Selene and Endymion on the marble relief from Celeia

Selena in Endimion na marmornem relievu iz Celeje

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Izvleček

Prispevek obravnava upodobitev Selene in Endimiona na marmornem bloku, najdenem na dvorišču Knežjega dvorca v Celju. Upodobitev Selene (napol gola, z hišcem oziroma žezlom v roki) je kompozicijsko najbližje upodobitvam na rimskih stenskih slikah v Pompejih in Herkulaneu, ki so datirane v čas cesarja Vespazijana, in deloma tudi bistveno mlajšemu mozaiku iz Utine. Endimion in Eros, na drugi strani, bolj ustrezata t. i. prvemu razredu Endimionovih sarkofagov, ki so nastali med letoma 120 in 180 po Kr.

Na desni stranici je krilati otroški lik s pokrito košaro, ki po mojem mnenju predstavlja enega od Letnih časov v obliki Erotov. Ti so bili še posebej pogosti v drugi polovici 2. stoletja.

Marmornat blok je bil prvotno spodnji del večje edikulne grobnice. Vera Kolšek je v povezavi z njim izpostavila slabo ohranjen relief Marsa in Rea Silvije, ki je kot spolium vzidan v stanovanjsko hišo na Prešernovi ulici 10 v Celju. Oba pripovedna reliefa sta skoraj enakih dimenzij in sorodne kompozicije, prav tako se oba upodobljena para na rimski nagrobni plastiki občasno pojavita drug ob drugem, tako da bi morda lahko celo bila uporabljena na isti grobnici, in sicer na njenem levem oziroma desnem vogalu.

Ključne besede: Slovenija, rimska doba, Celeja, ikonografski motivi, Selena, Endimion, Letni časi, Rea Silvija, grobnice, sarkofagi, stenske slike

Abstract

The article discusses a relief of Selene and Endymion on a marble slab found in the courtyard of Knežji dvorec (Princes' Palace) in Celje (Cilli in German in the early literature). The best comparisons to Selene (half-naked, holding a whip or a sceptre) can be found on the remnants of Vespasianic wall-painting from Pompeii and Herculanum, and partially also on the much later mosaic from Utina. Endymion and Eros, on the other hand, are better compared to the so-called first class of Roman Endymion-sarcophagi, dating to around AD 120–180.

On the right lateral side is a winged childish figure, holding a covered basket, who in my opinion most likely represents one of the Seasons in the form of Erotes that were especially widespread in the second half of the 2nd century.

The marble slab was originally a constituent part of the base of a larger aedicula tomb. Vera Kolšek drew attention to a badly damaged relief of Rhea Silvia and Mars, immured as spolium in a residential house at Prešernova ulica 10 in Celje. Both narrative reliefs share almost identical dimensions and similar compositions, and last but not least, both pairs of lovers are occasionally found side by side on Roman funerary sculpture and could therefore be part of the same tomb – either on the left or right corner.

Keywords: Slovenia, Roman period, Celeia, iconographic themes, Selene, Endymion, the Seasons, Rhea Silvia, aedicula tombs, sarcophagi, wall paintings
In 1847 Otto Jahn in Archäologische Beiträge published a simple drawing of the marble relief representing Selene and Endymion from Celje (Cilli in German in early literature) (Figs. 1–3). He drew attention to the emerging iconographic pattern in Pompeian painting and pointed out that the relief bears a strong resemblance to the wall painting from Herculaneum (Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. no. 9245 or 9246; Fig. 4). The indisputable similarities stand out in an image of Selene, whereas both versions conspicuously differ regarding Eros and Endymion: in the wall painting from Herculaneum Endymion is shown as a seated hunter, holding two spears, while Eros is proportionally much smaller and appears to be ‘walking on air’.

Before Jahn’s observations the relief of Selene and Endymion from Celje was for the first time published together with the drawing in the article regarding the newly found Roman stones within the borders of the Austrian Monarchy by Anton 

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1 Jahn 1847, 68–69, Taf. III: 1. The drawing is reproduced from Wiener Jahrbücher der Literatur (Steinbüchel von Rheinwall 1829, 101, Taf. II: 2). For the photos of the aedicula base I am grateful to Jure Krajšek.

2 According to Ottavio Antonio Bayardi, it was presumably excavated in the area of Portici (Bayardi 1762, 13, note 2). Helbig 1868, 188, no. 955; Elia 1932, 76, no. 154; Gabelmann 1986, 730, no. 19.
Steinbüchel von Rheinwall. Later it was mentioned in the first half of the 19th century among other Endymion depictions by Karl Otfried Müller, and by Albert Muchar. Apart from some short references by Andreas Gubo in the next century and afterwards by Janko Orožen, followed by those by Silvio Ferri and Arnold Schober, it has been frequently mentioned together with other Celeian or Norican sepulchral Roman monuments, and also included in the *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*. However, the most substantial contributions to the study of its iconography were made by Erna Diez, and despite it being published several times, the in-depth study of the relief has not been done yet.

The mythological relief of relatively high quality is a part of a marble slab (79 x 86 x 48 preserved cm). Its right side (measuring 48 by 86 centimeters) depicts a winged childish figure holding a round basket with a lid (Fig. 1), whereas on the left side and on the upper surface holes for joints with other architectural elements are visible (Fig. 3).

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4 Müller 1835, 611.
6 Gubo 1909, 12.
7 Orožen 1927, 39–40, 86, no. 41.
8 Ferri 1933, 99.
9 Schober 1955, 132.

The whole slab is now displayed in Pokrajinski muzej Celje (Celje Regional Museum, inv. no. L 118), but it was initially recorded as found in the courtyard of Knežji dvorec (Princes' Palace, in early German literature Fürstenhof) in Celje, where the western necropolis of the Roman Celeia had been located. Most likely it was an integral part of a base of the larger aedicula-type tomb.

The frontal relief is deeply carved and the scene is set within the moulded frame, which is finished with the elaborately carved Norico-Pannonian volute on the top (cf. Fig. 3). On the left the sleeping Endymion lying on the rocks is depicted. His chlamys, which is spread over the rocks, only covers his feet and his right arm, on which he reposes; the left arm is bent above his head. His fore-finger and middle finger are extended, while other fingers are clenched together. Above Endymion hovers Eros, whose thorax almost touches Endymion's lifted arm. In the right hand Eros holds a burning torch, which reaches the upper left corner of the scenery. His other hand is stretched towards Selene, who approaches from the right with her left foot forward. Her robe is blown out behind her back in an arch revealing her body. She wears bracelets on her upper arms and an anklet on the left ankle; the vestiges of the elongated staff-like object are still visible in her left hand. The faces of the protagonists have been abraded.

Over a century after Otto Jahn’s book was published, Erna Diez elaborated on his suggestions and concluded that the fresco from Herculaneum and the relief from Celje, especially the effigy of Selene, may have been ultimately derived from a mutual prototype, whereas Endymion, on the other hand, seems to be more similar to the Vespasianic wall painting in Pompeii in Casa di Narcissus, better known as Ara Massima (VI 16, 15; Fig. 5).

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Selene and Endymion on the marble relief from Celeia

Diez also stressed that Celeian relief is not the only depiction of Selene and Endymion in the province, and drew attention to the other Norican examples.

Iconographically related to the goddess from Celje is a fragmentary relief of a quadrangular form from Wallsee within Lauriacum-ager, which dates from around the end of the 2nd till the first half of the 3rd century AD (Wallsee, Römermuseum; Fig. 6). Only Selene is preserved, but a splinter found at the same site shows what is believed to be the sleeping Endymion. The goddess, half-naked, with a crescent above her forehead, approaches (in contrast to the relief from Celje) from the left side; her garment similarly only enfolds her legs, unveils her body and falls down her shoulder. With the right hand she grips an elongated staff; the left hand is lifted to her face. The generic resemblances (posture, drapery, and staff) seem obvious, although the relief from Celje is of an indisputably higher quality. However, some differences occur in her garment, which does not form an arch behind her back.

The next Norican relief was excavated in the territory of the Roman municipium Flavia Solva, in Voitsberg, and dates from the second half of the 2nd century or later (Graz, Universalmuseum Joanneum, inv. no. 120; Fig. 7). Endymion lies asleep on his clothes, which are stretched over the cliff under the tree. His head reposes on his right arm, while he holds two javelins in his left hand. Selene has just stepped down from the carriage, fully attired, and with the lowered right arm grips Eros, who leads her to Endymion on the left. Unlike the relief from Celje, Eros does not hover and the composition is – as on several Roman sarcophagi, but never in mural painting – extended with Selene's horse-drawn carriage.

As opposed to Noricum, in Pannonia the myth of two lovers is represented completely different. Selene is reclining next to Endymion, she is half-recumbent, exposing her bare back, and gazes admiringly at her sleeping lover. The scene is usually set within the triangular gable of the grave steles.

Apart from the already noted depiction from Herculaneum, the goddess is also present on other preserved wall paintings from the 1st century AD,
as well as on the later mosaics. She is depicted half-naked and walking towards her lover.\textsuperscript{23} Relatively similar to Selene in Celje are Vespasianic wall-paintings in triclinium in \textit{Casa del Centenario} (IX 8, 6) and in \textit{Casa del Forno a Riverbero} (VII 4, 29; Fig. 8) in Pompeii.\textsuperscript{24} Especially the latter draws attention to Celje-relief, as Selene holds a whip and is directed to Endymion by torch-carrying Eros.\textsuperscript{25}

With respect to the representation of Selene we should not exclude the mosaic from \textit{Maison d'Icarios} or \textit{Maison des Laberii} in Uthina from between the 2\textsuperscript{nd} century and the mid-3\textsuperscript{rd} century AD (Tunis, Musée National du Bardo, inv. no. A 128; Fig. 9).\textsuperscript{26} Similar to Celeian relief, Selene approaches Endymion, with one foot firmly on the ground – a detail which is only found on the Roman sarcophagi, whereas in the mural paintings she either floats or walks on tiptoe.\textsuperscript{27}

Although the motif of Selene and Endymion presumably reached a relatively grand scale of representations in paintings, its true popularity (more or less due to its symbolic impact) was achieved on the sarcophagi from the metropolitan workshops (\textit{stadträumische Sarkophage}) dating from around AD 120–130 till the Gallienic era.\textsuperscript{28}

Furthermore, the posture of the sleeper in Celje (left arm curved above his head, muscular body, chlamys enfolding his legs) resembles the imagery on the subgroup of Endymion-sarcophagi, in particular after Carl Robert’s classification ‘erste Klasse’, dating within AD 120–180: Endymion is invariably shown on the left, as a half-naked recumbent youth (either on the rocks or on Somnus’ lap), anticipating the arrival of the goddess. He is depicted not as a hunter, but as a shepherd, in some cases characterized by \textit{pedum} next to his lowered right arm, whilst his left arm is bent above his head.\textsuperscript{29}


\textsuperscript{25} In addition, also in the mural paintings in \textit{Ara Massima} (VI 16, 15; Fig. 5), \textit{Casa di Ganimeede} (VII 13, 17–18), \textit{Casa del Gallo II} (IX 2, 10; Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. no. 9247) she holds a whip or a sceptre. Cf. Hodske 2007, 210–211.


\textsuperscript{28} On depictions on Roman sarcophagi see particularly: Robert 1897, 53–111; Sichtermann 1966; Koch, Sichtermann 1982, 144–146; Gabelmann 1986, 732–735; Sichtermann 1992, 53–163; Koch 1993, 74. The only non-Roman exception is the sarcophagus from Smyrna (Louvre, inv. no. MA 3184; Koch, Sichtermann 1982, 269, 522; Gabelmann 1986, 732, no. 53; Sichtermann 1992, 105–106, no. 28).

\textsuperscript{29} Schumacher 1977, 47–55. As a shepherd he is praised by Theocritus (\textit{Idyll.} 20.37–39); Ovidius (\textit{Trist.} 2.299); Nonnus (13.54, 15.283, 48.668); Quintus Smyrnaeus (10.131).
Selene, on the other hand, is always fully clothed (cf. Fig. 10). Thought-provokingly, also Eros in mid-flight, carrying the torch, is a common feature on Endymion-sarcophagi, whereas he appears as ‘walking on air’ in the paintings.

*Mutatis mutandis*, Selene on the marble relief from Celeia repeats the pattern disseminated in Roman paintings from the 1st century AD onwards, while Endymion and Eros clearly resemble the imagery of Endymion-sarcophagi, in particular the subgroup dating from around AD 120–180.

A winged figure on the right lateral side of the Celje slab has been – in contrast to the front image – only rarely mentioned (Fig. 1). Vera Kolišek interpreted it as the Genius of Death, whereas according to Gabrielle Kremer and Elisabeth Walde it represents Eros holding a small round box (Walde) or a basket (Kremer). In my opinion, due to the attribute, which is in my estimation rather an interwoven basket with a lid that is uncommon for Eros, as well as for Erotes, it more likely represents one of the Seasons in the form of Erot.

The personifications of the Seasons as Erotes emerged on the metropolitan sarcophagi in the middle Antonine era with some rare earlier exceptions, their peak was, however, reached in the second half of the 2nd century. A basket is a common attribute of Winter and Summer, even though it can be carried also by other Tempora anni. As the holder is covered and its content therefore remains unknown, it is impossible to claim, whom of the Seasons it represents. In spite of the fact that the figure is naked, it could hardly be Winter, who is normally dressed.

The posture of Celje-figure resembles the pose of Erotes, as well as Seasons in the form of Erotes, holding clipeus on metropolitan sarcophagi. The earliest example is found on the sarcophagus in Rome (Palazzo Altemps; Fig. 11) and is after Peter Kranz dated in the fifties of the 2nd century. The

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30 Robert 1897, 54–55, 59–69, nos. 39–49; Koch, Sichtermann 1982, 144–145; Gabelmann 1986, 732, nos. 46–53, 740; Sichtermann 1992, 103–112, nos. 27–46. The most comparable sarcophagi from that group are sarcophagi in Rome (Palazzo Rospigliosi-Pallavicini; Fig. 10), Vatican (Musei Vaticani, Galleria dei Candelabri, inv. no. 2829) and Copenhagen (Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, inv. no. 848).
31 Kolišek 1967, 27, no. 5, Fig. 15. Also Lazar 1997, 160.
32 Kremer 2001a, 220, no. 152b; Walde 2005, 119–120.
33 Kranz 1984, 105, 137.
35 Kranz 1984, 198, no. 49.
motif has doubtless developed from the earlier Erotes-sarcophagi. It has to be stressed that Erotes regularly emerge on the Endymion-sarcophagi. On all of the cases of the first sarcophagi-group they accompany Selene, enlighten with the torch the sleeper or raise his drapery. Often the sleeping Erot, who reclines on the reversed torch, is placed on each end of the scene. Nevertheless, Erotes are also common for the second and third sarcophagi-group, whereas in the third group, dated in the 3rd century, the scene can be extended with bucolic scenes or with the personifications of the Seasons. However, the Seasons in the form of Erotes relatively often emerge in Noricum and the winged figure in Celje could be placed on the aedicula base independently of the development of the scene on Endymion-sarcophagi.

Although Hanns Gabelmann proposed the beginning of the 2nd century AD as the dating of the Celeian slab, the slumbering figure of Endymion and the right lateral figure more likely allude to the dating after the year 150, in the second half of the 2nd century.

As it was suggested, figural block from Celeia originally formed an aedicula base. For its other side, left or right corner, Vera Kolšek hypothetically proposed a badly damaged marble relief of comparable measurements (79 by 86 cm), representing Mars and Rhea Silvia, accompanied by Eros, which was found during the restoration of the residential house at Prešernova ulica 10 (10 Prešeren Street) in Celje and remained built-in as spolium (Fig. 12). However, she did not exclude the option that they could belong to two different aedicula tombs.
The whole composition (the slumbering figure with an arm bent over the head, the approaching lover, and the hovering Eros) in all likelihood mirrors the composition of Selene and Endymion from Celeia. Nevertheless, two pairs of well-known mythological lovers, carved side by side, are – due to their symbolic allusion of the afterlife, – occasionally used in the funerary sculpture, as both myths have symbolized hope of eternal life and have referred to the parallels between death and sleep.\(^1\) Regrettably the poor preservation of an im- mured relief makes the final answer to whether or not these two marbles from ancient Celeia formed the same tomb difficult.

Selene and Endymion formed the right and the one with Rhea Silvia and Mars the left corner of the aedicula base (Kremer 2001a, 220, no. 152).

Marmorni kvader z upodobitvijo Selene in Endimiona v Celju (Celje, Pokrajinski muzej Celje, inv. št. L 118; sl. 1–3), ki je prvotno najverjetneje bil spodnji del večje edikulne grobnice, je že leta 1847 Otto Jahn primerjal s stensko sliko iz Herkulanea (Neapelj, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. št. 9245 ali 9246; sl. 4) in še posebej opozoril na podobnosti med obema boginjama. Primerljive upodobitve Selene najdemo tudi na nekaterih stenskih slikah v Pompejih iz Vespazijanova dobi – npr. Casa del Centenario (IX 8, 6) in Casa del Forno a Riverbero (VII 4, 29; sl. 8) ter na mlajšem mozaiku iz Utine (Tunis, Musée national du Bardo, inv. št. A 128; sl. 9), na katerem se Selena ne spušča k svojemu ljubincu z neba (kakor je običajno na stenskih slikah), temveč že trdno stopa po tleh, kar jo približa celjskemu reliefu.

Lik Endimiona se ne sklada z nobeno slikarsko upodobitvijo – najboljše ikonografske paralele zanj najdemo na Endimionovih sarkofagih iz delavnic mesta Rim, ki po razvrstitvi Carla Roberta pripadajo t. i. prvemu razredu (prim. sl. 10). Ne nazadnje tudi Eros, ki z baklo v roki leti proti spečemu Seleninemu ljubincu, bistveno bolj spominja na upodobitve na sarkofagih, saj je na ohranjenih slikah upodobljen, kakor da bi “hodil po zraku”. Vsi primerki ste podkrupine so nastali med letoma 120 in 180 po Kr., kar predstavlja tudi terminus ante quem non za nastanek celejskega reliefa.

Upodobitev Selene in Endimiona iz Celje ne edini noriški relief s tem prizorom. Boginji je ikonografsko blizu delno ohranjeni relief iz Wallseeja znotraj agra Lavrijaka (Wallsee, Römermuseum; sl. 6). Očitne podobnosti nastopijo zlasti v drži, žezlu v roki in draperiji, četudi ta ne tvori loka nad njeno glavo. Določene sorodnosti kaže tudi relief iz Flavije Solve (Gradec, Universalmuseum Joanneum, inv. št. 120; sl. 7), na katerem Seleno k spečemu ljubincu spremlja Eros, kompozicija pa je (podobno kot na sarkofagih) razširjena še s Selenino vprego. Povsem drugače kot v Noriku je prizor upodobljen v sosednji Panoniji, kjer običajno krasi timpanon nagrobnih stel: Selena se v polležečem položaju sklanja k Endimionu, tako da kaže svoj razgaljeni hrbet.

Na desni stranici spodnjega dela edikulne grobnice iz Celje je krilati otroški lik s pleno košaro, pokrito s pokrovo (sl. 1). Ta je bil interpretiran kot Genij smrti ali kot Eros, po mojem mnenju pa zaradi košare, ki ni atribut ne prvega ne drugega, verjetneje predstavlja enega od Letnih časov v obliki Eroto. Ti so bili še posebej pogosti v drugi polovici 2. stoletja in so v rokah često nosili košaro. Eroti običajno nastopajo kot asistenčne figure na prav vseh skupinah Endimionovih sarkofagov, pri tretjem razredu je prizor lahko razširjen še s personifikacijami Letnih časov, četudi zaradi relativno pogostih upodobitev slednjih v Noriku ne gre izključiti možnosti, da bi se lik na delu grobne edikule iz Celje lahko pojavil povsem neodvisno od razvoja motiva na Endimionovih sarkofagih.

Vera Kolšek je na desni oziroma levi vogal grobnice hipotetično umestila bistveno slabše ohranjeni relief z Marsom in Reo Silvijo (sl. 12), ki je danes vzidan v hišo na Prešernovi ulici 10 v Celju, pri čemer pa je opozorila, da sta lahko pripadala tudi dvema podobnima "stebričastima" grobnicam. Oba sta primerljivih dimenzij in sorodne kompozicije, prav tako upodobitev obeh parov, drugega ob drugem, ni bila tuja v rimski nagrobni plastiki. Zaradi slabe ohranjenosti slednjega reliefa je dokončen odgovor, ali sta reliefa res pripadala isti grobnici, težko podati.

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