

# The Context of Male Nude Sculptures in the Roman Imperial Era

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**Preface**

For my daddy, of whom I wished he could have read and criticized my thesis as first and then have an endless and meaningless discussion about a stupid detail.

And I would like to thank my family and friends who gave all their mental support to me for not to give up or to breakdown while writing this thesis.

## **Introduction**

My research goal for this thesis is establishing a list of nude male statues with context. With this list I hope to see how different forms of nudity are distributed and to see what can be concluded from that. For this I have used a quantitative method and that has not been applied before on male nude statues with a context; up to now the research was focused on individual pieces of art mostly which does not explain the phenomenon of the male nude in the Roman period. So I thought it might be interesting to look at this subject from this new venue.

I try to test this quantitative method on the best documented material available in an exemplary way, to the test the efficiency of a quantitative context based approach.

The method I have used for my research was combining iconography with quantitative analysis.

I collected a total of 211 statues and put that in a database. I collected these statues going through books, museum inventory's, essays, museum website's, etc.

But context is not always considered very important by some museums. For example the Hermitage in St. Petersburg has a very good website with their collection online, but the only context they name is 'found in Rome' or 'found in Pompeii'. Not in what kind of building or location the statue was found. Another problem is of course that of most of the sculpture's we simply do not know in what context they were found. It was not written down or considered to be important when found. This narrowed the amount of statues down.

I created this database in the program excel. The statues of the nude males were divided on context were they were found in my database. When I first finished my database I started to look at it and study it in hope to see some obvious criteria to systematize the material. My database showed that two principal different kind of nudity's, heroic nudity and fictional nudity.

Heroic nude statues are portraits of men in 'heroic costume' existed

in the Roman period.

The nudity is here the costume and not the clothes or armor as usual. The men depicted are real contemporary people.

Fictional nude statues are not portraits of real persons. Some exceptions are known like Antinous, who was a real person but is often depicted in a fictional manner. In general fictional male nude statues are statues of gods, heroes, athletes, etc. There men, but not real men. I organized the information from the database in other tables and graphs. These other tables and graphs I also created with the program excel. To create these tables I would look at the context and also what the character was of that context. Was it a religious context or a private context for example.

The statues that I have used in my research are only statues that are well documented. Of some of these statues there is no picture available, but if they were described thorough enough and I was sure what kind of nudity was used I included it in my database. But I did try to focus on statues with a picture available.

Of most sculptures there is no exact date of manufacturing known and sometimes only even a rough estimate of a certain century or period. The timeframe I concentrate on in my research is the Imperial Age. I was afraid that otherwise the timeframe would be too large and extensive. Also most of the nude male statues with context found are from the Imperial Age. This does mean that some other interesting nude statues with context are excluded from my research. An example is the Hercules found at the Forum Boarium in Rome. This statue dates from second century BC and is therefore excluded.

When talking about nude and nudity it is not necessarily meant a completely nude male. As nude are also defined statues with a so-called hip mantle. This cloak could be draped around the arms, shoulders or hips. Most important is that the largest part of the nude male body is visible.

As my research question I formulated:

What can be concluded from the context of sculptures of nude males in the Roman Imperial art?

To find an answer to this research question I formulated the following sub-questions.

- What is the origin of male nudity in art and why did the Romans take it over?
- What is the context of the nude Roman statues of males in the Imperial Roman empire?
- Are there differences or similarities in the nude sculptures found in the different context forms?

With the help of my database, and the tables, diagrams and graphs that were extracted from the information collected in my database, I will try to get answers to my questions.

In my conclusion I will try to answer my research question and look critically back at this research and methodology.

## **Chapter 1**

### ***The origin of Roman male nudity in art***

## 1.1 Greece

It is generally accepted that Roman male nudity had its origins in Greek Art. In the Greek world male nudity was not something uncommon. It seems unlikely that men were running naked through the streets at an ordinary day, but in public places like the gymnasium or palaestra male nudity seems to have been accepted.

Also in Greek art, statues and painted vases, we see naked men depicted. In these depictions we see them doing a lot more things naked, like fighting and mourning, than they would have been doing in reality. So there is a certain discrepancy between reality and art. Also it seems that nudity in art already existed before public nudity, in certain situations, was accepted.

It was not until the Classical period that public nudity was allowed and probably seen as a form of costume for a male citizen to distinguish himself from slaves, women and barbarians.

But in art they have found naked terracotta's and bronzes already in the Minoan period at Crete. Of these early small figurines it is sometimes hard to tell of what sex they are. But at 800BC there is a change, and gender is shown. At the same period on mainland Greece these naked figures arise. At first they look a lot like the figurines from Crete but soon they get their own characteristics.

Figure 1. The Dipylon Vase. Dipylon cemetery, Athens. Attic Geometric belly-handled amphora. Around 760BC. National Museum of Athens.

In the Geometric period men and women appear to be painted naked on Athenian kraters and amphorae.

But in the middle and later geometric period there is a change. Women get to be dressed and men stay naked, see figure 1.



This trend is also seen at the same period small bronzes from the Akropolis. Men are naked, women are dressed.

This difference is cause for a lot of debate between scholars. An example for explaining this difference is that a Greek naked male represents the natural gender. And a clothed female is a constructed gender controlled by men. A naked woman would be a danger and not controlled by men and therefore can't be depicted naked. (Stewart 1997, 27-42)

Another opinion on this matter is that although the geometric figures appear to be naked, they are not. So there is no contrariety between daily custom of wearing clothes and art. There is simply no place for concealing clothing and they only give the *impression* of nudity, while they also found weapons and belts on these figurines. This suggests a form of clothing. So figures are not to be seen as naked figurines, but clothed. (Himmelmann 1990, 33)

Himmelmann's hypothesis is interesting, however sometime after the Homeric poems were written Greek men do start to exercise naked in athletic activities and competitions if we have to believe contemporary sources. The reasons for this are unknown to us, but somehow this step was made.

If Himmelmann is right and the geometric figures are not nude, but clothed, or a suggestion to clothing is being made, this step to nudity in daily life is even a bigger step, than if nudity in art was already accepted. If the people were knowingly depicted naked, then is already a form of acceptance of nudity being displayed.

However both theories of Stewart and Himmelmann are interesting and for both can be said something.

The reason why Greek men started to exercise naked in athletics and competitions is not known. As Andrew Stewart is pointing out (Stewart 1997, 27), it is not even sure if there is a relationship between nudity in daily life and art. It's contentious and disputative, but there is enough justification to look at how this public nudity developed and from where it originates.

One of the first sources that writes about exercising and competing naked is Thucydides in the late 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. He writes about that in the beginning the athletes wore loincloths but that the Dorian Greeks (Spartans or Cretans) were the first to strip naked completely. He writes that this custom started shortly before his time.

*The Lakedaimonians were also the first to exercise nude and stripping down openly to rub themselves with oil after exercising. In ancient times, even at the Olympic Games, athletes competed wearing loincloths over their genitals, and it is not so many years ago that they ended the practice. Th. I 6.5*

Plato wrote a similar commentary on this practice half a century later.

*Not long ago it seemed shameful and laughable to Greeks, just as it seems now to most barbarians, for men to be seen nude, and when the Cretans first introduced naked exercising, followed by the Lakedaimonians, it was possible for the sophisticated people of that time to ridicule all these things. Pl.R.v452c.*

Because of the large amount of archaic Attic vase paintings with nude athletes on them in combination with these later literary sources makes a dating to mid-sixth century at Athens and perhaps even earlier at Sparta not unlikely for the first man to exercise nude. So this might indicate a connection between nudity in art and nudity in daily life.(McDonnell 1992, 182-184)

The Greeks saw this male nudity as a characteristic of their superior culture. It appeared to be the best way to portray a Greek male. (Hurwitt 2007, 46) But what was the meaning of this art. Were all of these naked Greek men meant to idealize or to be heroic? Or are there perhaps more meanings to this art.

Jeffrey Hurwitt gives a basic principle of heroic nudity in Greek art. He states that 'gods and heroes are regularly shown nude, and mortals who wish to be ranked among heroes and those who are in fact heroized should be nude, too. Therefore nude males are heroic.'

This basic principle indicates that there are two kinds of heroic nudity, the mythological heroes like Herakles who 'wear' nudity as their attribute, and the nudity of the mortals who want to acclaim this heroic status of the mythological figures.

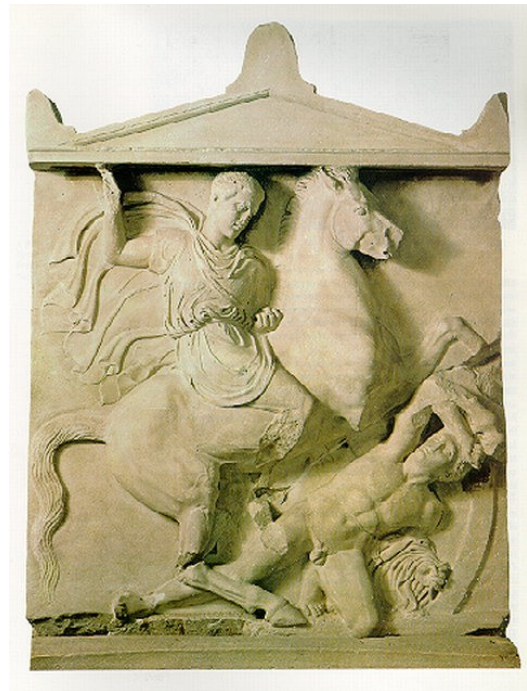
The problem with Greek heroic nudity is that it is not always consistent. Not all heroes are shown nude. An example is the Grave stele of Dexileos (see figure 2). Here

Dexileos is the mortal warrior on the horse and clothed, while his opponent, he just defeated, is naked. It seems that nudity is not reserved solely for heroes. Sometimes it seems as if nudity was purely used as a tool to distinguish figures of different ranks or ages in a frieze for example. And a lot of times there doesn't seem to be reason why some

Figure 2. Dexileos, Grave Stele, 394BC.

There is simply not one explanation for the meaning of nudity in Greek art. It

can be an heroic nudity, or a realistic athletic nudity that shows us an athlete competing as he would have been in real life or even an vulnerable nudity of a warrior being defeated or in a vulnerable position. (Hurwitt 2007, 45-57)



## 1.2 Rome

The heroic nudity seems to have been adopted by the Romans from the Greek. This might be considered as surprising, since it seemed that

the Romans had a aversion of public nudity. With the upcoming of the public baths in the empire it became slightly more acceptable to be seen naked while bathing. But public nudity outside a bath was rather something unthinkable for a respectable Roman. Public nudity was something that was associated with humiliation, slaves on auction, prisoners and criminals. This might explain that the first Romans that were portrayed nude are Romans that were portrayed by the Greeks in the early first century BC in the east. (Fejfer 2008, 201)

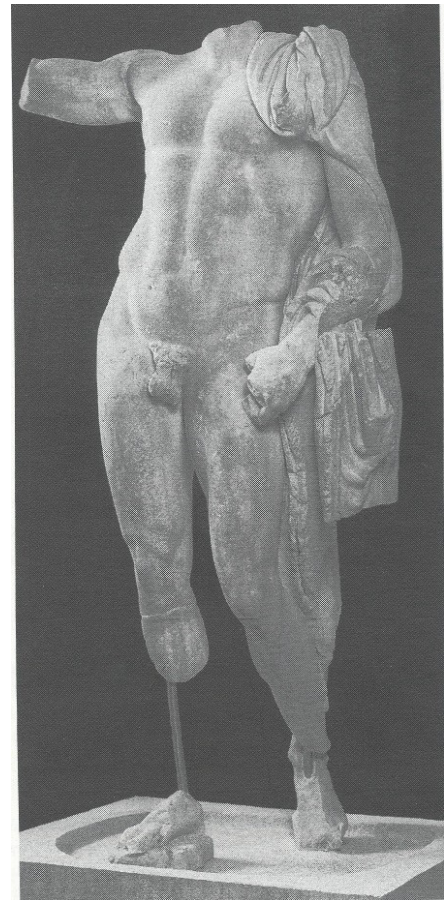
When the Romans took control of the Greek east Roman governors, magistrates, commanders and other important Romans with political power would come to the Greek east. The Roman generals and promagistrates would take over the

Figure 3. Statue of C. Ofellius Ferus. Late 2<sup>nd</sup> Century AD.

role of the Hellenistic kings. In the Greek cities monuments were set up to honor these Romans. However none of these honorific monuments have survived. But the bases on which they stood do. It is also known that some cities simply reworked or reinscribed portrait statues with a new (Roman) name from ancient literary sources and the actual inscriptions of these bases. (Hallet 2005, 137-142)

The first heroic nude statue that survives dates from the late second century BC. This is not the statue of a Roman general, but that of a Roman merchant called C. Ofellius Ferus (see figure 3). This statue was found in the Agora of the Italians in Delos. The inscription on the base tells us that this man was honorable and good and that the statue was placed as a dedication to Apollo. The statue was commissioned by the Italian trading community on the island.

Even though Ofellius was a merchant and not a military leader he is wearing a fringed military cloak. Further he is completely naked. Even



though Ofellius is wearing a military cloak this statue can still be considered as a nude statue since the largest part of his nude male body is visible to us. The head of the statue is missing. In his left hand he is holding the remains of a sheathed sword in the parade grip. Jane Fejfer wrote in her book *Roman portraits in Context* that the Romans were not original in choosing the Greek body type that was used for a statue. (Fejfer 2008, 203) As with Ofellius the type that is used was originally used to represent Hermes. Other types that were used for example were that of Diomedes and Jupiter. The reason why certain types were more popular than others is not known. But for example the Jupiter type is almost exclusively used for representing Roman emperors. So here there seems to be a link to the supremacy of Jupiter as the upper god and the Roman emperor as the supreme power of the Roman empire.

But for the other types it seems that the Romans didn't seem to have had a preference to a certain identity of the Greek original that would befit the person that was honored and portrayed. The most important thing that the Greek body type needed to do was to bring the person that was being honored and portrayed in the world of the heroes. Considering the Roman context it was not important what the statuary type originally represented. (Fejfer 2008, 203-205)

It seems that Fejfer has a rather strong opinion here that might be too strong. Not many statues have survived and even fewer survived within their original context. So it is very difficult to conclude anything like this, because there is simply not enough material that has survived.

With the Jupiter type it seems to us that it was only used for the emperor, so the Romans were aware that using a certain type would help giving an extra heroic air to the statue that was befitting to the person that was portrayed. To make an assumption like Fejfer has done you would have to look at all kind of statue types and look at what kind of persons have been portrayed and if there is any consistency in the choosing of the type. This is something that would be very difficult, because you would have to know who the person was that was portrayed. Not just his name, but also his social standing and his

importance (or the social standing he wanted people to believe he was holding).

A difference between the Greek and Roman nude statue is that the Greek would idealize the head of the person that was portrayed, while the Romans would use a more realistic style. To us this strikes as odd and we might perceive a feeling of inconsistency. In figure 4 for example we see a youthful, athletic and strong and perfect body with the head of an elderly man with wrinkles and saggy eyes. Not at all what you would expect when you only see the body.

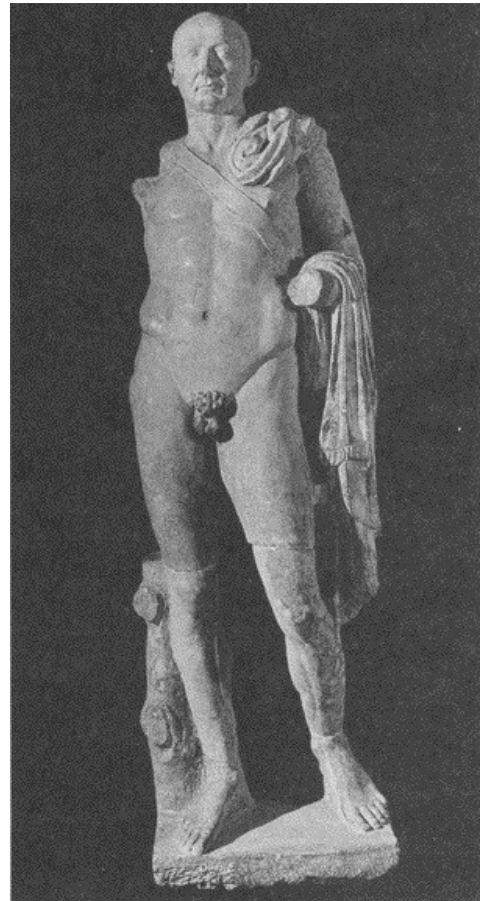
But this inconsistency between body and head also makes clear that to the Romans this nudity was only a form of dress up and a costume. The nude body was simply to make a point, to show that the person that was portrayed was of a high rank and almost mythical and heroic. To be realistic was not a goal.

Fejfer also mentions that even though most

Figure 4. Foruli General.

scholars believe that nude statues in the 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC.

city of Rome itself were not common before the end of the first century BC, literary sources indicate that around the same time as in the east in Rome there were also heroic nude portraits in Rome. (Fejfer 2008, 205)



However Hallet points out in his book *The Roman Nude* from 2005 that statues in Rome were most likely not put up by the Romans themselves, but by the Greek allies and clients who would want to express their gratitude to their Roman patrons. The Greek were doing that in the east,

so Hallet thinks that because of this it is not unlikely the Greek would send nude portraits to Rome. (Hallet 2005, 148-149)

In his article *Die Anfänge römischer Repräsentationskunst* from 1978 Hölscher writes that Greek cities and communities would send portraits of Roman leaders to Rome as early as in the early parts of the third century BC as a form of gratitude. (Hölscher 1978, 342)

Hallet mentions one of the literary sources in which he and Fejfer see an indication that nude statues were found in the same time in Rome as in Eastern Greek. It's written by Cicero about a statue from the early second century BC of L. Cornelius Scipio Asiagenus which stood on the Capitol. Cicero mentions that Scipio Asiagenus is represented in Greek costume.

*L. Vero Scipionis, qui bellum in Asia gessit Antiochumque devicit non solum cum chlamyde sed etiam cum crepidis in Capitolio statuum videtis<sup>1</sup>*  
Cicero, Rab. Post. 10.26

If the statue was dedicated by grateful Romans it would be unlikely they would give him a Greek attire. In this Hallet sees a proof that this statue must have been dedicated by the Greek. (Hallet 2005, 149-152)

Cicero mentions that Scipio Asiagenus wears a chlamys and crepidae, a Greek military cloak and a military form of sandal/boot. This form of costume was popular for the representation of Hellenistic rulers. An example that has survived is the Naples Horned Ruler, and that statue is, apart from the chlamys and crepidae, nude. Also when you look at how Cicero describes the chlamys he says *cum chlamyde*, which means as much as with a chlamys. Cicero does not say that he is wearing the chlamys, only that he is depicted with a chlamys. The chlamys therefore might have been draped around his arm or his hip. Cicero doesn't mention any other statue in Rome clothed in a similar fashion. In this Hallet sees the possibility that Scipio Asiagenus was here represented nude. (Hallet 2005, 149-152)

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1 Indeed, you see on the Capitol a statue of L. Scipio, who waged war in Asia, and triumphed over -king Antiochus, not only with chlamys, but even with crepidae, Hallet 2005, p. 151.

This is of course a possibility, but Cicero does not specifically mention that Scipio Asiagenus was nude. But if he was nude with a chlamys and crepidae, it would fit in a Greek tradition.

Sadly enough the statue hasn't survived so we will never know for sure.

When the Romans themselves started to depict their own leaders nude in the city of Rome is not known for sure. No statues have been left to us from the Republican period.

Hallet [Figure 5. Marcus Agrippa](#) suggests to look at the depictions on [Around 30BC](#)

coinage. On coins from the triumviral period there are heroic nudes depicted of Sextus Pompey (coin from 42-40BC), Caesar (coin from 12 BC) and Octavian. But there is no proof that Sextus Pompey and Caesar had actual heroic portraits set up in Rome during their own lifetime.

Sextus Pompey who always represented himself as the son of Neptune on his coins. On a coin from 42-40BC Sextus Pompey is shown with the attributes of Neptune. Of Caesar there was a nude statue, but this was put up by Octavian after Caesar's death.

We know for sure that of Octavian nude portraits were erected during his lifetime. Also of Marcus Agrippa a nude statue has been handed down to us. This statue dates from 30BC and was put up during the civil war (see figure 5). (Hallet 2005, 111-158)

Because of the time period these nude statues of Octavian and Agrippa were put up, they might have had a very political meaning. To show to Rome that they were the young heroes of Rome. And these men were almost mythical figures that would lead Rome out of a period of Civil war.



Augustus started a 'cultural program' that would last almost twenty years. What Augustus wanted, was a change in the public thinking. No longer he wanted the worshipping of rival generals, but a veneration of a ruler chosen by the gods. This would bring back morality in Rome that was lost during the Civil Wars and 'spiritual renewal'. This needed a new visual language. With this new visual language the nude statue became more used and popular in Rome. (Zanker 1990, 2-9)

After nude heroic portraiture was introduced in Rome it became more and more acceptable to be portrayed nude. We must see nudity in Rome purely as a costume, not on depicting any form of reality. (Hurwitt 2007, 46-49)

Nude heroic portraits of Romans have been found in theatres, government building, grave monuments, market places and other public places.

### **1.3 Other nudities in Rome**

These Roman heroic portraits were not the only form of male nudity found in Rome. There are of course the Roman copies of Greek famous statues of mythological heroes and gods. But that seems to be another form of nudity. The persons depicted have not really existed or were not contemporary persons. The men depicted in these statues are sometimes also depicted in a heroic fashion, but there not portraits of contemporary persons. This form of nudity will therefore be called fictional nudity in this thesis.

Yet another way of depicting nudity can be found on mosaics and fresco's, as these were less expensive media then sculpture and thus functioned in another way.

Beside the heroic and fictional nudity known from sculpture the nudity we find there is either sexual or apotropaic. The meaning of this nudity is completely different than that of heroic nudity. It is much more to be seen as on the one hand (sexual) entertainment or on the other hand as a guard to ward off the dangers of the Evil Eye.

The Evil Eye is the envy of other persons of your good fortune or good looks. An envious person could cause you harm or even illness by focusing his envy on you. The Romans believed that a funny or bizarre appearance with some obscene details would be a good protector against the Evil Eye. This is because the Evil Eye can be seen as fear or despair. The opposite of fear and despair is laughter. The laughter that is brought by nude men with enormous erect phalluses. (Clarke 1996, 184-196)

Some of these mosaics and fresco's seem to us as bizarre and absurd, because of the over-exaggeration of certain male body parts. But it is an important part of the discussion in male nudity and it would be interesting to see if there is a contextual relationship between all these kind of nudity's.

## Chapter 2

***The context of the nude Roman statues of males in the Imperial Roman empire.***

In this chapter the context of nude male statues in the Imperial Roman empire will be investigated. I want to look what the context of these statues exactly is. This is important, because if you want to conclude anything from the context where the statues have been found, you need to know what sort of context it was. The context for this study differentiates between context groups, namely public, religious and private. To get a more detailed picture these context groups are then once more subdivided. For example temples are put in the religious group and villas in the private group.

These groups, -religious, private and public-, I will from now on define with the term context group. The different places where the statues are found, like temples and baths will be called context forms. To explain in what kind of context forms the statues have been found I will give some general information about the context forms.

To study the context heroic nudity and fictional nudity I created a database which contains statues of nude men with a known context. This database is in the form of tables. Each context form has its own table. For example heroic nudity in theatres is one whereas decorative nudity in baths is another. This gave me a general overview of these statues and their contexts.

As said before I looked at two forms of male nudity, heroic nudity and the decorative nudity. From these two nudités I looked in what kind of context forms these two mostly have been found.

The context forms I found are:

- 1 Baths
- 2 Theatres
- 3 Temples
- 4 Nymphaeum
- 5 Villas
- 6 Forum/ Basilica

I have collected a total of 211 statues of nude males from the Imperial period. This collection is based on two principal different kinds of nudités, heroic nudity and fictional nudity.

Heroic nude statues are portraits of men in 'heroic costume' existed in the Roman period. The nudity is here the costume and not the clothes or armor as usual. The men depicted are real contemporary people.

Fictional nude statues are not portraits of real persons. Some exceptions are known like Antinous, who was a real person but is often depicted in a fictional manner. In general fictional male nude statues are statues of gods, heroes, athletes, etc. There men, but not real men.

In this chapter I will concentrate on the context forms themselves and what can be concluded from these.

## **2.1 Baths**

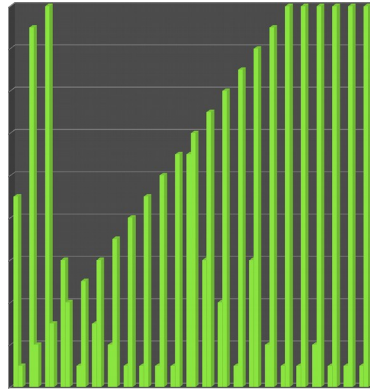
The baths are in the public context group. This because the baths were a public place where people could have a bath and were other people were also present.

The baths have played an important role in the social and cultural life in Imperial Rome. Because in the larger bathing complexes not only baths were found, but also libraries, gardens and cult places. (Manderscheid 1981, 3)

The baths are one of the most interesting context forms. This because of the huge difference in the two forms of nudity. In the baths there has been found a tremendous amount of sculpture, but mainly fictional and not so much heroic. The reason for this difference is difficult to explain, there are portraits found of emperors but those are often clothed and not naked.

The baths are also very interesting because they were found in the entire Roman empire. It is likely that almost every little township had a bath, while the larger cities had more than one bath. But not in every bath there has been sculpture found. There seems to be a regional difference. In 29 of the 46 Roman provinces there was no sculpture Table 1. Amount of statues found over the different baths.

found in the baths.<sup>2</sup> But in the



remaining 17

provinces there was.

Name of the Bath	Number in Table 1
Caracalla	1
Leptis magna	2
Cherchell	3
Tazoult	
Lambese	4
Timgad	5
Annaba	6
Madourus	7
Henchir el Hamam	8
Souani el Adari	9
Sabratha	10
Cyrene	11
Miletus	12
Ephese Vedius	13
Ephese	
Harbour	14
Argos	15
Agnano	16
Diocletianus	17
Palacio Ithalica	18
Vienna	19
Aix le Bains	20
Perge	21
Formiae	22
North Thermen	
Annaba	23

<- Table 2. Name of the baths corresponding to the number in table 1.

In these 17 provinces there is a total of 66 baths were sculpture has been found. (Manderscheid 1981, 5) In 23 of these baths there are also nude statues found. So it seems that sculpture of nude man was not in the majority of the Roman baths. Also in some baths you find more nude sculpture, than in the others. A total of 96 nude sculptures have been found. In table 1 can seen that only in three baths there was a lot of nude sculpture found, number two, three and twelve. In the other 19 it seems to be much less common.

ere are the Provinces existing during the Trajan era. In that time there were so take Rome and Crete as a Province you come to an amount of 46 Provinces.

5688

Another interesting factor of the baths is that from a lot of the nude statues we know in which part or room of the baths the statue was found. The largest part of the nude statues in the baths were found in the frigidarium, the cold room. Other rooms in which nude statues have been found are the caldarium, apodyterion, tepidarium and non-bathing areas. In table 3 is shown the dividing of the nude statues over the rooms in the baths.

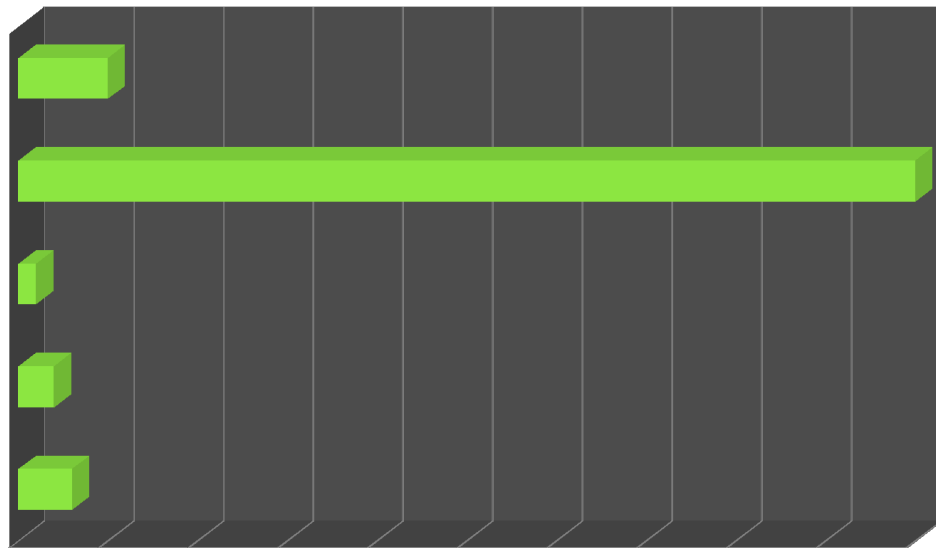


Table 3. The dividing of nude statues over the different rooms in the Roman baths.

The reason for the popularity of the frigidarium to put the statues there is not very clear. Manderscheid gives in his book *Die Skulpturenausstattung der Kaiserzeitlichen Thermenanlagen* from 1981 some possible explanations. He states that 'bathing technical' you would be longer in the cold room than in the warm room. Because the taking of a cold bath and swimming there together with other people would take more time than warming up in the warming room. (Manderscheid 1981, 21-23) There are however no literary sources from antiquity handed down to us in which it is described how long a person would stay in the frigidarium. This explanation is not very satisfactory. When living in a very hot climate like in Northern

Africa it would be understandable that you stay longer in the frigidarium to cool down and not so long in the warming room, because it is already very warm outside. But if you live in a colder climate it would be the other way around.

Another explanation given by Manderscheid is that the frigidarium was much more than just a room to cool down. (Manderscheid 1981, 22) The room was often centrally located in the baths and used as a representative room to meet with other people and to mingle.

(Manderscheid 1981, 21) Interesting for this explanation is that Pfretschner looked at the size of the three main rooms in the baths, frigidarium, caldarium and tepidarium, in different baths. What he saw was that the frigidarium is always a very large room, while the tepidarium and caldarium are sometimes just like the frigidarium large, but also sometimes small. (Pfretschner 1909, 33) If the frigidarium was indeed a room with different functions and used as a representative room it would explain why so many statues are found there. The reason for so many would then be make sure that people liked the room. Also it was the room that was then used most and with the largest chance that people would see the statues and that people would want it to be decorated.

Miranda Marvin also gives some explanations in her article *Freestanding Sculptures from the Baths of Caracalla* from 1983 why most of the sculpture was found in the colder rooms and not in warmer rooms. She says that is almost certain that the marble statues were painted. However, the paint on statues found in baths have hardly been analyzed, but the paint that was analyzed contained beeswax as a binding medium to hold colored pigments. Literary sources from antiquity also confirm this. Beeswax melt between 60 and 65 degrees Celsius. But before it starts to melt it already softens. The problem is that we do not know exactly how hot the hot rooms were in the Roman baths. There is much discussion about this temperature between scholars. The temperature also depends on if the bathers would walk barefoot in the baths. If the temperature was indeed very high in the hot rooms, over 50 degrees Celsius, they would have needed clogs on their feet or something needed to be put on the floor, like boards, so

they wouldn't get burned. There are no references found in antique writings about clogs or boards, but literary sources do write about severe burning from touching the floor or the walls. To get these actual burnings a room needs to be really hot. So this could also be an explanation why there is not so much sculpture found in the hot rooms. The paint would melt or soften. (Marvin 1983, 352-353)

This melting of the paint would not only have been a problem of nude heroic and decorative statues, but also of other statues that were

Fig. 6

Hercules Farnese. Found at the Baths of Caracalla. Late Antonine.

clothed. So the nude and clothed statues must have been similarly distributed over the different rooms in the baths.

Most of the nude sculptures found in the baths are statues of gods, like Watergods, Hercules, Bacchus and Aesculapis. These gods represent the joy of life, the healing power of water, strength and health. (Manderscheid 1981, 31-34) The nude bodies almost seem to glorify the male body in its full strength and health. A famous example of this glorification of the male body is the Farnese Hercules found in the Baths of Caracalla(see figure 6).



## 2.2 Theatres

The theatres are also placed within the public group. A theatre can be considered as a public place where people could come to enjoy a play or some gladiatorial fights. It was open to anyone who wanted to go there. (Welch 2007, 100-114)

Surprisingly it is difficult to find nude heroic and fictional nude statues with the theatre as a context. We do know that there was sculptural decoration for the large amphitheatres like the Colosseum and also the smaller theatres. The niches at the Colosseum for example are still there, but none of the sculpture have remained or is documented as being found there, perhaps due to its being placed in the center of Rome and the statues could be carried away easily. But it could also be possible that the niches found in the Colosseum were not used for statues.

The theatres in general are also an interesting context form because, just like the baths they were found in the entire empire. If a town or an area became 'Roman' it would need a theatre. When a Augustan *coloniae* was planned, almost always an amphitheatre was build from the beginning of the *coloniae*. An example is that of the amphitheatre in Merida, Spain.(Welch 2007, 126-128) The (amphi)theatre was an important element of the social life of the Roman citizens. It could be considered a meeting place for the ruler and his people. The emperor would visit and the people would see him.

The theatre also had an important cultural and didactic function. In the theatre the plays could be played and the Roman wanted to equal the Greek in their cultural acknowledgements. (Zanker 1990, 147-149)

From most of the statues found in a theatre is the exact original location within the theatre not known. Of only three of them is the exact location known and all three of these statues are heroic nudes. Two headless statues from respectively Corinth and Merida were found at the scaenae frons<sup>3</sup> of the theatres and the Augustus from the theatre of Arles was found at the stage building.

Very little is known of the distribution of the heroic and fictional nude male statues. Also it is difficult to determine if there has been a difference in the distribution of heroic and fictional statues. For

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<sup>3</sup>The scaenae frons is a decorated background from a theatre stage. It could be several stories high and was visible for the entire public. (Cerutti and Richardson 1998, pp. 173-177)

example if heroic nudes were mainly found at the most visible locations and fictional nudes only on the less visible locations.

### **2.3 Temples.**

In the temples a few fictional statues were found, but mainly a lot of heroic nude sculpture has been found there. Here one has to bear in mind one specific characteristic in the distinction between heroic nudity and decorative nudity. The heroic sculpture found was sometimes a deified emperor. As an example we have the statue of Augustus from the Temple of Rome and Augustus at Leptis Magna. (Niemeyer 1968, 106.) Augustus is here depicted and seen as a god, and not so much as the person or emperor Augustus. I was doubting if a statue like this Augustus should be putted in the table for Heroic nudity or fictional nudity. I decided best would be to put a statue like this Augustus in the table for heroic nudity, as he was at that time period a contemporary person. He is identifiable as an actual person of which we know for sure that he really has existed and also the Romans were aware of this fact .

The temple was a place of worship and a place you would want to decorate as lavish as possible. Of course not all temples survived, they were often build within the city's and when Christianity came they were often demolished or spolia of the temple were used for other buildings or churches.(Stalley 1999, 17-19) What to me also seems to be likely is that as the temples were a place of worship to the ancient gods, and with that a threat to Christianity. The first thing one would like demolish then would be the cult statue placed within the temple. That cult statue was the biggest threat, it was the embodiment of the ancient beliefs that was now considered to be heresy. (Routery 1997)

This is also what happened during the reign of the Roman emperor Theodosius I (Roman emperor during 379-395 AD). In 392AD he completely prohibited the worship of the ancient gods and started to close the Temple of Apollo in Delphi and of that of the Vestal Virgins in Rome. These two temples were very important to the ancient Roman beliefs.

The Serapeum in Alexandria was also demolished during this period. Some temples were reused as a church like the Pantheon in Rome. (McMullan 1984, 85-97) This might explain why a lot of the Roman cult statues of the gods are lost to us and not found within their original context.

By the distribution of the statues in the temples some regional differences can be seen between fictional and heroic nudity. The fictional nude statues were all found in Italy with two exceptions that were found in Greece, Delphi and Marathon. The heroic nude statues seem to be more spread over the empire since they were found in Greece, Italy and also Leptis Magna. From some of the heroic nude statues there is also an exact finding location known within the temple for example the statues of Augustus and Claudius from the Metroon in Olympia were located at a wall near the Metroon Stylobate. (Niemeyer 1968, 107-108) And the statues of Augustus, Claudius and Tiberius from the Temple of Rome and Augustus from Leptis Magna were found in front of the temple. (Niemeyer 1968, 103-106)

#### **2.4 Nymphaeum**

Originally the nymphaea were located in natural caves and grotto with streaming water, that were considered to be the natural surroundings of water nymphs. But during the time the natural caves were replaced with artificial caves, containing a round hall that was decorated with statues, flowers, plants, fountains paintings. It also lost its religious meaning. Were in the Greek world the nymphaeum was a religious place, in Imperial Rome it became a fountain, created to distribute water to the populace. (Longfellow 2011, 98-107) Thus the nymphaea were put into the public context form.

There are some heroic nude statues found there, but only four. Also in 1981 the nymphaeum of Punta Epitaffio was discovered. This nymphaeum contained some portraits of the imperial family (all clothed) and 3 decorative nude sculptures. At figure 7 we see a Dionysus that was found in the Nymphaeum of Punta Epitaffio. Further I haven't found any other decorative nudity in the nymphaeum context. What is interesting about the nymphaeum of Punta Epitaffio is that it is founded only a few years ago, so the context is certain and the finding location is very well documented.

Figure 7. Dionysus found at the Nymphaeum of Punta Epitaffio, Claudian.

## 2.5 Villas

A villa was the private house of wealthy Romans. Therefore the context form of the villa is placed in the private group. (Mattusch 2005, 3)

Quite a lot of fictional sculpture has been found in villa's and a not so much heroic sculpture.

In the villa context there are some statues found of the figure of Antinous. The boy lover from emperor Hadrian. Antinous is so much deified that as a divinity he was much more important, than he was when he was alive. Therefore statues of Antinous can best be considered as fictional nudity instead of heroic nudity. Almost all of the sculpture found of Antinous is from after his death. When depicted, Antinous is often depicted as a another god. An example is that of the bas-relief of Antinous as Vertumnus found in the Villa Adriana (see figure 8).



Of the sculpture that I found with a villa as a context, most of these statues came from one villa, Villa Adriana in Tivoli build between 118 and 138AD. This was an enormous complex build by the emperor Hadrian. It was much more a pleasure house, meant not only for the emperor himself, but also his entire court which provided in a vast amount of entertainment. (Pensabene and Antonelli 2012, 1333-1335.)

In this complex a large amount of fictional sculpture has been found. There are other villa's in which sculpture has been preserved, but not as lavishly as in Villa Adriana. One exception might be the Villa dei Papirii at Herculaneum. This villa was buried under dirt and ashes by the eruption of the Vesuvius in 79AD. This has preserved the villa and the statues in its original form and context. (Mattusch 2005, 12-15.)

The villa was something wealthy Romans owned in different locations. This could be in a large city villa (villa urbana), near a town (villa suburbana), or in a rural area (villa rustica). The villa suburban or villa rustica seems to have been used for leisure. Decoration was an important element of these villas, a large amount of fictional nude statues have been found at villas. These statues seem not only to have been for their own pleasure,



Figure 8. Bas-relief of Antinous as Vertumnus. Found at Villa Adriana, 117-138AD.

but also for the guests, who always had an opinion and would judge. From literary sources it is known that sculpture was a very beloved way of decorating a villa and the gardens of that villa. So we know

that there must have been a lot of sculpture in the Roman villas.



(Mattusch 2005, 14-19)

Of the villa Papirii we know the exact finding location of the fictional nude statues. All of them were found in the garden. Also the gardens of

Sallust contained a lot of sculptures. From the statues in the Villa dei Papirii can be seen that placing the statues was something that was thought about. The statues were not placed randomly in the gardens. The Boy Athletes were placed in the gardens next to the pool together with other statues (see figure 9). They were placed facing each other to create the feeling of a game or competition between these boys. (Mattusch 2005, 189) This way of displaying the Boy Athletes in the garden suggests that the Romans were thinking about what was the best way to create a maximum of esthetical effect by placing the statues in a certain way in their garden.

So in this example the Boy Athletes have a decorative function to beautify the gardens of the villa.

Of the heroic sculptures we do not know what their original location was in a villa. Of only one headless statue from the Villa Volusii it is known that it was found in the atrium.

Of the many statues found at the villa Adriana there is not much known about their original location. It is badly documented and sometimes different sources contradict each other.

Figure 9. Boy Athletes, Villa dei Papirii, early Imperial.

## 2.6 Forum/Basilica

The forum was an open space in the city centre. For this it was open for anyone to come there who wanted. Therefore the context form of forum is placed in the public group, even though there is some discussion possible, because the forum was used for different functions.

A Roman forum had many uses. It was in general a public gathering place, surrounded by public buildings, it is also the setting for public buildings, like the basilica. But it could also have important religious and ceremonial functions (forum Romanum), market function (forum boarium, Rome) or juridical functions (forums of Caesar and Augustus, Rome). (Grant 1970, 11-16)

Interesting of the forum as a context form is its location. It's an open space in the middle of a city surrounded by important buildings. That was also was a surprise to me, that I couldn't find fictional nude sculpture found for sure at a Roman forum from the imperial period.

The statues if found with the forum as a context were all heroic nude sculptures and not one statue of decorative nudity.

On what exact locations the heroic nude sculptures have been found on the forum is not known. We know very little of the distribution of these sculptures there.

The basilica belongs to the spatial category of the forum.

The basilica was a multifunctional building. It was used for commercial, administrative and social purposes. The main usage was administrative as it was a place for speaking justice. But it was also an important religious place and marketplace. It was an important element of the Roman Forum. (Grant 1970, 138)

All the statues found with a basilica as context are heroic nudity. The majority, eight, of these statues are emperors, three Julian-Claudian princes and two unidentifiable persons. Three of the emperor statues show us the emperor as a deified being. The emperor is not depicted as emperor, but as a deity.

Of some of the nude heroic statues found in the basilica we know the original location. Two statues from the basilica in Herculaneum, a sitting Augustus and a sitting Claudius, were found in the exedra. At the basilica in Sabratha is a headless statue also found in the exedra. So at two different basilica's were statues found at a similar location within the basilica.

There was no fictional nudity that I could find with basilica as a context.

## **2.7 Context forms divided over context groups.**

Altogether there are six different context forms. All of them have been put in one of the three context groups, public, religious and private. When putting this all in a table you can see that the public group is by far the most represented group when divided over the three usage groups. Belonging to the public group are baths, nymphaeum, forum/basilica and theatres. (see table 4) However this does not say that the public group also contains most of the statues. For this I created two different tables, one for heroic nude sculpture (see table 5) and one for fictional nude sculpture (see table 6). And I also created a table that combines heroic and fictional nude sculpture (see table 7).

This was done to see if the group that was most represented in table 4, was the most common context group and also the largest in statuary numbers or if there were any discrepancies.

When combining all the heroic nude statues in the groups which they are placed we see in table 5 that of heroic nude sculpture, most of the statues are found in the public area just as the public group is most represented in table 4.

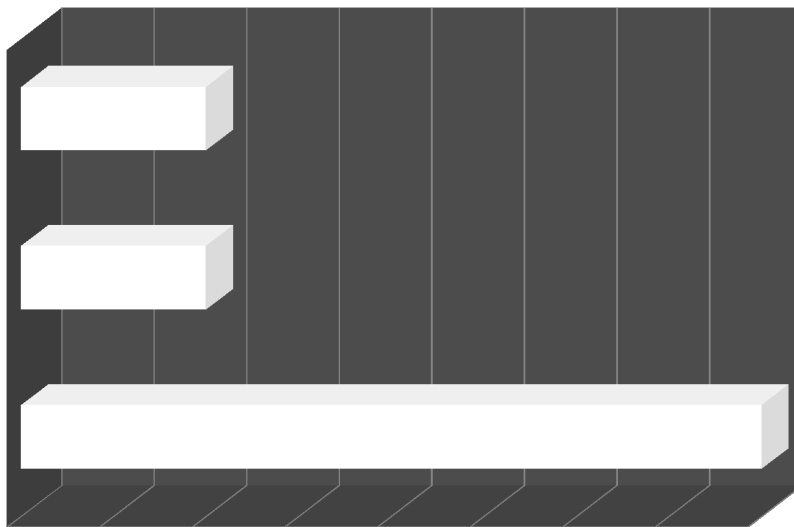


Table 4. Allotment of context forms by context groups.

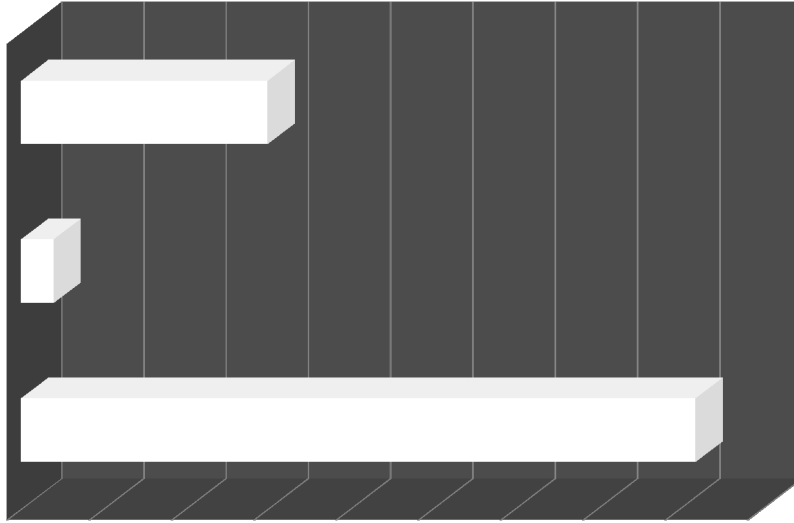


Table 5. Allotment of Heroic nude statues to the three context groups.

When putting in table 6, the allotment of fictional nude sculptures, we also see some differences with table 4. The public group is still by far the one that contains most of the found statues, but the religious group is only very small. When comparing table 6 to table 5, we also see a large difference in the amount of statues found in the religious group. There were quite some heroic nude statues found there, but very few fictional. When looking at the private group we see the exact opposite. There is quite some fictional sculpture in the private group, but very few heroic sculpture.

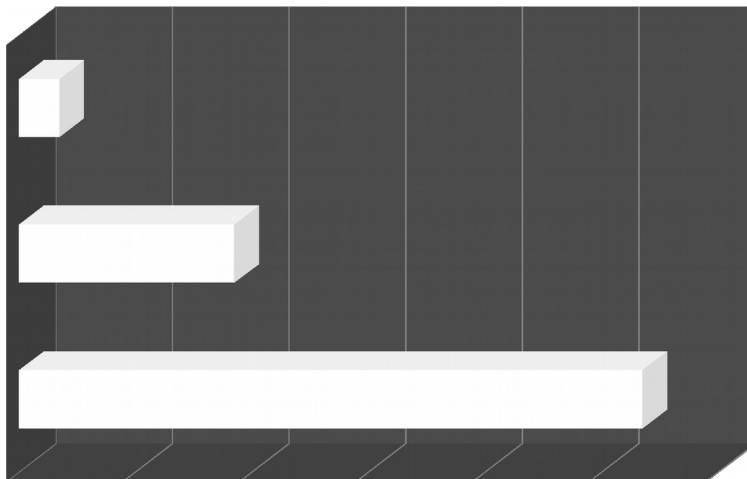


Table 6. The allotment of fictional nude sculptures.

After putting heroic and decorative nude sculpture together we get an overview in table 7. Most of the statues are found in the public group. The other groups are smaller compared to the public group. When comparing table 7 to table 4 we see that the public group has most of the context forms and statues. The private group is after the public the group the largest in amount of statues. The religious group is the smallest group in number of statues.

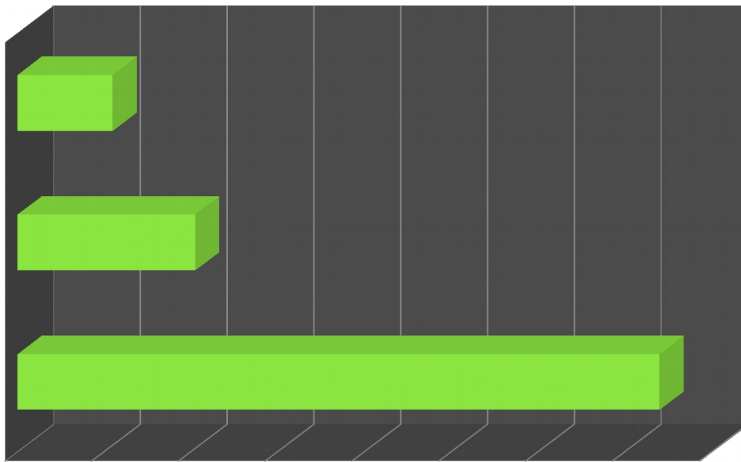


Table 7. Allotment of heroic and decorative nude sculptures combined.

### Conclusion

There are six context group in which heroic and decorative nude male sculptures have been found. These context groups are theatre, temple, forum/basilica, villa, nymphaeum and baths. The theatre, forum/basilica, nymphaeum and baths belong in the context group called public. The villa belongs in the private context group and the temple in the religious group.

What can be concluded from the tables is that most of the statues are found in the public context group and also most of the context forms belong to the public group, namely four out of six. These context forms are baths, nymphaeum, theatres and forum/basilica.

The religious and private context groups are much smaller. With the heroic sculpture is the religious context group the second largest

context group and private the smallest context group. While with the decorative sculpture private context group the second largest context group is and religious context group the smallest.

Since the public context group contains most of the male nudes statues we can conclude from this tables that the public context group seems to have been the most used location for placing male nude statues. And this is both for fictional nude statues as for heroic nude statues. The religious context group seems to have been the least popular group to place male nude statues.

### Chapter 3

#### ***The differences and similarities of the nude sculptures subject matter found in the different context forms.***

What I want to investigate in this chapter is if there are differences or similarities between the sculptures that were found in the context forms. The reason for this question is that in a certain context form a subject might have been more used in one context form than in another. What sort of subject matter has been used most in which context form.

In this chapter two different ways were chosen to research these differences and similarities and answer the research questions: A case study and the investigation of subject groups.

In a case study I will look at all the statues I have collected and write down what the subject of the statue is and see if there are more than one naked Augustus' statues found in a temple and then make a list of different subjects in different context forms. This will be interesting to do by a context form of which I have gathered a lot of statues, were these statues come not only from one or two archaeological sites but a larger amount of different sites with also more than one nude statue found per site. There is only one context form that meets these criteria perfectly, the baths. So I will do this kind research with the baths. I will do that later in this chapter as

a case study, as it will give some interesting information about the different subjects used in one context form.

For researching the differences and similarities in another way subject groups were created. There are three groups:

1. Fictitious mythical figures
  - Group statues
  - Heroes
  - Gods
2. Athletes
3. Heroic Portraits

The reason for creating these subject groups is that every statue has a subject, it depicts something or someone. A certain person, god, hero, etc. is depicted. Instead of creating a group for all the Mercury's and Diadumenos' apart, or I will put all the god's within one group and the athletes in another as the first ones are connected to a mythical tale whereas athletes are idealized non-historical persons. This would keep the amount of subject groups manageable and does give me a good overview of the subject matter used for statues within a certain context form.

Before the analysis a short explanation to all the subject groups is presented.

### **3.1 Fictitious Mythical Figures**

This subject group is divided in three subgroups that are all fictitious figures. Together they form the subject group of fictitious mythical figures, but I would like to explain the three subgroups apart, since there are some mutual differences and similarities between them that I would like to denote.

#### **Gods**

In this sub group belong the Gods. They are fictitious divine creatures that do not really exist. In the sub group of the gods also mythical creatures such as fauns and satyrs are included. These figures are

non-existing creatures, just as the gods, but they are all part of religion and myths and possess super-human powers. Thus there is a close line between gods, divine beings and mythological creatures.

### Group Statues

To the group statues belongs any statue that contains more than one figure. There are some statue groups that narrate us a myth, like the so called Farnese Bull from the Thermes Caracalla, where we see why. Or statue groups like that of Mercury and a young Bacchus together, showing us like film still a scene from the mythical tale in which Mercury was the caretaker of the infant Bacchus.

Since the group statues tell us something from a myth they are sometimes rather complex sculptures.

### Heroes

Heroes are persons that are the subject in myths, but are not a god, like Apollo, or mythological, like a faun. They are human beings who can be of godlike descent, but are still mortal. But the heroes are mythical persons. These persons that are talked and written about in myths. An example of a hero is Achilles.

### **Athletes**

Athletes are statues of not a certain person but more of an ideal. The ideal of the perfect body and athleticism. Therefore these are fictional sculptures and not mythical. The meaning and subject of such a statue differed to the Romans completely from the other subject groups. So therefore they have received their own subject group.

### **Heroic Portraits**

The heroic portraits are a subject group of their own. These statues of nude males are meant as a portrait of a historical person. They are not fictional nor mythological, but portraits meant to glorify the man portrayed in a heroic fashion.

The statues belonging to heroic nudity are all portraits and therefore placed in the subject group of the heroic portraits. The athletes are fictional. They represent an ideal. But they are not mythical, as are all the other fictional nude sculptures. Therefore the form there own subject group. The fictitious mythical creatures are all fictional nudity.

### **3.2 Division of the sculptures among the subject groups**

After creating this subject groups I divided al the sculptures among the subject groups. The result of this division can be seen in table 8. I put in the percentages of the quantity of sculptures found instead of the actual numerical amount of statues found. The reason for this is that in some context forms so many more sculptures have been found. And by naming the percentages you can compare the different context forms better.

What we see is that when putting together all the nude statues considered in this study and distributed them over their subject groups, that 66% of the statues belongs to the subject group of fictitious mythical creatures. It is by far the largest subject group of statues found. Then the second largest subject group is that of the heroic portraits (28%) and the smallest subject group is that of the athletes (6%). As the fictitious and mythical creatures subject is the largest subject group, this group was subdivided and another table for all the sculptures that does show us the subgroups was created. This gives a general idea what subject of fictitious and mythical creatures subject nude sculpture was most found in their find context (see table 9).

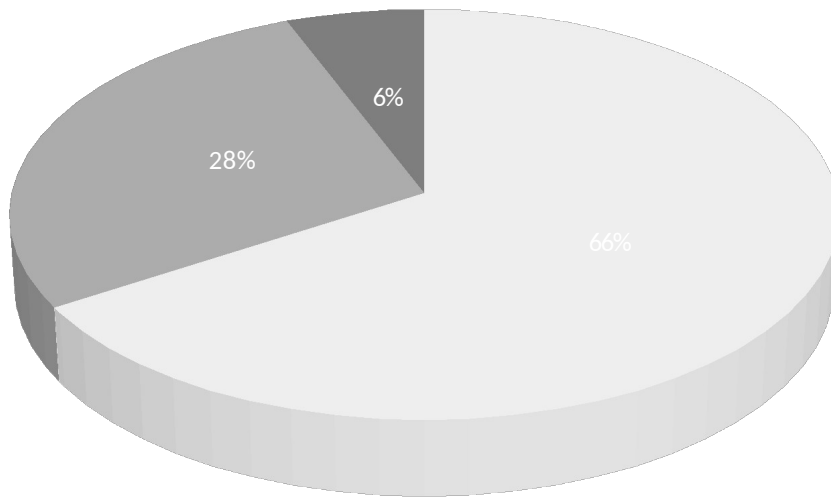


Table 8. All found sculptures divided over there subject group

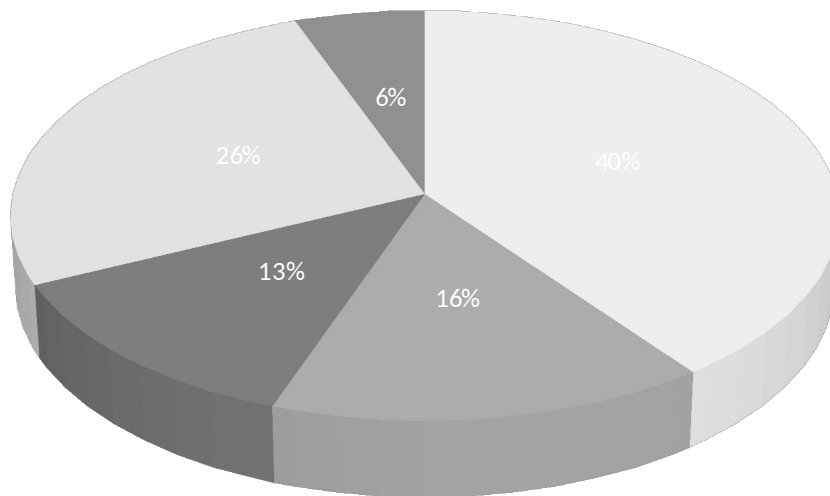


Table 9. All found sculptures divided over there sub subject group with the sub groups of Fictitious Mythical Creatures visible.

In table 9 we can see that the gods take in the largest part of the fictitious mythical creatures group (40%). And it also contains most of the statues in total of all the subject groups.

The following graphs are created in similar fashion as table 9 to make more visible what the influence is of each individual subgroup.

Because the distribution of sculptures over the subject groups might

differ for every context form. The following graphs will show these differences in distribution.

As there was such a clear result for the largest subject group the procedure was repeated for every context form apart, to see if there would be large differences between them and the general overview.

For comparing all these tables the most likely hypothesis was that one of the subgroups of the fictitious mythical creatures group would be in most of the context forms the largest group. Since it is so big compared to the other groups in table 8. But the subgroup gods from the fictitious mythical creatures group is in only two context forms the largest subject group, that of the baths (see table 10.) and villa (see table 13). In the other four context forms it is the heroic portraits that contains the largest amount of sculptures. The reason for this is that there has been found a very large amount of god and mythological sculptures, but most of them are found in the baths or villa's. So in those context forms we see a concentration of this subject group. The heroic portraits is much smaller in amount of sculpture than the gods and mythological sculpture group, but more steady divided over the different context forms. So here we see that when putting all the sculptures together one might get a total different result than when looking at the context forms one by one. The reason why the heroic portraits are so much more divided would need further investigation which cannot be cared out in the framework of an MA thesis.

When looking at what the second largest groups are, you see a more diverse spreading of context forms. The basilica/forum context group doesn't have a second largest group, since all statues found there are heroic portraits. With the villa and nymphaeum the second largest group is that of the subgroup statues from the fictitious and mythical creatures group.

For the theatre the second largest group is that of the subgroup gods from the fictitious mythical creatures group.

The temples have the heroic portraits as the second largest group and the baths the subgroup heroes from the fictitious mythical creatures group. The athletes are never the largest or second largest group, but occupy the middle ground.

The subject subgroup of group statues is the least visible subject group. In some context forms there are no group statues that I have found thus these can be considered to have been put as an exception. However when found, there is often a reasonable quantity of statues found there. Whereas the athletes are found in more subject groups, but the quantity of statues is lower.

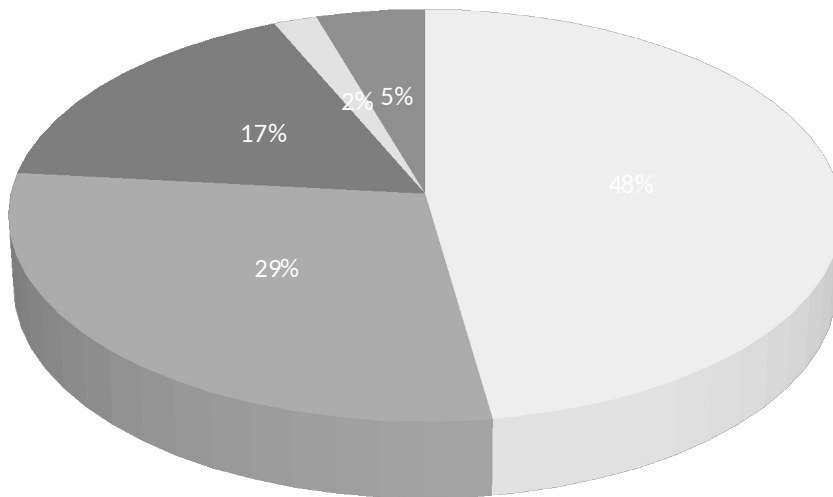


Table 10. Sculptures found in the baths divided over subject groups

### 3.3 Baths

When looking at table 10 we see immediately that the subgroup gods is the largest group in this table. The subgroup of heroes is second largest. Where in almost all the other context forms the heroic portraits is the largest subject group, it is here the smallest. What might be concluded is that heroic portraits were not used often in the baths. Apparently others subjects were deemed more fitting in that context form.

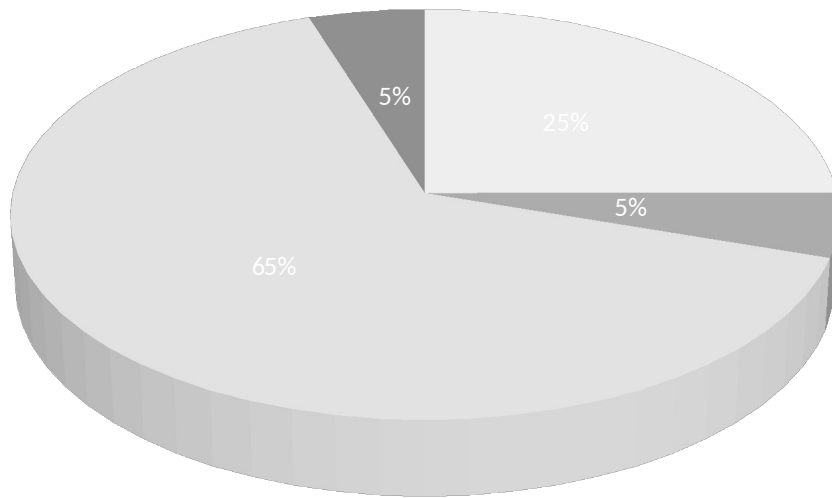


Table 11. Sculptures found in the temples divided over subject groups

### 3.4 Temples

In table 11 we see a diversion of different subject groups. The heroic portraits is the largest group, but the subgroup of gods is also well represented. The athletes and subgroup heroes have been found in this context, but are not very common. No group statues were found in a temple context.

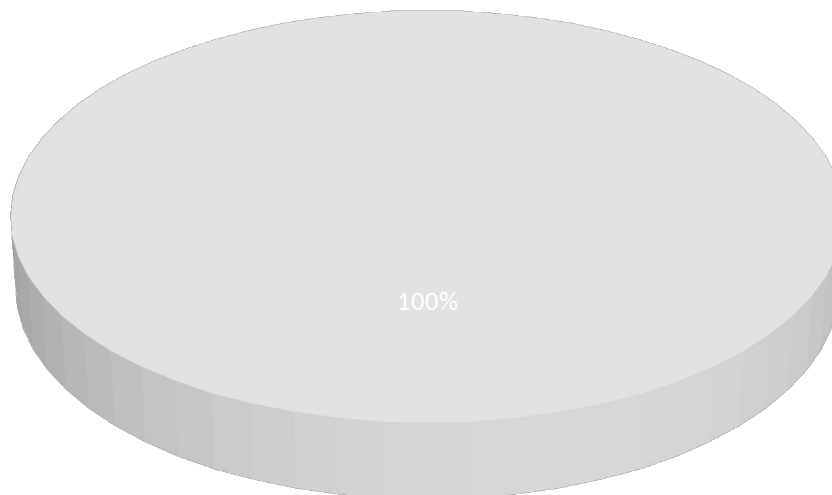


Table 12. Sculptures found in the forum/ basilica divided over subject groups

### 3.5 Forum/Basilica

What we immediately see when looking at table 12 is that only one subject group has been found in the context form of the forum. Only heroic portraits have been found. When interpreted from this table only heroic portraits of important people were placed there. An explanation for this could be that the forum was an important place in the Roman city life and also of political importance. So it might have been important for an emperor or politician to be seen at a location as the forum. It was an open area in the city, where everyone could come and having your portrait being placed in such a location would guarantee to be seen.

It is not known why there were no mythical sculptures placed in this context form.

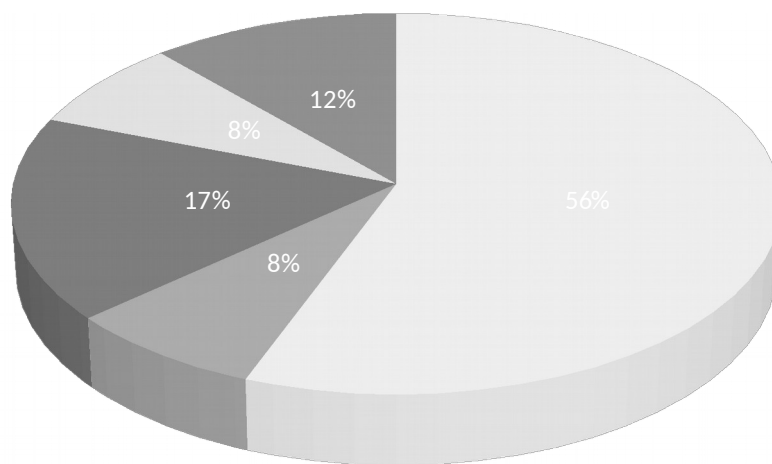


Table 13. Sculptures found in the villas divided over subject groups

### 3.6 Villa

At table 13 we see that just as in the baths the largest subject group in the villas is that of the subgroup gods. What distinguishes this subject group from other groups is that is that all other subject groups are represented in this context form. Apart from the largest subject group, are all subject groups of relatively the same size. Also in no other context form are the athletes so largely represented as in this context form. An explanation might be that the sculptures in the villa's was meant as decoration or that the villa, as a

private sphere was meant to be decorated with sculptures in another way.

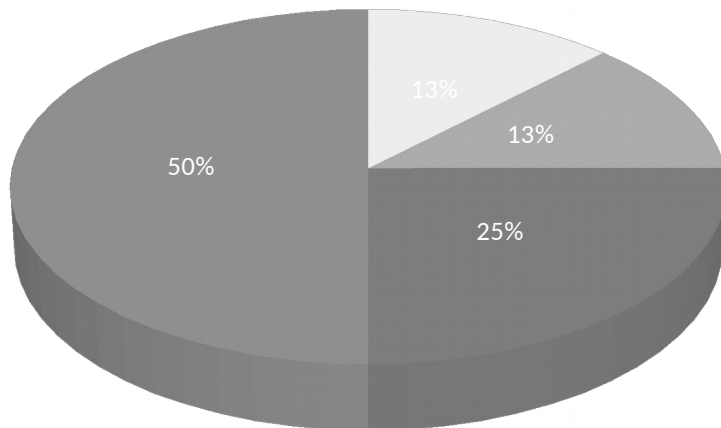


Table 14. Sculptures found in the nymphaea divided over the subject groups

### 3.7 Nymphaeum

Table 14 shows us the sculptures found in the nymphaea. The heroic portraits is also here the largest groups. The subgroup of group statues is also a large group here. Those two groups dominate this context form. The subgroups of gods and heroes are also found here, but not in very large quantities. No statues of athletes were found with a nymphaeum as a context form.

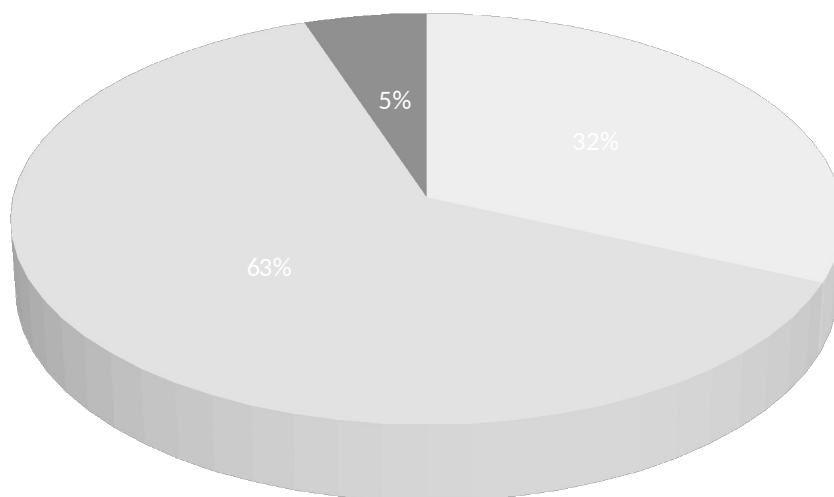


Table 15. Sculptures found in the theatres divided over subject groups

### 3.8 Theatre

The theatre is together with the forum the only context form for which no group statues were found. Further we see a spreading of the statues over three subject groups. Only the athletes are small numbered and the subgroups of heroes and group statues I haven't found there at all. The heroic portraits are by far the largest group in this subject group.

### 3.9 Conclusion

What could be concluded from the quantitative analysis was that even if a certain subject group contains a large amount of sculpture, it not necessarily means that in all the different context forms this is the largest subject group that contains most of the statues. The subgroup gods of the fictitious mythical creatures group is in total number of statues the largest subject group. However in only two of the six context forms was this subgroup indeed the largest subject group with the largest amount of statues. This indicates a concentration of a certain subject group in two context forms.

Most of the statues belonging in the subgroup gods were found only in two context forms, villas and baths, in the other context forms they were found less often.

The heroic nude portraits are maybe not the largest subject group in number of statues, but are the most spread subject group in regard of context.

The only subject group that is seen in all context forms is that of the heroic portraits. Apparently this subject group could be placed in any context form, whereas some other subject groups seem to be more restricted to certain context forms.

So heroic sculpture could be placed in any context form. The more fictional sculpture seems to be more common in private context forms, like the villa's or in a more public context form like the baths.

### 3.10 Case Study: Baths to exemplify

To exemplify a very well documented context form I did a case study with the baths. The sculpture's found in the baths are so well documented that there was more possible with this context form, than with the others.

I will look at all the statues I have collected and write down what the subject of the statue is and see if there are more than one naked Hercules' statues found in a bath and then make a list of different subjects in different context forms.

Therefore I created a table with all the statues found in baths divided by subject, not subject groups, but a certain god, like Apollo or a hero as Hercules. Table 16 shows the result.

We see that the subject of Hercules and Asclepius are by far the most popular in the baths as a subject.

Subjects	Amount of Sculptures found
Hercules	15
Bacchus/ Dionysus	9
Asclepius	15
Large group statues	4
River gods	3
Faun/Pan	10
Hermes	1
Non-Identifiable	5
Doryphoros	2
Mars	2
Melaeger	3
Mercury	9
Ganymede	1
Athlete	2
Androklos	1
Apollo	6
Achilles	1
Amor	1
Dioskuri	1
Marsyas	1
Diadumenos	1
Jupiter	2

Table 16. The subjects of the statues found in the baths

The large amount of Hercules's found might be surprising. Because what would be the relationship between Hercules and water. Hercules was already honored as the god of hot springs by the Greek. This tradition was followed by the Romans. (Manderscheid 1981, 30-34) When looking at the sculptures of Hercules there is no direct link visible between him and the water and baths in the iconography. However as god of the hot springs there is a relationship between Hercules and the beneficial elements of water in the baths and bathing. This beneficial element is not so much seen in the medicinal working, but more in physical consent. (Manderscheid 1981, 30-34) When keeping this in mind it is not surprising that Hercules is so often used as a subject for sculptures in the baths.

The large amount of sculpture found of Asclepius might be less surprising than that of Hercules. Asclepius is a health god in both Greek and Roman tradition. (Moreford and Lenardon 2007, 253-255) Two other large subject are Bacchus/Dionysus and Faun/Pan. These two subjects do not seem to be directly related to water or baths. But they are gods of nature, closely related to anything in the countryside. Both gods stand mostly for the enjoyment and pleasures in life, without worries. (Moreford and Lenardon 2007, 292-318) Herein also lays the relationship to the baths. In the baths you can enjoy yourself and the bathing. (Manderscheid 1981, 30-34)

All of these gods can be seen as mythical allusions of life, health and pleasure. Hercules being very strong and healthy, Asclepius as the god of health, Bacchus/Dionysus and Pan/Faun as gods of enjoyment and pleasure. All these are qualities are things that one might seek in the baths.

Out of this we might conclude that the most popular sculptures had a relationship with the water or at least to enjoyment and health. The iconography used in baths is therefore not random. It was something that was thought about and deliberately chosen.

In regard to my research question it tells something about the influence that the context itself has on the subject that was chosen for a particular context.

This influence exists on the choosing of the subject of a sculpture placed in a particular context. The context form and subject are related to each other. For every context form there seems to be a subject that is best befitting for that context form.

## **Conclusion**

As a research question I formulated:

**What can be concluded from the context of sculptures of nude males in Roman Imperial art?**

To find an answer to this research question I formulated three sub-questions and tried to answer these questions in three chapters. The methods of approach that I have used was collecting as many information possible of the different contexts where nude male sculptures were found. This included the search and collecting of sculptures with a known context.

These sculptures I found I put in a database, since there was no list of nude male sculptures with a known context. This database contains 211 sculptures. These sculptures where selected on grounds of context and information about these sculptures available.

For my research I created my own set of definitions that I used to explain my results.

I will give a short explanation of these definitions.

Context form: the context form are the different locations where the sculptures have been found. In other words it's the original context where the sculptures were placed by the Romans. There are six locations in which heroic and decorative nude male sculptures have been found. These six locations are baths, nymphaeum, theatres, temples, villas and forum/basilica. These locations I called context form.

Context groups: each context form is used for a particular purpose. A temple for example is used for a religious purpose. For this thesis I created three context groups that denotes the purpose of a context form in one word. You immediately know what the function was of a certain context form. The three context groups are religious, private and public. Temples have a religious function, the villas a private function and the baths, nymphaea, theatres and forum/basilica had a public function.

Subject group: every sculpture has a subject. It depicts something or someone. For my thesis I created three subject groups. All the statues could be distributed over the different subject groups. These subject groups are not a certain god or person, but more a group in which all the heroic portraits could be placed for example. The subject groups are formed on the common characteristics of the sculptures. Like that athletes are fictional nudity, but not mythical and heroic portraits are heroic nudity and portrait of historical persons. There are three subject groups. Heroic portraits, athletes and fictitious mythical creatures. The subject group of fictitious mythical creatures is subdivided in three subgroups, gods, heroes and group statues.

I started my research with a more general question to get a better view of the background of male nudity in the Roman empire. The question was:

'What is the origin of male nudity in art and why did the Romans take it over?'

For the first chapter I didn't need my database and only books and texts from scholars. The origin of Roman male nudity lies in the Greek culture. This is not surprising as the Romans took over many cultural elements of the Greek. What is more difficult to answer is why they took it over. Heroic nudity was a powerful image, and with conquering the Greek world the Romans came in contact with it. It is suggested that the Greek would put up nude heroic sculptures for their new rulers, the Romans. When Augustus came in power he needed a new visual language and the concept of heroic nudity was considered to be useful and became more and more popular in the Roman Empire.

After nude heroic portraiture was introduced in Rome it became more and more acceptable to be portrayed nude. We must see nudity in Rome purely as a costume, not on depicting any form of reality.

Nude heroic sculpture was not the only form of nudity in the Roman world. There were also the copies of Greek originals of a more mythological subject like heroes and gods. The men depicted in this form of nudity are fictional and not contemporary persons as are the men depicted in heroic nudity. Therefore this form of nudity is called fictional nudity in this thesis.

Also there was yet another form of nudity found in imperial Rome. This form of nudity was found on mosaics and fresco's. this nudity had a very different function than sculpted nudity. There function was more sexual or either apotropaic. It functioned more as a (sexual)entertainment or as a guard to ward off the dangers of the Evil Eye.

Because I wanted to research what could be concluded from the context of the sculptures, I first needed to know what the context of these sculptures exactly was and if there were remarkable things with these context (forms). So I formulated the following sub-research question: 'What is the context of the nude Roman statues of males in the Imperial Roman empire?'

For this second chapter I used my database in full. With help of my

database I could create a lot of tables that gave me insight in what the different context forms were and where most of the nude sculptures were found. I also made a distinction between heroic nudity and fictional nudity. Heroic nudity are portraits of historical Roman men in 'heroic costume'. This costume is the nudity. Fictional nudity are statues that are not portraits. They depict fictional creatures, like gods and heroes.

After the quantitative analysis of the material could be concluded that there were six context forms where heroic and fictional nudity were found.

These context forms are villas, forum/basilica, nymphaeum, theatres, temples and baths.

These six context forms were divided over three groups in which each of them belonged.

The result of this was that most context forms belonged to the public context group, namely baths, nymphaeum, theatres and forum/basilica.

The private group contained the villas and the religious group the temples.

After creating four tables that showed the distribution of the context forms over the context groups it could be concluded that the private group is the largest group in amount of statues. From this research it can be concluded that the public areas were the most popular locations to place male nude statues for both heroic and fictional nude statues. Even though heroic and fictional nudity are a different form of nudity they are both placed mainly in the same context group.

In chapter 3 it was investigated if in different context forms there were similar sculptures found or if there were differences. If context had an influence on what kind of nude sculpture or subject would be placed there. Therefore I formulated the following sub-question: 'Are there any differences or similarities in the nude sculptures found in the different context forms?'

For answering this question I created three subject groups, the fictitious mythical creatures, heroic portraits and athletes. All the statues were divided over these three subject groups. Then I looked at what context form what subject group was most used.

What could be concluded from this was that even if a certain subject group contains a large amount of sculpture, it not necessarily means that in all the different context forms this is subject group is the largest group that contains most of the statues. The subgroup gods of the fictitious mythical creatures group is in total number of statues the largest subject group. However in only two of the six context forms was this subgroup indeed the largest subject group with the largest amount of statues. This indicates a concentration of a certain subject group in two context forms. Most of the statues belonging in the subgroup gods were found only in two context forms, the baths and villa, in the other context forms they were found less often.

The heroic nude portraits are maybe not the largest subject group in number of statues, but are the most spread subject group in regard of context. Besides in four of the six context forms were the heroic portraits the largest subject group.

Apparently this subject group could be placed in any context form, whereas some other subject groups seem to be more restricted to certain context forms.

In answer to my research question the following can be concluded from quantitative analysis of sculptures of nude males and their context. Sculptures of nude males were found in all kind of context forms. In private locations like the villa, in religious facilities as temples and in public buildings as baths, theatres, nymphaea and forums/basilica. Nude male sculptures were found everywhere. In some locations nudity seems to have been used more than in others, in baths for example a large quantity of nude male sculptures have been found and while in some other context forms there are less sculptures found. It has to be borne in mind that this could also be in part the consequence of the very heterogeneous levels of preservation of the ancient contexts.

What also can be seen is that heroic nudity is found in more different context forms than fictional nudity. Apparently the heroic portraits could be placed in any context form, were other subjects might have been more restricted to a certain context form.

This indicates that the subject of sculpture was something that was thought about when placing in a certain context.

There is therefore a relationship between the choosing of a subject for sculpture and the context where the sculpture was placed.

It seems as if the context appropriates the subject that is chosen for a certain context. It all belongs together. In a certain context a certain subject can be used.

#### Review of methodology

To answer my questions I needed sculptures of nude men with a known context. There was no readymade list available of all these statues. So a database with sculptures of nude men sorted by context had to be created.

A lot of nude sculptures are not considered to be very important and are therefore stored away in depot's of museums. Then they lose their visibility to the outside world and is it very difficult to find these statues. It also seems that context is not always considered to be very important. Books, museum inventory's and museum website's most of the time don't mention the context. This could be because it wasn't known, as is the case with most of the statues, but sometimes a context is known and I have found in several books the context in very precise detail and still the online museum catalogue only mentions Rome as finding place. Because as could be shown above context is crucial to understanding the full meaning of a piece of art.

Another problem was that some context forms are very well documented, like the baths. Therefore I have a very large amount of nude male sculptures of the baths in my database.

But sometimes there is very little documentation about sculptures of one context form put all together. From the theatres for example there is very little documentation on the sculptures found there.

Also not all museums that have nude male sculptures mention the exact context where the statue has been found.

But the largest problem in regard of the validity of the results of this research is that a lot of sculptures of a certain context may have come down to us, but that, that context group was originally not a very big group. But because of the large amount of sculptures we have found in that context, we might think that originally it must have been a large context form. It could also work the other way around. There used to be a lot of nude male sculptures in a particular context, but most of them have been destroyed or have been lost.

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## Heroic Nudity

Table A. Theatre

Number	Name	Date	Context/provenance	Picture available
1	Augustus from the theatre of Arles	Augustan period	Stage building of theatre at Arles	yes Niemeyer 1968 p. 101
2	Colossal headless statue of an emperor	Augustan period	Theatre of Casinum	no
3	Headless statue from the theatre at Corinth	not known	Theatre of Corinth, scaenae frons	no
4	Claudius from the theatre at Vaison-la-Romaine	Claudian Period	Theatre of Vaison-la-Romaine	yes Niemeyer 1968 p. 103
5	Headless statue of the theatre at Merida	Probably Julian-Claudian	Theatre of Merida, scaenae frons.	yes Boschung 2002 p. 80
6	Headless statue of the theatre at Scolacium	not known	Theatre of Scolacium	no
7	Headless statue from the theatre at Vicetia	Probably Julian-Claudian	theatre of Vicetia	no
8	Tiberius from the theatre in Caere	mid first century AD	Theatre of Caere	yes Niemeyer 1968 p. 105
9	Claudius from the theatre of Caere	not known	Theatre of Caere	yes Niemeyer 1968 p. 105
10	Hadrian from the theatre at Vaison	end of first century AD	Theatre Vaison-la-Romaine	yes Niemeyer 1968 p. 110
11	Two men from theatre of Venafrò	not known	Theatre of Venafrò	no
12	Two Tetrachs	not known		no

Table B. Temple

Number	Name	Date	Context/provenance	Picture available
13	Augustus	Claudian	Imperial temple north of Serapeion, Thessaloniki	yes Niemeyer 1968 p. 102
14	Tiberius	Around 50 AD	Temple of Diana, Nemi	yes Niemeyer 1968 p. 102
15	Headless statue	Julian-Claudian	Temple of Diana, Nemi	yes Boschung 2002 p. 108
16	Tiberius	45-46 AD	Rostra in front of Temple of Rome and Augustus, Leptis magna	yes Niemeyer 1968 p. 103
17	Headless statue	Claudian	Imperial temple north of Serapeion, Thessaloniki	no
18	Headless statue	Augustan	Temple A, Minturno	no
19	Sitting Augustus	Early Principate	Temple A, Minturno	yes Niemeyer 1968 p. 104
20	Colossal Augustus	Julian-Claudian	Metroon, Olympia. South-end Metroon stylobate.	yes Niemeyer 1968 p. 108
21	Claudius as Zeus	Claudian	Metroon, Olympia. Southern ground wall of Metroon stylobate	yes Niemeyer 1968 p. 107
22	Headless statue	Claudian	Temple of the Imperial cult, Narona	no
23	Augustus	45-46 AD	Rostra in front of Temple of Rome and Augustus, Leptis magna	yes Niemeyer 1968 p. 106
24	Claudius	45-46 AD	Rostra in front of Temple of Rome and Augustus, Leptis magna	yes Niemeyer 1968 p. 106
25	Headless statue	around 140 AD	Temple of Antonius Pius and Faustina	no

Table C. Forum/Basilica

Number	Name	Date	Context/Provenance	Picture available
26	Bronze Jupiter Augustus	Augustan	Basilica Herculaneum, side apsis from the backplane	yes Niemeyer 1968 p. 103
27	Caligula (or Claudius)	Julian-Claudian	Basilica Gabii	yes Niemeyer 1968 p. 103
28	Germanicus	Julian-Claudian	Basilica Gabii	yes Boschung 2002 p. 45
29	Drusus Germanicus	Julian-Claudian	Basilica Gabii	yes Niemeyer 1968 p. 104
30	Headless Statue	not known	in an exedra of the Basilica, Sabratha	no
31	Divus Julius, headless	Augustan	North west quarter Julian Basilica, Corinth	yes de Grazia 1973 p. 328
32	Gaius Caesar	Augustan	Julian Basilica, Corinth	yes Boschung 2002 p. 64
33	Headless torso	Augustan	North aisle Julian Basilica, Corinth	yes de Grazia 1973 p. 333
34	Augustus	Augustan	Basilica Ephesus, Selcuk	yes Boschung 2002 p. 66
35	Sitting Augustus	Claudian	Central exedra of the Basilica, Herculaneum	yes Boschung 2002 p. 119

36	Sitting Claudius	Claudian	Central exedra of the Basilica, Herculaneum	yes Boschung 2002 p. 119
37	Augustus	Early Claudian	Basilica Ocriculum	yes Niemeyer 1968 p. 108
38	Claudius	48 AD not known	Basilica Herculaneum	yes <a href="http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/8/83/Claudius_Herculaneum_MAN_Napoli_Inv5593.jpg/342px-Claudius_Herculaneum_MAN_Napoli_Inv5593.jpg">http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/8/83/Claudius_Herculaneum_MAN_Napoli_Inv5593.jpg/342px-Claudius_Herculaneum_MAN_Napoli_Inv5593.jpg</a>
39	Headless Statue	not known	Forum Lucas Feroniae	no
40	Headless Statue	Julian- Claudian	Forum in Conimbriga	no
41	Portrait of an Emperor	not known	Forum in Ostia	no
42	Lucius Verus	around 150A D	Forum Praeneste	yes Niemeyer 1968 p.111
43	Augustus	40-50 AD	Forum Aenona	yes Boschung 2002 p. 70
44	Claudius Statue	42-43 AD	Forum Lanuvium	yes Niemeyer 1968 p. 43
45	with head Germanic us	not known	Forum Veji	yes Niemeyer 1968 p. 112
46	Sitting emperor with head of Tiberius	Julian- Claudian	Forum Veji	yes Niemeyer 1968 p. 112
47	Hadrian as Ares Borghese	around 125 AD	Forum Ceprano	yes Niemeyer 1968 p. 132
48	Tiberius	45-46 AD	Forum Leptis Magna	yes Boschung 2002 p. 10
49	Tiberius	Claudian	Forum Privernum	yes Niemeyer 1968 p. 114

Table D. Villa

Number	Name	Date	Context /Provenance	Picture Available
50	Statue from Villa Volconius Pollio	not known	Villa of Volconius Pollio	no
51	youth, with quiver beside him	not known	Villa Hadriana, Tivoli	no
52	Headless statue	not known	Atrium of the Villa Volusii, Lucas Feroniae	no
53	Tiberius	Tiberian	Villa at Paestum	yes Niemeyer 1968 p. 107

Table E. Nymphaeum

Number	Name	Date	Context/Provenance	Picture Available
54	Headless statue	Augustan	A nymphaeum in a Villa at Baiae	no
55	Torso of Hadrian	131-138 AD	Nymphaeum at Larissa	no
56	Hadrian	131-138 AD	Great Nymphaeum at Perge	no

57	Fragmentary portrait of Trajan	around 100 AD	Nymphaeum at Ephese	no
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Table F. Baths

Number	Name	Date	Context/Provenance	Picture available
58	Julian-Claudian Prince Lucas Verus as	Julian-Claudian	South Baths at Perge	no
59	Aesculapius	5BC	Termen Formiae	yes Niemyer 1968 p. 117

## Fictional Nudity

Table G. Theatre

Number	Name	Date	Context/Provenance	Picture available
60	Hermes as a Sandal Binder	2nd Century AD	Theatre of Marcellus, Rome	yes <a href="http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/d/db/Hermes-louvre3.jpg/574px-Hermes-louvre3.jpg">http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/d/db/Hermes-louvre3.jpg/574px-Hermes-louvre3.jpg</a>
61	Roman copy of Omphalos Apollo	Severian	Theatre of Dionysos, Athens	yes <a href="http://www.classics.cam.ac.uk:8080/sites/default/files/imagecache/main/casts/109.JPG">http://www.classics.cam.ac.uk:8080/sites/default/files/imagecache/main/casts/109.JPG</a>
62	Vaison Diadumenos	50AD	Theatre of Vaison-la-Romaine	yes <a href="http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/6/69/Diadumenos_Vaison_BM_GR1870.7-2.1_n1.jpg/330px-Diadumenos_Vaison_BM_GR1870.7-2.1_n1.jpg">http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/6/69/Diadumenos_Vaison_BM_GR1870.7-2.1_n1.jpg/330px-Diadumenos_Vaison_BM_GR1870.7-2.1_n1.jpg</a>
63	Silenus	Augustan	Theatre of Arles, Arles	yes Carrier 2005 p. 382
64	Silenus	Augustan	Theatre of Arles, Arles	yes Carrier 2005 p. 382
65	Sleeping Silenus from Caere	Claudian	Theatre of Caere, Caere	no
66	Sleeping Silenus from Caere	Claudian	Theatre of Caere, Caere	no

Table H. Temple

Number	Name	Date	Context/Provenance	Picture available
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Number	Name	Date	Context/Provenance	Picture Available
67	Ludovisi Mars	2nd Century AD	Temple of Mars, Campus Martius, Rome	yes <a href="http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/7/75/Ares_Ludovisi_Altemps_Inv8602_n2.jpg/220px-Ares_Ludovisi_Altemps_Inv8602_n2.jpg">http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/7/75/Ares_Ludovisi_Altemps_Inv8602_n2.jpg/220px-Ares_Ludovisi_Altemps_Inv8602_n2.jpg</a>
68	Bronze Apollo	End of 1st Century BC	Temple of Apollo, Pompeii	yes <a href="http://img2.photographersdirect.com/img/19309/wm/pd2029133.jpg">http://img2.photographersdirect.com/img/19309/wm/pd2029133.jpg</a> <a href="http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/7/75/Ares_Ludovisi_Altemps_Inv8602_n2.jpg/220px-Ares_Ludovisi_Altemps_Inv8602_n2.jpg">http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/7/75/Ares_Ludovisi_Altemps_Inv8602_n2.jpg/220px-Ares_Ludovisi_Altemps_Inv8602_n2.jpg</a>
69	Copy of Doryphoros	50BC	Samnite Palestra, Pompeii	yes <a href="http://academic.reed.edu/humanities/110tech/bodylanguage/images/largest/doryphoros1.jpg">http://academic.reed.edu/humanities/110tech/bodylanguage/images/largest/doryphoros1.jpg</a>
70	Egyptianizing statue of Antinous	Hadrian	Sanctuary of Isis, Marathon	yes <a href="http://www.antinoos.info/bild/antin521.jpg">http://www.antinoos.info/bild/antin521.jpg</a>
71	Delphic Antinous	Hadrian	Temple of Apollo, Delphi	yes <a href="http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/e/eb/Antinous_Delphi.jpg/248px-Antinous_Delphi.jpg">http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/e/eb/Antinous_Delphi.jpg/248px-Antinous_Delphi.jpg</a>
72	Early Imperial Tiberian Pasquino	Imperial	Sanctuary of Isis and Serapis, Rome	yes <a href="http://www.thehistoryblog.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/The-River-Nile-300x225.jpg">http://www.thehistoryblog.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/The-River-Nile-300x225.jpg</a>
73	Palazzo Pitti	Flavian	Mausoleum of Augustus, Rome	yes <a href="http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/d/da/Firenze-piazza_signoria_statue02.jpg/450px-Firenze-piazza_signoria_statue02.jpg">http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/d/da/Firenze-piazza_signoria_statue02.jpg/450px-Firenze-piazza_signoria_statue02.jpg</a>

Table I. Villa

Number	Name	Date	Context/Provenance	Picture Available
74	Beardless man	Around 30BC	Between columns in the large Garden, Villa dei Papirii, Herculaneum	yes Mattusch 2005 p. 158
75	Pan and She-Goat	End of 1st century BC	Eastern end of the south side of the large pool, Villa dei Papirii, Herculaneum	yes Mattusch 2005 p. 156
76	Boy Athlete	Early Imperial	Large garden west end of the pool, Villa dei Papirii, Herculaneum	yes Mattusch 2005 p. 194
77	Boy Athlete	Early Imperial	Large garden north end of the pool, Villa dei Papirii, Herculaneum	yes Mattusch 2005 p. 194
78	Seated Hermes	Before 79AD, not	Large garden, west end of the pool, Villa dei Papirii, Herculaneum	yes Mattusch 2005 p. 217

		clear		
79	Sleeping Satyr	Before 79AD, not clear	Large Garden, east end of the pool, Villa dei Papirii, Herculaneum	yes Mattusch 2005 p. 248
80	Drunken Satyr	Before 79AD, not clear	Large garden, west end of the pool, Villa dei Papirii, Herculaneum	yes Mattusch 2005 p. 251
81	Capitoline Antinous	Hadrian	Villa Hadriana, Tivoli	yes <a href="http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/1/16/Capitoline_Antinous_Musei_Capitolini_MC741_n2.jpg/220px-Capitoline_Antinous_Musei_Capitolini_MC741_n2.jpg">http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/1/16/Capitoline_Antinous_Musei_Capitolini_MC741_n2.jpg/220px-Capitoline_Antinous_Musei_Capitolini_MC741_n2.jpg</a>
82	Antinous bas relief	Hadrian	Villa Hadriana, Tivoli	yes <a href="http://www.corbisimages.com/images/Corbis-IH032411.jpg?size=67&amp;uid=6d14e72d-801d-44dd-af74-47a7985f4ae2">http://www.corbisimages.com/images/Corbis-IH032411.jpg?size=67&amp;uid=6d14e72d-801d-44dd-af74-47a7985f4ae2</a>
83	Faun in rosso antico	Hadrian	Villa Hadriana, Tivoli	yes <a href="http://www.flickr.com/photos/bstorage/5850971680/">http://www.flickr.com/photos/bstorage/5850971680/</a>
84	Towneys Diskobolos	Hadrian	Villa Hadriana, Tivoli	yes <a href="http://1.bp.blogspot.com/_N6IFoS5Mzpl/TOBWjXdskMI/AAAAAAAAAJE/HlcdFNb24yU/s1600/220px-Discobulus.jpg">http://1.bp.blogspot.com/_N6IFoS5Mzpl/TOBWjXdskMI/AAAAAAAAAJE/HlcdFNb24yU/s1600/220px-Discobulus.jpg</a>
85	Antinous Musei Vaticani	Hadrian	Villa Hadriana, Tivoli	yes <a href="http://farm5.staticflickr.com/4140/4926262308_4207a996ee_z.jpg">http://farm5.staticflickr.com/4140/4926262308_4207a996ee_z.jpg</a>
86	Antinous as Osiris	Hadrian	Villa Hadriana, Tivoli	yes <a href="http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/8/87/AntinousAsOsiris-BritishMuseum-August19-08.jpg/236px-AntinousAsOsiris-BritishMuseum-August19-08.jpg">http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/8/87/AntinousAsOsiris-BritishMuseum-August19-08.jpg/236px-AntinousAsOsiris-BritishMuseum-August19-08.jpg</a>
87	Diskobolos Castelporziano	Hadrian	Villa in the village of Tor Paterna	yes <a href="http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/0b/Discobolus_Castelporziano_Massimo.jpg">http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/0b/Discobolus_Castelporziano_Massimo.jpg</a>
88	Lansdowne Antinous Bas relief of Antinous as Vertumnus	Hadrian	Villa Hadriana, Tivoli	yes <a href="http://farm7.staticflickr.com/6035/6218356015_8575560b07_z.jpg">http://farm7.staticflickr.com/6035/6218356015_8575560b07_z.jpg</a>
89	Vertumnus	Hadrian	Villa Hadriana, Tivoli	yes <a href="http://aediculaantinoi.files.wordpress.com/2010/09/antin50.jpg">http://aediculaantinoi.files.wordpress.com/2010/09/antin50.jpg</a>
90	Harpocrates	Hadrian	In a room of the substructures of the Pecile, Villa Hadriana, Tivoli	yes <a href="http://sights.seindal.dk/img/medium/7693.jpg">http://sights.seindal.dk/img/medium/7693.jpg</a>
91	Leaning Satyr	Dominitian	Imperial Palace, Palatine Hill	yes <a href="http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/4/49/Torso_leaning_satyr_Louvre_Ma664_n2.jpg/360px-Torso_leaning_satyr_Louvre_Ma664_n2.jpg">http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/4/49/Torso_leaning_satyr_Louvre_Ma664_n2.jpg/360px-Torso_leaning_satyr_Louvre_Ma664_n2.jpg</a>
92	Scylla Group	Around AD	Villa Tiberius, Sperlonga	yes Stewart 1977 p. 91
93	Polyphemus Group	Around AD	Villa Tiberius, Sperlonga	yes Stewart 1977 p. 92
94	Achilles Group	Around AD	Villa Tiberius, Sperlonga	yes Stewart 1977 p. 91
95	Palladion Group	Around AD	Villa Tiberius, Sperlonga	yes Stewart 1977 p. 91
96	Lansdowne Sandal	Hadrian	Villa Hadriana, Tivoli	yes <a href="http://www.classics.cam.ac.uk:8080/sites/default/files/imagecache/main/casts/269">http://www.classics.cam.ac.uk:8080/sites/default/files/imagecache/main/casts/269</a>

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97	Lansdowne Herakles	125A D	Villa Hadriana, Tivoli	yes <a href="http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/51/Lansdowne_Herakles.JPG">http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/51/Lansdowne_Herakles.JPG</a>
98	Pan	45-25 BC	Villa Monte Cagnolo, near Rome	yes <a href="http://www.britishmuseum.org/images/k63409_m.jpg">http://www.britishmuseum.org/images/k63409_m.jpg</a>
99	Apollo Belvedere	2nd Century AD	Villa in Antium	yes <a href="http://genedorr.com/patches/images/Apollo/Ap17ApolloBelvedere.jpg">http://genedorr.com/patches/images/Apollo/Ap17ApolloBelvedere.jpg</a>
100	Headless Herakles	End of 1st century BC	Villa di Voconio Pollione, Marino	yes <a href="http://img3.photographersdirect.com/img/262/wm/pd2997688.jpg">http://img3.photographersdirect.com/img/262/wm/pd2997688.jpg</a>
101	Dionysos	Hadrian	Villa Hadriana, Tivoli	yes <a href="http://www.flickr.com/photos/mzrowan/4087608191/">http://www.flickr.com/photos/mzrowan/4087608191/</a>
102	Mars	Hadrian	Villa Hadriana, Tivoli	no
103	Athlete	Hadrian	Villa Hadriana, Tivoli	no
104	The River Nile	Hadrian	Villa Hadriana, Tivoli	no
105	The River Tiber	Hadrian	Villa Hadriana, Tivoli	yes <a href="http://www.gothic.stir.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/VauxRiverGods-2.jpg">http://www.gothic.stir.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/VauxRiverGods-2.jpg</a>
106	Paetus and Arria Ludovisi Gaul	2nd Century AD	Horti Sallustiani, Rome	yes <a href="http://imgc.artprintimages.com/images/art-print/a-gaul-killing-himself-having-killed-his-wife-before-the-enemy-also-known-as-paetus-and-arria_i-G-16-1637-IY5GD00Z.jpg">http://imgc.artprintimages.com/images/art-print/a-gaul-killing-himself-having-killed-his-wife-before-the-enemy-also-known-as-paetus-and-arria_i-G-16-1637-IY5GD00Z.jpg</a>
107	Castor and Pollux	1st Century AD	Horti Sallustiani, Rome	yes <a href="http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/b/b5/Castor_and_Pollux-Hermitage.jpg/450px-Castor_and_Pollux-Hermitage.jpg">http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/b/b5/Castor_and_Pollux-Hermitage.jpg/450px-Castor_and_Pollux-Hermitage.jpg</a>
108	Dying Gladiator	2nd Century AD	Horti Sallustiani, Rome	yes <a href="http://www.crystalinks.com/greekartgladiator.jpg">http://www.crystalinks.com/greekartgladiator.jpg</a>
109	Silenus with the baby Dionysos	Flavian	Horti Sallustiani, Rome	yes Hartswick 2004 p. 109
110	Faun seated on a wineskin	1st Century AD	Horti Sallustiani, Rome	yes Hartswick 2004 p. 114
111	Faun seated on a large goat	1st Century AD	Horti Sallustiani, Rome	yes Hartswick 2004 p. 114

Table J. Nymphaeum

Number	Name	Date	Context/Provenance	Picture Available
112	Dionysos and Satyr	Antonine	Antonius Nymphaeum, Sagalassos, Turkey	yes <a href="http://www.corbisimages.com/images/Corbis-42-34684443.jpg?size=67&amp;uid=2a17e399-0d38-4d10-95b8-84cd3933e558">http://www.corbisimages.com/images/Corbis-42-34684443.jpg?size=67&amp;uid=2a17e399-0d38-4d10-95b8-84cd3933e558</a>
113	Dionysos with a dog	Claudian	Nymphaeum Puntod'Epitaffio, Baiae	yes <a href="http://3.bp.blogspot.com/_h50mrLG0LE/SPOCz2tmWMI/AAAAAAAAAG8/4kSLf4Zkwjo/s320/licola+123.jpg">http://3.bp.blogspot.com/_h50mrLG0LE/SPOCz2tmWMI/AAAAAAAAAG8/4kSLf4Zkwjo/s320/licola+123.jpg</a>
114	Dionysos	Claudian	Nymphaeum Puntod'Epitaffio, Baiae	yes <a href="http://3.bp.blogspot.com/_h50mrLG0LE/SPOCz2tmWMI/AAAAAAAAAG8/4kSLf4Zkwjo/s320/licola+123.jpg">http://3.bp.blogspot.com/_h50mrLG0LE/SPOCz2tmWMI/AAAAAAAAAG8/4kSLf4Zkwjo/s320/licola+123.jpg</a>
115	Odysseus Companion with a	Claudian	Nymphaeum Puntod'Epitaffio, Baiae	yes <a href="http://1.bp.blogspot.com/_h50mrLG0LE/SPOIemI5_UI/AAAAAAAAAHU/MJw0j2ycaYM/s320/polifemo+and+ulisse.jpg">http://1.bp.blogspot.com/_h50mrLG0LE/SPOIemI5_UI/AAAAAAAAAHU/MJw0j2ycaYM/s320/polifemo+and+ulisse.jpg</a>

Table K. Baths

Number	Name	Date	Context/Provenance	Picture Available
116	Hercules Farnese	Late Antonine or Severan	End of central Hall, Thermae Caracalla, Rome	yes Marvin 1983 p. 385
117	Latin Hercules	Impossible to establish due to massive reconstruction	End of central Hall, Thermae Caracalla, Rome	yes Marvin 1983 p. 385
118	Polykleitan Herakles	Late Flavian	Thermae Caracalla, Rome	yes Marvin 1983 p. 386
119	Group of Achilles and Troilos	Antonine	Thermae Caracalla, Rome	yes Marvin 1983 p. 386
120	Hermes of Andros type torso	Late first or early second century	A niche in the wall separating the western room, Thermae Caracalla, Rome	yes Marvin 1983 p. 389
121	Punishment of Dirke (Farnese Bull)	End of second or beginning second century	Palaestra, main building, Thermae Caracalla, Rome	yes Marvin 1983 p. 389
122	Heroic male nude	Antonine	Thermae Caracalla, Rome	yes Marvin 1983 p. 390
123	Torso of Hercules	Not known	Thermae Caracalla, Rome	no
12	Torso of the Doryphoros	Antonine	Precinct area, niche facing the cyptoporticus in nortwest wall	yes Marvin 1983 p. 391
125	Sitting Mars	Hadrian	Frigidarium, Hadrianic Baths, Leptis Magna	yes <a href="http://i.pbbase.com/o6/93/329493/1/131604866.5Yb96A4z.LibyaDec100203.jpg">http://i.pbbase.com/o6/93/329493/1/131604866.5Yb96A4z.LibyaDec100203.jpg</a>
126	Aesculapis	160 AD	Frigidarium, Forumthermen, Ostia	yes Manderscheid 1981 p. 26
127	Rivergod Maeander	164 AD	Frigidarium, Piscina, Thermen Faustina, Miletus	yes <a href="http://jvpoll.home.xs4all.nl/wdo/GEO/M/PLAATJES/MILEFA ME.JPG">http://jvpoll.home.xs4all.nl/wdo/GEO/M/PLAATJES/MILEFA ME.JPG</a>
128	Hercules	2 AD	Frigidarium, Piscina, Aqua Domitiana, Aix-les-Bains	yes Manderscheid 1981 (no page numbers mentioned by the pictures)
129	Statue of a Man (Satyr?)	Not known	Frigidarium, Piscina, Palais du Miroir, Vienna	yes Manderscheid 1981
130	Torso of a Man	Not known	Palais du Miroir, Vienna	yes Manderscheid 1981
131	Maleager	Around 225 AD	Los Palacios, Italica	yes Manderscheid 1981
132	Torso of a Man	300 AD	Thermen Diocletianus, Rome	yes Manderscheid 1981
133	Mercury with young Bacchus	Trajan-Hadrian	Frigidarium, Room R, Stabilimento Termale, Agnano	yes Manderscheid 1981
134	Ganymede with Amor	Trajan-Hadrian	Frigidarium, Piscina, Stabilimento Termale, Agnano	yes Manderscheid 1981
135	Aesculapis	Antonine	Frigidarium, Thermen Argos	yes Manderscheid 1981

136	Aesculapis	Around 200AD	Frigidarium, Northern Piscina, Thermen Argos	yes Manderscheid 1981
137	Bacchus	Antonine	Apodyterion, Thermen Argos	yes Manderscheid 1981
138	Hercules	End of 2nd Century AD	Frigidarium, Thermen Argos	yes Manderscheid 1981
139	Mercury	Around 200AD	Eastern Basement, Thermen Argos	yes Manderscheid 1981
140	Melaeger	Antonine	Eastern Basement, Thermen Argos	yes Manderscheid 1981
141	Athlete	End of 1st Century AD	Harbour Thermae, Ephese	yes Manderscheid 1981
142	Rivergod	Antonine-Severian	Frigidarium, Thermen des Vedius, Ephese	yes Manderscheid 1981
143	Rivergod	Antonine-Severian	Frigidarium, Thermen des Vedius, Ephese	yes Manderscheid 1981
144	Aesculapis	Not known	Emperor's Hall, Thermen des Vedius, Ephese	yes Manderscheid 1981
145	Androklos	Not known	North side of the Emperor's Hall, Thermen des Vedius, Ephese	yes Manderscheid 1981
146	Aesculapis with Telesphorus	Antonine	Apodyterion, Thermen Faustina, Miletus	yes Manderscheid 1981
147	Bacchus and Satyr	Around 200AD	Tepidarium, Thermen Faustina, Miletus	yes Manderscheid 1981
148	Apollo Kitharode	Antonine	Museion, eastern wall, Thermen Faustina, Miletus	yes Manderscheid 1981
149	Athlete with small Hercules	Antonine	Apodyterion, Thermen Faustina, Miletus	yes Manderscheid 1981
150	Achilles and Penthesileia (fragments)	Not known	Frigidarium, southern base of the Balustrade of the Piscina, Miletus	yes Manderscheid 1981
151	Torso of a Man	Not known	Frigidarium, Thermen Faustina, Miletus	yes Manderscheid 1981
152	Bacchus	End of 2nd Century AD	Frigidarium, Westside Piscina, Thermen of Cyrene	yes Manderscheid 1981
153	Bacchus	Middle Antonine	Frigidarium, Thermen of Cyrene	yes Manderscheid 1981
154	Satyr	Antonine	Frigidarium, Thermen of Cyrene	yes Manderscheid 1981
155	Satyr with wineskin	Late Antonine-Severian	Thermen of Cyrene	yes Manderscheid 1981
156	Satyr	Hadrian	Frigidarium, Piscina, Thermen of Cyrene	yes Manderscheid 1981
157	Satyr with a Panther	Hadrian-early Antonine	Frigidarium, Thermen of Cyrene	yes Manderscheid 1981
158	Amor	Hadrian	Frigidarium, Thermen of Cyrene	yes Manderscheid 1981
159	Apollo	Antonine	Frigidarium, Thermen of Cyrene	yes Manderscheid 1981
160	Mercury	Antonine	Frigidarium, middle of the North wall, Thermen of Cyrene	yes Manderscheid 1981
161	Mercury	Trajan	Frigidarium, Thermen of Cyrene	yes Manderscheid 1981
162	Mercury	Not known	Frigidarium, Thermen of Cyrene	yes Manderscheid 1981
163	Dioscur	Hadrian-Antonine	Frigidarium, middle of the Southwall, Thermen of Cyrene	yes Manderscheid 1981
164	Aesculapis	Hadrian	Hadrianic Baths, Leptis Magna	yes Manderscheid 1981
165	Aesculapis	Antonine	Frigidarium, Central Hall, Hadrianic Baths, Leptis	yes <a href="http://i.pbase.com/o6/93/329493/1/131604860.0UPVqTnn">http://i.pbase.com/o6/93/329493/1/131604860.0UPVqTnn</a>

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166	Aesculapis	Severian	Frigidarium, Hadrianic Baths, Leptis Magna	yes Manderscheid 1981
167	Aesculapis	Severian	Frigidarium, west Piscina, Hadrianic Baths, Leptis Magna	yes Manderscheid 1981
168	Aesculapis	Hadrian	Frigidarium, Central Hall, Hadrianic Baths, Leptis Magna	yes Manderscheid 1981
169	Satyr	Late Antonine	Hadrianic Baths, Leptis Magna	yes Manderscheid 1981
170	Satyr	Hadrian	Hadrianic Baths, Leptis Magna	yes Manderscheid 1981
171	Marsyas	Antonine	Frigidarium, Central Hall, Hadrianic Baths, Leptis Magna	yes Manderscheid 1981
172	Mercury with young Bacchus	Hadrian	Frigidarium, Central Hall, Hadrianic Baths, Leptis Magna	yes Manderscheid 1981
173	Apollo Kitharode	Hadrian	Frigidarium, west Piscina, Hadrianic Baths, Leptis Magna	yes Manderscheid 1981
174	Apollo	Antonine	Hadrianic Baths, Leptis Magna	yes Manderscheid 1981
175	Mercury	Antonine	Eastern Room VI, Hadrianic Baths, Leptis Magna	yes Manderscheid 1981
176	Mars	Hadrian	Tepidarium, Hadrianic Baths, Leptis Magna	yes Manderscheid 1981
177	Apollo with a Antinous-Bacchus Head	after 130 AD	Frigidarium, West Piscina, Hadrianic Baths, Leptis Magna	yes Manderscheid 1981
178	Doryphoros	Hadrian	Hadrianic Baths, Leptis Magna	yes <a href="http://i.pbbase.com/o6/93/329493/1/131604864.DsbcleAd.LibyaDec100201.jpg">http://i.pbbase.com/o6/93/329493/1/131604864.DsbcleAd.LibyaDec100201.jpg</a>
179	Diadumeno s	Hadrian	Hadrianic Baths, Leptis Magna	Yes <a href="http://i.pbbase.com/o6/93/329493/1/131604872.J7Qp27bV.LibyaDec100216.jpg">http://i.pbbase.com/o6/93/329493/1/131604872.J7Qp27bV.LibyaDec100216.jpg</a>
180	Meleager	Hadrian	Western Room VI, at the westside, Hadrianic Baths, Leptis Magna	yes Manderscheid 1981
181	Bacchus	Hadrian	Latrine, Beach Thermen, Sabratha	yes Manderscheid 1981
182	Hercules	Antonine	Thermen Themetra, Souani el Adari	yes Manderscheid 1981
183	Aesculapis	End of 2nd Century AD	Hall E, niche in the middle of Northwall, Aqua Flavianae, Henchir-el-Hammam	yes Manderscheid 1981
184	Aesculapis	Not known	Great Thermae of Madaurus	yes Manderscheid 1981
185	Bacchus	Severian	Great Thermae of Madaurus	yes Manderscheid 1981
186	Aesculapis	Not known	Frigidarium, western Exedra, North Thermen, Hippo Regius, Annaba	yes Manderscheid 1981
187	Bacchus	End of 2nd Century AD	Frigidarium, North Thermen, Hippo Regius, Annaba	yes Manderscheid 1981
188	Hercules	End of 2nd Century AD	Frigidarium, western Exedra, North Thermen, Hippo Regius, Annaba	yes Manderscheid 1981
189	Jupiter	Antonine	Frigidarium, Great Southern Therme, Thamugadi, Timgad	yes Manderscheid 1981

190	Hercules with Nemic Lion	End of 2nd Century AD	Hall B Palais du Legat, Lambaesis, Tazoult-Lambese	yes Manderscheid 1981
191	Hercules and the Hydra of Lerna	End of 2nd Century AD	Hall B Palais du Legat, Lambaesis, Tazoult-Lambese	yes Manderscheid 1981
192	Hercules and the Mares of Diomedes	End of 2nd Century AD	Hall B Palais du Legat, Lambaesis, Tazoult-Lambese	yes Manderscheid 1981
193	Hercules and an Amazon	End of 2nd Century AD	Hall B Palais du Legat, Lambaesis, Tazoult-Lambese	yes Manderscheid 1981
194	Hercules torso	End of 2nd Century AD	Hall B Palais du Legat, Lambaesis, Tazoult-Lambese	yes Manderscheid 1981
195	Neptune	Middle 2nd Century AD	Frigidarium, Natatio, West Thermae, Chercell	yes Manderscheid 1981
196	Aesculapis	Hadrian-Antonine	West Thermae, Chercell	yes Manderscheid 1981
197	Bacchus	Middle 2nd Century AD	Caldarium, West Thermae, Chercell	yes Manderscheid 1981
198	Bacchus	Antonine	Frigidarium, West Thermae, Chercell	yes Manderscheid 1981
199	Flute playing Satyr	200 AD	Frigidarium, Central Hall, West Thermae, Chercell	yes Manderscheid 1981
200	Flute playing Satyr	End of 1st Century AD or 2nd Century AD	Frigidarium, Central Hall, West Thermae, Chercell	yes Manderscheid 1981
201	Pan	Not known	West Thermae, Chercell	yes Manderscheid 1981
202	Pastoral Statue	1st or 2nd Century AD	Frigidarium, Central Hall, West Thermae, Chercell	yes Manderscheid 1981
203	Satyr and Pan	Hadrian-Antonine	Frigidarium, Central Hall, West Thermae, Chercell	yes Manderscheid 1981
204	Hermaphrodite and Satyr	End of 1st Century AD or 2nd Century AD	Frigidarium, Central Hall, West Thermae, Chercell	yes Manderscheid 1981
205	Satyr with Panther	End of 1st Century or 2nd Century AD	Frigidarium, Central Hall, West Thermae, Chercell	yes Manderscheid 1981
206	Hercules	End of 2nd Century AD	A room west of the Northern Frigidarium, West Thermae, Chercell	yes Manderscheid 1981
207	Sitting Hercules	Hadrian	Frigidarium, Northern Room, West Thermae, Chercell	yes Manderscheid 1981
208	Apollo Kitharode	Not known	Frigidarium, Southern Room, West Thermae, Chercell	yes Manderscheid 1981
209	Mercury	Not known	Frigidarium, Souther Room, West Thermae, Chercell	yes Manderscheid 1981
210	Mercury	Not known	Frigidarium, Southern Room, West Thermae, Chercell	yes Manderscheid 1981
211	Jupiter	Early Imperial	Frigidarium, Natatio, West Thermae, Chercell	yes Manderscheid 1981