

A STATUE OF LIBER PATER FROM APULUM (ALBA IULIA)¹

More than a decade ago, in 1989, I came almost accidentally upon one of the most spectacular archaeological discoveries I have ever made: within a few hours a huge number of marble fragments from statuettes, reliefs and inscriptions was found in an evaluation trench intended to locate the western limit of the municipium/colonia Aurelia Apulensis. It was the last day of the excavation and I was assisted only by my younger colleague and friend, Marius Oprea. I came back the following year with a larger team and until 1992 worked to unearth the western half of a rectangular precinct belonging to the shrine of Liber Pater². The best of all the finds was a statuary group depicting Dionysus with a panther and Pan, which was efficiently restored and soon exhibited at the local museum of Alba Iulia, yet without an inventory number. Although the piece was mentioned several times³, it never became the object of the extensive study it deserved, mainly because for a long time I considered it appropriate to be published only in the context of the other finds from the same sanctuary. Now I realize that I was wrong to keep it „half published“ for years, so here is a detailed presentation of it⁴.

¹ In this article the following abbreviated literature is used:

Diaconescu, Haynes, Schäfer 2001 = Al. Diaconescu, I. Haynes, A. Schäfer, *The Apulum Project. Summary report of the 1998 and 1999 seasons*, in *The Impact of Rome on Settlement in the Northwestern and Danube Provinces* (St. Altekamp, A. Schäfer ed.), BAR, Int.Ser. 921, Oxford 2001, p. 115-128.

Diaconescu, Piso 1993 = Al. Diaconescu, I. Piso, *Apulum*, in *La politique éditiltaire dans les provinces de l'empire romain* (D. Alicu, H. Boegli ed.), Cluj Napoca 1993, p. 67-82.

Fuchs 1983 = W. Fuchs, *Die Skulptur der Griechen*, München 1983.

Gasparri 1986 = C. Gasparri, *Dionysos / Bacchus*, in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mitologiae Classicae III*, Zürich-München 1986, p. 433-566.

Marquart 1995 = N. Marquart, *Pan in der hellenistischen und kaiserzeitlichen Plastik*, Bonn 1995.

Müller et alii 1997 = H. Müller, B. Schwaighofer, M. Benea, I. Piso, Al. Diaconescu, *Provenience of marble objects from the Roman province of Dacia*, in *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes*, 66, 1997, Beiblatt, p. 431-454.

Müller and collab. 1997 = H. Müller, B. Schwaighofer, M. Benea, *Appendix: Geochemische Untersuchung von römischen Marmorobjecten aus Apulum*, Rumänien, in Schäfer, Diaconescu 1997, p. 216-218.

Müller et alii 2001 = H. Müller, B. Schwaighofer, M. Benea, I. Piso, Al. Diaconescu, *Greek Marbles in the Roman Province of Dacia*, in *Archaeometry Issues in Greek Prehistory and Antiquity* (Y. Bassiakos, E. Aloupi, Y. Facorellis ed.), Athens 2001, p. 199-211.

Pochmarski 1974 = E. Pochmarski, *Das Bild des Dionysos in der Rundplastik der klassischen Zeit Griechenlands*, Wien 1974.

Reinach = S. Reinach, *Repertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, Paris.

Schäfer, Diaconescu 1997 = A. Schäfer, Al. Diaconescu, *Das Liber Pater Heiligtum von Apulum*, in *Reichsreligion und Provinzialreligion* (H. Cancik, J. Rüpke ed.), Tübingen 1997, p. 195-218.

Todisco 1993 = L. Todisco, *Scultura greca del IV secolo. Maestri e scuole di statuaria tra classicità ed ellenismo*, Milano 1993.

Zanker 1973 = P. Zanker, *Klassizistische Statuen*, München 1973.

² For the general location and a short account see Diaconescu, Piso 1993, p. 69; for a more detailed examination of the finds, see Schäfer, Diaconescu 1997. In 1998 the excavations were reopened in frames of an international project aiming to investigate extensively the shrine and its surroundings (see Diaconescu, Haynes, Schäfer 2001).

³ Schäfer, Diaconescu 1997, p. 201, 212 and Abb. 1; Müller et alii 1997, Abb 1; Diaconescu, Haynes, Schäfer 2001, Fig. 4; Müller et alii 2001, Fig. 5.

⁴ The complete monograph of the site will be produced by I. Haynes, A. Schäfer and myself, assisted by the supervisors Cl. Melisch, J. Sewell, D. Bogdan and by a team of around 20 specialists, starting with the autumn of 2003, the excavation campaign of 2003 being the last planned.

Statuary group depicting Liber Pater/Dionysus with a panther to the right and with Pan to the left (Fig. 1-3, 7 a-b, 11 and 12).

Fine grained, white marble from Aphyon, in central Phrygia⁵. Maximum height 58 cm (plinth 23,5 x 16 cm x 4 cm).

The statuary group was found in 1989 and 1990, broken into 33 fragments. The most affected parts were the plinth and the left arm of the god, with the *thyrsos*. Portions of the left forearm, as well as the frontal half of the left foot sole with the toes, were never found and are now restored. The sole of the left foot was found in such a poor state because the plinth of the statuary group was originally fixed on its pedestal by three iron studs (rectangular in section), one of them being placed exactly under the left foot. The plinth itself was found shattered into many pieces; it had been either hammered or violently shaken in order to tear it out of the niche in which the statue was originally located. The neck of Liber Pater was also broken, probably by hitting the head of the statuette against a solid object. As a result, the left nostril and the upper lip were damaged (they are not restored). The arms are broken immediately under the armpits. Additionally, the right hand holding the *kantharos* was broken from the wrist and the left elbow and forearm were smashed into pieces, as well as the hand with the *thyrsos*. The legs were broken from above the ankles (the left one additionally from under the knee). The same fracture can be traced at the bottom of the supporting tree trunk and at the paws of Pan. The panther was broken into two and Pan was also found separately. His right hand is missing and was not restored. The *thyrsos* was broken into three pieces. Parts of the left hand and of the ivy crown were dashed during the discovery, but were immediately put together and finally properly restored. All these finds were spread around an altar or statue base of limestone, together with fragments of other statuettes and reliefs. The excavator's impression was that all these cult objects had been smashed against the limestone base, which was eventually overturned towards the south⁶. It is obvious that the destruction of the statuary group was intentional; the first suspects for this act of vandalism are the early Christians, who might have taken advantage of the lack of public authority after the retreat of the Roman army and officials, or of the decay of the sanctuary which would have been progressively abandoned by its worshippers. The remains of broken statuettes, reliefs and plates with inscription were covered by a collapsed roof, which produced a thick layer of well preserved tiles. Because of the humidity in the soil the upper face of all marble fragments was washed and a crust of precipitated calcium carbonate was formed on the bottom side.

The group had been repaired in ancient times, when the left paw of the panther and the left hand of Pan were each removed and replaced with new ones, held in place by studs. In antiquity, the face and body of Liber Pater were carefully polished and contrasted with the rest of the sculptural surfaces. The statuette was also painted⁷.

The restoration of the whole group was carried out with very good results at the regional laboratory of the National Museum of History of Transylvania (see the separate account of D. Boroş in this issue).

The statuette (Fig. 1) depicts Liber Pater/Dionysus, the god of wine and vegetation, leaning upon the *thyrsos* and pouring wine to a panther from a *kantharos*.

⁵Müller et alii 1997, sample Ap 30; Müller and collab. 1997, p. 217.

⁶No foundation for this altar/base was found, so it is not sure whether it was placed originally there, on the axis of the rectangular structure, near its western wall, or not.

⁷During the restoring traces of red paint were found on the lips and on the head of the *thyrsos*, and of brown paint on the hair.

He is about to step forwards, leading the *thiasos* (the Dionysian train advancing on India). To his left, a small Pan seems determined to accompany the god, who appears in a majestic pose. Liber Pater is wearing only a goat skin, *nebris*, which is knotted on the right shoulder, leaving most of the chest and belly naked. He is crowned with an ivy wreath, placed on the top of his head. On both sides over the forehead there is a group of three leaves from which the ivy fruits (*korymboi*) are emerging. The hair dress is typical, the hair being brought together in a loop at the back of the head and then falling in twisted curls on the shoulders. There is no additional ribbon holding the hair together, as there is in many other cases.

The pose is very elegant, with an accentuated *contrapposto*, the right foot supporting most of the weight of the body (a secondary point of support is provided by the *thyrsos*). The disposition of the body segments illustrates the „chiastic“ rules of composition.

„*Chiasmos*“ was a rhetoric figure of style which consisted in combining opposite elements to obtain diagonally (as the Greek letter „chi“ = X) a good

balance between different parts. Thus the right leg, which is taut because it supports most of the body weight, is balanced crosswise by the left arm which is taut too, in order to lean on the *thyrsos*. The left leg, which is bent and relaxed, is successfully opposed by the right arm which is also bent. The pose is by no means static, the right hip being moved to the side and pushed forwards (to assume the whole body weight, which is normal when stepping forwards)⁸, while the left foot is placed well behind, with the heel raised and touching the ground only with the front of the sole and with the toes. The exterior disposition of the right hip determines the transition of the shoulders to the left and thus creates the need for an external support, the *thyrsos*. The artist who conceived this group had a

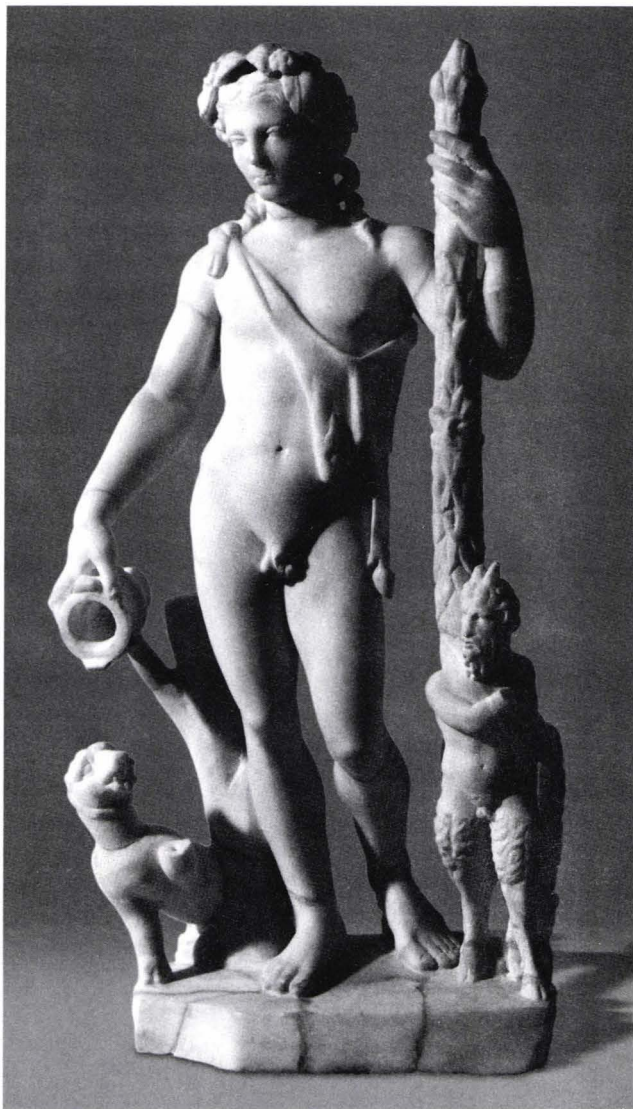


Fig. 1. Statuary group of Liber Pater, Pan and panther found in the sanctuary at Apulum

⁸ A detailed study of this movement by R. Tobin, *The Pose of the Doryphoros*, in Polykleitos, the Doryphoros and Tradition (W. G. Moon ed.), Wisconsin 1995, p. 55-56.



Fig. 2. The same Apulum group



Fig. 3. The same Apulum group



Fig. 4. Bronze statuette from Olympia

good three-dimensional vision, because he did not just balance up and down hips and shoulders in one plane, but he also twisted the body, moving the same points forwards and backwards. Thus the right hip, which is raised, is also pushed forwards, and the left hip, which is lowered, is pulled back at the same time. Consequently the shoulders follow an opposite movement, with the right one lowered and pulled back and the left shoulder raised and pushed forwards. The position of the head is the clue to the whole composition. The head is slightly turned to the right and bent, thus describing an „S“-shaped line from the forehead to the heel of the left foot. The only vertical element in the whole scheme is the *thyrsos*. The artist who carved this group from one block must have known in advance the precise position in space of all key elements, in order to obtain such a perfectly balanced stance.

Apparently this chiastic ponderation is Polykleitan. Seen from behind (Fig. 2), our god has a quite athletic, strong build, which also indicates a Classical model. In fact, despite the common opinion⁹, around 470-450 BC the statuary type of a naked Dionysos with boots and in a chiastic pose already existed, as proven by a bronze statuette (H = 22.5 cm) coming probably from Olympia and now at the Louvre (Fig. 4)¹⁰. The very pose

⁹ See for instance Gasparri 1986, p. 509-512.

¹⁰ Encyclopédie photographique de l'art III. Le Musée du Louvre, Paris 1938, p. 82 A; Cl. Rolley, *Les bronzes grecs*, Fribourg 1983, p. 154, fig. 151; Fuchs 1983, p. 84-86, Fig. 76/77; P. C. Bol, in Polycleit, *der Bildhauer der griechischen Klassik*. Ausstellung im Liebighaus, Museum alter Plastik, Frankfurt am Main, Mainz 1990, p. 509, no. 4; J. M. Hurwit, *The Doryphoros: Looking Backward*, in Polykleitos, the Doryphoros and Tradition (W. G. Moon ed.), Wisconsin 1995, p. 8, fig. 1.7.

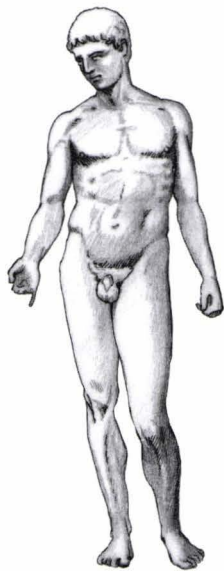


Fig. 5 a. "Discobolus"
(bronze statuette
from Louvre)

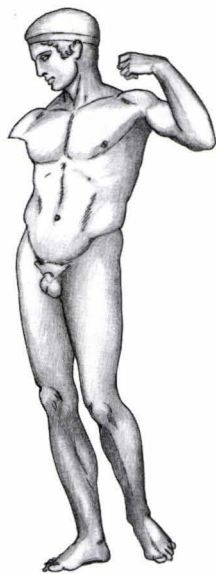


Fig. 5 b. "Diadumenos"
(replica from Madrid)

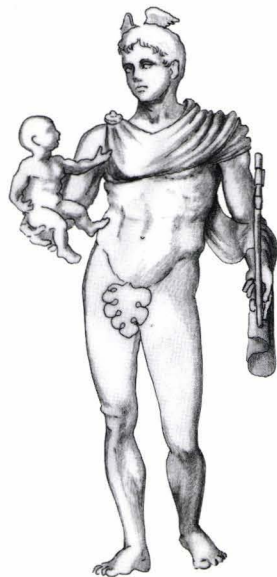


Fig. 6. "Hermes with
Dionysos" (formally Boboli
gardens in Florence)

of the Dionysus from Apulum, with *kantharos* and *thyrsos*, is attested by a Cilician stater, issued at the end of the 5th - the beginning of the 4th century B C. The only difference is that the half naked god wears there a mantle which is passed behind and held on the forearms, in the manner of the so-called „Hüftmantelstatuen“¹¹. Yet a Dionysus by Polykleitos could not be identified among the extant Roman replicas, which are merely re-elaborated images of the „discobolus“ or of the „doryphoros“¹².

At first sight it appears that the scheme of the Dionysos from Apulum combines the right side of the „discobolos“ with the left side of another Polykleitan work, the „diadumenos“ (see Fig. 5 a-b)¹³, but the right hip, which is extremely pushed to the side, suggests another model of the same Argive sculptor, the „Hermes with the divine child“ (Fig. 6). This group was taken by

¹¹ C. Arnold-Biucchi, *Reflections of Polykleitos' Works on Ancient Coins*, in Polykleitos, the Doryphoros and Tradition (W. G. Moon ed.), Wisconsin 1995, p. 227 and note 71; fig. 12.51.

¹² The statue of Liber Pater from Hadrian's villa in Tivoli was considered for some time a genuine copy of a Polykleitan original, but in fact it represents the „discobolos“ with a goat skin and a female hair dress. Even if it is not easy to accept that a „connoisseur“ such as Hadrian would have contented himself with a counterfeit, the modelling and the contemporary hair dress leave no doubt about the statue nr. 622 from the Museo Nazionale Romano (for the whole discussion see Pochmarski 1974, p. 89-94. Only Todisco 1993, no. 196, holds this statue for an adaptation after Euphranor). On the other hand, the statue from the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen is a typical „doryphoros“ turned into a Dionysus, which leaves no doubt about its model (D. Kreikenbom, *Bildwerke nach Polyklet. Kopienkritische Untersuchungen zu den männlichen statuarischen Typen nach polykletischen Vorbildern. Diskophoros, Hermes, Doryphoros, Heracles, Diadumenos*, Berlin 1990, p. 167, no. III/16, pl. 141-142).

¹³ T. Lorenz, Polyklet, Wiesbaden 1972, p. 24-28; M. Weber, *Der Speer des Doryphoros und die Binde des Diadumenos von Polyklet*, in AA 1992, p. 1-6; B. S. Ridgway, *Paene ad exemplum: Polykleitos' Other Works*, in Polykleitos, the Doryphoros and Tradition (W. G. Moon ed.), Wisconsin 1995, p. 187-188.



Fig. 7 a-b. The head of Liber Pater from the Apulum group

Hellenistic and Roman copyists as the model for statues representing monarchs and great generals¹⁴.

Yet the Apulum group is by no means a simple adaptation after a Polykleitan original, because the pose, with an extra support to the left, directs us, a century later, to Praxiteles. The whole attitude of the god, playing apparently detached, bored even, with the panther, is another Praxitelian trend. The soft modeling of the body with effeminate forms fits again the style of the 4th century BC. The head (Fig. 7 a-b), with a dreamy expression, suggested by its slightly bent position and by the almond-shaped eyes with heavy upper eyelids, which cover almost half of the upper part of the eyeballs, is also Praxitelian. Currently two statue types are connected to the Athenian 4th century BC

¹⁴ The very existence of this statuary group was seriously questioned. D. Kreikenborn, op. cit., p. 45-58, was undecided if a Polykleitan original ever existed or not, and A. Leibundgut, *Polykletische Elemente bei späthellenistischen und römischen Kleinbronzen: zur Wirkungsgeschichte Polyklets in der Kleinplastik*, in Polyclet, der Bildhauer der griechischen Klassik. Ausstellung im Liebighaus, Museum alter Plastik, Frankfurt am Main, Mainz 1990, fig. 238, did not even take into consideration such a statue among the models for Hermes statuettes of Roman times, because the „Hermes from the Boboli garden“, which could be taken for a replica of the Polykleitan original, is too much like the „doryphoros“. In his turn, C. Bol, op. cit., p. 118-120, no. 34-39, declared himself ready to accept the existence of such a group by Polykleitos, only because of the literary sources. It was the merit of J. Floren (*Der Hermes des Polyklet*, in Polykletforschungen [H. Beck, P. C. Bol Hrsg.], Berlin 1993, p. 57-72) to prove, starting from the same group from the Boboli garden in Florence, that there was indeed a Polykleitan original, which is to be differentiated from other works of the Argive sculptor, mainly because of the right hip which is strongly pushed to the side. It was this statue, and not the „doryphoros“, which served as a model for later works, such as the statue of Ptolemaios in Rabat, the one of Pompei from Museo Torlonia, and even for the Augustus statue at „Prima Porta“. A recently found colossal statuary group from Perge, dating from the Severan period, which is a perfect replica of the group from the Boboli garden, brings an additional argument to the demonstration of J. Floren (to my knowledge the group is unpublished; autopsy at the Antalya museum in January 2000). A further unpublished Hermes torso, with traces of the child held in the right hand, exists also in the deposits of the museum from Alba Iulia.

master: the so-called Dionysos of Woburn Abbey and its variant, Copenhagen-Valentini, the last being closer to the Apulum group, because of the more twisted body. In both cases the external support is provided by a tree trunk or a pillar, on which Dionysos is leaning with the right elbow.

The Woburn Abbey statue (Fig. 8)¹⁵ measures 153 cm, from which 8 cm is the plinth. It comes from the trade with antiques in Rome, where it was purchased about the middle of the 18th century. The right arm, which looks rather rigid to me, is in fact restored. Originally it must have held a *kantharos* from which the god was pouring wine to a panther, which is now missing too. This teasing game is typical to the Praxitelian vision of the gods, as illustrated for instance by „Apollo sauroctonos“. Apart from the *contrapposto* with external support, the soft carnation is another element that points to the 4th century BC master. But the most convincing detail is provided by the left bent leg, with the raised heel, which is not pushed to the side, but is kept near the right foot. This gives a great deal of cohesion to the whole stance and resembles the scheme of the well-known Hermes from Olympia.

The statue from Copenhagen, no. 2080 (Fig. 9)¹⁶ differs from the one in Woburn Abbey only by the more exaggerated *contrapposto*. It has almost the same size (H = 156 cm) and was discovered at the end of the 19th century at Santa Marinella near Civitavecchia. Only the right hand holding a grape is restored. The panther to the right is now missing, but a „puntello“ on the external side of the right shank of the god indicates that there must have been a rod connecting the two figures. The fact that Dionysos is pouring wine from a *kantharos* is another argument for the original presence of a panther there. The pose is more dynamic than the previous one, with the right hand well separated from the body and the left foot pushed not only to the back but also towards the side. It is obvious that this statue is a copy after a bronze original. The small Pan to the right, identical with the one from Apulum, is a late Hellenistic element, which must have been added by the Roman copyists (see below).

The Apulum Dionysos is not leaning with the elbow on some support, as Praxitelian replicas do, but holds a

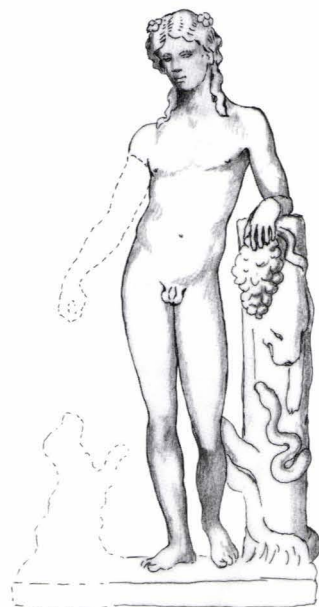


Fig. 8. Dionysos
Woburn Abbey



Fig. 9. Dionysos
Copenhagen 2080

¹⁵ Pochmarski 1974, p. 98-99; Gasparri 1986, p. 435, no. 120; E. Angelicousis, The Woburn Abbey Collection of Classical Antiquities (Monumenta Artis Romanae XX), Mainz 1992, p. 50-51, no. 12, fig. 76-79; Todisco 1993, p. 77 and fig. 133.

¹⁶ Pochmarski 1974, p. 115-120; Gasparri 1986, p. 436, note. 124; Marquardt 1995, p. 262-263, pl. 26,3; Todisco 1993, p. 77 and pl. 134.



Fig. 10. The group
Copenhagen 1644

thyrsos, very much in the way Hellenistic rulers held a lance in the left hand, after the model of Alexander by Lysippus¹⁷. The fact that some of these kings were worshiped as „neos Dionysos“ (for instance the Attalids in Pergamon¹⁸) could have prompted to the late Hellenistic or Roman copyists this pose of Liber Pater holding majestically the *thyrsos*¹⁹. Depicted in this way, the epiphany of the god gains in dignity and is far more impressive.

As already mentioned above, the presence of Pan in the group is a late Hellenistic element. Basically there are two iconographic types of this minor god who accompanies Dionysos with the *thyrsos*, both elaborated rather late²⁰. The first, illustrated by the group Copenhagen 1644 (Fig. 10)²¹, is bigger in size; Pan turns his head towards Liber Pater, somehow surprised, even terrified, by the appearance of the wine god. This group has more coherence than the second type, which is attested by the statue Copenhagen 2080 (see above Fig. 9) and by the Apulum group (Fig. 11). This smaller Pan accompanies the main god with apparently no direct connection to him. He looks forward as he is starting to march alongside Dionysos to join the *thiasos*.

It is obvious that the Apulum statuary group is an eclectic one, combining a Polykleitan pose with Praxitelian „quotations“ and Hellenistic elements. Such eclectic products appeared in the 2nd century BC, to fit the taste of the new customers, the Roman aristocracy²². In the first century BC the Romans were already distinguishing such items as a „Polykleitan chest“ from „Praxitelian arms“ or from a „Myronian head“. At least this is the impression left by a treaty of rhetoric from around 80 BC (*Auctor ad Herennium* 4, 9)²³. In direct contact with the neo-Hellenism of Asia Minor and

¹⁷ P. Moreno, *Scultura ellenistica*, Roma 1994, p. 26 sqq. and 421-427.

¹⁸ See for instance H. v. Prott, *Dionysos Kathegemon*, in *Athener Mitteilungen* 27, 1902, p. 161-188; E. Ohlmutz, *Die Kulte und Heiligtümer der Götter in Pergamon*, Darmstadt 1968, p. 90-122.

¹⁹ D. Svenson, *Darstellungen hellenistischer Könige mit Götterattributen*, Frankfurt am Main 1995, p. 5 sqq., 361 sqq.

²⁰ More details by Marquardt 1995, p. 261-263.

²¹ Marquardt 1995, p. 261-262, no. 5, pl. 26,2.

²² R. Bianchi-Bandinelli, *Rome. Le centre du pouvoir*, Paris 1969, p. 36-50; Ch. Landwehr, *Die antiken Gipsabgüsse aus Baiae. Griechische Bronzestatuen in Abgüssen römischer Zeit*, Berlin 1985, p. 181-188; J. Politt, in *The Oxford History of Classical Art* (J. Boardman ed.), Oxford 1993, p. 220-226; H.-U. Cain, O. Dräger, *Die sogenannten neuattischen Werkstätten*; H. Galsterer, *Kunstraub und Kunsthandel im republikanischen Rom*; T. Hölscher, *Hellenistische Kunst und römische Aristokratie*, all in *Das Wrack. Der antike Schiffund von Mahdia*, Köln 1994, p. 809 sqq.

²³ The treaty was dedicated by an anonymous writer to C. Herennius, and in the passage which concerns us the author argues against those who teach rhetoric by using quotations from others instead of composing their own original speeches. The theory is illustrated by the statuary art, which must not be learnt from pastiches: „Chares did not learn from Lysippus to make statues in such an inappropriate manner, as the master would show him a head by Myron, Praxitelian arms and a Polykleitan chest, but he could see in front of his eyes the master conceiving all his works. As a matter of fact he could study all by himself the works of other artists“. C. Neumaier, *Polyklet in der römischen Literatur*, in *Polyclet, der Bildhauer der griechischen Klassik. Ausstellung im Liebighaus, Museum alter Plastik, Frankfurt am Main, Mainz 1990*, p. 428-429, expressed the opinion that terms such as „Myronian head“, or „Praxitelian arms“ were not technical ones, used by Greek and Roman „connoisseurs“. But there are on one hand too many true copies of Classical originals and on the other hand too many deliberate combinations of Classical elements in re-elaborated statues of Roman times to believe that the educated public did not make the difference between quotations from several masters of the past, and that such concepts were not operational at the time.



Fig. 11. Liber Pater from Apulum, detail with Pan



Fig. 12. Liber Pater from Apulum, detail with panther

especially with Attic neo-Classicism, the Roman Augustan public appreciated very much the Classicist re-elaborations, which contrasted with the Hellenistic experiments²⁴. For instance, in the case of the Apulum group, the rigorous conception of the pose is clearly opposed to the dynamic conception of early Hellenistic groups. Indeed, most of the statuary groups of Roman times depict Dionysos-Bacchus in this majestic hypostasis, leaning on the *thyrsos* with the left hand, as a divine ruler. This means that already in late Hellenistic, eclectic/neo-Attic contexts, probably inspired by the worship of the ruler as “neos Dionysos”, the model for such a group was elaborated. Yet most of the groups from Roman times are dated in the 2nd-3rd centuries AD; it is difficult to assign any of them to earlier times, for instance to the Augustan period. Actually, only under Trajan the Dionysian cult became part of the imperial propaganda, being related to the Parthian victory, which was paralleled with the Indian triumph of Bacchus. Such a late conceiving of our group might also be taken into consideration, but I doubt the capacity of Trajanic-Hadrianic neo-Attic workshops to elaborate such a well balanced, internally coherent group²⁵. Perhaps the Trajanic, then the middle Antonine propaganda (the Oriental triumph of Lucius Verus had also Bacchic connotations) is responsible only for the popularity of this image, which does not imply the very creation of the statuary type in this period.

This kind of Dionysian group, depicting the wine god as „*pantokrator*“, was particularly popular in Italy, from where most of the analogies known to me originate.

²⁴ Zanker 1973, passim; P. Moreno, op. cit., p. 733 sqq. (chapter Eclettismo).

²⁵ Recently I had the opportunity to prove that a scene with a Maenad and a Satyr, which was considered to be the original creation of some Hadrianic sarcophagus workshop, was in fact a late-Hellenistic/Augustan neo-Attic product, which was reusing the famous Maenad of Scopas (Al. Diaconescu, EN 9-10, 1999, 2000, p. 245-274).

These statues can be divided into two main groups: the first displays a Polykleitan *contrapposto*, which is derived from „Hermes with the divine child“ and from the Copenhagen-Valentini variant of Praxitelian scheme. Its chief piece, judging from the fine modelling and deep understanding of the composition rules, is the statuette from Apulum. The second group is characterized by an Attic *contrapposto*, which is derived from the „discobolos“, and has as chief piece a statuette in Madrid.

The Apulum group is well documented in Italy, from where I can quote 9 pieces, which I have personally examined:

First comes the statue from Ny Carlsberg Glyptothec 1644, already mentioned above (Fig. 10), which was found in Pozzuoli (near Misenum). Its height is 160 cm. Both arms and the right shank of the god are restored, as well as parts of the panther and of Pan. The portrait of Dionysos recalls those of Antinous, so that the proposed dating is Hadrianic²⁶. A smaller group (97 cm high) but very much alike the first one was also found at Pozzuoli at the end of the 19th century (Reinach III, 1920, p. 36, nr. 6). Other two statues belonging to this variant come from the same region, one is preserved in Naples (Reinach I, 1916, p. 376, Pl. 678, nr. 1579), the other in Cambridge (Reinach II, 1, 1908, p. 119, nr. 9).

More pieces were found in and around Rome. Three are now in Museo Nazionale Romano:

- inv. 74025. H = 94 cm. Fig. 13. Discovered in the sanctuary of Liber Pater on the „via Cassia“, Aquatraversa, together with other statuettes and inscriptions of the wine god. Very rudimentary execution, therefore the statuette is dated towards the end of the 3rd century AD²⁷.

- inv. 74030. H = 47 cm. Fig. 14. Discovered together with the preceding piece. Partly restored. Early 3rd century²⁸.

- inv. 77428. H = 125 cm. Fig. 15. Discovered in Rome, during the First World War, on the place of the Ministry of the Interior. The body has an athletic build, but the modelling is very fluid. After the deep rills and recesses of the hair dress the statuette must be dated in late Antonine times²⁹.

Further examples are at the Vatican:

- Gall. Candelabri III. Fig. 16. The statue, 185 cm high, comes from Tor Marancia. The *thyrsos* and the right foot from above the knee to the sole are restored. The position of the head recalls the „doryphoros“. The use of the drill at the grapes from the templets suggests a late Antonine dating³⁰.

- Gall. Candelabri II. Fig. 17. H = 85 cm. Discovered in the 18th century at Castrum Novum, near Civitavecchia, together with other statuettes and inscriptions. Most of the *thyrsos* and the left arm are restored³¹.

- Mus. Chiaramonti. Fig. 18. Right arm with the hand holding the kantharos, right thigh, left shank, foot sole and left arm with *thyrsos* are missing, as well as the panther. Mid-Antonine in date³².

- A statuette of rudimentary execution, found at Minturne between the two world wars, should be added to the list³³.

²⁶ Marquart 1995, p. 262, note 360.

²⁷ D. Mustilli, *Notizie degli Scavi* 1925, p. 392 sqq., fig. 10; M. A. Rizzo, Museo Nazionale Romano. Le Sculture (A. Giuliano ed.), I, 2, 1981, p. 292-293, no. 13; Gasparri 1986, p. 543, no. 7.

²⁸ D. Mursilli, *Notizie delle Scavi* 1925, p. 393, fig. 11; E. Filieri, Museo Nazionale Romano I, 12, 2, 1995, p. 176-178, no. 37.

²⁹ D. Candilio, Museo Nazionale Romano I, 7, 2, p. 349-350, no. XI, 6.

³⁰ G. Lippold, *Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums* III, 2, Berlin 1956, p. 266-267, no. 46, pl. 122.

³¹ G. Lippold, op. cit., p. 175-176, no. 29, pl. 78.

³² A. Amelung, *Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums* I, Berlin 1903, no. 296, pl. 53.

³³ A. Adriani, *Notizie delle Scavi* 1938, p. 167 sqq., fig. 4.



Fig. 13. Rome
(MNR 74025)

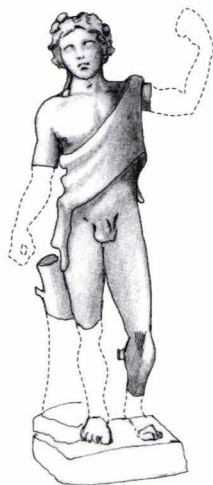


Fig. 14. Rome
(MNR 74030)

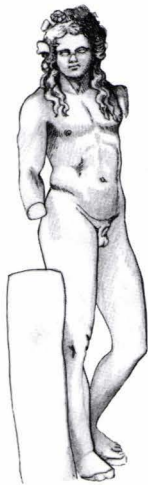


Fig. 15. Rome
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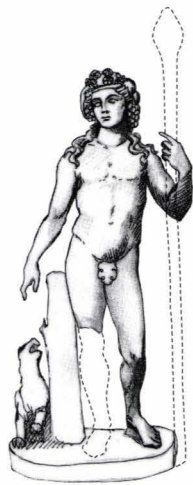


Fig. 16. Vatican,
Candelabri III

Other 14 pieces are mentioned by Reinach in his repertoire, but I could not find good photos of them, so that my classification is based exclusively on his sketches. Four belonged to different collections in Rome:

- one in the Museo Pio Clementino (Reinach, I, 1916, p. 384, Pl. 688, nr. 1617).
- another was in the Chablais collection (Reinach, I, 1916, p. 384, Pl. 688, nr. 1619).
- one in the De la Valle collection (Reinach, III, 1920, p. 31, nr. 3).
- and the fourth was found in the 19th century on the Janiculum (Reinach, IV, 1913, p. 62, nr. 8).

Other three pieces were in Berlin (Reinach, II, 1, 1908, p. 117, no. 10; p. 119, no. 4 and 5). A statuette was in Dresden (Reinach I, 1916, p. 384, Pl. 688, no. 1616), another one is reported in Wien (Reinach II, 1, 1908, p. 120, no. 7), then others in the Louvre (Reinach II, 1, 1908, p. 120, no. 5), in the Dutuit collection (Reinach III, 1920, p. 34, no. 1), in the British Museum (Reinach, II, 1, 1908, p. 113, no. 2), in Crotona (Reinach II, 1, 1908, p. 119, no. 3) and in Sophia (Reinach III, 1920, p. 34, no. 3). The total of statues and statuettes which are preserved in a good enough state to allow their grouping in the Apulum variant are 23 in number.

Apart from these, there are in the Italian museums a lot of torsos which might belong to the same scheme, but for more accuracy I decided to quote only the doubtless cases.

To the Madrid group belong:

- the 98 cm high statuette from Museo del Prado, purchased in 1779 at Tivoli³⁴.

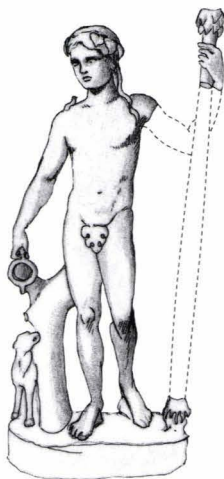


Fig. 17. Vatican,
Candelabri II



Fig. 18. Vatican,
Chiaramonti

³⁴ A. Blanco, Museo del Prado. Catalogo de la escultura, Madrid 1957, p. 76, pl. XLVIII, 105-E.

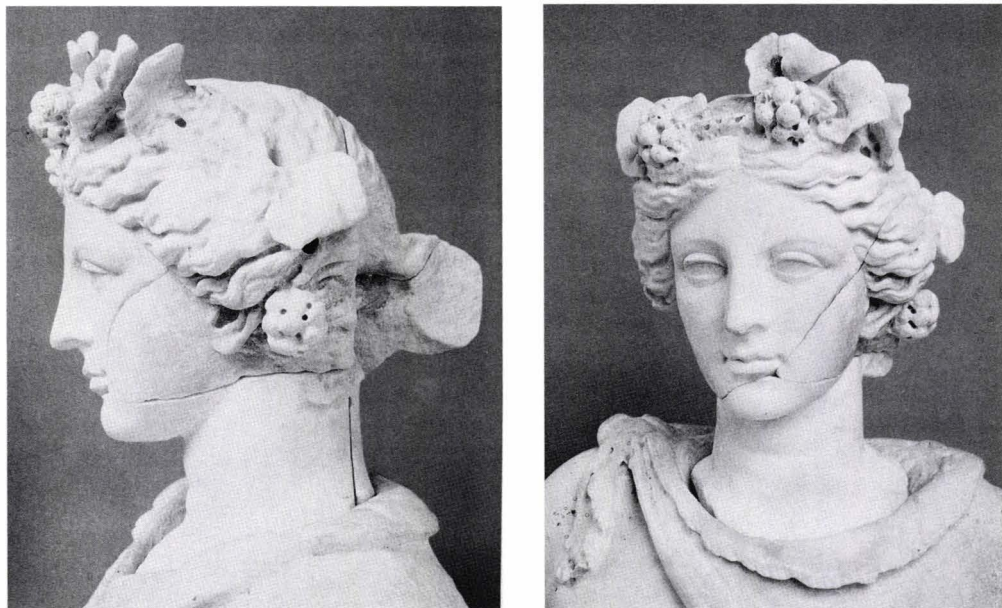


Fig. 19. a, b. Liber Pater from the "imperial nymphaeum" at Baiae

- the 180 cm high statue from Vatican, Museo Pio Clementino, Cortile Ottogonale, of late Antonine date³⁵.

- Similar, but with an inverted contrapposto, is a statue (Fig. 19 a-b)³⁶ from the so-called „imperial nymphaeum“ at Baiae (actually a reunion hall, initially for imperial feasts, and later probably used by a Dionysian association). The decoration of the hall was first designed under Claudius, and depicted the imperial family. The two statues, representing not members of the family but Liber Pater, might have been added later. The argument is that the special treatment with the drill of the hair and grapes of our statue indicates a mid-Antonine, if not a later date, and cannot be assigned to the Julio-Claudian period.

- A 1 m high statuette belonging to the same group was found near Valencia, at Torrente, in Spain³⁷.

A fragmentary marble statuette, coming probably from Italy, was donated in the 19th century to the museum of Geneva. Most of the legs are missing (the extant fragment measures 34.5 cm), so that it is impossible to say if it belonged to the Apulum or to the Madrid variant. The frontal side is carefully carved, while the back was left unfinished. The obvious drill marks at the hair and ivy crown suggest a 3rd century dating³⁸.

Other 14 pieces are mentioned by Reinach in his repertoire: 7 are preserved in Italian collections and museums, from which 4 in Rome itself (Museo Capitolino = Reinach I, 1916, p. 381, Pl. 682, no. 1596; Casali = Reinach II, 1, 1908, p. 119, no. 6;

³⁵ V. B. Andrae et alii, *Bildkatalog der Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums II*, Berlin - New York 1998, p. 95, 102E, COR 1.

³⁶ B. Andrae, *Le sculpture*, in *Baia. Il nimfeo imperiale sommerso di punta Epitaffio*, Napoli 1983, p. 61-62, fig. 175-181.

³⁷ A. García y Bellido, *Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal*, Madrid 1949, p. 96-98, no. 82, pl. 71.

³⁸ J. Chamay, J.-L. Maier, *Art. Romain. Sculptures en pierre du Musée de Genève II*, Mainz 1989, p. 34, no. 40, pl. 55. The authors wrongly consider this statuette a sarcophagus relief which they assume was turned in the 19th century into a *rondo bosso*.

Salamanca collection = Reinach II, 1, 1908, p. 120, no. 1 and Benedetti collection = Reinach III, 1920, p. 31, no. 1) and the others at Pompeii (Reinach II, 1, 1908, p. 120, no. 2), Minturnes (Reinach IV, 1913, p. 66, no. 1) and Torino (Reinach IV, 1913, p. 63, no. 4). The pieces from Dresden (Reinach I, 1916, p. 381, Pl. 682, no. 1597), Madrid (Reinach IV, 1913, p. 63, 3 and 66, 4) and Paris (Reinach V, 1924, p. 49, 9) might come also from Italy. The piece from the Guelma museum is local (Reinach IV, 1913, p. 65, no. 5) and another one bears a Greek inscription and thus comes from the eastern part of the empire (Reinach V, 1924, p. 49, no. 3).

The fact that the great majority of the pieces were found in and around Rome does not imply that the statues were regularly produced there. As in the case of other items exported by workshops from Greece and Asia Minor, such as candelabra, craters, sarcophagi, their compact presence in central Italy is to be explained by the taste of the Roman aristocracy, who enjoyed decorating its villas with such exquisite sculptures. In time local workshops started emulating this production, which explains the presence of some crude copies.

The Apulum - Madrid type is coherent enough to allow the conclusion that a large-scale model, which was reproduced often in the 2nd-3rd century, must have existed. This statue was so highly appreciated that it passed for a creation of Praxiteles himself. The late encomiast Kallistratos (Statuae 8) has left us a detailed description of what he took for a Praxitelian original:

„There he was, the young Dionysus, so tender that you would think he was made of another material than metal, a Dionysus who, despite being conceived in red bronze and although he was lifeless, he seemed determined to express life itself, which seizes you and takes you to the top of enthusiasm; and yet he was just plain bronze, but the art made it soft and the hand of the artist turned the metal into flesh. He was flourishing, full of beauty and sweet passions, such as described by Euripides in his „Bacchantae“. Ivy was crowning his head in circles and the bronze was leaven into branches; the hair descended in curls from his forehead [...]. The *nebris* did not cover him as usual and the metal was turned into real leather. He stood there, leaning with his left hand on the *thyrsos*, which was so conceived that it seemed real, because although it was made of bronze it looked green and in blossom [...]. The eyes, shining like fire, were burnt as by madness. Even the Dionysian folly was expressed by this bronze which seemed to testify, I think, the intention of Praxiteles to add something from the Bacchic impulses to it“ (*apud* Pochmarshi 1974, p. 14-15).

Usually Kallistratos produced only platitudes by repeating well known literary *topoi* (see for instance the description of the Maenad of Scopas), but it seems that in this particular case he refers to a statue which was placed in front of his eyes in a garden. He was most impressed by the sculptor's technical virtuosity, who combined several kinds of bronze and probably silver too, but this time Kallistratos gives some indication about the pose and the modelling. The way he insists on the carnation proves that the god was wearing nothing else but the *nebris*. The detail that Dionysos was leaning upon the *thyrsos* with the left hand shows that the statue in front of his eyes did not belong to the Woburn Abbey or Copenhagen-Valentini type, which is considered by modern scholars to be a replica of a lost work of Praxiteles, but to the Apulum-Madrid type, which is an eclectic product, characterized by the *thyrsos* held in the manner of Hellenistic rulers.

A magnificent bronze statue, found in Rome in the embankment of the Tiber, perfectly fits the description of Kallistratos. It is displayed in Palazzo Massimo, inv. nr.

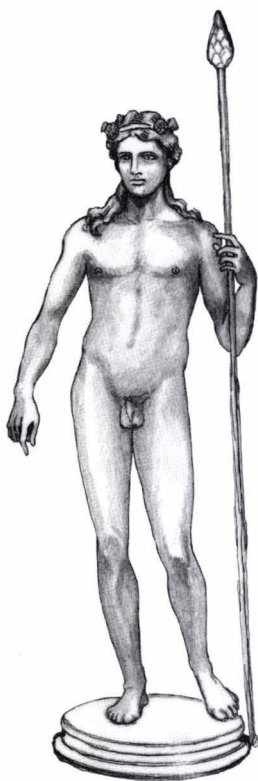


Fig. 20. Bronze statue of Bacchus from Palazzo Massimo

1060 (Fig. 20)³⁹ and measures 160 cm, together with the plinth in the shape of a column base. Obviously he belongs to the Apulum-Madrid type, although his body is not so twisted. P. Zanker (1974, p. 64) drew a parallel between this statue and the „Stephanos athlete“, because of the oblong silhouette and the juvenile carnation, but such similitudes are to be expected in the case of eclectic products, the true filiation of this statue type deriving from the Polykleitan Hermes with the child Dionysus. The plastic eye pupils indicate the Hadrianic-middle Antonine period, as the most probable date of this statue. The affinity with earlier Classic-like works, such as the „Stephanos athlete“, is also an argument that there must have been an Augustan prototype for this fine bronze.

The statuary group from Apulum was most probably carved in Phygian marble, which came from the quarry at Aphyon, not far from Dokimeion (the administrative center of the marble quarrying was Synnada). In Roman times there was a direct route linking central Phrygia with Nicomedia, on the Marmara coast, which must have been the most important route for the export of Dokimeian sarcophagi towards the North⁴⁰. Nicomedia must have played an important part in the distribution of artistic products and in sending craftsmen to Moesia Inferior, and further to other Danubian provinces⁴¹. As far as the Dokimeian sarcophagi workshop is concerned, its main production period starts under Trajan and Hadrian⁴². As already mentioned, the Apulum group

must be dated to Hadrianic times and not later, because the hairstyle is rendered with fine, not very deep incisions and the eye pupils are not marked. In addition the soft modelling recalls the statues of Antinous (e.g. the A. Farnese from Vatican⁴³, here Fig. 21). The face of the Apulum Dionysos is close to the portraits of Antinous, although no direct connection could be made. Very much the same is the head of the Liber Pater from Baiae (Fig. 19 a-b), probably of Phygian origin too, which is to be dated later, at the end of the Antonine period, because of the extensive use of the drill on the hair and on the ivy crown. When the Apulum sculptural group was dedicated in the Liber Pater sanctuary (which seems to be late Severan - mid 3rd century in date), it must have been an „antiquity“, which was purchased probably by a person with good artistic taste.

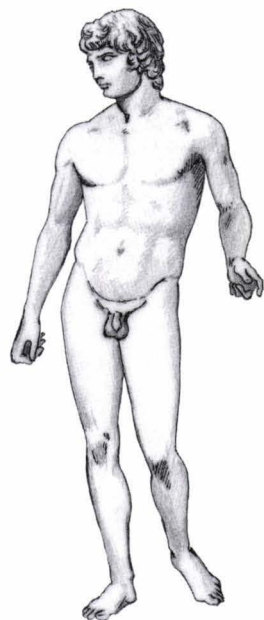


Fig. 21. Antinous Farnese

³⁹ Gasparri 1986, p. 542, no. 2; B. Germini, *Statua di Dionisio*, in Palazzo Massimo alle Terme (A. La Regina ed.), Milano 1998, p. 147-148.

⁴⁰ M. Waelkens, Dokimeion. Die Werkstatt der repräsentativen kleinasiatischen Sarkophage. Chronologie und Typologie ihrer Produktion, Berlin 1982, pl. 31.

⁴¹ J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Marble in Antiquity*. Collected papers of J.B. Ward-Perkins edited by Hazel Dodge and Brian Ward-Perkins, London 1992, p. 70, inscriptions 4, 6 and 7.

⁴² Idem, op. cit., p. 128.

⁴³ Fuchs 1983, p. 152, fig. 145.

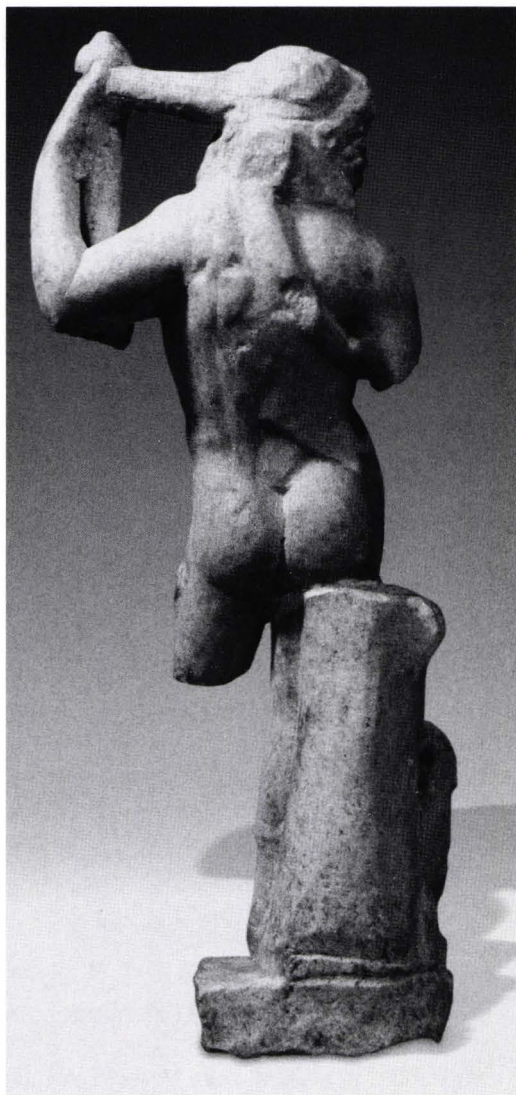
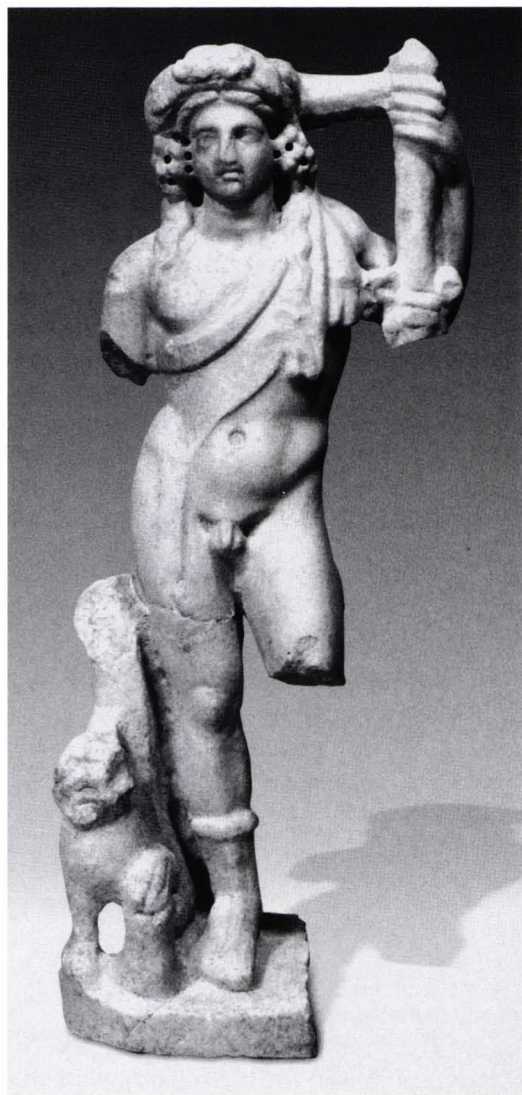


Fig. 22. Liber Pater statuette from the same shrine at Apulum

In the sanctuary from Apulum two other statuettes of Liber Pater, belonging to the same iconographic type, were also discovered. From the first (Fig. 22 a-b, height = 32 cm, from which the plinth is 2 cm) the right arm and left leg from under the knee are missing. The marble does not look like the Dacian one (from the Bucova quarry). It is very white and fine grained. Although it resembles the previous statue, it is more primitive, the three dimensional vision being replaced by a two dimensional one, resembling a fretwork relief. The drill holes at the grapes from the templates indicate the late Antonine / Severan period.

The second statuette (Fig. 23, height 46,5 cm, with a plinth of 20,5 x 13,5 x 3,5 cm)⁴⁴ belongs to the Madrid group, because it displays an Attic contrapposto. Only parts of the *thyrsos* and the right forearm are missing. The verdict of the geological analysis was that the marble of this statuette comes either from Proconnesus / Marmara, or

⁴⁴ Cf. Schäfer, Diaconescu 1997, p. 201, 212 and fig. 2.



Fig. 23. Liber Pater statuette from the same shrine at Apulum.

from Ushak, in central Asia Minor⁴⁵. An almost identical statue (150 cm high), with the same extravagant hair dress, was found in Synnada, near Aphyon⁴⁶, which proves that the statuette from Apulum must have been carved in one of the central Phrygia workshops of the Dokimon region.

It follows that not only the beautiful group discussed in this article comes from that region, but several statuettes dedicated in the same shrine of Liber Pater from Apulum were manufactured in the same Dokimian workshops. These contacts of the Dionysian worshippers from Apulum with central Asia Minor invite to further speculation, which lie far beyond the limits of this paper⁴⁷.

⁴⁵ Müller et alii 1997, sample Ap 31; Müller and colab. 1997, p. 217.

⁴⁶ A. Pasinli, Istanbul Archaeological Museum, Istanbul 1995, p. 63, no. 75.

⁴⁷ Schäfer, Diaconescu 1997, p. 211 sqq.