and, as we have already seen, cost-effective[50].

Above all, these capitals are associated with the overall conservatism of Aphrodisias in late antiquity through the use of several decorative elements that recall the Ionic order as it appears on other nearby monuments[51]. The most important are the use of the egg and dart motif and the scale-like leaf pattern. The latter, termed by Bingöl as »schuppenartig horizontale Blätter«, is an adaptation of that which is depicted on several capitals of the Temple of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias, a monument that Bingöl credits as the first in Asia Minor to use the decoration[52]. There too the incipient uppermost shaft of the column is included with the lower portion of the capital's block. Neither this nor the bolster motif is seen elsewhere in the urban park. At the time of the South Stoa's construction, the temple would have been in the final stages of its conversion into a cathedral[53], making the reference in the South Stoa to its capitals a poignant allusion to the past and present identity of Aphrodisias. Accepting that this motif also recalls the effect of garland, its appearance among the group may also be more immediate within the context of the urban park alongside the North Stoa, East Gate, and West Stoa. Although these other architectural units featured a frieze of masks and garlands, there is no known evidence for a matching frieze along the South Stoa. It is thus possible to regard the appearance of the motif here as a substitute for the missing garland in dialogue with surrounding architecture that had been built in earlier phases.

Yet more broadly, the continued use of the classical Ionic order in the urban park project demonstrates a prevailing local loyalty to the artistic traditions of the classical past. As noted by I. Jacobs, most colonnaded public spaces in the Late Antique East featured the Corinthian order, which had been established as the predominant order as early as the early – middle Imperial period, and it was during the 5th cent. onward that the impost capital gained popularity

50 Herrmann 1988, 4 describes the Ionic capital of Late Antique Rome as representative of a »notable range of esthetic choice, vividly characteristic of profound cultural and political transformation«. Krautheimer 1961, 291 prefers to view the use of the Ionic capital as a sort of classical revival.

51 Smith 1999 notes this penchant for conservatism also in the production of statuary in Late Antique Aphrodisias.

52 Bingöl 1980, 90, cat. 28, 34–36. Another, later example Bingöl identifies at Aphrodisias is cat. 45 (cited as located in the depots). Given the findings presented here, Bingöl's provisional dating of this capital to the 3rd–4th cent. may need reconsideration.

53 Smith – Ratté 1995, 43–52.

in colonnaded streets and plazas[54]. Of the 10 newly constructed colonnaded streets of Roman Asia Minor and Syria that Jacobs lists, only two feature the Ionic order: the Palladius Street at Skythopolis (4th cent.) and the Late Antique colonnaded street at Aizanoi (late 4th – early 5th cent.); and of the three agorae and two plazas that were newly built during late antiquity, none of these feature the Ionic order. Thus within Aphrodisias' South Stoa project, rather than choosing to update their design with the implementation of a more modern order, such as the increasingly popular Ionic impost capital which was used in the contemporary reconstruction of the palaestra within the Bath-Gymnasium Complex at Sardis[55], the project at Aphrodisias proceeded with a traditional, albeit modernized, approach to the Ionic order. Such a decision demonstrates a conscious effort to maintain and restore the classical milieu of the urban park, particularly at a time during which the city of Aphrodisias was still preeminent in the region and the park itself regularly hosted the popular Maiouma festival[56]. Importantly, this symbolic gesture toward venerable classical traditions and the existing fabric of Aphrodisias' own urban landscape was typical of several of the city's Late Antique architectural projects. Restorations and additions made along stretches of the Tetrapylon Street likewise applied a more traditional rendition of the Ionic order to its colonnade. In a similar vein, the outer facing of the fourth-cent. A.D. city walls emphasized former Classical and Hellenistic traditions through the application of pseudo-isodomic masonry. That this style was most carefully rendered nearest the city gates, the walls' most visible areas, and that the walls were constructed at a time during which the actual defense of the city was unnecessary, suggests that this structure was built as a symbolic, historicizing display of Aphrodisias' power and regional preeminence[57].

In terms of innovation, many sculptural elements distinguish this group of capitals from the earlier Ionic capitals of the West and North Stoas. On the echinus, the rosette and the vegetal pattern are newly introduced motifs to the canon. Similarly new is the recessed leaf pattern that appears on the bolsters of three examples. These are without parallel at Aphrodisias, and they occur infrequently within the group. Perhaps more conspicuous than these new motifs are the modifications that were made to the typical egg and dart and bead and reel format of the Ionic order, the most glaring of which are the upward-pointing darts. Here they are prominent and austere, appearing in stark contrast with earlier examples in which this element, when viewed from the ground, exists as a barely discernible decorative flourish that points down.

Modifications such as these align well with the observations of J. Herrmann, who notes that those Late Antique Ionic examples that do appear in Asia Minor are bold, powerfully articulated, and simple[58]. At Aphrodisias, the carvers emphasized a hard and definite outline for each decorative component that separated features and motifs, underscoring their singularity within each self-contained example. Unlike homogenous repetition, the diversification of patterns as seen here affects the viewer's interaction with the group. This assortment of ornamentation slows down the processes of engagement and invites the viewer to reflect on each singular articulation,

54 Jacobs 2013, 170–172. See also above (n. 20).
55 According to Yegül 1974, 265 f., the original capitals of the palaestra were of the Corinthian order.
56 For more on the Maiouma and its setting in the urban park, see Wilson 2016, 132–135.
57 De Staebler 2008, 292. 318.
58 Herrmann 1988, 148–152.

noting the similarities and differences between each sculptural element and each capital as a whole. While the concept of the Ionic capital remains the same, there is nevertheless an alteration in one's visual encounter with the object. To what extent the average viewer would have paid attention to, or cared about, a diverse display such as this remains debatable. Even so, it is possible to understand how the introduction of the rosette on the echinus among a sea of egg and dart patterns would have been striking and may have even served as a localized signpost for theater-goers and salesmen looking to spatially position themselves in the urban park.

There is little dispute among scholars that the aesthetics of design in late antiquity departed from the repertoire of earlier periods[59]. To account for this departure, the principle of *varietas* is often cited retrospectively as a »central [aesthetic] concept of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages«[60]. While *varietas* has been central to discussions of Late Antique taste, these newly sculpted Ionic capitals of the South Stoa at Aphrodisias suggest that the concept has been perhaps too closely associated with the implementation of spoliated architectural elements and too narrowly considered to be an innovation of Late Antique design. One of the most influential scholars to review the topic was F. Deichmann, who argued that the Late Antique city was characterized by a heterogeneous appearance due to the use of *spolia* in contemporary construction projects. According to Deichmann, this lack of homogeneity was foremost the result of a lack of accessible homogeneous building materials and not a matter of free choice[61]. While this argument may be viable when it comes to certain building projects that employed spoliated architectural members out of economic necessity, it is problematic in that it ignores the application of *varietas* in earlier periods of antiquity and discredits the agency of patrons and sculptors[62]. One of the best examples of this issue is the Arch of Constantine in Rome, whose combined use of *spolia* and new architectural elements speaks not to a lack of resources but rather conveys an important ideology, one that evoked earlier Roman tradition to lend Constantine legitimacy during a time when his Imperial claim may still have been contested[63]. The variegated elements on the arch are visually striking in their contrast with each other, chosen to underscore their differences and highlight the inherent message of the monument[64]. That *varietas* should further be dissociated from *spolia* is evidenced by other material of the Late Antique Mediterranean world. Literary and epigraphic sources frequently imply that the use of *spolia* was rarely deemed a positive act, and in application there are few, if any, building projects that were made exclusively of second-hand materials[65].

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59 For general discussion, see Deichmann 1940; Bianchi Bandinelli 1966, 426; Krautheimer 1961, 291; Deichmann 1975; Brenk 1987; Herrmann 1988, 1–5. 152–161; Onians 1988; Coates-Stephens 2003; Jacobs 2007; Jacobs 2013, 1–10; Waelkens – Jacobs 2014.

60 Brenk 1987, 105; Onians 1988, 60–69; Saradi-Mendelovici 1990, 52 f.; Lindros Wohl 2001, 92–98; Hansen 2001, 76–80; Coates-Stephens 2003, 343.

61 Deichmann 1975, 92 f.

62 Elsner 2004, 291. By listing the various occurrences in the early Imperial period for the reuse of earlier works of art on public monuments, redeployed for ideological rather than financial purposes, Elsner's work further underscores problems in Deichmann's economic argument.

63 Brenk 1987, 105; see also Elsner 2004, 288–290, and n. 55–60 for a full bibliography.

64 Roberts 1989, 97; Elsner 2004, 288–293.

65 See Coates-Stephens 2003, 352–354 for a useful discussion of the primary texts; see also Jacobs 2007, 462 for further commentary.

Now that new evidence has come to light regarding the continued aesthetic maintenance of urban landscapes and the use of freshly carved marble well into late antiquity[66], it is important to recognize that the principle of *varietas* extends well beyond the issue of *spolia* and pertains to most, if not all, periods of classical antiquity. *Poikilia*, as it was known in Archaic Greece, was used to describe one's visual encounter with decorative variety, ornamental richness, and complex surface treatment[67]. Appearing in the form of intricately woven designs, the juxtaposition of varied materials, and polychromy, *poikilia* comprised a combination of diverse qualities that, when applied to art objects, was the mark of master craftsmanship and was valued in both Archaic and Classical Greece[68]. J. Hurwit even contends that the Ionic order, through its animation of inorganic stone into elaborate and variegated vegetation, was the architectural embodiment of *poikilia* in early Greek society[69]. *Poikilia* as an aesthetic concept continued to be of importance in the Roman world, where it took on further meaning and nuance as *varietas*. Celebrated by authors such as Columella and Pliny and exemplified by the vegetal diversity that decorates the lower panels of the Ara Pacis, *varietas* also came to characterize the variety and playfulness of nature and artistic creativity[70]. With direct reference to architectural ornamentation, Strabo praises the mottled effect of Scyrian marble and notes its prestige among construction projects in the city of Rome[71]. Ultimately, both *poikilia* and *varietas* consisted of the unification of varied elements whose composite juxtaposition was considered to be an esteemed quality in the visual culture of the Greco-Roman world.

It is from this perspective that the Ionic capitals at Aphrodisias should be considered. These capitals were not part of a new artistic language in and of itself but rather a new aesthetic vernacular, one that augmented and redefined the same *varietas* that had already been established in former ancient architectural design. To the modern eye, these capitals are marked by an apparent disunity and heterogeneity that may, upon a cursory inspection, contrast with earlier examples. Yet those who have studied architectural decor for any length of time would agree that patrons and sculptors in classical antiquity never sought or achieved exact uniformity in their design. The study of antiquity in the modern era has, to a degree, imposed regularity and uniformity on ancient design that was not as strong as modern conceptions may suggest[72]. Disruptions to the homogeneity of a building or construction project were often emphasized by variegated architectural elements, the most obvious of which include the application of polychrome marbles and the superimposition of orders. The aediculated façades of prominent monuments, such as Imperial cult buildings, theaters, and nymphaea, featured alternating combinations of lintels,

66 Including but not limited to Niewöhner's 2007 examination of the urban development of Aizanoi and Dokimion from the 4th–6th cent., Jacob's comprehensive study of »classical« cities of the 4th–7th cent., and Niewöhner's 2014 study of the production and distribution of Dokimeian white marble during and after the Theodosian period.

67 For the significance of *poikilia* in Archaic art, see Hurwit 1985, 23–25 and Neer 2002, 15–17. 33 f.

68 Neer 2002, 15–17. 33 f.; Neer 2010, 113; Grand-Clément 2015, 410.

69 Hurwit 1985, 211.

70 Colum. 10, 256–257; Plin. nat. 21, 1. For more on the relationship between *varietas* and nature, see Fitzgerald 2016, 33–39.

71 Strabo 9, 5,16. Of a similar vein, Pliny criticizes those who alter the natural *varietas* of marble with paint it to give it more uniformity (Plin. nat. 35, 1).

72 Modern studies and hypothetical reconstructions of ancient buildings, at their most basic level, often tend to simplify and reduce the diversity of architectural ornamentation in antiquity by showing repetitive schemes and highlighting only one or two examples of the classical orders used in a building. For a discussion of the interplay between standards of proportion and variety, see Wilson Jones 2015, 59.

arches, triangular pediments, and broken pediments to add a dynamic visual contrast to what might otherwise be perceived as tedious and dull had identical features been recapitulated across the entirety of a façade. Repetitive elements within a colonnade may lend a certain uniformity to a project, yet the monotony of a colonnade was often broken by other decorative ensembles. At Aphrodisias, the entire length of the urban park's North Stoa, which was first commissioned and sculpted during the Tiberian period, was accented by a frieze of masks and garlands that was so multifarious that no two reliefs were alike[73]. It was also typical of most public architecture that statues and other ornamental elements of varying materials, sizes, commissions, and dates of production would either be placed directly within, or in the immediate vicinity of, a building. Further adding diversity to architectural compositions were the many repairs, additions, and alterations made to a building over the course of its life. The aforementioned North Stoa underwent at least one stage of repairs before A.D. 500 and thus contained two different iterations of the Ionic capital[74]. Even with these alterations, the stoa as a whole maintained aesthetic coherence. Beyond self-contained building projects, strict homogeneity was hardly adhered to in any given urban vista of the Greco-Roman world. In the urban park of Aphrodisias, the North Stoa, the West Stoa, and the façade of the East Gate, each constructed at different times and commissioned by different patrons, together provided a coherent yet varied architectural framework of Ionic stoas topped with mask and garland friezes for the monumental public space positioned within. More often than not, the *varietas* present in antique architectural design was ordered and harmonious, marked by a certain diversification that imparted visual dynamism and energy while avoiding discordance.

In this light, scholars such as I. Jacobs have suggested that the formal changes witnessed in Late Antique urban construction projects should be regarded not as an aesthetic departure but rather as a general evolution in mentality or taste[75]. This is exemplified in none other than the architectural ornamentation of the Hagia Sophia. Sparing no expense to procure diverse marbles and other valued materials from across the Mediterranean, the achievement of *poikilia* seems to have been a central aim of the building's interior design and execution. While the variety of its materials and ornate details tends to attract individual attention, contemporary commentators such as Procopius also emphasize the harmony that is achieved within the building through its diverse components. In one particularly poignant passage, Procopius extolls the way in which the Hagia Sophia's details were fitted together with incredible skill to produce a singular form while simultaneously drawing one's eye to each specific component, encouraging the viewer's gaze to shift rapidly from one remarkable element to the next[76]. The variegated yet congruent presentation of sculptural ornamentation within the gallery arcades demonstrates this quite well. Although all capitals within the gallery feature much the same vegetal decoration, no two are executed to the same requisite proportions or mechanical sculptural standards, with some even featuring different monograms naming either Justinian or Theodora, or referring to each more generally as »emperor« or »empress«. Yet because the capitals' deeply undercut surface decoration is harmoniously carried in an almost unbroken sightline from one capital to the next

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73 Jacopi 1939; de Chaisemartin 1989, 36–41; de Chaisemartin – Lemaire 1996, 161–164.

74 Crema 1939, 216–220; Waelkens 1987.

75 Jacobs 2007, 462–464.

76 Procop. aed. 1, 1, 47–48. For more on the visual experience of *poikilia* within the Hagia Sophia as conveyed by primary sources such as Procopius and Paul the Silentiary, see discussion by Schibille 2014, especially 18–21. 108.

and onto the spandrels of each adjacent arch before following onto the adjacent walls, with each of these components carved in white Proconnesian marble, the inconsistencies of the capitals' sculptural decoration lend the unified ensemble a certain liveliness rather than appearing as the mark of poor craftsmanship.

Although the body of evidence indicates that the degree of *varietas* in late antiquity was heightened to a level without precedent, it is clear that many of the architectural projects undertaken during this time maintained aesthetic continuity with earlier examples, notably in that they stressed a uniform appearance and quoted established decorative motifs[77]. At Jerusalem, the sixth-cent. extension of the city's cardo did not use an updated architectural order according to contemporary trends but rather fitted its new addition with Corinthian capitals to match the structure's preexisting design. Similarly, though the aforementioned Ionic impost capitals significantly modernized the design of the Bath-Gymnasium Complex at Sardis, they nevertheless referenced nearby architecture by featuring a distinctly local and traditional »open and closed palmette« motif[78]. Even with projects that made use of second-hand materials, there seems to have been a tendency to match spoliated elements in a homogeneous manner while still emphasizing their *poikilia*[79]. Much like these examples, the Ionic capitals from the South Stoa at Aphrodisias, when treated together as a single unit, do not demonstrate diversity *per se* as much as they demonstrate a range of aesthetic choice that was guided by certain economic parameters and bound by an intentional sculptural coherency according to local and contemporary expressive concerns.

## Conclusions

The paradox of innovation and tradition among the Ionic capitals of the South Stoa complemented the dual nature of the urban park's revitalization project that was initiated in the late 5th – early 6th cent. A.D. As a central urban area whose very function was rooted in a classical tradition that had elsewhere begun to dissipate, the urban park featured a visual display that demonstrated a physical and conceptual continuity with the 1st–4th cent. A.D. life of Aphrodisias. The continued use of the Ionic capital and certain decorative motifs within the order tied the South Stoa to Aphrodisias' classical identity. Yet as a highly visible and costly venture in a provincial capital, the newly constructed South Stoa also showcased contemporary aesthetic trends. The modeling of forms in favor of a more straightforward and geometric sculptural approach ›modernized‹ the appearance of the urban park while the amplification of *varietas*, through the juxtaposition of traditional and innovative sculptural elements within the South Stoa and between the neighboring stoas within which the South Stoa was viewed, forced the viewer to engage with the striking multiplicity of the architectural program and reflect on its meaning. Yet in choosing to sculpt a group of capitals that featured limited volumetric rendering beyond the core of the block and a flexible design that was regulated by the use of stylistically similar motifs and the availability of

77 Jacobs and Waelkens 2013, 249; see also Jacobs 2013, 136–145 for a comprehensive overview of colonnaded streets in Late Antique and early Byzantine Asia Minor.

78 Yegül 1974, 271 f.

79 This includes a range of construction projects, from churches in Rome to the main street at Anjar. For more, see Pensabene 1989; Coates-Stephens 2003, n. 25; Jacobs 2013, 171.

materials, the overall cost of the ensemble was minimized. Under these conditions, it is evident that both economic factors and aesthetic preferences were influential in guiding the design of this group. However, until a more comprehensive study of Late Antique architecture in Asia Minor can be conducted, the extent to which this design was a response to the widespread application of reused building elements in general, economic factors, or changes in Late Antique aesthetic preferences remains to be determined.

*Abstract*: This paper examines a group of 18 unpublished late fifth-, early sixth-cent. A.D. Ionic capitals belonging to the South Stoa of the city's urban park, the ›South Agora‹. As a coherent yet individualized group of newly carved Ionic capitals uncommon in Asia Minor for its time, this group is an exceptional example of the potential of Late Antique aesthetics and urban design. By analyzing various economic factors and the concept of *varietas* (in Greek, *poikilia*) as a guiding aesthetic principle, I argue that patrons and sculptors established certain parameters in the execution of this material to help defray the expense of such a costly enterprise and to satisfy the aesthetic desires of contemporary populations. In doing so, these producers reconciled a seemingly paradoxical perspective in Aphrodisias, one that was simultaneously dependent on the realities of an inherited past and a dynamic present.

## Die Ionischen Kapitelle der Platzanlage der südlichen Stoa von Aphrodisias: Eine Fallstudie zur Stadtplanung in der Spätantike

*Zusammenfassung*: In diesem Beitrag wird eine Gruppe von 18 bisher unpublizierten ionischen Kapitellen aus dem späten 5. – frühen 6. Jh. untersucht, die zu der südlichen Stoa, der von Bäumen umstandenen Platzanlage, der Süd-Agora, gehörten. Als eine zusammenhängende und doch individualisierte Gruppe von neu behauenen ionischen Kapitellen, die für Kleinasien zu dieser Zeit untypisch sind, ist diese Gruppe ein außergewöhnliches Beispiel für das Potential spätantiker Ästhetik und Stadtplanung. Mittels Analyse verschiedener ökonomischer Faktoren und des Konzeptes der *varietas* (griech.: *poikilia*), wird dargelegt, dass die Auftraggeber und Handwerker für die Bearbeitung des Materials bestimmte Parameter aufstellten, um solche teuren Bauvorhaben kostendeckend und den ästhetischen und zeitgenössischen Wünschen der Bevölkerung entsprechend umzusetzen. Dafür brachten die Erbauer eine scheinbar widersprüchliche Ansicht in Aphrodisias in Einklang, eine die gleichzeitig von den Realitäten früherer Hinterlassenschaften und der dynamischen Gegenwart abhängig waren.

## Aphrodisias'ta, güney stoanın iyon sütun başlıkları: geç antik dönem'deki kent planmasına yönelik bir çalışma

*Özet*: Bu makale, şehrin kamusal parkı olarak görev yapmış Güney Agora'nın Güney Stoa'sına ait, 5. yüzyıl sonları – 6. yüzyıl başlarına tarihlenen ve henüz yayınlanmamış 18 adet İon sütun başlığını ele almaktadır. Hem birbirleriyle bağıntılı, hem de her biri kendine has özellikler taşıyan ve bu yapı için yontulmuş olan İon başlıkları, söz konusu dönemde Küçük Asya için sıra dışı mimari elemanlardır. Bu sütun başlığı grubu, Geç Antik Dönem estetiği ve şehir planlaması konusunda elde bulunan potansiyele istisnai bir örnek oluşturur. Bu makalede,

çeşitli ekonomik faktörlerin ve estetiği yönlendiren bir prensip olarak *varietas* (Yunanca *poikilia*) kavramının analizi yapılarak, işverenlerin ve heykeltıraşların bu denli pahalı bir projenin masraflarını karşılayabilmek ve halkın estetik ihtiyaçlarını tatmin edebilmek için bu eserlerin yapımında bazı parametreler belirledikleri öne sürülmektedir. Bu parametreler sayesinde üreticiler; Aphrodisias'ta, hem miras edinilmiş geçmişe hem de içinde bulunulan dinamik zamana bağlı olan çelişkili bakış açısında bir uzlaşma sağlamışlardır.

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# INHALT



KURZMITTEILUNGEN

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