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The Heracles Sarcophagus from Geneva: Workshop, Date, Provenance and Iconography

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MARC WAELKENS – LORENZ E. BAUMER – MUSTAFA DEMIREL

The Heracles Sarcophagus from Geneva Workshop, Date, Provenance and Iconography

Keywords: Sarcophagus, Workshop, Imperial period, Dokimeion, Heracles

Schlüsselwörter: Sarkophag, Werkstatt, Kaiserzeit, Dokimeion, Herakles

Anahtar sözcükler: Lahit, Atölye, Imperatorluk dönemi, Dokimeion, Herakles

1. BACKGROUND: LOST IN GENEVA (M. WAELKENS – M. DEMIREL)

In 2009, the Swiss customs authorities at Geneva Freeport seized a sarcophagus depicting the Twelve Labours of Heracles (*Figs. 1–5*)¹. The artefact was being returned from the United Kingdom, to where a local art gallery had sent it for restoration. It bore a striking resemblance to a sarcophagus from Perge in the Antalya Museum, which had an almost identical iconography (*Figs. 21–24*)². The Turkish authorities, through the Chief Public Prosecutor's Office of Geneva and the office of the Chief Public Prosecutor of Antalya, opened a case against the art gallery, as the sarcophagus was thought to have been illegally excavated at Perge and smuggled out of the country.

In 1973, the sarcophagus in the Antalya Museum had been excavated and destroyed by robbers in the East Necropolis of Perge. Shortly afterwards, the Istanbul police seized seven parts

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Sources of illustrations: *Figs. 1–5. 30–34* = Antalya Museum (Photo J. Zbinden, Bern). – *Figs. 6. 7. 9. 10. 15. 16. 21–24* = Antalya Museum (Photo M. Waelkens). – *Fig. 8* = Hierapolis Museum (Photo M. Waelkens). – *Fig. 11* = Yalvaç Museum (Photo M. Waelkens). = *Figs. 12. 13* = Konya Museum (Photo M. Waelkens). – *Fig. 14* = ©The Trustees of the British Museum. – *Fig. 17* = Afyon Museum (Photo M. Waelkens). – *Fig. 18* = Kütahya Museum (Photo E. Özer). – *Fig. 19* = D-DAI-ROM-79.3536. – *Fig. 20* = D-DAI-ROM-73.1748. – *Figs. 25–27* = Kayseri Museum (Photo H. Oktay). – *Fig. 28* = After Robert 1897, pl. 34. – *Fig. 29* = After Robert 1897, pl. 35.

¹ Strocka 2017, 74 no. 7.

² Antalya, Museum, inv. 1.11.81-1.3.99-2.3.99 (from Perge): Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 501 n. 44; Asgari 1990a, 522 pls. 80, 2–3; Özet – Gözum 2003, 117–121 figs. 91–93; Strocka 2017, 71 no. 1 pls. 17,2–19,1 with additional literature. See also n. 327.

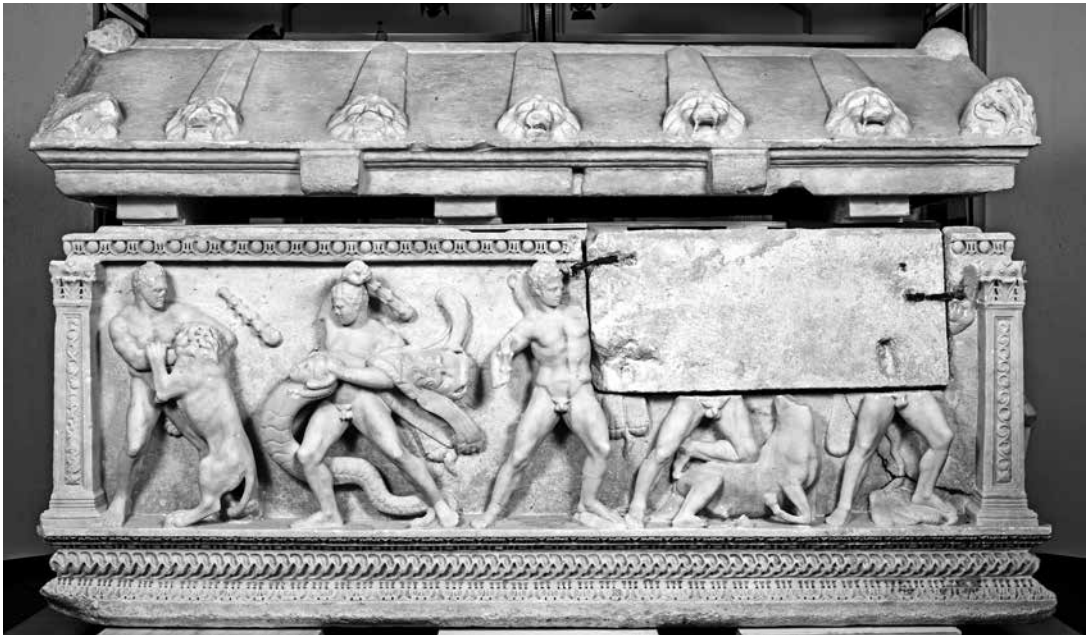


Fig. 1 Front of the Geneva sarcophagus

of the coffin and handed them first to the Istanbul Archaeological Museum and in 1980 to the Antalya Museum. The latter museum subsequently discovered the lid and the socle during a rescue excavation in the area of the illicit excavations and pieced together the recovered fragments. Some, however, had already left the country. In 1974, Jale Inan managed to identify one of these fragments, representing Heracles shooting the Stymphalean birds (Fig. 21), in the J. P. Getty Museum in Malibu, which returned it to Turkey in 1983³. Through the intervention of the Henkel Company, two other figural scenes from the same sarcophagus, which had ended up in the company's Schwarzkopf Collection in Düsseldorf, were returned to Turkey in 1998⁴. One fragment showed Heracles stealing the apples from the Hesperides, the other the cleaning of Augeas' stable (Fig. 24).

In autumn 2014, at the request of the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, M. Waelkens wrote a preliminary report about the new sarcophagus in Geneva. He identified it as belonging to the so-called ›Hauptgruppe‹ (main group) of the high-status sarcophagi in Asia Minor, produced in a workshop near the marble quarries of Dokimeion (İscehisar, near Afyon)⁵, and suggested Perge as the most likely place of provenance. In 2015, the Geneva Chief Prosecutor asked a private enterprise (E. Gnos) to carry out a geological and mineralogical analysis of a small sample taken from inside the coffin of the sarcophagus. The texture, the calcite composition and the isotopic signature, combined with the cathodo-microfacies, identified the material

³ Information provided by Pınar Kuşşeven (Ministry of Culture and Tourism). See Karaduman 2008, 233 fig. 24; Özet – Gözüüm 2002, 118 fig. 92a.

⁴ Özet – Gözüüm 2002, 119–120 fig. 92 a. b.

⁵ Waelkens 1982.

as marble from Dokimeion⁶. Consequently, in September 2015, the Chief Public Prosecutor's Office in Geneva decided the sarcophagus should be handed over, a decision which was approved by the Geneva Court of Justice in May 2016. However, in the meantime, the owners of the gallery had appealed against this decision at the Swiss Federal Court, and M. Waelkens was asked to provide a second, more substantial report. It is this report that forms the core of this article. Eventually, in March 2017, the owners of the art gallery withdrew their appeal and the Swiss Court ordered the restitution of the sarcophagus to Turkey. It was presented to the public on June 19th in the presence of the Turkish Minister of Culture and Tourism, Mr. N. Avci. A temporary display in the archaeological museum of the University of Geneva was concluded on 4 September 2017 by a symposium at the University of Geneva⁷, at which legal, analytical and archaeological aspects of the case were presented. A few days later the sarcophagus arrived at the Antalya Museum, where it is now on display⁸.



Fig. 2 Right-hand side of the Geneva sarcophagus

2. THE SARCOPHAGUS (M. WÄELKENS – L. E. BAUMER)

The dimensions of the sarcophagus were meticulously recorded by L. E. Baumer. The back of the coffin, representing the ›international‹ labours of the older, bearded Heracles (*Fig. 3*), has a length of 2,342 m at the base (socle) and 2,215 m at the top (fillet above the egg-and-dart). The upper length is a perfect fit with the lower dimensions of the corresponding lower part of the lid (2,215 m), of which the maximum length is 2,315 m (lower part of the acroteria). At the front, where the ›Peloponnesian‹ labours of the young, beardless Heracles are depicted (*Fig. 1*), the dimensions of both the coffin and lid are slightly different: a length of 2,325 m and of 2,21 m for, respectively, the lower and upper part of the coffin, corresponding with a length of the lid of 2,23 m below and of 2,32 m at the level of the acroteria.

The dimensions of the short sides of the coffin are 1,125 m wide at the base and 1,02 m at the top, for the left-hand side (*Fig. 4*). The corresponding dimensions of the right-hand short side

⁶ Unfortunately, for legal reasons, the Swiss court did not permit publishing this report, as it was part of the court material. The authors however, were allowed to inspect it. The Docimian origin of the marble is also visually obvious. Nevertheless, the identification of marble is not decisive for locating a workshop. See n. 28.

⁷ Hercules contre les pilleurs: la restitution d'un sarcophage à la Turquie. Colloque du 4 septembre 2017, Université de Genève.

⁸ Antalya, Museum, inv. 2018/132.



Fig. 3 Rear of the Geneva sarcophagus

are 1,115 m, 1,02 m and 0,93 m (*Fig. 2*). The height of the coffin is 0,93 m throughout, except for the short left-hand side, where it is 0,925 m. This height includes a small ledge along the inner edges of the coffin, which sticks out above the coffin's outer edges, in order to hold the lid in place. Both short sides depict an additional labour and another figure of Heracles⁹ on either side of a female figure.

The dimensions of the restored lid are: 1,02 m wide at the base on the short left-hand side and 1,145 m between the acroteria, with a height of 0,47 m. The corresponding dimensions of the lid on the short, right-hand side are 1,035 m, 1,145 m and 0,50 m.

The coffin is composed of a heavily ornamented socle (H 23,5 m) supporting pilasters (H 0,61 m) on each corner, which carry a smaller decorated profile (H 6,5 cm). The latter is composed of two fillets, surrounding a quarter-round decorated with an egg-and-dart motif (*Fig. 5a*). The darts have a heart-shaped arrowhead below and a split stem above. The socle moulding contains, from top to bottom: a fillet, a cyma reversa decorated with leaf-and-darts, an astragal with bead-and-reel, a large central torus decorated with a guilloche, an astragal and an inverted cyma reversa, both with identical decorations as those of the corresponding mouldings above the torus, and finally a plinth (*Fig. 5b*). The bead-and-reel of both astragals no longer corresponds with the darts of the adjoining leaf-and-dart motif.

The stirrup frames of the leaf-and-darts are grooved, while the top of their mid-rib is completely separated from the surrounding frame by a deeply drilled groove. As a result, only two

⁹ L. E. Baumer discusses the iconography below.



Fig. 4 Left-hand side of the Geneva sarcophagus



Fig. 5a Upper moulding of the coffin of the Geneva sarcophagus



Fig. 5b Socle moulding of the Geneva sarcophagus

small bridges at the neck of the latter still connect the mid-rib to the frames of the stirrup. As was common from the early 2nd c. A.D., the upper fillet cuts off the top of the stirrup completely, so that the drilled groove around it no longer forms an eyelet encircling the top of the mid-rib above. The division of the latter's lower part into an element composed of an independently shaped central vein and separate lateral edges appeared from Trajanic-Hadrianic times. The intermediate leaves forming a two-petalled flower sprout independently from the lower edges of the cyma, but are not yet solely shaped by the drill, still having a kind of inner modelling¹⁰.

The pilasters, which are slightly tapering towards the top, have a sunken panel framed by a cyma reversa moulding and are decorated with a simple ivy leaf tendril. Below the lower apophyge of the pilaster, a small torus, followed by a scotia between two fillets, leads to a reversed quarter-round on top of a small plinth. Another small torus separates the pilaster's upper apophyge from three acanthus leaves with three lobes each, spread like fingers, so that the side-lobes of adjacent leaves touch each other. Above the acanthus leaves, a fleuron separates two pairs of volutes of which only the top emerges above the acanthus leaves. A small abacus crowns the capitals.

The lid, shaped like a gabled roof, has large rectangular tiles covered by small imbrices at the top and along the edges. On the long sides (*Figs. 1. 3*), five rows of imbrices, with antefixes shaped like a lion-head spout (with open mouth), cover the adjoining edges of the flat tiles (*tegulae*). On all sides, a sima composed of a plain cyma recta, a small torus and a fascia with apophyge above forms the lower part of the lids. The fascia has two lifting bosses on the long and one in

¹⁰ On the development of this motif during the 2nd c., see Vandeput 1997, 152.

the centre of the short sides. On the short sides, the sloping sides of the gables have along their outer edges a fillet decorated with a stem tendril (a characteristic feature of the Docimian workshop), linking top and side acroteria (*Figs. 2, 4*). On the inner side, there is a fillet above a plain cyma recta, followed by a row of small dentils. In the centre of each gable, there is a patera-like motif, strongly projecting in the middle but with a bulbous indentation in the centre. The top acroteria are composed of two pairs of flaming leaves forming a palmette without a central leaf, while the lower corner acroteria have three similar leaves each, springing from a simple grooved acanthus bush below. The top of the palmette leaves curls strongly inwards. These leaves are no longer grooved, but >hollow< in profile. On the long sides, a short curled stem springs from the acanthus bush.

Following initial use of the sarcophagus, the lid was joined to the coffin by means of vertically placed iron clamps, inserted in lead-filled clamp holes that were cut into the lower fascia of the lid and into the egg-and-dart motif along the upper edge of the coffin. More or less in the middle of the front, there is a single clamp (*Fig. 1*), while none are present on the adjoining right side (*Fig. 2*). At the back, three clamps are evenly spread over both edges and the centre (*Fig. 3*). A single clamp placed near the right edge of the sarcophagus joined the coffin to the lid on the short left-hand side (*Fig. 4*)¹¹.

The upper right part of the coffin's front side seems to have been smashed in antiquity, destroying the upper part of the two Heracles figures on the right (*Fig. 1*). This spot was clearly not selected randomly: the part of the coffin that was removed was located immediately to the right of the only clamp attaching it to the lid at the front. At the back, the coffin and its cover were held together by means of three such clamps; only the left short side had a similar mechanism. It therefore seems that the place to enter the sealed coffin was carefully selected in order to cause as little damage as possible, which is also suggested by the almost rectangular shape of the part that was removed. Afterwards, this hole was sealed with a reused marble plate¹², largely following the contours of the smashed part and joined horizontally to both sides by an iron clamp set in a lead bedding. This suggests that the intention of this partial destruction was not to rob the contents of the sarcophagus but rather to create an opening large enough to introduce (a) new corpse(s) and seal the coffin afterwards. This avoided having to break five iron and lead seals and lift the heavy lid.

As stated above, the sarcophagus is made of fine-grained white Docimian marble. In 2017, a team from the University of Geneva performed additional spectrometric analysis on several areas of the coffin's long sides, including the rectangular repair panel at the front, as well as on the iron clamps (and their lead bedding) that sealed this panel to the rest of the coffin¹³. This analysis

¹¹ A columnar sarcophagus belonging to the same workshop as the Geneva sarcophagus, now on display in the Antalya Museum (inv. 1.35.99), mentions this kind of sealing in the original funerary inscription: »I, Aur(elia) Botiane Demetria erected this sarcophagus for myself, in which only my corpse can be buried; immediately after my death, the sarcophagus should be closed by my heirs, by means of iron and lead.«, see Demirer 1998, 75–88; Koch 2000, 139–148; Şahin 2004, 120 f. no. 427; Koch 2016, 473 f. figs. 28, 29; Stročka 2017, 221 no. 61 pls. 51, 1; 53, 2 (dated ca. A.D. 220). Nevertheless, as shown by two additional inscriptions, her sarcophagus was also used by her children, and later for yet another burial.

¹² Dimensions: 83,4 × 36,5 cm with a thickness of 13 cm. There are traces of crowbar holes and at least one clamp hole on its surface.

¹³ The team was composed of Th. Bürg (Dept of Physical Chemistry), H. Hagermann (Chimiscope) and D. Perret (School of Chemistry and Biochemistry).

demonstrated that the ›repair piece‹ is made of a different material and originates either from another marble source or from a different period than the original material.

At a later point in time, the lid itself was smashed to pieces, perhaps in order to loot all the grave goods inside or at the time of the illegal excavation of the coffin, most likely in the 1960s or early 1970s. The sarcophagus was sent to London, where the lid was restored by means of plaster, which is barely distinguishable from marble with the naked eye¹⁴.

3. IDENTIFICATION OF THE SARCOPHAGUS WORKSHOP (M. WAELKENS)

In addition to sarcophagi from dozens of workshops that produced them for a local or regional market, many high-status sarcophagi can be attributed to the so-called ›*Hauptgruppe*‹ of Roman Imperial sarcophagi from Asia Minor, most of which had a supra-regional distribution¹⁵. Most have a clear architectural structure and are adorned with human figures (winged *Victoriae* and/or *Cupids*), corner pilasters or columns subdividing the coffin into a number of fields decorated with garlands, Medusa heads, theatre masks, portrait busts, standing or seated figures, or mythological scenes. The initially richly decorated socle and (eventually also) upper profiles of the coffins equally reflect a clear chronological development across all sarcophagus types of the group¹⁶. Eventually, however, this rich socle was abandoned in favour of a simple base. As will be demonstrated in chapters 4 and 5, the Geneva sarcophagus clearly belongs to this group of sarcophagi.

A similarly uniform development can be seen on the lids, where *klinè* lids with reclining figures eventually replaced the originally gabled lids. Their structural features and decoration also clearly reflect the activity of a single workshop. Characteristic are large tegulae, antefixes with palmette decoration, eventually replaced by lion-head spouts, a patera-like decoration in the gables; there is also a characteristic stem tendril along the sloping sides of the gable, and on acroteria and antefixes, a specific type of palmette with flaming leaves but without central leaf¹⁷. This type of palmette is only found on artefacts, including architectural elements, decorated by craftsmen from this workshop¹⁸. The lid of the Geneva sarcophagus displays all the characteristics of this group of lids.

The location where the most important group of these sarcophagi, the ›columnar sarcophagi‹, were produced has long been a point of discussion¹⁹. In 1914, by comparing their decoration with architectural ornaments, E. Weigand²⁰ could confirm J. Strzygowski's suggestion that the workshop was located in Asia Minor and not in the West²¹. However, whereas J. Strzygowski argued that the columnar sarcophagi originated from a single workshop, E. Weigand, later supported by C. R. Morey²² and most other scholars, advocated the existence of two different

¹⁴ The new parts are only clearly distinguishable on images taken in UV light.

¹⁵ Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 497.

¹⁶ Waelkens 1982, 1–5 figs. 1–5.

¹⁷ Waelkens 1982, 62–64. Henceforth called ›Docimian‹ palmette.

¹⁸ Vandeput 1997, 187–188; Waelkens et al. 2017, 454–455 fig. 8.

¹⁹ Morey 1924, 21–25, for all older literature.

²⁰ Weigand 1914, 72 f.

²¹ Strzygowski 1901, 40–51.

²² Morey 1924. For all older literature, see Wiegartz 1965, 9 f. 26 f.; Ferrari 1966, 10–15.

groups: an earlier ›Lydian‹ group, usually attributed to Ephesus, and a later ›Sidamaria‹ group, produced in Northwest Anatolia (perhaps in Cyzicus). However, in 1965 and 1966 respectively, H. Wiegartz and G. Ferrari proved that both groups reflected the chronological development of a single production unit²³. Indeed, the ›columnar‹ sarcophagi form such a close group that it is impossible to attribute them to workshops in different locations²⁴. Starting from the concentration of finds known to each of them, G. Ferrari²⁵ located this workshop in Phrygia, most likely in Dokimeion, while H. Wiegartz argued in favour of one of the coastal cities of Pamphylia, a region that he believed to have used marble and architectural ornaments resembling those of the columnar sarcophagi in its architecture²⁶. G. Ferrari stated that the concentration of columnar sarcophagi in Central Anatolia reflected a production centre near the Docimian quarries from where they were exported along the Hermos (to Smyrna) and the Meander valleys (to Ephesus). In the meantime, the marble used for the ›*Hauptgruppe*‹ of Asiatic sarcophagi has indeed been repeatedly identified as Docimian²⁷. However, since some sarcophagus workshops imported marble from various external sources, the identification of the marble is not decisive for locating a workshop²⁸.

Most scholars²⁹ supported the idea of a Pamphylian workshop, as suggested by H. Wiegartz; he rejected G. Ferrari's assertion that the columnar sarcophagi were sent to ›*Zweigwerkstätten*‹ (regional branches) in a half-finished state and finished by sculptors from Dokimeion, who accompanied the exported pieces. Because of the absolute uniformity in the final execution of ornaments and figures, H. Wiegartz insists that except for some portrait heads, completed upon arrival at the final destination, the sarcophagi had been finished in a single workshop using imported Docimian marble³⁰. Only N. Asgari doubted that earlier sarcophagus types of the ›*Hauptgruppe*‹, such as the garland sarcophagi, could have originated from a region like Pamphylia, which had no marble quarries of its own and no tradition of marble processing. She therefore argued that production had started in Phrygia but was eventually moved to Pamphylia³¹.

In 1977, M. Waelkens identified over thirty local workshops producing Phrygian ›doorstones‹, composed of various types of free-standing stelae or slabs forming the front of built tombs, decorated with a door that referred to the ›*domus aeterna*‹³². This study concluded that each workshop/Phrygian town created a specific type of door. For nearly two centuries, throughout the chronological development of all the details, the doors, which usually decorate the left-hand side

²³ Wiegartz 1965, 26–33. 140 n. 1; Ferrari 1966, 83–86.

²⁴ Koch 2010, 38–46. 78–80; Koch 2017, 323.

²⁵ Ferrari 1966, 76–95.

²⁶ Wiegartz 1965, 42. 49 with n. 70; 51 n. 71; 140 n. 1; Wiegartz 1974, 381–183; Wiegartz 1975, 231 f.; Asgari 1977, 352–357; Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 498. See, however, criticism by Waelkens 1982, 109.

²⁷ Wiegartz 1965, 21 n. 36; Ferrari 1966, 87–90; Wiegartz 1974, 375 f.; Wiegartz 1975, 215; Asgari 1977, 349–351; Waelkens 1982, 108; Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 498, see also n. 61. 65–68.

²⁸ The sarcophagus workshops in Rome imported marble of widely varying origins (Carrara, Thasos, Proconnesus, Pentelikon): Russell 2013, 273–278.

²⁹ All listed in Waelkens 1982, 106 n. 286.

³⁰ Wiegartz 1974, 376–382; Wiegartz 1975, 214–219. The uniformity in the production is also stressed by Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 498; Koch 2010, 38–46. 78–80; Koch 2017, 323.

³¹ Asgari 1977, 349. See also G. Koch in Schauenburg 1975, 70; Waelkens 1982, 107.

³² Waelkens 1986a; Kelp 2015.

of the columnar sarcophagi³³, corresponded with the type of doors produced by a workshop at Dokimeion³⁴. The same craftsmen must have therefore carved the doors on the Docimian ›doorstones‹ (here forming the front of rectangular tombs) and on the columnar sarcophagi. Together with the distribution of the columnar sarcophagi along roads leading from Dokimeion to the north, the west and the south coast of Anatolia³⁵, this evidence demonstrates that the workshop where these sarcophagi were made was located near the quarries at Dokimeion. In the meantime, *klinè* lids in various stages of finishing turned up in the quarries proper³⁶.

M. Waelkens' location of the columnar sarcophagus workshop at Dokimeion has now been widely accepted³⁷, yet opinions are still divided with regard to the other sarcophagus types of the ›*Hauptgruppe*‹, particularly the garland (and frieze) sarcophagi. Sarcophagi and ash urns³⁸ belonging to the so-called ›Torre Nova‹ group³⁹ are among the major types of this group of sarcophagi. E. Weigand and C. R. Morey had already linked the Torre Nova Group to the workshop of the columnar sarcophagi, which they located in Lydia (probably in Ephesus⁴⁰). G. Rodenwaldt, however, explained the similarities among both groups as the result of closely associated production centres or workshops, and located the production centre of the Torre Nova group in the Lycian-Pamphylian region⁴¹. Moreover, he also attributed the garland and frieze sarcophagi of the ›*Hauptgruppe*‹, as well as some isolated lids, to the same workshop, and labelled them all as the ›Pamphylian group‹. The existence of a Pamphylian group was further elaborated by A. M. Mansel and G. Ferrari, although the latter continued to place the columnar sarcophagus workshop in Dokimeion⁴². A connection between Torre Nova sarcophagi and columnar sarcophagi had also

³³ Wiegartz 1965, 15. 71 n. 16.

³⁴ Waelkens 1982, 109–123 pls. 22–29; Waelkens 1986a; 188–189 pls. 71–75; Waelkens 1986b, 672 f.; Waelkens, in press b. The same doors also occur on some garland and frieze sarcophagi of the same workshop. Since 1977, the collection of doorstones from this workshop in the Afyon Museum has grown considerably.

³⁵ Waelkens 1982, pl. 31.

³⁶ Waelkens 1990, 68 f. figs. 35. 36; Russell 2013, 267 figs. 7. 8; Strocka 2017, 3. Other lids belonging to different types of sarcophagi from another workshop were also roughly shaped in the quarries. See Waelkens 1982, 107. Strocka 2017, 3, wrongly attributed them to our workshop.

³⁷ Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 498. 531; Russell 2013, 278–281; Kelp 2015, 7; Strocka 2017, 3 f. See also, but without any reference to M. Waelkens, Koch 1993, 113–122; Koch 2017, 323.

³⁸ Although some of the smaller ones may sometimes have been used as child sarcophagi, the presence of *klinè* lids belonging to the earlier ones, as well as iconographic themes, identify most of them as ash urns or *ostothecae* (bone containers). See Himmelmann 1970, 17 n. 1; Wiegartz 1975, 211–213 n. 274. 283; Waelkens 1982, 50; Strocka 2017, 59.

³⁹ The Torre Nova group is not well defined. Usually, both large-sized sarcophagi and small-sized ash urns/bone containers with pilasters/columns on the corners are seen as part of the same group. See Wiegartz 1965, 166 (Paris-Rom); Waelkens 1982, 50 f.; Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 500 f. (coffins of all sizes discussed as frieze sarcophagi). Strocka 2017, 59. 71 however, rightfully makes a distinction between the two. Indeed, as documented in chapter 4, the smaller coffins with corner columns/pilasters eventually followed a more elaborate stylistic development than the other ash urns/bone containers of the workshop. The large-sized coffins with corner columns/pilasters were in reality a variety of the workshop's frieze sarcophagi. See Strocka 2017, 71. The Geneva sarcophagus is the only large-sized sarcophagus with corner pilasters, instead of the more usual columns, and therefore forms a link between both groups.

⁴⁰ Weigand 1914, 72 f.; Morey 1924, 43–46. 72.

⁴¹ Rodenwaldt 1933, 203. 206. 212 f.

⁴² Mansel – Akarca 1949, 47–53. 56 f.; Ferrari 1966, 97–99. Consequently, Ferrari accepted the existence of a Pamphylian group (Torre Nova, garland and frieze sarcophagi), but further attributed the columnar sarcophagi to a Phrygian workshop.

been advocated by N. Himmelmann⁴³, who explained the links between the various sarcophagus types as the result of a number of workshops working and influencing each other in the same industrial quarter⁴⁴. However, as shown by H. Wiegartz, the strong homogeneity and uniform development of socle and upper coffin mouldings of all abovementioned sarcophagi of the ›Hauptgruppe‹ clearly point to the activity of a single workshop working on an industrial scale⁴⁵. The fact that M. Waelkens established conclusively that this workshop was located at Dokimeion instead of Pamphylia further increased the number of sarcophagus types produced there⁴⁶.

Nevertheless, on predominantly stylistic grounds or based on where they were found, some Turkish archaeologists still argue that besides those at Dokimeion, garland and other types of sarcophagi of the ›Hauptgruppe‹ were also produced in other workshops, such as Perge in Pamphylia⁴⁷, and even in Laodicea ad Lycum and neighbouring Hierapolis⁴⁸ in Southwest Phrygia. However, they failed to convincingly substantiate this⁴⁹ or else relied on erroneous descriptions⁵⁰. It also has to be taken into account that many years of excavations (incl. illegal ones) in the cemeteries of Perge, Laodicea and Hierapolis have distorted the picture of the real proportional distribution of Docimian sarcophagi across Asia Minor. Moreover, the features, which according to H. Yıldız and C. Şimşek would identify sarcophagi made in the Laodicean workshop (see n. 50), in reality represent chronologically changing decorative patterns of the Docimian sarcophagi exported to various locations in Phrygia and Pamphylia (see chapter 4). The three groups of garland sarcophagi of the ›Hauptgruppe‹ identified by T. Korkut (who went even so far as to question the label ›Docimian‹ for the sarcophagi⁵¹) equally reflect three successive stages of production⁵². H. Yıldız and C. Şimşek suggested that because of the Docimian origin of the marble,

⁴³ Himmelmann 1970, 15–17.

⁴⁴ Himmelmann 1974, 48.

⁴⁵ Wiegartz 1965, 42–44. 49 f.; Wiegartz 1974, 375; Wiegartz 1975, 242.

⁴⁶ Waelkens 1982.

⁴⁷ Işık 1998, 280; Işık 2000, 123; Işık 2002, 135; Korkut 2004, 195; Işık 2007, 279–289 pls. 92, 3. 4; 93; 94, 3; 96, 1. 2. See also Ahrens et al. 2016, 262. This is predominantly based on the findspots.

⁴⁸ Şimşek 1998; Yıldız – Şimşek 2000, 100–112; Işık 2007, 285. 288 f. See also Koch 1993, 180; Koch 2011, 9.

⁴⁹ See Stročka 2017, 3 n. 21.

⁵⁰ Yıldız – Şimşek 2000, 111 erroneously consider cupids standing on griffons (most are sea animals of various types), cupid heads emerging from an acanthus bush and birds pecking at garlands as characteristic of the Laodicean workshop. This workshop would have produced garland sarcophagi Denizli G 2, Malibu G 1, Izmir G 2 and two new garland sarcophagi (Laodicea A and B) published by Yıldız – Şimşek 2000. They also wrongly attribute identical socle mouldings to these sarcophagi. However, these elements also occur on garland sarcophagi from Pamphylia (cupids perched on sea animals on Antalya G 2, Figs. 7a, 7b, and on Antalya Museum inv. 10.30.95 from Perge: here called Perge G 2, Fig. 10; cupid heads emerging from acanthus bushes on Antalya G 1 from Side, Fig. 6) and Ikonion, but made at Dokimeion (cupids perched on sea animals and birds pecking at garlands on Konya G 1, Fig. 12). The sarcophagi are (further) labelled and numbered after Waelkens 1982.

⁵¹ Korkut 2004, 195; Korkut 2018, 121.

⁵² At the International Symposium on Burial Customs in Anatolia during the Hellenistic and Roman Periods, 23–26 July 2018, Aizanoi – Çavdarhisar, Kütahya – Türkiye, T. Korkut distinguished three workshops producing garland sarcophagi of the ›Hauptgruppe‹, of which he located two in Pamphylia and one in Phrygia. The Pamphylian workshops would respectively have produced a garland sarcophagus type with busts between the garlands (Rom G 3, Afyon G 2 and Baltimore G 1) and another one with masks and Medusa heads (Antalya Museum, inv.10.30.95: Perge G 2, Fig. 10; Antalya G 2, both from Perge). To the Phrygian workshop he attributed garland sarcophagi with mythological scenes (Afyon G 1, Laodikeia A and Konya G 1). In reality, the first group contains ash urns produced ca. A.D. 140–150 and the second one, sarcophagi dated to the period A.D. 130–135, while the ›Phrygian‹ workshop represents sarcophagi from the years A.D. 135–55. All sarcophagi are discussed in the next chapter.

roughly hewn coffins were sent from the quarries to various local workshops or locations, where they were completed in situ by local craftsmen⁵³. T. Korkut even argued that many sarcophagi of the ›*Hauptgruppe*‹ of high-status sarcophagi were locally made of marble originating from various other quarries⁵⁴. As discussed below, this can only occasionally have been the case.

The next chapter shows in detail that the overall design of coffins and lids, the development of the socle and – where present – the upper coffin mouldings, as well as the iconographic details (typology of cupids and Victoriae) of all the sarcophagus types of the ›*Hauptgruppe*‹ of Anatolian sarcophagi, including the garland and Torre Nova sarcophagi, show such a uniform development that they must have been completed by a single, highly specialized workshop, which around A.D. 160 also produced the Geneva sarcophagus⁵⁵. This production unit relied on sculptors/craftsmen who, according to their skills, carved specific elements (architectural ornaments, garlands, cupids, Victoriae, busts, and figures) on all types of sarcophagi produced there⁵⁶. If normal practice would have been that artisans accompanied half-finished orders to finish them at their destination, their prolonged absence eventually would have resulted in the development of individual ways of carving specific motifs, characterizing the activity of a specific artisan, and the possibility of recognizing individual ›hands‹. This would have been particularly the case when carving architectural ornaments; however, these show a uniform development across the various sarcophagus types and across findspots⁵⁷. If the Docimian workshop had set up regional ›*Zweigwerkstätten*‹ where imported half-finished sarcophagi were completed, this would undoubtedly have led to the development of regional styles, which does not seem to have been the case. In several cases, discussed in the next chapter, the ›hand‹ of the same sculptor can even be identified in the architectural ornaments, the Medusa heads, the cupids or the Victoriae on sarcophagi of various types, and from different regions.

It seems even more unlikely that autonomous workshops, located at a great distance from one another (Dokimeion, Laodicea/Hierapolis, Pamphylia), would have adopted almost simultaneously, and over decades, the same type of chronologically evolving, elaborate socle mouldings and other iconographic details, without ever developing a single feature that sets them apart from the other workshops. The only thing that can occasionally be noticed is the contemporaneous use of slightly different technological approaches (e.g. the degree of drilling), but this can be explained by the activity of artisans either still using ›old-fashioned‹ carving techniques or having adopted more ›modern‹ approaches⁵⁸.

Nevertheless, particularly in the early decades of production, there may be some instances in which Docimian sculptors apparently did complete sarcophagi of the ›*Hauptgruppe*‹ in local

⁵³ Şimşek 1997, 57. 61 figs. 82. 164; Yıldız – Şimşek 2000, 111–112 n. 80. This statement is based on the fact that in the south necropolis of Hierapolis marble chips, thought to originate from the final working stages of sarcophagus production, were found near two sarcophagi. See also Işık 2007, 284 pl. 93, 3.

⁵⁴ Korkut 2018, 121.

⁵⁵ Compare Wiegartz 1965, 26 f.; Wiegartz 1974, 375 f.; Wiegartz 1975, 214–215 n. 292; Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 498; Strocka 2017, 2.

⁵⁶ See Strocka 2017, 6.

⁵⁷ The Late Hadrianic Nymphaeum in Sagalassos offers a good example of identifiable individual ›hands‹ of artisans trained in a different tradition but working side by side. See Waelkens et al. 2017.

⁵⁸ On both the Ara Pacis in Rome and the frieze of the dancing girls on the mid-Augustan NW Heroon in Sagalassos, some sculptors carved heads without plastically rendering the irises and pupils, whereas others were already using the drill for this.

marble. One such case is known from Aphrodisias, where analysis of a ›Docimian‹ garland sarcophagus identified its material as Aphrodisian⁵⁹. At Hierapolis, G. Scardozzi and others also argued that some sarcophagi of commonly accepted Docimian-types were in fact made of local marble⁶⁰. In their view, the use of local material would have considerably reduced the cost of such a sarcophagus, which might explain why the owners of similar sarcophagi, made of Docimian marble or produced in the workshop at Dokimeion, sometimes identified them in their epitaphs as ›Docimian sarcophagi‹⁶¹: to flaunt their wealth, status and ability to access elite products⁶². These inscriptions date from the early second to the second half of the 3rd c. A.D.⁶³. Hierapolis possesses one of the most extensive cemeteries of the ancient world, with thousands of coffins entirely or partially preserved⁶⁴. Particularly fine sarcophagi may therefore have been in high demand there, with fierce competition among the local elite to advertise their social status through their sarcophagi. Sarcophagi from the Docimian workshop were only accessible to the uppermost levels of society. As shown by recent analysis, they included garland sarcophagi⁶⁵, sarcophagi with fluted coffins⁶⁶, sarcophagi of the Torre Nova group⁶⁷ and columnar sarcophagi with *klinè* lids⁶⁸. Consequently, inscriptions referring to sarcophagi as a *σορός Δοκιμηνή* (see n. 61)

⁵⁹ Ögüş 2016, E. Ögüş allows that, if not completed by artisans sent from Dokimeion, it may have been made by artisans from Aphrodisias trained in the Docimian workshop. Since such a sarcophagus was the result of specialized team work and since no local features can be identified, this possibility can be ruled out it seems. We date this sarcophagus to around A.D. 130 (see next chapter). Eventually, a workshop at Aphrodisias would produce local columnar sarcophagi. See Ögüş 2018.

⁶⁰ Scardozzi 2016, 235. 251. 257; Ahrens et al. 2016, 275.

⁶¹ There are eight such inscriptions referring to ten sarcophagi as *σορός Δοκιμηνή*. See Judeich 1898, nos. 56. 158. 209. 213. 323. 335 with further literature in Scardozzi 2016, 231 n. 5. Recent analysis of the material stressed the importance of Docimian sarcophagi in the North Necropolis. See Scardozzi 2016, 232. 234f. with n. 32. One sarcophagus from the Southeast Necropolis, dated to the late second – first half of the 3rd c. A.D., is referred to in an epitaph after the administrative centre for the Docimian quarries (Synnada) and identified as sculpted with reliefs: *σορός Συνναδική Ζωδιακή*. Because of the date, it must have been a columnar sarcophagus. Another fragment of a columnar sarcophagus could be identified as being made of Docimian marble: Scardozzi 2016, 243.

⁶² Scardozzi 2016, 235. 251. Sarcophagi in Docimian marble were clearly the most sought after sarcophagi in Hierapolis. See Ahrens et al. 2016, 274–276.

⁶³ Scardozzi 2016, 235.

⁶⁴ Scardozzi 2016, 231 f. with n. 12. The North Necropolis alone still contains 1474 travertine sarcophagi, including 390 marble sarcophagi. See also Ahrens et al. 2016, 259.

⁶⁵ There are at least three preserved garland sarcophagi, one from the Church of St. Philip, one from the Southwest Necropolis (S 1: here dated to the Hadrianic period; we date it to ca. A.D. 130–135) and two other ones are probably mentioned in an epitaph. See Scardozzi 2016, 239f. with n. 56 fig. 5 table 2. Ahrens et al. 2016, 260–262 fig. 2 only identified one Docimian sarcophagus in the Church of St. Philip, not two as G. Scardozzi did. The latter leaves the question open as to whether they were imported in a finished or roughed-out state, being completed upon arrival by itinerant artisans from Dokimeion or a workshop in the Lycus Valley. See Scardozzi 2016, 251.

⁶⁶ Scardozzi 2016, 256; Ahrens et al. 2016, 265f. figs. 7–9. Most other fluted coffins were made of local marbles: Scardozzi 2016, 256f.

⁶⁷ Ahrens et al. 2016, 264f. fig. 6 (dated ca. A.D. 160–170; we date it one decade earlier).

⁶⁸ On columnar sarcophagi and *klinè* lids, see Scardozzi 2016, 251–255 figs. 12–14. Of four *klinè* lids from the North Necropolis, two were made of Docimian marble (fig. 11), and two of marble from Marmar Tepe or Thionta. However, the only one of these lids that is well preserved and well defined (fig. 12: H15_515) has a palmette anthemion that was clearly not carved by Docimian artisans, as these palmettes still have a central leaf. Indeed, palmettes without a central leaf were the trademark of the Docimian workshop (see n. 17). Of four fragmentarily preserved columnar coffins, three are again made of Docimian marble and only one of marble from Marmar Tepe or Thionta.

clearly identify the marble, not the type of sarcophagus⁶⁹ or the origin of the sculptors. As shown in the next chapter, this is also the case for a sarcophagus with the ›Lycian motif‹ identified as *σορὸς Δοκιμηνή* in the Konya Museum and which is clearly made of Docimian marble (see n. 317), together with others of the same type (n. 315).

At Hierapolis, Docimian sarcophagi would have been followed in rank by sarcophagi of ›Docimian‹ type made of local marble; however, none of the extant garland sarcophagi, *klinè* lids and columnar chests of this category can thus far be identified as the work of Docimian artisans with certainty; rather, they were local imitations produced by local sculptors (see n. 68 and 74). As for the fluted sarcophagi, some were apparently imported from Dokimeion (see also n. 185–187), but this sarcophagus type was apparently so popular at Hierapolis, where it may even have originated, that it was produced there in local marbles and even in travertine⁷⁰. Therefore, there is thus far no clear evidence for Docimian sarcophagus types having been carved in local marble at Hierapolis by artisans from that workshop.

In terms of ranking, imitations of Docimian sarcophagi in local material by local sculptors may have been followed by finished garland sarcophagi from Aphrodisias⁷¹ and sarcophagi from Thiounta, a quarry ca 20 km north of Hierapolis near the edge of its territory, where the most sought-after marble in the territory of the city was quarried⁷². These included coffins decorated with a *tabula ansata*⁷³, fluted sarcophagi (see n. 66, 70) and finished garland sarcophagi⁷⁴. There followed garland and fluted sarcophagi from other regional marble quarries, roughed-out garland or other sarcophagi in the same material⁷⁵, and finally the local travertine

The only one with a partially preserved entablature (fig. 13: H 15_520) is not only made of Docimian marble, but also clearly carved by Docimian artisans. The fragments in local marble do not allow a robust identification as Docimian products. Just like the *klinè* lids in local marble, they may be local imitations of Docimian columnar sarcophagi. Similar *klinè* lids were also made of limestone, e.g. at Sagalassos. Consequently, none of the *klinè* lids or columnar chest fragments made of local marble that are discussed by Scardozi 2016, 251–255 can be identified with certainty as made by Docimian artisans, but rather as imitations in local marble made by local sculptors.

⁶⁹ See also Strocka 2017, 3.

⁷⁰ Scardozi 2016, 232. 242–244. 255 table 5; Ahrens et al. 2016, 266 f. fig. 10.

⁷¹ Garland sarcophagi from Aphrodisias were far less important in Hierapolis than previously thought. See Scardozi 2016, 233. 244. 251. 257.

⁷² Scardozi 2016, 257; Ahrens et al. 2016, 274 f.

⁷³ For evidence of sarcophagi in marble from Thiounta, see Scardozi 2016, 231 n. 5; 234. 239. 240–242 figs. 6. 256. Six were also identified as such in the epitaphs: Scardozi 2016, 240 n. 60. The label *σορὸς Θιουντηνή* in these epitaphs either refers to the marble from Thiounta, a village along the northern edge of the Hierapolitan territory, or to a workshop located there. The only one of these sarcophagi that has been preserved has a *tabula ansata* with inscription at the front.

⁷⁴ Ahrens et al. 2016, 262–264. 271–273 figs. 3–5; 14 c. d. This last example clearly imitates Docimian garland sarcophagi but was not carved by artisans from the Docimian workshop, as the palmettes of the socle are clearly not of the Docimian type (see n. 17). Even the earliest Docimian palmettes that still had a central leaf do not resemble the palmettes on this socle.

⁷⁵ See Scardozi 2016, 231 with n. 7. A type of roughed-out garland (with portrait-busts inside the garland) at Hierapolis was considered by Waelkens 1988, 140 as a product of the quarries at Thiounta. Recent analysis identified their marble as originating from both Thiounta and Marmar Tepe. Consequently, they can be considered as a Hierapolitan product. See Scardozi 2016, 242. 244. 246–248 fig. 9. However, this was also the case with roughed-out garland sarcophagi with a disk above the garlands that were made of marble from Thiounta, Marmar Tepe and other nearby locations. See Scardozi 2016, 248–251 fig. 10. Six inscriptions mentioning nine sarcophagi in ›white marble‹ do not seem to identify a specific type of marble or sarcophagus, but just refer to specific marble sarcophagi in compounds with sarcophagi. See Scardozi 2016, 242. For less decorated local marble sarcophagi, see Ahrens et al. 2016, 269–271. 273 figs. 12–14 a. b; 16.

sarcophagi. The roughed-out garland sarcophagi were the cheaper option, to be used in that state⁷⁶.

To conclude, there is no reason to assume that the Docimian workshop had set up a ›*Zweigwerkstatt*‹ at Hierapolis or that artisans from the workshop were sent there to process local material. Rather, we argue the evidence shows, particularly in the early decades of production, that the other garland sarcophagi from the Lycus Valley (Laodicea, Colossai) equally originated from Dokimeion (see next chapter).

On the other hand, artisans trained in the Docimian workshop sometimes do appear to have carved ornaments on architecture made of local material, including limestone⁷⁷. One should perhaps also consider to what extent the Docimian workshop, located as it was in Central Anatolia with its severe winter climate, could work throughout the year. During slow periods, particularly in the early decades of workshop activity, it would have been profitable for the workshop to occasionally accept requests for completing columnar or other sarcophagi in places with excellent local marble and where the period of potential activity might have been much longer thanks to a much gentler climate. This could have been the case with the garland sarcophagus at Aphrodisias⁷⁸, which certainly was not the work of local sculptors trained at the Docimian workshop, but of an entire team sent from that workshop, which upon completion of their task, returned to Dokimeion.

In other cases, where only some artisans from the Docimian workshop were involved, rather than an entire team, the workers only completed part of the decoration, such as the garlands, cupids and Victoriae. This was the case with two garland sarcophagi in Proconnesian marble in Nicaea and Tyros⁷⁹.

Dokimeion's location in Central Anatolia must have required the export of sarcophagi along the main roads leading to the north, the west and the south coast of the peninsula, that were used for the export of purple-veined or white Docimian marble (pavonazetto)⁸⁰. This might even explain why the Docimian workshop specialized in the production of fully finished high-quality sarcophagi. Indeed, the expensive overland export of roughed-out or half-finished items could never have competed with the much cheaper Proconnesian half-finished items (›*Halbfabrikate*‹) that could rely on sea transport to the coastal areas of the Eastern Mediterranean⁸¹ but because of logistical problems were never imported far inland⁸². For the same reason, a workshop located in a coastal area such as Pamphylia could never have distributed bulky items like the sarcophagi of the ›*Hauptgruppe*‹ across inner Anatolia. Even if the logistical problems could have been overcome, the use of Docimian marble would have doubled the already considerable costs of these sarcophagi, if they were first imported to a coastal area as roughed-out coffins and, following completion there, sent back inland. One could even raise the question if, instead of the disap-

⁷⁶ Asgari 1977, 355; Scardozzi 2016, 246.

⁷⁷ See Hall – Waelkens 1982 (Konya); Waelkens et al. 2017 (Sagalassos).

⁷⁸ Afyon near Dokimeion has four months with average temperature values below freezing point, while there is no such month in the Lycus Valley or at Aphrodisias.

⁷⁹ See Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 500. Half-finished columnar sarcophagi are known from Pednelissos and İznik (according to R. Özgün in Proconnesian marble). See Wiegartz 1982, 167.

⁸⁰ Waelkens 1982, pl. 31.

⁸¹ Strocka 2017, 2.

⁸² Asgari 1977; Asgari 1990b.

pearance of social classes which could afford them after A.D. 280, it was not rather the collapse of the Imperial exploitation and export of pavonazetto building elements that eventually put an end to the production of Docimian columnar sarcophagi⁸³.

4. PRODUCTION BY THE DOCIMIAN WORKSHOP (M. WAELKENS)

As mentioned above, there has recently been a renewed challenge to the view that, except for the columnar sarcophagi, there was strong unity in the production of all sarcophagus types belonging to the ›*Hauptgruppe*‹ of Anatolian sarcophagi by a workshop in Dokimeion (see n. 47. 48). To be able to determine the correct origin and date of the sarcophagus in Geneva, which belongs to one of those other types, it is important to provide an update on this production and to stress once more that the evidence points to the activity of a single workshop. The excellent recent monograph by V. M. Strocka focused on the chronology and iconography of Docimian columnar sarcophagi of the so-called ›*Normaltypus*‹, of which production started at the latest around A.D. 150/160, the first prototypes being produced around A.D. 140. This means that most of them were made after the Heracles sarcophagus from Geneva⁸⁴. As the monograph only included other sarcophagi by the same workshop insofar as they contained mythological scenes, most of the workshop's sarcophagus types produced during the five decades preceding the completion of the Geneva sarcophagus around A.D. 160 have never been discussed as a group or updated since the publication of Waelkens' monograph in 1982⁸⁵.

Therefore, this chapter presents an updated listing of this earlier workshop production, of which the chronology is refined or corrected. Since craftsmen from this workshop were also involved in decorating monumental architecture and producing sculpture in the round, this chronology not only relies on the development of ornaments within the workshop proper (sarcophagi, doorstones), but also compares them to those in contemporaneous architecture. Hairstyles, which usually followed general trends throughout the Empire, are compared with Imperial and private coiffures of both statuary and reliefs, reflecting an activity that was also carried out by the most skilled sculptors of the Docimian workshop.

The next two chapters are conceived as a catalogue. They discuss the development of decorative patterns within the workshop's production and, where possible, refer to earlier publications for detailed descriptions of the sarcophagi. New dating is supported by comparative material, while the activity of individual artists is identified. This chronological overview is crucial to demonstrate the linear development leading to the production of the Geneva sarcophagus. It also demonstrates that, despite its almost certain provenance from a necropolis in Perge, this

⁸³ The last datable quarry inscriptions on pavonazetto blocks date from A.D. 238, but that does not mean that this marble was no longer quarried after that date. See Fant 1989, 264. The most recent production of high-status sarcophagi in white Docimian marble postdates the latest inscribed pavonazetto blocks by at least a quarter if not half a century. In any case, as mentioned above, the export of Docimian sarcophagi, particularly the sometimes huge columnar types, must have posed such a logistical challenge and imposed such a financial burden, that some agreement with the Imperial administration of the quarries may be assumed, as both pavonazetto columns and blocks and sarcophagi in white Docimian marble must have travelled along the same roads. This is discussed in Waelkens, in press a.

⁸⁴ Strocka 2017, p. xii–xiii. 21. 31. 39–41. See also chapter 4.3.

⁸⁵ Compare Strocka 2017, p. xii. 59. He follows M. Waelkens' chronology for the small containers of the Torre Nova group.

sarcophagus was a product of the sarcophagus workshop in Dokimeion and not of a ›secondary‹ or independent workshop in Pamphylia.

4.1. *The Origin of the Workshop and the First Decades of Production*

The white marble used by the Docimian sarcophagus workshop may have been exploited locally from the 5th c. B.C. onwards⁸⁶. By the third quarter of the 1st c. B.C., it was already exported to Italy for large sculptures⁸⁷. Over-life-sized to colossal statuary made from this marble is found at Pisidian Sagalassos from the mid-Augustan period until the later 2nd c. A. D. Starting around A.D. 100, other statues in that city, made of white Docimian marble, bear the signatures of various members of a single family of sculptors from Dokimeion. They may have been either active near the quarries (perhaps as owners of a sculpture workshop) or itinerant craftsmen⁸⁸. The marble of the garland frieze of the temple of the emperor cult at Pessinus, of which the construction started in A.D. 25–35⁸⁹, has also been identified as Docimian white marble⁹⁰. During recent decades, half-finished statues have been recovered from the quarries, demonstrating that sculpture workshops were indeed active there⁹¹.

Since the identification of the workshop in 1982, it has become clear that only some of the Docimian quarries, where the purple-veined pavonazetto could be extracted, were exploited by the imperial ›*statio marmorum*‹ in Rome. For much of the 1st c. A.D., there was direct exploitation by imperial slaves or freedmen⁹². Towards the end of the c., imperial control became tighter, with more regular assessment of the stocks⁹³. Perhaps to supply the growing demand from imperial, municipal and private building projects, from A.D. 136 on, the administration switched to a system of indirect exploitation, leasing extraction in those parts of the quarries that were imperially controlled to private contractors or workshops (*officinae*). As shown by many uninscribed blocks (such as in shipwrecks), in return for a fixed number of blocks⁹⁴ for imperial use, they could apparently exploit part of the pavonazetto quarries for their own profit⁹⁵. The total

⁸⁶ M. Waelkens in Fant 1988, 90. This statement is only based on a visual inspection of the marble, not on isotopic or geochemical analysis.

⁸⁷ Stročka 2017, 1 with n. 7 (Sperlonga), who also stressed that during the third quarter of the same century, Augustus already imported the purple-veined variety, known as pavonazetto, to Rome, for use in his villa on the Palatine and later in the Forum Augusti. See also Waelkens, in press a.

⁸⁸ Waelkens, in press b. Two itinerant sculptors from Dokimeion, active in Ikonion (Konya), identified themselves in a votive inscription as *agalmatoglyhoi Dokimatoglyphoi*, i.e. *sculptors of figures from Dokimeion*. See Hall – Waelkens 1982, 151 f. pl. 27 a; Stročka 2017, 4.

⁸⁹ Devreker et al. 1995. For the frieze, see Devreker et al. 1995, 136 pl. 5.

⁹⁰ Pensabene 2002a, 46 f. fig. 19.

⁹¹ Bruno 2002, 186 figs. 9, 10; Pensabene 2002b, 206 f. fig. 4.

⁹² Fant 1989; Russell 2013, 232, 234.

⁹³ Fant 1989, 17–48; Russell 2013, 47 with further literature. Compare Stročka 2017, 1.

⁹⁴ Russell 2013, 48. Those were the blocks that were numbered and inscribed with the date of extraction and the identification of the quarry section, the precise extraction point, as well as the teams that had dressed them, and from A.D. 147 on, also the teams that had extracted the blocks. Some of these teams were even sent by other cities in Asia Minor, extracting pavonazetto for local building projects in return for the delivery of a specific amount of material to the imperial administration.

⁹⁵ See Russell 2013, 46, 48; this means with a contract of the ›*locatio conductio rei*‹ type rather than the ›*locatio conductio operis*‹ type (so Stročka 2017, 2). The former type of contract meant that the quarry's exploitation was leased to

absence of imperial inscriptions on blocks of white Docimian marble in quarries and on building sites suggests that quarries of this type of marble, of which the ownership remains unknown, were exclusively exploited by private workshops⁹⁶. The Docimian sarcophagus workshop must have been one of them⁹⁷, active from the late Trajanic / early Hadrianic period on and booming from around A.D. 130. The success of such workshops may even have inspired the imperial authorities to make use of private entrepreneurs for securing the necessary marble stocks for their own building projects. Nevertheless, as already mentioned above, in view of the scope of the distribution of the final products and the logistical problems associated with transporting them overland from Dokimeion⁹⁸, the sarcophagus workshop may have had some access to the transport system created for shipping pavonazetto blocks to Italy and elsewhere⁹⁹.

We have previously suggested that the monumental sarcophagus of the Claudian ›Tomba Bella‹ in Hierapolis was the, thus far, earliest known product from the Docimian sarcophagus workshop¹⁰⁰, based on the elaborately decorated, separate socle, which seems to be the prototype of the socle of one of the earliest Docimian garland sarcophagi, sarcophagus Antalya G 1 from Side, now dated ca. A.D. 130 (n. 126; *Fig. 6*)¹⁰¹. Recent analysis of the marble of the sarcophagus ruled out the popular, fine-grained Docimian white marble, and suggested that it came from Aphrodisias or Thionta instead. For optical reasons, I. Romeo ruled out the latter and suggested instead an Aphrodisian origin. However, the characteristics of the marble also seemingly correspond with a lesser known, medium-grained variety of the Docimian white marble¹⁰². On stylistic grounds, I. Romeo attributed the sarcophagus to a local Hierapolitan workshop with influences from Aphrodisias, Dokimeion and Rome¹⁰³. Consequently, neither the marble nor the workshop that made this sarcophagus is identified with certainty. Despite a hiatus of approximately a c., the coffin of the sarcophagus, with its elaborate socle and tendril frieze, clearly inspired the production of the earliest Docimian garland sarcophagi. This is the more remarkable as it was displayed in an architecturally inaccessible space: inside a monument with a high

private contractors in return for producing a specific amount of material for the imperial administration annually; the latter meant that they were paid to produce a specific number of blocks.

⁹⁶ Compare Strocka 2017, 3.

⁹⁷ We no longer believe that it was an imperially owned workshop, as suggested in Waelkens 1990, 68.

⁹⁸ See Waelkens, in press a.

⁹⁹ Compare Strocka 2017, 2f.

¹⁰⁰ Waelkens 1982, 16f. no. 1 (Hierapolis G 1); Romeo 2014a, 185–191 figs. 172. 173. 178.

¹⁰¹ The composition of the mouldings is identical on both sarcophagi, except for the fact that on the Tomba Bella sarcophagus the tendril frieze between the acanthus bushes on the corners is framed by two additional cyma reversa profiles decorated with leaf-and-darts. In Side, open and closed palmettes also replace the hanging acanthus and aquatic plant leaves on the lower cyma recta, while the torus is decorated with horizontally placed overlapping leaves instead of overlapping leaves pointing downwards, as is the case in Hierapolis.

¹⁰² Romeo 2014b, 247 n. 937. I. Romeo points out that scientific analysis by D. Attanasio also attributed the marble of the first and second order of the theatre façade in Hierapolis to the Aphrodisias / Thionta group. However, the building inscription identifies it as ›*lithos Dokimènos apertismenos*‹ or ›worked marble from Dokimeion‹. Rather than the craftsmen, this must identify the marble, as is also the case with the local ›*soroi Dokimènai*‹ mentioned in n. 60. See Ritti 2006, 119–124 no. 24. Consequently, this marble perhaps belonged to the medium-grained variety of Docimian white marble. According to Romeo 2014b, 247, the lid of the coffin is made of marble from a quarry near Denizli.

¹⁰³ Romeo 2014b. She attributes the elaborate socle to Docimian influences. However, the first examples of sarcophagi with similar socles from the Docimian sarcophagus workshop were made a century later.

podium surrounded by a temenos wall and therefore removed from public access and view¹⁰⁴. As a result, whatever the provenance of the marble, one should still consider the possibility that artisans from Dokimeion were involved in the completion of the sarcophagus¹⁰⁵. However, the long chronological gap means that this could not have been an early product of the sarcophagus workshop. That said, the elaborate socle could reflect a local sculptural tradition from the area around Dokimeion, continued in as yet unknown monuments of the 1st c. A.D.

4.2. *The Years A.D. 120–130*

a) Doorstones: a doorstone is the earliest known artefact produced by the sarcophagus workshop.

Afyon Museum inv. E 1478/2303¹⁰⁶.

Doorstone from a village fountain near Afyon.

Trademark of the workshop: the stem tendril on the central doorpost foreshadows the tendrils that became a trademark of the Docimian sarcophagus workshop (along sloping sides of gabled lids; lat-

er along gabled niches in the coffins of columnar sarcophagi)¹⁰⁷.

Date: the palmettes on the door lintel point to a Hadrianic date¹⁰⁸, although the leaf-and-darts still reflect late Trajanic and early Hadrianic examples¹⁰⁹. The egg-and-dart of the door lintel are also more egg-shaped and are less cut off at the top than on the Hadrianic monuments discussed here. Although the leaf-and-darts might look

¹⁰⁴ Romeo 2018. Only the mid-section was partially visible, far above the ground. The acanthus bushes on the corners were hidden from view.

¹⁰⁵ The figural frieze and the corner pilasters also appear in later Docimian sarcophagus production. See Waelkens 1982, 7. One of the major problems is that none of the cities near the Docimian quarries (Dokimeion, Prymnessos, Synnada) have been excavated, resulting in a disproportional distribution of sarcophagi from the Docimian workshop in the Lycus Valley (excavations in Hierapolis, Laodicea) and Pamphylia (excavations in Perge and Side). Almost nothing is known about the sculptural or architectural tradition in and around Dokimeion. The available evidence is discussed by Waelkens in press b.

¹⁰⁶ Waelkens 1982, 110 no. 1 pl. 22, 1.

¹⁰⁷ Waelkens 1982, 93 f.

¹⁰⁸ They postdate those on the architraves of the Celsus Library (A.D. 113–117) and anthemia on the geison of the ›Temple of Hadrian‹ (A.D. 113/14–117/18) in Ephesus (Quatember 2017, 95 pls. 73, 249), but are still less wide than those on Hadrian's Gate in Antalya dedicated in A.D. 128/29 (Vandeput 1997, 159 pl. 79, 1). Good parallels are found on the Late Hadrianic Nymphaeum (A.D. 129–132) in Sagalassos (Waelkens et al. 2017, 452 f. fig. 8, CP 1). The closed palmettes resemble anthemia on the architraves of the Antoninus Pius Temple (second half of Hadrian's reign) in the same city, but the latter's open palmettes display a more developed, broader shape (Vandeput 1997, 159 pl. 25, 2).

¹⁰⁹ The top of the stirrup frame of the leaf-and-darts is cut off, as common from late Flavian times, but not entirely, as was usually the case from the beginning of the 2nd c. The midrib of the stirrup is raised, but not yet divided into three parts, as fashionable from Trajanic – Hadrianic times (Vandeput 1997, 159 pl. 89, 1 App. 2, 1. 2). During this period, older and more recent forms occurred simultaneously, even on the same building (e.g. the Celsus Library). The beginning of this separation of the stirrup's components can be seen on the Hadrianic triumphal arch inside the South Gate in Perge (Vandeput 1997, 152 f. pls. 85, 2. 3; 86, 2; 104, 4). The doorstone's leaf-and-darts resemble those on the pillars of the Celsus Library and some of the ›Temple of Hadrian‹ in Ephesus, where the stirrups are already more cut off at the top, so that the head of the central vein is no longer surrounded by the stirrup frame, but by a drilled eyelet only (Quatember 2017, pls. 69, 1; 171, 2; 234; 237; 242; 274; 275, 1). A more advanced stage of this development can be seen on the soffits of ›Hadrian's Temple‹ in Ephesus (Quatember 2017, pl. 75, 2), on Hadrianic monuments in Perge and on Hadrian's Gate in Antalya (Vandeput 1997, 152). The two-petalled intermediate flower on the doorstone is equally closer to the original shape than is the case with the abovementioned Hadrianic monuments.

older than those on late Trajanic monuments at Ephesus, the palmettes foreshadow already a later development, a stylistic diversity that is characteristic of Hadrian's reign¹¹⁰. Therefore we suggest a date between A.D. 115 and 125.

This workshop continued to produce doorstones aimed at a local market. Identical doors would quickly appear on the short side of garland, frieze, Torre Nova and columnar sarcophagi of the workshop. When and how this sarcophagus production began is unclear¹¹¹. Having previously dated the start to the reign of Trajan¹¹², we now suggest the early Hadrianic period. Remarkably, the earliest sarcophagi that can be robustly associated with the workshop were all intended for the Roman market. Later, some sarcophagi were also clearly produced in accordance with specific demands (themes, ornaments) from customers in Rome¹¹³. Unless this was the result of connections due to the imperial exploitation of parts of the quarries, there may perhaps have been some investment from Italy in setting up the workshop at an industrial scale. Instead of reflecting a learning process, production (including the earliest doorstone) achieved immediate perfection, which may support the notion of investment. The artisans however were certainly local, as the ornaments carved by them are firmly rooted in the architectural tradition of Asia Minor¹¹⁴.

b) Experimental sarcophagi¹¹⁵:

Rome, Vatican Museum, Sala delle Muse 501

Trademark of the workshop: the overall shape of the coffin, decorated with a Centauromachy on the three preserved sides, is different from what is known from the Docimian workshop, but various other elements belong to the workshop's repertoire: hunting frieze with cupids on the upper moulding, meander frieze on the lower moulding, spiralling fluted columns on the corners, the carving in some figures and trees, and a chain of oval beads along the upper edge. V. M. Strocka identified it as an experimental precursor to the ›Torre Nova‹ sarcophagi¹¹⁶.

Date: A.D. 120–130 (V. M. Strocka).

c) Garland sarcophagi: the two earliest garland sarcophagi produced by the workshop were equally made for the Roman market.

Rome, Private collection USA (?): Rome G 1: last seen in an antique shop in Rome (1903); previously in the Villa Lante, the Villa Strozzi or the Palazzo Camuccini; only known from a sketch in Eton College¹¹⁷.

Rome, Via Ardeatina, km. 10, near Rome (S. Paolo hamlet; ›I Monaci‹ estate): fragmentarily preserved: Rome G 2¹¹⁸.

Trademark of the workshop: on the corners, Victoriae¹¹⁹ standing on an acanthus bush, an early

¹¹⁰ Vandeput 1997, 159.

¹¹¹ This is discussed in Waelkens, in press b.

¹¹² Waelkens 1982, 7 f: except for the Claudian sarcophagus of the Tomba Bella, which we no longer attribute to the workshop. Because of this early date, Scardozzi 2016, 239 suggested that two lost Docimian sarcophagi, described as being decorated with reliefs (›σοροὶ δύο Δοκιμεναὶ κατὰ γλυφοὶ‹) in an epitaph from Hierapolis, can be identified as garland sarcophagi, dated to the reign of Trajan.

¹¹³ Compare Strocka 2017, 5 f. 60–65.

¹¹⁴ The origin of the craftsmen is discussed by Waelkens, in press b.

¹¹⁵ We are not convinced that, as suggested by Strocka 2017, 77–79 pl. 19, 2, the fragment of an Endymion sarcophagus from Rome in Berlin (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung, Sk 846, inv. 982. 1) was another experimental product of the Docimian workshop, which Strocka dated to A.D. 140–150.

¹¹⁶ Strocka 2017, 74–76 pl. 16, 1–3.

¹¹⁷ Waelkens 1982, 17 no. 2 (Rom G 1).

¹¹⁸ Waelkens 1982, 17 f. no. 3 (Rom G 2).

¹¹⁹ On the chronological development of the Victory types, see Waelkens 1982, 10–12 fig. 8. Some corrections are made by Waelkens, in press b.

feature of the workshop¹²⁰; between them two cupids¹²¹ perched on a dolphin, as on many sarcophagi dated to A.D. 130–140 (see below); Victoriae and cupids support the characteristic oak leaf garland¹²² of the Docimian workshop, with a large flower in the centre of each garland, as in many of the earlier examples; ribbons wind around the garlands and a big bunch of grapes hangs down from them; a Medusa head in the middle, flanked on either side by a theatre mask, occupies the space above the garlands, as common on the earlier garland sarcophagi (see below); The fragmentarily preserved coffin Rome G 2 also displays the richly decorated socle moulding of these sarcophagi¹²³; the frieze of hunting cupids along the lower edge of the coffin is usually absent on garland sarcophagi, but returns on some columnar sarcophagi of the workshop¹²⁴.

Date: both sarcophagi look so similar that they may have been contemporaneous; the palmettes of Rome G 2, allow for a more precise date, most likely between A.D. 120 and 125/130, than our previous suggestion (Trajanic – early Hadrianic period)¹²⁵.

**Side, Antalya Museum, inv. A 74:
Antalya G 1 (Fig. 6)¹²⁶.**

Trademark of the workshop: the winged Victoriae on the corners and the two cupids on the long sides stand on a large acanthus bush (an early feature of the workshop¹²⁷), from which springs a



Fig. 6 Garland sarcophagus Antalya G 1 (Antalya Museum, inv. A 74) from Side, ca. A.D. 130 or shortly before

tendrils along the lower edge of the coffin¹²⁸; the richly decorated socle moulding has the same composition as that of Rome G 2 (n. 123), but the cyma recta is decorated with a dense pattern of alternating open and closed hanging palmettes, a type of anthemion that would henceforth show a uniform, straightforward development within the workshop; on the torus, garlands with three rows of horizontal, overlapping leaves (*›Spitzblattgirlande‹*), pointing sideways and springing from a double ribbon in the middle of each side, replace the guilloche of Rome G 2; their moulded leaves form the prototype of the stylized *›Spitzblattgirlanden‹* that can be found on all later garland sarcophagi (and other types) from the workshop; a Medusa head on the short sides and cupid heads emerging from a large *›Wirbelrosette‹* on the long sides occupy the space above the garlands.

¹²⁰ See already in the Tomba Bella; further on Antalya G 1 (Fig. 6) and G 2 (Fig. 7), probably Malibu G 1 and Laodicea B; see n. 100f. 126. 131. 147. 154. 189.

¹²¹ On the changing typology of the cupids, see Waelkens 1982, 12f. fig. 9 with additions in Waelkens, in press b.

¹²² On the development of this garland, see Waelkens 1982, 7f.

¹²³ Composed of a fillet, an astragal with bead-and-reels, a cyma recta with alternating open and closed hanging palmettes, a torus with guilloche decoration and a plinth.

¹²⁴ E. g. Strocka 2017, pls. 85, 3–4; 86.

¹²⁵ The closed palmettes can be dated between those of the *›Temple of Hadrian‹* (A.D. 113/14–117/18) in Ephesus (Quatember 2017, pls. 237. 249. 260) and some anthemia of Hadrian's Gate in Antalya, dated to A.D. 128/29. (Van-deput 1999, 159. 162 pls. 79, 1; 79, 3); the leaves of the open palmettes resemble those on both monuments, but the palmettes are less elongated and have three rows of leaves instead of two.

¹²⁶ Waelkens 1982, 18 no. 4, there dated around A.D. 110–115.

¹²⁷ See also Rom G 1 (n. 117), Antalya G 2 (n. 131), Malibu G 1 (n. 147. 154) and Laodicea B (n. 189). The latter two sarcophagi also display similar *›Wirbelrosetten‹* with cupids with outstretched arms inside, related to the *›Wirbelrosetten‹* with cupid heads only of Antalya G 1 (Fig. 6).

¹²⁸ Both elements were also part of the socle profile of the sarcophagus of the *›Tomba Bella‹* in Hierapolis. See n. 100.

Date: the palmettes¹²⁹ of the socle and the tendril frieze¹³⁰ above it suggest a date around A.D. 130 or shortly before.

The sarcophagus from Side (*Fig. 6*) forms the transition between the two abovementioned sarcophagi from Rome and a group of Docimian garland sarcophagi produced around A.D. 130 or shortly after, originating from both Pamphylia and the Caro-Phrygian borderlands (Antalya G 2 from Perge, Aphrodisias G, Denizli G 4 from Attouda), which established the ›canonical‹ type of the Docimian garland sarcophagi.

Perge, Antalya Museum, inv. 950 (*Figs. 7a. b*):
Antalya G 2¹³¹.

Trademark of the workshop: winged Victoriae on the corners, standing on an acanthus bush; as on Rome G 1, a single cupid on each long side perching on a dolphin (*Fig. 7a*), a support that would become predominant during the next decade; above all garlands on the long sides, theatre masks, and on the short sides, Medusa heads (*Fig. 7b*); socle profile identical to that of the Side sarcophagus (Antalya G 1; *Fig. 6*), but due to the small size no tendril frieze between the acanthus bushes; for the first time, the characteristic stylized ›Spitzblattgirlande‹¹³² decorates the torus; the gabled lid, the earliest preserved sarcophagus lid from the workshop, displays all its characteristic features¹³³.

Date: the palmette anthemion suggests a late Hadrianic date¹³⁴; antefixes decorated with theatre masks (*Fig. 7a*) were an early feature, also re-



Fig. 7 Garland ash urn/bone container Antalya G 2 (Antalya Museum, inv. 950) from Perge, A.D. ca. 130. Front (a) and right-hand short side (b)

¹²⁹ Albeit developed out of those of the abovementioned late Trajanic – early Hadrianic doorstone, they are already more stretched out, especially the closed palmettes; therefore, they also postdate the palmettes on the architraves of the Hadrianic Baths in Aphrodisias, dated to the second half of Hadrian's reign (Vandeput 1999, pl. 74, 4. On the date of the baths, see Wilson 2016, 189); they resemble palmettes on some Hadrianic monuments in Perge (Vandeput 1999, 162 pl. 104, 3), but find their best parallels in one of the palmette anthemions of the Late Hadrianic Nymphaeum in Sagalassos (A.D. 129–132): see Waelkens et al. 2017, 452 f. fig. 8 (CP 1).

¹³⁰ One of the tendril frieze types of the nymphaeum mentioned in the previous note looks very similar to that on the sarcophagus from Side: Waelkens et al. 2017, 456 f. fig. 10, 9 (scroll type 2, stage 3).

¹³¹ Waelkens 1982, 18 no. 5, there dated around A.D. 110–115.

¹³² Strocka 2012, 254 f. figs. 46, 52; Strocka 2017, 43.

¹³³ For a detailed description, see Waelkens 1982, 62–64: stem tendril along the sloping sides of the gable; a small patera-like device in the middle of it.

¹³⁴ Almost identical to that of Antalya G 1 from Side (*Fig. 6*) and very similar to that of the late Hadrianic part of the South Baths at Perge (Vandeput 1999, 89 pl. 105, 1).

turning on some antefixes of garland sarcophagus Perge G 2 (Fig. 10)¹³⁵, dated below to ca. A.D. 130–135; a date around A.D. 130 seems likely.

Aphrodisias, Aphrodisias Museum, S-90,

apparently made of local marble¹³⁶.

Trademark of the workshop: characteristic oak leaf garland; for the first time corner Victoriae supported by a sitting winged sphinx; on the lower part of the coffin a meander that would occupy this place for nearly a decade, replaces the tendril frieze of Antalya G 1 (Fig. 6); decorated socle identical to that of Antalya G 2 from Perge (Fig. 7); the meander and this type of socle became canonical during the following decade.

Date: the palmettes on the socle's cyma recta postulate a date around A.D. 130¹³⁷. In view of this early date, it can be suggested that an itinerant team of sculptors from the Docimian workshop could only operate in Aphrodisias during its initial production phase. Once it began to flourish, from the next decade onwards, the prolonged absence of an entire team would no longer be possible.

Attouda, now presumably in the Hierapolis Museum; previously in the Atatürk Lisesi at Denizli (left part: K 746/E 436; middle part: K 746/E 437; right fragment: old no.149): Denizli G 4¹³⁸.

Trademark of the workshop: supports of cupids (very similar to those of Laodicea B) and winged Victoriae not preserved, but the raised position of the garlands suggests a winged sphinx as sup-



Fig. 8 Female portrait bust of a garland sarcophagus fragment from Attouda (previously kept in the Atatürk Lisesi at Denizli, now presumably in the Hierapolis Museum), ca. A.D. 130 or shortly after

port of the latter; for the first time, portrait busts (carved in low relief) with well modelled heads occupy the space above the outer garlands on the front.

Date: the hairstyles of the adult woman¹³⁹ (Fig. 8) and of the young girl or boy¹⁴⁰ suggest a date around A.D. 130 or slightly later.

¹³⁵ Antalya, inv. 10.30.95 (here, Fig. 10). We call it Perge G 2; completing the list in Waelkens 1982, 17–31.

¹³⁶ Ögüş 2016. Only lower part of the coffin preserved. See also n. 59.

¹³⁷ They foreshadow the corresponding ornament on garland sarcophagus Malibu G 1 (n. 147), but are still more related to the anthemion on the first known ›doorstone‹ of the workshop (A.D. 115–125; n. 106).

¹³⁸ Waelkens 1982, 22 no. 16, who dated the sarcophagus to ca. A.D. 120–125 and wrongly identified the Victoriae as standing on a globe.

¹³⁹ Below a veil, hair piled up, mimicking a turban, possibly composed of three rows of braids behind slightly wavy hair parted at the front; a close parallel is an (early) Hadrianic portrait bust (Wegner 1956, pl. 4: the ›turban‹ is not braided, nor are similar hairstyles on portraits from Rome: Wegner 1956, pls. 44a; 45a; 46a; 47); portraits of Sabina, particularly from the earlier part of her husband's reign, inspired this hairstyle; a similar portrait from Asia Minor in the J. P. Getty Museum, but with a wider section of wavy hair parted at the front, has been dated to the early years of the reign of Hadrian (Inan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 331 no. 330 pl. 237, 3. 239). The best parallels,

4.3. *The years A.D. 130–140*

a) Garland sarcophagi (A.D. 130–135): a large group of fourteen sarcophagi represents the ›canonical‹ type of the Docimian garland sarcophagus during this period:

Nicea, **Iznik Museum, inv.1907**: Iznik G 1¹⁴¹; Denizli G 1 (presumably in the **Hierapolis Museum**, previously in the garden of the Atatürk Lisesi of Denizli¹⁴²; **R. Koç Collection**: Koç G 1¹⁴³; **Side, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung, Skg., inv.225**: Berlin G 1¹⁴⁴); **Hierapolis**: fragments in the **Tomb of St Philip**¹⁴⁵; **Denizli G 3** (presumably in the **Hierapolis Museum**, previously **Atatürk Lisesi of Denizli, inv.225**¹⁴⁶; **Rome, Getty Museum, inv.72.AA.152**: Malibu G 1¹⁴⁷; **Perge, Antalya Museum, inv.1.68.94**,

returned by the Brooklyn Museum: Perge G 1; *Fig. 9*); **Çanakkale** (presumably in Troy Museum, previously **Çanakkale Museum** without inv: Çanakkale G 1¹⁴⁸); **Nicaea, Iznik Museum**: Iznik G 2¹⁴⁹; **Istanbul, Istanbul Museum, inv.4093**: Istanbul G 2¹⁵⁰; **Perge G 2, Antalya Museum, inv.10.30.95; Fig. 10; Perge, Antalya Museum, inv. A 16**: Antalya G 3¹⁵¹; **Hierapolis**, southwest necropolis, sarcophagus S 1¹⁵².

Trademark of the workshop: all sarcophagi have a meander frieze along the lower edge of the coffin, followed by an identical socle¹⁵³ and Victoriae of a single type standing on a winged sphinx (see already Aphrodisias, higher up; except perhaps Malibu G 2¹⁵⁴); all cupids (of a type created around A.D. 130 and in use for two decades¹⁵⁵) are perch-

however, are two almost identical portraits of either Avidia Plauta or Vibia Sabina, one in the Yale University Art Gallery in New Haven (Yale University Art Gallery; Matheson 1992, 86–93 figs 1–5; Broucke 1996, 75 no. 2) and one auctioned in 2012 <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilderbestand/848635>> (02.07.2019); both are dated to around A.D. 130–138; this woman has wavy hair parted in the centre, drawn back behind the ears and piled up from the neck into a ›turban‹ of coiled braids; the fold of the *chiton* on the auctioned portrait bust is also identical to that on the sarcophagus from Attouada.

¹⁴⁰ The bust has a Trajanic hairstyle that was worn by young girls (İnan – Rosenbaum 1966, 162 no. 212 pl. 117, 3–5) and boys (İnan – Rosenbaum 1966, 203 no. 279 pl. 156, 1–2) and was still fashionable in the early Hadrianic period (Kockel 1993, 210 nos. 11. 12 pl. 126 a. b).

¹⁴¹ Waelkens 1982, 19 no. 7, there dated ca. A.D. 115.

¹⁴² Waelkens 1982, 19 no. 8, there dated ca. A.D. 115–120.

¹⁴³ Waelkens 19 no. 9 pl. 2, 5, there dated ca. A.D. 115–120.

¹⁴⁴ Waelkens 1982, 20 no. 11 pl. 2, 4, there dated shortly before A.D. 120.

¹⁴⁵ Ahrens et al. 2016, 262 f. fig. 2: Hadrianic.

¹⁴⁶ Waelkens 1982, 20 no. 14: there dated ca. A.D. 120.

¹⁴⁷ Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 499 fig. 480; Waelkens 1982, 20 no. 10, there dated ca. A.D. 115–120.; Koch – Wight 1988, 67–69 no. 23: ca. A.D. 160; Yıldız – Şimşek 2000, 107–109: made in a workshop at Laodicea and contemporaneous with Laodicea A and B.

¹⁴⁸ Waelkens 1982, 23 no. 17 pl. 3, 1, there dated ca. A.D. 120–130.

¹⁴⁹ Waelkens 1982, 25 no. 24 pl. 3, 2, there dated ca. A.D. 135–140.

¹⁵⁰ Waelkens 1982, 25 no. 25, there dated ca. A.D. 140.

¹⁵¹ Waelkens 1982, 21 no. 13 pl. 3, 3, there dated ca. A.D. 120; Yıldız – Şimşek 2000, 109: A.D. 145–150.

¹⁵² Scardozi 2016, 238–240 fig. 5.

¹⁵³ Composed of an astragal with bead-and-reels, a cyma recta with alternating open and closed hanging palmettes, a torus with the same schematic ›*Spitzblattgirlande*‹ as on ash urn Antalya G 2 (*Fig. 7a. b*), and finally a plinth.

¹⁵⁴ The elevated position of the Victoriae on the corners, without any trace of an adjoining wing, suggests an acanthus bush as support.

¹⁵⁵ Antalya G 1 from Side, *Fig. 6*; see Waelkens 1982, 12 fig. 9: Eros type 2. Only the cupids of Malibu G 1 are different: Eros type 3, which also occurs on one of the earliest frieze sarcophagi of the workshop: Yalvaç F 1 (Waelkens 1982, 33 no. 2, here *Fig. 11*; see n. 172).



Fig. 9 Front of garland sarcophagus Perge G 1 (Antalya Museum, inv. 1.68.94), ca. A.D. 130–135



Fig. 10 Long side of garland sarcophagus Perge G 2 (Antalya Museum, inv. 10.30.95), ca. A.D. 130–135

ing on sea creatures¹⁵⁶, with the exception of two sarcophagi from Perge¹⁵⁷, where they stand on low statue bases¹⁵⁸; some sarcophagi have a rosette in the centre of the garlands, from which a bunch of grapes, smaller than those on the earliest coffins

from the workshop, hang; a pair of birds pecking at the garlands and a ›*Wirbelrosette*›¹⁵⁹ with the bust of a cupid with outstretched arms replace these grapes below, respectively, the outer and the central garland of Malibu G 1¹⁶⁰. All sarcophagi have a Medusa head above the garlands on the short sides and above the central garland on both long sides, on which theatre masks occupy the space above the outer garlands.

Date: the palmettes¹⁶¹ on the socle identify Malibu G 1 as the earliest of the better preserved coffins and suggest that Perge G 1 (Fig. 9), Perge G 2 (Fig. 10) and Antalya G 3 (see n. 151) were made around the same time in this chronological order. Albeit the same team of craftsmen probably finished the coffins of Perge G 1 and 2 (Figs. 9, 10), this was not the case for their lids¹⁶² and their palmettes: standard palmettes, alternating with theatre masks, still decorate the antefixes of Perge G 2 (Fig. 10); on the antefixes of Perge G 1, for the first time the palmette-type characteristic of the workshop appears: two pairs of flaming leaves without a central leaf (Fig. 9). This reflects the contemporaneous activity of various teams within the workshop.

Despite their distribution across the Lycus Valley in Phrygia, Bithynia, the Troad, Pamphylia and Rome, the striking uniformity clearly identifies this group of sarcophagi as products of a single workshop with highly specialized craftsmen, whose work and sometimes even hands can be identified on sarcophagi from widely dispersed regions¹⁶³. The Docimian sarcophagus workshop

¹⁵⁶ A dolphin (Perge G 2, Fig. 10) or a sea bull (Malibu G 1). The dolphin and sea bull foreshadow the more mythological sea creatures that would become popular in the workshop between A.D. 135 and 140.

¹⁵⁷ Perge G 1 (Fig. 9); Antalya G 3 (n. 151).

¹⁵⁸ Similar to those supporting part of the Heracles figures on some of the earliest columnar sarcophagi of the workshop: London B (Waelkens 1982, 71 no. 1; here Fig. 14) and Antalya M (Waelkens 1982, 71 no. 2; here Figs. 16, 17).

¹⁵⁹ As on the early Side sarcophagus Antalya G 1 (Fig. 6).

¹⁶⁰ Both these motifs would make a comeback during the second half of the fourth decade of the century.

¹⁶¹ Closed palmettes are still very similar to those of Antalya G 1 and Antalya G 2 (Figs. 6, 7), but the open palmettes have grown much broader.

¹⁶² Perge G 1 does not have dentils inside the sloping side of the gables, as is the case on Perge G 2, which also has a rosette instead of a patera inside one of the gables, and of which the palmettes decorating the acroteria present a greater quality of carving.

¹⁶³ During this period, some of the Medusa heads have a small hair lock on both cheeks. Some of these heads are clearly carved by the same sculptor. This is the case for Denizli G 1 (n. 142) from the Lycus Valley, Koç G 1 (n. 143),

therefore began producing garland sarcophagi for the metropolitan and Anatolian market at the latest from ca. A.D. 130 on, two decades later than we have previously suggested¹⁶⁴, but one decade earlier than suggested by G. Koch and H. Sichtermann¹⁶⁵.

b) Frieze sarcophagi (A.D. 130–135): shortly after A.D. 130, a new sarcophagus type, the frieze sarcophagus, interrupted the ›monopolistic‹ production of garland sarcophagi. In contrast with the Attic sarcophagi, on Docimian sarcophagi the frieze occurs, in a fully finished state, on all four sides. Before developing the columnar sarcophagus, between A.D. 140 and 150, the workshop experimented with various types of coffins, in use around the same time, that in reality were all frieze sarcophagi¹⁶⁶. They included ›Amazon sarcophagi‹ (from ca. A.D. 135 on)¹⁶⁷, followed ten years later by ›hunting sarcophagi‹¹⁶⁸. Shortly thereafter, these were followed by sarcophagi with ›*clipeus* motif‹¹⁶⁹, and between A.D. 155 and 160 by the ›Cupid sarcophagi‹ or ›*Erotensarkophage*‹¹⁷⁰. Between A.D. 145 and 150, some frieze sarcophagi were fitted with spiralling fluted

columns or pilasters on the corners, thus forming the so-called Torre Nova group¹⁷¹, to which the Geneva sarcophagus belongs. The creation of the last group happened virtually simultaneously and appears not to have been a separate development from the first experimental phases of columnar sarcophagi, which would eventually monopolize production.

Pisidian Antioch, Yalvaç Museum, inv. 17:

Yalvaç F 1¹⁷²: fragment of the earliest known frieze sarcophagus of the workshop (*Fig. 11*)¹⁷³.

Trademark of the workshop: cupid of type 3 as on Malibu G 1 (n. 147), only with left foot standing on a dolphin; Docimian frieze sarcophagi had coffins with an upper moulding¹⁷⁴, and in order to support the figures of a continuous frieze¹⁷⁵, the workshop also introduced a new, strongly projecting socle¹⁷⁶.

Date: the sculptors of Denizli G 2 (n. 192) and Laodicea B (n. 189), dated to A.D. 135–140, may have carved the body of the cupid; similar egg-and-tongues¹⁷⁷ and ›corresponding‹ bead-and-reels¹⁷⁸ occur on highly visible parts of late Hadrianic (to early Antonine) monuments in Asia Minor¹⁷⁹;

Berlin G 1 from Side (n. 144); Perge G 2 (central Medusa on one long side; Medusa on a short side; *Fig. 10*) and the sarcophagus from the Tomb of St Philip in Hierapolis (n. 145).

¹⁶⁴ Waelkens 1982, 7–16 (ending around A.D. 160).

¹⁶⁵ Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 500: they date them to the years A.D. 140–170.

¹⁶⁶ Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 500f.

¹⁶⁷ Waelkens 1982, 42–48.

¹⁶⁸ Waelkens 1982, 48–50.

¹⁶⁹ Waelkens 1982, 56f.

¹⁷⁰ Waelkens 1982, 59–62.

¹⁷¹ Waelkens 1982, 50–56.

¹⁷² Waelkens 1982, 33 no. 2: Yalvaç F 1, there dated around A.D. 11–120.

¹⁷³ It depicts a winged cupid, a Siren and a winged Victory (possibly on a corner).

¹⁷⁴ Here a fillet, an ovolo with egg-and-dart and an astragal with still ›corresponding‹ bead-and-reels.

¹⁷⁵ As their socle only widened towards the base, the garland sarcophagi needed individual supports for the cupids and Victoriae.

¹⁷⁶ Composed of a fillet, a cyma reversa with egg-and-dart motif, followed by an astragal with corresponding bead-and-reels, a torus with an oak leaf garland, a larger astragal with bead-and-reels, and a plinth.

¹⁷⁷ The frame still surrounds the eggs completely and is linked to them by a small tip joint at the lower edge of the ovolo.

¹⁷⁸ Slightly elongated beads alternating with pairs of slender rhomboidal reels.

¹⁷⁹ They particularly resemble one of the egg-and-tongue types of the late Hadrianic Nymphaeum and some ovoli of the Temple of Antoninus Pius in Sagalassos (Waelkens et al. 2017, 463 fig. 13, 10: sculptor 6; Vandepuit 1999, 144. 149 pl. 25, 2. with references to similar ornaments on buildings of (late) Hadrianic date).



Fig. 11 Fragment of frieze sarcophagus Yalvaç F1 (Yalvaç Museum, inv.17) from Pisidian Antioch, shortly after A.D. 130

the leaf-and-darts¹⁸⁰ postdate those on the earliest doorstone of the workshop (n. 106), but still reflect an earlier tradition than that of late Hadrianic to early Antonine monuments¹⁸¹; a date shortly after A.D. 130 is suggested for this frieze sarcophagus.

Nicaea, Bursa Museum, inv. 2115: Bursa A 1¹⁸²; fragment of an ›Amazon sarcophagus‹.

Trademark of the workshop: clearly a Docimian coffin.

Date: the wider egg-and-dart decorating the upper edge of the coffin suggest a production date five years later than the previous fragment.

c) Fluted sarcophagi: around A.D. 135 the workshop introduced the fluted sarcophagus; they had a gabled lid like those of the garland sarcophagi, be it with a more elaborately decorated lower edge. The type may have originated in pre-Domitianic times¹⁸³ in Hierapolis, where these sarcophagi were very popular. They were usually made of local¹⁸⁴ marble, but sometimes of Docimian marble¹⁸⁵. A characteristic feature of the fluted sarcophagi entirely finished at Dokimeion are the slightly convex sides of the coffin, with an undecorated socle composed of the same mouldings like those of the ›canonical‹ garland sarcophagi¹⁸⁶.

Sardis, Izmir Museum, inv. 883: Izmir R 1¹⁸⁷.

Trademark of the workshop: entirely preserved coffin and lid of the just mentioned shape.

Date: the palmettes of the lid's acroteria and sima date to around A.D. 135¹⁸⁸, making it the earliest example of the type.

d) Garland sarcophagi (A.D. 135–140): the workshop rapidly adopted the socle-type introduced for the frieze sarcophagi for most other sarcophagus types, including the garland sarcophagi (except the first one):

¹⁸⁰ Grooved stirrup frame, cut off at the top but still surrounding the head of the central leaf that is not yet either strongly raised or divided into three parts (see n. 109).

¹⁸¹ Vandeput 1999, 153 pls. 28, 1. 2; 92, 1; 101, 4; 114, 1 App. 1, 2. 3.

¹⁸² Waelkens 1982, 43 no. 1, there dated to A.D. 130–140.

¹⁸³ Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 534; the sarcophagus of Neratia Maximilla, the most high-status sarcophagus of the type at Hierapolis, has been dated to the first half of the 2nd c., perhaps in the first quarter of the century. No scientific analysis of the marble had taken place. See Ritti 2006, 153; Koch 2016, 474 fig. 30.

¹⁸⁴ Scardozi 2016, 232. 242 f. 255 f. The type was so popular here that it was even made of local travertine. See Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 534.

¹⁸⁵ Scardozi 2016, 256. Most if not all of the latter may have been imported as roughed-out coffins, but fluted sarcophagi were also made in the Docimian workshop. Cf. n. 66.

¹⁸⁶ The Afyon Museum contains such a coffin with an uninscribed *tabula ansata* on one long side, which also occurs on fluted sarcophagi in Hierapolis (Scardozi 2016, 255), made of white Docimian marble.

¹⁸⁷ Waelkens 1982, 40 no. 1 pl. 12, 1. 2, there dated ca. A.D. 120.

¹⁸⁸ The palmettes of the acroteria strongly resemble those of garland sarcophagi Laodicea A (n. 196) and Konya G 1 (here Fig. 12), both dated to A.D. 135–140; the sima palmettes are similar to those on sarcophagi Perge G 1 & 2

Laodicea, Hierapolis Museum inv. 3719: Laodicea B: the earliest of the garland sarcophagi dated to this period¹⁸⁹.

Trademark of the workshop: still repeats the pattern of the garland sarcophagi produced during the preceding five years: a meander frieze along the lower edge of the coffin, above the earlier type of socle; above the garlands, from which hang ribbons and a small bunch of grapes; a Medusa head on the short sides and a Medusa head flanked by tragic masks on the long sides; an acanthus bush still supports a new type of Victory¹⁹⁰ on the corners; winged sea griffons carry cupids of the same type as those of the preceding five years¹⁹¹.

Date: the characteristic ›Docimian palmette‹ (first appearing on the antefixes of Perge G 1 but not yet on its socle; see *Fig. 9*) decorates for the first time both the acroteria of the lid and the socle; the hair of the Medusa heads and masks shows an increased use of the drill. The shape of the coffin (incl. the socle moulding) and palmettes (see n. 189) suggest a date shortly after A.D. 135.

Colossae, Hierapolis Museum, previously in the **Atatürk Lisesi of Denizli, inv. 80 and inv. 154 and 341:** Denizli G 2¹⁹²: fragmented long side of a coffin.

Trademark of the workshop: first garland sarcophagus with the new type of socle¹⁹³; above the garlands a Medusa head¹⁹⁴ between two tragic theatre masks; the winged, sitting sphinx, still supporting the Victoriae on the corners, has become smaller as it sits on a higher, projecting socle; for the same reason, birds pecking at the garlands, first appearing on Malibu G 1 (n. 147), replace the grapes hanging from them; cupids of the same type as on the latter sarcophagus stand on dolphins.

Date: the leaf-and-darts of the socle, characteristic of the late Hadrianic to early Antonine period¹⁹⁵, suggests a date during the earlier part of the A.D. 135–140 bracket.

Laodicea, Hierapolis Museum inv. E.5207 H.455: Laodicea A¹⁹⁶: represents the next step in the development of Docimian garland sarcophagi.

(here *Figs. 9, 10*) and Antalya G 3 (n. 151), dated to A.D. 130–135. They also resemble some anthemia of the late Hadrianic Nymphaeum in Sagalassos: Waelkens et al. 2017, 459 fig. 13, 1 (sculptor 1, P 1).

¹⁸⁹ Yıldız – Şimşek 2000, 110f. 126–136 figs. 17–24 (here dated approximately five to six years after Laodicea A, i.e. around A.D. 135/6–140/1). However, the shape of the coffin and the narrower palmettes place Laodicea B shortly before Laodicea A. A fragment with a winged cupid in the Izmir Museum (Waelkens 1982, 21 no. 15: Izmir G 1, there dated around A.D. 120–125) seems to be carved by the same sculptor as the cupid on Laodicea B (n. 189).

¹⁹⁰ Waelkens 1982, 10f. fig. 8: type 3.

¹⁹¹ A fragment with a winged cupid in the Izmir Museum (Waelkens 1982, 21 no. 15: Izmir G 1, there dated around A.D. 120–125) seems to be carved by the same sculptor as the cupid on Laodicea B (n. 189).

¹⁹² Waelkens 1982, 20 no. 12 pl. 2, 2–3, there dated to around A.D. 120; Şimşek 1997, 58 n. 519 fig. 144; Yıldız – Şimşek 2000, 108 fig. 27 (date around A.D. 150).

¹⁹³ Henceforth composed of a fillet, a cyma reversa with leaf-and-darts, an astragal with bead-and-reels (no longer ›corresponding‹), a torus with guilloche decoration, another astragal, a cyma recta with alternating open and closed hanging palmettes, another torus with the characteristic stylized ›Spitzblattgirlande‹ and a plinth. Only the upper part of the socle is preserved here: a fillet with a convex central part, perhaps reflecting an experimental phase, and a cyma reversa with leaf-and-darts.

¹⁹⁴ The Medusa no longer has a lock of hair on the cheeks, but may still have been carved by the artist who had shaped several Medusa heads during the preceding five years (see n. 163).

¹⁹⁵ The two-petalled intermediate flowers are less modelled than those of the earliest frieze sarcophagus of the workshop (*Fig. 11*), while the grooved stirrup frame is now divided into three parts: the central rib below is separated from the flanking ribs, which, however, still show appendages sloping back towards the central rib. For parallels see Vandeput 1999, 152f. pls. 25, 5; 26, 1; 37, 2; 101, 3–5; 114, 1 App. 1, 2–4. However, the fact that on sarcophagus Denizli G 2 the top of the stirrup frame is not yet entirely cut off seems to rule out a date after A.D. 140.

¹⁹⁶ Yıldız – Şimşek 2000, 100. 103–105. 110f. 113–126 figs. 1–16. 31–34 (dated to the late Hadrianic period, ca. A.D. 130–135); Şimşek et al. 2015, 123; Strocka 2017, 57 no. 1 (A.D. 130–140).

Trademark of the workshop: only a corner of the lid preserved¹⁹⁷; for the first time on a Docimian garland sarcophagus, the antefixes with palmette decoration have been replaced by lion head spouts¹⁹⁸; the coffin presents the elaborate socle described above; Victoriae like those of Laodicea B stand on small sphinxes; cupids of the type popular during the preceding period are supported by winged sea lions at the back and at the front by another fat, winged sea creature (head lost); a pair of birds pecking at the garlands again replaces the earlier grapes; Medusa heads¹⁹⁹ occupy the space above the outer garlands at the back, while ›Wirbelrosetten‹ from which the bust of a cupid with outstretched arms emerges²⁰⁰, fill the space above the outer garlands on the front; a clipeus with two portrait busts above an inscribed *tabula ansata* at the front and for the first time a mythological scene (Perseus and Andromeda) at the back replace the central garland; another first is the presence on the left short side of a door with open wings²⁰¹ and an elaborately moulded but undecorated door lintel (as on contemporaneous

doorstones from Dokimeion²⁰²); a female (l) and male (r) figure stand on either side of the door, in which appears a headless man. On the right-hand short side, a Victory sacrifices a bull in front of an altar. The clipeus at the front contains the busts²⁰³ of a bearded male and a female wearing a *himation*, identified by the inscription below as Ippolitos and Flacilla.²⁰⁴

Date: the leaf-and-darts²⁰⁵ postdate the Colossae fragments but predate the above-mentioned late Hadrianic – early Antonine examples from monumental architecture (n. 195); the palmettes, albeit very similar to those of Laodicea B, are broader; the hair and beard of the man find good parallels on several portraits from Asia Minor dated to the Hadrianic – early Antonine period²⁰⁶; Flacilla's hairstyle and the drapery of her *chiton* and *himation* still resemble those of the female bust of the Attouda sarcophagus (Fig. 8), but her broad ›turban‹ of two braided hair coils finds its best parallel on a late Hadrianic to early Antonine female portrait from Apollonia (Albania)²⁰⁷. A date between A.D. 135 and 140 can be postulated for Laodicea A.

¹⁹⁷ On the sole intact acroterion, elaborately carved palmettes growing out of a finely moulded acanthus bush; the lid's lower part is composed of undecorated mouldings: a fillet, a cavetto, a quarter-round, a fillet and a fascia with upper apophyge.

¹⁹⁸ As was also the case around A.D. 135 on the earliest dated sarcophagus with fluted coffin from the workshop (n. 187).

¹⁹⁹ As on several earlier examples (n. 163) they have a lock of hair on the cheeks, but they display a more pronounced use of the drill in the hair than on earlier sarcophagi.

²⁰⁰ Identical to the rosette hanging from the central garland on Malibu G 1 (n. 147).

²⁰¹ They are intentionally destroyed at the outer edges, as if the door had been forced open.

²⁰² The mouldings are also identical to those on the contemporaneous garland sarcophagus Konya G 1, where they are decorated (Fig. 12).

²⁰³ Both torsos are carved in higher relief than those on the garland sarcophagus from Attouda (Fig. 8).

²⁰⁴ Yıldız – Şimşek 2000, 121.

²⁰⁵ They still have a grooved stirrup frame, but the stirrup has been almost entirely cut off above the head of the central rib.

²⁰⁶ Three Hadrianic portraits from Nicomedia and one in the Burdur Museum: İnan – Rosenbaum 1966, 93 no. 76 pls. 46, 2. 3; 94; 95 no. 79 pls. 49, 1. 2; 95 no. 80 pls. 48, 1; 49, 3. 4; İnan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 270 no. 256 pl. 183, 1. Two early Antonine examples from Istanbul and Perge also offer good parallels: İnan – Rosenbaum 1966, 219 no. 309 pl. 174, 1. 2. 5; İnan – Rosenbaum-Alföldi 1979, 252 no. 230 pls. 161, 4; 164.

²⁰⁷ Korkuti 1971, 14 pl. 88; Fittschen – Zanker 1983, 17 f. n. 3 (late Hadrianic), but the articulated irises and pupils, as well as the heavy eyelids, can be associated with portraits from the Antonine period, so that a broader date range in the late Hadrianic to early Antonine period seems reasonable. The locks over the forehead are loosely woven together into a scallop-like arrangement, as on early Antonine portraits of Faustina Maior: Fittschen – Zanker 1983, 17 no. 17 pls. 21. 22. Two other portraits with a tall ›turban‹ hairstyle composed of two braided rolls, which however do not cover the entire width of the head, are dated to A.D. 130–140. See Rosenbaum 1960, 53 f. no. 40 pls. 30; 73, 1;



Fig. 12 Front of garland sarcophagus Konya G 1 (Konya Museum, inv. 1343) from Ikonion, ca. A.D. 135–140

Ikonion, Konya Museum, inv. 1343: Konya G 1 (Figs. 12. 13): entirely preserved garland sarcophagus²⁰⁸.

Trademark of the workshop: the lid (Fig. 12)²⁰⁹ is the work of a different team than that of Laodicea A²¹⁰; top acroteria with the characteristic ›Docimian‹ palmettes; as on all subsequent full-sized Docimian sarcophagi, lion spouts²¹¹ instead of antefixes; probably influenced by the workshop's frieze sarcophagi, the coffin has an upper moulding²¹²; a socle of the same type as that of Laodicea A, but with an ovolo replacing the cyma reversa with leaf-and-darts; the socle, the garlands with a pair of birds pecking at them, the corner Victoriae (type 3), for the first time standing on a



a



b

Fig. 13 Female busts on the left (a) and right side (b) of the front of garland sarcophagus Konya G 1 (Konya Museum, inv. 1343) from Ikonion, ca 135–140 A.D.

76, 3; Fittschen – Zanker 1983, 77 no. 1 (c. d) dated to A.D. 130–140; 76 no. 100. pls. 125–127 dated to A.D. 130–150 A mummy portrait from Hawara, dated to A.D. 110–130, also offers a good parallel for the broad ›turban‹ of braided hair, but it has curly hair at the front. See Walker – Bierbrier 1997, 57 f. no 33.

²⁰⁸ Waelkens 1982, 23 no. 90 pls. 3, 4; 30, 4; there dated ca. A.D. 130–140; Işık 1998, 282 f. pls. 113, 1; 115, 2; Yıldız – Şimşek 2000, 104 f. (ca. A.D. 130–140: postdating Laodicea A because of the more pronounced waves at the front of the head, which, however, result from the work of a more accomplished sculptor); Özgan 2003, 55–60 pls. 4–48; Strocka 2017, 58 no. 2 pl. 9, 4. 5 (because of the disappearance of the correspondence between egg-and-dart and bead-and-reel: ca. A.D. 140 or even later).

²⁰⁹ Below the roof, a fillet, an undecorated cyma recta, an astragal and a fascia.

²¹⁰ The finely curled palmette leaves of the corner acroteria emerge from a less elaborate but nonetheless carefully carved and modelled acanthus bush.

²¹¹ Almost identical to those of the first fluted sarcophagus of the workshop, produced ca. A.D. 135. See n. 187.

²¹² Composed of an ovolo with egg-and-tongue and an astragal with non-corresponding beads-and-reels.

globe²¹³, as well as the cupids (type 3), supported by a sea griffon, and the Medusa heads²¹⁴, were most likely carved by the craftsmen who produced Laodicea A; the Medusa heads only fill the space above the outer garlands at the back, while at the front, female portrait busts replace them; these busts are carved in high relief by a better sculptor than the one who produced the portraits on Laodicea A, demonstrating the contemporaneous activity of various (highly skilled) artists in the workshop²¹⁵; on both long sides, mythological scenes replace the central garland (at the front the three Moirai²¹⁶: at the back an Amazon attacking a cuirassed Greek soldier); unusually, two garlands with small suspended grapes and an eagle instead of a Medusa head, in the space above them, decorate the right-hand short side; a type 4 cupid²¹⁷ standing on a winged sea griffon upholds these garlands (*Fig. 12*); as on Laodicea A, on the

left-hand side an open door (in which appears a woman) with half-broken door wings, between a standing male (l) and draped female (r); heavily moulded door lintel identical to that of Laodicea A, except that most mouldings carry ornaments²¹⁸. *Date*: the woman in the door opening has a late Hadrianic (to early Antonine) hairstyle²¹⁹; the left female bust at the front (*Fig. 13a*) has the same arrangement of *chiton* and *himation* as that of Flacilla on Laodicea A, but the one on the right has the *himation* draped over the left shoulder only (*Fig. 13b*); the latter bust's hairstyle²²⁰ is not known from other portraits, while that of the woman on the left²²¹ can be dated to the transition period from Hadrian to Antoninus Pius (A.D. 130–140)²²². The chronological relation to Laodicea A and the portraits suggest a date towards the end of the period A.D. 130–140.

²¹³ The corner fragment of Denizli G 5 (Waelkens 1982, 25 no. 23) presents a Victory probably carved by the same sculptor. The introduction of a high, elaborately decorated socle had already resulted in a considerable reduction of the space available for carving a sphinx supporting the Victoriae (Laodicea A, Denizli G 2). An upper moulding on the coffin further reduced this space, requiring a smaller support such as a globe. Eventually, all supports were given up.

²¹⁴ The arrangement of the heavily drilled hair is different, but the shape of the eyebrows, the slanted, almond-shaped eyes, the slightly open mouth, the vertically placed central hair lock, the irises, and even the snake in the hair, are identical. However, Konya G 1 lacks the hair locks on the cheeks of the Medusa heads of Laodicea A.

²¹⁵ Compare Strocka 2017, 6.

²¹⁶ See Strocka 2017, 58.

²¹⁷ Waelkens 1982, 12 f. fig. 9.

²¹⁸ A thick fillet, a cyma reversa, a fascia, a cavetto decorated with Docimian-type palmettes, an ovolo with egg-and-dart (stem split at top), an astragal with mostly corresponding bead-and-reels, a row of dentils and a small fascia.

²¹⁹ Wavy locks parted on the forehead and pulled back into a loosely wound, nest-like coil placed on the upper part of the back of the head. This hairstyle is inspired by the most widespread portrait type of the empress Sabina, created ca. A.D. 128 (or even earlier) but still popular sometime after her death in A.D. 136. See Fittschen – Zanker 1983, 10–12 no. 10 pl. 12 with a list of all examples.

²²⁰ Hair combed towards the front, where it forms a kind of hair roll curled inwards.

²²¹ A ›turban‹ coiffure, like the women on the Attouda sarcophagus (*Fig. 8*; n. 138) and Laodicea A (n. 196); however, the hair along the front is more strongly waved, while the broad turban-like coil is composed of two elegantly braided tresses that are interwoven instead of being superposed.

²²² The best parallel is the portrait head of a young woman in The Art Institute of Chicago (inv. 1960.64 5). The hairstyle of a woman on a 2nd c. A.D. bust in the Dallas Museum of Art (inv. 2016.36) with wavy hair along the front and a ›turban‹ of similarly overlapping braids is another excellent parallel. The carving of irises and pupils means it cannot predate Hadrian. The woman on grave relief in the Walters Art Center in Baltimore (inv. 23.20), dated to the second quarter of the 2nd c. A.D., with long braids wound around her head is another parallel, but her hair is not wavy at the front. See Fittschen – Zanker 1983, 62 n. 1. On portraits of Matidia Minor, dated to the reign of Antoninus Pius, behind small, tight curls framing the forehead the ›turban‹ also has several braids of hair interwoven near the back, on the right-hand side. See Baratte 1984, 303 f. figs. 1–4. 5–7. 9–11. 306–309; Wood 2015, 240–242 figs. 3–7. 9–10; Zanker 2016, 192. 214 f. no. 80. For other replicas, see Wood 2015, 235 n. 3.

e) Amazon sarcophagi (A.D. 135–140): from this period on, the number of sarcophagus types produced in the Docimian workshop multiplied, meaning the garland sarcophagus was no longer the predominant high-status sarcophagus type in Asia Minor. Among the new popular types were sarcophagi with an Amazonomachy, introduced as early as A.D. 135 (n. 167) and mostly known from small fragments, such as:

Antalya: fragments of a sarcophagus in the **Antalya Museum:** Antalya A 1²²³.

Date: the ornamented socle bears such a strong resemblance to that of garland sarcophagi Laodicea A and Konya G 1 that a date of ca. A.D. 135–140 can be proposed.

f) The Torre Nova group: during the same period, the workshop began producing small containers, decorated with spiralling fluted, and later vertically fluted, pilasters on the corners. Corner pilasters already occurred on the Claudian sarcophagus of the Tomba Bella in Hierapolis (n. 100), and on an even older sarcophagus from a tumulus near Eskişehir in Phrygia (Kocakızlar; transition 1st c. B.C. to 1st c. A.D.)²²⁴. While the size (up to 1,3 m) of the Italian examples might suggest that some were child sarcophagi, the even smaller size of the Pamphylian and other coffins (up to 1 m), together with the iconographical themes decorating

them, identify them all as bone containers (ostothecae) or ash urns²²⁵. The predominantly mythological scenes with varied themes (including some Heracles myths), most of which are never repeated on the workshop's average sarcophagi, and even the presence of some ›western‹ ornaments, suggest that they were made on demand for a specific market, most likely Rome/Italy and Pamphylia²²⁶. These containers have been labelled the ›Torre Nova group‹, after the find spot of the earliest known example:

Rome, found at Torre Nova along the Via Labicana, now Palazzo Spagna, Rome: Rome B²²⁷.

Trademark of the workshop: the coffin has an upper moulding²²⁸, but in contrast with contemporaneous garland ostothecae/ash urns with an already simplified but still elaborately decorated socle²²⁹, there is a rather simple lower bottom profile, part of which is decorated with the characteristic ›Docimian‹ palmettes²³⁰. This allowed greater emphasis on the mythological frieze and on the size of its figures, which, even on later ash urns of the same Torre Nova-type, usually display more stocky bodies.

Date: the leaf-and-darts²³¹ suggest that this coffin postdates the garland sarcophagi Denizli G 2 from Colossae (n. 192) and Laodicea A (n. 196), produced ca. A.D. 135–140; the drill holes, for the first time replacing the veins of the palmettes'

²²³ Waelkens 1982, 43 no. 2: Antalya A 1, there dated ca. A.D. 140.

²²⁴ Atasoy 1974 (with Tuscan columns placed between pilasters on the corners); Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 532.

²²⁵ Waelkens 1982, 50; Stročka 2017, 59. 62.

²²⁶ Only the most important examples for establishing the chronology of the Docimian workshop's production are discussed here. For a list, including all topics depicted, see Waelkens 1982, 50–56; Stročka 2017, 59–70.

²²⁷ Waelkens 1982, 51 no. 2, there dated to A.D. 150–155; Kelp 2015, 52–53; Stročka 2017, 60 no. 1 pls. 10, 2–11, 2.

²²⁸ Composed of a fillet, followed by a cyma reversa with leaf-and-darts.

²²⁹ Rome G 3 (n. 237), Baltimore G 1 (n. 261), Afyon G 2 (n. 270).

²³⁰ A fillet, an undecorated cyma reversa, another thin fillet, a cyma recta with ›Docimian‹ palmettes (on later examples of the group replaced by an inverted cyma reversa) and a plinth.

²³¹ Grooved stirrup frame cut off more above, even affecting the head of the central stem; not as much ›modelled‹ intermediate flower than on these two earlier sarcophagi; the stem split below foreshadows the flatter, more schematic shape, eventually common on columnar sarcophagi; lower part of the stirrup's central stem divided into three parts, as the central rib is separated from the flanking ribs; the latter's appendages, however, slope back towards the rib in such a way that the rib's head is almost entirely encircled by the frame, so that it still resembles the original shape, as seen on the earliest frieze sarcophagus of the group mentioned above (n. 195; Fig. 11).

individual leaves²³² on the socle are later than those of Laodicea A and Konya G 1 (*Fig. 12*). A date around A.D. 140, or shortly before, therefore seems likely.

g) Columnar sarcophagi: around the same time at the latest, the coffins produced by the workshop acquired an even more pronounced architectural shape, when columns divided them into five fields on the long and three on the short sides. The first of these ›columnar‹ sarcophagi may even be older than the coffins of the Torre Nova group, as the production of prototypes of sarcophagi of

the so-called ›*Normaltypus*‹ began as early as ca. A.D. 140 or even before:

Pergamum, fragments of two sarcophagi from a late Hadrianic – early Antonine tomb on the Ni-yazitepe near Pergamum²³³.

Trademark of the workshop: a somewhat simplified socle that became characteristic of most sarcophagi produced by the workshop during the next two decades²³⁴.

Date: because of the leaf-and-darts²³⁵, the fragments may date to the later part of A.D. 135–140, rather than around A.D. 140 or shortly after.

4.4. The years A.D. 140–150

a) Garland sarcophagi (A.D. 140–145): during this decade, the decorative pattern of the typical Docimian garland sarcophagus may have been restricted to small ash urns or bone containers, usually still covered by a gabled lid and many of them made for the Roman metropolitan market. In the meantime, various types of frieze sarcophagi and eventually columnar sarcophagi, may have replaced the larger garland sarcophagi as the main high-status sarcophagus type in Asia Minor. Whatever the type, a simplified version of the richly decorated earlier socle became characteristic of both smaller and larger coffins dating to this period²³⁶. The lids of the smaller coffins still have antefixes with the characteristic ›Docimian‹

palmettes, which on normal-sized sarcophagi had been replaced by lion antefixes. The coffins continue the pattern of *Victoriae* on the corners, together with one or two cupids standing between them, upholding an oak leaf garland, while Medusa heads, theatre masks or portrait busts occupy the space above the garlands.

Rome, now in the Belvedere of the Vatican

Museum: Rome G 3²³⁷.

Trademark of the workshop: coffin as described above, with two tragic masks on the long and a single Medusa head²³⁸ on the short sides; a single type 4 cupid, first appearing on the right-hand short side of Konya G 1 (*Fig. 12*); on each long

²³² Strocka 2017, 40 considered the early columnar sarcophagus from Perge (?) in a private collection at New York (n. 253) as the first example of this feature. He highlighted the scaenae frons of the theatre in Aspendos as the only known example from monumental architecture.

²³³ Karagöz et al. 1986, 99–160 pls. 28–49; Strocka 2017, 40. 224 nos. 73 (Radt and Strocka: ca. A.D. 140) and 74 (Radt: ca. 150–160; Strocka: A.D. 140–150).

²³⁴ A fillet, a cyma reversa with leaf-and-darts, a central torus with guilloche decoration, another inverted cyma reversa and a plinth.

²³⁵ The largely cut off top of the grooved stirrup frames still surrounds the head of the central leaf, resembling those on the garland sarcophagi Denizli G 2 (n. 192) and Laodicea A (n. 196). On the Torre Nova coffin in Rome (n. 227), the head of the central stem of the stirrup is already cut off a bit more, but nevertheless maintains the original shape better, reflecting the work of a different craftsman.

²³⁶ Henceforth composed of a fillet, a central astragal with bead-and-reels between two opposed cyma reversa mouldings decorated with leaf-and-darts, and a plinth.

²³⁷ Waelkens 1982, 26 no. 27 pls. 4, 1. 2; 5, 1. 2, there dated to A.D. 140–145; Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 499f. figs. 481. 482; Yıldız – Şimşek 2000, 110: after Laodicea A and B.

²³⁸ One of these heads relied more on drilling than that on the other side, the face even being surrounded by a drilled line. See Waelkens 2017, pl. 5, 1.

side; type 4 *Victoriae*, as seen on *Laodicea A* (n. 196) and *B* (n. 189), and *Konya G 1*; cupids and *Victoriae* now stand directly on the socle profile.

Date: the leaf-and-darts postdate those of *Denizli G 2* (n. 192)²³⁹ and foreshadow those on coffins from the workshop from ca. A.D. 145 on²⁴⁰, so that a date between A.D. 140 and 145 seems likely.

b) Frieze sarcophagi (A.D.): 140–145

Manisa Museum, inv. 53: *Manisa A 1*²⁴¹:

corner fragment of an Amazon sarcophagus

Trademark of the workshop and date: still a socle as on the garland sarcophagi from the preceding decade, but leaf-and-darts, similar to those of the ash urn from Rome discussed above, replace the palmettes on the lower cyma reversa; this suggests a date ca. A.D. 140–145.

Nicaea, Iznik Museum, inv. 36: *Iznik F 1*: corner fragment of an ash urn with the labours of *Heracles*²⁴²; the upper row of leaf-and-darts, identical to those of the previous fragment, suggest a date ca. A.D. 140–145.

Denizli, now in the **Hierapolis Museum**, previously kept at the Atatürk Lisesi in *Denizli*

(**inv. 151**): *Denizli G 6*²⁴³; fragment with a *Medusa* head above an oak leaf garland that almost touches a richly decorated socle²⁴⁴.

Trademark of the workshop: because of the elaborate socle perhaps the short side of a frieze sarcophagus with garlands on the short sides²⁴⁵.

Date: the beads-and-reels and the pronounced use of a drill in the *Medusa*'s hair date the fragment to the middle of the fifth decade of the 2nd c., between *Konya G 1* (n. 208) and *Afyon G 1* (n. 299) discussed below.

c) Columnar sarcophagi: in the meantime, experimenting with ›columnar‹ sarcophagi continued

Athens, British Museum, inv. GR 1800.0712.1: *London B (Fig. 14)*²⁴⁶: earliest example of Type A columnar sarcophagi²⁴⁷, which presented a continuous, alternatively projecting and receding entablature²⁴⁸ and was always combined with a gabled lid²⁴⁹.

Trademark of the workshop: between the columns, five of the ›international‹ labours of a bearded *Heracles* are presented; the *Heracles* figures stand on small statue socles²⁵⁰.

²³⁹ As the (still grooved) stirrup frame is cut off above, the head of the central rib is no longer entirely rounded, but flanked by separate, short drill holes; together with the lower stem composed of three separated parts, it reflects the motif developed in monumental architecture from late Hadrianic – early Antonine times (n. 195), but not immediately adopted as such by the workshop.

²⁴⁰ On the next garland urn / bone container from Rome (n. 261: *Baltimore G 1*) and on a slightly later example from *Synnada* (n. 270: *Afyon G 2*), the entire motif presents a weaker profile, with the head of the central rib of the stirrup even more cut off by the profile above and the entire rib no longer carved and modelled but shaped by two single drill holes above and two drilled lines below only.

²⁴¹ Waelkens 1982, 44 no. 3, there dated to ca. A.D. 140–145.

²⁴² Waelkens 1982, 34 no. 3, with correct date.

²⁴³ Waelkens 1982, 26 no. 26, there dated to ca. A.D. 140.

²⁴⁴ Broken off below; upper part composed of an ovolo with egg-and-tongue, and a heavily drilled tendril frieze, between two astragals with non-corresponding bead-and-reels.

²⁴⁵ As in Waelkens 1982, 36 no. 8 pl. 11, 1. 2: *Lucca F 1*, there dated to around A.D. 155, now to the later A.D. 155–160 period.

²⁴⁶ Waelkens 1982, 71 no. 1, there dated to shortly before A.D. 150; Stročka 2017, 80 no. 2: A.D. 140–150

²⁴⁷ Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 505 fig. 17. Most of them date to A.D. 140–175. See Stročka 2017, 79f.

²⁴⁸ Composed of a torus decorated with an ivy tendril, a fillet, a cyma reversa and two small fasciae.

²⁴⁹ Stročka 2017, 39. 79f.

²⁵⁰ Similar, inwardly curved socles also supported the cupids on garland sarcophagi *Perge G 1 (Fig. 9)* and *Antalya G 3* (n. 151), dated to A.D. 130–135; the alternation with rounded and rectangular socles returns on columnar sarcophagus *Antalya M* from *Perge* (A.D. 150–155; here *Figs. 15. 16*).



Fig. 14 Type A columnar sarcophagus from Athens (British Museum, inv. GR 1800.7-12.1, shortly before 150 A.D.)

Date: the ivy leaf tendril on the upper torus of the coffin is the first known example of the use of this ornament on a sarcophagus from the workshop²⁵¹ and is slightly older than this motif on a columnar sarcophagus from Perge (n. 280; *Figs. 15. 16*); the capitals are later than those of the Torre Nova coffin (n. 227); the elaborate socle²⁵² seems a later development of the aforementioned Amazon sarcophagus from Manisa (n. 241), of which the lower torus has been abandoned; the leaf-and-darts still resemble those on the abovementioned ash urn Rome G 3 (n. 237), but come already close

to those of Baltimore G 1 (n. 261); as mentioned below, the preserved Heracles heads are carved by a sculptor responsible for some of the heads on the Heracles sarcophagi from Geneva (n. 7) and Perge (n. 2), dated to A.D. 160–165. Nevertheless, as some of these sculptors were active for nearly two decades, and in view of the architectural ornaments, a date during the (later) A.D. 145–150 bracket seems likely.

Perge (?), now in the Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection in New York²⁵³: fragments of the only example of a Type C columnar sarcophagus²⁵⁴, an experimental prototype of the Type D columnar sarcophagus, the so-called ›Normaltypus²⁵⁵.

Trademark of the workshop: socle (only top preserved²⁵⁶) of the type of the Athens sarcophagus described above (*Fig. 14*). A *klinè* lid found at Perge, depicting Ariadne lying on a rocky surface, most likely belonged to this sarcophagus²⁵⁷. It may have formed the transition to the normal *klinè* lids of the workshop with reclining depictions of the deceased²⁵⁸.

Date: the leaf-and-darts predate those on sarcophagi from the workshop dated to A.D. 150–165²⁵⁹ and can be compared with this motif on ash

²⁵¹ Columnar sarcophagi from Perge (Antalya M; here n. 280 and *Figs. 15. 16*) and Nicaea (Iznik T; see n. 290), and an Amazon sarcophagus from Didyma (Izmir A 1, see n. 323, all dated to A.D. 150–155, succeed it chronologically. Then follows a large Amazon sarcophagus from Aizanoi (n. 340; here *Fig. 18*) and a columnar sarcophagus with the labours of Heracles from Perge (n. 2. 327; here *Figs. 21–24*), respectively dated to A.D. 150–155 and 160–165. The Cupid sarcophagus from Richmond (n. 329) forms the last example, dated to the same period.

²⁵² Composed of a fillet, followed by a cyma reversa profile decorated with leaf-and-darts, a thin fillet, a torus with guilloche decoration, an inverted cyma reversa with leaf-and-darts, another fillet and a plinth.

²⁵³ Strocka 2017, 39–41. 244 no. 161 pls. 26. 27 (dated to A.D. 140–150).

²⁵⁴ Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 503 fig. 17. All intercolumnia are covered by horizontal architraves, continuing even below the gables. They are composed of a fillet, a row of dentils, a filigree tendril frieze instead of the later egg-and-dart, and two fillets framing a cyma reversa with leaf-and-dart.

²⁵⁵ Strocka 2017, 39 f.

²⁵⁶ A fillet, leaf-and-darts and bead-and-reels that replace the thin fillet, above a torus; the guilloche does not yet alternate with a meander, like on the earlier columnar sarcophagi of the ›Normaltypus‹.

²⁵⁷ Antalya Museum, inv. 2.34.95, see Strocka 2017, 222 no 63 pls. 28, 1; 29, 1.

²⁵⁸ For their development, see Strocka 2017, 24–27.

²⁵⁹ Garland ash urn Afyon G 2 from Synnada made ca. A.D. 150 (n. 270), Amazon sarcophagus Izmir A 1 from Didyma dating from ca. A.D. 150–155 (n. 323); a sarcophagus with the labours of Heracles from Perge dated to the same period (n. 280; *Figs. 15. 16*); the sarcophagus with the Amazonomachy from Aizanoi, dated to ca. A.D. 150–155 (n. 340; *Fig. 18*) and a sarcophagus with the labours of Heracles from Perge, dated to A.D. 160–165 (n. 2. 327; *Figs. 21–24*). On the

urn Rome G 3 (n. 237) and the previous columnar sarcophagus from Athens (*Fig. 14*). The filigree stem tendril represents a later development of the tendril frieze of garland sarcophagus Antalya G 1 (*Fig. 6*), and if made at Dokimeion, possibly that along the upper edge of the fluted coffin of Neratia Maximilla in Hierapolis (see n. 183); it foreshadows the tendril frieze on the socle of an Amazon sarcophagus from Aizanoi, dated to A.D. 150–155 (n. 340; *Fig. 18*). Together with the Docimian-type palmettes²⁶⁰, all these features suggest a date between 145 and A.D. 150.

d) Garland sarcophagi (A.D. 145–150): during this period, the workshop still produced smaller ash urns/bone containers of the garland type.

Rome, from the Tomb of the Calpurnii Pisones, now in the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, inv. 23.29: Baltimore G 1²⁶¹.

Trademark of the workshop: gabled Docimian-type lid, decorated with the characteristic palmettes; socle identical to that of urn Rome G 3 (n. 237)²⁶²; two type 2 cupids at the back and two opposed type 4 cupids on the front, standing directly on the socle, like on Konya G 1 (*Fig. 12*) and Rome G 3 (n. 237); the somewhat larger dimensions of the coffin²⁶³ may explain why, as on Konya G 3, the Victoriae are still supported by a small globe; Medusa heads²⁶⁴ fill the spaces above the single oak leaf garland on the short sides and those above the outer garlands on the back; on the front, two female portrait busts replace them, while a tragic mask oc-

cupies the central space on both long sides; the drapery of the busts is finished, the portraits are not. They may represent the state in which such portraits were dispatched by the Docimian workshop, to be finished at their destination. However, this is not the case with several other incomplete areas across all four faces of the coffin²⁶⁵, which suggest that work had stopped at an intermediary state, and that the object might have been needed in Rome sooner than the workshop was able to finalise it²⁶⁶. When it became clear that for this specific order, as usual placed during the lifetime of the deceased, the deadline could not be met, the workshop may have been forced to send off the ash urn in this state to meet the deadline. Because of this or because it was used for someone other than the two women for whom it was originally intended, the front was apparently used as the back and the lid used in reverse²⁶⁷.

Date: the still grooved palmettes on the lid and the leaf-and-darts on the socle resemble those on garland sarcophagi Laodicea A (n. 196) and Konya G 1 (*Fig. 12, 13*), but the former have become broader, foreshadowing the stretched palmettes of the columnar sarcophagi of the ›Normaltypus‹; the shaping of the latter already relies more on drilling than on carving, resulting in a more ›illusionistic‹ appearance, announcing the development of the motif during the next decade. However, this may be partially due to the unfinished state of the coffin. The finished drapery of the portrait busts corresponds with that of the two busts of Konya G 1 (*Figs. 13 a, b*); despite their unfinished state,

sarcophagus in New York, the two short drilled lines surrounding the head of the stirrups' central vein are still rounded and not yet partially cut off, as on all just mentioned sarcophagi.

²⁶⁰ On the simas of gables and the intermediate spaces they are still grooved near the edges, but, as on the Torre Nova coffin in Rome (n. 227), a drill hole replaces the veins of the leaves. The general shape of the palmettes seems earlier than those of a sarcophagus from Perge with the labours of Heracles (n. 2. 327; *Figs. 21–24*).

²⁶¹ Waelkens 1982, 26 no. 23 pls. 5, 3, 4; 6, 1, 2, there dated ca. A.D. 150.

²⁶² With an additional fillet between the astragal and the lower cyma reversa.

²⁶³ L 1,43 m.; H 0,835 m (incl. lid).

²⁶⁴ Three of the Medusa heads were carved by a single sculptor, but the fourth, with more drilling in the hair, suggests the activity of another. Some of the Gorgon heads and tragic masks have articulated, drilled pupils.

²⁶⁵ See Waelkens 1982, 26 f.

²⁶⁶ One has to bear in mind that overseas transport to Italy may not have been possible during the winter months, posing problems if work on an order was delayed. See Stročka 2017, 5 f.

²⁶⁷ Waelkens 1982, 27.

the portraits offer clues as to their chronology: the one on the left has an early Antonine broad ›turban‹ hairstyle²⁶⁸, that of the younger female on the right resembles the hairstyle of the first portrait type and coin portraits of Faustina Minor²⁶⁹. Ornaments and portraits suggest a date between A.D. 145 and 150.

Synnada, Afyon Museum, inv. 3315:

Afyon G 2²⁷⁰.

Trademark of the workshop: lid and coffin very similar to those of Rome G 3²⁷¹, but carved by less skilled artisans; Victoriae (type 4 as on Rom G 3 and Baltimore G 1) and cupids (type 2) stand directly on the socle; Medusa heads fill the space above the single garland on the short sides, while theatre masks fill that above the garlands at the back; two female portrait busts fill the corresponding spaces on the front.

Date: the leaf-and-darts are more illusionistic than on the two previous ash urns from the workshop (Rome G 3 and Baltimore G 1), already foreshadowing those of the (Torre Nova) sarcophagus

with the labours of Heracles from Perge (n. 2. 327; *Figs. 21–24*), dated to A.D. 160–165; busts with drapery as that on these ash urns; the right-hand bust represents a young girl with her hair combed forward; the left-hand woman²⁷² has a hairstyle inspired by that of Faustina Maior²⁷³ and worn by many private women²⁷⁴ between A.D. 140 and 150²⁷⁵. All of this suggests a date around A.D. 150.

Kütahya, Küthaya Museum, inv. 62: Kütahya G 1²⁷⁶: fragment of another urn with garlands, of which the Medusa head is carved by the sculptor who produced the Gorgon heads on the above-mentioned ash urn or bone container from Synnada; therefore to be dated to the same period.

e) Torre Nova ash urns/bone containers: albeit, subsequently, ash urns/bone containers decorated with garlands seem to have gone out of fashion in the workshop, it continued producing small coffins of the Torre Nova-type; these may have enjoyed greater popularity as they were clearly carved by the workshop's better sculptors.

²⁶⁸ Hair parted and gently waved along the forehead, with a broad ›turban‹ hairstyle behind, as on Laodicea A (n. 196) and Konya G 1 (*Fig. 13a*); however, the coil envelops the head less and is placed more towards the back of it. It can be compared with an early Antonine female bust on a sepulchral slab from Ostia (Sinn 1990, 42 f. cat. 17 figs. 46–48).

²⁶⁹ Hair parted in the middle and covering most, if not all, of the ears; it is taken towards the neck in long gentle wavy locks, where it seems to form a bun, resembling the hairstyle of the first portrait type and coin portraits of Faustina Minor after becoming Augusta in A.D. 147. It was not in vogue for very long; another coiffure replaced it two years later: Fittschen – Zanker 1983, 20 no. 19 pl. 19. A similar hairstyle is worn by the woman of a portrait group represented as Mars and Venus, dated to A.D. 147–149: Fittschen – Zanker 1983, 21 pl. 21. For its identification as a private instead of a private couple, see Kleiner 1981, 537 f.; Kousser 2007, 673.

²⁷⁰ Waelkens 1982, 27 no. 29, there dated to A.D. 150–155.

²⁷¹ However, the astragal between both cyma reversa profiles is replaced by a plain fillet.

²⁷² Hair parted above the forehead and gently waved towards the neck, with a small ›turban‹ on top of the head.

²⁷³ Simplified version of portraits of Faustina Maior dated A.D. 138–150 with a scallop-like arrangement of the hair along the forehead: Fittschen – Zanker 1983, 17 no. 17 pls. 21, 22; 69 no. 90 pl. 111. A portrait type of Faustina Maior created around A.D. 140 and continued until ca. A.D. 150 with gently wavy hair along the forehead offers a better parallel: Inan-Rosenbaum 1966, 75 no. 41 pl. 26, 2, 3; Fittschen – Zanker 1983, 13 no. 13 pls. 15, 26; 19 pls. 22, 23; 71 no. 94 pls. 116, 117; 71 no. 95 pls. 117–119.

²⁷⁴ With scallop-like arrangement of the hair along the front: Milkovich 1961, 50 f. cat. 21; Fittschen – Zanker 1983, 70 no. 92 pls. 113, 114, 75 no. 99 pls. 124, 125; slightly wavy hair at the front and a turban hairstyle that was already less wide: Fittschen – Zanker 1983, 66 no. 87 pl. 109; 72 no. 96 pls. 120, 121; 67 no. 88 pl. 109; 77 no. 102 pls. 128, 129; Kockel 1993, 209 no. 9 pls. 123 b, c; 124.

²⁷⁵ Later the coil became smaller and more conical in frontal view: Inan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 279 no. 270 pl. 93, 3, 4; Fittschen – Zanker 1983, 16 no. 15 pls. 18, 19; 16 no. 16 pl. 20; 68 no. 89 pl. 110; 69 no. 91 pl. 112; Kockel 1993, 212 no. 16 pl. 126c.

²⁷⁶ Waelkens 1982, 27 no. 30, there dated to A.D. 150–155.

Kassel, of unknown provenance, **Antikensammlung, inv. SK 150**: Kassel A²⁷⁷.

Trademark of the workshop: on three sides, between fluted corner pilasters, scenes with cupids; on the front a pair of cupids holding a clipeus with a Medusa head, between a veiled female (l) and a headless male figure (r).

Date: because of its place in the production line of the Torre Nova containers²⁷⁸, V. M. Strocka correctly suggested that, together with the *klinè* lid of an ash urn in the Burdur Museum, the lid

represented early production of such lids; the strong use of the drill on the Medusa head places it between the Gorgon heads of garland sarcophagi Denizli G 6/Baltimore G 1 (n. 243. 261) and those of Afyon G 1/Izmir G 2 (n. 299. 310); despite her veil, the frontal hairstyle of the woman corresponds with the coiffure composed of large scallops on the first coin portraits of Faustina Minor (A.D. 147–149)²⁷⁹. Therefore, a date around A.D. 150 seems likely.

4.5. The years A.D. 150–165

a) Columnar sarcophagi of Type A:

Perge, Antalya Museum, inv. 928, previously 1004 (Figs. 15. 16): Antalya M²⁸⁰.

Trademark of the workshop: a Type A columnar sarcophagus depicting the labours of Heracles; probably one of the last columnar sarcophagi with a gabled lid; as common from approximately A.D. 135, the lid has lion spouts instead of palmette antefixes; perhaps as a result of the high-status character of the sarcophagus, finely carved Medusa heads (drilled hair) replace the characteristic patera-like decoration in the gables (Fig. 15); a deeply drilled groove sets off the face, a feature of the workshop during the A.D. 140–160 period²⁸¹; the front depicts five of the ›Peloponnesian‹ labours, the back five ›international‹ labours of Heracles; on the right-hand short side, Heracles performs two more labours on either side of

a standing Omphale (see L. E. Baumer, section 7 with *Tab. 1*); in the central intercolumnium on the left-hand short side, a door flanked by a mourning Attis; small statue socles support all figures²⁸².

Date: compared with those of Konya G 1 (A.D. 135–140; Fig. 12), the palmettes of the corner acroteria seem a later, simpler version, but the ›Docimian‹ palmettes on the top acroteria are still very similar; the ivy leaf tendril on the torus of the coffin's entablature (composition as that of the columnar sarcophagus from Athens; Fig. 14; n. 246) already foreshadows the more schematic and stretched tendrils common from A.D. 155 to 165 (n. 251); the truncated stirrup frames of the leaf-and-darts on the socle (same composition as that of the Athens sarcophagus) still resemble those of ash urns Rome G 3 (n. 237) and Afyon G 2 (n. 270); the door on the left falls between two doorstones from the Docimian workshop, respectively dated to the

²⁷⁷ Waelkens 1982, 56 no. 20; Strocka 2017, 27. 70 no. 16. pls. 14, 2; 15, 1: because of the similarity of the Gorgon head with the Medusa in the gable of Temple N 1 in Side, dated to A.D. 140–150.

²⁷⁸ The pilaster capitals pilasters have no volutes yet; the *klinè* with a reclining male figure has a *pluteus* on one side of the lid only. See Strocka 2017, 27.

²⁷⁹ Fittschen – Zanker 1983, 20 no. 19 pl. 19.

²⁸⁰ Waelkens 1982, 71 no. 2, there correctly dated to A.D. 150–155; Strocka 2017, 39 n. 170.

²⁸¹ Examples from the A.D. 140–150 period occur on garland ash urns Rome G 3 (n. 237) and Baltimore G 1 (n. 261), frieze sarcophagus (?) Denizli G 6 (n. 243) and Torre Nova ash urn Kassel (n. 277); for the A.D. 150–160 bracket, late oak leaf garland sarcophagi Afyon G 1 (n. 299) and Izmir G 1 (n. 310), the late fruit garland sarcophagi of the workshop, discussed in Waelkens, in press b n. 252–258. 272 (Izmir G 3, Rome G 4, Yalvaç G 1, frieze sarcophagus Lucca F 1) and clipeus sarcophagi Izmir C 1 can be put forward.

²⁸² As on columnar sarcophagus London B from Athens (Fig. 14), these socles are alternately rounded, rectangular or curving inward; the last type of socle already featured on garland sarcophagi Perge G 1 (Fig. 9) and Antalya G 3 (n. 151), dated to A.D. 130–135.



Fig. 15 Front and right-hand side of Type A columnar sarcophagus Antalya M (Antalya, Museum, inv. 928) from Perge, shortly after A.D. 150



Fig. 16 Rear of columnar sarcophagus of Type A Antalya M (Antalya, Museum, inv. 898) from Perge, shortly after A.D. 150

beginning of the reign of Antoninus Pius and that of Marcus Aurelius²⁸³; the eggs of the door lintel's ovolo²⁸⁴ point to a late Hadrianic – early Antonine date; the still grooved, stretched, wide palmettes on the lintel postdate those of Konya G 1 and announce the broad, more schematic palmettes on the socle of the Heracles sarcophagi from Geneva (n. 7; *Figs. 1–4*) and Perge (n. 2. 327; *Figs. 21–24*) discussed below. Taking into account all evidence, a date shortly after A.D. 150 can be suggested. Columnar sarcophagi with a continuous horizontal entablature (Type A) would continue until approximately A.D. 170²⁸⁵. Around A.D. 160, the

richly decorated socle of this sarcophagus type was replaced by projecting column pedestals interconnected by a smooth balustrade²⁸⁶.

b) Columnar sarcophagi with arcades (Type B²⁸⁷): sarcophagi of this type apparently appeared shortly after those of Type A, at the latest ca. A.D. 155, and continued until approximately A.D. 160 or 170²⁸⁸, to resume from the second quarter of the 3rd c. until the end of the workshop's activity around A.D. 280. Reflecting the fate of the Type A sarcophagi, columnar sarcophagi of the ›Normal-typus‹ eventually forced them out of the market

²⁸³ Waelkens 1982, 110f. nos. 2. 4. pl. 22, 2. 4.

²⁸⁴ Lintel composed of a fascia with the characteristic Docimian stem tendril, a fillet, a cavetto with palmettes of the ›Docimian‹ type, an ovolo with egg-and-dart (heart-shaped darts), followed by an astragal with non-corresponding bead-and-reels. The eggs still have a slightly elongated, oval shape. As a drilled groove (same thickness throughout) separates them from the frame, both ›egg‹ and frame still curve inwards above. They are very similar to the egg-and-dart of Konya G 1 (A.D. 135–140; *Fig. 12*) and to some cymatia on the late Hadrianic – early Antonine Temple of Antoninus Pius in Sagalassos. On the slightly later Basilica E 1 in the same city, the component parts of the motif are already considerably wider, ruling out in our case a date towards the end of the reign of Antoninus Pius. See Vandeput 1997, 145f. pls. 27, 2. 4; 32, 2; 37, 2. 3.

²⁸⁵ Waelkens 1982, 73 no. 12 (Rom G, correctly dated to ca. A.D. 160; Strocka 2017, 80 no. 4); 73 no. 15 (Ankara D from Pisidian Antioch/Yalvaç, dated by Waelkens to ca. A.D. 160, by Strocka 81 no. 5 to A.D. 150–160); 74 no. 23 (Afyon B from Apamea, dated to ca. A.D. 165; Strocka 2017, 70 no. 3); 76 no. 39 (Izmir C, correctly dated to ca. A.D. 170; Strocka 2017, 81 no. 6 pl. 24, 2); Strocka 2017, 82 no. 7 (Burdur Museum, from Yazır Köy near Sagalassos); Strocka 2017, 82 no. 8 (fragment in a private collection). Only the last two fragments do not depict the labours of Heracles.

²⁸⁶ Strocka 2017, 81. This began with sarcophagus Rom G mentioned in the previous footnote.

²⁸⁷ Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 503 fig. 17.

²⁸⁸ Waelkens 1982, 71 no. 3 (Iznik Museum, Iznik T, dated to shortly before A.D. 155; Strocka 2017, 84 no. 4 pl. 25, 2); 71 no. 5 (Aydin, from Antiocheia on the Meander, dated to A.D. 155–160; Strocka 2017, 83 no. 1); 72 no. 6 (Rome A,

because they were less prestigious. Moreover, the equality of all arcades on Type B coffins did not allow for emphasizing the figures depicted in the central and lateral niches. Nevertheless, precisely because of this feature, columnar sarcophagi with arcades were best suited for representing cycles. Except for the figures standing on either side of the door on the left and that of Omphale in the middle of the right-hand short sides, the 2nd c. sarcophagi of this group almost exclusively depicted the Dodekathlos²⁸⁹.

Nicaea, Iznik Museum, inv. 1755: Iznik T (n. 288).

Trademark of the workshop: the earliest known example of Type B columnar sarcophagi; ›Docimian‹ palmettes and tendril frieze decorate the socle moulding (only upper part preserved); ivy leaf tendril on the torus of the upper coffin moulding²⁹⁰.

Date: the ivy leaf tendril seems a bit younger than that of the Type A columnar sarcophagus from Athens (Fig. 14). Probably produced shortly before A.D. 155.

Only two sarcophagi of Type B are well preserved:

Rome, Villa Borghese, inv. 1540/41:

Rome A (Figs. 19, 20; n. 288).

Trademark of the workshop: two long sides of a coffin of Type B columnar sarcophagi. A hunting frieze decorates the socle of the coffin.

Date: the bead-and-reels²⁹¹ below the egg-and-dart motif with superposed fillet of the coffin's upper moulding support the date around A.D. 155–160 proposed by M. Waelkens²⁹².

Rome, Torlonia Collection: Rome K

(Figs. 28, 29)²⁹³.

Trademark of the workshop: complete Type B columnar sarcophagus, including its *klinè* lid; nevertheless, upper moulding of coffin lost; socle moulding²⁹⁴ possibly influenced by that of the columnar sarcophagi of the ›Normaltypus‹, produced from A.D. 150–160 onward, of which the socle, however, is only known from more recent examples, dating after A.D. 160²⁹⁵.

dated ca. A.D. 155–160; Strocka 84 no. 5; Figs. 19–20); 73 no. 13 (Rom M, dated ca. A.D. 160; Strocka 2017, 84 no. 7); 73 no. 14 (Denizli E, dated ca. A.D. 160; Strocka 2017, 83 no. 2); 75 no. 31 (Denizli F, dated ca. A.D. 165–170; Strocka 2017, 83 no. 3); 76 no. 35 (Rome K from the Torlonia Collection; Strocka 2017, 84 no. 6 pl. 25, 1, dated by both to ca. A.D. 170; Figs. 28, 29); 100 no. 218 (Rom M 1; Strocka 2017, 84 no. 9); Strocka 2017, 85 no. 9 (without inventory number in the Side Museum).

²⁸⁹ Strocka 2017, 85. This applies to all sarcophagi listed in the previous note. Only two fragments of a Type B columnar sarcophagus appear to belong to a coffin that lacked a representation of the Dodekathlos. See Strocka 2017, 85.

²⁹⁰ A torus, followed by a fillet and egg-and-dart.

²⁹¹ Elongated beads with short sides became the standard shape on monuments from the post-Hadrianic period onwards; good parallels are found on several monuments in Asia Minor dated to around the middle of the 2nd c. A.D.; however, the beads on the sarcophagus don't yet have the extreme length of the bead-and-reels of the Faustina Baths in Miletus (A.D. 160–170) and those of the porticoes of the Agora in Smyrna (after A.D. 178). See Vandepuit 1997, 149 f. pls. 41, 3; 42, 3; 44, 88, 1; 92, 3; 97, 2; 108, 3; 115, 3; 119, 1.

²⁹² Waelkens 1982, 72 no. 6; Strocka 84 no. 5; here Figs. 19–20.

²⁹³ Waelkens 1982, 76 no. 35; Strocka 2017, 84 no. 6 pl. 25, 1, here Figs. 28, 29. We prefer to use ›Torlonia Collection‹ instead of ›Villa Torlonia‹, as the entire collection is in storage and not exhibited in what is currently known as the Villa Torlonia along the Via Nomentana in Rome.

²⁹⁴ Composed of a fillet, a cyma reversa with leaf-and-darts, a torus decorated with alternating guilloche, ›Spitzblattgirlande‹, a meander motif, an inverted cyma recta with ›Docimian‹ palmettes, and a plinth.

²⁹⁵ None of those dating to their first production period from A.D. 150 to 160 is fully preserved. See Strocka 2017, 41. Examples are Waelkens 1982, 73 no. 18 (Afyon D from Synnada, there dated shortly after A.D. 160; Strocka 2017, 41. 212 no. 4 pl. 29, 2); Strocka 2017, 41. 214 no. 17 pl. 29, 3. 3 from Albano; Waelkens 1982, 74 no. 19 (Princeton University Museum from Sardes, there dated to A.D. 160–165; Strocka 2017, 41. 250 no. 194); Waelkens 1982, 78 no. 50 (Rome L, there dated ca. A.D. 175; Strocka 2017, 41. 251 f. no. 200 pl. 30, 1).

Date: the architectural ornaments date it to around A.D. 170²⁹⁶.

c) Columnar sarcophagi of the ›*Normaltypus*‹ (Type D): ca. A.D. 150–160, the production of the canonical type of Docimian columnar sarcophagi with *klinè* lids started. On the long sides the coffins present a triangular gable between two curved ones with architraves only covering the intercolumnia in between, and on the short side a curved central gable, flanked by intercolumnia with a horizontal architrave. Stylistically, V. M. Strocka identified six production phases, each with a characteristic entablature and socle, for which he established the chronology until ca. A.D. 280²⁹⁷. Except for the (only fragmentarily preserved) four earliest examples, dating to A.D. 150–160²⁹⁸, none of the sarcophagi of the type predate the Geneva sarcophagus.

The columnar sarcophagus (of all types) was an overnight success, as shown by its wide distribution across Italy and Asia Minor. It rapidly replaced first the garland and eventually the frieze sarcophagus as the Docimian workshop's most prestigious sarcophagus type.

d) Garland sarcophagi with oak leaf garlands: during this period, such garland sarcophagi were still produced for the less wealthy segment of the market. Two well-preserved examples show the gradually decreasing involvement of artisans carving architectural ornaments in their production.



Fig. 17 Garland sarcophagus Afyon G 1 (Afyon Museum, inv. 7476) from Apamea, A.D. 150–155

Apamea/Dinar, Afyon Museum, inv. 7476:
Afyon G 1 (Fig. 17)²⁹⁹.

Trademark of the workshop: a characteristic ›Docimian‹ gabled lid with lion spouts; the previously richly decorated socle is replaced by an undecorated moulding³⁰⁰; small winged sphinxes once more support *Victoriae* (new type 6): on the front, two opposing type 2 cupids face each other, while on the back type 6 cupids turn away from each other³⁰¹; cupids and the (by now) ubiquitous mythological figures³⁰² in the centre of the long sides stand directly on the torus of the socle; tragic masks in the space above the outer oak leaf garlands on the back; Medusa heads (heavily drilled hair) in the corresponding space on the short sides; on the front, female (l) and male (r) portrait busts wearing *chiton* and *himation*³⁰³, slightly turned inwards, frame the central scene. The entire arrangement seems a later development of the decorative

²⁹⁶ Waelkens 1982, 76 no. 35; Strocka 2017, 84 no. 6 pl. 25, 1.

²⁹⁷ Strocka 2017, 41–47.

²⁹⁸ Strocka 2017, 41.

²⁹⁹ Waelkens 1982, 24 no. 20: Afyon G 1, there wrongly identified as Hadrianic; Topbaş 1987, 362–368. 370–376 figs. 2. 3. 5–8. 10–12, dated to A.D. 164–169; Işık 1998, 285 pl. 114, 1; Yıldız – Şimşek 2000, 102. 110 fig. 26, dated to A.D. 150–155; Işık 2007, 286 f. pl. 97, 1. 2; Strocka 2017, 58 no. 3 (early Antonine, ca. A.D. 150).

³⁰⁰ Composed of inverted *cyma recta*, fillet, torus and plinth.

³⁰¹ Waelkens 1983, 10–13. figs. 8. 9.

³⁰² Achilles with Penthesilea on the front (Fig. 17) and Perseus freeing Andromeda on the back. Andromeda has one foot on a sea creature that resembles the dolphin depicted below the cupids on garland sarcophagus Denizli G 2 from Colossae (n. 192).

³⁰³ The *himation* of the woman is draped and knotted on the chest like that on other early Antonine reliefs, for instance on a grave relief from Rome, now on display in Baltimore (n. 222).

pattern of the garland sarcophagus Konya G 1 (n. 208; *Fig. 12*).

Date: the lid is very similar to that of columnar sarcophagus Antalya M from Perge (n. 280; *Figs. 15, 16*), dated to shortly after A.D. 150; the egg-and-dart of the upper coffin moulding (ovolo between two fillets) resemble those on the door lintel of the same sarcophagus; the hairstyle of the woman³⁰⁴ resembles coiffures of Faustina Minor dated to the period A.D. 147–156/64³⁰⁵; the beardless young man's hairstyle (wavy, curled locks) seems inspired by portraits of the younger Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus dating to A.D. 140–150³⁰⁶; the *himation* draped over his left shoulder echoes that of the young women on garland urns produced ca. A.D. 145–150³⁰⁷; however, it resembles above all the bust of a young man on a cylindrical ash urn/bone container with conical lid from Prymnessos, made in the Docimian workshop³⁰⁸; all evidence points to a date during the latter part of the years A.D. 150–155 for the garland sarcophagus from Apamea.

Denizli G 7, previously in the **Denizli, Atatürk Lisesi, inv. 215**, now presumably in the Hierapolis Museum³⁰⁹.

Trademark of the workshop and date: the shaping of Victory's leg (supported by a winged sphinx) and of surrounding drapery most likely identifies this corner fragment of a coffin as the work of the same sculptor as Victory on the previous sarcophagus.

Laodicea, Izmir Museum (previously in the **Basmahane Depot, inv. 79**): Izmir G 2³¹⁰.

Trademark of the workshop: coffin³¹¹ of the last known garland sarcophagus with oak leaf garlands; instead of the (by this time) ubiquitous mythological scenes in the centre, the long sides only display two garlands carried by a single cupid in the middle (type 6) and by Victoriae (type 6) on the corners; all these figures are carved by the craftsman who carved them on Afyon G 1; a single sculptor was also responsible for the heavily drilled Medusa heads above the garlands on the short sides of both sarcophagi; cupids and Victoriae (without winged sphinx) again stand directly on the torus forming the central moulding of the socle; poppies hanging from the garlands form a transition towards the workshop's fruit garland sarcophagi, which henceforth usually had this feature³¹²; tragic masks fill the space above the gar-

³⁰⁴ Wavy hair parted in the middle and forming a roll around the forehead; it grows thicker and covers most of the ears as it is swept back, where it seemingly forms a small bun at the nape.

³⁰⁵ The hairstyle worn by Faustina Minor in A.D. 147–149 (Fittschen – Zanker 1983, 20 no. 19 pl. 19) and the private woman represented as Venus, dated to the same period (n. 269); possibly also inspired by Faustina's portraits dated to A.D. 150–154 (Wegner 1939, 49 pls. 63e; 63f; 63i) or depicted on coin types dated to A.D. 154–156 (RIC 1387. 1379; BMC 2177. Cohen 173. 250. Sear 4715. 4719). The hairstyle also resembles that of portrait types of Faustina Minor and Lucilla dated to ca. A.D. 162–164 (İnan – Rosenbaum 1966, 80 no. 52 pl. 33; Fittschen – Zanker 1983, 83. 84 nos. 113. 115 pls. 142. 143. 145. 146).

³⁰⁶ İnan – Rosenbaum 1966, 76 no. 43 pl. 27, 1; Fittschen – Zanker 1985, 68 nos. 62. 72 pls. 71. 72. 83.

³⁰⁷ Baltimore G 1 (n. 261) and Afyon G 2 (n. 270).

³⁰⁸ Afyon Museum; Gönçer 1971, 170 fig. 60; Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 499 n. 24. 25; Kelp 2015, 50. There can be no doubt that this urn was produced by the Docimian sarcophagus workshop: the cupids carrying garlands are identical to those of the garland sarcophagus under discussion and the somewhat later coffin Izmir G 2 discussed below. This enables us to date it to ca. A.D. 150–155. On this urn, fruit garlands with hanging ribbons replace for the first time the workshop's characteristic oak leaf garlands. See Waelkens, in press b, fig. 17.

³⁰⁹ Waelkens 1982, 28 no. 32, there dated to ca. A.D. 155.

³¹⁰ Waelkens 1982, 28 no. 31 pls. 7, 1–4; 8, 1. 2, there dated ca. A.D. 155; Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 531 f. n. 6 fig. 527; Traversari 1994, 82 fig. 7 (reign of Antoninus Pius); Yıldız – Şimşek 2000, 110. 112 fig. 29 (product from a local workshop dated to A.D. 155–160).

³¹¹ Upper moulding composed of fillet and cavetto.

³¹² This is the case with ash urn Side G 3, frieze sarcophagus Lucca F 1 and Rome G 4 mentioned in n. 281. The most recent garland sarcophagus (n. 313) again has a small bunch of grapes hanging from the garland. See also n. 314.

lands at the back; female (l) and male (r) portrait busts occupy this space at the front; the drapery of the *himation* around the chest of the woman reflects that of the woman on sarcophagus Afyon G 1.

Date: clearly produced by the craftsmen responsible for the abovementioned sarcophagus from Apamea; the hairstyle of the female bust, identical to that of the woman on this sarcophagus, and the hairstyle and beard of the man, inspired by portraits of Antoninus Pius, confirm a date around A.D. 155.

e) Garland sarcophagi with fruit garlands: shortly after A.D. 155 and over the next three decades, the characteristic oak leaf garlands would be replaced with rich fruit garlands, first known from the abovementioned cylindrical urn from Prymnesos (n. 308). Except for the last, entirely preserved example with a *klinè* lid from Ikonion, produced between A.D. 180 and 190³¹³, most examples are only fragmentarily preserved. They have been discussed in detail and dated elsewhere³¹⁴. As a lesser quality product of the workshop this group does not possess specific features linking them to the contemporaneous Heracles sarcophagi (incl. Geneva) discussed below.

During the final production period of oak leaf garland sarcophagi, the Docimian workshop also

introduced two new sarcophagus types, which, requiring less specialized workmanship, were affordable to a wider, more regional segment of society.

f) Sarcophagi with the ›Lycian motif‹: on the front of the coffin, a seated couple faces each other on either side of a *tabula ansata*, with the husband talking / reading to his wife. Usually, strongly projecting tondi with Medusa heads decorate most if not all other sides³¹⁵. Similar sarcophagi in Isauria, Pisidia and Bithynia³¹⁶, made of local stone, may be imitations of examples from the Docimian workshop, which produced ca. A.D. 150–170/75 marble sarcophagi with this motif for a regional market (Phrygia, Lycaonia). The most high-quality coffin, originating from Ikonion³¹⁷, had been identified as a local product, made of fine crystallized blue Ladik marble³¹⁸, although the accompanying inscription reads »σορὸς Δοκιμηνή«. A visual inspection by the author in the summer of 2018 revealed that the material of this sarcophagus and other white marble sarcophagi of the same type in the Afyon Museum is Docimian marble. Therefore, the ›*Dokimènos*‹ in the Ikonion inscription referred to the material and not to the style or the origin of the makers, as suggested recently³¹⁹. Except for being products of the same workshop, no

³¹³ Konya Museum, inv. 1988.9.1. See Işık 1998, 290–294, pls. 116, 1–3; 117, 1–3. 5; Özgan 2003, 64–67 pls. 50. 51; Koch 2009, 131; Koch 2013, 114; Stročka 2017, 27; Waelkens, in press b, n. 284 figs. 31. 32 (dated to A.D. 180–190). As stated by V. M. Stročka, coffin and lid, both of which he dates to around A.D. 200, were contemporaneous, so that there is no reason to assume a secondary use of the lid, as R. Özgan and G. Koch did.

³¹⁴ Waelkens 1982, 28–30 nos. 33–40; Waelkens, in press b. A virtually unedited complete coffin from Hierapolis (Frate 2007, 460 fig. 4) noticed in the Hierapolis Museum after the final redaction of this article, may be one of the earliest examples. It can be dated ca. A.D. 155; it has two portrait busts above fruit garlands with hanging poppies on the front and the perhaps first example of the ›heraldic clipeus motif‹ on the back.

³¹⁵ Waelkens 1982, 57–59 pls. 18, 3. 4. The motif was also popular on columnar sarcophagi of the ›*Normaltypus*‹. See Wiegartz 1975, 234; Özgan 2000, 383; Özgan 2002, 50. The earliest one may be a sarcophagus from Sütlümenli/Blaundos (Waelkens 1982, 58f. no. 3: Afyon L 1, there dated ca. A.D. 160). Based on the fact that the woman has a coiffure inspired by that of portrait coins of Faustina Minor from the years A.D. 145–152, we now date it around A.D. 150 and not to the reign of Constantine the Great (see Özgan 2000, 381f., who considered it as the last one of the group).

³¹⁶ Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 548f. with references in n. 6; Özgan 2000, 381 figs. 12b; 13; Özgan 2003, 49.

³¹⁷ Konya Museum, inv. 1988.5.1 (Özgan 2000, 376–386 figs. 7–9, dated to the later 3rd c. A.D.; Özgan 2003, 47f. pls. 35. 36. 39, 1; 65, 1; Koch 2016, 475, dated ca. A.D. 200; Waelkens, in press b with fig. 29). The hairstyle of the woman suggests a date around A.D. 160–165 for the coffin from Konya. See for the inscription, McLean 2002, 60 no. 182 (SEG M, no. 1358 bis): the family names exclude a 3rd c. date.

³¹⁸ Özgan 2000, 376; Özgan 2003, 47f.; Koch 2016, 475.

³¹⁹ See Özgan 2003, 83f.; Koch 2016, 475.

other features link them to the Geneva and there-with related Heracles sarcophagi, so that they need no further discussion here³²⁰.

g) Sarcophagi with a heraldic clipeus motif, where two flying cupids or Victoriae hold a clipeus with a Medusa head at the front and/or back. Only known from a few examples in Asia Minor's coastal areas, it was introduced during the early years of Marcus Aurelius' reign (A.D. 161–180)³²¹.

h) Frieze sarcophagi (A.D. 150–175): during the sixth and early seventh decade of the 2nd c. A.D., the only prestigious sarcophagi of which production continued, besides columnar sarcophagi, were frieze sarcophagi. Some continued the somewhat simplified socle, introduced by the workshop for its garland ash urns during the period A.D. 140–150³²², but most display more elaborate variations of it. The frieze sarcophagi of this period are represented by various types of coffins:

h 1) Amazon sarcophagi:

Didyma, Izmir Museum (previously in the **Başmahane Depot, inv. 129**): Izmir A 1³²³.

Trademark of the workshop: fragment of a characteristic Docimian coffin with an Amazonomachy. *Date*: apart from the absence of ivy flower umbels, the ivy leaf tendril of the torus crowning the

coffin is virtually identical with that of the Type A columnar sarcophagus from Athens (*Fig. 14*; n. 246); the leaves are also less elongated and the tendril less stretched than on coffins from the workshop, produced between A.D. 155 and 165 (n. 251); the leaf-and-darts on the cyma reversa below the torus find good parallels around A.D. 150–155³²⁴. A date near the beginning of the sixth decade of the 2nd c. A.D. can therefore be suggested.

h 2) Hunting sarcophagi: new were coffins with hunting scenes³²⁵.

Xanthus, British Museum, inv. 960: London J 1³²⁶: earliest example of the type (only lower part of coffin preserved); Victoriae standing on globes on the corners, resembling those of garland sarcophagi Afyon G 1 (n. 299) and Izmir G 2 (n. 310); leaf-and-darts similar to those of ash urns Baltimore G 1 (n. 261) and Afyon G 2 (n. 270). A date during the first half of the sixth decade of the c. can be advanced.

h 3) Frieze sarcophagi depicting mythological scenes (incl. Heracles' Dodekathlos) or a thiasos with cupids: they include some of the highest-status products of the workshop; they usually had richly decorated upper coffin mouldings³²⁷. Sometimes, this moulding was crowned by a torus with

³²⁰ The group is discussed in detail in Waelkens, in press b with n. 259–269 fig. 29.

³²¹ Waelkens 182, 56f. pls. 18, 1. 2. The earliest one seems to be the sarcophagus of M. Aur(elius) Hermas and his spouse Aur(elia) Agoras, originating from Termessos, but living in Perge (Waelkens 1982, 56 no. 1; Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 500 n. 35). The name of the deceased couple demonstrates that both received Roman citizenship from Marcus Aurelius. The group is discussed by Waelkens, in press b with n. 270–272. A slightly older example from Hierapolis is mentioned in n. 314.

³²² Composed of a central astragal framed by two opposing cyma reversa profiles decorated with leaf-and-darts, between a fillet above and a plinth below. See Rome G 3 (n. 237), Baltimore G 1 (n. 261) and Afyon G 2 (n. 270).

³²³ Waelkens 1982, 44 no. 5, there dated to around A.D. 155.

³²⁴ The tiny stem of the intermediate two-petalled flowers, the grooved stirrup frame and how the head of its central rib is cut off above and its stem entirely separated from the flanking side ribs below, are so close to the leaf-and-darts of a sarcophagus from Perge (Antalya M; *Figs. 15, 16*), dated to A.D. 150–155, that the same craftsman may have carved the ornament on both coffins.

³²⁵ On this group, produced until ca. A.D. 170, see Waelkens 1982, 48–50 pls. 14, 1–4; 13, 4.

³²⁶ Waelkens 1982, 49 no. 1 pl. 14, 1–4.

³²⁷ Composed of an ovolo with egg-and-dart, framed by two fillets or by a fillet and the upper apophyge along the coffin's upper edge. Examples are: 1. = the fragment of a frieze sarcophagus from Gonçalı (now in the Hierapolis Museum) with corner Victoriae (prototypes of type 10), depicting Hermes and the goat Amalthea feeding the baby Zeus (Yıldız 1999, 251 f. fig. 23; Şimşek et al. 2011, 13 pl. 20 fig. 56; Şimşek et al. 2015, 123; Strocka 2017, 595);

ivy leaf tendrils, a feature popular in the workshop since the fifth decade of the century (n. 251)³²⁸. In one case, the moulding was very elaborately profiled and decorated³²⁹. An exception is the most recent item, a frieze sarcophagus from Caesarea in Cappadocia depicting the Dodekathlos³³⁰ (Figs. 25–27). This example with only an apophyte below the upper ovolo, displays the simple socle profile of garland urns from the fifth decade of the century. This also applies to an unusual frieze sarcophagus from Rome, exhibited in Providence³³¹ (n. 327), most likely the work of several teams of sculptors and a specific commission from Rome³³², and entirely or largely carried out at Dokimeion. The socles of all other frieze sarcophagi of this period have richer mouldings: initially, they con-

tained a central torus³³³ between two opposing cyma reversa profiles with leaf-and-darts decoration. Only occasionally, most likely due to influences from contemporaneous columnar sarcophagi of the ›Normaltypus‹ (n. 297), a flat meander frieze replaces the torus³³⁴. However, again influenced by contemporaneous ›Normaltypus‹ columnar sarcophagi, the lower cyma reversa with leaf-and-darts was soon replaced by a flat cyma recta with a palmette decoration³³⁵. The flat meander frieze sometimes replacing the torus³³⁶ can be attributed to similar influences. All preserved sarcophagus lids belong to the usual gabled lid-type with lion spout antefixes and all other ›Docimian‹ characteristics (patera-like decoration inside the gables and stem tendril along their sloping sides)³³⁷.

2. = a frieze sarcophagus from Rome (Providence, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design) without upper fillet, decorated with a thiasos of mythological scenes and hunting cupids (Waelkens 1982, 35 no. 6 pls. 9, 1–2; 10, 1–2; Providence F 1, correctly dated to around A.D. 155–160); 3. = a Cupid sarcophagus with type 10 Victoriae from Side (Side Museum; Waelkens 1982, 61 no. 6: Side E 1, correctly dated ca. A.D. 160–165); 4. = the Heracles sarcophagus from Geneva (Figs. 1–4); 5. = a frieze sarcophagus with the Dodekathlos from Caesarea Cappadociae, (Kayseri Museum: Biçer – Elmaağaç 2007, 72. 85 no. 86 fig. 1; Strocka 2017, 71 no. 2; here Figs. 25–27), which we date to ca. A.D. 165–170. Some cupids or cupid pairs on the sarcophagi from Richmond and Side are clearly the work of the same sculptor(s). Occasionally the ovolo is replaced by cyma reversa with leaf-and-dart: the refitted coffin of a sarcophagus from Perge with corner columns and depicting the Dodekathlos, mentioned in n. 2 and now dated to A.D. 160–165 (Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 501 n. 44; Asgari 1990a, 522 pl. 80, 2. 3; Özet – Gözum 2003, 117–121 figs. 91–93; Strocka 2017, 71 no. 1 pls. 17, 2–19, 1 with additional literature; here Figs. 21–24).

³²⁸ This is also the case of the sarcophagus with the Amazonomachy from Aizanoi (n. 340) and the refitted sarcophagus with the Dodekathlos from Perge (n. 2. 327).

³²⁹ A sarcophagus with a thiasos of cupids, apparently from Asia Minor (Richmond/Virginia, Museum of Fine Arts; Waelkens 1982, 53 no. 10 pl. 15, 1–4, now dated to shortly before A.D. 160). This was clearly a special order, of which the upper coffin moulding is composed of a torus with ivy decoration, a cavetto, a thin row of dentals, an egg-and-dart, a cyma reversa with leaf-and-dart, and a fillet.

³³⁰ Kayseri Museum, inv. 92/01; see n. 327. 386.

³³¹ It depicts on three sides mythological scenes between allegorical figures representing the Four Seasons growing out of an acanthus bush on the corners – a well-established feature of the workshop (n. 120) – while a cupid and lion hunt decorates the back.

³³² The otherwise undecorated socle moulding has a ›western type‹ leaf-and-dart motif on the lower cyma reversa at the front, as well as standing acanthus leaves on the cavetto, below the gabled lid on the front.

³³³ Decorated with either a tendril frieze (e.g. the Amazon sarcophagus from Aizanoi, mentioned in n. 340, here Fig. 18; a frieze sarcophagus from Gonçalı in the Hierapolis Museum, mentioned in n. 327) or a guilloche (the Geneva sarcophagus published here; Figs. 1–5). In the case of the Aizanoi and Geneva sarcophagi, an astragal with bead-and-reels separates the torus from the adjoining leaf-and-darts.

³³⁴ E. g. the sarcophagus with thiasos of cupids from Side (n. 327).

³³⁵ The lower corner fragment of Heracles of a sarcophagus with corner columns from Apamea (Afyon Museum, inv. 108; Waelkens 1982, 51 no. 1: Afyon A, there dated to shortly before A.D. 150, now rather five to ten years later; here n. 354); the sarcophagi with the thiasos of cupids in Richmond (n. 329) and Side (n. 327); the recomposed Heracles sarcophagus from Perge (n. 2. 327; Figs. 21–24).

³³⁶ The sarcophagus with thiasos of cupids from Side (n. 327).

³³⁷ The sarcophagus with the Amazonomachy from Aizanoi (n. 340; Fig. 18); the three sarcophagi with the Dodekathlos from Geneva (Figs. 1–5), Perge (n. 327; Figs. 21–24), and Caesarea Cappadocia (n. 327. 386; Figs. 25–27).

h 4) Frieze sarcophagi with corner columns (/pilasters): around the middle of the 2nd c., garlanded ash urns/bone containers from the workshop gradually went out of use, but small so-called Torre Nova-type containers were produced for another quarter of a century, mostly for the Roman or Pamphylian markets. Vertically fluted corner pilasters rapidly replaced the initially spiralling fluted columns on the corners. While during the sixth decade of the century individual scenes with Heracles or other mythological figures dominated the iconography of these small coffins, from the next decade onwards they were almost exclusively decorated with a thiasos or individual scenes with cupids³³⁸. However, before the turn of the first decade, in one case (the Geneva sarcophagus in question; *Figs. 1–4*) pilasters (and in several others the spiralling fluted columns of the small containers of the Torre Nova-type and those of the columnar sarcophagi) were adopted for several normal-sized frieze sarcophagi produced by the same workshop. They emphasized the corners and gave the coffin, and its apparently still gable-shaped lid, a naiskos-like appearance³³⁹. However, such sarcophagi should be considered above all as frieze sarcophagi with additional columns on the corners rather than as a specific sarcophagus type, as was the case with the small Torre Nova-type containers.

Aizanoi, Kütahya Museum, inv. 8501³⁴⁰.

Trademark of the workshop: the earliest (nearly complete) frieze sarcophagus with spiralling fluted corner columns, depicting an Amazonomachy on three sides (*Fig. 18*); on the short left-hand side, a closed door – the lintel³⁴¹ for the first time par-



Fig. 18 Right-hand short side of a frieze sarcophagus depicting the Amazonomachy (Kütahya Museum, inv. 8501) from the southwest necropolis in Aizanoi, A.D. 150–155

tially supported by consoles – flanked by two cupids standing on a pedestal in between two pairs of spiralling fluted columns supporting the coffin's entablature³⁴²; this pattern was influenced by that of the almost contemporaneous Type A columnar sarcophagi (e.g. Antalya M, made shortly after A.D. 150; n. 280; *Figs. 15, 16*).

Date: the date range provided by the identification of the tomb owner as a benefactor of the city who was active between A.D. 139 and 161,

³³⁸ Waelkens 1982, 50–56; Strocka 2017, 59–70.

³³⁹ See the Amazon sarcophagus from Aizanoi, discussed next (n. 340; *Fig. 18*), the Heracles sarcophagi from Geneva (*Figs. 1–5*), Perge (n. 327; *Figs. 21–24*) and Apamea (n. 335); the sarcophagus with the *thiasos* of cupids from Richmond (n. 329).

³⁴⁰ Türktüzün 1992, 81–92 figs. 9–12; Türktüzün 1993, 517–526, dated to A.D. 155–165; Koch 2010, 113 fig. 2; Kelp 2015, 54 pl. 35, 1; Strocka 2017, 40f. pl. 17, 1, dated to A.D. 14–160.

³⁴¹ Composed of fillet, cyma recta with very wide ›Docimian‹ palmettes, astragal with bead-and-reels, fillet, fascia, small dentils and ovolo with egg-and-tongue (undrilled).

³⁴² A torus with ivy tendril and an egg-and-dart framed by two fillets.

can, on the basis of the architectural decoration of the coffin, be further narrowed down: the Corinthian capitals narrowly postdate those of columnar sarcophagus London B from Athens (n. 246; *Fig. 14*), produced shortly before A.D. 150; the egg-and-dart postdate³⁴³ those on the door lintel of columnar sarcophagus Antalya M (*Figs. 15. 16*), but nevertheless, they are still more compact than the egg-and-dart dated to the later reign of Marcus Aurelius³⁴⁴; the leaf-and-darts are almost identical with those of garland urn Afyon G 2 from Synnada, dated to ca. A.D. 150 (n. 270); the already more elongated ivy tendril on the coffin's

upper torus, still resembling that of columnar sarcophagus London B (*Fig. 14*), is more vivid than the tendrils of the refitted Heracles sarcophagus from Perge (n. 2. 327; *Figs. 21–24*) and the sarcophagus with a thiasos of cupids in Richmond (n. 329), both dated to A.D. 155–165. A date range of A.D. 150–155 can therefore be proposed for the sarcophagus from Aizanoi. Over the following years, the workshop at Dokimeion produced a distinct set of sarcophagi (columnar, with corner columns/pilasters only, with smooth corners), all decorated with the Dodekathlos of Heracles, that are discussed next.

5. A SUGGESTED PLACE AND DATE FOR THE GENEVA SARCOPHAGUS AMONG THE HIGH-STATUS DOCIMIAN SARCOPHAGI (M. WAELKENS)

The detailed descriptions of Docimian workshop products and their discussion above, demonstrate a uniform and straightforward chronological development across the various sarcophagus types throughout nearly one and a half centuries, leading to the group discussed below. Our overview of the production did not produce the slightest evidence for the existence of ›*Zweigwerkstätten*‹ (regional branches of the main workshop) providing local/regional markets, or for a widespread practice whereby itinerant teams of sculptors from the ›mother‹ workshop accompanied any exported roughed-out coffins in order to finish them at their final destination. Consequently, there can be no doubt that the Geneva sarcophagus and the related sarcophagi discussed below, were produced at Dokimeion proper, during a period (A.D. 145/155–170) when the Dodekathlos of Heracles was an extremely popular feature for the first columnar sarcophagi, both Types A with horizontal entablature (n. 247) and particularly for those of Type B, which had arcades that were better suited for the depiction of cycles (n. 287. 289). Half of the orders came from Rome, the other half from regions all over Asia Minor (Bithynia, Caria and Phrygia). On four closely related sarcophagi, all most likely still fitted with the characteristic Docimian-gabled lids, the Twelve Labours of Heracles were transferred to frieze sarcophagi. Three of the latter adopted spiralling fluted corner columns (in one case a decorated pilaster)³⁴⁵, the most recent one did not³⁴⁶. They are so similar that they must have been produced by the same workshop within more or less a single decade.

³⁴³ They are wider and more truncated.

³⁴⁴ Vandeput 1997, 146 pl. 119.

³⁴⁵ Afyon A (n. 354); the Geneva sarcophagus with pilasters (n. 7; *Figs. 1–4*); the refitted sarcophagus from Perge (n. 2. 327; *Figs. 21–24*).

³⁴⁶ The Heracles sarcophagus from Caesarea Cappadociae mentioned in n. 327. 386; *Figs. 25–27*.

Perge (see below), **Antalya, Museum, inv. 2018/132**, confiscated at Geneva (*Figs. 1–5*).

Trademark of the workshop: this sarcophagus, the best-preserved and most high-quality example, may be the earliest one of the group; it is described in detail in chapter 2; the coffin's socle (*Fig. 5b*) is almost identical to that of the Amazon sarcophagus from Aizanoi³⁴⁷; it is the only coffin of the group with corner pilasters; their capitals and bases are identical to those of the small coffins of the Torre Nova group, but instead of being fluted, a vivid ivy tendril decorates a sunken panel; the coffin is also the only one of the three frieze sarcophagi with the Dodekathlos, without a door depicted on its short left side. Its iconographical content and the identification of the figures is discussed by L. E. Baumer below.

Date: the pilaster basis is almost identical to that of a Torre Nova urn from Megiste on the Lycian coast³⁴⁸, datable around A.D. 160³⁴⁹; the split-stem egg-and-dart of the upper coffin moulding (*Fig. 5a*) are less oval than those on sarcophagi of the workshop, dated to A.D. 150–160³⁵⁰, but still more compact than examples dating from the full reign of Marcus Aurelius (n. 344), including the columnar sarcophagus in Melfi (A.D. 165–170)³⁵¹; the leaf-and-darts of the socle (*Fig. 5b*), with their truncated (still grooved) stirrups and (internally still somewhat modelled) intermediate two-petalled flower, may have been carved by the same craftsmen responsible for those on the Type A columnar Heracles sarcophagus from Perge (n. 280; *Figs. 15, 16*), produced shortly after A.D. 150;

the socle's astragals display two different types of bead-and-reels: the lower one presents the motif's post-Hadrianic appearance continuing throughout the reign of Antoninus Pius³⁵², while the upper astragal already has an elongated shape (hexagonal beads with angular sides) found on structures from the same period, but also on monuments dating to the early reign of Marcus Aurelius (n. 291). This diversity seems characteristic of the transition period between these two emperors³⁵³. However; as we do not yet see the extremely long beads characteristic of the later reign of Marcus Aurelius (n. 291), all evidence points to a production date around A.D. 160.

Apamea, Afyon Museum, inv. 108: Afyon A³⁵⁴.

Trademark of the workshop: lower corner of a fragmented frieze sarcophagus (Dodekathlos) with spiralling fluted columns; the leaf-and-darts (cyma reversa) of the previous coffin's socle moulding are replaced by ›Docimian‹ palmettes decorating a cyma recta.

Date: the ›Docimian‹ palmettes, foreshadow the wide shapes of those on the socle of the Dodekathlos sarcophagus with corner columns from Perge, discussed next; a date shortly after A.D. 160 is likely.

Perge, Antalya, Museum, inv. 1.11.81-1.3.99-2.3.99 (n. 2. 327; *Figs. 21–24*).

Trademark of the workshop: Heracles sarcophagus with reassembled coffin; lid virtually identical in every detail to that of the Geneva sarcophagus;

³⁴⁷ Composed of two opposed cyma reversa profiles with leaf-and-darts on either side of a torus decorated with a guilloche (instead of the tendril frieze in Aizanoi), and framed by two astragals with bead-and-reels.

³⁴⁸ Athens, National Museum, inv. 1189 (Waelkens 1982, 53 no. 7 pls. 16, 17, there dated to ca. A.D. 160; Strocka 2017, 65 no. 15 pl. 13, 1–4).

³⁴⁹ The previously proposed date, based on the workshop's type of mouldings, is supported by the hairstyle of the seated woman on the front: central parting and a thick, heavily waived curled roll taken to a large bun above the nape, an imitation of a hairstyle worn by Faustina Minor in A.D. 159–162 (Fittschen – Zanker 1983, 84, 85 nos. 114, 116 pls. 144, 145, 159–162).

³⁵⁰ The sarcophagus with the Amazonomachy from Aizanoi (n. 340; *Fig. 18*) and the frieze sarcophagus in Providence (n. 327).

³⁵¹ Melfi, Archaeological Museum, inv. 334537 (Waelkens 1982, 75 no. 30; 111 no. 6 pl. 23, 1: Melfi; Strocka 2017, 243 pls. 32, 2; 33, 3 (with all further literature).

³⁵² Short beads with angular short sides alternating with slender rhomboidal reels. See n. 179.

³⁵³ Vandeput 1997, 149 f. pls. 37, 2–3; 41, 3; 42, 1–2; 44; 108, 3; 115, 3.

³⁵⁴ Waelkens 1982, 51 no. 1: Afyon A, there dated to shortly before A.D. 150.

however, coffin with spiralling fluted columns, instead of pilasters on the corners; also slightly different upper coffin moulding³⁵⁵; socle moulding (flat cyma recta decorated with ›Docimian‹ palmettes) as on the previous fragment from Apamea; this type of socle is characteristic of columnar sarcophagi of the ›Normaltypus‹ (n. 297) and of contemporaneous frieze sarcophagi from the same workshop (n. 335) during the seventh decade of the 2nd c.; the iconography and distribution of the Dodekathlos scenes and other depictions of Heracles is discussed below by L. E. Baumer; in contrast with the Geneva sarcophagus, there is a door – exceptionally shown on the right small side – between a sacrificing female (l) and Hermes (r) (Fig. 22); its lintel³⁵⁶ is supported by consoles³⁵⁷.

Date: the door lintel and its motifs are so similar to those of the Melfi sarcophagus (A.D. 165–170)³⁵⁸ that they may have been carved by the same team; together with the cupid sarcophagus in Richmond (n. 329, dated to A.D. 155–160), the ivy tendril of the coffin's upper moulding represents with its compressed shape and elongated leaves the last use of this motif on a coffin from the workshop; due to a more pronounced use of drilling, the leaf-and-darts on the upper and lower coffin mouldings already have a more illusionistic effect (particularly the intermediate two-petalled flower and the central stem of the stirrup), foreshadowing those on the Melfi sarcophagus;

however, the still grooved ›Docimian‹ palmettes on the socle predate the anthemion on the sima of the Melfi sarcophagus (veins of the leaves entirely replaced by drill holes); a date between A.D. 160 and 165 is therefore likely.

Caesarea Cappadociae, Kayseri Museum, inv. 92/01 (n. 327. 386; Figs. 25–27).

Trademark of the workshop: simplified, somewhat ›cheaper‹ copy of both the Geneva and the previous sarcophagi, with an almost identical lid, but without pilasters / columns on the corners³⁵⁹; a door (with an undecorated door lintel³⁶⁰) flanked by a standing Attis, on the short left-hand side (Fig. 27); the iconography of the Dodekathlos is spread across the three other sides (see L. E. Baumer, below); the socle³⁶¹ is a simplified version of that of the Geneva sarcophagus and that of the cupid sarcophagus at Richmond (n. 329).

Date: upper moulding (egg-and-dart between two fillets) of the coffin is almost identical to that of the Geneva sarcophagus (Fig. 5a); the leaf-and-darts of the socle find their closest parallels on the Heracles sarcophagus from Perge discussed above (Figs. 21–24) and on the sarcophagus with cupid thiasos in Richmond (n. 329); all of this, together with the fact that some Heracles figures can be linked to some of the columnar sarcophagus in the Torlonia Collection in Rome (ca. A.D. 170; n. 293), may suggest a date of ca. A.D. 165–170 rather than during the preceding five years.

6. ORGANISATION OF THE WORKSHOP (M. WAELKENS)

Together with the columnar sarcophagus from Athens (n. 246; Fig. 14), two columnar sarcophagi from Rome (n. 290. 293; Figs. 19. 20. 28. 29) and one from Perge (n. 280; Figs. 15. 16), the three Heracles sarcophagi discussed above – two from Perge and one from Caesarea Cappadociae

³⁵⁵ A torus with ivy decoration (as on several sarcophagi from this period, see n. 270) and a cyma reversa with leaf-and-darts instead of an ovolo with egg-and-dart.

³⁵⁶ Composed of an anthemion with stretched, open and closed palmettes, a fascia with the ›Docimian‹ stem tendril, a row of dentils and an ovolo with egg-and-dart. Remarkably, both types of palmettes again have a central leaf.

³⁵⁷ As first seen on the Amazon sarcophagus from Aizanoi (n. 340).

³⁵⁸ Waelkens 1982, pl. 23, 1.

³⁵⁹ This results in sometimes weird solutions on the edge of adjoining sides (e.g. a tree with a Stymphalean bird in it separating the back and right-hand short side; Figs. 25b. 26).

³⁶⁰ Composed of fascia, fillet, cyma recta, fascia and fillet.

³⁶¹ Composed of a fillet, two cyma recta profiles with leaf-and-darts framing an astragal with bead-and-reels, and plinth.

(n. 2. 327; *Figs. 1–5. 21–27*) illustrate perfectly how the Docimian workshop functioned during two successive decades, from shortly before A.D. 150 to ca. 170. All sarcophagi of the group depict the Dodekathlos of Heracles (*Tab. 1*). The single long side of the sarcophagus from Athens preserves the representation of the five ›Peloponnesian‹ labours only. The short sides of a coffin in Villa Borghese are missing; the scenes in the left-hand and the two right-hand intercolumnia of the back side have been largely restored.

Several of the features described above point to an industrial-scale workshop, involving various teams of craftsmen responsible for different types of decoration: architectural ornaments, doors, pilasters and columns, masks, Medusa heads, cupids, Victories, busts, draped or nude bodies, heads of mythological figures, and portraits of the deceased, etc. In several cases, the hand of a single artisan could be identified on different coffins from far outlying regions. In other cases, different hands could be recognized on contemporaneous coffins, and sometimes even on a single one. This demonstrates that even for a specific motif, the workshop could draw on various specialists³⁶². As was frequently the case on a single monumental building³⁶³, depending on the age, expertise and training of the craftsmen, earlier and more recent traditions for the carving of a particular motif could coexist on a single or on contemporaneous sarcophagi. Depending on the workload, one or more workshop supervisors probably divided up the various production stages among the available workforce in the most economical and efficient way (see also L. E. Baumer, below). There may also have been apprentices, some of whom will have been involved in the production of elements requiring less skillful workers and/or less expensive items. Examples include ›doorstones‹ and small statuary³⁶⁴,

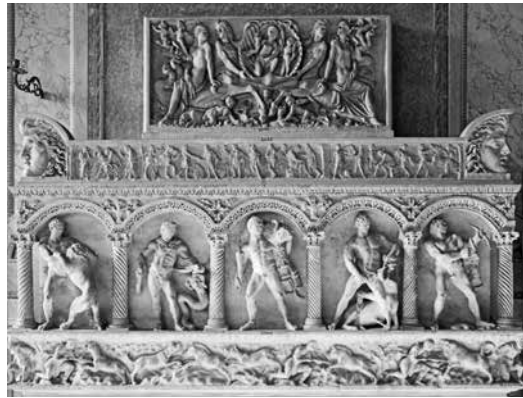


Fig. 19 Front of Type B columnar sarcophagus Rome A (Rome, Palazzo Borghese, inv. 1540/41), A.D. 155–160



Fig. 20 Rear of Type B columnar sarcophagus Rome A (Rome, Palazzo Borghese, inv. 1540/41) from Rome, A.D. 155–160

³⁶² Compare Strocka 2017, 5 f.

³⁶³ E. g. Waelkens et al. 2017.

³⁶⁴ These smaller statuettes include both lesser quality ones for the local market and high-quality statuettes for export, even international export. Compare Filges 1999, 419 f.; Pensabene 2002a, 36 f. fig. 15; Pensabene 2002b, 206 f. fig. 5; Waelkens, in press b; L. E. Baumer below, with n. 382.



Fig. 21 Front of a sarcophagus depicting the Dodekathlos of Heracles (Antalya, Museum, inv. 1.11.81-1.3.99-2.3.99), from Perge, A.D. 160–165



Fig. 23 Rear of a sarcophagus depicting the Dodekathlos of Heracles (Antalya, Museum, inv. 1.11.81-1.3.99-2.3.99), from Perge, A.D. 160–165



Fig. 22 Right-hand short side of a sarcophagus depicting the Dodekathlos of Heracles (Antalya, Museum, inv. 1.11.81-1.3.99-2.3.99), from Perge, A.D. 160–165



Fig. 24 Left-hand short side of a sarcophagus with the Dodekathlos of Heracles (Antalya, Museum, inv. 1.11.81-1.3.99-2.3.99), from Perge, A.D. 160–165

not only such as those representing Heracles (see L. E. Baumer, below with n. 382), Attis and Jupiter Dolichenus, but also cupids. Most of the latter display the same stocky proportions of the figures on the sarcophagi, where these proportions were necessitated by the reduced height of the coffins.

The workshop had a restricted repertoire of prototypes for the labours of Heracles. It is M. Waelkens' belief that this choice was not always made by the customer or the workshop supervisor (see L. E. Baumer), but that temporal factors may have played a role as well. Indeed, one should take into account that the activity of sculptors was necessarily time-restricted as it depended on their age or life expectancy. For each of Heracles' labours, they may have selected their preferred prototype, the one they were most familiar with and may have sometimes even have created

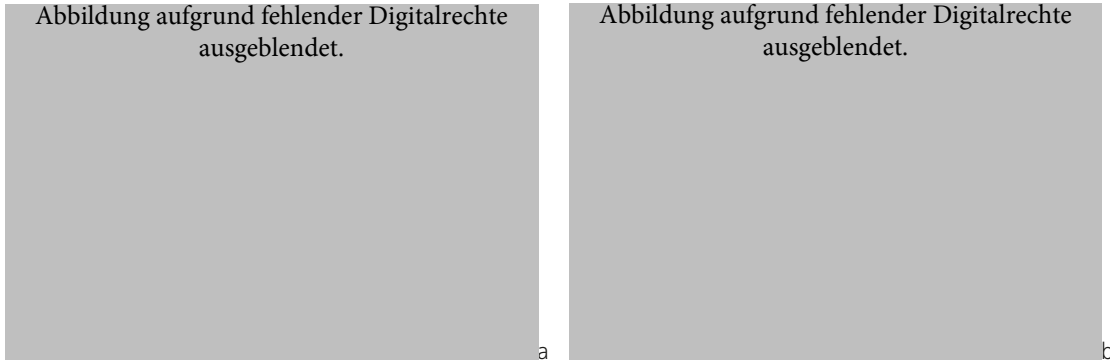


Fig. 25. a. b Front of a frieze sarcophagus depicting the Dodekathlos of Heracles (Kayseri Museum, inv. 92/01), from Caesarea Cappadociae, A.D. 165–170

themselves. This could explain why specific scenes or figure types (including animals and other attributes) form chronological clusters. The shape and stance of the bodies of some of the figures suggest the activity of a single sculptor; the six Dodekathlos sarcophagi under discussion all depict Heracles in an identical stance in his fight with the Nemean lion (*Figs. 1. 15. 19. 25a. 28*). In most cases, even the hero's club is depicted in the same position. For the killing of the Hydra of Lerna, the two earliest sarcophagi with this motif (Antalya M and Rom A, dated to A.D. 150–160) both follow a different though related prototype (*Figs. 15. 19*), whereas the four later ones, produced during the next decade, all share another prototype, with the hero's body and the Hydra probably carved by a single sculptor (*Figs. 1. 21. 25a. 28*). For the capture of the Erymanthian boar yet another prototype is followed for the two earlier coffins (*Figs. 15. 19*), but once more there was clearly a single model for all later examples (*Figs. 1. 21. 25a. 28*). The capture of the Cerynean hind is missing on the refitted sarcophagus from Perge, but, except for the early columnar sarcophagus from Perge (*Fig. 15*), the scene is almost identical on the next four examples, albeit adapted to the restricted space on the columnar sarcophagus in the Torlonia Collection (*Figs. 1. 19. 25b. 28*). For the shooting of the Stymphalean birds, one prototype was used in the two earlier coffins (*Figs. 15. 19*), and a second one – again adapted to the restricted field in the coffin of the Torlonia Collection – for the four later ones (*Figs. 1. 21. 25b. 28*). The stealing of the apples of the Hesperides and the cleaning of Augeas' stable, usually represented on a short side, are not preserved on the Villa Borghese sarcophagus and are only known from drawings of the Torlonia Collection sarcophagus (*Fig. 29*). None of these five sarcophagi, however, presented these scenes in the same way. However, on the columnar sarcophagus from Perge (Antalya M, shortly after A.D. 150; *Fig. 15*), both scenes show a Heracles with the same stance (and adapted attributes), clearly carved by the same sculptor. While done by a different sculptor, this was seemingly also the case with the Geneva sarcophagus for the same scenes (*Figs. 2. 4*). On the Dodekathlos sarcophagus with corner columns from Perge (*Fig. 22*) and the sarcophagus from Caesarea (*Fig. 26*), neither scene shows any affinities with any other sarcophagus of the workshop. Those on the columnar sarcophagus in the Torlonia Collection (*Fig. 29*) look similar to those on the columnar sarcophagus from Perge and the Geneva sarcophagus, but the sketch does not enable us to identify them as representing the same prototype.

For five of the ›international‹ labours of Heracles, usually depicted on the rear of the coffins, the earliest example from Athens (London A) can also be included. However, on the Villa Borghese

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Fig. 26 Right-hand short side of a frieze sarcophagus with the Dodekathlos of Heracles (Kayseri Museum, inv. 92/01), from Caesarea Cappadociae, A.D. 165–170

Abbildung aufgrund fehlender Digitalrechte ausgeblendet.

Fig. 27 Rear (left) and left-hand short side (right) of a frieze sarcophagus depicting the Dodekathlos of Heracles (Kayseri Museum, inv. 92/01), from Caesarea Cappadociae, A.D. 165–170

coffin in Rome, the scenes with the Cretan bull (upper part of the body; *Fig. 20*), and the cattle of Geryon and Cerberus are modern restorations. As for the capture of the Cretan bull, all other coffins in the group (including the early columnar sarcophagus from Athens, produced shortly after A.D. 150³⁶⁵) share the same model (*Figs. 3. 14. 16. 23. 27. 29*). Remarkably, for the scenes depicting the stealing of Diomedes' mares and obtaining Hippolyta's belt, a different prototype was followed for each of the seven coffins on which they have been preserved (*Figs. 3. 14. 16. 20. 23. 27. 29*). However, on the group's two earliest sarcophagi (London B and Antalya M), Heracles's stance is similar, not the wider scene (*Figs. 14. 16*). On these two sarcophagi, virtually identical prototypes were used for the theft of Geryon's cattle (*Figs. 14. 16*), while a slightly adapted version was used for the reassembled sarcophagus from Perge (*Fig. 23*), as here it was not squeezed in between two columns. The same scene seems to follow another prototype on the sarcophagi from Geneva and Caesarea (*Figs. 3. 27*). Finally, every coffin carries a different depiction of the capture of Cerberus, although on the Geneva sarcophagus the Heracles figure is almost identical to that of him stealing the apples of the Hesperides (*Figs. 2. 4*). This suggests that during the two decades under discussion, from shortly before A.D. 150 to around 170, on six of the seven coffins, most of the bodies of Heracles (except for his head, see below) and the rest of the scenes in half of the depicted labours, were produced by a single sculptor whose activity spanned the entire period under discussion³⁶⁶. He also appears to have carved the Heracles figure in the scene with Geryon's

³⁶⁵ This may already have been the case with the fragmentary larger Torre Nova sarcophagus Afyon A as well (n. 354). The sketch of the Torlonia Collection sarcophagus is slightly different, as due to the restricted space, Heracles' cloak does not float upwards.

³⁶⁶ The Nemean lion on all six coffins on which the scene is preserved; the killing of the Lernean Hydra, the capture of the Erymanthean boar and that of the Ceryneian hind on the four most recent coffins; the capture of the Cretan bull on all coffins. On Rom A the scene is largely restored and therefore different. See *Fig. 20*.

cattle on the sarcophagi from Geneva and Caesarea. A second sculptor produced Heracles and his attributes in the killing of the Stymphalean birds on two nearly contemporaneous columnar sarcophagi from Rome (Rom A; *Fig. 14*) and Perge (Antalya M; *Fig. 15*). A third sculptor may have been responsible for Heracles stealing Geryon's cattle on the groups' two earliest columnar sarcophagi and on the Heracles sarcophagus with corner columns from Perge (*Figs. 14, 16, 23*). All other depictions seem to be the work of different sculptors then active in the workshop.

The finishing of the Heracles heads may have been the work of the workshop's most highly skilled sculptors. Some may have carved the bodies as well, but a closer look suggests that this was not always the case, particularly as there is no clear correspondence between identifiable sculptors of heads and bodies. Based on the carving of hair, foreheads, eyes, cheeks and lips it is possible to distinguish several artists. Here too, one can identify some chronological clusters reflecting an individual's activity. Among the beardless heads of the young Heracles, one can identify the hand of four distinct sculptors. From around A.D. 150 onward, a first one was active for nearly a decade and finished the heads of the young Heracles in three scenes of two sarcophagi³⁶⁷. All young Heracles depictions on the contemporaneous columnar sarcophagus in the Villa Borghese in Rome are carved by a second sculptor (*Fig. 19*). During the next decade, a third sculptor appears to have finished all young Heracles heads on the sarcophagus from Caesarea (*Figs. 25 a, b*) and, as far the available photographs and drawings allow such an identification, perhaps those on the columnar sarcophagus in the Torlonia Collection as well (*Fig. 28*). He introduced a fillet in the hair of the young hero. Finally, a fourth sculptor completed two young Heracles heads on the sarcophagus with corner columns from Perge (*Fig. 21*)³⁶⁸. In the case of the aged, bearded Heracles, two main sculptors can be distinguished. Both were active throughout the entire period under discussion, which makes it tempting to identify one of them with the main sculptor of Heracles bodies for this period. His activity can be noticed in six scenes on four sarcophagi³⁶⁹. In view of this period of activity, he might be the same sculptor as the first one identified for the portrayal of the young Heracles.

A second sculptor carving bearded Heracles heads completed no less than six scenes on the earliest – and also on two to three of the later – sarcophagi of the group³⁷⁰. He therefore could

³⁶⁷ The fight with the Nemean lion, that with the Lernean Hydra and the capture of the Erymanthian boar on columnar sarcophagus Antalya M from Perge (not entirely certain for the last scene) and on the Geneva sarcophagus. See *Figs. 1, 15*.

³⁶⁸ The scenes with the Erymanthian boar and the Stymphalean birds. The heads of Heracles in the scenes with the Nemean lion and the Lernean Hydra on the same sarcophagus seem to be the work of two other sculptors.

³⁶⁹ The stealing of the apples of the Hesperides on columnar sarcophagus Antalya M from Perge and the sarcophagus from Caesarea; the fight with the Cretan bull on columnar sarcophagus Antalya M from Perge, as well as on the Heracles sarcophagus with corner columns from the same city (*Figs. 15, 24, 26*); stealing Diomedes' mares on the columnar sarcophagus in the Villa Borghese in Rome (*Fig. 20*); taking Hippolyta's belt on two of the group's columnar sarcophagi (Antalya M and Rom A; *Figs. 16, 20*) and on the sarcophagus from Caesarea (*Fig. 27*); the theft of Geryon's cattle on the sarcophagus from Perge with corner columns only (*Fig. 23*); stealing Cerberus on one of the group's early columnar sarcophagi (Antalya M; *Fig. 15*) and on the sarcophagus from Caesarea (*Fig. 27*).

³⁷⁰ The stealing of the apples of the Hesperides on the Geneva sarcophagus (*Fig. 4*) and that with corner columns only, from Perge (*Fig. 24*); the fight with the Cretan bull on the sarcophagi from Athens (London B; *Fig. 14*), Geneva (*Fig. 3*) and Caesarea (*Fig. 25*), and possibly also on the columnar sarcophagus in the Torlonia Collection (*Fig. 29*); the stealing of Diomedes' mares on the Geneva (*Fig. 3*) and Caesarea (*Fig. 27*) sarcophagi and that of the taking of Hippolyta's belt on the sarcophagi from Athens (London B) and Geneva (*Figs. 3, 14*); the removal of Geryon's cattle on the Geneva and Caesarea sarcophagi (*Figs. 3, 27*); finally the taking of Cerberus on the Athens (London B) and Geneva sarcophagi (*Figs. 2, 14*). Three to four other individuals finished the rest of the preserved older Heracles heads.



Fig. 28 Front of Type B columnar sarcophagus Rome K (Torlonia Collection) from Rome, ca. A.D. 170

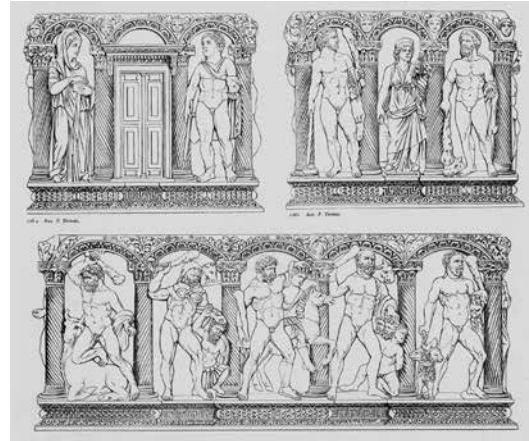


Fig. 29 Left-hand side (top left), right-hand side (top right) and rear (below) of Type B columnar sarcophagus Rome K (Torlonia Collection) from Rome, ca. A.D. 170

be identical with the third sculptor portraying the young Heracles. Marked differences in the quality of the finishing of the Heracles heads illustrate the ›industrial‹ level of the workshop's activity and the variety of skills even for the same task, rather than the overall skills of the entire labour force.

7. PROVENANCE OF THE SARCOPHAGUS (M. WAELEKENS)

The confiscated sarcophagus clearly belongs to a group of sarcophagi depicting the Dodekathlos of Heracles, produced by the Docimian workshop during the sixth and seventh decades of the 2nd c. It was completed in the workshop around A.D. 160 by artisans whose hands could be identified on other sarcophagi of the group as well. Columnar and frieze sarcophagi with the Labours of Heracles were made for the market in Rome and for various regions in Asia Minor, particularly Pamphylia (see n. 287, 289). Rome seemingly only imported columnar sarcophagi with the Dodekathlos. In Italy, all coffins of the so-called Torre Nova-type with corner columns were small cremation urns, never standard-sized frieze sarcophagi with spiralling fluted corner columns. Of the latter, all known examples were found in Turkey. Of those representing the Dodekathlos, besides a fragment from Apamea, only one example is preserved, from Perge (Figs. 21–24). A closely related contemporaneous Heracles sarcophagus without columns on the corners was found at Caesarea in Cappadocia (Figs. 25–27). The Perge sarcophagus therefore offers the closest parallel for the Geneva sarcophagus, both stylistically and chronologically. It is no coincidence that, together with garland sarcophagus Perge G 1 that ended up in the Brooklyn Museum (n. 142; Fig. 9), the Perge sarcophagus with corner columns also fell victim to illegal excavation and looting, with some fragments being sold abroad (Getty Museum and Schwarzkopf Collection in Düsseldorf (see n. 2). Both sarcophagi were returned to the Antalya Museum. The illegally exported upper part of a Heracles statue from Perge, of which the lower part was excavated in 1981, was equally returned to the Antalya Museum by the Boston Museum

of Fine Arts³⁷¹. Perge has become notorious for the export of illegally excavated antiquities, most likely due to the vicinity of a navigable river and the sea; no examples of large sculptures from sites in Inner Anatolia are known. Moreover, in view of the close ties linking both sarcophagi, it seems likely that together with the garland sarcophagus that was returned from the Brooklyn Museum, which was ca 25 years older, all illegally exported sarcophagi from Perge were stolen from the same section of Perge's Eastern Necropolis. In the case of the two Heracles sarcophagi with corner columns, so identical in date and appearance, one might even suggest that they had been part of a single family compound.

8. ZUR IKONOGRAPHIE DER SARKOPHAGRELIEFS (L. E. BAUMER)

Der Dodekathlos des Herakles zählte insbesondere im dritten Viertel des 2. Jhs. n. Chr. zu den bevorzugten Bildthemen der dokimenischen Sarkophagwerkstätten³⁷². Das hier vorgelegte Exemplar bietet allerdings eine bemerkenswerte Besonderheit, da es sich nicht auf die üblichen Taten beschränkt, sondern insgesamt vierzehn Darstellungen des Heros umfasst³⁷³. Mit Ausnahme der beiden zusätzlichen Szenen, deren Interpretation eine etwas nähere Betrachtung erfordert, bereitet deren Deutung keine nennenswerten Schwierigkeiten, da die einzelnen Taten durchwegs mit fast überdeutlicher Klarheit charakterisiert sind: Auf der ersten, durch die spätere Reparatur leider teilweise beeinträchtigten Langseite finden sich gemäß dem üblichen Kanon fünf der sechs ›peloponnesischen‹ Abenteuer, die von links nach rechts den nemeischen Löwen, die Hydra von Lerna, den erymantischen Eber, die Hirschkuh von Keryneia und die stymphalischen Vögel umfassen und auf der rechts anschließenden Kurzseite mit den Ställen des Augias abgeschlossen werden. Dem gleichen Verteilungsprinzip folgen auf der anderen Langseite mit dem kretischen Stier, den Rossen des Diomedes, Hippolyte, dem Geryoneus und dem Kerberos fünf der ›internationalen‹ Taten, die ihrerseits auf der folgenden Kurzseite mit den Äpfeln der Hesperiden vervollständigt sind. Zum Kanon der Heraklesikonographie gehört ebenfalls, dass der Heros bei den Taten seiner Jugendjahre unbärtig, bei den späteren Abenteuern hingegen bärtig gezeigt ist³⁷⁴.

Zwischen die peloponnesischen und die internationalen Taten des Herakles ist auf der ersten Schmalseite eine zusätzliche Szene eingeschoben, die eine in der Reliefmittle stehende Frau und rechts von ihr Herakles zeigt. Dieser ist nach seiner Bartracht und mit der heute teilweise verlorenen Keule in seiner rechten Hand klar als solcher zu identifizieren (*Fig. 30*). In der linken Hand hält er ein Musikinstrument, das sich nach dem Schildkrötenpanzer auf dem Klangkörper und mit den kurzen, geschwungenen Armen als Lyra zu erkennen gibt, die er mit dem Griffende der Keule spielt. Auf seiner linken Schulter liegt statt des üblichen Löwenfells der Bausch eines kurzen Mantels, dessen Stoff um den Oberarm geschlungen ist. Dazu gesellt sich ein kurzes Schleiertuch, welches das Haupthaar und die Stirn bedeckt, wie an der Stoffkante dicht über

³⁷¹ See n. 303. We will argue elsewhere that a Tyche statue in the Royal Museums of Art and History in Brussels, erected by T. Fl(avius) Clemens Pelopidianus, was equally illegally removed from Perge.

³⁷² Strocka 2017, 85 sowie allg. zum Folgenden 71 f. 74. 79–81. 83–86. Zur Sepulkralsymbolik der Darstellungen s. u. a. Strocka 1984, 197–202; Strocka 2017, 145.

³⁷³ Dieser Umstand wurde bei früheren Erwähnungen u. a. wegen der unvollständigen Publikation des Sarkophags zumeist übersehen, was auch zu irrtümlichen Identifikationen einzelner Szenen führte.

³⁷⁴ Eine kleine ikonographische Flüchtigkeit findet sich im Umstand, dass der Held bereits beim Kerberos-Abenteuer und nicht erst bei seiner Rückkehr von den Hesperiden einen Lorbeerkranz auf dem Haupt trägt.



Fig. 30 Herakles mit Lyra

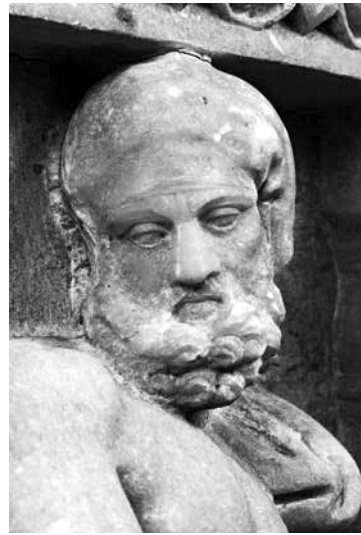


Fig. 31 Wie Fig. 30, Detail des Kopfes

den Brauenbogen zu erkennen ist (Fig. 31). Der Kopf findet sowohl formell als auch in der stark zur Seite gewandten Haltung eine enge Parallele in einem späthellenistischen Marmorkopf in Dresden, wobei das Schleiertuch wie bei der Relieffigur knapp über den Brauen straff über die Stirn gespannt ist, während es hinten frei und mit einigen Zotteln verziert bis zum Haaransatz im Nacken hinunterfällt³⁷⁵.

Lyra und Schleiertuch verweisen auf den Omphale-Mythos³⁷⁶, was sich in der stehenden Frauenfigur in der Friesmitte bestätigt (Fig. 32). Diese trägt einen hochgegürteten Peplos, dazu einen um die Hüften sowie über die linke Schulter gelegten Mantel, dessen Saum bis in die Mitte des rechten, leicht angewinkelten Unterschenkels hinunterreicht. Ihr Haar, das in langen Schulterlocken ausläuft, ist mit einem Diadem bekrönt. Die Deutung auf die lydische Königin ergibt sich aus dem Köcher, der unter ihrer rechten Hand hängt, sowie aus dem Pfeilbogen, dessen oberes Ende über ihrer linken Schulter zu sehen ist. Typologisch entspricht die Figur der fälschlicherweise mit einem Füllhorn ergänzten Omphale auf dem Säulensarkophag in der Torlonia Sammlung (Fig. 29)³⁷⁷, während sich Bogen und Köcher in derselben Anordnung auch bei der Omphale auf dem in Antalya aufbewahrten Säulensarkophag aus der Ostnekropole in Perge wiederfinden (Fig. 15)³⁷⁸. Über die Bedeutung des in flachem Relief zwischen Herakles und Om-

³⁷⁵ Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen ZV 1644: LIMC VII (1994) 24 Taf. 33 s. v. Omphale (J. Boardman); Schulze 2003, 258 f. Abb. 42.4 a. b.

³⁷⁶ Zur Herakles-Omphale Ikonographie allg. s. Schauenburg 1960; LIMC VII (1994) 47–50 Taf. 31–37 s. v. Omphale II. Omphale and Herakles, roles exchanged (J. Boardman); Oehmke 2000, 147–197; Schulze 2003, 256–261 mit Lit. 389 Anm. 12. Zur Bedeutung der Darstellungen auf dokimenischen Sarkophagen vgl. Stročka 2017, 144.

³⁷⁷ Rom, Torlonia Sammlung: Wiegartz 1965, 169 (Rom K); Gasparri 1980, 204 Nr. 420 Taf. 12; Waelkens 1982, 76 Nr. 35: Rom K; Jongste 1992, K 6 Abb. 78; Ghiandoni 1995, 10 Abb. 13; Stročka 2017, 84 Nr. 6 mit zus. Lit.; hier Anm. 293 und Figs. 28–29.

³⁷⁸ Antalya, Museum Inv. A 928 (zuvor 1004), aus Perge: Wiegartz 1965, 33 f. 39. 45–47. 78 f. 122. 147 Taf. 29a; Waelkens 1982, 71 Nr. 2: Antalya M; Jongste 1992, 110–112 J.2 Abb. 66–67; LIMC VII (1994) 57 Taf. 40 s. v. Omphale



Fig. 32 Omphale

phale angebrachten Baums kann dagegen nur spekuliert werden.

Während die Darstellungen der kanonischen Heraklestaten auf dem Sarkophag trotz der teilweise ausladenden Bewegungsmotive eher flächig angelegt sind, ist beim leierspielenden Herakles auf die vergleichsweise komplizierte, in die Tiefe entwickelte Körperhaltung hinzuweisen (Fig. 30). Diese zeigt sich insbesondere im Oberkörper, der mit der weit zurückgenommenen linken Schulter und dem quer über den Leib geführten rechten Arm eine deutliche Torsion aufweist, die vom stark zur Seite gedrehten Kopf jäh durchbrochen wird. Auch in der plastischen Ausarbeitung lassen sich bei näherer Betrachtung einige Unterschiede zu den übrigen Figuren des Sarkophagfrieses erkennen, was vermuten lässt, dass es sich hierbei um eine Einzelanfertigung,

vielleicht auf speziellen Wunsch des Bestellers handelt. Das Bewegungsmotiv erinnert in allgemeiner Weise an die Wiedergabe des Hercules Musarum in Rom, die sich auf einem 66 v. Chr. ausgegebenen Denar des Pomponius Musa findet³⁷⁹. Eine konkrete Identifikation des vom dokumentarischen Bildhauer vielleicht verwendeten Vorbildes ist auf dieser dürftigen Grundlage allerdings nicht möglich.

Bei der Darstellung des Herakles, welche den Bildzyklus auf der gegenüberliegenden Schmalseite abschließt, ist der zumindest mittelbare Einfluss eines rundplastischen Vorbildes etwas besser zu greifen: Der in der rechten Reliefhälfte gezeigte, nach rechts gewandte Heros steht mit der auf den Rücken gelegten rechten Hand in der Bildtradition des ausruhenden Herakles (Fig. 4). Das Gewicht des Körpers mit dem zur Seite geneigtem Oberkörper und dem schräg zur Seite gesenkten Haupt liegt dabei einerseits auf dem rechten Bein, andererseits auf der unter die linke Achsel geschobenen Keule, deren unteres Ende auf einem Stierkopf mit heraushängender Zunge ruht. In der linken Hand hält der Heros einen miniaturhaften, leider teilweise abgebrochenen Bogen, der wegen seiner fragilen freiplastischen Ausarbeitung mit einer Stütze mit dem rechten Eckpfeiler verbunden wurde. Zu beachten ist außerdem, dass Herakles nur in dieser Szene die Löwenhaube auf dem Kopf trägt. Die Vorderpfoten des ungewöhnlich langen Löwenfells sind auf der Brust miteinander verknotet, während das untere Ende wie ein Polster über die Keule gelegt ist und diese mit den weit herabhängenden Hinterpfoten fast vollständig verdeckt.

(J. Boardman); Strocka 2017, 79 f. Nr. 1 Taf. 22, 1–23, 2 bes. Taf. 23, 1 mit zus. Lit.; hier Anm. 280 – Die Deutung der Frauenfigur auf der anderen Kurzseite des hier vorgelegten Sarkophags als Omphale, die von Strocka 2017, 74 Nr. 7; 144 vorgeschlagen wurde, ist damit hinfällig.

³⁷⁹ LIMC IV (1984) 1482 Taf. 543 s. v. Herakles (O. Palagia); Schmölder-Veit 2003, 305 Abb. 53.6; Gobbi 2009, 226–228 Taf. 51, 3 a. b mit Lit.

Die Darstellung verweist typologisch in das Umfeld des Herakles Caserta³⁸⁰, der in der Kaiserzeit eine weite Verbreitung fand und nicht zuletzt in Perge gleich zweifach in rundplastischer Ausführung dokumentiert ist³⁸¹. Dabei findet sich bei der kolossalen Wiederholung aus dem Theater wiederum der miniaturhafte Bogen in der linken Hand, den auch eine Statuettenwiederholung desselben Typus in Afyon zeigt³⁸². Bei beiden Skulpturen fehlt dagegen die Löwenhaube auf dem Kopf, so dass eine allzu unmittelbare typologische Verbindung mit der Relieffigur fraglich bleibt³⁸³. Auch auf den Sarkophagreliefs ist die Überlieferung uneinheitlich, wie beispielsweise die Darstellung des ausruhenden Herakles auf dem dokimenischen Sarkophag im Palazzo Mattei belegt, der zwar ebenfalls die Löwenhaube mit den weit über die Keule herunterfallenden Hinterpfoten, jedoch nicht den Bogen in der linken Hand zeigt³⁸⁴. Insgesamt sind die beiden Relieffiguren trotz einiger handwerklicher Unterschiede jedoch so eng miteinander verwandt, dass die Verwendung derselben Vorlage postuliert werden kann.

Die Multiplikation der Attribute sowie die zusätzliche Hervorhebung durch die Löwenhaube weist darauf hin, dass mit der Darstellung des ausruhenden Herakles nicht ein einzelnes Abenteuer, sondern eine Zusammenfassung aller Heraklestaten gemeint ist. Da die Figur auf die Rückkehr von den Hesperiden folgt, kann damit im Grunde nur der vergöttlichte Held gemeint sein. Diese Lesart erlaubt gleichzeitig, die stehende junge Frau in der Friesmitte zu benennen, die im Gewandmotiv die Omphale von der gegenüberliegenden Kurzseite aufnimmt, im Unterschied zu dieser jedoch mit beiden Händen in ihre langen Haarlocken greift. Dieses sonst eher auf Aphrodite verweisende Motiv deutet darauf hin, dass es sich bei ihr am ehesten um Hebe handelt, die Herakles nach seiner Ankunft im Olymp ehelichte.

Insgesamt ergibt sich eine in sich schlüssige Szenenabfolge, die von den peloponnesischen Taten über die Omphale-Episode zu den internationalen Abenteuern führt und in der Darstellung des Herakles mit seiner göttlichen Gemahlin im Olymp endet. Die Verteilung der zwölf kanonischen Taten nach dem Prinzip ›fünf plus eins‹ findet sich – soweit erhalten – auf einer Anzahl weiterer dokimenischer Heraklessarkophage wieder³⁸⁵ (s. dazu und im Folgenden *Tab. 1*). Bei

³⁸⁰ Die umfangreiche Literatur zum Herakles im Typus Caserta kann an dieser Stelle nicht im Einzelnen diskutiert werden; s. dazu u. a. Moreno 1982; Krull 1985; Todisco 1994, 13–41; Kansteiner 2000; Himmelmann 2009; Sinn 2011, 635–639.

³⁸¹ 1. Perge, aus den Südthermen (Antalya Museum, Inv. 2011/255, zusammengesetzt aus den Fragmenten zuvor in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. 1981.783.VR und Antalya Museum Inv. 4.71.81); zuletzt Wood 2017, 444 Abb. 3; 460f. Kat. 4. – 2. Perge, aus dem Theater (Antalya Museum): Özgür 2011, 54–59; Wood 2017, 460 mit Anm. 123.

³⁸² Afyon, Museum Inv. 4422: Moreno 1982, 380. 475 Abb. 108; 517 Kat. Nr. B. 7.8; Todisco 1994, 23f. Nr. 6; Öztürk 2016, 694 Abb. 15. – Zum Bogen s. auch Moreno 1982, 380 mit weiteren Darstellungen.

³⁸³ Bogen und Löwenhaube, doch ohne das Löwenfell über der Keule belegt dagegen in der Rundplastik eine Wiederholung aus Pozzuoli in Neapel, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Inv. 138823: Todisco 1994, 24 Nr. A,1; 27 Abb. 17.

³⁸⁴ Rom, Palazzo Mattei: Wiegartz 1965, 16. 27. 169; Moreno 1982, 522f. Abb. 116; Waelkens 1982, 73 Nr. 12: Rom G; LIMC IV (1984) 278 s. v. Herakles (O. Palagia); Strocka 2017, 80f. Nr. 6 mit zus. Lit. – Mit Bogen, aber ohne Löwenhaube findet sich der Typus auf dem Fragment eines Riefelsarkophags in Rom, Museo Capitolino Inv. 2773 (Moreno 1982, 519 Nr. B. 7.17; 476 Abb. 111; Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 120. 149 Anm. 5; 243 Anm. 36; Todisco 1994, 24 Nr. 7; 26 Abb. 15), seitenverkehrt, mit Löwenhaube, aber diesmal ohne Bogen auf einem Sarkophagdeckel aus Ostia im Museo Capitolino Inv. 941 (Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 149. 245f.; LIMC IV [1984] 1396 s. v. Herakles [O. Palagia]).

³⁸⁵ 1. Antalya, Museum, Inv. 1.11.81 (aus Perge): Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 501 Anm. 44; Asgari 1990a, 522 Taf. 80, 2–3; Strocka 2017, 71 Nr. 1 Taf. 17, 2–19, 1 mit zus. Lit.; hier Anm. 2. 327 und *Figs. 21–24*. – 2. Antalya, Museum Inv. A 928 (zuvor 1004): s. oben, Anm. 280. 378 und *Figs. 15–16*. – 3. London, British Museum, Inv. GR 1800.7-12.1:

einem Exemplar in Kayseri³⁸⁶ beginnen die internationalen Abenteuer mit dem kretischen Stier bereits auf der ersten Kurzseite, so dass die zweite Langseite mit Herakles' Rückkehr von den Hesperiden endet (*Figs. 25a. b*). Die andere Kurzseite wird von einer von einem doppelten Attis gerahmten Grabtür eingenommen (*Fig. 27*). Die gleiche Darstellung findet sich ebenfalls auf der zweiten Kurzseite eines der Sarkophage in Antalya, während die Grabtür auf dem Sarkophag in der Torlonia Sammlung von einer Opfernden und Hermes eingerahmt wird (*Fig. 29*). Bei den beiden letztgenannten Beispielen führte dies dazu, dass die Rückkehr von den Hesperiden in Abweichung von der kanonischen Reihenfolge bereits auf die erste Kurzseite verschoben wurde. Eine andere Lösung musste für einen anderen Sarkophag aus Perge in Antalya (*Figs. 21–24*)³⁸⁷ gefunden werden, da die wie beim Exemplar in der Torlonia Sammlung von einer Opfernden und Hermes gerahmte Grabtür auf der ersten Kurzseite angebracht wurde (*Fig. 22*). Um die Reinigung des Augiasstalls dennoch unterbringen zu können, wurde diese kurzerhand auf die gegenüberliegende Kurzseite hinter das Hesperidenabenteuer verschoben (*Fig. 24*). Während die Langseiten der genannten Beispiele mit der erwähnten Ausnahme des Sarkophags in Kayseri somit einheitlich organisiert sind, ist auf den Kurzseiten eine größere Variationsbreite festzustellen, die in der Regel auf die Wiedergabe der Grabtür und die damit verbundene Beschränkung des Platzes zurückzuführen ist. Der hier vorgelegte Sarkophag, bei dem auf die Grabtür verzichtet wurde, bietet in der Reihe der dokimenischen Heraklessarkophage insgesamt die kohärenteste und mit Darstellung des vergöttlichten Herakles zugleich auch die konsequenteste Umsetzung des Themas.

Trotz der guten bildhauerischen Qualität des Sarkophags zeigt eine nähere Betrachtung, dass bei den kanonischen Szenen ein im Grunde recht eingeschränktes Figurenrepertoire zur Anwendung kam. So wurde für Herakles mit dem Augiasstall (Kurzseite 1), dem Kerberus (Langseite 2) und den Hesperidenäpfeln (Kurzseite 2) gleich dreimal das gleiche Figurenmotiv verwendet, wobei jeweils nur die Attribute dem Thema gemäß ausgetauscht wurden. Das Gleiche gilt für die Szenen mit dem kretischen Stier (Langseite 2) und dem Geryoneus (Langseite 2), die beide den weit mit seiner Keule ausholenden Helden zeigen, der seinen rechten Unterschenkel – beim Geryoneus in eher unlogischer Weise – auf den Rücken bzw. die Brust seines jeweiligen Gegners presst. Auch das wie ein Schmetterlingsflügel ausgebreitete Löwenfell ist bei beiden Figuren unmittelbar vergleichbar. Bei der Hirschkuh von Keryneia (Langseite 1), die leider nur teilweise erhalten ist, wurde das gleiche Schema erneut, doch diesmal in gespiegelter Form wiederholt.

Ein entsprechendes Vorgehen lässt sich auch bei den beiden Szenen mit der Hydra von Lerna (Langseite 1) und mit Diomedes (Langseite 2) feststellen, die einander bis auf die beiden Widersacher des Herakles recht eng entsprechen. Beim Kampf gegen den erymantischen Eber (Langseite 1) und die stymphalischen Vögel (Langseite 1) fand ebenfalls zweimal dasselbe Standmotiv Verwendung, das sich dazu mit einer nur geringen Anpassung in der Armhaltung beim Hippolyte-Abenteuer (Langseite 2) wiederfindet. Mit Ausnahme des Kampfes mit dem

Wiegartz 1965, 163 f.; Waelkens 1982, 71 Nr. 1: London B; Walker 1990, 50 f. Nr. 64 Taf. 26; Jongste 1992, 109 f. Abb. 65; Thomas 2011, 396 f. Abb. 12.4; Strocka 2017, 80 Nr. 2 mit zus. Lit.; hier Anm. 246 und *Fig. 14*. – 4. Rom, Villa Borghese Inv. 1540/41: Wiegartz 1965, 168; Helbig II⁴ (1966) Nr. 1960 (B. Andreae); Waelkens 1982, 72 Nr. 6: Rom A; Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 503 Abb. 489; Jongste 1992, 117–119 K.1 Abb. 73–74; Strocka 2017, 84 Nr. 5 mit zus. Lit.; hier Anm. 291 und *Figs. 19–20*. – 5. Rom, Torlonia Sammlung: s. oben, Anm. 377.

³⁸⁶ Kayseri, Museum, Inv. 92/01: Biçer – Elmaağaç 2007, 72. 85 Nr. 86 mit 1 Abb.; Strocka 2017, 71 Nr. 2; hier Anm. 327.
³⁸⁷ s. o. Anm. 385 Nr. 1 (s. auch Anm. 327).

nemeischen Löwen auf der ersten Langseite liegen den zwölf kanonischen Szenen somit nur vier verschiedene Figureschemata zugrunde. Diese wurden allerdings mit viel Geschick so über die vier Seiten verteilt, dass ihre fast routinemäßig anmutende Wiederholung einem flüchtigen Betrachter durchaus entgehen mag. Dieses Vorgehen bei der Konzeption der einzelnen Szenen unterstreicht zusätzlich die Sonderstellung des leierspielenden und des vergöttlichten Herakles auf den beiden Schmalseiten.

Da zwischen den Figuren, die dem gleichen Figureschema folgen, sowohl in den Köpfen als auch in der Modellierung der Körper deutliche Unterschiede bestehen (s. dazu auch den Beitrag von M. Waelkens), ist zu folgern, dass es innerhalb der Werkstatt eine klar strukturierte und sicher auch hierarchisch organisierte Zusammenarbeit verschiedener Spezialisten gab. Die Konzeption des gesamten Frieses mit der Verteilung der Szenen und der Auswahl der zu verwendenden Figureschemata erfolgte wohl durch einen verantwortlichen Meister, den man neudeutsch am ehesten als »Designer« bezeichnen könnte.

Die mehrfache Verwendung der genannten Figureschemata blieb nicht auf den hier vorgelegten Sarkophag beschränkt, wie der Vergleich der Stierszene mit den entsprechenden Darstellungen auf den Sarkophagen in Kayseri (*Figs. 25–27*)³⁸⁸ und Antalya (*Figs. 21–24*) belegt³⁸⁹. Auch das weitausgebreitete Löwenfell stimmt bei allen drei Darstellungen eng überein. Beim ersten Vergleichsbeispiel findet sich dazu eine praktisch identische Wiedergabe des Kampfes mit der Hydra von Lerna³⁹⁰, während das Erwürgen des nemeischen Löwen mit der neben dem Kopf des Herakles schwebenden Keule neben dem Exemplar aus Kayseri (*Fig. 25*) auch auf den Sarkophagen in Antalya (*Fig. 21*)³⁹¹ und in der Torlonia Sammlung (*Fig. 28*)³⁹² auftaucht.

Auf die Entsprechung des ruhenden Herakles auf dem Sarkophag im Palazzo Mattei³⁹³ wurde bereits weiter oben hingewiesen. Das gleiche Standmotiv wurde, wenn auch ohne die Keule, auf dem Sarkophag in Kayseri beim Kampf mit Diomedes verwendet, findet sich dort dazu in einer leichten Abwandlung auch beim Kerberos und bei der Hesperidenszene noch zwei weitere Male wieder (*Figs. 26. 27*). Auf den Sarkophagen in London (*Fig. 14*)³⁹⁴ und in Antalya (*Fig. 23*)³⁹⁵ wurde es jeweils bei Diomedes und Geryoneus eingesetzt.

Aus diesen Betrachtungen, die hier aus Platzgründen nicht weiter fortgeführt seien, erhellt sich das Vorgehen der Sarkophagwerkstatt in bezeichnender Weise. Obwohl der Dodekathlos des Herakles gewissermaßen in Serie gefertigt wurde, wofür verschiedene Spezialisten durchaus unterschiedlicher Qualität und Begabung³⁹⁶ Hand in Hand zusammenarbeiteten, ist jeder Sarkophag als Einzelstück zu betrachten, dessen Reliefdekor vermutlich nach den Vorstellungen des Bestellers zusammengestellt wurde. Bei der wiederholten Verwendung bestimmter Figu-

³⁸⁸ s. o. Anm. 386.

³⁸⁹ s. o. Anm. 385 Nr. 1.

³⁹⁰ Vgl. auch mit geringen Abweichungen die Darstellung auf dem Sarkophag in Antalya, oben, Anm. 385 Nr. 1.

³⁹¹ s. o. Anm. 385 Nr. 1.

³⁹² s. o. Anm. 385 Nr. 5.

³⁹³ s. o. Anm. 384.

³⁹⁴ s. o. Anm. 385 Nr. 3.

³⁹⁵ s. o. Anm. 385 Nr. 1. – Beim zweiten Sarkophag aus Perge in Antalya (s. o. Anm. 378) findet sich das Figureschema dazu bei der Hirschkuh von Keryneia sowie erneut beim Geryoneus.

³⁹⁶ Man vergleiche dazu die teilweise in höchster Qualität ausgearbeiteten Köpfe des Herakles mit den eher summarisch ausgearbeiteten Nebenfiguren wie den Pferdeköpfen des Diomedes oder den Rindern des Geryoneus sowie mit dem etwas unglücklich gestalteten Kopf der Hippolyte.

renschemata, die bis zu einem gewissen Grad untereinander austauschbar waren, wurde offensichtlich darauf geachtet, dies soweit wie möglich zu kaschieren. Wenn es sich beim hier vorgelegten Sarkophag sicherlich nicht um ein herausragendes Meisterwerk handelt, sondern vielmehr um eine Reihenanfertigung von guter Qualität, so erweist er sich insgesamt als eine kluge und geschickt konzipierte Arbeit, die auch höheren Ansprüchen zu genügen wusste und gleichzeitig einen Einblick in die Organisation und das Vorgehen der Bildhauerwerkstätten erlaubt.

Vermutungen zur Polychromie

Im aktuellen Erhaltungszustand, der teilweise durch die moderne Restaurierung und Reinigung bedingt ist, sind bei den Relieffiguren von bloßem Auge keine Farbreste zu erkennen. Der Reliefgrund zeigt Reste einer weißen Kalkfarbe, wie tropfenförmige Verläufe an verschiedenen Stellen nahelegen³⁹⁷. Bei der Bestrahlung mit einer ultravioletten Lichtquelle wurden an verschiedenen Stellen Unterschiede sichtbar, die darauf hindeuten könnten, dass die Relieffiguren ursprünglich farblich gefasst gewesen waren³⁹⁸. Dies gilt unter anderem für die Figur des Diomedes, bei der sich der Panzer, das Unterkleid und die Schuhe vom unbekleideten Unterschenkel abheben (*Fig. 33*), sowie für die leider nur fragmentarisch erhaltene Szene mit der Jagd auf die stymphalischen Vögel, wo ein deutlicher Unterschied zwischen dem Hintergrund, dem Löwenschwanz und den Beinen des Herakles sichtbar wird (*Fig. 34*).

Eine punktuelle Untersuchung mit einem portablen Röntgenfluoreszenzspektrometer (X-ray fluorescence spectrometer, XRF), die von Mitarbeitern der Abteilung für physikalische Chemie der Universität Genf vorgenommen wurde³⁹⁹, erbrachte keine verwertbaren Hinweise auf anor-



Fig. 33 UV-Aufnahme des Diomedes



Fig. 34 UV-Aufnahme der Jagd auf die stymphalischen Vögel

³⁹⁷ Dies ist am besten unterhalb der Pferdeköpfe des Diomedes zu sehen.

³⁹⁸ Die im UV-Licht sichtbaren Unterschiede können allerdings auch teilweise durch die unterschiedliche Bearbeitung der Oberflächen oder durch die moderne Reinigung verursacht werden. Es ist aber gleichzeitig nicht ausgeschlossen, dass sie auf die ursprüngliche Bemalung zurückgehen. Für den Hinweis danke ich den weiter unten genannten Kollegen.

³⁹⁹ Ich danke sehr herzlich Thomas Bürgi und Hans Hagemann, Department of Physical Chemistry sowie Didier Perret, Chimiscope und School of Chemistry and Biochemistry der Universität Genf.

Langseite 1

Genf/ Antalya	Nemea	Lerna	Erymanthos	Keryneia	Stymphalos
Kayseri (<i>Anm. 386</i>)	Nemea	Lerna	Erymanthos	Keryneia	Stymphalos
Antalya (<i>Anm. 385 Nr. 1</i>)	Nemea	Lerna	Erymanthos	—	Stymphalos
Antalya (<i>Anm. 385 Nr. 2</i>)	Nemea	Lerna	Erymanthos	Keryneia	Stymphalos
London (<i>Anm. 385 Nr. 3</i>)	—	—	—	—	—
Borghese (<i>Anm. 385 Nr. 4</i>)	Nemea	Lerna	Erymanthos	Keryneia	Stymphalos
Torlonia (<i>Anm. 385 Nr. 5</i>)	Nemea	Lerna	Erymanthos	Keryneia	Stymphalos

Kurzseite 1

Genf/ Antalya	Augias	Herakles und Omphale	
Kayseri (<i>Anm. 386</i>)	Augias		Kret. Stier
Antalya (<i>Anm. 385 Nr. 1</i>)	Opfernde	Tür	Hermes
Antalya (<i>Anm. 385 Nr. 2</i>)	Augias	Omphale	Hesperiden
London (<i>Anm. 385 Nr. 3</i>)	—	—	—
Borghese (<i>Anm. 385 Nr. 4</i>)	—	—	—
Torlonia (<i>Anm. 385 Nr. 5</i>)	Augias	Omphale	Hesperiden

Langseite 2

Genf/ Antalya	Kret. Stier	Diomedes	Hippolyte	Geryoneus	Kerberos
Kayseri (<i>Anm. 386</i>)	Diomedes	Hippolyte	Geryoneus	Kerberos	Hesperiden
Antalya (<i>Anm. 385 Nr. 1</i>)	Kret. Stier	Diomedes	Hippolyte	Geryoneus	Kerberos
Antalya (<i>Anm. 385 Nr. 2</i>)	Kret. Stier	Diomedes	Hippolyte	Geryoneus	Kerberos
London (<i>Anm. 385 Nr. 3</i>)	Kret. Stier	Diomedes	Hippolyte	Geryoneus	Kerberos
Borghese (<i>Anm. 385 Nr. 4</i>)	Kret. Stier	Diomedes	Hippolyte	– (ergänzt)	– (ergänzt)
Torlonia (<i>Anm. 385 Nr. 5</i>)	Kret. Stier	Diomedes	Hippolyte	Geryoneus	Kerberos

Kurzseite 2

Genf/ Antalya	Hesperiden	Herakles und Hebe	
Kayseri (<i>Anm. 386</i>)	Attis	Tür	Attis
Antalya (<i>Anm. 385 Nr. 1</i>)	Hesperiden		Augias
Antalya (<i>Anm. 385 Nr. 2</i>)	Attis	Tür	Attis
London (<i>Anm. 385 Nr. 3</i>)	—	—	—
Borghese (<i>Anm. 385 Nr. 4</i>)	—	—	—
Torlonia (<i>Anm. 385 Nr. 5</i>)	Opfernde	Tür	Hermes

Tabelle 1 Verteilung der Szenen auf dokimenischen Heraklessarkophagen (ein Strich bedeutet, dass der entsprechende Teil des Reliefs nicht erhalten ist)

ganische Elemente, die auf eine frühere Bemalung zurückgehen könnten. Es muss daher späteren Untersuchungen, etwa mit einem deutlich leistungsfähigeren XRF oder einem Raman-Spektrometer überlassen bleiben, sicherere Einsichten in die Farbgebung zu gewinnen. Ein zuverlässiges Bild von der möglichen Polychromie des hier vorgelegten Sarkophags sowie der dokumentenischen Sarkophage insgesamt ist zur Zeit nicht zu gewinnen⁴⁰⁰.

Abstract: (M. Waelkens) In the autumn of 2017, a sarcophagus representing the Twelve Labours of Heracles, confiscated in Geneva in 2009, was returned to the Antalya Museum. The article describes the sarcophagus in detail and demonstrates that the Docimian sarcophagus workshop not only produced so-called ›columnar‹ sarcophagi but also various other types belonging to the so-called ›Hauptgruppe‹ (main group) of Anatolian sarcophagi, such as ›Pamphylian‹ garland sarcophagi. The workshop's five decades of activity and production, from approximately A.D. 120 to 170, are discussed in detail and new dates are proposed for several of the sarcophagi. This study clearly demonstrates that there is no evidence for ›Zweigwerkstätten‹ (regional branches) and that the workshop was not in the habit of sending its craftsmen to accompany the roughed-out sarcophagi in order to finish them at their final destination. The sarcophagus from Geneva belongs to a group of columnar and frieze sarcophagi representing the Dodekathlos of Heracles, produced from ca. A.D. 150 to 170 for export to Rome and various regions of Asia Minor, particularly Pamphylia. However, the Roman market only imported large columnar sarcophagi and small ash urns with corner columns/pilasters. Standard-sized coffins with corner pilasters/columns, like the Geneva sarcophagus, are found in Asia Minor only. Together with a similar sarcophagus from Perge, a frieze sarcophagus from Caesarea/Kayseri and four columnar sarcophagi from Athens, Perge and Rome, the sarcophagus from Geneva forms a closed group, in which the activity of the same sculptors can be identified. This has allowed us to date it to around A.D. 160. It must have originated from Perge, where most likely it was illegally excavated, together with a similar sarcophagus belonging to the same group.

(L. E. Baumer) Within the series of Docimian sarcophagi depicting the Twelve Labours of Heracles, the new sarcophagus provides one of the most consistent representations. Following the usual pattern, on one long side it presents five of the six Peloponnesian adventures, completed on one short side with the Augean stables. On the other long side, five of the international labours of the hero can be seen, terminating on the other short side with the stealing of the apples of the Hesperides. The two groups are complemented on the first short side by Omphale and Heracles playing a lyre, whereas in the right-hand half of the second short side the hero is shown with a multitude of attributes, suggesting the representation is that of Heracles as a deified hero. The female figure in the middle is therefore most likely to be Hebe. Detailed investigation of the iconography has established that a rather limited number of models was used by the sculptors, and this also applies to the other sarcophagi in the group. They give an interesting insight into the process of conception and collaborative execution within the same workshop. While scientific analysis of the sarcophagus indicates that it was probably fully painted in Antiquity, it has not been possible to reconstruct the polychromy in any detail.

⁴⁰⁰ Zur Polychromie römischer Sarkophage jetzt Sotto 2017 mit Lit. Eine gewisse Vorstellung von der farblichen Wirkung mag ein, wenn auch wesentlich späteres, Relief aus tetrarchischer Zeit aus Nikomedia geben: Ağtürk 2018.

DER SARKOPHAG MIT HERAKLESTATEN AUS GENÈVE
WERKSTATT, DATIERUNG UND HERKUNFT

Zusammenfassung: (M. Waelkens) Ein 2009 in Genf konfiszierter Sarkophag mit Heraklestaten wurde im Herbst 2017 dem Museum in Antalya übergeben. Der Aufsatz gibt eine genaue Beschreibung des Sarkophags. Anschliessend wird nachgewiesen, dass die dokimenische Sarkophagwerkstatt nicht nur die kleinasiatischen Säulensarkophage produzierte, sondern auch verschiedene Sondertypen, z. B. die sogenannten ›pamphyliischen‹ Girlandensarkophage. Die Aktivität der Werkstatt lässt sich ab etwa 120 n. Chr. genau verfolgen. Deren Produktion wird über fünf Jahrzehnte, bis etwa 170 n. Chr., detailliert besprochen und in manchen Fällen neu datiert. Daraus ergibt sich, dass es nie Zweigwerkstätten gegeben hat und auch keine Praxis existierte, die Sarkophage in halbfertigem Zustand zu versenden und von mitreisenden oder lokalen Steinmetzen am Bestimmungsort ausarbeiten zu lassen. Der Sarkophag aus Genf gehört zu einer Gruppe von Säulen- und Friessarkophagen mit der Darstellung des Dodekathlos des Herakles, die um 150–170 n. Chr. für den Export nach Rom und in verschiedene Landesteile Kleinasiens, überwiegend nach Pamphylien, hergestellt wurden. Der römische Markt importierte jedoch anscheinend nur Säulensarkophage, wobei Kasten mit Ecksäulen/Pilastern dort ausschließlich als kleine Graburnen benutzt wurden. Grosse Kasten mit Ecksäulen fanden hingegen nur in Kleinasien als Friessarkophage einen Absatz. Der Genfer Sarkophag bildet mit einem entsprechenden Sarkophag aus Perge, einem Friessarkophag aus Caesarea/Kayseri und vier Säulensarkophagen aus Athen, Perge und Rom eine so eng geschlossene Gruppe, die dazu öfters die Aktivität derselben Künstler nachweisen lässt, dass er genau um 160 n. Chr. datiert werden kann. Seine ursprüngliche Herkunft war sicher Perge, wo er vermutlich zusammen mit einem etwa gleichzeitigen Sarkophag derselben Gruppe illegal ausgegraben wurde.

(L. E. Baumer) In der Reihe der dokimenischen Sarkophage mit den zwölf Heraklestaten bietet das neue Exemplar eine der konsequentesten Darstellungen. Gemäss dem üblichen Verteilungsprinzip sind auf der ersten Langseite fünf der sechs ›peloponnesischen‹ Abenteuer versammelt, die auf der nachfolgenden Kurzseite mit den Augiasställen abgeschlossen werden. Auf der zweiten Langseite folgen fünf der ›internationalen‹ Taten, die auf der anderen Kurzseite mit Herakles' Rückkehr von den Hesperiden enden. Die beiden Szenenfolgen sind auf der ersten Kurzseite mit Omphale und dem leierspielenden Herakles getrennt, während der Heros auf der rechten Hälfte der zweiten Kurzseite mit einer auffälligen Vielzahl von Attributen ausgestattet ist. Dies erlaubt, die Darstellung als den vergöttlichten Helden und die Frauenfigur in der Mitte folglich als Hebe zu deuten. Die ikonographische Untersuchung ermöglicht es, die vergleichsweise geringe Zahl der Figurenvorlagen zu identifizieren, die von den Bildhauern verwendet wurden und auch auf anderen Sarkophagen derselben Gruppe auftauchen. Sie gewähren einen aufschlussreichen Einblick in die Konzeption und die Zusammenarbeit bei der Ausarbeitung der Sarkophage in derselben Werkstatt. Die naturwissenschaftlichen Untersuchungen lassen vermuten, dass der Sarkophag in der Antike bemalt gewesen war, doch ist eine zuverlässige Rekonstruktion der Polychromie leider nicht möglich.

CENEVRE'DEKİ HERAKLES LAHDI: ATÖLYE, TARİH VE KÖKENİ

Özet: (M. Waelkens) 2009'da Cenevre'de el konulan Herakles'in on iki görevini tasvir eden bir lahit, 2017 sonbaharında Antalya Müzesi'ne iade edildi. Makale, lahdi ayrıntılı olarak tarif edip ve Dokimeion lahit atölyesinin yalnızca ›sütunlu‹ lahitler üretmediğini, fakat aynı zamanda ›Haupt-gruppe‹ olarak adlandırılan temel grubu da içeren çeşitli Anadolu lahit tiplerini de ürettiğini gösteriyor. Bunlar arasında aynı zamanda ›Pamfilya'nın‹ çelenk lahitleri de bulunmaktadır. Faaliyet ve üretimleri, birkaç yeni tarihlendirme önerisi de dahil olmak üzere, yaklaşık MS. 120 ile 170 yılları arasındaki elli yıllık bir süre zarfı, detaylı olarak incelenmiştir. Araştırma, ›Zweig-werkstätte‹ olarak adlandırılan atölye şubelerinin olmadıklarını ve daha bitmemiş lahitlerin son varacakları yerlere, tamamlamak için sanatkarların atölye tarafından gönderilmesinin de pratikte uygulanmadığını açıkça gösteriyor. Cenevre'deki lahit, Herakles'in Dodekathlos'unu konu alan sütun ve friz lahit grubuna ait olup, yaklaşık MS. 150–170 yılları arasında, Roma ve Küçük Asya'nın değişik bölgelerine ve özellikle de Pamfilya'ya ihracatı için üretilmiştir. Fakat yalnızca Roma pazarı, büyük boyutlu sütunlu lahit ve köşelerinde sütun/pilasterleri olan küçük boyutlu kül uranlarını ithal etmiştir. Cenevre lahdi gibi, köşelerinde pilaster/sütunları olan normal büyüklükteki tabutlar yalnızca Küçük Asya'da görülür. Cenevre'deki lahit, Perge'deki benzer bir lahit, Caesarea/Kayseri'deki bir friz lahdi ve Atina ve Roma'daki dört sütunlu lahitlerle birlikte kapalı bir grup oluşturuyorlar. Aynı heykeltıraşların bu lahitler üzerine etkinlikleri de tespit edildi. Lahdin tam olarak MS. 160 yılı civarında tarihlenmesi mümkün. Aynı gruba ait benzer bir lahit ile birlikte yasadışı kazıldığı Perge'den çıkarılmış olsa gerek.

(L. E. Baumer) Yeni lahit, Herakles'in on iki görevini konu alan Dokimeion lahit serisi içinde en göze çarpan örneklerinden birisidir. Alışılmış olarak, lahdin uzun kenarında altı Peloponessos macerasının beşi ve kısa kenarda da Augeias'ın ahırları yer alır. Diğer uzun kenarda ise, kahramanın değişik kentlerdeki görevlerinin beşinin betimini kısa yüzde Hesperisler'in macerasının sunumunu izler. İki grup sözü geçen kısa kenardaki Omphale ile lir çalan Herakles betimiyle tamamlanırken, kahramanın ikinci kısa kenarın sağ yarısında birçok atribüleriyle gösterilmesi, onun tanrılaştırılmış kahraman olduğunu ve dolayısıyla ortadaki kadın figürünün de, büyük olasılıkla, Hebe olması gerekliliğini gözler önüne serer. İkonografinin detaylı incelenmesi, heykeltıraşlar tarafından kullanılmış oldukça sınırlı sayıdaki modellerin tanımlanmasına izin verdiği gibi, aynı gruptaki başka lahitlerin üzerinde de saptanmasına imkân kılar. Tasarım ve aynı atölye bünyesindeki ortak çalışmanın yürütme süreci hakkında da fikir veren lahdin bilimsel analizleri, eserin muhtemelen Antik dönemde tamamen boyanmış olduğunu, ancak bu çokrenkliliğin detaylı bir rekonstrüksiyonun yapılmasının da mümkün olmadığını kanıtlar niteliktedir.

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