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Keywords: Aphrodisias, Achilles, Penthesilea, Hadrianic Baths

Schlüsselwörter: Aphrodisias, Achilles, Penthesilea, Hadrianstherme

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INTRODUCTION

The Achilles and Penthesilea on view at the Aphrodisias Museum (*Fig. 1*)¹ is not only an exceptionally fine sculptural group depicting a well-known event from the Trojan cycle², but is also the most complete replica of the original Hellenistic bronze group to come from Asia Minor, a region in which Amazonian imagery was deeply embedded in the artistic repertoire. The Amazons were said to descend on the Greeks at Troy, battling with the Trojans on the front line to avenge the death of Hektor. Achilles and Penthesilea, the Amazon queen, become embroiled in a duel that ends with Penthesilea's death. Ultimately, however, the story is about Achilles' tragic mistake, as he falls in love with her only after having delivered the death blow. Propertius, for example, writing in the late first century B. C. E., puts this quite poignantly when he writes that Penthesilea's beauty conquers the conqueror himself (*vicit victorem*

Sources of illustrations: *Fig. 1. 3. 5–8. 9 (left). 10–27. 29. 30. 36. 38* = New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias – G. Petruccioli. – *Fig. 2* = New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias – G. Petruccioli – M. Gensheimer. – *Fig. 4. 28. 35 (right)* = New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias. – *Fig. 9 (right)* = Spyropoulos 2001, 188 pl. 6. – *Fig. 31* = New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias – H. Mark. – *Fig. 32–34. 37* = New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias – I. Cartwright. – *Fig. 35 (left)* = St. Ellis. – *Fig. 39* = New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias – H. Mark – I. Cartwright.

¹ The Achilles and Penthesilea statue group was found during New York University's excavations on-site in the 1960s. This paper is part of a new and ambitious campaign to study and conserve the Hadrianic Baths, in which this statue group was found. Our particular thanks go to the patrons of this on-going work, including the Kaplan Foundation, the Leon Levy Foundation, VakifBank, and the World Monuments Fund. We are also grateful to Mark Abbe and Laura Klar Phillips for their contributions to our reconstruction of the statue group and related fragments, as well as to Harry Mark and Serra Pradhan for their expertise with all architectural drawings and findspot plans. Finally, we must thank Dr. Tomas Lochman at the Skulpturhalle Basel for his insights into the various Roman replicas and casts made after the statue group.

² West 2003, Fragment 497.



Fig. 1 The Achilles and Penthesilea Statue Group from Aphrodisias. Frontal view

candida forma virum)³. The texts, mostly poems⁴, leave unanswered an intriguing question: did this narrative climax with the hero falling in love with the queen as she lay dying or once she was already dead? Evidence from Aphrodisias illuminates this dramatic moment as it was depicted in the original Hellenistic composition and its Roman replicas.

³ Prop. 3, 11, 9: »*Ausa ferox ab equo quondam oppugnare sagittis Maeotis Danaum Penthesilea rates; aurea cui postquam nudavit cassida frontem, vicit victorem candida forma virum*«.

⁴ See, for instance: Paus. 10, 31, 1 and 5, 11, 2–6; Apollod. 5, 1; Q. Smyrn. 891–923.

The Achilles and Penthesilea episode has a long history in the visual arts, particularly in Greek vase painting⁵, but by the fifth century B. C. E., a new iconographic tradition reveals a change in the emphasis of the story: at first, it was the killing of Penthesilea itself that was emphasized, but later, it was the fact that Penthesilea dies in Achilles' arms. Thus, on the throne of Zeus at Olympia, for instance, Panaenus' painting showed Achilles' »supporting [Penthesilea]« as she died⁶. The violence of Penthesilea's death, as seen on the name vase of the Penthesilea Painter⁷, was superseded by this new mode of representation⁸.

In terms of sculptural representations, the Aphrodisias statue belongs to a relatively small group of Roman marble replicas after an originally Hellenistic work, probably in bronze, which featured the motif of Penthesilea collapsing while being supported within Achilles' arms⁹. Twelve high quality, full-scale, marble replicas of the same, over life-size proportions are extant, at least in part, as well as several smaller statuettes (see below). Taken together, these were the basis for the three well known casts of the reconstructed statue group created by Ernst Berger and today in Basel. This paper greatly benefits from but also reassesses Berger's work by presenting new and compelling evidence from Aphrodisias for a definitive reconstruction of the ancient statue group.

Roman-period replicas of the Achilles and Penthesilea statue group include:

Statue groups including both Achilles and Penthesilea

1 *Aphrodisias Museum. From Aphrodisias.*

Both figures preserved in part, as well as an area of the ancient plinth beneath Penthesilea's right leg. See below.

2. *Astros Museum. From the Villa of Herodes Atticus, Loukou.*

Achilles preserved from the neck to the lower left buttock and the right leg below the knee. The head survives on a separate fragment, as does Achilles' right forearm. Achilles' right foot is attached to the ancient plinth. Penthesilea preserved from the neck to her knees, where she has collapsed onto the plinth. Her booted left leg is broken but is extant. Her right leg, pieced separately with the same method as the Aphrodisias sculpture group (see below), is missing. Penthesilea's left upper arm is preserved on a separate fragment; another two fragments include her upper right arm and Achilles' right hand, which supports her arm as she falls. See: Spyropoulos 2001, 129–158, with a list of replicas; Spyropoulos – Spyropoulos 2003, 468 fig. 10; Spyropoulos 2006, 86 fig. 10; Kossatz-Deissmann 2009, 11 no. 51.

⁵ For representations from the 7th c. B. C. E. onward, see: Berger 1992, 297 no. 8–58.

⁶ Paus. 5, 11, 6.

⁷ Munich 2688: red-figure *kylix* from Vulci, c. 460 B. C. E. Achilles thrusts his sword into Penthesilea's chest as she begs him for mercy. See: von Bothmer 1957, 143. 148 pl. 71, 4; ARV 582.1; Devambez – Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 598 no. 178.

⁸ Grassinger 1999, 327.

⁹ While the Aphrodisias replica can be dated to the 2nd c. C. E. given its light polish, the date of the Hellenistic original after which it was copied remains somewhat controversial. Berger, for example, has argued for the first half of the 2nd century B. C. E., citing similarities with the »Suicidal Gaul« and the Pasquino Group, whereas Ridgway has suggested the 1st century B. C. E. because of a perceived general interest in Trojan stories at that time. See: Berger 1992, 305; Ridgway 2000, 82. It seems likely that the Hellenistic original belongs within the milieu of great royal commissions of the 3rd–2nd c. B. C. E.

3. *Rome, Terme Museum. From Settebagni.*
Only the left thigh and right lower leg of Achilles are preserved. The left thigh joins the right side of Penthesilea's torso. The right leg is extant from below the knee to the foot; the toes rest on the ancient plinth, whereas the heel is raised (as with the Loukou and Aphrodisias replicas); a strut supports the right leg under the upper shin. Penthesilea survives from the neck to her knees, where she kneels on the plinth. Both her right and left arms are missing. See: Berger 1967, 63 n. 9 figs. 18–20; Berger 1992, 303 no. 59a; Moreno 1994, 565 fig. 695; Berger 1999, 119 no. 59a fig. 12.

Torso of Achilles

4. *Geneva inv. 8937. From outside Rome.*
Achilles preserved from the neck to the lower left buttock and the right leg below the knee. See: Berger 1967, 64 n. 10 fig. 21; Berger 1992, 303 no. 60a; Berger 1999, 119 no. 60a fig. 14.
5. *Rome, Centrale Montemartini (Formerly Conservatori Museum inv. 1859). From Rome.*
Achilles preserved from the neck to the lower left buttock and the right leg below the knee. Both arms are broken just below the shoulder, at the upper biceps. See: Berger 1967, 65 n. 20 fig. 23; Berger 1970, 63 n. 9 figs. 18–20; Berger 1992, 303 no. 59b; Berger 1999, 119 no. 60b fig. 15.

Torso of Penthesilea

6. *Afyon, Afyon Museum. From Afyon.*
Pieced from three fragments found in 1968. Penthesilea preserved from the neck to the knees, where the statue would have abutted the ancient plinth. Both arms and the head are missing, and the extant statue is highly abraded, with considerable damage to the surviving drapery. See: Berger 1974, 93–96 pls. 51b–54b; Berger 1992, 303 no. 59d; Berger 1999, 119 no. 59d.
7. *Rome, Palazzo Borghese. Findspot unknown.*
Penthesilea preserved from the head to the knees, below which the statue was broken; the plinth is a modern restoration. As restored, the right arm extends upward, above her head; the left arm, also restored, is broken above the wrist. Penthesilea's head, which was broken at the neck, has been repaired to list toward her right; her eyes remain open, as with the statuette from Aphrodisias (13). Part of the helmet is preserved. See: Berger 1967, 64 n. 15 figs. 22.1. 2; Berger 1992, 303 no. 59b; Berger 1999, 119 no. 59b.

Head of Achilles

8. *Basel/Geneva (joint acquisition; Inv. BS 265). Findspot unknown.*
Head preserved above the upper neck. The lower part of Achilles' face, including the bottom of the nose, the mouth, and the left cheek, is missing and badly abraded. Some locks of hair are also abraded, especially on the left side. Part of Achilles' helmet crest is extant. See: Berger 1992, 303 no. 60e; Berger 1999, 119 no. 60e fig. 18.
9. *Madrid, Prado Museum. Findspot unknown.*
Head preserved above the lower neck in relatively good condition, with only minor abrasion to either the skin, hair, or helmet surfaces. Achilles' head is turned to look toward his right.

Part of Achilles' helmet crest survives. See: Berger 1967, 68 n. 33; 70 n. 44; 70 n. 46 figs. 26–28; Berger 1992, 303 no. 60f; Berger 1999, 120 no. 60f fig. 21

10. *Basel inv. BS 298 (Formerly Malibu, Getty Museum).*
Head preserved above the lower neck in relatively good condition, with only minor abrasion to either the skin, hair, or helmet surfaces. A large part of Achilles' helmet crest is extant. See: Berger 1992, 303 no. 60d; Berger 1999, 119 no. 60d fig. 19.
11. *Rome, Vatican Museums. Findspot unknown.*
Head broken above the chin. The lower part of Achilles' face, including the nose, the mouth, and the cheeks, is missing and badly abraded. The hair is also abraded, especially on the sides. Part of Achilles' helmet is extant; the right side has a winged griffin carved in low relief. See: Kaschnitz von Weinberg 1936, 245 no. 571 fig. 89; Berger 1967, 70–71 n. 44–46; Berger 1992, 303 no. 60g; Berger 1999, 120 no. 60g figs. 22. 23.

Head of Penthesilea

12. *Basel inv. BS 214.*
Head of Penthesilea preserved from the neck. Fragment includes Achilles' left hand outlined against the side of her head. See: Berger 1967, 61 no. 1 figs. 16. 17; Berger 1970, 63 no. 9 figs. 18–20; Berger 1992, 303 no. 59a; Berger 1999, 119 no. 59e fig. 20.

Statuettes and under life-size groups

13. *Aphrodisias Museum. From Aphrodisias.*
Both figures preserved in part. See below.
14. *Beirut Museum. From Byblos.*
Achilles is preserved from the head to the upper thighs; Penthesilea from the head to mid-torso. Penthesilea has lost both arms, although Achilles' left arm is still extant and extends toward her to support her head, as with the head in Basel (12) and the statuette from Aphrodisias (13). Both figures retain their characteristic helmets and, in Achilles' case, his weaponry: the strut for his shield is preserved on his left arm. See: Berger 1967, 66 no. 26 figs. 25. 26; Berger 1992, 303 no. 61b.
15. *Philippi, Philippi Museum. From Philippi.*
Penthesilea's upper body preserved with Achilles' attached upper, right thigh. See: Berger 1992, 303 no. 61c.
16. *Rome, private collection. Allegedly found in rubble in the Tiber.*
Fragment of Penthesilea's torso extant. See: Berger 1992, 303 no. 61a.
17. *Istanbul, Archaeological Museum. From Marmara.*
Achilles' torso extant from the neck to the upper thighs, including the genitalia. Both arms are missing, broken at the mid-biceps. Part of Achilles' *balteus* is preserved, although the edges are somewhat abraded. See: Mendel 1912–14 II, 347; Berger 1992, 303 no. 61e.
18. *Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. 508. Findspot unknown.*
Achilles preserved from the neck to the lower buttocks. The left arm is broken below the

armpit, at mid-biceps; the right is sheared off at the shoulder. The front of the torso, particularly the genitals and abdomen, is heavily abraded. The scabbard retains its basic shape, although it is chipped and missing some areas. See: Berger 1967, 65 no. 22 figs. 24.1–4; Berger 1992, 303 no. 61f.

In addition to these sculptural examples, a reproduction of the Achilles and Penthesilea motif in mosaic also warrants attention, given that the mosaic is also a replica in the broad sense of the word.

Mosaic

19. *Loukou. From the Villa of Herodes Atticus, Loukou.*

The polychrome mosaic depicts Achilles and Penthesilea within a rectangular field, largely intact except at the upper edge (the areas of loss, unfortunately, include the upper part of Achilles' helmet and its crest). The three extant sides of the mosaic are framed by a black and white wave pattern. Achilles, wearing a billowing cape and helmet, steps forward to grasp Penthesilea with his right hand; his left arm supports a round shield. His sword is sheathed within its scabbard, which hangs from the *balteus* draped across his chest from right to left. For her part, Penthesilea is shown collapsed to the ground, propped up on her knees. Penthesilea's head tilts toward the proper left. A *pelta* shield is strapped to her left arm. An axe lies on the ground in front of the *pelta*. Penthesilea's left hand lies on the ground, with its empty palm turned up toward the viewer. See: Spyropoulos 2001, fig. 9.



Fig. 2 Statuette of the Achilles and Penthesilea Group from Aphrodisias. Composite view

Within this corpus, works from Aphrodisias are particularly important. First, the full-scale replica, which has never been published in any detail, is among the best preserved. Second, comparison with a newly identified and previously unpublished statuette found near the Theater Baths at Aphrodisias (*Fig. 2*) corroborates details of the major group's original composition. Finally, the full-scale replica's known display context at the site clarifies the history of a masterpiece of ancient sculpture.

This paper will first reconstruct the ancient statue group, combining the evidence of the restored group on view at the Aphrodisias Museum with associated fragments stored in various depots. These fragments are attributed to the statue group on the basis of scale, material, finish, and extensive study of the excavation records and related findspot plans. Secondly, this paper addresses questions of the statue's ancient significance and display within the city.

I. THE APHRODISIAS STATUE GROUP

a. Torso and Right Hand of Achilles

Extant state: Inv. 66-541 (torso); 67-10 (right forearm and hand of Achilles gripping the right arm of Penthesilea). Statue preserved in two pieces: 1.) the torso, preserved from the neck to the upper buttocks, on the right, and the lower buttocks, on the left (H: 79 cm; W: 66 cm; D: 39 cm); and 2.) the right hand and forearm, preserved on a separate fragment that includes Penthesilea's upper right arm (H: 28 cm; W: 17 cm; D: 19.5 cm, as recorded). Overall dimensions of the group: H: 192 cm, as restored.

The fragments were found in the 1966–67 excavation seasons. The torso was found in the southwest area of the Tetrastyle Court between the Hadrianic Baths and the North Agora. The hand was found inside the Court's pool (on which, see below).

The torso is broken unevenly at the neck. Locks of hair are preserved on the left shoulder and the left side of the neck; a longer strand lies on the shoulder, while two curls fall on the neck.

The right arm is broken at the outside edge of the shoulder, in a line that follows the contour of the shoulder's transition to the upper chest. The armpit is preserved. The right forearm and hand are recomposed of two separate fragments; they grasp Penthesilea's right arm, supporting it from underneath. Four fingers are braced underneath Penthesilea's arm, while the thumb is spread out along her outer arm, facing the viewer. The tip of the thumb, in addition to the exterior edges of the ring and index fingers, are lost.

The left arm is broken in a clean line from the left armpit, on the inner face, to approximately halfway down the triceps, on the outer arm. A rectangular dowel hole (H: 4 cm; W: 3.5 cm; D: 8.5 cm) on the underside of the arm is an ancient repair (see *Ancient Repair and Reworking*, below).

At the back, the right leg is broken at the upper buttock. The line of the break curves down to mid-buttock before curving up and around to the front, where the leg is broken at the transition to the groin. Modern plaster has replaced the missing areas of the buttock and leg to the mid-thigh. The left leg is broken at the lower buttock. The break curves up and around to the front, where the leg is broken at the junction between the upper thigh and penis. The penis is lost. A small socket indicates that it was broken in antiquity and subsequently repaired (see *Ancient Repair and Reworking*, below). The pubic hair is defaced (again, see below).

Missing from the statue: right and left legs below the waist, including feet; right arm from shoulder to wrist; left arm, including hand; upper neck and head; the plinth. Projecting surfaces have suffered losses. For example, the *balteus* is chipped and is missing small pieces. The scabbard is also badly abraded, as is Achilles' left nipple.

There is some mottled reddish-brown staining, particularly across the abdomen, chest, and back. This probably occurred after the statue fell from its plinth and lay in the earth. Elsewhere, the surface is not badly weathered and preserves the ancient finish.

b. Torso of Penthesilea

Extant State: Inv. 67.31 (torso of Penthesilea with fragment of plinth); 67-10 (right forearm and hand of Achilles gripping the upper right arm of Penthesilea). Statue preserved in two primary zones: 1.) the torso, preserved from the neck to below the knees, including adjacent areas of the plinth on Penthesilea's right side (H: 113.5 cm; W: 80 cm; D: 120 cm); 2.) a section of the upper right

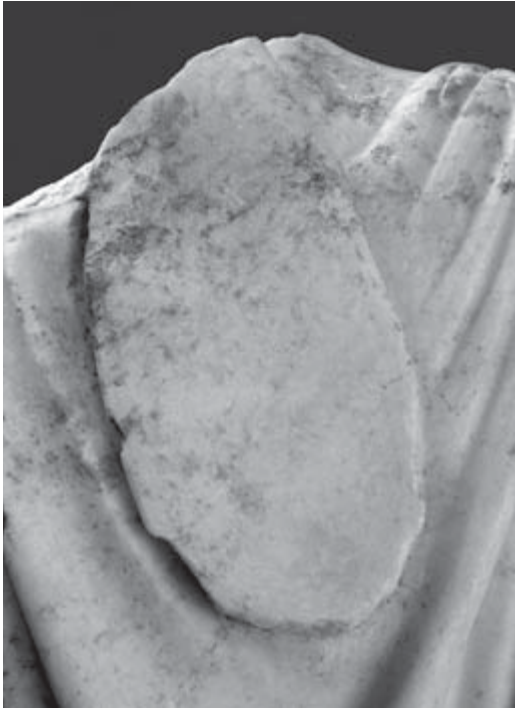


Fig. 3 Preserved outline of Penthesilea's Phrygian cap-helmet

left arm is broken unevenly below the shoulder, in a line running from the area of the middle triceps, on the outer edge, to the armpit and seam of the chiton, on the inner.

The drapery-covered legs are restored from separately worked fragments. The largest piece includes the torso and continues to the lower right leg. A second piece, now lost, originally extended the line of the outstretched right leg. The left leg is broken below the line of drapery that ends, approximately, at the knees.

Missing from the statue: portions of the lower legs, including feet; left arm from the shoulder to the wrist, including hand; right upper arm between triceps and shoulder; right lower arm below elbow, including hand; upper neck and head; parts of the plinth. Projecting surfaces have been lost in some areas. The edges of Penthesilea's neck, hair, drapery, and scabbard are chipped and abraded. At back, a drill channel outlines Penthesilea's Phrygian cap-helmet, but this has been broken off and the edges are abraded.

Some reddish-brown incrustations are visible, particularly on the back. Otherwise, the statue preserves its ancient finish.

Technique: With the exception of Penthesilea's right foot (see below), the statue group was carved from a single block of medium – to coarse – grained white marble with some grayish-blue inclusions. Excavation photographs (Fig. 4) reveal that Achilles' upper left thigh originally joined Penthesilea's upper right torso. This join is corroborated by other replicas¹⁰, but is obscured by the

arm, part of the fragment that includes Achilles' right hand and wrist (H: 28 cm; W: 17 cm; D: 19.5 cm, as recorded). Overall dimensions of the group: H: 192 cm, as restored. Ancient plinth: H: 11 cm; W: 34.5 cm; D: 43 cm.

The fragments were found in the 1966–67 excavation seasons. Both the torso and the upper arm were found in the water basin of the Tetrastyle Court between the Hadrianic Baths and the North Agora. The torso was found toward the southwest side of the pool, near the reused late antique statue base on which the group had been displayed.

The torso is broken unevenly at the neck, a result of its fall. Several locks of hair are preserved on the left shoulder. On the upper back, the outline of Penthesilea's Phrygian cap-helmet survives (Fig. 3).

The right arm is broken at the shoulder. A section of the upper right arm, preserved in two fragments, is not continuous with Penthesilea's torso. Instead, it joins Achilles' right hand and wrist, also preserved in two fragments. Modern plaster fills the gap between the right upper arm and the right shoulder. The

¹⁰ e. g. the replica from Settebagni (3) and statuette from Philippi (15).

Fig. 4 Excavation photograph of the Achilles and Penthesilea Group. Note the break surface on Penthesilea's right torso.





Fig. 5 Detail, Achilles' hair and helmet crest

epoxy used in the current restoration. The join between Achilles' right hand and Penthesilea's right arm is preserved in the fragments described above. Both joins are very instructive with

regard to the original composition of the statue group, and suggest that the current restoration is not accurate with regard to the positioning of the two figures (See *Reconstruction of the Statue Group and Its Context*, below).

Three marble struts for the support of projecting elements are still visible today on piece I. a, though the last two appear to have been reworked and refinished in late antiquity, when they were partially effaced. These are: 1.) a rectangular strut (H: 4.5 cm; W: 5 cm; D: 10.5 cm) and lock of hair on Achilles' left shoulder, probably the support for his helmet crest and, therefore, very helpful in restoring the head's original position (*Fig. 5*); 2.) a circular strut (Dia.: 5 cm) and 3.) a rectangular strut (H: 3 cm; W: 5 cm), both on Achilles' lower left abdomen (*Fig. 6*). These presumably originally supported his left arm and/or shield, but were subsequently removed (See *Ancient Repair and Reworking*, below). Other representations of the group¹¹ show Achilles with a large, circular shield, which is probably a detail



Fig. 6 Detail, Achilles' torso. Note the repairs to the left arm and sword scabbard.

¹¹ See, for instance, the mosaic from Loukou. – Spyropoulos 2001, fig. 9.

Fig. 7 The right hand of Achilles



faithfully copied from the original Hellenistic bronze. The struts suggest that the Aphrodisias replica was also originally elaborated with a bronze or marble shield; in the late antique period, this attribute was not included in the restorations.

There are few tool traces discernible on **I. a**. Surfaces are evenly polished to a luminescent, satin finish. In some areas, for example on the lower edge of the *balteus*, rasp marks intended to facilitate the application of pigment are still visible, but the surfaces are generally worked to a light polish. The hair on the neck and shoulders, as well as the pubes, scabbard, and *balteus*, preserve flat chisel marks. The hair and the edges of Achilles' fingernails, preserved on his right hand, are sharply incised, with crisp, clear, carving (*Fig. 7*). Fine drill channels separate the locks on the shoulder; strands of hair within the locks are carefully articulated with the flat chisel (see *Fig. 5*, above). Elsewhere, the drill was used to indicate the lower edge of the *balteus* and sword; the perimeter of the groin and penis; the bottom edge of the hair lying on the neck; and the cleft between the buttocks. The use of the drill is limited, however, and (with the exception of the channel beneath the scabbard) the drill channels themselves were always smoothed, so that all overt traces of tool use are removed.

Penthesilea (**I. b**) was carved from two blocks of medium – to coarse – grained white marble with some grayish-blue inclusions. The largest block encompassed Achilles and most of Penthesilea; for the joins with Achilles' upper left leg and right hand, see: *Torso and Right Hand of Achilles*. A second, smaller block was pieced to the first on the back, in order to attach Penthesilea's lower right leg and foot, which were worked separately (*Fig. 8*). The piecing was disguised by being done at the transition between the edge of the drapery and the exposed skin of the leg¹². The right leg terminated in a prepared cavity (W: 11.5 cm; D: 7 cm). This socket is roughly picked out with a claw chisel. A shallow, rectangular pin hole (W: 1 cm; D: 0.5 cm)

¹² This join technique is utilized in at least two other replicas in which this area of Penthesilea's leg is extant: those from Loukou (2) and from Settebagni (3).

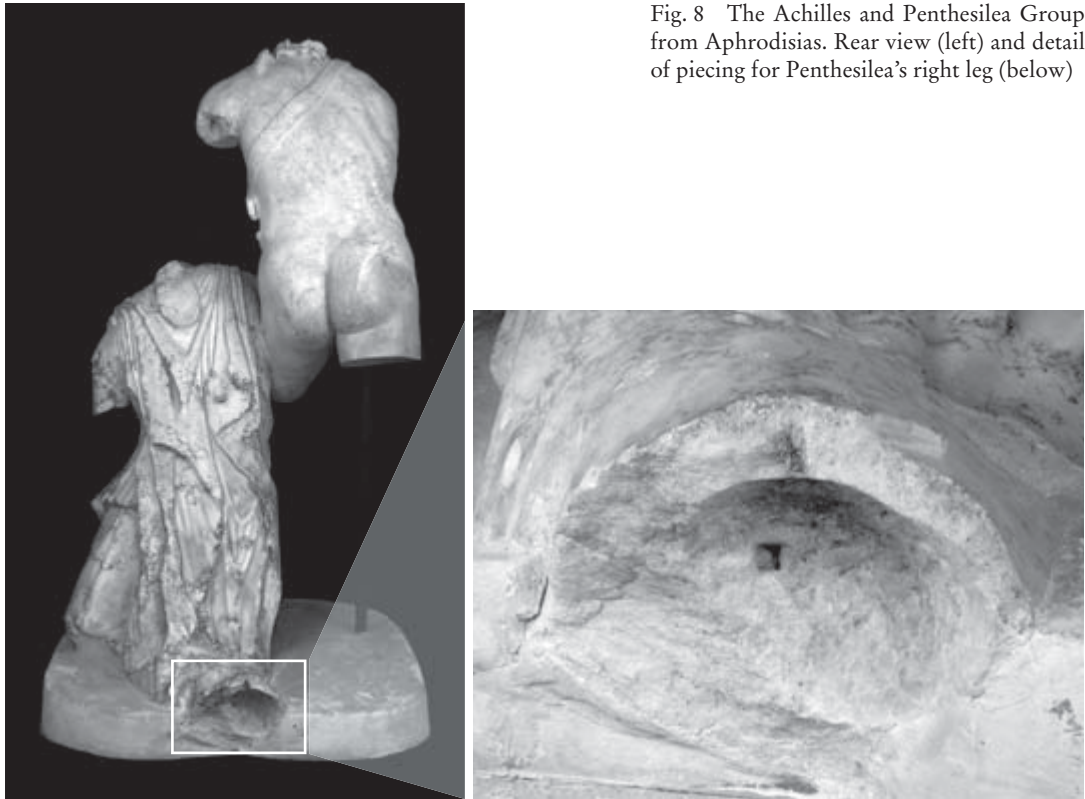


Fig. 8 The Achilles and Penthesilea Group from Aphrodisias. Rear view (left) and detail of piecing for Penthesilea's right leg (below)

and a lead pour channel above are preserved; iron rust is still visible on the latter. Comparison with the replica from Loukou – which employs the same piecing technique for the lower right leg – suggests that the left leg, a part of the main block, would have emerged from underneath the chiton and been folded back alongside the collapsed Penthesilea (Fig. 9). The Loukou analogy also presents the possibility that the Penthesilea in the Aphrodisias replica may have worn the same distinctive half-boots¹³. A point-by-point comparison between different replicas to restore missing details must be done with caution, however. For instance, the frontal bracket on Achilles' helmet at Loukou is an eagle, whereas on the half-lifesize group from Byblos, it is a sphinx¹⁴. It is unclear whether the eagle, the sphinx, or perhaps neither formed a part of the original Hellenistic bronze group. Although no obvious boot lace or detailing is extant on our replica, the scale and modeling of a fragment recently associated with the group suggest that Penthesilea's feet may have been booted (see below).

One marble strut (H: 3.5 cm; Dia.: 7.5 cm) is preserved on the chiton high on the left shoulder, against the line of the hair and mantle (Fig. 10). This is semicircular in shape, with the straight edge facing downward. Originally, the strut may have supported Penthesilea's *pelta*, which is shown in the Loukou mosaic as hanging from her left arm.

¹³ Spyropoulos 2001, pls. 5. 6.

¹⁴ Loukou (2): Spyropoulos 2001, pl. 7; Byblos (14): Berger 1992, 303 no. 61b.

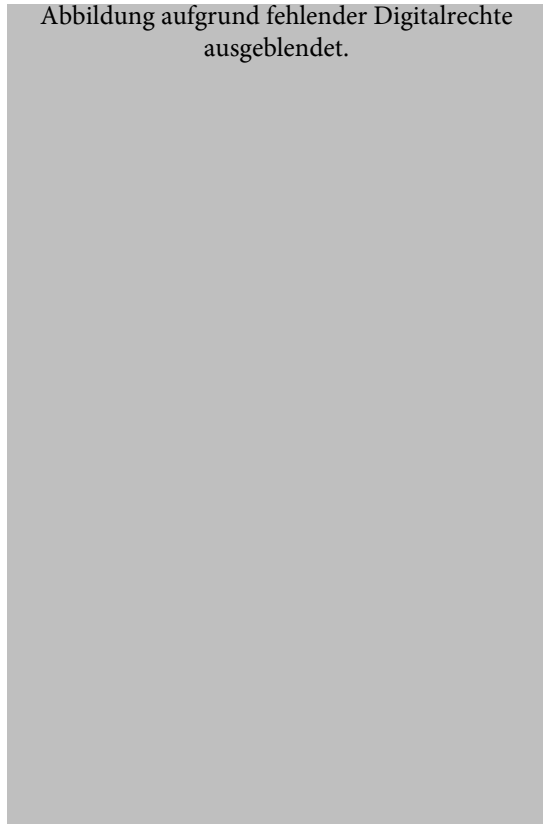


Fig. 9 The Achilles and Penthesilea Statue Group: from Aphrodisias (left) and Loukou (right)

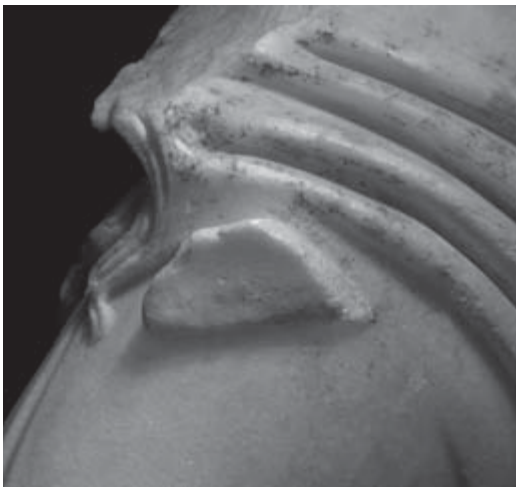


Fig. 10 Detail, preserved strut on Penthesilea's left shoulder

The metal sword hilt and pommel were attached separately, and may have been of bronze. A small drill hole (Dia.: 0.25 cm; D: 1 cm) indicates where the hilt was attached to the sheathed sword (*Fig. 11*).

Tool marks are most obvious in areas of fine detail and the drapery on piece **I. b**. The horizontal stab wound, a 5 cm incision below the right breast, was carefully carved with a flat chisel. It is given special emphasis by its width (W: 0.5 cm max) and by the application of red and black paint¹⁵. Three vertical trickles

¹⁵ The black paint was detected by M. Abbe under microscopic examination. The black was applied on top of the red in order to achieve a darker, more life-like appearance of blood. See: Abbe forthcoming.



Fig. 11 Detail, Penthesilea's sword hilt and scabbard



Fig. 12 Detail, Penthesilea's wound

of blood, below the wound and toward the front of the statue, are more shallowly carved, but are likewise emphasized by the application of paint (Fig. 12). Flat chisel and rasp marks are also visible along the edge of Penthesilea's *baltens*. The locks of hair on the left shoulder are outlined with a drill, and individual strands are articulated with a chisel. Elsewhere, the drill is used extensively in the drapery. Over the lower body, the pleats of the chiton are rendered with deep folds of cloth and deep pockets in shadow. The upper folds of the chiton, over the left shoulder, are relatively shallow and were carved with a flat chisel, so that there is a marked contrast in depth and in light/dark effects between the upper and lower body. Deep drill channels are also preserved on the back, in the folds of the chiton and mantle lying over Penthesilea's legs. The Phrygian cap-helmet was also outlined with a drill channel. In general, like Achilles, the statue is evenly and lightly polished to a satin finish.

The upper surface of the extant plinth was finished with a flat chisel. In the zone immediately underneath Achilles and Penthesilea, however, traces of small point work remain.

Ancient Repair and Reworking: Both Achilles and Penthesilea show evidence of ancient repair and reworking. This second campaign has not been previously studied, but it provides valuable corroboration of the statue group's continued display and reuse in later periods. The archaeological context, affiliated with a late antique plinth located in the Tetrastyle Court of the Hadrianic Baths¹⁶, suggests that the statue group may have been reworked to coincide with its reinstallation there.

Repair and reworking consisted of: 1.) repair to Achilles' broken left arm; 2.) repair to Achilles' penis; 3.) removal of struts from Achilles' lower, left side; 4.) recarving of the scabbards; and 5.) refinishing and polishing.

¹⁶ Smith 2007, 223, 225.

A comparison with other replicas¹⁷ suggests that Achilles' left arm should have supported Penthesilea's head. The underside of the extant arm suggests that it was broken and repaired in antiquity with a precise marble-to-marble join (see *Fig. 6*, above). Roughly half of the prepared join surface (W: 14 cm; H: 8 cm), worked evenly with a flat chisel, survives. At the center is the rectangular dowel hole mentioned above (H: 4 cm; W: 3.5 cm; D: 8.5 cm). Two lead pour channels are still visible, one inside the dowel itself, and the second on the arm, near the join. Just below the join, the torso shows signs of reworking: a small, triangular area only 5 cm high seems to have been carved down in order to remove the original contact point with the left arm. This second detail suggests that the left arm was damaged at some point after its original carving, and was reworked at a later date.



Fig. 13 Detail, repair to Achilles' penis

The penis appears to have been broken off at some point after the group's completion. A replacement was worked separately and was inserted into a small, circular socket (D: 2 cm; Dia.: 3 cm; *Fig. 13*). While it is possible that the penis was originally pieced to the body via the preserved socket, there are no other known instances in which this was done at Aphrodisias; it seems more likely, therefore, given how carefully this socket repair matches that of the left arm, that the penis was originally integral with the body itself (a suggestion reinforced by the fact that the statue group was, with the exception of Penthesilea's right foot, carved from a single block of marble), and was only pieced together following damage. This repair may well have coincided with the others described here. Subsequently, the penis was again broken off and is now lost.

The two struts on Achilles' lower left abdomen, mentioned above, were reworked and, effectively, erased (see *Fig. 6*, above). Originally, these may have supported Achilles' left arm and/or shield (see above). Presumably following the damage that also broke the left arm, these struts were removed and their surfaces reworked to blend smoothly into the area of the surrounding outer buttocks and abdomen.

Achilles' scabbard was recut into a shape smaller than its original (L: 28.5 cm; W: 6.5 cm; D: 3 cm, as preserved)¹⁸. In its second iteration, the scabbard is only marginally wider than the *balteus* itself. Its original size is suggested by a broken, rectangular strut (H: 2.5 cm; W: 2.5 cm; D: 0.5 cm), below and to the viewer's right of the recarved scabbard, which would have originally formed a part of the scabbard's bottom edge (*Figs. 6, 14*). Penthesilea's scabbard was also recarved. A small, rectangular projection on the lower edge (H: 2 cm; W: 2 cm; D: 1 cm) may have originally been a decorative element of the sword hilt.

¹⁷ e. g. statue group from Loukou (2); statuettes from Byblos (14) and, importantly, Aphrodisias (13).

¹⁸ The dimensions of the original scabbard are suggested by comparison to the replicas in the Centrale Montemartini (3) and Geneva (4).



Fig. 14 Detail, Achilles' sword scabbard



Fig. 15 Detail, rasping preserved on seam of Pentesilea's chiton

Finally, both Achilles and Pentesilea seem to have been subjected to repolishing in certain areas: exposed skin, drapery, and the sword belts and scabbards. This was done, however, at the cost of some formerly more crisply rendered details with regard to anatomical modeling, such as Achilles' nipples. Given that this refinishing extends over the removed struts on Achilles' left abdomen, it must have followed the areas of damage in the piece.

Ancient Polychromy: In antiquity, the Achilles and Pentesilea replica from Aphrodisias was embellished with the selective application of polychromy. While this added color has, by and large, been lost in subsequent centuries, nonetheless many well-preserved traces survive.

The borders of both Achilles' and Pentesilea's sword belts and scabbards, as well as the edges of Pentesilea's chiton and Phrygian cap-helmet, were all left with a rasp finish (average W: 1 cm) with which to adhere the applied polychromy to the otherwise polished surfaces. Today, these rasp marks are best seen under raking light: see, for example, *Fig. 15*, the seam over Pentesilea's left shoulder. On Achilles' scabbard, the rasp work was done on the horizontal edges and in stripes, perhaps indicating the application of bands of silvering, coppering, gilding, or coloring.

The dark red color applied to the wound under Pentesilea's right breast, as well as the carved streams of blood below, is still visible to the naked eye (*Fig. 12*, above). The pigment was

noted during excavations, and was consolidated with an adhesive prior to casts being taken of the torso in 1968. Under microscopic and x-ray fluorescence (XRF) examination, traces of red pigment were detected in the folds of Penthesilea's chiton on her right side, and yellow pigment was found on the belt of the chiton on Penthesilea's left¹⁹. Thus, one may imagine Penthesilea in a reddish-purple chiton decorated with yellow-gold trim, while her stab wound gushed dark red blood. Unfortunately, no color is preserved on the fragments associated with Achilles in the Museum depots.

Description of the group: Achilles is positioned frontally to the viewer, with his weight on his left leg (see *Fig. 1*, above). This leg steps forward, toward Penthesilea and the viewer. Although the Aphrodisias replica is broken below the left hip, other representations of the group – such as the mosaic from the Villa of Herodes Atticus at Loukou – suggest that the leg was bent at the knee to support Penthesilea's collapsing body. That the left leg of Achilles was joined to the upper right arm of Penthesilea is confirmed in the excavation photos referenced above (*Fig. 4*). The right leg extends behind his body, although this leg also is lost below the hip. The marble replica excavated at Loukou, as well as that in the Terme Museum, preserves the right foot on the plinth, and reveals that the warrior's heel was raised from the groundline, underscoring his forward motion.

Achilles' body leans forward at the waist, which is turned slightly toward Penthesilea, with the curve of his left side mirroring her falling body (*Fig. 16*). The contraction of his left oblique muscle, which pivots his waist, is carried through his upper body to his shoulders. The right shoulder curves around and forward, as though to form a protective envelope, as it were, around Penthesilea. Yet his head is turned vigorously to his right, away from Penthesilea, as attested by the preserved helmet crest on the left shoulder (*Fig. 5*, above). Achilles may be imagined squaring off against unseen opponents as he looks across the battlefield at Troy.

The *balteus* crosses over the right shoulder and across his chest to his left side, from where it circles around Achilles' back and rises to the right shoulder once again. The scabbard and sword hang below the left armpit. The sword belt is his only surviving attribute, since Achilles' head – and, with it, his helmet – are lost.

The body is smoothly polished, with generally subtle modeling of the muscles. Achilles' oblique muscles, abdominal muscles, and ribs are indicated, although not overly emphasized. Certain details stand out and serve to emphasize the frontal view: the veins in Achilles' right hand; the neat incision of his fingernails; and the raised profile of his nipples. Overall, however, this is a very uniform surface, polished to a satin finish. There is no sharp contrast between light and dark surfaces, nor drilled versus chiseled surfaces. Indeed, Achilles is very far removed from the knotted, accentuated muscles of the notable *Young Herakles*²⁰ or *Satyr with Baby Dionysos*²¹, both from the site and dated to the late 2nd or 3rd c. C.E.

Penthesilea is captured at the moment when her legs collapse beneath her, as the weight of her injured body brings her to her knees. Her torso is angled forward, while her waist curves inward from the contraction of her right oblique muscles (see *Fig. 1*, above). Several critical visual effects are accomplished through this torsion in the waist: Penthesilea's nude right breast is exposed in

¹⁹ Abbe forthcoming, 4–5.

²⁰ Smith 1998, 258 fig. 14.

²¹ Rockwell 1991, 129–131. 134 figs. 4, 5; Smith 1998, 255–258 figs. 6, 7.



Fig. 16 The Achilles and Penthesilea Statue Group. Three-quarter view from the left (left) and detail (right)

a frontal view; and the bleeding wound under her right breast is clearly seen, emphasizing the tragic stabbing that has caused her defeat and, in moments, her death. This frontal view, then, presents a kind of chronological panorama of the statue's narrative: because of Penthesilea's wound and collapse, her demise is imminent.

From the side, Penthesilea's body leans forward at an acute angle – her weight is distributed very far forward, toward the viewer (*Fig. 17*). This frontal emphasis is mirrored in the line of Achilles' body, which steps forward to support her. His right hand, as seen above, grasps her upper right arm, as if by keeping her upright he may also stave off the death of this woman whom he has only just realized that he loves.

Penthesilea's sword hangs in its scabbard on the left side of her body, of no use to her now. The *baltens* itself crosses her body at the right shoulder and falls to the left, where it meets the scabbard. On the back, the sword belt is obscured by the thick v-shaped folds of the mantle, which begin at the neck and around the Phrygian cap, and continue down her back to end below her knees. The *pelta* was attached to Penthesilea's left arm, as evidenced by the strut still visible on her left shoulder.

The dying Amazon wears a chiton over her left shoulder, where its seam is clearly indicated. The garment is not cinched over her right shoulder, leaving her right breast exposed. The chiton

Fig. 17 The Achilles and Penthesilea Statue Group. Three-quarter view from the right



is belted at the waist, with a thick over-fold at the hips. A voluminous mantle flows down her back and across her collapsed legs.

Penthesilea's skin is smoothly contoured, with subtle modeling of the exposed right arm and breast. The right nipple, like Achilles', is denoted by a raised profile, softly indicated; there is no incised contour line to delineate it. The left breast and nipple are rendered as soft swells under the drapery of the chiton. The drapery is carved with generous volumes and deep drill channels, so that the pockets of shadow in the lower chiton and mantle present a marked contrast to the comparatively smoother upper body. Overall, the consistent, light polish has not suffered extensive abrasion or weathering.

The polish and subtle modeling of both Achilles and Penthesilea suggest an original date in the second century C.E., possibly during the Antonine period. However, it is not out of the question that the statue group is late first century in date, and was moved to the Hadrianic Baths

after their completion, as other sculpture found there seems to have been (a Trajanic male bust²², for example, or two female portraits with fashionable, Trajanic, toupee hairstyles²³). The first-second century date is assumed given diagnostic qualities of finish, sculptural technique, and preserved tool marks (or lack thereof), and comparison of the Achilles and Penthesilea to other securely dated works from Aphrodisias. For example, a cuirassed statue signed by one Apollonios Aster²⁴ and a himation portrait²⁵ are known to have been dedicated outside the Bouleuterion in the early 1st century C.E.²⁶; later in the century, a statue of Melpomene was erected at the Theater²⁷. In all three cases, the finish is notably less refined than the Achilles and Penthesilea, and preserves clearly visible rasp marks. On the opposite end of the spectrum, a third century *Aphrodite Seated on a Rock*²⁸ preserves a very high, mirror-like polish in comparison to the Achilles and Penthesilea. The closest parallels are those from the second century: the Trajanic male bust from the Hadrianic Baths mentioned above²⁹ and a headless female statue of the Large Herculean type from the late 2nd century³⁰. The evidence of the reworking discussed above indicates that the Achilles and Penthesilea group was also refurbished in the late antique period, when the struts on Achilles' left side were removed, his left arm and penis were reattached, and the scabbards were recarved.

Some stylistic details also suggest that the Aphrodisias replica may have deliberately aimed to imitate features of the original Hellenistic group: for instance, the drilled outlines of the locks of hair, with the individual strands articulated by the pointed end of a flat chisel, approximate the style of Greek bronze work³¹. It is, however, impossible on the current evidence to suggest a precise date for the Hellenistic original. The bronze behind the many full-scale, Roman-period replicas may have been a creation of the late Hellenistic period, as it seems to be part of a category of such group works, such as the Hanging Marsyas, the Laocoon, and so on (known only in Roman-period replicas but with textual or numismatic evidence for the Hellenistic original)³². It is tempting to hypothesize that the Hellenistic original was paired with the Pasquino group, in pendant fashion, as suggested by the works excavated from the Villa of Herodes Atticus,

²² Smith 2006, 232–233 pls. 89–91.

²³ Smith 2006, 207–211 pls. 69–71.

²⁴ Smith 2006, 122–124 pls. 14–16.

²⁵ Smith 2006, 158–160 pls. 30. 31.

²⁶ Hallett 1998, 59–89.

²⁷ Erim – Smith 1991, 71–72 fig. 5.

²⁸ van Voorhis 1999.

²⁹ Smith 2006, 158–160.

³⁰ Smith 2006, 219–221 pl. 78.

³¹ It is, of course, not possible to judge the extent to which the Aphrodisias replica was a more or less precise copy of the Hellenistic original based only on subjective criteria such as »quality« or »veristic details«. For a critical review of the Roman replicas and the ways in which they may faithfully represent the original statue group, see below.

³² The date of the original Achilles and Penthesilea, as well as its pendant, the Pasquino, is debated. Following Berger, Spyropoulos 2001, 158 dates the Achilles and Penthesilea to the second half of the 2nd c. B. C. E. With respect to the Pasquino, Andreae dates the statue group to c. 160 B. C. E., with which Hausmann agrees. Wünsche argues for the first half of the second century B. C. E.; Himmelmann and Sauron, for the 1st c. B. C. E.; Weis for the Julio-Claudian period. See: Andreae 1975, 87–95; Hausmann 1984, 291–300; Wünsche 1991, 7–38; Himmelmann 1995, 19 n. 23; Sauron 1997, 287–288; Weis 1998, 265–286; Weis 2000, 124–125. In sum, with the exception of Wünsche, most recent contributions accept that the Pasquino seems to have been conceived in the late Hellenistic period. If the Achilles and Penthesilea statue group was created at approximately the same time, then this would support the idea, suggested below, that the two groups were originally displayed together.

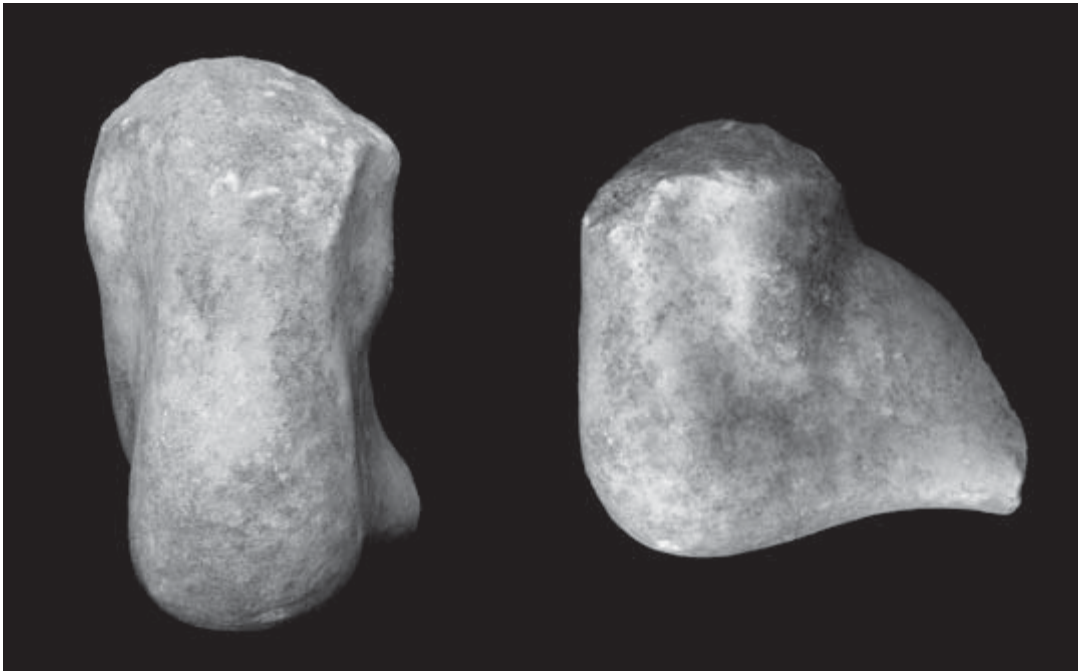


Fig. 18 Over life-size right ankle and foot of Penthesilea. Back and side views. H: 18 cm; W: 17.5 cm; D: 11 cm

Loukou³³, and our installation, in which the Achilles and Penthesilea and Pasquino groups were displayed on opposite sides of the water basin in the Tetrastyle Court of the Hadrianic Baths, at least in their late antique phase, if not also originally in their 2nd c. context (on the identification of the figures comprising the Pasquino group, see pp. 362–364, below)³⁴.

c. Right Ankle and Foot of Penthesilea

Inv. 65-239 is Penthesilea's right ankle and foot (Fig. 18). The statue fragment is preserved from just above the tarsal bones of the ankle to mid-foot. The surface is heavily encrusted. H: 18 cm; W: 17.5 cm; D: 11cm. The fragment was found in the excavations of 1965, in the access tunnel beneath the Tetrastyle Court of the Hadrianic Baths.

The ankle is broken unevenly above the tarsal bones and at mid-foot. The protruding lower swells of the tibia and fibula are clearly indicated. Elsewhere, the modeling of the foot is softer and more gently rounded; even the Achilles tendon does not stand out. In the Loukou replica, the Amazon queen's left leg is preserved wearing a half-boot (see Fig. 9, above)³⁵. The boot is also

³³ On Loukou, see Spyropoulos 2001.

³⁴ The torso of the elder warrior from the Pasquino group was found inside the basin of the Tetrastyle Court, on the north side, near its *in situ* reused plinth. The Pasquino seems to have been displayed as the pendant to the Achilles and Penthesilea group on the other side of the basin. Torso of elder warrior: H: 70 cm. 1st–2nd c. C.E.. *Inv. 67–32*. See: Smith 2007, 223.

³⁵ Spyropoulos 2001, 158.



Fig. 19 Relief panels from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias. Claudius and Britannia (left); Nero and Armenia (right)

attested in other sculpture from Aphrodisias: the *Claudius and Britannia* and *Nero and Armenia* panels from the Sebasteion show both Britannia and Armenia booted (Fig. 19)³⁶. Britannia is particularly relevant, since the iconography of the pairing with Claudius is modeled upon the same Hellenistic format as the full-scale Achilles and Penthesilea statue group discussed here, whereas *Nero and Armenia* belongs to a different iconographical type³⁷. Although no obvious boot lace is extant on our fragment, the scale and notably soft, unarticulated modeling could be attributed to thin boot leather, the contours of which obscure the foot underneath.

The fragment is carved from medium- to coarse-grained white marble with some grayish-blue inclusions. Importantly, there are few tool traces visible. All surfaces, including the bottom of the foot, are evenly worked (Fig. 20). It is extremely unusual for a foot to be finished on all sides. That the artist has done so here suggests that the bottom of the foot would have been visible to the viewer. Penthesilea's right foot, to follow the reconstruction proposed above, extended out behind her, along the upper surface of the plinth. In her collapsed position, supporting herself on her knees, the bottom of the foot would have projected upward and been visible to the viewer.

³⁶ Smith 1987, pls. 14–17.

³⁷ Berger 1992, 300 no. 53a (*Nero and Armenia*); 304 no. 64 (*Claudius and Britannia*). See also Smith in press.

The sculptural technique closely approximates that used for women and/or heroic youths. Given the sculptural style, scale, and findspot, the fragment could at first glance be attributed to either Penthesilea or the deceased figure from the Pasquino group also found at the Tetrastyle Court of the Hadrianic Baths³⁸. This youth, supported by the elder hero, is positioned very much like Penthesilea – collapsed on his knees, his legs dragging behind him. He also would have had the underside of his feet exposed to the viewer. However, the Sperlonga and Villa Adriana replicas clearly show the dead youth's feet resting on, and in fact worked together with, the plinth³⁹, whereas the right foot of Penthesilea would have been overhanging; therefore, it is more plausible that this fragment belongs to Penthesilea.

d. Right Hand of Penthesilea

Inv. 67-31A is Penthesilea's right hand (*Fig. 21*), which does not survive in any other replica and is, therefore, quite important. The hand has been restored from three pieces excavated separately (*Inv. 66-529, 66-636/37*) and today restored. These pieces reveal that



Fig. 20 Over life-size right ankle and foot of Penthesilea. View of sole of foot

³⁸ Smith 2007 loc. cit (n. 33) 223.

³⁹ Wünsche 1991, 17 figs. 19. 20.

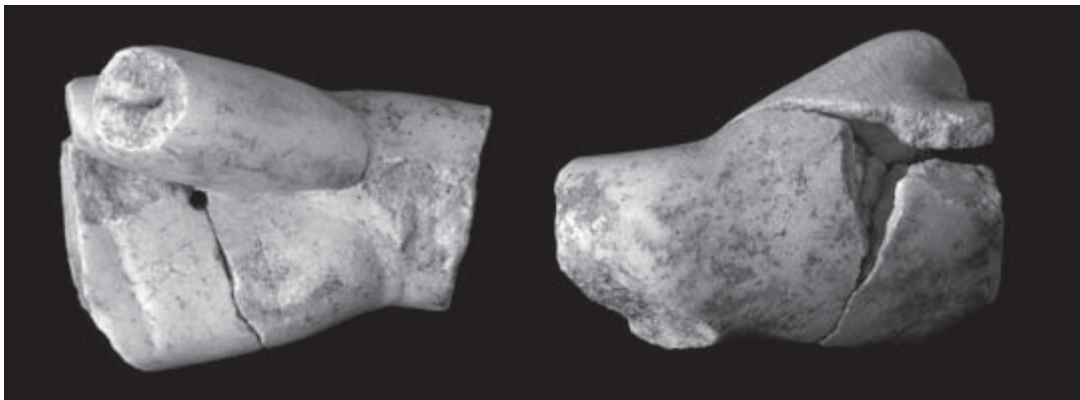


Fig. 21 Over life-size right hand of Penthesilea. Front and back views. H: 16.2 cm; W: 13 cm; D: 8 cm, as restored

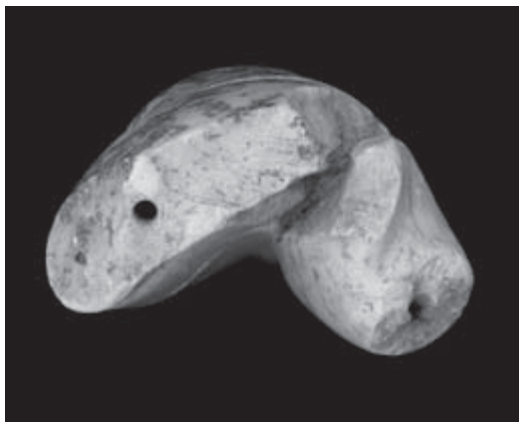


Fig. 22 Detail, ancient repairs to Penthesilea's right hand

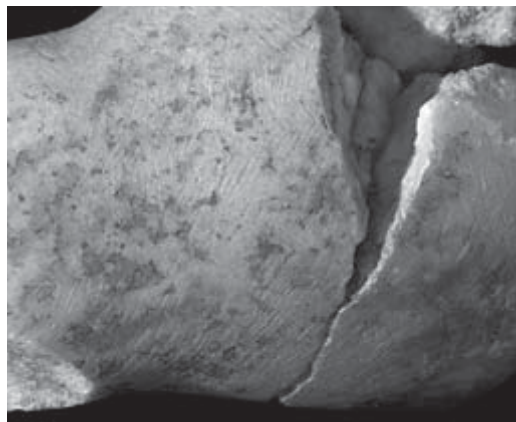


Fig. 23 Detail, rasping on the back of Penthesilea's right hand

the hand, like the statue group itself (see *Ancient Repair and Reworking*, above), was originally carved in the 2nd c. C.E. and then repaired in the late antique period, presumably for the statue group's reinstallation in the Tetrastyle Court. Today, the area from just above the wrist to the upper edge of the metacarpal bones is preserved. The surface is only slightly weathered, and the ancient tool marks are preserved. H: 16.2 cm; W: 13 cm; D: 8 cm, as restored. The fragments were found in 1966, in excavations conducted several meters to the north of the Tetrastyle Court of the Hadrianic Baths. K. T. Erim's handwriting is preserved below the thumb, designating the restored fragments: »Penthesilea's hand«.

It is important to note that the dowel hole in the center of the palm (Dia.: 0.7 cm; D: 1.5 cm) was part of the original phase of the work. A bronze spear or other attribute (an arrow or axe?) would have been attached to Penthesilea's hand at this junction. From the preserved wrist, the hand curves slightly along the line of the palm, cupping whatever was once attached at the dowel hole. Unfortunately, this dowel hole undermined the structural integrity of the hand, and this explains why the hand broke along a fracture line running exactly through the dowel hole. The fingers also broke off at some point, possibly because of the hand's fall.

As a result of this damage, the hand was repaired during the late antique period with precise marble-to-marble joins. The plane of the hand along the upper edge of the metacarpals was smoothed and flattened into a prepared join surface (W: 10.5 cm; H: 6 cm) that was worked evenly with a flat chisel (Fig. 22). A series of three preserved pin holes (Max dia.: 0.5 cm, on the thumb) show where newly-carved fingers were affixed to the hand. No lead pour channels are still visible.

The hand is carved from medium- to coarse-grained white marble with some grayish-blue inclusions. Importantly, tool traces are visible beneath the minimal reddish-brown incrustation. Most surfaces, including the upper left wrist, the palm of the hand, and the underside of the thumb, are evenly polished to a satin finish. In one area, however, a strikingly rough rasp finish is preserved – on top of the thumb and on the back of the hand (Fig. 23). This rasping is conspicuous given the careful repair and piecing of the rest of the hand, and suggests that the restorers in late antiquity saw no need to subject this zone to repolishing; this was because the

back of the hand was not the primary view in either the original 2nd c. context or the late antique display within the Tetrastyle Court.

The rasp marks indicate that the hand was rotated such that the palm faced forward in the preferred view, toward the viewer – a detail that requires the celebrated casts in Basel to be adjusted accordingly. Two reconstructions seem possible. Penthesilea's right arm and hand may have been drooping by her side and grazing Achilles' left leg, as seen in Ernst Berger's first reconstruction of the group, but with her palm turned outward. Alternatively, the dowel hole – and the bronze attachment that it implies – may point to a composition in which Penthesilea weakly gripped a spear or axe⁴⁰ that was slipping from her hand as she collapsed, with her palm turned outward and her hand still held upright, as Berger proposed in his second possible reconstruction of the group⁴¹.

Significantly, the rasping preserved on the Aphrodisias fragment eliminates both Berger's third reconstruction of the statue group and the evidence of the Loukou mosaic as viable options for the positioning of Penthesilea's hand. In his last reconstruction, Berger suggested that the raised arm was bent at a right angle at the elbow, with the hand extending toward Penthesilea's chest⁴². Meanwhile, in the mosaic from Loukou, Penthesilea's right arm is neither raised up nor bent into the chest: it simply falls to the ground, in a line parallel to the left arm. Spyropoulos argues that the Loukou replica confirms this position, since the perceived lack of muscle tension in the preserved upper arm would be the correct accompaniment to a hanging forearm⁴³. However, renderings in mosaic often take great liberties in iconographic details, and the Loukou example is not of the highest quality – the proportions of the figures are skewed, for example, and the angle of Penthesilea's head is incorrect. It is helpful, though, in allowing us to imagine what the statue group might have looked like, with its full panoply of paint (polychromy) in different colors.

To turn back to the Aphrodisias group: the rasping on the back of Penthesilea's right hand is a strong indication that this was not the intended view. Rather, Penthesilea's palm (and with it, her bronze attribute) were meant to be seen from the primary viewing point, standing in front of the group. Whether her hand was raised up or fell to the ground, it was certainly rotated such that the palm faced forward in the preferred view, toward the viewer. The analogy with the *Claudius and Britannia* panel from the Sebasteion suggests that the hand may have been raised upward, with the palm facing out (*Fig. 19*, above)⁴⁴; this is also the general pose given in Berger's reconstruction drawing of 1970⁴⁵.

Ultimately, the posture of the right hand is central to the question of the moment represented: is Penthesilea dead or dying? If dead, then Penthesilea's hand is drooping; if dying, then she

⁴⁰ The axe is preserved in the Loukou mosaic, already fallen from Penthesilea's hand and resting on the ground.

⁴¹ See: Berger 1976, 187–188; Berger 1992, 304 no. 65–66; Berger 1999, 121. Citing the *puntelli* on the chests of Achilles in the Geneva (4) and Centrale Montemartini (3) replicas, Berger suggested that these contact points arose from connections with Penthesilea's raised right arm. *Puntelli* are often left on parts of sculptures where the viewer could easily see them, however, so this argument is by no means infallible. See, as two of many examples, the portrait of Lucius Verus in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Inv. 13.227.1), in which a *puntello* is preserved on the chin or the Discobolos in the Terme Museum, Rome (Inv. 126371), with two *puntelli* on the forehead.

⁴² Berger 1992, 304 no. 66; Berger 1999, 121.

⁴³ Spyropoulos 2001, 156. Spyropoulos' reconstruction is consistent with Berger's first reconstruction. See: Berger 1992, 304 no. 65; Berger 1999, 120.

⁴⁴ Smith 1987, pls. 14–15.

⁴⁵ Berger 1970.

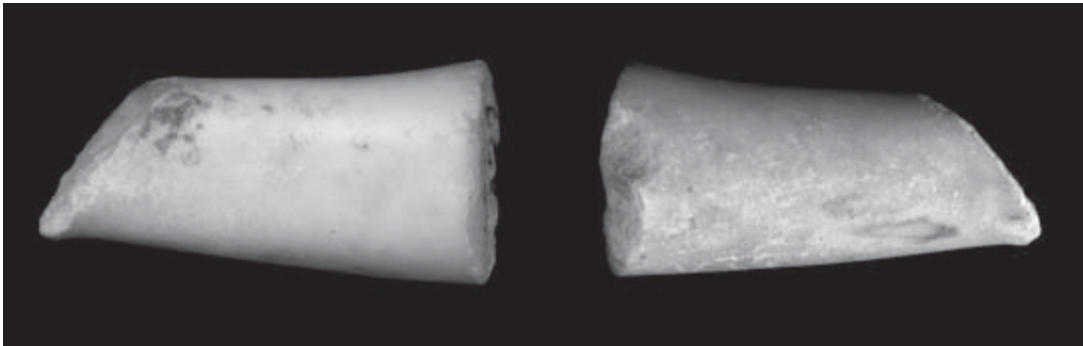


Fig. 24 Over life-size left forearm of Penthesilea. Front and back views. L: 22 cm; W: 11 cm; D: 10 cm

is still holding her hand upright, while a spear or other attribute is slipping out of her grasp. Unfortunately, with the evidence available, one cannot definitively say. But the active muscular tension in the preserved right hand makes it tempting to endorse a reconstruction in which Penthesilea is shown alive but dying, still holding her spear in her forward-facing palm, as this would increase the emotional pathos of the statue group in a manner similar to other Hellenistic compositions⁴⁶. It would also provide a striking pendant to the Pasquino group with which it was paired: Achilles and Penthesilea would epitomize the moment before a tragic death; the Pasquino group the moment afterward. Both would be encapsulated within the preferred view, arriving at the primary entrance to the Tetrastyle Court from the North Agora.

e. Left Forearm of Penthesilea

Inv. 66-273 may be Penthesilea's left forearm (Fig. 24). The fragment is preserved from below the elbow to above the wrist. L: 22 cm; W: 11 cm; D: 10 cm. The fragment was found in the excavations of 1966, while clearing north of the northern wall of the *stypidarium* of the Hadrianic Baths, 2 m. in front of the door.

The forearm is broken below the elbow and above the wrist; the fragment tapers from its widest point, near the elbow, as it moves toward the wrist. The modeling is soft and gently rounded. The sculptural technique (lack of articulation of the veins; subtle modeling, etc.) is that used for women. Given the sculptural style, scale, and findspot, fragment *Inv. 66-273* is probably the left forearm of Penthesilea.

The fragment is carved from medium – to coarse – grained white marble, with some grayish-blue inclusions. The surface has not been badly weathered, and preserves the ancient finish. On the underside of the arm, an area of relatively high polish survives. The upper surface, by contrast, is less polished. The relative degrees of finish indicate that originally, the underside of the arm was turned out toward the viewer, while the upper face was hidden by Penthesilea's *pelta*. This reconstruction is corroborated by the Loukou mosaic⁴⁷ (showing the arm and shield) and

⁴⁶ In fact, precedents for this type of narrative moment date at least to the early Classical period. One of the famous dying warriors from the east pediment of the Temple of Aphaia at Aegina, for instance, is depicted as still alive but dying; although taking his final breaths, he nonetheless still holds his sword, with which he is unsuccessfully trying to prop himself up. See: Ohly 1976, Taf. 67.

⁴⁷ Spyropoulos 2001, pl. 9.



Fig. 25 Over life-size right lower leg and foot of Achilles. Front and back views. H: 36.5 cm; W: 25 cm; D: 12 cm

the Terme replica (preserving the angle of the arm)⁴⁸, both of which show Penthesilea's shield strapped to her left arm.

f. Right Lower Leg and Foot of Achilles

Inv. 66-540 is Achilles' right lower leg and foot (Fig. 25). These have been restored from two pieces; the area from the middle of the calf and shin to the middle of the foot is preserved, as is the marble support under the heel of the foot that originally connected to the plinth. H: 36.5 cm; W: 25 cm; D: 12 cm. The fragments were found in the excavations of 1966, in Room 6 of the Hadrianic Baths.

The leg and foot survive in two fragments (the smaller, upper fragment: max H: 12 cm), today restored. There are no indications that this area of the statue was repaired in late antiquity. Although there are several break surfaces (the largest is in the area at mid-calf: max H: 9.5 cm) and some abrasion of projecting surfaces (e. g. on the swell of the fibula bone at the ankle joint), the original second century finish and tool marks are preserved.

⁴⁸ Berger 1992, 303 no. 59a; Berger 1999, no. 59a.

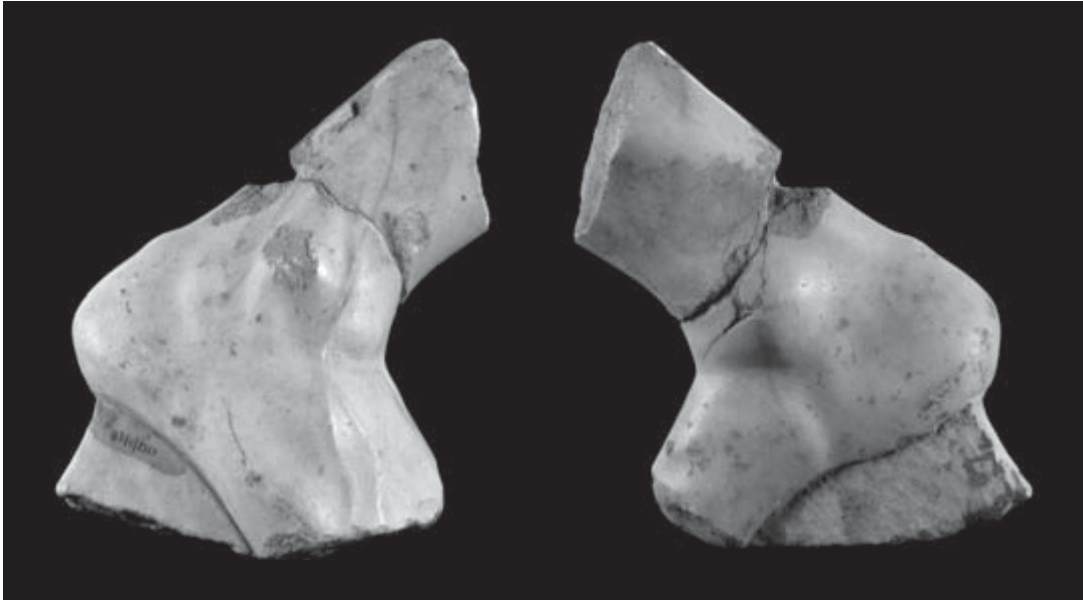


Fig. 26 Over life-size right lower leg and foot of Achilles. Side views

The right foot of Achilles is depicted stepping forward: the toes (now missing) would have touched the plinth, while the heel is raised and is supported by a marble support (max H: 7 cm, as preserved)⁴⁹. The view from the back shows how noticeably Achilles lunges forward, toward Penthesilea. On the outside edge of the foot (Achilles' right), the strut has been finished with a rasp, and a neatly drilled channel delineates the contour line separating the foot and strut. The inner side of the strut, by contrast, was finished only with a flat chisel, and a roughly chiseled line separates the foot from the strut (*Fig. 26*). The sculptor was less concerned with the finish of the left side, which was not the main view, whereas the right side was immediately visible.

The carving of the foot is a superb example of the high-quality carving for which Aphrodisias was famous. The modeling of the foot clearly reveals the swell of the calf muscle and the line of the tibia under the shin, for example. Most impressively, the veins follow the lines of, and emerge from, the natural gray-blue inclusions in the otherwise white marble (*Figs. 25. 26*). The heavily veined and precisely modeled sculptural style mirrors that of Achilles' preserved right hand and, with the scale, findspot, and comparable pose in the replicas from Loukou and the Terme Museum, makes the attribution to this particular statue group certain.

The lower leg and foot are carved from medium- to coarse-grained white marble, with some grayish-blue inclusions (see above). All surfaces of Achilles' anatomy have been smoothly polished to a matte finish, including the underside of the raised heel. Together with the modeling of the muscles and veins, the polish suggests that the artists were concerned with even the most subtle details of viewing on the primary faces of the statue group.

⁴⁹ The same pose is seen in the replicas from Loukou (2) and Settebagni (3).

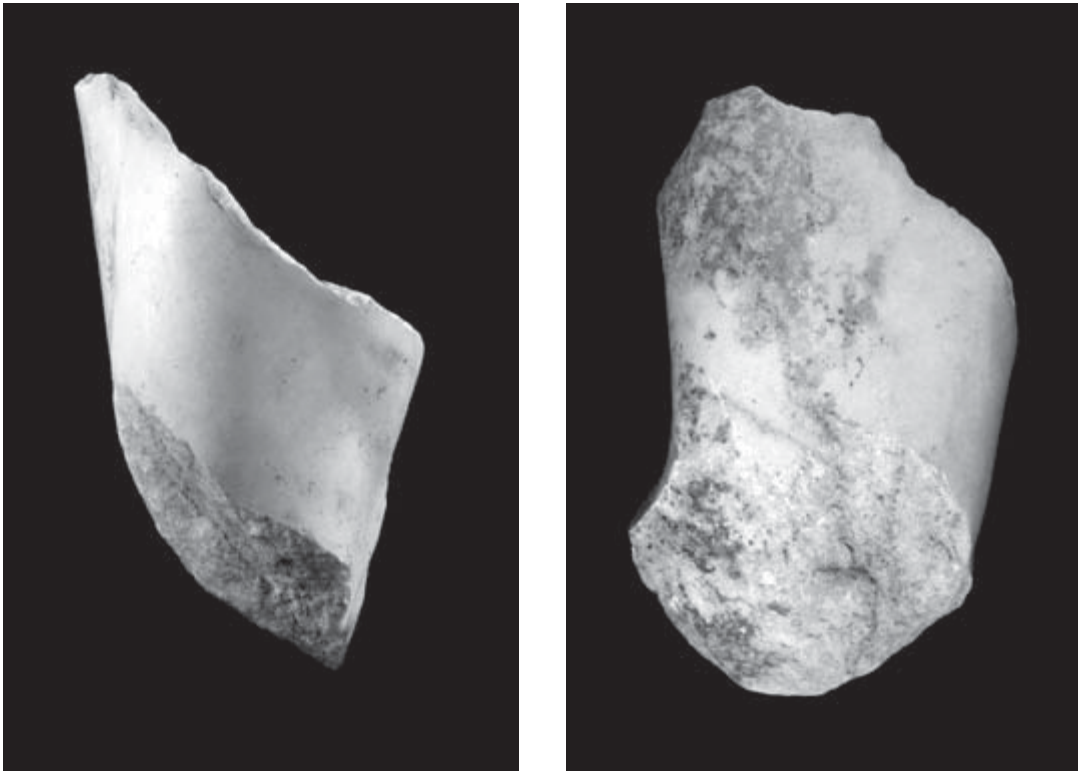


Fig. 27 Over life-size left thigh of Achilles. Front and side views. H: 34 cm; W: 18.5 cm; D: 20 cm

g. Left Thigh of Achilles

Inv. 66-164 is the fragmentary left thigh of Achilles (*Fig. 27*). The piece is sheared off so that its highest point is at the inside of the leg, at the middle quadriceps muscle; the thigh extends down to just below the back of the knee. H: 34 cm; W: 18.5 cm; D: 20 cm. The fragment was found in the excavations of 1966, in the *»tepidarium«* of the Hadrianic Baths. It was discovered while clearing the room along its west side.

The thigh is preserved in a single fragment of medium- to coarse-grained white marble with some grayish-blue inclusions. The surface is not badly weathered, and the thigh preserves its light ancient polish. The surviving portions of the thigh and knee indicate that the leg was originally bearing weight and slightly bent, as befitting Achilles' pose as he steps forward toward Penthesilea. On the upper surface of the fragment, the contraction of the quadriceps above the junction with the kneecap is preserved. On the lower face, the ligament connecting the back of the knee to the upper calf muscle may be imagined as the cause of the slightly projecting spur in the marble.

b. Lower Part of Penthesilea's Helmet Crest and Part of Her Phrygian Cap

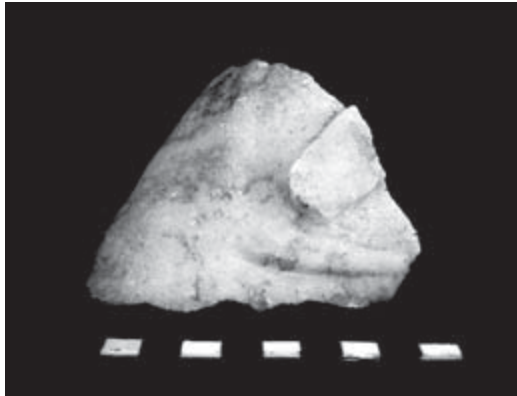


Fig. 28 Penthesilea's helmet crest and part of Phrygian cap. Side view. H: 9 cm; W: 10 cm

Inv. 66-396 is the lower section of Penthesilea's helmet crest and part of her Phrygian cap (Fig. 28). The piece today is broken into an approximately equilateral triangle (H: 9 cm; W: 10 cm). The fragment was found in the excavations of 1966, at the northeast end of the north wall of the Hadrianic Baths, but its current location is unknown.

The cap is preserved from a single piece of medium- to coarse-grained white marble with some grayish-blue inclusions. The surface has not been badly weathered, and retains its ancient finish. The surviving fragment preserves the lower portion of Penthesilea's helmet crest, as well as part of the Phrygian

cap worn together with the helmet. Although extremely fragmentary, something of the original arrangement may be understood through comparison with other representations of the group. A relief in Basel, for example, shows Penthesilea garbed in a combination of crested helmet and Phrygian cap underneath⁵⁰. The tail of Penthesilea's Phrygian cap would have flowed out from under the helmet and down her back.

II. THE APHRODISIAS STATUETTE

An important piece of evidence that has not been properly published previously is a statuette of the Achilles and Penthesilea group (see Fig. 2, above)⁵¹. The statuette provides valuable information about the group's reconstruction and proves that there was a replica series of Achilles and Penthesilea at Aphrodisias, as there is for other statue types excavated at the site. Indeed, this type of precise replica series is something at which sculptors from Aphrodisias seem to have excelled; examples of various sizes of the *Old Fisherman*⁵², *Satyr with Baby Dionysos*⁵³, and *Aphrodite Seated on a Rock*⁵⁴, survive⁵⁵.

Extant state: The statuette of the Achilles and Penthesilea group is preserved in three fragments, today partially restored: 1.) torso of Penthesilea (*i.* Inv. 75-230. H: 12 cm; W: 12 cm; D: 9 cm); 2.) head of Penthesilea, including the left hand of Achilles (*ii.* Inv. 76-090. H: 11.5 cm; W: 8.4 cm; D: 11.8 cm); and 3.) torso of Achilles (*iii.* Inv. 79-23-671. H: 19 cm; W: 19 cm; D: 11 cm).

⁵⁰ Berger 1992, 302 no. 58g.

⁵¹ See Berger 1992, 303 no. 61d for a brief mention of the work.

⁵² Smith 1998, 253–255 figs. 1–3; van Voorhis 1999; Smith 2011, 72–75 fig. 4.14.

⁵³ Rockwell 1991, 129–131. 134 figs. 4. 5; Smith 1998, 255–258 figs. 6. 7; van Voorhis 1999; Smith 2011, 72–75 fig. 4.15.

⁵⁴ van Voorhis 1999.

⁵⁵ Moreover, from »practice pieces« excavated in the Sculptor's Workshop (e. g. more than ten »practice feet« have been found *in situ* there), it is clear that apprentices gained valuable experience through the carving of a repeated motif. It, therefore, seems unlikely that the artist(s) responsible for the Theater Baths replica would vary the canonical lines of the full-scale statue group. See: van Voorhis 1998, 175–192.

The first two fragments have been joined together (H: 33.5 cm, as restored) and are on view at the Aphrodisias Museum; the third is in museum storage.

The fragments were all found in 1975/76, during the excavations in the area of the Theatre Baths. The torso of Penthesilea was recovered in the ›East *Aula Termale*‹, while the corresponding head was found the next year in a trench southeast of the Baths. The findspot of the torso of Achilles is unknown. Given the under life-size scale of the statuette, it is possible that it originally decorated a house nearby the Theatre Baths.

The torso of Penthesilea is broken at the neck and arms, but otherwise survives to the waist. The head neatly fits with the break at the upper torso. The nose, chin, and upper right section of the head and hair are, however, missing, as is the curved tip of Penthesilea's Phrygian cap. Importantly, the second fragment, the head of Penthesilea, also includes Achilles' left hand supporting her head; the fingers are clearly preserved on the viewer's right (Penthesilea's left), against the fabric of the cap (*Fig. 29*). Penthesilea's head is sharply bent to the viewer's right, and her eyes are open and stare outward (*Fig. 30*).

The torso of Achilles is broken at the neck and arms, and in a diagonal line extending from the right armpit to the left side of the waist. Although the *balteus* and scabbard are preserved, they are badly abraded. On the left shoulder, a strut is preserved; presumably this once supported Achilles' left arm and/or shield. Also on the left shoulder, a somewhat crudely carved area of raised marble indicates where Achilles' helmet crest and hair met the shoulders.

Technique: The preserved hand of Achilles on Penthesilea's Phrygian cap suggests that the statuette was carved from a single block of medium- to coarse-grained white marble with some grayish undertones. The surface is badly chipped, especially in projecting areas (e. g. Penthesilea's nose, Achilles' scabbard), but preserves its original high polish; the front side of the statuette in particular maintains the high polish characteristic of the later Roman period. Overall, the details of the group are summarily rendered.

The statuette was carved with an emphasis on the frontal view. Whereas the front is highly polished, for instance, the back of the statuette preserves rasp marks. Achilles' *balteus*, on the front, is decorated with a neatly incised border in rasp finish, as though to suggest stitching or a different colored metal, whereas in the back, the sword belt is left roughly flat chiseled, without a decorative edging. Indeed, the edges of the sword belt are somewhat less well articulated, and are not clearly differentiated from the flesh of the back itself.

The modeling of the figures is relatively schematic in comparison to the statuette's full-scale pendant from the Hadrianic Baths. Achilles' abdominal muscles, for example, are somewhat diagrammatic. An incised, flat chisel channel divides his right arm from the chest. Flat chisel marks are also preserved along the edges of both Achilles' and Penthesilea's sword belts. There is no surviving evidence of the drill, even in Penthesilea's hair.

Description: In its essential composition, the statuette is quite similar to the canonical larger replicas of the Achilles and Penthesilea statue group. It is, therefore, quite useful as a comparison to the full-scale group from the Hadrianic Baths, both to corroborate existing details and to fill in lacunae in the latter, since it is logical to assume that the sculptor(s) of this smaller, later version closely followed the composition of its larger antecedent.

Although fragmentary, the composition of the statuette is clear. Penthesilea, fatally wounded, falls to the ground. Achilles extends his left hand from behind, to support her head as she col-



Fig. 29 Detail, Achilles' left hand supporting Penthesilea's head

lapses⁵⁶. Both Penthesilea's head and the left hand of Achilles, enmeshed in Penthesilea's hair, are unique details that are not preserved on the full-scale replica from the Hadrianic Baths⁵⁷. These details clearly show Penthesilea's head listing to her left. As with the full-scale replicas

⁵⁶ It seems likely that the Achilles of the full-scale statue group also extended his left hand to grasp Penthesilea's Phrygian cap (I. h). That Achilles' hand reaches out to grasp Penthesilea's head implies one of two possibilities: either the original Hellenistic bronze did this too, in which case the Roman marble replicas faithfully copied this detail; or alternatively, this was a modification on the part of the Roman copyists at Aphrodisias, who wanted to increase the pathos of the episode rendered, or who needed to adjust the composition of the group due to the tensile strength of the stone (without Achilles' hand touching Penthesilea's head, a large strut would have been necessary to support the former as it extended outward).

⁵⁷ In fact, the Aphrodisias statuette is the only replica to show these details with the exception of the full-scale head of Penthesilea in Basel (12) and the half life-size group from Byblos (14).

Fig. 30 Detail,
Penthesilea's open and
staring eyes



of the group, the statuette captures the moment when the Amazon queen is weakening from her mortal injury; she is wilting to the ground without the strength left to keep her head fully upright or her legs beneath her. Achilles steps into this breach, his left arm behind her head, and his right arm underneath her corresponding limb. All the while, Achilles must remain vigilant; his head is turned to look out at the clashing conflict still ongoing on the battlefield, as though to defend Penthesilea against unseen enemies.

Notably, as with the head in Basel and group from Byblos, Penthesilea's head remains upright, with her eyes open in pain or fear (see *Fig. 30*, above). Penthesilea is still alive, even if she is sinking to the ground under the weight of her wounded body. The head of the clearly deceased youth in the Pasquino group, by contrast, droops decidedly backward (*Fig. 35*). This critical detail supports our view that sees Penthesilea as dying, rather than already dead, and presumably still weakly holding a bronze attribute in her right hand.

III. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE STATUE GROUP AND ITS CONTEXT

The Aphrodisias statue group is a superb example of the virtuoso marble carving for which the city and its artists were famous. With the exception of Penthesilea's lower right leg and foot, the statue is carved from a single block of white marble. Details were then emphasized through bronze attachments, applied polychromy, and the manipulation of natural color changes in the marble, as with the veins on Achilles' right foot, the lines of which follow the thin, gray-blue inclusions in the otherwise white marble. The sculpted marble, bronze, and painted details presented a dynamic, pyramidal composition to the viewer.

By combining the unique and well-preserved evidence from Aphrodisias – the full-scale replica from the Hadrianic Baths and the statuette from the Theater Baths – one can reconstruct the composition of the original Hellenistic bronze⁵⁸. Achilles is represented lunging forward to assist Penthesilea. His right foot (I. f; *Figs. 25, 26*, above) steps forward (the toes are on the ground; the heel lifted), while his left is braced firmly on the ground to support Penthesilea's weight. Achilles' right arm grasps Penthesilea's upper right arm, while his left supports her head, his hand being entwined within her hair and against her Phrygian cap (I. h and II. ii; *Figs. 28, 29*, above). Judging by the fragment of his helmet still preserved over the left shoulder, Achilles' head was turned sharply to the right (*Fig. 5*, above): he may be imagined looking out over the battlefield at Troy, ready to ward off any attacking opponents. Penthesilea, meanwhile, is mortally injured from the sword wound highlighted under her right breast (*Fig. 12*). She is collapsing to the ground, her legs buckling under her (I. c). Her eyes remain open, alert and cognizant of her imminent death (II. ii; *Fig. 30*), even as the attribute that she held loosely in her upright, right hand (I. d; *Fig. 21*) is slipping from her grasp. Her left arm falls straight to the ground.

It should be noted that the current restoration of the Achilles and Penthesilea group on display in the museum at Aphrodisias (done in the 1970s) is not accurate in all respects. As mentioned above, the original joint between Penthesilea's torso and Achilles' left leg (evident in excavation photos; see *Fig. 4*, above) has been obscured by epoxy. Indeed, both Achilles and Penthesilea should be positioned more intimately and dynamically with respect to one another. Achilles' torso, as seen in the replica from Loukou, ought to be twisted more decisively toward Penthesilea – the emphasis should be on the enveloping support that he brings her. Penthesilea, meanwhile, is pitched too far forward on the reconstructed plinth in the Aphrodisias Museum. Her right arm ought to be brought closer to and higher up on Achilles' chest. In fact, as currently restored, Achilles' arm would have to be of impossibly long proportions in order to join with the preserved right hand under Penthesilea's right arm. Finally, the part of the ancient plinth that survives has been supplemented with a flat modern fill to create a perfectly horizontal surface. Comparison with the Loukou and Terme replicas suggest that the ancient plinth was actually pitched downward and to the right, toward the viewer, while excavation photos of the preserved plinth show that Penthesilea leans toward her proper left.

It is important to consider the Aphrodisias replicas within the context of the larger body of Roman replicas to which they belong. A central question is to what extent the works from Aphrodisias and/or other examples may be understood to faithfully represent the Hellenistic

⁵⁸ The Loukou replica seems to depart from others in terms of sculptural style. The helmet crest and hair of Achilles, for example, are more flamboyant than those of the preserved heads in Geneva or Basel. Our replica is comparatively old-fashioned in the execution of certain details such as the hair. See: Spyropoulos 2001, 129–158 pls. 5–9.

Fig. 31 Findspot plan of the sculptural decoration of the Tetrastyle Court of the Hadrianic Baths at Aphrodisias

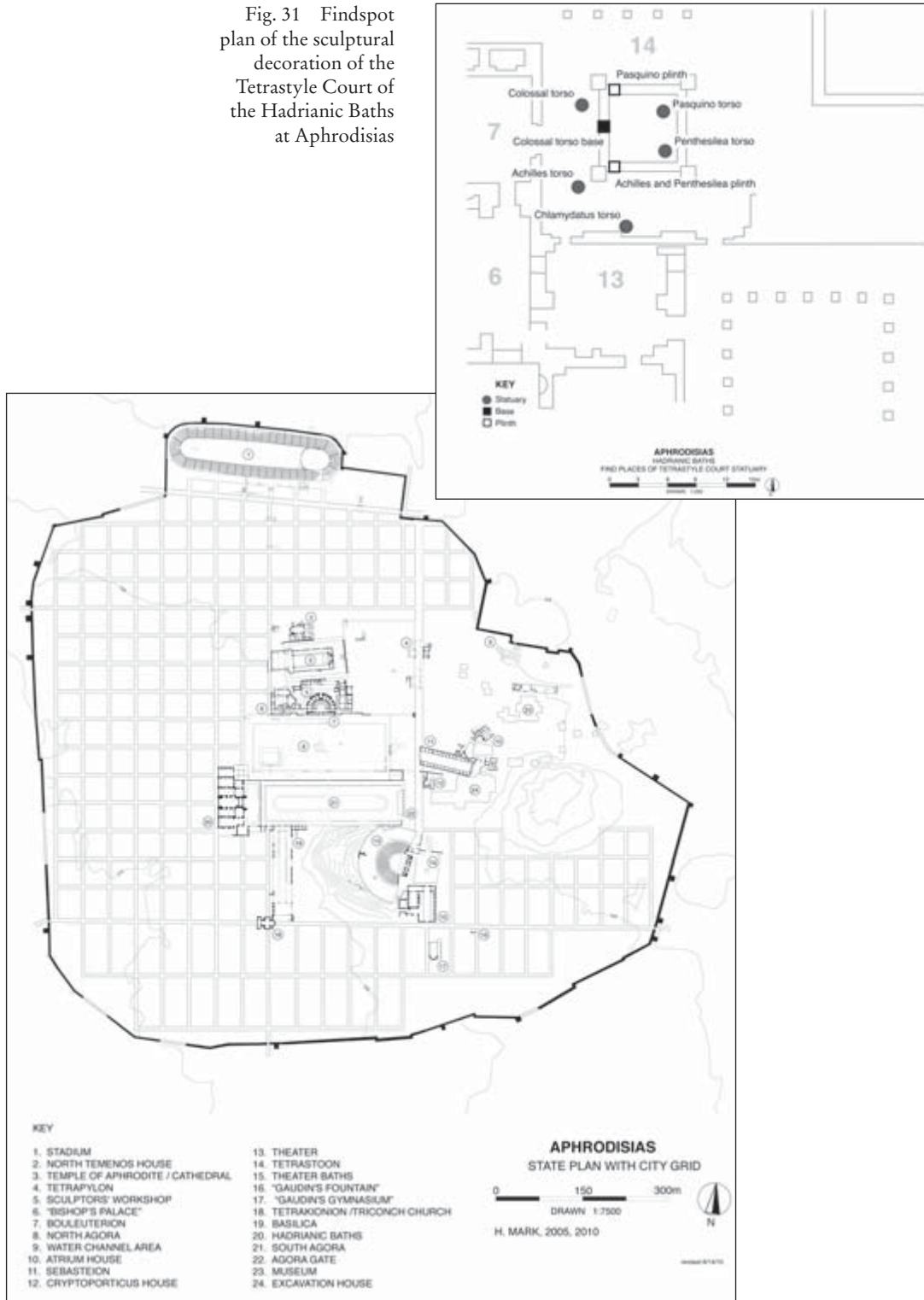




Fig. 32
Detail, cement fill
between column
base and statue
base of the Tetra-
style Court

original. The statue group from Loukou is particularly important, given that this is the only instance in which Achilles' head is still attached to his torso. The Loukou work, therefore, corroborates the sideways twist of Achilles' head discerned, in the case of the Aphrodisias statue group, from the preserved helmet crest over the left shoulder (see above)⁵⁹. The statue groups from Aphrodisias and Loukou – as well as the torso of Achilles today in Geneva – are also critical in the reconstruction of his overall pose. The torso today in the Centrale Montemartini is a variant that differs from the others in the fuller and more muscular modeling of the torso, as well as in the shape and line of the obliquely hanging *balteus*. In terms of Penthesilea's general pose, the works from Aphrodisias can be directly compared with the examples from Loukou and those today in the Terme Museum and in Afyon. In all of the above, Penthesilea is represented collapsing to the ground, with both knees touching the plinth. In the Aphrodisias replicas (both the statue group and statuette), her sword band disappears on the back under her mantle, but there is no uniform tradition in this respect. The same arrangement is reproduced in the Terme, Palazzo Borghese, and Loukou replicas, whereas both the Afyon and Byblos replicas show the

⁵⁹ Of the extant heads of Achilles listed above, the heavily damaged head in the Vatican (11) – although it appears to belong to the group – offers little evidence for the proper reconstruction of the statue group. The Geneva head (8) is also heavily damaged. Significantly, the head in Madrid (9) is characterized by a similar skull shape, *anastole* hairstyle, and stylistic treatment of facial features as the head of Achilles in the replica from Loukou. It is from the heads in Madrid and from Loukou that one gains the best sense of the Hellenistic original. In terms of Penthesilea's head, the example today in Basel (12) is the only full-scale version extant. It is important to note that Penthesilea's neck in the Palazzo Borghese version (7) is a modern restoration and should not be taken as evidence for the ancient arrangement and angle of Penthesilea's head.

sword band visible on the right shoulder, from where they proceed across Penthesilea's back toward the left side. Of course, the mosaic from Loukou (19) is also critical to our understanding of the original statue group, since this is the only extant version that preserves the complete composition (albeit rendered in two dimensions).

To turn to issues of ancient display context: the Achilles and Penthesilea group was found near the reused lower plinth of the statue base (W: 112 cm; D: 130 cm) on which it had been displayed as part of a larger sculptural ensemble within the Tetrastyle Court of the Hadrianic Baths (*Fig. 31*)⁶⁰.

In late antiquity, the Tetrastyle Court's pool was remodeled with a low parapet screen wall running between the columns (waterproof cement filled the gaps between the upper *torus* of the Ionic column bases and parapet; [*Fig. 32*]) and sculpture was moved here. In the center of the west side of the water basin, reused upper and lower parts of an inscribed statue base were joined to form a new base for a figure surviving as a well over life-size nude male torso wearing a chlamys (*Fig. 33*)⁶¹.



Fig. 33 Colossal nude male torso with chlamys. View of plaster cast today on view in the Tetrastyle Court

⁶⁰ Smith 2007, 216. 223. 225.

⁶¹ Colossal nude male torso, with chlamys over left shoulder, preserved from neck to knees. H: 188 cm. 1st–2nd c. C.E. Found on the west side of basin beside reused base. See: Erim 1967, 67–79 fig. 14; Manderscheid 1981, 99 no. 252 pl. 34.

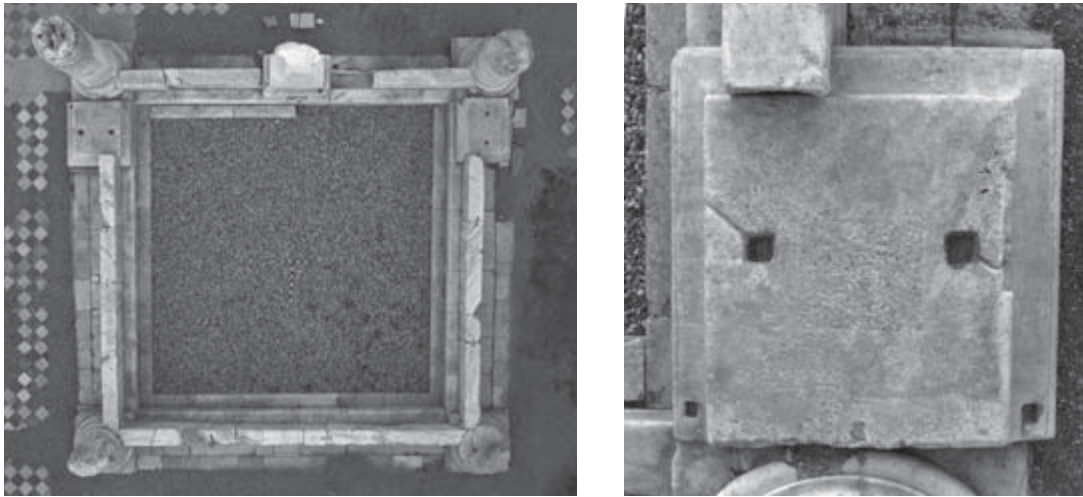


Fig. 34 The Tetrastyle Court of the Hadrianic Baths at Aphrodisias. Aerial view (left) and detail (right) of statue bases for Achilles and Penthesilea and Pasquino Groups

On the north and south sides are two reused bases for heroic groups, both of which are still *in situ* (Fig. 34)⁶². Achilles and Penthesilea stood on the south base. Found on the opposite, north side of the fountain basin was the Pasquino group, of which only a fragment of the standing figure's torso, with its *balteus*, is preserved (Fig. 35)⁶³. Finally, a fifth century *chlamydatus* portrait (a governor or local notable with his two children [Fig. 36]) formed the final part of the eclectic sculptural ensemble in this period⁶⁴. The various identities of these sculptures are discussed below.

The over life-size nude torso faced east, toward the primary entrance to the Baths; that is, from the main public square of Aphrodisias, the North Agora (Fig. 37). On the basis of the dimensions of the reused statue base (W: 112 cm; D: 130 cm) and those of the conjectured statue group (W: 90 cm; D: 115 cm⁶⁵), it is probable that the Achilles and Penthesilea group also faced east, toward the North Agora. Given the extant cuttings on the statue base (large dowel holes and lead pour channels that extend to the very edges of the block), the plinth for the Achilles and Penthesilea group must have been relatively large, covering most of the upper surface of the statue base. Yet even with a plinth of such a size, Penthesilea's right foot surely would still have been shown hanging off the west side of the plinth, near the southwest column of the Tetrastyle Court.

While the identities of the elder and younger heroes comprising the Pasquino group are somewhat controversial (see Fig. 35), it is worthwhile briefly summarizing the debate, given the Pasquino's arrangement as a pendant to the Achilles and Penthesilea. The Pasquino group

⁶² Both the north and south bases were reused in the Tetrastyle Court in late antiquity to support the sculpture groups; their original context is unknown.

⁶³ Torso of elder warrior from the Pasquino group. H: 70 cm. 1st–2nd c. C.E. Found inside the fountain basin, on the north side, near *in situ* reused plinth. See: Erim 1967, 68.

⁶⁴ Manderscheid 1981, 98 no. 240 pl. 33; Smith 2007, 216–218 figs. 21–27; Gehn 2012, 194–204. 431–436.

⁶⁵ The conjectured depth of the statue group is a combination of the preserved depth of the statue plus another 35 cm for Penthesilea's lower right leg and foot.



Fig. 35 The Pasquino Group. Restored group in the Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence (left) and preserved torso of the elder warrior from the Tetrastyle Court of the Hadrianic Baths at Aphrodisias (right)

is traditionally recognized as either Menelaos with the body of Patroklos⁶⁶ or as Ajax with the body of Achilles⁶⁷. The *Iliad* is the basis for identifying the Pasquino warriors as Menelaos standing »astride the body [of Patroklos], protective as a heifer who has dropped her firstborn calf,«⁶⁸ whereas the *Little Iliad* suggests that the Pasquino group may represent the moment when »Ajax lifted up the warrior son of Peleus [Achilles] and carried him out of the fighting«⁶⁹.

The latter identification is evocative given the juxtaposition of the Pasquino group with the Achilles and Penthesilea at the Villa of Herodes Atticus, Loukou, where both groups were also depicted in polychrome mosaic⁷⁰. According to Philostratus, Achilles was one of Herodes' three beloved foster sons and, like the epic hero himself, died tragically young⁷¹. Ajax, meanwhile, was the mythical and eponymous founder of the Attic tribe to which Herodes Atticus' fam-

⁶⁶ Schweitzer 1936, 53–60 pl. 1; Fuchs 1963–72, I 127 no. 170; Pollitt 1986, 118; Kell 1988, 79; Ridgway 1989, 177–178; Smith 1991, 104–105; Moreno 1994, 379–385. Andreae 1994 has argued that the Sperlonga replica, at least, represents a variant of the group adapted to its setting within the grotto; he identifies the warriors as Odysseus with the body of Achilles. Weis 1998 and Weis 2000, meanwhile, suggests that the group depicts Aeneas and Lausus.

⁶⁷ Hausmann 1984, 291–300; Wünsche 1991, 7–38, esp. 22–33; Himmelmann 1995, 13–14; Balensiefen 1996, 75–103; Sauron 1997; Green 2000, 166–190, esp. 184; Stewart 2005, 127–170, esp. 135–142. 153; Maiuro 2007, 165–246.

⁶⁸ Hom. *Il.* 17, 1–6.

⁶⁹ *Little Iliad* fr. 2.

⁷⁰ Spyropoulos 2001, 129 pl. 9.

⁷¹ Philostr. *soph.* 2, 1, 558–559; IG II 3977 and 13195.

ily belonged⁷². The Pasquino group, therefore, could have been an effective representation of Herodes Atticus' mythical ancestors and family members, Ajax and Achilles, set to dynamic effect within the villa⁷³.

To extrapolate further, one might note that Ajax's rescue of Achilles' body was a popular theme in ancient art, and indeed the Pasquino motif was used to illustrate it on the »*Tensa Capitolina*«, a late-antique cart revetted with scenes from Ajax's life⁷⁴. The *Tensa Capitolina* is exceptional, however, as it is the only ancient monument extant that associates this episode with the Pasquino iconography; in the many other examples documented, Ajax carries Achilles over his shoulder⁷⁵. Potentially also against the interpretation in favor of Ajax and Achilles are several other problems: first, the nudity of the dead hero (Achilles' armor was, famously, the source of contention between Ajax and Odysseus only after his body had been taken from the battlefield)⁷⁶; and second, the wounds of the corpse (best seen on the Vatican replica from the Villa Adriana; these do not seem to correspond to the famous injury to Achilles' heel)⁷⁷.

Thus, despite the problems with Schweitzer's identification⁷⁸, the Patroklos association has some ground: Patroklos was a special friend, much-loved by Achilles, and his death sparked Achilles to rejoin the Trojan War. In such a reading, the Achilles and Penthesilea and the Pasquino groups would have been particularly effective pendants, with their complementary subject matter and poses emphasizing the death of those dear to Achilles, and foreshadowing the hero's own demise. But the identification as Ajax and Achilles is no less compelling; Penthesilea's tragic death would still, effectively, presage Achilles' own.

The well over life-size scale of the torso with chlamys, for its part, indicates that this was an emperor, a god, or a hero (see *Fig. 33*, above). An emperor is impossible, given the fact that the length of the preserved hair is too long. The well developed musculature suggests a senior deity. Poseidon would be a fitting subject for a statue erected in a bath fountain installation, and in fact the pose of the preserved torso is very close to an identified Poseidon statue format, known in an example today in Madrid⁷⁹. Interestingly, the reused statue base on which the torso was displayed may have been chosen precisely because its original inscription draws connections to water when it mentions that the unnamed benefactor set up, among other things, a Triton and water pipes⁸⁰. The inscription faces the pool of the Tetrastyle Court and may have been left visible to the viewer, outlined in red paint, rather than being covered over with stucco.

⁷² Philostr. *soph.* 2, 1, 546; Suda H 545; Ameling 1983, I 3–14 and II n. 2, 37–38; Maiuro 2007, 185–186.

⁷³ Stewart 2005, 153; Maiuro 2007, 186.

⁷⁴ Simon 1963–72 II, 357–360 no. 1546; Himmelmann 1995, 14 pl. 22b.

⁷⁵ Touchefeu 1981, 334; Kossatz-Deissmann 1981, 192.

⁷⁶ See, among others, Little *Iliad* fr. 2; Hom. *Od.* 11, 617–649; *Soph. Ai.* 40–45.

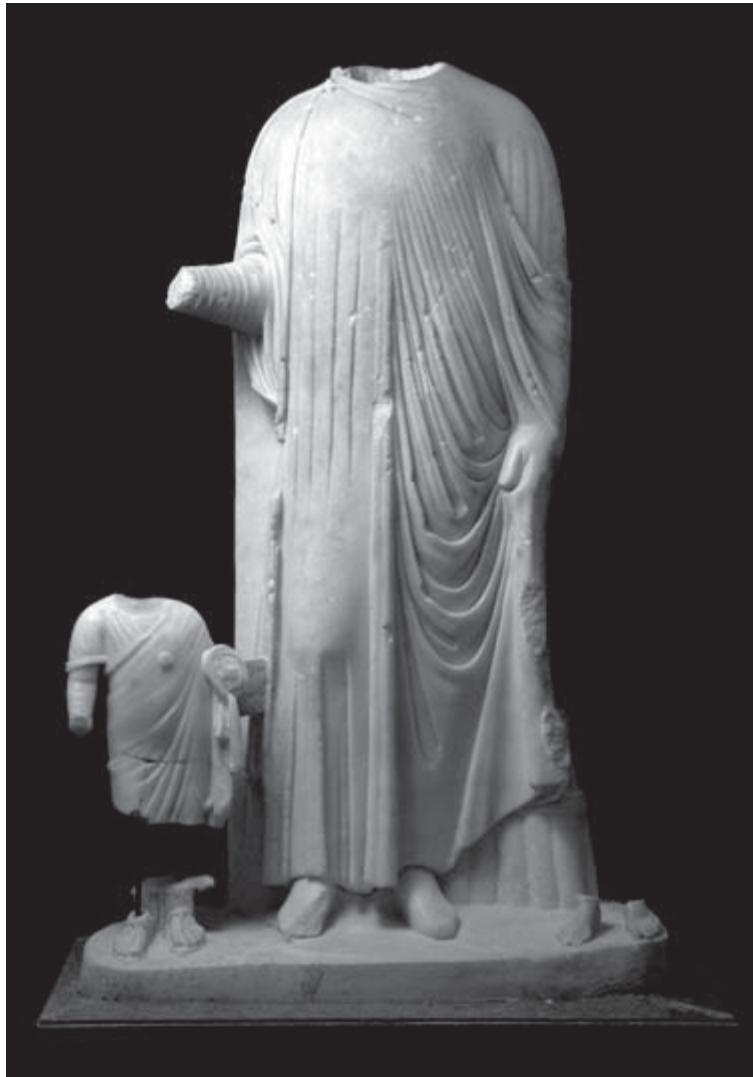
⁷⁷ Schweitzer 1936, 54; Moreno 1994, 381. For a rebuttal of these points, see: Hausmann 1984, 293–295; Wünsche 1991, 22–25.

⁷⁸ The similarities between the Homeric image and the statue group are striking, but there are also inconsistencies between Homer's descriptions of Menelaos and Patroklos and the sculptural depiction of the Pasquino warriors: the youth and slightness of the younger warrior are not well suited to Homer's Patroklos (*Hom. Il.* 11, 786–787), who is older than Achilles and one of the foremost of the Achaians, and Patroklos' fatal wound was in the back, not on the chest. See: Schweitzer 1936, 51–53; Ridgway 1990, 277; Wünsche 1991, 18–21.

⁷⁹ Simon 1992, 452 no. 31.

⁸⁰ Smith 2007, 225. The benefactor dedicated »the Herakles and the Triton and the L[ion?] at his own expense, together with the pipes and the whole water (-supply) to the bath«.

Fig. 36 Chlamydatus portrait of a man with his two children



It has also been suggested that the torso represents Achilles, or at least was identified as him in late antique times⁸¹. If so, and if the Pasquino may be identified as Ajax with the body of Achilles, then the ensemble at the Hadrianic Baths of the Achilles and Penthesilea, the Pasquino, and the colossal torso would have had a unified theme, creating a kind of »*Achilleum*«, of sorts. At least, the installation might have been perceived in that way to a late antique audience, regardless of the original identity of the individual sculptural pieces.

The figure depicted in the *chlamydatus* statue wears a typically late antique chlamys with a long-sleeved chiton and boots pointed at the toe – the usual costume of a governor (Fig. 36, above). On the other hand, no other late antique *chlamydatus* statue survives in which the

⁸¹ Smith 2007, 217.



Fig. 37 View from the North Agora to the Tetrastyle Court of the Hadrianic Baths at Aphrodisias

honorand is represented alongside his two children. Thus, this statue may commemorate a local benefactor with his family. In such a scenario, his distinctive clothing, once reserved exclusively for governors (as seen in the portrait of Oecumenius from Aphrodisias, c. 400 C. E.; [Fig. 38]⁸²), could have begun to be used by members of the local elite more generally in Asia Minor by the mid-5th century. This person, whether the governor or a local aristocrat, could well have been the benefactor of the Tetrastyle Court's renovation in this period⁸³ and, with it, the restoration of the Achilles and Penthesilea statue group as documented above. If so, then he could have been drawing upon models from Rome or Constantinople, such as the Baths of Caracalla⁸⁴ or Zeuxippos⁸⁵, respectively, to create a statuary installation at Aphrodisias combining honorific portraits with decorative statuary including tragic, Homeric subjects, which were popular in the late antique period⁸⁶.

⁸² Smith 1999, 162–165 pl. 2; Smith 2002, 134–156; Gehn 2012, 194–204. 412–425.

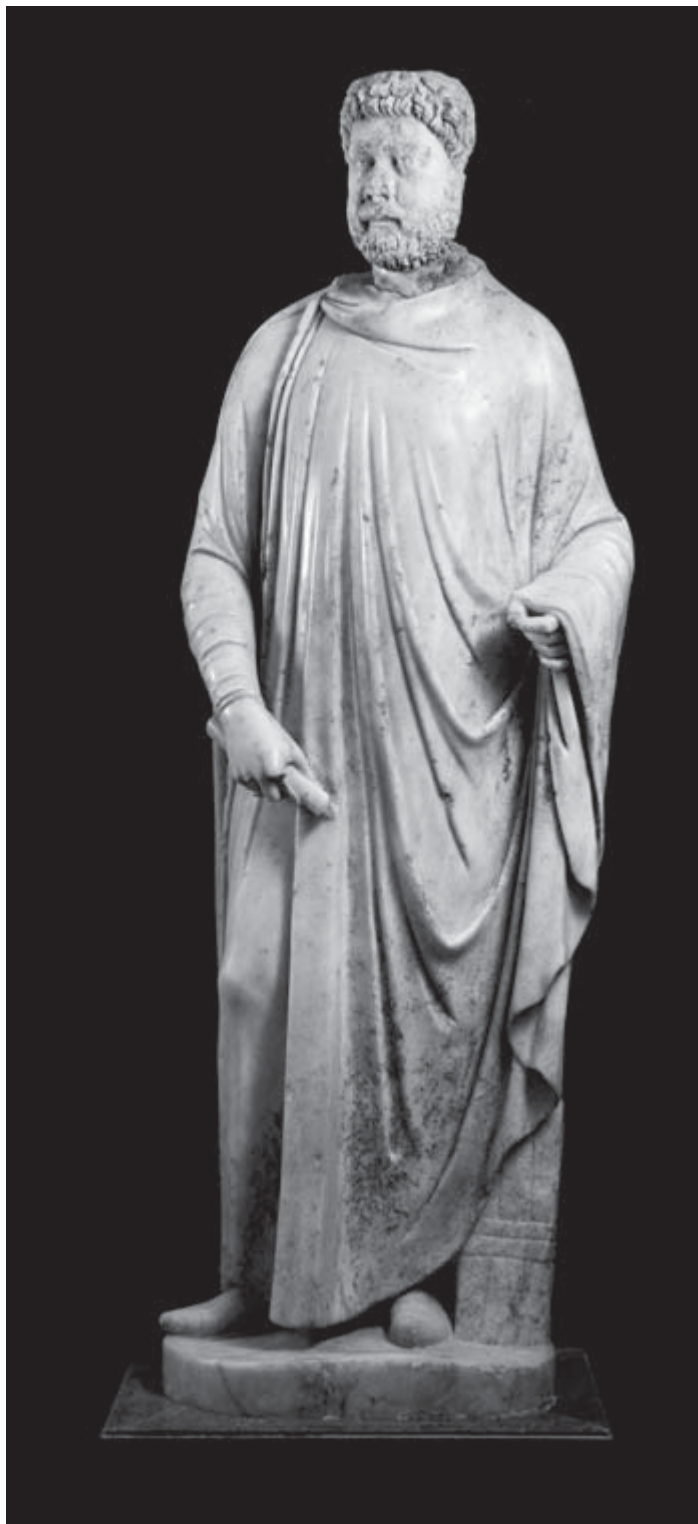
⁸³ Smith 2007, 217.

⁸⁴ On the sculptural program of the Baths of Caracalla, see: Marvin 1983, 347–384; Gasparri 1983–84, 133–150; Ghirardini 1991, 212–220; Gensheimer 2013.

⁸⁵ Guillard 1966, 261–271; Stupperich 1982, 210–235; Bassett 1985; Bassett 1994, 51–58. 160–185; Bassett 1996, 491–506, esp. 502–504; Anth. Pal. 2, 102–107. Three types of statues were used in the decoration of the Baths of Zeuxippos: images of gods and demigods, mythological heroes (mostly from the Trojan cycle), and portraits of famous Greeks and Romans.

⁸⁶ Bassett 1996, 504 n. 72.

Fig. 38 Portrait
of Oecumenius



That the Achilles and Penthesilea group was restored and kept on public display speaks for its importance in the late antique narrative of Aphrodisias. During this time, baths across the Empire were the recipients of sculpture moved to them from elsewhere, as civic infrastructure decayed and public buildings fell into disuse and ruin. Baths, because they were maintained and used well into the late antique period, were the logical setting for sculptures' reuse. This late redecoration of baths is widely attested through inscriptions⁸⁷ and literary sources, as well as by archaeological evidence⁸⁸. Unfortunately, inscriptions rarely specifically state which statues were saved and displayed in their new setting⁸⁹. But in the case of the Hadrianic Baths at Aphrodisias, the late antique decoration of the Tetrastyle Court is securely known.

While this remains uncertain, one might conjecture that the well over life-size torso, the Pasquino group, and the Achilles and Penthesilea could have all stood within the Baths from the time of their completion in the second century. In fact, ongoing excavation in the area of the Tetrastyle Court has revealed the original staircases connecting the Court and the west stoa of the North Agora (dated to the 1st c. C.E.; [Fig. 39]). That the Court and the Agora were built integrally strongly suggests that the late antique interventions in the Tetrastyle Court were largely cosmetic. In such a scenario, the Achilles and Penthesilea group could have always anchored the visual axis extending from the Court to the Agora, so that a viewer walking down the west stoa, toward the Tetrastyle Court, would have always seen the virtuoso Achilles and Penthesilea dominating the line of sight into the Court (Fig. 39, above). Such a hypothesis must, however, be made with caution, given that the existing statue base is spoliated, a larger block taken from elsewhere and reused in the Tetrastyle Court to support the Achilles and Penthesilea group.

A second and more likely possibility is that the Achilles and Penthesilea, as well as the Pasquino group, was set up in the Tetrastyle Court only in late antiquity, after it had been saved from elsewhere in the city and following its refurbishment. If so, Achilles and Penthesilea's restoration and relocation would follow a pattern seen elsewhere at Aphrodisias in the late antique period: at the Basilica, for instance, an over life-size group of Achilles and Troilos was moved there in this period⁹⁰.

It is quite possible that the patron of the Achilles and Penthesilea group's restoration was the man honored with the *chlamydatus* statue that stood nearby: if so, then this local notable, in his preservation of the city's sculpture, would be the equivalent of the urban prefects who did the same for the sculpture relocated to the imperial *thermae* of Rome and Constantinople. At the Baths of Caracalla, for example, four inscriptions attest to statues being erected by the urban prefect, C. Ceionius Rufus Volusianus, in honor of Valens and Valentinian⁹¹. Likewise,

⁸⁷ Yegül 1992, ch. 8; Smith 2007, 207 n. 17. In the western provinces, statues taken from *loci sordentes*, *loci abditii*, and *squalentes ruinae* in the 4th and 5th centuries were usually moved to decorate fora, porticoes, basilicas, and baths. See, for example, CIL X 3714: *signa translata ex abditis locis ad celebritatem thermarum Severianarum* (probably from Puteoli/Campania).

⁸⁸ In Cherchel, Algeria, for example, the excavators of the Western Baths discovered four statue bases with inscriptions stating that they had been *translata de sordentibus locis*. See: Gauckler 1895, 60. In Aphrodisias, a greater density of late antique statue activity, encompassing major renovation and redecoration, is documented at the Hadrianic Baths than at any other complex within the city. See: Smith 2007, 207–209.

⁸⁹ de Rossi 1865, 5–8 suggested that these were cult statues removed from temples, a suggestion repeated by Lanciani 1899 and others. Unfortunately, it is unknown what, exactly, ornamented some reused statue bases. See also: Chastagnol 1960, 347. 367.

⁹⁰ Smith 2012b, 57–73.

⁹¹ CIL VI 1170–1173.

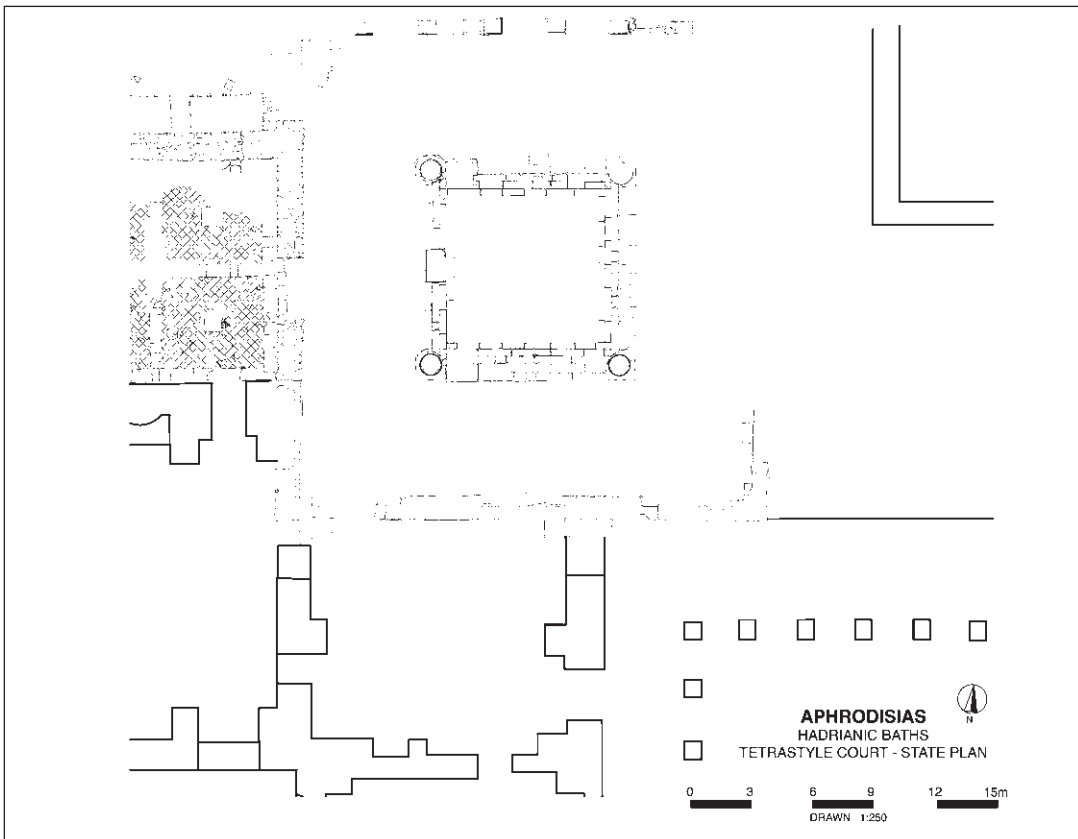


Fig. 39 The staircases connecting the North Agora and the Tetrastyle Court. As seen in state plan (top) and excavation photograph (below)

five inscriptions documenting sculptural dedications by various urban prefects are preserved from the Baths of Trajan Decius⁹².

Indeed, the patron of the Tetrastyle Court could well have been looking to cosmopolitan models: the privileged axis of viewing from the North Agora to the Tetrastyle Court, as proposed above, like the subject of the statue group itself, finds parallels in the larger imperial *thermae* of Rome. At the Baths of Caracalla, for example, sculpture was strategically displayed along the primary and transverse axes of the building in order to animate and prioritize the statues' preferred views. Thus, the Hercules Farnese stood between the *frigidarium* and Room 14 (an antechamber leading toward the *palaestra*), while the Farnese Bull dominated the line of sight from the main bathing block toward the east *palaestra*⁹³.

As a final hypothesis, one might suggest that the fact that the Achilles and Penthesilea group and the Pasquino were paired as pendants at Aphrodisias, at least in their late antique phase – as were also the high imperial replicas at Loukou – may indicate that the two original bronze Hellenistic groups were also displayed as pendants⁹⁴.

CONCLUSIONS

At Aphrodisias, it appears that some overly zealous Christians were uncomfortable with the nudity of various pagan sculptures found throughout the city. At the Tetrastyle, for instance, a nude Aphrodite in the west tympanum was defaced in late antiquity, with a crudely carved cross prominently inserted in its place⁹⁵. Similarly, several relief panels of the Sebasteion in which nude gods and heroes appear were the victims of genital defacing⁹⁶. It is tempting to associate the twice-broken penis of Achilles with the same type of deliberate damage. If so, then the patron of its restoration, possibly the figure depicted in the *chlamydatos* statue, was ultimately unsuccessful in his efforts to restore the statue group to its original condition. Although the penis and left arm had been repaired, and the statue group was displayed in a relatively »safe« context within the enclosed expanse of the Hadrianic Baths, the statue group was eventually deliberately damaged again, when the genitalia was defaced⁹⁷. Notwithstanding mutilation at the

⁹² CIL VI 1159–1160. 1167. 1192. 1659.

⁹³ Marvin 1983, 355–357. 367–368.

⁹⁴ Grassinger 1999, 327; Ridgway 2000, 82 n. 38. In a similar vein, ten statues of disparate but overlapping subjects discovered in Rome in 1514 are argued to be replicas of the so-called Lesser Attalid Dedication, given both shared findspot and technically uniform stylistic criteria. The Roman replicas, represented by a dead Amazon, dead Giant, dead Persian, and dying Gaul in Naples; a kneeling Persian in the Vatican; a kneeling Persian in Aix-en-Provence; a kneeling Gaul in the Louvre; and a dead Gaul, falling Gaul, and kneeling Gaul in Venice, are dated to the first quarter of the 2nd c. C. E. but are argued to replicate a Pergamene dedication of c. 200 B. C. E. See: Palma 1981, 45–84; Stewart 2004, 181–189. 218–220.

⁹⁵ Paul 1996, 201–213 fig. 2.

⁹⁶ e. g. Achilles and Penthesilea: both Achilles' penis and Penthesilea's breasts were defaced; »Heroic couple«: both penis and breasts defaced; Herakles and Antaios: Antaios' penis defaced; Io and Argos: both penis and breasts defaced; Herakles, Nessos, and Deianira: both Herakles' penis and Deianira's breasts defaced. Two pagan gods, Zeus and Athena, were more systematically destroyed: their entire bodies, not simply their genital areas, were defaced with a rough point chisel. See: Smith 2012a.

⁹⁷ For the broader phenomenon of genital defacement of bath sculpture by Christians in the late antique period, see: Hannestad 2001, 67–77. For the specific example of genital defacement of statues of an athlete, Apollo, Aphrodite, and a group of Dionysos with a satyr from the Baths of Faustina, Miletus, see: Schneider 2009, 121–141.

hands of Christians, however, there can be no greater testament to the Achilles and Penthesilea group's enduring importance and artistic allure to Aphrodisias than its continued display and refurbishment in the late antique period, a time of great cultural change and conflicting political and religious agendas within the city.

Abstract: One of the highest-quality replicas of the Achilles and Penthesilea group was excavated at Aphrodisias in 1966–1967. Recent research has identified additional fragments belonging to the group. Study of these fragments clarifies our knowledge of this important replica and its Hellenistic original.

The Aphrodisias replica was discovered in its late antique context, in the Tetrastyle Court of the Hadrianic Baths. The Achilles and Penthesilea was juxtaposed with a replica of the so-called Pasquino Group and a nude male torso wearing a chlamys. All three statues faced east, toward the main square of the city, the North Agora. Our study elucidates the thematic intent behind this sculptural ensemble and the poignancy of the contrast between Penthesilea and her pendant, the young warrior in the Pasquino group.

The material from Aphrodisias, together with its known find context, allows for new reconstructions of a major Greco-Roman statue group and elucidates this statue's repair and display throughout the fifth century C. E.

DIE ACHILLES-PENTHESILEA-STATUEN-GRUPPE VOM TETRASYL-HOF DER HADRIANSTHERMEN IN APHRODISIAS

Zusammenfassung: Eine der qualitativ hochwertigsten Kopien der Achilles-Penthesilea-Gruppe wurde bei Ausgrabungen 1966–1967 in Aphrodisias gefunden. Durch die jüngeren Forschungen war es möglich dieser Gruppe weitere Fragmente zuzuordnen. Die Untersuchungen dieser Fragmente bereichern unser Wissen bezüglich dieser wichtigen Kopie und ihrem hellenistischen Original.

Die Kopie aus Aphrodisias wurde in ihrem spätantiken Kontext gefunden, dem Tetrastyl-Hof der Hadriansthermen. Aufgestellt war die Achilles-Penthesilea-Gruppe dort gegenüber einer Kopie der sogenannten Pasquino-Gruppe und einem nackten männlichen Torso, der eine Chlamys trug. Alle drei Statuen blickten nach Osten in Richtung des Hauptplatzes der Stadt, der Nord-Agora. Unsere Untersuchung verdeutlicht die thematische Absicht hinter diesem statuarischen Ensemble und die Intensität des Kontrastes zwischen Penthesilea und ihrem Pendant, dem jungen Krieger der Pasquino-Gruppe.

Das Material aus Aphrodisias, im Zusammenhang mit dessen bekanntem Fundkontext, ermöglicht neue Rekonstruktionen einer bedeutenden griechisch-römischen Statuengruppe und gibt Aufschluß über die Reparatur der Figuren und deren Aufstellung im 5. Jh. n. Chr.

APHRODISIAS HADRIAN HAMAMLARININ TETRASIL AVLUSUNDAN
AKHILLEUS-PENTHESİLEA HEYKEL GRUBU

Özet: Akhilleus-Penthesilea grubunun en üstün nitelikli kopyalarından biri, 1966–1967 kazılarında Aphrodisias'ta bulunmuştur. Son araştırmalar sayesinde de başka parçaların da bu gruba ait olduğunu saptamak mümkün oldu. Bu parçaların incelenmesi bu önemli kopya ve onun Hellenistik orijinali hakkındaki bilgilerimizi zenginleştirmektedir.

Aphrodisias kopyası Geç Antik konteksti içinde, Hadrian hamamlarının Tetrastil avlusunda bulunmuştur. Ayağa kaldırılan Akhilleus-Penthesilea grubu orada, Pasquino grubu olarak adlandırılan grubun bir kopyasının ve khlamys giymiş çıplak bir erkek torsosunun karşısında bulunmaktaydı. Her üç heykel de doğuya kentin merkezine doğru, Kuzey Agora'ya bakmaktadır. İncelememiz bu heykel topluluğunun ve Penthesilea ile eşi, Pasquino grubunun genç savaşı arasındaki kontrastın yoğunluğu ardındaki tematik amacı aydınlatmaktadır.

Aphrodisias malzemesi, bilinen buluntu kontekstiyle birlikte, önemli bir Yunan-Roma heykel grubunun yeni rekonstrüksiyonunu mümkün kılmakta ve MS 5. yüzyılda figürlerin onarımı ve ayağa kaldırılması üzerine bilgi sağlamaktadır.

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