THE IMPERIAL RELIEFS FROM THE SEBASTEION AT APHRODISIAS*

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(Plates III–XXVI)

In 1979, during his continuing excavation of the city of Aphrodisias, Professor K. T. Erim discovered a large temple and sanctuary complex dedicated to Aphrodite and the Julio-Claudian emperors (the *Theoi Sebastoi*). It had a remarkable sculptural display of which much has survived—there are about eighty relief panels. The complex would probably have been called a Sebasteion: we know from an unrelated inscription that there was one at Aphrodisias.[1] It is of great interest to both the historian and art-historian of the early empire, giving a rare combination of buildings, sculpture, and inscriptions from a unified excavated context and providing an unrivalled picture of the physical setting of the imperial cult in a Greek city. The sculptured reliefs give a great range and combination of iconography quite unexpected in such a context—mythological, allegorical, and imperial. The myth panels seem to offer a missing link between the iconographic repertoire of the Hellenistic world and that used under the Roman empire, while the allegorical and imperial panels give a detailed picture of the emperor and Rome as seen from the Greek East that is not available elsewhere.

After a preliminary general account of the Sebasteion and its sculptural display (I), this article offers a first publication of the surviving reliefs with imperial scenes (II), and sets them in the wider context of the building and of provincial representation of the emperor (III), leaving the rest of the sculptures, including the *ethne* (below pp. 95–6, for a later publication. First, a few premises about imperial art and the imperial cult, since the questions answered by the new evidence can be posed from both quarters.

The political ideology of the early principate was distinctly Protean: the emperor was different things for different people and contexts. There were, however, two main aspects, inconsistent with each other. On the one hand, for the aristocratic élite of Rome, the emperor was the *civilis princeps*, first among equals, whose supreme power was partly defined by his contrived 'refusal' of it. On the other hand, for the great majority of the other inhabitants of the empire, the emperor was monarch, king, or god. This may be simply illustrated by contrasting the attitudes expressed in, for

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The following abbreviations are used:

Erim = Erim, K. T., *Aphrodisias: City of Venus Aphrodite* (1986)—illustrations are cited by page number and by letter (a–d) within each page, from left to right, top to bottom.

Erim, *RA* = Erim. K. T., 'Récentes découvertes à Aphrodisias en Carie, 1979–80', *Rev. Arch.* (1982), 163–8.

Fittschen, *Kat. Erbach* = Fittschen, K., *Katalog der antiken Skulpturen in Schloss Erbach* (1977).

FZ I, III = Fittschen, K., Zanker, P., *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen Kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom* I (1985), III (1983).

IR I = Inan, J., Rosenbaum, E., *Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor* (1966).

IR II = Inan, J., Alföldi–Rosenbaum, E., *Römische und frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik aus der Türkei: Neue Funde* (1979).

Poulsen, *PR* = Poulsen, V., *Les Portraits romains* I (1973).

Reynolds, *Fest. Pippidi* = Reynolds, J. M., 'Further information on imperial cult at Aphrodisias', in *Festschrift D. M. Pippidi = Studii Clasice* 24 (1986), 109–17.

Reynolds, *ZPE* = Reynolds, J. M., 'New evidence for the imperial cult in Julio-Claudian Aphrodisias', *ZPE* 43 (1981), 317–27.

The rooms of the Sebasteion portico buildings are numbered (1–15) from east to west, similarly the columns of their façades (1–50). Measurements for the reliefs are given in centimetres; H = Height, W = Width, D = Depth. Dimensions in square brackets [134] give the full estimated dimension where not preserved but ascertainable; those in parentheses (134) give actual measurements which are not the full original dimension of the panel.

[1] *CIG* 2839. There is nothing definite to connect 'the Sebasteios naos' mentioned in this inscription as a point of topographic reference with the complex discussed here; but they may be identical, and we may call the building a Sebasteion without misleading. Cf. Reynolds, *ZPE*, 317–19 and *Fest. Pippidi*, n. 31.

example, the *Res Gestae* and the oath of Gangra.[2] Our literary evidence (especially the works of Tacitus) concerns itself mainly with how the emperor performed in relation to aristocratic expectations. For the majority's view of the emperor, the best evidence is archaeological (especially inscriptions and sculpture). The main media for present-ing the emperor's person, his simple presence or image, were statues and busts. For the representation of imperial narrative and allegory—the emperor in action, as it were—the most important were the official state reliefs on buildings at Rome. Sculptured versions of the emperor's image were made at Rome and all over the empire after defined models made available by the central administration. We also have plenty of them. The surviving state reliefs from Rome give us imperial narrative at the centre—the emperor's view of himself in action. But what did the provincial counterparts of such monuments look like? What sort of visual, allegorical language was used to describe imperial rule outside Rome? In Asia Minor during the high empire, we have the friezes of the Antonine altar at Ephesus. The Aphrodisias Sebasteion now provides a detailed answer for the Julio-Claudian period.

Excellent recent work has emphasized the importance of the cult of the Roman emperor in the Greek East. The basic facts are read in the rich epigraphic record, which speaks of the main components—the divine titles, the rituals, the tem-ples—while a sophisticated framework for understanding them is given in Simon Price's recent book, *Rituals and Power*.[3] The new evidence of the Aphrodisias Sebasteion fills out the picture and, as it were, puts some flesh and bones on the imperial cult. We may say on the basis of inscriptions that for the Greeks the Roman emperor was a god. But that raises a question: what kind of a god? How was a divine emperor, a Theos Sebastos, visualized?

In the Greek East under the early empire, Kaisareia and Sebasteia were regularly established in cities for the worship of the emperor. There was, however, no privileged design, no single model for a Sebasteion.[4] Rather, the cult of the emperor was instituted in various kinds of structures, both new and existing.[5] There were no complexes at Rome with the same function which could provide the required models. There were also no visual programmes in relief sculpture that expressed the ideas about imperial rule of most concern to the Greek East. Imperial reliefs at Rome represented central ideology and interests. Scenes of Roman ritual, like lustral sacrifices or imperial *congiaria*, would be of little relevance for a city in Asia Minor. The Greek East had mostly to evolve its own forms, meaningful to itself, for comprehending the Roman emperor. This was done by means of combination and adaptation of traditional Hellenistic forms and imported Roman components. The Aphrodisias Sebasteion is the first major complex in which this process of adaptation and innovation can be fully analysed. We find the city evolving an imperial cult centre for itself out of separate Hellenistic and Roman elements in both architecture and iconography.

I. THE SEBASTEION AND ITS SCULPTURAL DECORATION

Aphrodisias in Caria is a city of Roman Asia Minor with which readers of *JRS* will be familiar.[6] In the Hellenistic period it was probably a fairly small temple-town.

[2] Esp. *RG*, 34. Gangra: *OGIS* 532 = *ILS* 8781. See recently A. Wallace-Hadrill, 'Civilis Princeps: Between citizen and king', *JRS* 72 (1982), 32–47, and S. R. F. Price, 'Gods and emperors: the Greek language of the Roman imperial cult', *JHS* 104 (1984), 75–95, at 88–90 on oaths.

[3] S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power: the Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (1984). See also H. Hän-lein-Schäfer, *Veneratio Augusti: Eine Studie zu den Tempeln des ersten römischen Kaiser* (1985), reviewed by S. R. F. Price, *JRS* 76 (1986), 300–1; R. Trummer, *Denkmäler der Kaiserkult in Achaia* (Diss. Graz, 1981).

[4] See esp. K. Tuchelt, 'Zum Problem Kaisareion-Sebasteion: Eine Frage zu den Anfängen des römischen Kaiserkultes', *Ist. Mitt.* 31 (1981), 167–86.

[5] See esp. Price, *Rituals* (n. 3), ch. 6.

[6] See recently: C. Roueché, 'Rome, Asia, and Aphro-disias in the Third Century', *JRS* 71 (1981), 103–20; ead., 'Acclamations in the Late Roman Empire: New Evidence from Aphrodisias', *JRS* 74 (1984), 181–99; and esp. for what follows, J. M. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (*JRS* Monograph 1, 1982). C. Roueché's publication of the late Roman inscriptions from Aphro-disias will appear as a *JRS* Monograph in 1988. For a detailed bibliography of the site and the recent excava-tions since 1962, see Erim, 184–93.

Its major buildings mostly belong in the imperial period when it derived a new prosperity from a special relationship with Rome through the connection of the local deity, Aphrodite, with the ruling Julian family: Augustus was descended from her through Iulus son of Aeneas. The city acquired free and allied status that made it independent of the Roman province of Asia; and at the same time it set special store by its close 'personal' connection with Rome. Aphrodisias' emergence in the early imperial period was relatively sudden: the city was a new-comer to the kind of civic competition articulated by buildings and sculptured monuments. Not unnaturally, the city was deeply conscious that its arrival on this stage was due to Rome and the Julian family. The Sebasteion was part of its response.

The Sebasteion lies to the east of the main city centre, off a main north-south street that ran probably from the entrance to the sanctuary of Aphrodite to the theatre.[7] The complex (Fig. 1) consists of four distinct elements: a propylon, two long porticoes, and a temple. Each of these buildings had extensive inscribed dedications on its architraves, enough of which have survived to provide firm dates for the complex in the Julio-Claudian period.[8] Only the precise details of the building history remain unclear. The inscriptions show that the complex was most probably started or decided upon under Tiberius and finished under Nero. There was serious earthquake damage and re-building in between, involving a major building phase under Claudius.

We learn from the architrave dedications that the whole project was undertaken by two Aphrodisian families (which were perhaps related). One family dedicated the propylon and the north portico, the other the temple and the south portico. The inscriptions on the propylon and north portico tell us that they were dedicated by two brothers, Menander and Eusebes, with Eusebes' wife Apphias; and that after a severe earthquake, they were restored by Apphias with her daughter (Tata) and her two grandsons (Menander and Eusebes). The original brothers had obviously died. Both buildings are dedicated to 'Aphrodite, the Theoi Sebastoi, and the Demos'.

The temple and south portico seem also to have been the project of two brothers, Diogenes and Attalus, or rather of Diogenes and Attalus' wife, Attalis Apphion, Attalus himself being apparently already dead at the planning stage. The south portico has two fragmentary dedications. The first, from around Rooms 9–12, says the building was promised by Diogenes and Attalis Apphion on behalf of her husband, and restored by Diogenes' son, Tiberius Claudius Diogenes.[9] It was dedicated to Aphrodite, an uncertain divinized emperor or empress (Livia?), Claudius and the Demos. The wording of the inscription is somewhat ambiguous as to who is being credited with the various stages of 'promising', building, and restoration. The second architrave inscription, from near the east or temple end, preserves only the name of Attalis Apphion and the dedication to Aphrodite, the Theoi Sebastoi, and the Demos.[10] The temple architrave inscription is very fragmentary. It seems to have been dedicated by the original Diogenes with Attalis Apphion to Tiberius and Livia (certainly), and most probably to Aphrodite and Augustus too.[11]

Tiberius Claudius Diogenes gained Roman citizenship under Claudius, and the two dedications, to Tiberius (the temple) and to Claudius (part of the restored south portico), give broad but sure dates for the main building phases: the original plan and some major building under Tiberius, followed by a major restoration or rebuilding under Claudius. Two of the imperial panels show that the work continued into the early part of Nero's reign (below nos 7 and 11). This also fits what we know of the chronology of the two families from other evidence.[12]

[7] Full account: Erim, 106–23.

[8] Reynolds, *ZPE*, 317–20, and *Fest. Pippidi*, n. 12; Erim, fig. 112a. The architrave dedications are not yet all published.

[9] Reynolds, *ZPE*, 317, no. 1.

[10] Reynolds, *ZPE*, 318, no. 2 (in fact, from S. portico).

[11] Reynolds, *PCPS* 206 (1980), 79, no. 10; and *Fest. Pippidi*, n. 12.
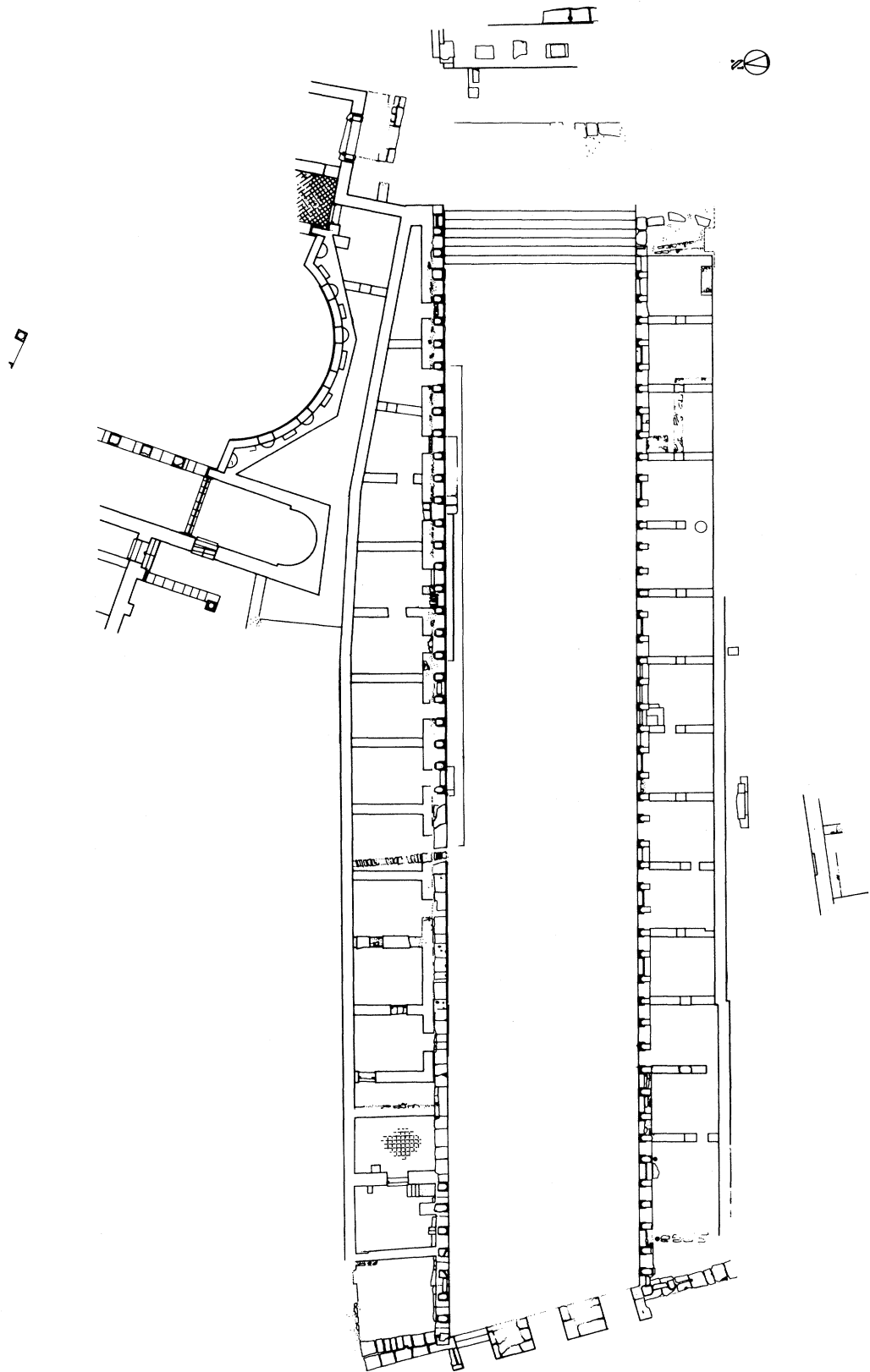
[12] Reynolds, *ZPE*, 319–22.

FIG. 1. PLAN OF SEBASTEION

The complex is oriented east-west. One entered at the west through the propylon, a monumental two-storey gate that is set at an oblique angle following the line of the street, after which one was in a long paved area (*c.* 14 × 90 m) flanked symmetrically by tall, three-storeyed porticoes decorated with large relief panels in the upper two storeys (Fig. 2). The porticoes are divided into rooms behind, each three intercolumniations wide, so that they are more correctly long buildings with engaged columnar façades. However, one would not be much aware of the room divisions behind, and the buildings must have functioned aesthetically as richly decorated colonnades. Nor would the irregularity in the layout at the east end of the north portico building, where the plan of Rooms 1–6 is 'bevelled' or cut off behind, be at all obvious. (It was due either to later modification to make space for the apsidal building to the north, or to a site that was already restricted here by other property; the apsidal building is later, but probably had predecessors on the site.) Finally, at the east end, there was a flight of steps up to a terrace, set beyond the porticoes, on which stood the imperial temple, placed on the axis of the sanctuary. This is the least well preserved part of the complex and not yet fully excavated.
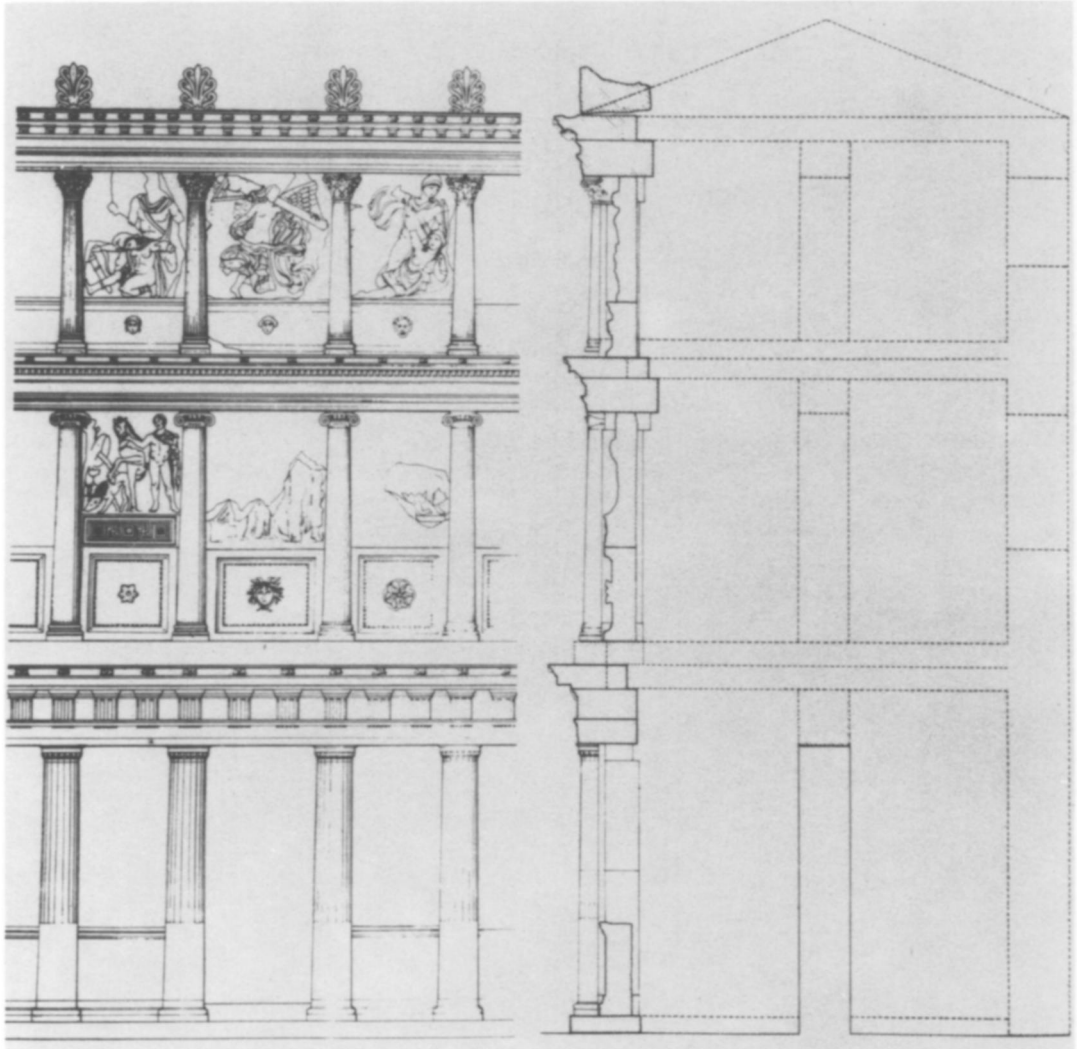

FIG. 2. RESTORED ELEVATION AND SECTION OF ROOM 3 OF SOUTH PORTICO

The north and south porticoes have Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian orders in their first, second and third storeys (Fig. 2). They have some finely worked ornament and are similar in technique and architectural style to the (earlier) stage façade of the Aphrodisias theatre. The two porticoes differ slightly in height and architectural detail and also in one basic design feature. The north portico has a single intercolumnar width and so a single width for its relief panels. The south portico, on the other hand, has a wider central intercolumniation over the middle of each room, flanked by narrower side intercolumniations. The panels here, therefore, come in two widths in each storey: wider central panels flanked by narrower side panels. Since the room divisions would not have been visible in the façade, this feature gave it a triple rhythm in the columns and, 'conflicting' with this, a two/one rhythm in the panels between.

We may imagine ourselves as ancient visitors to this complex and try to reconstruct what meaning its architecture and relief images would have had for us. What did the two great donor families wish to express to their contemporaries?

The architecture is in many ways highly unusual for a temple and sanctuary complex in the Greek East at this period. These are matters of basic plan and conception, not detail. Some can be most easily identified as Roman features, others seem to be pure innovation. The axial placing of a temple in a colonnaded court was already common practice in the Hellenistic period. What is different here is that the porticoed area has been narrowed down to act more like a processional way, which funnels the visitor's attention to the temple placed at the *end* of the complex. Greek temples, by contrast, were generally set in the middle of sanctuaries which contained a wider, more egalitarian space: one could move around and behind the temple.[13] Some Hellenistic building complexes which had grown organically would have had a similar effect—for example, the agora at Assus and perhaps the theatre terrace at Pergamon—but what seems novel in the Sebasteion is the deliberate creation of this effect in a single, designed complex.[14]

Although Hellenistic planning seems to have been tending in the direction of axial symmetry, the layout of the Sebasteion complex, in its principal elements, is like nothing so much as the two imperial *fora* at Rome that had been built by this time, those of Caesar and Augustus.[15] Both have temples placed axially at the end of symmetrical flanking porticoes in a single integrated complex. The main difference at Aphrodisias is that the available space allowed a greater proportional length. The complex is closest to the Forum Iulium in the separate placing of the temple at the end of the flanking colonnades. In the Forum Augustum, the temple projects between the colonnades and is connected with them in a continuous building complex. The later Forum Transitorium makes similar use of an elongated site, and the Forum Augustum similarly conceals an irregularity in its plan behind one of its porticoes.

In elevation, the three-storeyed portico buildings seem a striking innovation. They were *c.* 12 m high and would have towered over the visitor in a way that is foreign to both Hellenistic and Roman sanctuary colonnades. Individually and in purely formal terms, they seem like a combination of a multi-storeyed stoa with a theatre-building façade; but placed together flanking a sanctuary-way, the two porticoes would have created an almost 'interior' effect (Fig. 3). This effect was probably partly designed and partly due to the constraints of a narrow building site. There need have been no particular source for the portico elevations: they were most likely something new, evolved or created from the extension and multiplication of familiar architectural forms. Similarly, one can readily find parallels or 'sources' for

[13] So, for example, the sanctuary of Asclepius on Cos and the sanctuary of Artemis at Magnesia. Greek temples can occasionally be set at one end of a sanctuary as, for example, in the sanctuary of Zeus Soter at Megalopolis and the Sanctuary of Zeus at Priene; but the effect in these (much smaller) complexes is very different.

[14] For axial developments in Hellenistic sanctuary and market planning, see J. J. Coulton, *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa* (1976), ch. 9, esp. 177–80, on the function of some stoas as proto-colonnaded streets (as at Delos, Thermon, and Assus).

[15] On the imperial *fora*, see esp. P. H. von Blanckenhagen, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 13.4 (1954), 21–6; Kyrieleis, in *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien* (ed. P. Zanker, 1976) II, 431–8.
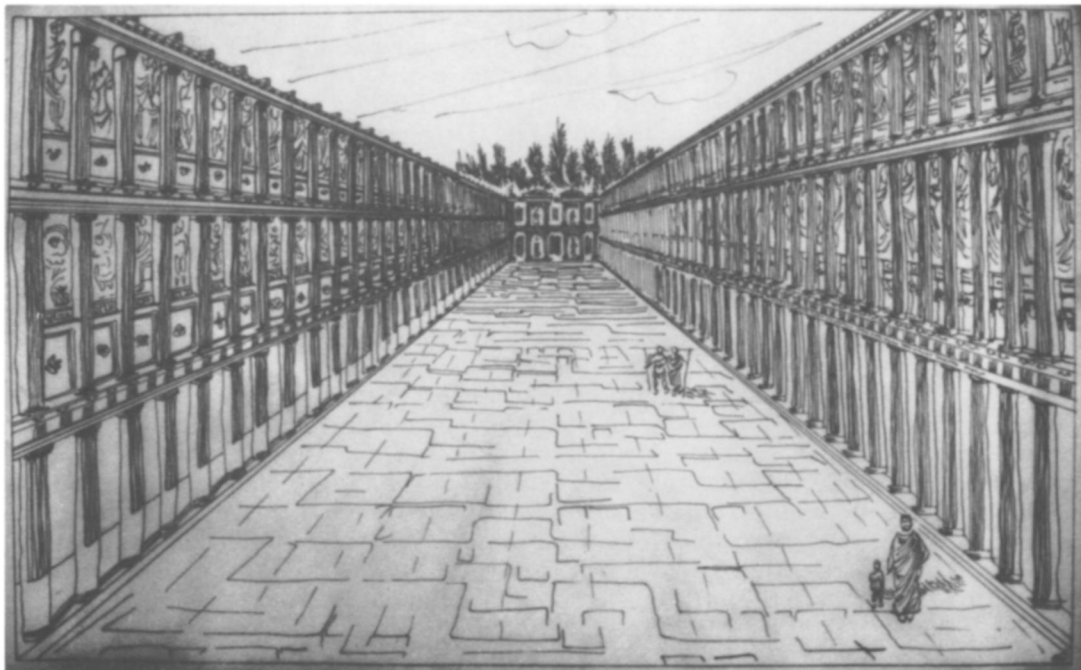
FIG. 3. SKETCH OF SEBASTEION PORTICOES RESTORED, LOOKING WEST FROM TEMPLE TO PROPYLON (CF. PL. III)

figured scenes and panels set between columns,[16] but the combination and repetition of this idea in the upper two storeys of a 90 m, triple-storeyed façade seems clearly innovatory.

The design of the temple itself, in both plan and elevation, was clearly Roman-inspired. Although it has not yet been fully excavated, there is enough to show it was a raised, Roman-style podium temple with all the emphasis thrown on the front. It had the usual flight of steps at the front only, leading up to a tall, Corinthian, prostyle façade of six columns.

The layout of the whole complex and the temple design are of a piece. A long enclosed space with a raised, prostyle temple placed axially at its end are parts of a familiar unified Roman conception: this is the architecture of imperial authority. The unusually tall elevation of the porticoes would have greatly enhanced this impression. One might perhaps have expected this kind of thing at a Roman colony. However, in free and allied Aphrodisias, there would be no question of directions or suggestions from Rome or the governor. The city has of its own accord sought out a Roman imperial model and adapted it to its own purposes. Unlike Ephesus or Pergamon, for example, the city had no great architectural past, no large store of Hellenistic building forms on which to draw. And unlike these cities, Aphrodisias boasted special 'family' links with Caesar and Augustan Rome. These factors combined probably explain the use of a recognizably Roman temple design and a sanctuary plan derived from the imperial *fora*.

[16] In principle, common on both Roman monuments and in the Greek East. Roman, for example: Ara Pacis, arch of Trajan at Beneventum. Closer parallels in the Greek East, for example, the high-relief figures between columns on Hellenistic monumental altars at Cos, Priene, Magnesia, and later Miletus: cf. M. C. Sahin, *Die Entwicklung der griechischen Monumentalaltäre* (1972), figs 21 and 23 (Cos, Magnesia); J. C. Carter, *The Sculpture of the Sanctuary of Athena Polias at Priene* (1983), ch. 3; Tuchelt, *Ist. Mitt.* 25 (1975), 120–40, Beil. 2 (Miletus). Formally very similar are the half-columns of the stage-building at Oropus that were cut to take *pinakes* mentioned in its architrave inscription: B. Petrakos, *Ho Orōpos kai to hieron tou Amphiariou* (1968), 84–7, fig. 13, pls 12b, 13—*to proskēnion kai tous pin[akes...]* = *IG* VII. 745. Similar panels between columns are probably attested in Hellenistic literature: (1) *stylopinakia* on the temple of Apollonis at Cyzicus (*Gk. Anth.* III); and (2) *pinakes* and *eikasiai pantoiai* between the columns of Ptolemy II's great festival pavilion (Athen. 5. 196e). For painted panels between columns, see the Leucadia tomb: Ph. Petsas, *Ho taphos tōn Leukadiōn* (1966), pl. A.

The function of the temple was the service of the cult of Aphrodite and the imperial family; and no doubt sacrifices were conducted on the raised terrace in front of the temple. What of the elaborate porticoes? At Rome the imperial *fora* housed various judicial and administrative functions.[17] At Aphrodisias these would be catered for elsewhere. Late coins (fourth–fifth century) embedded in the earth floors of the lower rooms of the porticoes indicate that they were used as shops in the early Christian period; but no finds suggest substantial or specific use in the early period. There also seems to have been no attempt to make the upper storeys usable. There is no evidence for proper floors and ceilings. At only two places in the south portico rooms is there evidence of stairs to the second storey (Rooms 1 and 13/14). The porticoes, then, may have had no practical function. Their architectural design, in its conception, was clearly chosen for its imposing façade, not to answer any practical need. The primary purpose of the porticoes was to provide the right context for, and lead-up to, the temple. They were also to act as an architectural frame for the series of relief panels.

The sculptural display began on the monumental gateway. Marble statues were displayed in its aediculated façade, of which we have only the inscribed bases.[18] They represented various Julio-Claudians, together with their mythical progenitors, Aeneas and Aphrodite (here called Prometor of the Theoi Sebastoi, i.e. Venus Genetrix).[19] Some of the Julio-Claudians are as one would expect: for example, Gaius and Lucius, Drusus the Younger, Agrippina the Younger. But there are also some rather surprising and obscure figures, most notably Ti. Claudius Drusus, the first-born son of Claudius, who died young, in the early 20s A.D., by choking on a pear.[20] This has interesting implications for the Aphrodisians' knowledge of dynastic developments at Rome. They made sure to keep themselves well informed of the latest events in the Julian family.

The relief panels filled the spaces between the columns in the upper two storeys of the portico façades for their entire length. There are forty-five intercolumniations, therefore there were ninety panels in each façade. The decision to have figured relief panels in all of the available 180 spaces may seem excessive; but when we have analysed the range of the subject-matter and its wide-reaching allegory, it may not seem too many. The themes of the reliefs taken together were broadly these: the Roman empire, the Greek world within it, and the imperial family.

There are only a few surviving panels from the north portico, supplemented by some inscribed bases on which the reliefs stood. (Parts of the north portico were found re-used in late walls at the theatre; in late antiquity, it evidently collapsed and was cleared sometime before the south portico went out of use.) However, the surviving panels and inscriptions are enough to give us in outline the iconography and meaning of the north portico display.

In the third or top storey there was a series of allegorical figures, personifying elements of time and place, and no doubt other things too. We have two panels with inscribed bases for personifications of Day and Ocean (Hemera and Okeanos).[21] We could deduce from these some others that were present, though hardly the required forty-five. We have more of the second or middle storey—about fifteen inscribed bases and six relief panels.[22] Here there was a series of personified peoples and provinces whose common feature, as Joyce Reynolds has seen, was that they were

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[17] J. C. Anderson, *The Historical Topography of the Imperial Fora* (1984).

[18] Not yet fully published: see Reynolds, *Fest. Pippidi*, nn. 14. f.; Erim, 111–12, fig. 110a. Some or all of the six statue bases for various Julio-Claudians, found re-used in the theatre, may also have come from the Sebasteion propylon: Reynolds, *PCPS* 206 (1980), 79–82, nos 12–17.

[19] Her base: Erim, fig. 111a. The direct translation of this cult title perhaps reinforces or makes explicit a

connection with the Forum Iulium where the temple was dedicated to Venus Genetrix.

[20] Suet., *Claud.* 27. 1; *PIR*² C 856; Reynolds, *Fest. Pippidi*, n. 22.

[21] Reliefs: Erim, 122, fig. 122a. Bases: Reynolds, *ZPE*, 325, nos 12–13.

[22] Reliefs: Erim, 120–3, figs 121a–c; Erim, *RA* 166, fig. 10. Bases: Reynolds, *ZPE*, 325–7, nos 14–21, and *Fest. Pippidi*, n. 37.

conquered, or deemed to have been conquered, by Augustus.[23] From the inscribed bases for the panels, we know the scheme included three islands (Crete, Cyprus, and Sicily) and a dozen peoples or *ethnē*, as follows: the Egyptians, Judaeans, and Arabs in the east; the Bosporans, Bessi, Dacians, and Dardanians in the north-east; the Iapodes in Illyricum; the Andizeti and 'Pirousti' in Pannonia; the Rhaeti and Trumpilini to the north of Italy; and the Callaeci in Spain. Casting the net this wide, it would clearly not be difficult to find the required forty-five.[24]

The surviving *ethnos* reliefs show single, standing, draped women, all well differentiated by costume, attributes, and posture. Each is a carefully conceived composition; they are not simply variations on given figure-types. The contracting Aphrodisian designer for the north portico, who had probably never even heard of peoples like the Pirousti, must have got the designs for this series from a cycle of provinces—in painting or sculpture—at Rome. Such personifications of conquered peoples were a common feature of imperial art at Rome, which went back to the statues of fourteen *nationes* in Pompey's theatre.[25] We know of or can infer several Augustan province series. There was a cycle of statues of conquered peoples in the Porticus ad Nationes, and there was a set carried in Augustus' funeral.[26] The forum of Augustus had *tituli* of conquered peoples (though not necessarily representations of them as well).[27] And at Lugdunum, the altar of Augustus was decorated with sixty *ethnē*.[28] Joyce Reynolds has suggested that the province series carried in Augustus' funeral could have been sketched and used as the models for the Sebasteion panels.[29] For reasons of practicality, it might be better to imagine a fixed cycle dedicated in a public place, like the Porticus ad Nationes. The funeral set may, of course, have been installed somewhere permanently. In any event, it seems clear that if it was to be included, the models for the Sebasteion province series (like that at Lugdunum) would have to come from Rome. The city was in close contact with the central government, whose permission it might have been diplomatic to seek for the building. It would be known what was available iconographically at Rome, and we should imagine draughtsmen sent there, with or after the city's delegation, to make drawings from the designated monuments.

The overall purpose of the north–portico allegories and provinces seems to be to suggest and illustrate a grandiose identification of the physical world and the Roman empire. Taken together, the north–portico reliefs seem to speak the language of empire without end, imperial conquest by land and sea, night and day. There may, however, have been other themes and subjects in the ninety panels (see no. 11 below).[30]

We have much more of the panels of the south portico. It evidently collapsed some time after the north portico, in the early Christian period, and unlike the north portico, it was never cleared or substantially picked over in antiquity. A high proportion of its blocks and reliefs was found in the excavation where they fell. We have about seventy complete or fragmentary panels, and small fragments of others. The theme of the south–portico reliefs is broadly the emperors and the Greek world. The Greek world is represented by scenes and figures from Greek religion and mythology, while the emperors appear in person with members of their family and

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[23] Reynolds, *ZPE*, 327, and *Fest. Pippidi*, n. 38.

[24] Compare the sixty *ethnē* reported as figuring on the Lyons altar (below n. 28) and the list of forty-five *gentes devictae* on Augustus' Alpine monument of 17 B.C.: Pliny, *NH* 3. 134–7; cf. J. Formigé, *Le Trophée des Alpes (La Turbie)* (1949).

[25] Pliny, *NH* 36. 41.

[26] Porticus ad Nationes: Servius, on *Aen.* 8. 721; Pliny, *NH* 36. 39. Augustus' funeral: Dio 56. 34. 2; Tac., *Ann.* 1. 8. 4. Interesting evidence of the use of such statues on arches is supplied by the Tabula Siarensis: *ZPE* 55 (1984), 58, frag. 1, ll. 9–11: '... Ianus

marmoreus ... cum signis devictarum gentium in[auratis ...]'.

[27] Velleius 2. 39. 2.

[28] Strabo 4. 192; cf. R. Turcan, *ANRW* II. 12. 1 (1982), 607–42.

[29] Reynolds, *Fest. Pippidi*, n. 39.

[30] The theme of Rome and the physical world was picked up in a panel of the south portico with a less political allegory of Roma standing over the reclining figure of Earth; it is identified by an inscription on its base giving the labels *Rhomē—Gē*: Reynolds, *ZPE*, 323, no. 7.

with various allegories. Gods and emperors are in the upper storey, Greek myth in the lower storey.

In the upper storey, the panels stood on low bases, some of which were inscribed when the Roman subjects would be unfamiliar to the average Greek visitor (for example, Claudius and Britannia, Pl. XV, 3). In the lower storey, the myth panels stood on large coffer-like bases, none of which is inscribed: all the subjects were expected to be readily familiar to the average viewer. A small but significant number of the myth scenes, however, are unfamiliar or perplexing to us.

The myth panels show a considerable range of period styles, which reflect the style of the prototypes of the individual scenes, not different sculptors' workshops employed for the panels.[31] Sculptural competence varies considerably, and independently of the complexity of the design. The compositions were clearly taken from diverse sources, as one would expect with forty-five spaces to fill. A majority of the myth scenes can be identified with reasonable ease. Some are versions of iconographic schemes already well known for those figures or stories,[32] while a few others are scenes best known to us only later on sarcophagi. Some are previously unknown compositions but sufficiently specific to be safely interpreted, and a small minority of scenes seem quite particular but obscure.

A listing of the known subjects and characters will give the flavour of the whole myth display. There are: Leda and the Swan, Demeter and Triptolemus, Bellerophon and Pegasus, Orestes at Delphi, Meleager and the boar, Centaurs and Lapiths, Achilles and Thetis, Achilles and Penthesilea, Ajax and Cassandra; Apollo appears three times, twice with different Muses, once with the Delphic Pythia; Dionysus is shown five times, twice as a child for rearing by nymphs and satyrs, and in three different postures of drunkenness; and Heracles, the classic Greek hero, appears six times, with Prometheus, Telephus, Nessus and Deianira, the Hesperides(?), and once drunk.[33]

Over all, the selection is in the main current of Greek myth. Obscure, unknown, or local myths seem to be few. Most of the subjects are taken from the standard canon, the inherited conglomerate of familiar Greek myth current in the late classical and Hellenistic periods. This was an international *koinē* of myth, with accompanying images in the arts, that was part of the basic cultural minimum for educated Greeks and Romans under the empire. The Sebasteion south portico gives an unusually large selection from this repertoire in a unified context. Its purpose here is to evoke, through a series of its familiar and authorized images, the world of Greek culture and religion, into which the Roman emperors are to be incorporated in the upper storey.

A few myth panels have a more precise reference to Rome or Aphrodite, and were meant to point forward to the imperial Roman future and Aphrodisias' special connection with it. There were, for example, panels showing the Flight of Aeneas from Troy (on his way to Rome, of course) and Romulus and Remus with the She-wolf, both in their standard schemes, and an innovative Birth of Eros from Aphrodite. The Aphrodisias-Rome theme is made explicit in a panel of the upper storey which showed probably a personification of the Polis crowned by Roma.[34] There was, as we shall see, a clear desire to present a close assimilation of Greek and Roman in the upper storey, but for the lower storey there were few Roman myths that would be known and even fewer that had recognized iconographic schemes.

In the upper storey of the south portico, the reliefs had three main themes: imperial victory, the divine emperors, and the gods. The traditional Olympian gods were presented as single, statue-like figures, some now deliberately defaced. When the porticoes were converted into a Byzantine shopping centre, most of the reliefs were left as harmless decoration; but these clearly pagan idols had to be chiselled back for

[31] Contrast, for example, the classical-style relief of Apollo with the tripod (Erim, fig. 114a) with the Hellenistic baroque-style relief of Prometheus Unbound (Erim, figs 118b, 119).

[32] For example, Achilles and Penthesilea (Erim,

fig. 115c) or Leda and the Swan (Erim, *RA*, 164, fig. 1).

[33] Cf. K. T. Erim, *IV. Kazi sonuçlari Toplantisi* (Ankara, 1983), 297–311, figs 4–9; and Erim, 112–14.

[34] Erim, *RA*, 165, fig. 6.

the spiritual protection of the Christian shoppers. (Ironically, while they were able to recognize gods like Zeus, other, less obvious deities, like Hygieia, escaped unharmed.) Imperial victory is portrayed both within the imperial series itself and in simple allegorical figures of Victory on her own. There were at least four panels showing winged Nikēs.[35] Victory and conquest were felt to be an important justification of imperial rule and neither is ever far away in the upper storey. But, as we shall see, it is always victory over barbarians of various kinds: Britons, Armenians, and the like. The conquest of Greeks is long forgotten. That was before the emperors. The Greeks were now partners, not subjugated recalcitrants.

Mixed in and juxtaposed with the purely allegorical and divine figures in the upper storey were the panels featuring various emperors and members of their family, to be studied here in more detail.

II. THE IMPERIAL RELIEFS

First, some technical matters. The relief panels were carved from single blocks of Aphrodisias marble (white, medium-grained). The main fragments of each panel were mostly found quite close together where they fell, while smaller fragments strayed further. The upper-storey panels were broken into more pieces since they had further to fall. The difficult recomposition of the panels and identification of the fragments belonging to each relief is due to the remarkable eye of Prof. Erim.

The panels are $c.$ 160 cm high and in width either $c.$ 140 cm (the side panels) or $c.$ 160 cm (the centre panels). They were cut from blocks $c.$ 45 cm deep. Despite the large numbers ordered from the quarry and their standardized sizes, the panels vary considerably in their main dimensions. Differences of height could be taken up in the different heights of the bases on which they stood, and differences of width could be absorbed quite easily behind the half-columns. The blocks for the relief panels were among the largest in the building, and it was not always possible to get blocks of the full dimensions that had no areas of corrosion, that is, parts eroded over the millennia by water channels within the quarry beds. The sculptors were usually successful in confining such areas of erosion to the back of the panel. However, sometimes small cuttings and repairs were necessary, usually made at the top of the panel. It is perhaps significant that none of the imperial series was cut from badly eroded blocks, although they are quite commonly used in the myth series.

The panels were set with their sides overlapping the back of the half-columns and the relief figures projecting forward between them. They are slightly broader towards the top to match the inward taper of the columns, and the side edges usually have a vertical rebate or band of rougher tooling (sometimes slightly bevelled) where they fitted behind the half-columns. The rectangular bases for the panels were set between the columns, with their lower corners cut to fit over the profiled column bases (Pls XV, 3, XVII, 3). No dowels were used between base and stylobate or between panel and base, but the upper corners of the panels were clamped to the top of the column capitals.

The lifting techniques used can sometimes indicate whether a panel was carved on the ground or on the building. The panels that preserve a lewis-cutting in the top, behind the background plane, must have been carved mostly on the ground, the original lewis-hole used for lifting the block from the quarry having been removed by the carving of the figures (it would have been set further forward at the centre of gravity). Of the eight imperial reliefs with the top of the panel sufficiently preserved, seven have remains of such a lewis-hole for lifting the carved panel.[36] Nothing can be inferred from the absence of a lewis-hole (as in no. 3), because the tops of the blocks would often be trimmed down to the right height on the building. This can be seen in the cases where only a 'shallow' lewis-hole remains (for example, no. 2). There was a diversity of practice on the Sebasteion. Some of the other panels preserve parts of the

[35] Erim, *RA*, 166, fig. 8; Erim, fig. 159a.   [36] Below nos 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9, with Figs 4–5, 7–8, and 10.

lewis-hole for lifting the original block, set further forward, in the head of a figure for example; these reliefs must have been carved mainly on the building. Carving on the ground, however, was clearly more common.

The reliefs were laid out with a rough ledge at the bottom (c. 5–8 cm high) for the figures to stand on. (This naturally does not extend the full width of the panel since it has to project between the columns.) The figures are carved in high relief, that is, they are fully three-dimensional but attached behind. They are about life-size (head height, chin to crown: c. 23–5 cm). The maximum depth of the whole panel is usually c. 40–4 cm, of which c. 25 cm is given to the depth of the relief, from front plane to background, leaving a more variable depth behind (c. 12–20 cm). The background is sometimes allowed to 'swell' convexly behind the figures when the full depth available would have left them in the round. The relief is usually carved more deeply and carefully towards the top, with unseen details below, especially feet, worked summarily. The back and sides of the panels are left with the roughly picked finish with which they would have arrived from the quarry. The tops are cut down with a claw chisel or a fine-point chisel. The relief surfaces have abundant traces of the full range of sculptural tooling: from rough-point chisels through claw and flat chisels to rasps and abrasives.[37] The background usually has a claw-chisel finish, and the top of the 'ground' ledge is invariably left finished with a point chisel. The figures are often outlined with a drill channel where they join the background, and drill work is often left visible as such in drapery and hair.

The surfaces of the figures have the widest range of treatment. Few have a proper statuary finish with abrasives. Most seem to have a rasp finish often with large areas left worked only with the flat chisel. This can leave the surface with a 'faceted' appearance (rather like unfinished wood-carving), as on the torso of no. 2 (Pl. VII, 4). Such a finish was acceptable for sculptures to be seen from a distance. The few figures (here only no. 8) with large passages of claw work visible should be considered unfinished. The character of the surface treatment was no doubt due partly to speed of working, partly to the intended high position of the reliefs. Little use is made of separately added elements in metal or marble. This is most striking in the treatment of spears, which are often carved in one piece with the figures, as thick rods of marble, roughly rectangular in section. Although easily broken, enough joining fragments survive from some panels (e.g. no. 8) to show they were not pieced and could be worked in the round for considerable lengths.

The quality of carving varies from good to less satisfactory. Mostly it is vigorous, sometimes brisk. The knowledge that much detail would remain unseen from below was fully exploited. Architectural sculpture was never as important in major commissions in the Roman period as portrait and other statuary. Such a large project as the Sebasteion would have to employ sculptors of varying abilities, and the sudden local demand may have forced workshop masters to promote 'lower' marble workers to the carving of figures. As can be suspected on other similarly large projects (for example, the ninety-two Parthenon metopes), some of the sculptors perhaps did their apprenticeship in figure-carving actually on the project. Faced with the choice of having more, though less fine, figured decoration, or less, but more finely worked, the two Aphrodisian families opted for the former. Given the variety and iconographic richness in their ambitious plan, we can hardly complain about their choice. These remarks on the carving stand independent of the design of each panel's composition, which was most likely not the carver's job. But the carvers of all standards seem clearly more at ease with the repertoire of Greek subjects than with the unfamiliar imperial scenes, as we shall see.

Since most of the imperial figures, where they can be named, are identified by their portrait heads, a brief word on imperial and Julio-Claudian portraiture is necessary.

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[37] For a recent, well-illustrated account of marble-carving tools in this period: V. Ruesch, B. Zanardi, in E. La Rocca, *Ara Pacis Augustae* (1983), 63–5, 77–83, 110–15.

Surviving imperial portraits in sculpture are identified by their conformity to official portrait types of which they are copies, versions, or reminiscences, not by their resemblance, real or supposed, to the person as known in other portraits.[38] The difference is fundamental. What has to be demonstrated is not a 'portrait' resemblance in the modern sense, where argument is potentially subjective, but the more objective matter of the dependence of one image on another—a fixed image or type, known to us in, or mentally reconstructed from, other copies and versions. The official models defined or 'fixed' a portrait type in two areas: in its physiognomy or facial features, and in the details of its hair arrangement, especially the hair over the forehead. The type need not, and often did not, bear much relation to the 'real' appearance and age of the subject. It had only to *seem* real. Argument for identification, therefore, is about whether the image in question has enough particulars of face and hair design that are well enough reproduced from another image for them to be recognizable as such.

Julio-Claudian imperial portraits present three special problems. First, due to continuing problems with the imperial succession, unusually large numbers of Julio-Claudians, heirs past and present, were put into the portrait 'system'. This means that for every disputed identification there is a large pool of possible candidates. Second, they used an idealized, classicizing image with portrait features subtly worked in. In less careful versions, the identifying elements of the face can be easily lost to a bland, featureless appearance. And third, the Julio-Claudians cultivated a dynastic homogeneity of 'family' appearance. These factors together mean that the precise hair arrangement of a particular head can become crucially important for its identification, that is, when one can judge that the sculptor was copying or adapting an official type, not half-remembering or inventing.

Portrait types with detailed identifying features of face and fringe were made available from the centre, but their precise use was, of course, not compulsory. An inscription could always guarantee that any given image represented the emperor or prince intended. However, provincial imperial portraits in statues and busts do seem generally to be based on the available types, though often reduced or simplified.[39] In the Sebasteion reliefs, there is considerable diversity in the treatment of the portraits. Due to their architectural context and height from the viewer, more generalized portrait images could be felt sufficient. More than half of the imperial heads, however, do seem to have, at some level, a definable relationship to known types. Others seem probably to be based on types, but in too loose a manner for certain identification. And a few are quite unrelated to any imperial type: they seem to be merely generic Julio-Claudians, relying for their specificity on inscriptions or the viewer's external knowledge.

Of the eleven surviving panels with imperial scenes, five are from the wider central intercolumniations of the south portico, and five are from the narrower side spaces. One (no. 11) comes from the north portico, and there may well have been a comparable imperial series in the north façade. There were also probably more imperial scenes in the south portico, over the last rooms at the west end where we have no surviving upper-storey panels for Rooms 12–14. As we have it, the imperial series forms about one third of the upper-storey display, the others being pure allegories or Greek divinities. Of the wider imperial panels, two feature Augustus (nos 1–2), one Claudius and Agrippina (no. 3), one probably Germanicus (no. 4), and one an unidentifiable emperor or prince (no. 5). Except for one of the Augustus panels (no. 2), they are all quiet, repose compositions and mostly feature three figures or three main elements. Of the narrower side panels, two (a pair) feature scenes of violent conquest: Claudius and Britannia (no. 6) and Nero and Armenia (no. 7). And three are quiet compositions: Tiberius (?) with a captive (no. 8), two young princes

[38] See esp., K. Fittschen, *JdI* 86 (1971), 219–52.
[39] P. Zanker, *Provinzielle Kaiserporträts: Zur Rezep-*

tion der Selbstdarstellung des Princeps (1983), dealing mainly with the second century A.D.

(no. 9), and an empress sacrificing (no. 10). These mostly have two main figures or elements. Something will be said later about the context of the imperial reliefs within the south-portico display as a whole.

1. *Augustus with Nike and trophy* (Pls IV–V)[40]

Panel recomposed from six main fragments, with a further ten smaller fragments added to the relief at the front.

H: 159, W: 159 (at top), 155 (at bottom), D: 44 cm.

Missing. From panel: upper right corner; two pieces of 'ground' ledge, at left and middle. From Augustus: fingers of right hand and part of spear; end of nose, penis, part of left foot. From Nike: right eye and forehead, nose, left hand; most of right forearm and hand sheared off. On trophy: half of helmet and shoulders. On prisoner: hands and right arm badly damaged. On eagle: lower right leg and foot, end of beak.

Findspot. The main fragments were found towards the back of Room 1.

Technique. The top of the panel (Fig. 4 and Pl. V, 2) has two adjacent cuttings for lewis-holes. One, closer to the front, is longer and narrower (17×3.5 cm) and now only 2 cm deep. It was probably for lifting the original quarry block. The second lewis-hole behind (10×4 cm, and 10 cm deep) is preserved almost to its required depth (12–15 cm) and was for lifting the panel after carving, the earlier lewis being redundant due to a reduction in the height of the block. The upper left corner preserves a cutting for the lateral clamp.

The panel was laid out to leave c. 13 cm behind the background plane at the sides. As often, the background swells out behind the figures, because when carved from the front it was found they did not require the full 30 cm of relief depth available. Here the disparity between the planned background and that required to keep Augustus 'attached' is unusually large, so that a kind of secondary background plane is established behind him. It is clearly visible on the left above his right shoulder.

Surface finish. The wings of the eagle and the Nike are worked with a claw chisel. The drapery is finished with a flat chisel. Augustus' body is worked smooth with rasps.

The relief shows Augustus and a winged Victory standing on either side of a trophy. An eagle stands beside the emperor, and there is a bound captive beneath the trophy.

Augustus is the tallest element in the composition, taking up the full height of the panel. His figure is also the most carefully worked part. He stands in a relaxed classical *contraposto* pose. The body is frontal, the head looking to his left in three-quarter view. He wears a wreath with a double tier of probably oak leaves and a central medallion over the forehead. (The leaves are not close in form to the more convincing oak in nos 3 and 5, but they are clearly not laurel; celery is botanically as appropriate but unlikely in the context; they are most easily taken as flatly worked or undrilled oak leaves.) He holds a spear or a sceptre in his right hand. A cloak with round brooch is thrown over his left shoulder and appears below, behind his legs. His body has an ideal classical form with a sharp line of muscle articulating the joint of legs and hips. The lower legs (less seen from below) are perhaps a little short, but the anatomical execution is generally among the best of the imperial figures in the series. One detail has not been fully thought out: the relationship of the left arm and
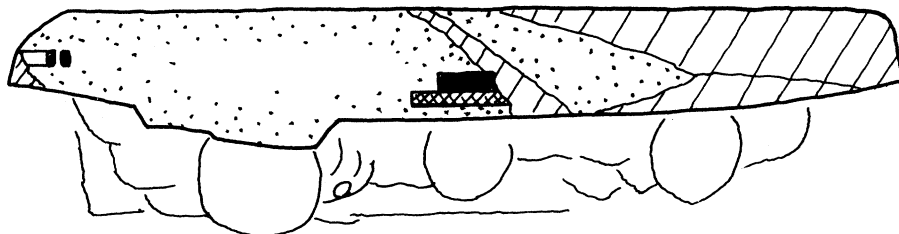

FIG. 4. TOP OF NO. 1, AUGUSTUS WITH NIKE (CF. PL. V, 2)

[40] Erim, 114–16, fig. 116a.

H

shoulder to the trophy. The movement of the body suggests the left arm is raised but it is awkwardly concealed by the shoulder lappets of the cuirass on the trophy.

Nike stands frontally with her head turned towards the trophy. Her right arm is raised to crown the trophy or perhaps place the helmet on it. The position of her hand and forearm can still be seen in the break. (The appearance of a rectangular cutting here is formed by the trophy pole and the remains of Nike's forearm and hand.) She wears a *chiton* and *himation* in the typical manner of late Hellenistic female figures. The long *chiton* is fastened over each shoulder and belted under the breasts with four tucks pulled over the belt. The *himation* is draped low round the hips at the front and over the left shoulder. She has large wings set flat against the background. The lower tip of one wing can be seen at her left side. Some of the right wing should appear on the background below the shield, but is omitted. The articulation of the feathers becomes more approximate lower down on the left wing. She has a round classical face, with quite sharply cut, ideal features. The hair is centre-parted and brushed back in the familiar late classical manner.

The trophy is composed of pole, helmet with cheek pieces, plain moulded cuirass, small round shield, and a pair of greaves below. The cuirass has the usual shoulder lappets and leather-strap kilt. It also carries a baldric with scabbard and sword hilt. The top of the hilt, in the form of a small eagle's head (partly broken), appears frontally at the side of the cuirass. Below the trophy is a naked prisoner, seen from behind, head in profile and arms bound at his back. His rope bonds were shown but are now only visible on the unbroken inner wrists. He has long tousled hair in the standard 'barbarian' manner (deriving from a combination of conventional Hellenistic Gauls and reality). His upper body is shown as though sunk into the ledge up to his buttocks. His precise relation to the ground line was of little concern, as it would not be visible from below. The eagle is of the usual standing imperial type: legs apart in aggressive posture with the head turned up in profile. As an overt symbol of monarchic power, the type goes back to the eagle standing on a thunderbolt on the reverse of the regular Ptolemaic coinage but would perhaps be most familiar in this position from imperial statues in the 'Jupiter format'.[41]

The portrait. The head is the most carefully worked part of the emperor's figure and is clearly recognizable from its portrait type. Apart from errors in the hair, it is a moderately well differentiated version of Augustus' main (Prima Porta) portrait type.[42]

The head is turned in three-quarter view, but the face is worked fully in the round; only the left ear is lost to the background. The physiognomy is well modelled and clearly based on a firm design. In different sculptured versions, Augustus' face can vary (unusually) widely, from a fully idealized, classical form to a more fully modelled and individualized 'portrait' appearance. The face of the portrait here is close to the best of the less overtly ideal versions, for example the head of the Via Labicana statue in the Terme or the bust in Copenhagen from the Fayum (Pl. V, 4).[43] It has the same blank, youthful maturity and subtle individualizing traits. The face is sufficient here to establish Augustus' main portrait type as the model.

In relation to the Prima Porta type, the forehead hair is not reproduced correctly. Of the three locks above the right eye, the middle lock should turn the other way; the lock next to the parting should be larger; and the main parting should be off-centre, over the left eye. However, the hair seems close enough to have been intended as a version of the type. There is a contrast between the confident handling of the portrait face and the weak treatment of the forehead hair. It is executed flatly, even gingerly.

[41] Ptolemaic coins, minted from *c.* 300 B.C.: C. M. Kraay, M. Hirmer, *Greek Coins* (1966), no. 799. Imperial statues with eagle (not common): H. G. Niemeyer, *Studien zur statuarischen Darstellung der römischen Kaiser* (1968), 61, cat. nos 95–6 and 125, pls 34. 1–2 and 46 (Lanuvium Claudius, Olympia Claudius, Piraeus Balbinus).

[42] For the Prima Porta type: P. Zanker, K. Vierneisel, *Die Bildnisse des Augustus* (Exhib. Munich, 1979), 50–3; Zanker, FZ I, no. 3; most recently, B. Schmaltz, *RM* 93 (1986), 211–43.

[43] Via Labicana: B. Felletti Maj, *Museo Nazionale Romano: i ritratti* (1953), no. 97. Copenhagen 610: Poulsen, *PR*, no. 32.

The locks are not sufficiently prominent and have too much space between them. It looks as if the sculptor knew there was supposed to be a distinctive forked arrangement but was not quite sure of its precise composition at this point. He was perhaps still trying to get the arrangement right when he found he had too little stone left to continue.

The sculptor clearly had a model for the portrait head, whether in his mind or at hand. This is not surprising, since imperial portrait types were readily available in some form for making heads of imperial statues in most cities of the empire. But was the relief as a whole based on, or copied from, imperial compositions at Rome? Or was it designed at Aphrodisias? Most likely neither is correct.

Compositions featuring a trophy with one or more of the elements seen here—*imperator*, Victory, and conquered prisoner—were common at Rome, probably from the late Republic; and very similar groupings with an emperor and Victory on either side of a trophy may well have been used at Rome in the early imperial period, although there are none precisely analogous.[44] However, they also have Hellenistic antecedents, and some intrinsic features of the Sebasteion panel make it unlikely that Rome was the direct source.

Firstly, there were some difficulties in the execution of the design that would be unlikely if a major imperial composition were being followed. We noted the passage at Augustus' left shoulder where the raised arm appears to be thrust inside the empty arm hole of the cuirass. It is as if a statue in the familiar pose with one arm raised has been adapted for the composition but placed too close to the trophy. The spear in Augustus' right hand seems to end in mid-length on top of the eagle's head. The drapery behind Augustus' legs is incorrectly placed, given the position of the cloak on the left shoulder of which the drapery is part. In the trophy, the relation of the shield to the pole has not been thought out. Like the half-buried captive, none of these features would be particularly noticeable from the ground, but they seem to be improvized solutions to compositional problems that would be unlikely if a ready-made Roman design were being copied.

Secondly, Augustus is shown naked (as are all the emperors in these panels, except no. 11). At Rome the emperor can, of course, be naked in statues, but in surviving historical narrative compositions, where he appears acting in a 'real' context, he is generally shown in the appropriate real costume: clothed or armoured, civilian or military. In a composition like this he would normally be armoured. Although the representation here is perhaps as much symbolic as historical—an allegory of imperial victory featuring the divine emperor—this consideration remains of some force.[45] The round shield on the trophy is perhaps another, minor iconographic peculiarity. It is intended for a Greek hoplite shield, but seems improbably small for a Roman representation. Whatever their precise historicity, imperial narratives at Rome like to keep the subsidiary detail and equipment accurate.

It is also unlikely that the panel was composed wholly *ex novo* by an Aphrodisian designer. Images of Nike crowning a trophy were a familiar part of the repertoire from later classical times.[46] Although we have no surviving examples, the addition of a ruler as a third element would make a very likely composition for a Hellenistic royal picture, such as this design could have drawn on.[47] However, no single source seems to have been followed, and the panel is probably best understood as a design made at

[44] In general, see C. Picard, *Les Trophées romains* (1957); A. Z. Janssen, *Het antieke Tropaion* (1957), 82–141, with all permutations of general, trophy, prisoner, and Victory, and esp. 139, fig. 111 for closest parallel. On a similar composition with a trophy between two figures, see H. P. Laubscher, *JdI* 89 (1974), 242–59; cf. also T. Hölscher, *Victoria Romana* (1967).

[45] The emperor is sometimes half-draped in the private world of cameos (e.g. Gemma Augustea, Grand Camée) but rarely fully naked. One example, in Vienna, has a similar composition showing a naked *imperator* with sceptre and eagle, trophy, and prisoner: W. Oberleitner, *Geschnittene Steine: Die Prunkkameen der*

Wiener Antikensammlung (1985), 52–4, fig. 41. Further on imperial nudity: below n. 138. Cameos: n. 140.

[46] See Janssen (n. 44), 62–6, 113–25. See, for example, (1) late classical gem: J. Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* (1970), pl. 590; (2) coins of Seleucus I: E. T. Newell, *Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints* (1938), pl. 23. 6–9.

[47] A small Pompeian painting, which has been thought to reflect a Hellenistic royal painting, shows a very similar composition of Athena and a cuirassed leader with a trophy between (Naples, MN 8843): see most recently, R. Wenning, *Die Galaterantheme Attalos I* (1978), 39, with n. 259, pl. 9. 1.

Aphrodisias from a generalized knowledge, or reminiscence, of both imperial and Hellenistic royal iconography, adapting elements of both. In spite of some shortcomings in design details, as a whole it is a coherent, convincing image of non-specific Augustan military victory.

2. *Augustus by Land and Sea* (Pls VI–VII)[48]

Panel recomposed from four main fragments, with four smaller fragments added to the relief. H: 160, W: 166 (top), 156 (bottom), D: 44 cm.
Missing. From background, both upper corners, and pieces at lower left corner. On Augustus: most of left foot with central part of ledge, piece of rudder, some of fingers of left hand, most of genitals. On land figure: left hand and finger of right hand. On sea figure: left wrist.
Findspot. The findspots of the main fragments indicate that the panel occupied the centre space above Rooms 9 or 10.
Technique. The top of the panel (Fig. 5) has a carefully cut lewis-hole (2.20 × 12.50 cm), set forward of centre, for lifting the already carved panel. The depth of the lewis-hole (7–8 cm) is too shallow: the top was therefore trimmed down on the building.
      The block was about 6–8 cm thicker at the top, but this difference was taken up behind (depth behind: 10–12 cm at the bottom, 16–18 cm at the top). This leaves a relatively even background plane, with a maximum relief depth of *c.* 23 cm in front. At the top it is also relatively straight and does not 'swell' behind the main figure. The side edges are roughly bevelled to fit behind the half-columns. At the right side, part of one of the fish legs had to be sliced off to the required width between the columns.
      The sea figure (right) is carved closest to the front plane; her head should be fully in the round but a tapered bridge of stone attaches it to the background. Uncarved stone also remains behind the land figure's profile head (Pl. VII, 3). The inside of Augustus' 'veil' is cut further back than the background outside it. This brings his head nearly into the round (a small bridge of stone attaches it).
Surface finish. Fish legs of sea figure finished with a claw chisel. Drill used to outline parts of the figures. Most figure surfaces, and notably Augustus' body and head, finished with a flat chisel. No sign of rasp or abrasive to remove the 'faceting' effect left by the flat chisel (cf. Pl. VII, 4). A shallow groove, cut with a round-headed chisel, forms a ring round Augustus' neck.
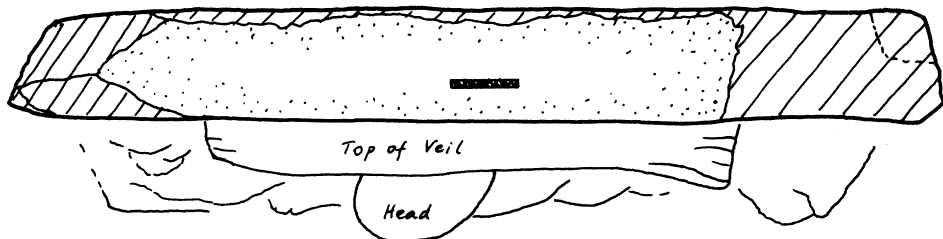

FIG. 5. TOP OF NO. 2, AUGUSTUS, LAND, AND SEA

      The naked figure of Augustus striding forward dominates the middle of the panel. He receives a cornucopia from an earth figure to the left and a ship's steering oar from a sea figure on the right.
      Augustus' body has a dynamic posture: he moves forward but his torso and head twist and turn back, his head inclined at a dramatic angle. The individual parts of his ideal body are well designed but the whole is not successfully integrated. The junction between torso and legs is managed with difficulty, and the torso seems too large. However, the composition has considerable vigour, an effect heightened by the billow of drapery behind. The drapery is conceived as a cloak lying over his right forearm, then appearing from under the upper arm on the other side and falling over the lower arm to 'blow' out to the side. The relationship between the drapery, oar, and upper arm is complex, and the representation here is convincing if not entirely rational. The motif of the billow of drapery round the head was a familiar and rather mannered

[48] Erim, *RA*, 116, fig. 7; Erim, figs 24 (detail), 115a.

motif used often for ideal figures (usually female) in Hellenistic art to suggest swift but elegant motion.[49] Augustus holds the cornucopia in his right hand in a rather precarious manner. Its more normal position, in the crook of the arm, is taken by drapery. It contains the usual tall, pyramid feature, two round fruits (the right certainly a pomegranate), and a bunch of grapes spilling over the lip. The rudder is held firmly in his left hand and rests on his shoulder.

The figure on the left either kneels or perhaps is conceived as appearing from the ground in the manner of Greek representations of Ge.[50] Alternatively, there was no intention of defining her relationship to the groundline, since it would not be seen (as with the captive in no. 1). She is too young for Ge herself and is probably an Earth figure not further specified. She wears a thin *chiton* with half sleeves, belted at the waist with overfold. The drapery and her profile face are in classical style. Her hair falls in long unbound curls. The exact relation between the Earth figure's hands and Augustus' right hand is not clear. She should probably be understood as having just handed the cornucopia to him.

The sea figure is similarly unspecified; that is, she cannot be meant for Amphitrite or a particular sea goddess. She has two, long, fish-tail legs, one appearing in low relief between Augustus' legs, one partly cut off by the adjacent column. A skirt of large fish-fins conceals the transition to her cuirass-like torso. As often on sea-beings in human form, there are extra fish-fins on the shoulders.[51] She has a late classical head and hairstyle and wears a thick wreath with a central medallion. She is handing the steering oar to Augustus. Her right arm, in low relief behind, disappears into uncarved stone beneath Augustus' drapery, while her left hand holds the lower end of the oar.

The portrait. Augustus' head (Pl. VII, 1–2) was finished mostly with a flat chisel, but it is clearly articulated and would have been easily legible from below. The unseen hair behind the fringe is not worked, and the (correctly) large ears are roughly sketched. Some touches of ageing have been added, in the line scored on the brow and lines modelled into the cheeks. The nostrils and mouth are drilled out to form dark shadow.

The sculptor has followed the physiognomy of Augustus' main type well enough for the portrait to be immediately recognizable. The forehead hair, on the other hand, completely ignores the usual arrangement. The sculptor perhaps felt this was unnecessary after he had achieved a clear Augustus physiognomy. The hair occupies the correct relation to the brow but is not arranged in a known scheme. It does not have the familiar off-centre 'pincer' locks of either Augustus' main type or his earlier 'Actium' type.[52] Instead, it is parted well to the side, over the right eye, and swept across the forehead in four pairs of locks, with locks at each side or 'corner' turning back to the centre and framing the arrangement. It might very loosely recall the less emphatic hair of Augustus' last (or 'Forbes') portrait type but with the direction of the locks reversed.[53] But it is doubtful if this was the model or even a deliberate reminiscence. The shorter, less pronounced, fringe locks are more similar in their general manner to Tiberius' and Claudius' portrait types than to those of Augustus. The details of the fringe arrangement here are more easily taken as the sculptor's invention.

[49] Two examples from very many, (1) Cybele-Rhea and companion ('Clymene') at start of S. frieze of Pergamon Great Altar: E. Simon, *Pergamon und Hesiod* (1975), pl. 27; (2) Galatea on dolphin in mythological landscapes: P. H. von Blanckenhagen, *The Paintings from Boscotrecase* (1962), pls 40. 1, 52. 2, 55. 1. Earliest perhaps for Aurae: *EAA* s.v. Aurae; *LIMC* s.v. Aurai; cf. Pliny, *NH* 36. 29: '... duaeque Aurae velificantes sua veste' (unattributed marble statues in the temple of Apollo Sosianus at Rome). See further, n. 56.

[50] So, for example, (1) on classical vases: P. E. Arias, M. Hirmer, B. B. Shefton, *A History of Greek Vase Painting* (1962), pl. 183; and (2) on the Great Altar at Pergamon: Simon, *Pergamon* (n. 49), pl. 14.

[51] In sculpture, see esp. Commodus' Tritons: FZ I, no. 78; E. La Rocca, *Le tranquille dimore dei dei: la residenza imperiale degli Horti Lamiani* (Exhib. Rome, 1986), 91–4, figs 61–4.

[52] Actium type: recently, Zanker, FZ I, no. 1, with Beil. 1–4. Prima Porta type: above n. 42.

[53] Forbes type: Zanker, FZ I, no. 8.

The meaning of the composition as a whole is straightforward. Its theme is the prosperity of land and sea under imperial rule. The divine Augustus above, in partnership with the representatives of earth and sea below, guarantees the produce of the land (cornucopia) and the navigability of the sea (rudder). The presence of the allegorical figures and the quasi-narrative setting show that the attributes probably have no reference to Roman Fortuna. This is simple land/sea symbolism.

It seems most likely that the subject for this panel was composed locally. Apart from the design difficulties (Augustus' proportions, placing of the cornucopia, drapery passage at Augustus' left arm) that suggest no given model was being followed, this composition as a whole is hard to imagine on a Roman monument. The same theme of prosperity by land and sea is played out on one of the end panels of the Ara Pacis (Tellus panel), but there the emperor does not take part in the allegory himself.[54] And when Augustus does appear with purely allegorical figures, for example, on one of the Boscoreale cups,[55] he is not naked or even semi-draped but wears a toga. (The point of the civilian toga in such a context was to distinguish the emperor clearly as such from the divine and allegorical figures round him and to 'modify' his implicit divinization.)

Further, the billow of drapery round Augustus' head is an obviously Hellenistic feature, not normally used for 'real' or portrait figures. It could be used at Rome, as elsewhere, for ideal and allegorical figures, as, for example, the flanking figures on the Tellus panel of the Ara Pacis just mentioned; but not, it seems, for the emperor— either in the more sober public repertoire of historical reliefs or in the more grandiose allegorical world of imperial cameo compositions.[56] The motif was used frequently at Aphrodisias, both earlier, for example on the Zoilus frieze, and for deities in other panels of the Sebasteion itself.[57] Its precise or original meaning in classical and Hellenistic art, if it had one (floating/ flying?), clearly receded in time. It became an expressive mannerism suitable for various figures. Its use for deities in other reliefs of the Sebasteion need not be intended to signify the divinity of Augustus when used here. His divine status is already clear from his company and context. Except perhaps at a very diluted level, it should also probably not be read here as setting up an 'air' or 'sky' reference to go with the earth and sea figures below. Its purpose is rather as a recognizable but non-specific part of the ideal visual language; it is a formal device to enhance or elevate Augustus' figure. Probably it also effectively rules out a Roman model for the panel. The character of the design, the drapery, and the allegory all point to a composition improvised from purely Hellenistic iconographic components.

3. *Claudius and Agrippina* (Pls VIII–IX)[58]

Panel recomposed from six main fragments, with five smaller fragments added to the relief, most notably Claudius' head in two pieces.
H: 160, W: 170 (top), 164 (bottom), D: 43 cm.
Missing. From panel: upper right corner, piece from left side, large part of middle of ledge, fragments from background; upper right side damaged. From Agrippina: end of nose, part of

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[54] J. M. C. Toynbee, *Proc. Brit. Acad.* 39 (1953), 80–1, pl. 13; E. La Rocca, *Ara Pacis Augustae* (1983), 43–8. A similar theme appears also on the cuirass of the Augustus (?) statue from Cherchel, where there are two sea centaurs below the main scene, one with a cornucopia, the other with the bow ornament of a warship; they do not interact with the imperial figure above (Divus Julius): K. Fittschen, *JdI* 91 (1976), 175 f., figs 2–3 and 12; id., in *Die Numider* (Exhib. Bonn, 1979), 232–4, 530–3.
[55] B. Andreae, *The Art of Rome* (1977), figs 302–4.
[56] A cameo in Vienna shows an emperor (Augustus?) drawn across the sea in a Triton quadriga, and even here he wears a toga: W. Oberleitner, *Geschnittene Steine* (1985), 35, fig. 17. Imperial cameos: below, n. 140. Some other 'velificans' figures in Roman im-

perial art (all non-portrait): (1) Caelus on the Prima Porta statue's cuirass: cf. H. Jucker, *HeftABern* 3 (1977), 16 f.; (2) Caelus on the Belevedere altar: below n. 151; (3) Mars Ultor on the Cherchel statue's cuirass: Fittschen, *JdI* 91 (1976), 75 f., figs 2–3; (4) Jupiter on Trajan's Column, Scene 24: K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die Trajanssäule* (1926) II, pl. 14; (5) Danube on coins of Trajan: J. P. C. Kent, M. and A. Hirmer, *Roman Coins* (1978), no. 263; (6) Allegories (Tellus and Oceanus) in the spandrels of Trajan's arch at Beneventum: M. Rotili, *L'arco di Traiano a Benevento* (1972), pls 41–2.
[57] *Polis* in Zoilus frieze: K. T. Erim, in A. Alföldi, *Aion in Merida und Aphrodisias* (1979), 35–40, pl. 23. *Hemera* in Sebasteion: Erim, fig. 122a.
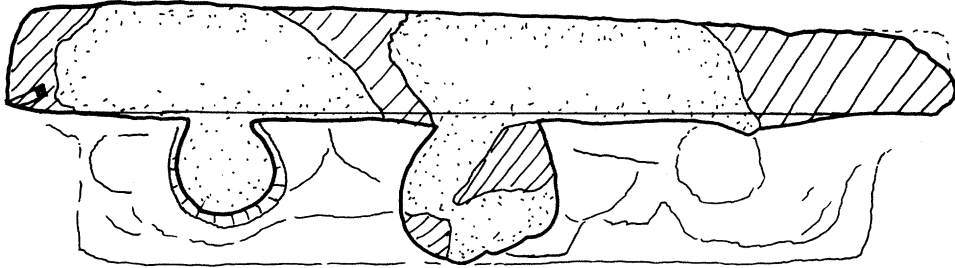[58] Erim, *RA*, 164, fig. 4.

FIG. 6. TOP OF NO. 3, CLAUDIUS AND AGRIPPINA

right knee; left hand with part of corn ears damaged. From Claudius: nose, parts of hair and wreath, penis, some fingers of left hand, right foot; knees and right forearm damaged; attribute missing from left hand. From togate figure: head and left arm.

Findspot. The main fragments were found in front of Room 1, but the panel probably occupied the central space of Room 2. (The Augustus panel, no. 1 above, should probably take the central space of Room 1.)

Technique. The panel was well laid out and executed. The block tapered considerably in depth towards the right side (see Fig. 6), but this irregularity was confined to the back (depth behind background: 20 cm at left, 15 cm at right). The background was cut to an unusually even plane. There was no need for cutting or bevelling the sides to fit the architecture. The ledge is cut square with the background so that the figures stand in their proper rectangular space. The togate figure is carved slightly further forward than the other two. Claudius' head is also brought forward so that the togate figure's right arm can actually go behind it for the crowning. The heads are carefully worked towards the back, with no 'swelling' of the background to meet them. The relief depth is *c.* 22 cm at the ground ledge and *c.* 25 cm at Claudius' head.

The top of the panel has no lewis-cutting, so it was either carved on the building, or (more likely) the top was dressed down after hoisting. The tops of the heads also seem to have been trimmed down to fit the required height. They were cut to a slightly lower level than the top of the panel so that they would not bear any vertical stress from the architecture, which would easily damage them. A lateral clamp-cutting is preserved in the break at the top left corner, set obliquely over the corner to the front.

Surface finish. Most of background finished with claw. Figures outlined in places with a drill channel (for example, to set off Claudius' right leg from his cloak). Claudius' head and body well finished, with abrasives removing tool marks.

Claudius, standing in the centre, clasps the hand of his wife Agrippina and is crowned with an oak wreath by a togate personification of the Roman Senate or People. Claudius looks down and out of the relief a little to one side. Agrippina (and probably the togate figure) turn to look inwards at Claudius.

Handshaking was a common motif in Greek and Roman art (and life, no doubt).[59] It probably signified particular things in different contexts, but it has an obvious and broad meaning, at the root of which is the equality of rank between the figures involved. In Roman art it is most often the gesture used to symbolize *fides* or *concordia* between political leaders, and *concordia* between man and wife. It does not need to refer to a specific act in either case, whether marriage or a formal treaty of alliance.[60] The meaning here is clearly Roman marital *concordia*. There can be no reference to the Greek iconography (mainly funerary) of greeting/parting. The emperor is Claudius and the woman must be his wife.

The figure in the Roman toga should most probably be restored with an ideal head like that of the similar personification crowning the *imperator* in no. 5 below. He cannot be a historical or 'real' figure, for example a relative or magistrate, because to

[59] Cf. G. Davies, 'The significance of the handshake in classical funerary art', *AJA* 89 (1985), 627–40.
[60] See C. Reinsberg, 'Das Hochzeitsopfer—eine Fiktion', *JdI* 99 (1984), 291–317, on the *iunctio dextrarum* on Roman sarcophagi.

bestow a wreath implies higher rank than the recipient—here an emperor. The collective Senate and People had this notional status in imperial art and thought, but not individual citizens or senators. He must be the Roman People or Senate. In the generalizing allegory of the Sebasteion, Demos of the Romans seems perhaps more likely than the narrower Synkletos. Although the Genius of the People, unlike the Senate, is not shown togate at Rome but half-draped, a Demos of the Romans in this context would have to be shown togate to express its Romanness (see further on no. 5).

Claudius. Claudius is naked except for a long cloak fastened over his right shoulder with a round brooch. The cloak is wrapped round his left forearm and reaches almost to the ground behind. It has drapery weights at each of its four corners. In his left hand he held an attribute, here added separately. It was most likely a short, baton-like sceptre. The rounded rectangular section of the empty hand is very similar in shape to that of spears/sceptres that are worked in the round on other panels (here, for example, no. 8). Claudius stands in a relaxed pose, the weight on his right leg. His body is classical in design with slightly stocky proportions. The right arm seems a little too long and the head perhaps a little too large.

Claudius' head (Pl. IX, 2) is worked more carefully and in much greater detail than the rest of the panel. A different, specialist sculptor for the imperial portrait seems likely here. It is much more finely worked than the Augustus portrait in the previous panel (no. 2). Apart from the smoother finish, this is most obvious in the carefully worked, protruding ears. The portrait is a well-individualized and immediately recognizable version of Claudius' main physiognomical type (see Pl. IX, 4).[61] It has his usual broad brow (here slightly furrowed), middle-aged face with pronounced lines from nose to mouth, and a sagging under-chin. The sharp regular brows are usual, but the enlarged eyes are an ideal element considerably exaggerated here.

The forehead hair is carefully carved with large regular locks curving to each side from a slightly off-centre parting over the left eye. Only one 'outer' lock, at the left 'corner', turns back towards the centre. Compared to metropolitan Roman versions, the locks of the fringe have been given much greater prominence; they are larger and thicker. The hair arrangement seems particular and was probably based on a known model.

We know no portrait types of Claudius from before his accession in A.D. 41. He came to power, unexpectedly, at the age of fifty-one, and throughout his reign he used a single mature or middle-aged physiognomical type. He could not credibly have been presented in any of the more youthful Julio-Claudian styles, and an appearance of greater age could be used as a statement of *pietas* or imperial *modestia*, in comparison with his more illustrious relations like Germanicus and Augustus. This face type in itself was sufficient to make his portrait image readily recognizable. Hence the lack of emphasis on the arrangement of his short fringe. However, among the fifty or so surviving Claudius portraits using the one basic facial type, about half seem to follow one main model for the hair fringe.[62] The hair of our portrait is probably to be read as a simplified version of this arrangement.

The hair pattern is best seen in a head in Erbach, where it is unusually sharply articulated, and in two heads in Copenhagen (Pl. IX, 4).[63] Although it is little emphasized and close study is needed to see anything more than a short fringe, the pattern is carefully repeated in different versions. There is an off-centre parting over the left eye, and at each side of the brow a pair of locks curved back towards the centre. The Sebasteion portrait gives a simpler version of the same scheme, with only a single lock curling back at the side. (The hair above the right eye is damaged but

[61] Fittschen, *Kat. Erbach*, 55–8; Zanker, FZ I, nos 15–16.
[62] Fittschen, *Kat. Erbach*, no. 17, with list of copies

and versions; cf. Zanker, FZ I, no. 15.
[63] Erbach: Fittschen, *Kat. Erbach*, no. 17, pl. 19. Copenhagen 648 and 649; Poulsen, *PR*, nos 57–8.

there may have been a similar lock here too.) This is enough to establish the main Claudius type as the model used or recalled by the sculptor. The other, less common Claudius hair variants are even plainer, often with a simple axial centre-parting.[64]

As in nos 5 and 11, the emperor already has the wreath firmly on his head. It is really a wreathed portrait with a 'narrative' figure (the togate personification) added at the side; that is, there is no portrayal of the act of 'being crowned'. The wreath is formed from two tiers of alternating oak leaves and acorns. A similar large oak wreath (the Roman *corona civica*) is worn by more than six extant copies of Claudius' main portrait type, for example one of the heads in Copenhagen (Pl. IX, 4).[65] It seems likely, then, that a version of the official type with *corona civica* was available and that such a version was known to the sculptor of the Sebasteion portrait.

Agrippina. Agrippina wears a *chiton* with half-length sleeves and over it a *himation* arranged diagonally across her chest with the surplus gathered under her left arm. She holds a small bunch of corn ears in her left hand. Both corn and hand are damaged, but the bunch consisted probably of four ears, divided into two pairs. She is thus assimilated to Demeter, a common divine association for empresses since Livia. She is Agrippina Nea Demeter.[66]

Context and action, we have seen, identify her as Claudius' wife. The portrait identifies her as Agrippina the Younger, Claudius' fourth wife, whom he married in A.D. 49. She was the daughter of Germanicus, sister of the emperor Gaius, and mother of Nero.

Though weathered and damaged, Agrippina's head (Pl. IX, 1 and 3) seems less well carved and finished than that of Claudius. In style it is stiffer and less subtly modelled. The identification is secured by the context and the hair arrangement. The hair is centre-parted and brushed to the side, where it turns into three tiers of tight curls: a row of five curls below and two rows of four curls above. Though roughly executed and broken in places, this design is clear. At the back, the hair is gathered in a braided loop, and a single corkscrew lock hangs down behind each ear. The whole reproduces, somewhat crudely, the essentials of Agrippina's main hairstyle type, best seen in versions in Ancona and Copenhagen (Pl. XXVI, 4).[67] It is the same type as that reproduced more carefully in panel no. 11 below. Two locks behind each ear (as in no. 11) are more normal than one, although both arrangements are seen on coins.[68] Also, above the third row of curls, either a fourth row of curls or a *stephane* is usual (as on no. 11 and the Copenhagen head: Pl. XXVI, 2 and 4). But this was not essential. The Ancona head (n. 67), for example, has only three rows of curls. It is also possible that the 'unseen' hair sketched above the third row on the right side of the head was intended here for the extra row.

Wide variation between strongly idealized and more individualized is normal in the reproduction of Julio-Claudian female face types. The face of this head, with abbreviated chin, is unusually short and square for Agrippina. The brows and eyelids are carved in the sharp ideal manner, framing greatly enlarged eyes. The nose is cut square in section, with a continuous 'edge' or line from each eyebrow. The mouth is broad and has down-turned corners and thin lips parted by a narrow drill line. The philtrum above is long, and there is a sharp indent under the lower lip. The mouth is the only individualized element; it has a slight but clear evocation of this part of Agrippina's physiognomical type, best seen in the well-differentiated version in Copenhagen (Pl. XXVI, 4), where it has a clear Caligulan reminiscence.[69]

[64] Fittschen, *Kat. Erbach*, 57–8, nn. 4 and 8.
[65] Copenhagen 648, Naples 6060, Louvre MA 1253, Tripoli (from Leptis), Samos, Vatican (ex-Lateran, from Caere), Vatican (Sala Rotonda, from Lanuvium): Fittschen, *Kat. Erbach*, 55–6, nos 4, 8, 10, 17, 18, 21; and 57, n. 4a; 58, n. 8a.
[66] P. Riewald, *De imperatorum romanorum cum certis dis et comparatione et aequatione* (1912), 305–8;

Reynolds, *Fest. Pippidi*, n. 35; Price, *JHS* 104 (1984), 85–6.
[67] W. Trillmich, *MN* 15 (1974), 184–202; Zanker, FZ III, no. 5. Ancona head: Trillmich, 22, pl. 39. Copenhagen: ibid., pl. 44; Poulsen, *PR*, no. 61.
[68] *BMC Augustus*, pl. 37. 1 and 3; cf. pl. 34. 3. (no lock behind ear); Trillmich (n. 67), pl. 43b–c.
[69] Further on Agrippina's portraits under no. 11.

The whole panel makes a convincing, imperial, dynastic composition, but probably not one taken directly from a Roman monument. The design seems to combine or conflate two themes and compositions in a way that seems unlikely at Rome. First, there is the theme of concord in the imperial house, an elevated representation of domestic harmony between the emperor and his wife; and second, there is the (public) crowning of the emperor with the *corona civica*, awarded for the saving of citizens' lives ('ob cives servatos'), nominally in battle, but metaphorically in the widest sense.[70] We noted also that the head of Claudius has the wreath firmly on his head and was probably in fact derived from a separate, self-sufficient portrait model with such a wreath. In imperial 'crowning' narratives at Rome, the wreath is usually shown as not yet on the emperor's head.[71] Here the crowning arm of the togate figure behind looks like a compositional after-thought, or rather an addition not fully thought out in relation to the action. The panel is, then, most easily understood as having been designed locally from known but disparate elements of imperial iconography.

4. *Germanicus with captive* (Pls X–XI)

Panel recomposed from eight main fragments. One lesser fragment, the upper right part of the captive's head, added to the relief. A large fragment from the upper part of the trophy belongs but does not join.
H: 160, W: [167] at top, 160 at bottom, D: 44 cm.
Missing. Large part of upper left of panel with the prince's right arm; part of ground ledge to left, with the pole that must have supported the trophy; ledge also broken to right; piece of background between figures missing; large slices missing from the captive's head and the prince's right leg.
Findspot. The main parts were found at Rooms 9 and 10, with the second Augustus panel (no. 2 above).
Technique. The top of the panel is too broken to have preserved the lewis-cutting if it remained. The upper right corner has an oblique clamp-cutting, set over the corner to the front. The ledge is *c.* 22 cm deep where the figures stand, but has not been cut back fully at the sides. On the left the 'ground' slopes up beneath the trophy. On the right, the ledge ends in a mass of roughly finished stone.
    The trophy was carved nearest to the front of the block and is in considerably higher relief than the prince's figure. Behind the prince, the background plane is flat and even, while on the left it 'swells' out to avoid bringing the trophy into the round. A bridge of stone (W: *c.* 15 cm) attaches it behind. The prince's left arm extends 27 cm from the background, which the sculptor has cut back into a shallow hollow at the elbow to make the forearm longer and to compensate for not having started the hand and orb nearer the front of the block.
Surface finish. Background worked with point and claw chisels in different parts. Figures outlined with a drill channel. Also, on the upper right, a claw-chiselled 'band', worked at right angles to the figure (see Pl. XI, 2), outlines the prince from head to elbow. The figures were finished mainly with the flat chisel. The prince's torso has a 'faceted' appearance similar to that of Augustus in no. 2. His pubic hair is left as an uncarved mass.

    The relief represents an imperial prince, almost certainly Germanicus; he holds an orb in one hand and was probably crowning the trophy to his right with the other. Between him and the trophy stands a small barbarian boy-captive in profile, looking up at his captor. The composition leaves considerable space on the right and is similar to that used for one of the narrower side panels (no. 8), but with the addition of a trophy.
    The trophy was composed of the usual cuirass on a pole. Below the cuirass, the pole, now missing, must have been worked in the round. The simple cuirass is

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[70] The oak wreath may have come with the portrait type (above, n. 65), but it would probably have been familiar as an 'imperial' or 'Roman' attribute, if not with the precise meaning of *corona civica*, then perhaps as the prize in the imperial games (Sebasta Romaia) at Pergamon: see L. Robert, in *L'épigramme grecque (Ent.*

Fond. Hardt 14, 1968), 267.
[71] Two examples from many, (1) Vespasian crowned by Victory on Cancelleria B, and (2) Trajan crowned by Victory on the Great Trajanic frieze: Andreae, *Art of Rome*, figs 390 and 422; D. Strong, *Roman Art* (1976), pls 71 and 88.

moulded but plain, with a fillet round the waist. The leather straps of the kilt below are shown with edging and fringed ends, but there are no rounded flaps at the lower edge of the cuirass. These were optional for better suits of armour. The linen under-tunic appears beneath as usual.

The boy-captive stands with legs slightly apart and hands tied behind his back. He wears loose, ankle-length trousers and a short belted tunic or shirt, with the right shoulder bare. It has perhaps been torn off his shoulder: the hanging corner of cloth could be tied at his shoulder. He had a young, ideal face and thick hair forming a fringe low on the brow at the front and reaching to the shoulders behind, but not covering the ears. His hair designates him as a barbarian. His loose-fitting, long trousers show he is probably northern rather than eastern. In Greek and early imperial art, easterners usually wear tight-fitting trousers, like thick, footless stock-ings. He is unlikely to be Celtic/Gallic, since those wars were over by this time. He is most likely German.

The naked imperial figure stands to the front in a classical posture, weight on the right leg and looking a little to his left and out of the relief. He has tall proportions, like the Augustus in no. 1 and the *imperator* in no. 5. He has a cloak draped loosely at his back, which hangs over the right upper arm (not quite logically) and loops over the left forearm. One drapery weight is shown, by the left leg. The missing raised arm might have held a spear, but the prisoner would have hindered its path. It is more likely that he was crowning the trophy, even though he looks away from it. We may compare the trophy-crowning *imperator* in the next panel (no. 5).

Although the head has a rough look due to its flat-chisel finish, it is a vigorous and quite strong Julio-Claudian style portrait. The hair is centre-parted with a fringe that lies quite low on the forehead in the manner of Augustus and younger Julio-Claudians. He has a short, squarish face with flaring eyebrows, long straight nose and small chin. The format is classical with 'portrait' features in the hair design, large ears, and 'adjusted' facial proportions: for example, the mouth is set very close under the nose with greatly abbreviated philtrum. The portrait seems to have a typological relationship to known portraits of Germanicus and almost certainly represents him. It does not have, however, a direct one-to-one relationship with a known metropolitan type.

There were probably three official, sculptured, portrait types of Germanicus current in the Julio-Claudian period: a probably earlier and younger portrait ('Adoption' type, of which there are few versions) and two better-documented types known after versions from Leptis (or Béziers) and Gabii.[72] The Leptis-Béziers type has the fringe lower on the forehead; the Gabii has it cut higher and has a more consistent physiognomy. These two main types are identified by variable coin portraits minted under Gaius and Claudius (the Gabii seems to connect more directly with the coins) and, most importantly, by frequent pairings with Drusus the Younger.[73] The surviving sculptured versions of these types vary considerably in details and style: sometimes the 'correct' forehead hair is reproduced, sometimes not. When the sculptor is recalling a Germanicus portrait loosely from memory, it may only be identifiable by context or pairing (for example, the Cadiz Germanicus, nn. 73, 79). We are presented with a spectrum of Germanicus portraits which do not all divide neatly into the types which lie behind them, often at some remove. This is probably because portraits of Germanicus were both in demand over a long period and were highly idealized. He was a central figure in Julio-Claudian dynastic

[72] On Germanicus' portraits: L. Curtius, *RM* 50 (1938), 266–85 (the type there misidentified as Drusus the Elder); U. Hausmann, *Römerbildnisse* (1975), 26–9, 122, nos 5–6; H. Jucker, *JdI* 92 (1977), 222–8; Fittschen, *Kat. Erbach*, 44, n. 17 and 51–4 (on no. 16). Fittschen FZ I, no. 23; R. Bahnemann, *HeftABern* 9 (1983), 15–20.

[73] Coins: *BMC Augustus*, pls 27. 9–10, 15–16, 22–3; 29. 3–6 (Gaius); pl. 37. 2 and 9 (Claudius); Kent-

Hirmer, *Roman Coins* (1978), nos 173 and 184. Pairings at: Béziers (Toulouse), Centuripe (Syracuse), Mentana (Terme), Medina Sidonia (Cadiz), Leptis (Tripoli)—H. Jucker, *JdI* 92 (1977), 223; Fittschen, *Kat. Erbach*, 44, n. 17 i, m, o, p, v, and 47, nos 10, 18–19, 22, 24. Doubts about the Germanicus identifi-cation of the Gabii type need not concern us: see Fittschen, *Kat. Erbach*, no. 16 and FZ I, no. 23.

mythology; he was the great conqueror and heir apparent, father of Caligula, brother of Claudius, and tragically dead before his time. His main portrait types were based on a classical heroic ideal, and with so few portrait-like features and details, the sculptured versions often fail to 'fix' a Germanicus facial type. He is shown at an ideal age, about his early or middle twenties, thus defined between the late-teenage image of Gaius and Lucius and the mature ideal of Augustus (early thirties). His bland image is close to that of his cousin and step-brother Drusus the Younger, who is usually distinguished by a larger, curving nose. Germanicus usually has a smaller nose, whether straight or slightly curved. He may also have a shorter, squarer face (as on coins in Claudius' reign), or a longer 'Caligulan' face (as in some sculptured versions).[74]

An important connecting piece of evidence for identifying the Sebasteion portrait is a middle-grade Germanicus head from central Italy, now in Stuttgart (Pl. XI, 3–4).[75] It seems to be a loose but certain version of the Leptis-Béziers type. Its identity is assured by its 'correct' use of the same hair scheme. However, the face, though still recognizable as a Germanicus-related physiognomy, is unusually short and compact. It is also strikingly close to the Sebasteion portrait. They are close in both front and profile views: note especially the 'portrait' feature of the short philtrum. Although certainty at this level of idealization is impossible, it seems they must be versions of the same type. The Stuttgart head, in accordance with the Leptis-Béziers type, has its main hair-parting well to one side and a more complex fringe pattern. The different, central parting of the Sebasteion head could be explained either as a generalized Julio-Claudian hair arrangement[76] or as a simplified version of another Germanicus type.[77] The Sebasteion panel belongs in the Claudian or early Neronian period, as does the Stuttgart head it closely resembles.[78] They are more likely to be simply independent variations of the main Leptis-Béziers facial type than versions of a distinct variant that they have in common. It is better in such cases to allow considerable latitude of interpretation to sculptors in the provinces than to multiply new types and variants. Finally, the small sideburns of the Sebasteion portrait are probably also a Germanicus feature. Others could wear sideburns, but they are a regular optional element of Germanicus' portraits.[79]

The interpretation of the composition as a whole is well suited to Germanicus in two particulars. First, the protagonist is a military prince, and one designated as an heir by the orb. Second, his conquered prisoner seems to be northern rather than eastern, and is most easily read as a captive of German war, which was of course Germanicus' best-known sphere of military action. The combination of circumstances and the typological connections of the portrait make identification as Germanicus virtually certain.

5. *Imperator with the Roman People or Senate* (Pls. XII–XIII)[80]

Panel composed of eight main fragments, with three smaller fragments added to the figures. H: 159, W: *c.* 161 (top), 159 (bottom), D: 46 cm.

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[74] Coins: n. 73. Sculpture, esp. the Erbach head: Fittschen, *Kat. Erbach*, no. 16.

[75] U. Hausmann, *Römerbildnisse* (1975), 28, no. 5, figs 11, 13, 76.

[76] Centre-partings are found, for example, on some portrait types of Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and early Nero. The Velleia 'Togatus no. 9' is a good example of a Germanicus with 'non-typological' hair arrangement with centre-parting: C. Saletti, *Il ciclo statuario della Basilica di Velleia* (1968), no. 9, pl. 27–30; the Germanicus identity is certain, not from the hair, but the closeness of the well-individualized physiognomy to the Germanicus on the Gemma Claudia (Oberleitner, *Geschnittene Steine*, 55, fig. 38); cf. H. Jucker, *JdI* 92 (1977), 214–28, figs 1–2.

[77] Earliest type, best seen in the basalt bust, BM 1883; A. K. Massner, *Bildnisangleichung (Das römische*

Herrscherbild IV, 1982), 87, pl. 19b; Z. Kiss, *L'iconographie des princes julio-claudiens* (1975), figs 388–9. The Gabii type has a slightly off-centre parting; and a related type ('Corinth 137–Stuttgart'), possibly a later Germanicus portrait, moves it to the centre: see Fittschen, *GGA* 225 (1973), 59–60, on no. 94; U. Hausmann, *Römerbildnisse* (1975), no. 6; Jucker, *JdI* 92 (1977), 226; IR II, nos 18–19.

[78] Reportedly found with a head of the boy Nero at Acerra near Formiae: Hausmann (n. 77), no. 7.

[79] So, (1) Copenhagen 629: Poulsen, *PR*, no. 50; (2) Cadiz, from Medina Sidonia: Jucker, *JdI* 92 (1977), 234, figs 7–9; (3) Tripoli, from Leptis: Kiss, *Iconographie* (n. 77), figs 373–4. Cf. Fittschen, *Kat. Erbach*, 44, n. 17 c, o, v.

[80] Erim, *RA*, 165, fig. 5.

Missing. From panel: top left corner with the trophy's helmet, much of the right side (full width preserved only at lower middle), pieces from ledge and top. On the prince: right hand, top of head and brow, three pieces from legs. On the togate figure: right foot, some fingers of left hand.

Findspot. The main fragments were found towards the middle and back of Room 6, more to the east side. The panel most probably occupied the upper central intercolumniation of this room.

Technique. The top (Fig. 7) has a well-cut, narrow lewis-hole (12.50 × 2.00 cm, and 9.00 cm deep). It was clearly positioned after the relief was carved; and its depth probably indicates some trimming down of the panel on the building. An oblique clamp-cutting is preserved at the left corner.

The vertical rebate that fitted behind the adjacent half-column is fully preserved on the left side, and shows how the background plane here 'leans' back. The depth behind the background tapers from 14 cm at the bottom to 9 cm at the top, giving greater relief depth in the upper part. The horizontal plane of the background is uneven (see Fig. 7). It curves inwards more deeply between the figures. The background above and behind the trophy has not been properly removed, perhaps suggesting that this part was finished on the building. The stone would have been hard to carve out at the left without damaging the adjacent column. The unseen lowest parts of the figures are worked summarily. The prince's feet are treated like shapeless or 'empty' socks, and the right leg of the captive is merely sketched.

Surface finish. There is some weathering on the figures, especially the left side of the prince's face. The figures have been finished mainly with the flat chisel; this is most evident on the prince's torso which is similar in treatment to that of Germanicus in no. 4. There is little or no sign of the rasp. The drill was used boldly for hair, open mouths, and drapery. The figures are outlined with a channel using a wider drill bit than is seen on the rest of the relief.
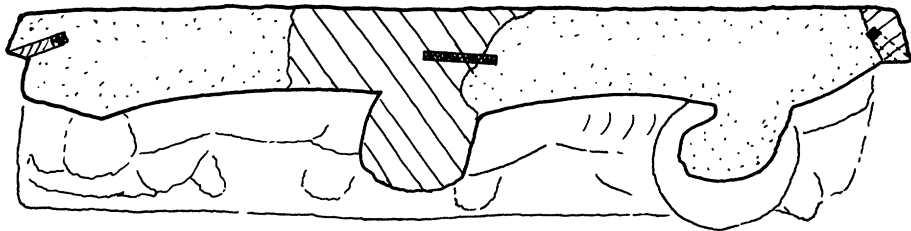

FIG. 7. TOP OF NO. 5, IMPERATOR WITH ROMAN SENATE OR PEOPLE

A naked emperor or prince stands in the centre and crowns a trophy on one side, while he is himself crowned by a togate personification of probably the Roman People or Senate standing on the other side. A bound captive woman crouches below the trophy.

The trophy consists of the usual pole, cuirass, helmet, and greaves. The helmet is missing except for the cheek pieces. The plain moulded cuirass has the usual shoulder lappets and leather-strap kilt. The female captive is half-sitting, half-crouching, her hands tied behind her back. Her upper body turns to the front and her head tilts in the familiar posture of pathos, with mouth drilled open deeply and brows knitted. She wears loose long trousers and blouse with one breast exposed, like the captive boy in no. 4. She has thick, long, 'barbarian' hair falling to her shoulders, unkempt and unarranged. The sculptor has concentrated most on her head, with less attention to its scale in relation to the body.

The naked *imperator* stands in a relaxed frontal pose, with one hand on his hip, two fingers hooked to the front. A cloak is hung casually over his left shoulder and falls by his side wrapped once round his forearm. It has two weights at the bottom. The sculptor has worked less on the lower legs, which would be less visible, and has had difficulty with the two fingers on the hip. Otherwise the classical body is well managed. Unusual care has been taken with the correct proportions of head to torso.

The head has an oak wreath already firmly in place. This has smaller leaves than Claudius' in no. 3, and no acorns. On the sides of the head, the hair, ears, and wreath have been roughly sketched with drill channels only. The portrait is badly dama-ged—weathered on the left and missing the forehead—but it seems never to have been

well particularized (Pl. XIII, 1–2). It has a narrow, ideal face, treated in a very similar manner to the body; that is, there is not the clear contrast seen so far in other panels between the great attention paid to the imperial portrait head and the less detailed working of the body. It does not look as if the sculptor was reproducing a defined portrait type—or even trying to recall one. It is possible that the lost hair over the forehead was arranged in a 'recognizable' imperial hair scheme, but it does not seem likely from the cursory character of the preserved hair.

We could explain this 'portrait' either as a lesser known Julio-Claudian prince of whom no portrait type was readily available at the right time, or by simply assuming a diversity of practice in the designing or carving of the Sebasteion's imperial heads. The case is similar to that of the two young princes in no. 9, who are also technically and stylistically close to this portrait. They favour the second alternative, that is, diversity of practice among the Sebasteion's carvers, rather than an insignificant prince. This portrait would then be of one of the more 'idealizable' Julio-Claudians, that is, for example, someone like Divus Augustus or Germanicus, rather than Claudius. Identification here could only be circumstantial or epigraphic, not by portrait type. We lack an inscription, and the circumstances are not sufficiently particular. He is an emperor or prince, but has to remain nameless.

The bulky togate figure somewhat overshadows the prince and is in slightly higher relief. He wears a Roman toga and tunic treated with great attention. The much greater space given to the figure than to its brother in the Claudius panel (no. 3) allows a more elaborate, more 'developed' rendering of the toga, with deeper upper and lower folds crossing the right leg and upper body. His feet are more carefully worked than the prince's and are probably meant to be wearing shoes, although nothing of their form (unfortunately) can be distinguished.

He has a thick neck, small head, and broad, ideal face with a fullness of form accidentally reminiscent of later Neronian physiognomy (Pl. XIII, 3–4). He is clearly a non-portrait figure, as shown by the thick, ideal hairstyle covering his ears; the toga shows that he must be a Roman figure; and he is therefore most probably a personification of the Roman People or Senate. His hair could perhaps be read as a tousled or abbreviated version of the familiar 'wreath' of hair used at Rome for the Genii of the Senate and People,[81] but here there is no articulation of the hair with a fillet into two distinct parts: 'wreath' below and flatter 'cap' above. The sculptor perhaps mis-interpreted or mis-remembered the correct hairstyle of this unfamiliar figure.

It is not easy to decide, on a purely iconographic level, which is intended—the Roman Senate or People—since the figure is not fully 'correct' for either. At Rome the Genius of the Senate wears a toga but is bearded, while the Genius of the People is beardless but only half-draped, that is, he wears the ideal 'hip mantle'.[82] On coins in the Greek East, the head of the Senate can be beardless (as well as bearded), and this could be what the panel shows: a beardless Synkletos.[83] However, the alternative seems equally possible. Personifications of the Demos of a Greek city wear normal civilian dress, that is, tunic and *himation*, not the ideal 'hip-mantle'.[84] And if one wanted to represent a full figure of the Roman People in the Greek East that would be recognizable as the *Roman* People, it would be natural, indeed necessary, to give it a toga regardless of normal practice in Rome. A half-draped, beardless personification would not be legible as 'Roman' to a Greek audience. A beardless togate figure as here would be the obvious (and only) way to convey the meaning 'Demos of the Romans'. In imperial narrative at Rome, the Genius of the People is only an ancillary figure and does not crown the emperor, while the Genius of the Senate can occasionally perform

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[81] See, e.g., H. Kunckel, *Der römische Genius* (1974), pl. 21 (Cancelleria reliefs).
[82] Kunckel (n. 81), 33–42, 49–52.
[83] For Synkletos on Greek coins (usually beardless, sometimes bearded, sometimes female), see *EAA*, s.v. Senatus.

[84] For example, at Aphrodisias, (1) inscribed statue of Demos: Erim, figs 85b, 105a; (2) Demos on the Zoilus frieze: Erim, in *Aion in Merida* (n. 57), 36, pl. 22.

this task.[85] However, in Greek thinking, Demos was traditionally a more elevated figure,[86] and in view also of the generalizing character of the Sebasteion's symbolism, the wider idea of Demos is perhaps more likely here than the narrower Synkletos; but we should not insist on it.

Since at Rome the figure would not be right for either Senate or People, the composition clearly cannot be closely following a Roman model. This, we saw, was also true for the portrait head of the prince. Apart from a few formal infelicities, like the 'outweighing' of the *imperator* by the togate figure, the double crowning motif of the two figures also seems unlikely for a metropolitan composition. As with the Claudius and Agrippina (no. 3), this scene seems best understood as an Aphrodisian design constructed loosely from known imperial components and motifs.

6. *Claudius and Britannia* (Pls XIV–XV)[87]

Panel made up of twelve fragments with a further two fragments added to the figures (piece of shield rim and Britannia's right arm).
H: 165, W: 135 (top), 132 (bottom), D: 43 cm.
Missing. Top right corner and much of right side. Claudius' right forearm. Most of Britannia's right forearm. Fragments from background on left side and above Britannia's legs.
Findspot. The main parts were found inside Room 3, near the back wall and slightly to the west.
Technique. The top of the panel (Fig. 8) has a narrow lewis-cutting, 2.00 × 11.50 cm and 9.00 cm deep. It was certainly cut after the relief was carved because it is positioned well off-centre, to the right, to take account of the uneven weight distribution of the figures. (Lewis-holes are usually positioned centrally, or only slightly off-centre, so that one side of the block would hang lower to aid setting.) A lateral clamp-cutting is preserved at the left side. Most of the top of the panel is cut down smoothly with a claw chisel. The narrow area above the figures (roughly, the part in front of the lewis-hole), is cut lower, with a point, so that the relief figures bear no weight from above (see Fig. 8).
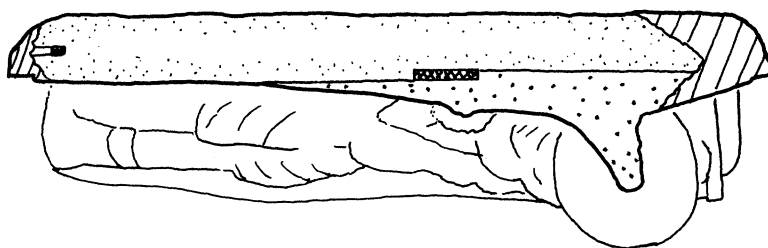

FIG. 8. TOP OF NO. 6, CLAUDIUS AND BRITANNIA

Claudius' head is carved in the most forward plane and requires a small bridge of stone to attach it to the background behind. The background is mostly even, but is carved deeper in the middle, down Claudius' right side. There are vertical bands at the sides, *c.* 6–7 cm wide, formed by the shallow rebates for the panel to fit behind the half-columns (see Fig. 8). The depth of block left behind the background is slightly greater at the top (12 cm) than the bottom (9 cm).
Surface finish. The surfaces of the figures are mostly finished with rasps, that is, a stage further than the preceding two reliefs. Use of the flat chisel is clearly visible in places, for example, in Britannia's hair.

[85] For example, Vespasian is crowned by a togate and bearded Genius of the Senate on posthumous coins of Galba: *BMC Augustus*, pl. 59. 3. For a good account of the potential roles of such personifications in narratives at Rome, see M. Pfanner, *Der Titusbogen* (1983), 67–71.

[86] Note the prominence of Demos on the Zoilus frieze: above n. 84.

[87] K. T. Erim, 'A new relief showing Claudius and Britannia from Aphrodisias', *Britannia* 13 (1982), 277–81, pls 26–8; Erim, *RA*, 164, fig. 3; Erim, 116, figs 117a–c; *LIMC* s.v. Brittania 3* (M. Henig).

Base (Pl. XV, 3). The inscribed base[88] for the panel was found beside the main fragments of the relief inside Room 3, nearer to the west side wall. H: 72, W: 128.5, D: 44 cm.

The base has a plain moulding above and below. The lower corners are cut to fit over the column bases. A frontal satyr mask is carved in relief in the middle. Claudius' name and title are inscribed in two lines at the upper left, the name of the province at the upper right:

<div style="text-align:center">

TIBERIOS KLAUDIOS   BRETANNIA
KAISAR

</div>

The base must belong to this panel rather than to no. 7 below, which is from the same room, for two reasons. First, the headgear of the conquered figure in no. 7 shows that it represents Oriental conquest. And second, Claudius is clearly recognizable in this panel.

The subject of the relief is identified by the inscribed base and the imperial portrait. Claudius stands over the sprawling, defeated figure of Britannia. He pulls her head back by the hair for the death blow. His right arm was bent up towards the top of the panel and held a spear that was worked in the round, except for a small passage attached to his right shoulder where an oblong patch of broken stone remains. Britannia raises her right hand in vain defence or to appeal for clemency. Her arm was worked free of Claudius' torso from the elbow to the fingers, which are still attached to Claudius' chest. With her left hand, she struggles to prevent her dress from falling off her shoulder. Her left leg is stretched out along the ground, and the right is bent back at the knee into the background. Claudius seems to pin her down with his right knee on her thigh, and this may have been the intended effect. His left foot, which should appear beneath Britannia, would not have been visible from below and is not shown.

Britannia wears short boots and a short *chiton* belted at the waist with one breast exposed. The drapery weight at the lower corner probably indicates that the sculptor conceived Britannia's dress as normally being worn in this manner. She also wears a broad bracelet on her left forearm. Her long, centre-parted hair is intended to be read as 'barbarian'; that is, it is thick, unbound, and falls over the shoulders to the front.

Claudius wears a helmet, cloak, and baldric with scabbard, and carries a shield. The helmet is an ideal improvisation rather than a real helmet, probably intended as a simplified version of the late 'ideal' Corinthian type often used in art of the Roman period.[89] The helmet here has a triangular element at the front (unintentionally off-centre) and has no other decoration, apart from an unusual 'fin' motif at the side (Pl. XV, 2). The short cloak, more like a Greek *chlamys* than a Roman *paludamentum*, is tied with a round brooch over the right shoulder. The baldric crosses the chest but is not shown above Britannia's hand at the shoulder, either because it would not have been visible behind the spear or because it is deemed to go under the cloak. The large scabbard is empty. The shield on the left arm is of round, hoplite shape, but very small: again an ideal attribute. Claudius' naked body is in the usual classical mould and has a convincing action posture. Great attention has been paid to the portrait head, but at the expense of its relation to the body: it sits a little uncomfortably and seems too large. The sculptor has, however, been fully successful in 'fixing' an immediately recognizable Claudius portrait.

The middle-aged physiognomy, broad at the forehead with a short triangular face below, is clearly a version of Claudius' main portrait type (n. 61). The eyes are not enlarged as they are in the Claudius of no. 3. The large, roughly finished left ear is the correct size for Claudius, but the more fully finished right ear is too small. The sculptor perhaps had difficulty here and was left with too little stone for the right size of ear. The hair over the forehead is drilled into a very simple centre-parted arrangement. A consistent variant of Claudius' main type has a plain centre-parting (n. 64), but it is unlikely that the fringe here is copied from a metropolitan type. It is similar to the fringe of the Nero in the accompanying panel of this room (no. 7 below),

[88] Reynolds, *ZPE*, 323, no. 8, pl. 12c; Erim, *Britannia* 13 (1982), 280, pl. 27B.

[89] Other, more detailed versions of this helmet type are seen in nos 11 and probably 7: see n. 124.

and probably neither was derived from an imperial model; they are merely simple arrangements designed to be visible beneath the helmets. Here the portrait physiognomy is quite sufficient to make the head legibly Claudius. (The head of Nero is not sufficiently preserved to compare in this respect.)

The action of the panel as a whole is reminiscent of ideal Greek battle compositions, most obviously Amazonomachies, but without being closely based on any known group. The mannered flutter of Claudius' cloak on the background goes back to late classical battle friezes, and the compact pyramidal composition most recalls some Hellenistic free-standing groups (see further on no. 7). In art and imperial ideology at Rome, the emperor did not kill defeated provinces and peoples. He received their submission, extended clemency to them, or had them already incorporated in his train. Although we may know that Claudius will not actually kill Britannia, the received language and compositional logic of such groups certainly arouses that expectation. Such groups were invented to express the poignancy of the enemy's death at the moment of victory and, without the immediately subsequent killing, they would become empty rhetoric. The sculptor of this panel, then, most likely conceived Claudius as being about to kill Britannia. This puts it out of step with central ideology, and suggests a purely Aphrodisian design.

7. *Nero and Armenia* (Pls XVI–XVII)[90]

Panel made up from two main fragments, an upper and a lower, broken at Nero's waist. A small fragment of background is attached at the left side of the upper piece.
H: 160, W: (113), D: 43 cm.
Missing. Both sides badly broken; the left side comes near to the full width at the bottom; much more is missing on the right side. From Armenia: left knee, left forearm, right hand, piece of left foot. On Nero: right forearm, left forearm and wrist, left leg below knee. Part of Nero's head survives but does not join.
Findspot. The main parts were found towards the front of Room 3 behind Column 8, that is, a little to the east of the middle of the room.
Technique. The remains of a (now) very shallow lewis-hole are preserved in the break above Nero's head and show that the panel was carved on the ground and the top trimmed down on the building. The lewis-hole was in the correct place for lifting the finished relief. As on the Claudius and Britannia panel, the depth of the block behind the background plane is less at the bottom (10 cm) than the top (15 cm). This is not reflected in the depth of relief at the front; it is purely a function of an irregular block. In plan, the background swells out a little behind Nero. Nero's head was carved well forward in the front plane and must have been virtually in the round, like the Claudius in no. 6. The background was not fully carved out at the lower left behind Armenia's right leg.
Surface finish. The surface has a variety of tool traces. As usual, the ledge is worked with a point, and most of the background with a claw chisel. On Nero's torso, claw, flat, and rasp marks are all visible. Armenia's body is more evenly finished, mostly with a rasp. Drill channels outline the figures.
Base (Pl. XVII, 3). The inscribed base[91] for the relief was found in front of Column 7 of the south portico, that is, between Rooms 2 and 3, *c.* 3 m from the fragments of the panel. The findspot and the iconography ensure that the base belonged to this panel. H: 74, W: 129, D: 41 cm.

The front of the base is decorated with a relief mask of a female head in early classical style. The conquered country is inscribed at the left, and the imperial title at the right, originally in six lines:

ARMENIA	(erasure)
	KLAUDIOS
	DROUSOS
	KAISAR SEB
	ASTOS GE
	RMANIKOS

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[90] Erim, figs 106a (find), 116b.

[91] Reynolds, *ZPE*, 324–5, no. 10, pl. 12c.

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Nero's name has been erased in the first line. It was originally inscribed NERONI, and the superfluous iota may have been removed immediately.[92] The imperial title seems to be carved in a somewhat different manner from the name 'Armenia'. The incising is slightly shallower, less well controlled. Also, the letters are larger but uneven, and not laid out horizontally. This may or may not be of significance. It could merely be due to a different engraver. Alternatively, it could have been cut at a different time, perhaps slightly later. One could hypothesize a sequence of events as follows. The base and panel were designed in the first instance as an 'unattributed' or Augustan conquest of Armenia. (The base for such a panel was found nearby, with no imperial name, only ARMENIA inscribed at one side.)[93] Then, after Nero's early and well-advertised Armenian successes (from A.D. 54), this panel was given new Neronian specificity by the addition of his title and the carving of his portrait. If we suppose a short time between the first planning of the subject for the panel and A.D. 54, we do not need to hypothesize an unlikely reworking of the portrait head. The whole sequence would simply be a good example of the Aphrodisians' interest and ability in keeping up with recent dynastic ideas and events at Rome as the Sebasteion building proceeded.

The subject of the relief is identified by its inscribed base and the 'eastern' iconography of the conquered personification. Nero supports the slumping figure of Armenia between his wide-striding legs, holding her by her upper arms. The large fingers of his hand appear under right arm, carved rather flatly. She collapses, sitting back on her left heel, her right leg stretched out in front, the foot braced against, it would have seemed, the side of the column framing the panel. Her arms are held out horizontally by Nero from above. Her head falls forward on to her upper arm and shoulder, looking downwards and out of the panel.

Nero wears a short cloak fastened with a round brooch and a baldric carrying an empty scabbard. The tensed muscles of his preserved left thigh are strongly and well modelled; the less visible right knee is rougher. Some attention has been paid to showing a well-muscled, ideal torso, bent with a strong accent at the waist where the upper body leans forward. The upper line of the abdominal muscles is modelled as an independent relief element.

Armenia wears short, plain boots with ribbon-like ties shown on the left boot, a cloak fastened on the right shoulder, and soft 'Phrygian' (= 'Oriental') cap with soft, free-standing peak, modelled carefully in the round. She has long, wavy, 'barbarian' hair, untied and reaching over her shoulders. Her body is naked and well realized in a compact design. The quiver and bow, normal for Armenia iconography, are shown in lower relief on the background, leaning against the side of the panel.[94]

The design of the panel as a whole is vigorous and striking. The sculptor has carried it through successfully even in difficult passages, like the lower left quadrant where Armenia's body, her legs, and Nero's legs behind are set in complex receding planes. He seems to be following an excellent design, one more fully thought out than that of the Claudius and Britannia panel. The composition is similar to that of Hellenistic, pyramidal, two-figure groups in general, and in particular it seems designed to recall the well-known Achilles and Penthesilea group.[95] There was a (later) monumental version of this group at Aphrodisias,[96] but it is not required as the specific 'source' for the Sebasteion relief or for reference to it to have been recognizable in the panel. The group was no doubt well known in the Greek East.

In purely formal terms, the Sebasteion relief seems to be based on a combination of the Achilles and Penthesilea and the equally well-known Pasquino group of Menelaus with the body of Patroclus.[97] In the Pasquino, the fallen body is placed between the legs of the standing figure (as in the Sebasteion composition), but is held round the waist. In the Achilles and Penthesilea, the fallen Amazon is held by the upper arms (like Armenia), but is placed to one side of Achilles' legs. The Sebasteion panel, then, adapts and combines these two groups to make a more compact design.

[92] So Reynolds, ibid.
[93] Reynolds, ibid., no. 11, pl. 12f.
[94] LIMC, s.v. Armenia (J. Ch. Balty).
[95] M. Bieber, The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age²

(1961), 79–80, figs 278–80.
[96] Erim, 97, fig. 98a.
[97] Bieber, Sculpture (n. 95), 78–9, figs 272–7.

Iconographically, the evocation is clearly of Achilles and Penthesilea: the striding hero with cloak and baldric supporting the eastern/ Amazon queen. The motif is more apt than the 'moment of killing' scene in the Claudius and Britannia panel, where the implication of imminent slaughter in the raised arm (= death blow) is hard to avoid. Nero has conquered Armenia but we know that he will, of course, raise her up and embrace her in the Roman empire. Although in the story Penthesilea dies, that meaning can be suspended here by the compositional adjustments that avoid a direct equation with the myth.

This relief, then, represents a thoughtful adaptation of the form and meaning of a Hellenistic mythological group to a Roman imperial allegory. Designers at Rome regularly used Hellenistic forms and figures to create visual allegory for imperial rule, but they rarely use such specific and recognizable models; probably they would be neither desirable nor recognized.

Nero's head. Substantial parts of a helmeted head that should belong to the Nero of this panel were excavated near its base (Pl. XVII, 1–2). The surviving part of the head is split obliquely through the face in two main fragments, back and front, with the left ear added as a small, third fragment. The preserved height is 37 cm, its greatest depth, 33 cm.

As with the Claudius in the Britannia relief, the head was probably rather large in proportion to the body. It was worked almost fully in the round and attached to the background by a bridge of stone about 7–8 cm wide. The helmet is worked more fully towards the back on its right side and what remains of the right ear is as well or better carved than the left. The head, therefore, probably looked out of the relief to Nero's left, away from Armenia. This was probably taken from the pose of Achilles in the Penthesilea group.

The helmet with prominent peak is a late, ideal variant or adaptation of the old 'Corinthian' type, worn as if permanently pushed back from the face.[98] It has a crest indicated by a thick lump of stone on top, and the narrow split between the notional 'cheek-pieces' is shown by a drill line in the underside of the peak. A drill channel also separates the hair from the helmet under the peak, and another broad drill line creates the centre-parting in the hair.

The face is almost entirely broken away, except for the right brow and part of the right cheek and eye. However, the forehead hair and its relation to or distance from the eyebrows is preserved, as is the disposition and size of the protruding ears. These allow us (forewarned by the base) to see that this was probably a simplified version of the same portrait type as is used in no. 11, that is, Nero's second or accession type created in 54 (see Pl. XXVI, 1 and 3).[99] The version here seems to have stood in the same relation to this important metropolitan type as the Claudius in the Britannia panel (no. 6) does to the main metropolitan Claudius type. That is, it probably combined a young Nero physiognomy with this simplified or 'non-typological' rendering of the centre-parted fringe.

It is possible that the head was deliberately chiselled from the relief and broken up when Nero fell from power in A.D. 68, at the same time as Nero's personal name was erased from the base. We shall see that another Nero panel (no. 11) was actually taken down from the building altogether. But then why was this panel not also taken down? One explanation would be that its removal was, for whatever reason, more difficult. The very fragmentary state of the head favours the deliberate smashing normal in this kind of *damnatio*. But if the head was broken off in A.D 68, it is surprising that it was found in the excavations at all; for they uncovered the building as it collapsed several centuries later. The head fragments were found near the inscribed base for the panel, though at a level *c*. 60 cm lower. It is not likely that the broken head was buried after its removal from the panel for two reasons. First, the find depth of the head fragments falls in a similar range to that of fragments of other

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[98] Probably similar in form to the more complete helmet at Nero's feet on no. 11; cf. below n. 124.

[99] For this type, see below, n. 125.

panels that were not candidates for *damnatio* (for example, no. 3). And second, the fragments were found not in one of the portico rooms (which have earth floors) but in front of the rooms, where the ground was paved; and the head fragments were found above the level of the paving.

We should, therefore, allow the possibility that the head remained in place in A.D. 68 and that the simple erasing of the name 'Nero' was felt to be sufficient condemnation of his memory. This left an ambiguous or non-specific Julio-Claudian 'Klaudios Drousos Kaisar Sebastos Germanikos' as the subject of the panel. The subjects of portraits in the Greek East could regularly be changed, when they were no longer appropriate, by the simple adjustment of their inscribed labels, as Dio Chrysostom complains in his long Rhodian speech (*Or.* 31). Few of the viewers of this panel who might have complained of this procedure here (for example, a visiting governor?) would have been sufficiently well versed in the niceties of imperial portrait typology to assert that this head absolutely required interpretation as the disgraced Nero. The type to which it belonged (Pl. XXVI, 3) was itself in the typically bland, idealizing Julio-Claudian manner, and so 'un-Neronian' in relation to his more distinctive later types that it has only recently been generally recognized as the young emperor Nero. For the Aphrodisians, the simple adjustment of the imperial name on the base would have the obvious advantage of not marring the great series of reliefs in the south portico and what they stood for.

8. *Unfinished Imperator (Tiberius?) with captive* (Pls XVIII–XIX)

Panel made up of two main fragments, a larger part with both figures, and a smaller part with the upper left corner. Twelve further fragments are joined to the front of the relief.
H: 160.5, W: 131 (bottom), *c.* 135–40 (top), D: 45 cm.
Missing. Upper right corner and most of right side; two pieces of left side; parts of background between the figures; the captive's legs and the *imperator*'s genitals are badly damaged.
Findspot. The main fragments were found inside Room 5, near the front of the room beside the west wall.
Technique. The top of the panel has a narrow lewis-hole, 2.30 × 12(+) cm and 13 cm deep. The cutting is set 9 cm from the back of the block, that is, closer to the back, away from the centre of gravity, than it need be. The panel is unfinished, and at the time the lewis-hole was cut, more work was clearly expected on the background before lifting. The lifting of the panel in its present state implies some haste in the project. At the sides, the panel is cut back to *c.* 12–14 cm from the back of the block, so that the relief would have the correct projection between the columns. The rest of the background, like the figures, is clearly unfinished, especially at the left; it was meant to be considerably deeper.

The sculptor started the figures close to the front of the block, and the background has to 'swell out' so that they remain attached (although more could have been removed than has been). The prince's right arm is carved fully in the round but with a thick strut of stone joining the hand to the background above. The prisoner is carved in the same plane as the prince but, being smaller, takes less depth; the background above and behind him has been left as a lumpy mass, finished only with the point.
Surface finish. The background is worked with a claw-chisel where more finished, with a point where not. The figures are left partly clawed, partly flat-chiselled. The combination of claw and flat chisel is most clear on the prince's torso. The prisoner is mostly finished with flat chisels, his cloak behind with a claw. Little attention was paid to the feet (unseen): they are worked as flat lumps, little differentiated from the point-finished ledge on which they stand. A drill has been used sparingly to outline the figures.

Most of the details of the composition have been completed, but its unfinished state is clear from the uncarved parts of the background and the surface. The sculptor has also left a measuring point on the prince's stomach just above the pubic hair; it is the usual small boss of stone with a hole or slight depression in its top. Such bosses are not evidence of the detailed or mechanical copying of a model by means of a network of points transferred from the model by a pointing machine (as used, for example, in the nineteenth century for reproducing the master's 'original plaster' in marble).[100] Rather this boss was a fixed point used during carving

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[100] I am much indebted here to a lecture by Amanda Claridge on ancient copying techniques; cf. A. Claridge, *Stud. Misc.* 26 (1985), 113–17. On nineteenth- century practice: H. W. Janson, *Nineteenth Century Sculpture* (1985), 14–16.

from which to regulate the main internal dimensions and proportions of the composition (in two dimensions only). A large pair of dividers with one end resting in the hole on the boss would test the correct distance, to the knees or chin for example, by reference to a working drawing of the composition (perhaps on wood and at a reduced scale). The boss, then, was only a simple aid used during carving, not part of the original laying out of the composition, which would simply have been drawn on the front of the block.

A naked imperial prince occupies the centre of the relief. He stands frontally, holding a spear and shield and wearing cloak and baldric. To the left stands a prisoner, shown at about half the prince's scale. He wears a cloak and trousers and has his hands tied behind his back. The prince cannot be identified with certainty; he is probably either Augustus or Tiberius, and of these more likely Tiberius.

The prisoner stands in a classical pose with his relaxed left leg forward, echoing the pose of the prince. His 'barbarian' trousers are rolled over at the top with a small apron at the front; they are of the looser-fitting, northern kind and leave his chest and stomach bare. His long cloak covers both shoulders and is fastened with a large round brooch, in a manner neither Greek nor Roman, in the middle of his chest. The top and back of his head are covered by a cloth-like headdress that seems separate from the cloak, unless it is meant as a hood attached to the cloak. He has a beardless, ideal face and long, thick, curling hair covering his ears.

The naked prince stands looking straight ahead, the weight on his right leg. The overall effect of an ideal classical body is well enough conveyed, but in proportions and in details short-cuts have been taken. The figure was probably laid out and executed in some haste. The crude muscle delineation with a round-headed chisel on the right thigh, knee, and calf would have been more fully worked. Other awkward features, like the proportions of limbs to torso, or the relation of legs to ankles could be the result of a swiftly drawn layout of the figures.

The prince rests his left hand on a large round shield of Greek hoplite type, which should probably be read as an ideal or heroic shield. It rests on an irregular block of stone with its edge to the viewer and is cut off by the background behind. The baldric is shown as a broad flat strap in low relief across the chest; no scabbard or sword-hilt is shown. The large cloak is draped loosely across the back, wrapped over the forearm at the right and over the upper arm at the left. At the left, as can easily happen, the drapery falling behind is not fully distinguished from that in front. The drapery's purpose—to frame and 'reveal' the naked figure—is not affected. The spear in the prince's right hand was worked in one piece with the relief. It is thick, roughly rectangular in section, and tapers towards the top. Its upper parts are worked in the round, while the lower part is set closely against the captive: it passes in front of his shoulder and behind his left leg.

The panel is essentially a single-figure composition of a naked ruler with spear, standing in a pose expressive of military and political power well known since the early Hellenistic period. The prisoner is added on one side of the composition but without interaction with the protagonist. His thematic connection, however, is clear. He is 'northern' and so, like the trousered boy in no. 4, probably German. This would fit well with the main subject of the panel which is probably Tiberius.

The portrait (Pl. XIX). The *imperator*'s portrait is roughly executed, finished mainly with the flat chisel (some claw work remains on the left cheek), but it is still quite particular. The square head is based on a simplified Augustan ideal. It has a broad brow with a roughly incised horizontal furrow (a 'portrait' feature), sharp ideal brows, enlarged eyes, and short squarish face. The mouth has full lips, drilled apart. The ears are roughly drilled out of the mass of the hair but are quite well articulated; they are made to protrude and are small. In side view, the short nose breaks the classical profile sharply at the root of the nose. The hair is roughly carved (and clearly unfinished at the pointed lump on top) but the forehead fringe is worked into a clear Augustan-style forked arrangement, with an off-centre parting. It is hard to tell if the sculptor is giving a simplified or imperfectly remembered version of an imperial portrait type or merely inventing or generating his own Julio-Claudian head. Both

face and hair seem too particular to be purely his own design, and if this is correct the identification becomes a matter of weighing the hair arrangement against the physiognomy. The hair suggests Augustus, the face Tiberius.

The central fork of hair in the fringe recalls roughly the main (Prima Porta) type of Augustus, but without one of the secondary locks over the right eye (see Fig. 9). At the same time, details of the physiognomy seem to recall Tiberius quite strongly. In front view, the square, ideal face might be taken for Augustus.[101] However, other
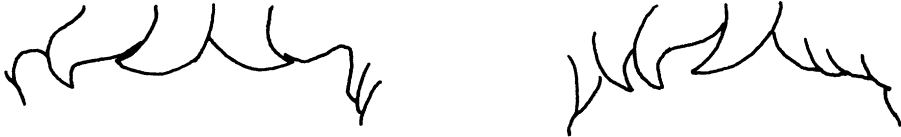
FIG. 9. FRINGE ARRANGEMENTS OF NO. 8 (LEFT), AND AUGUSTUS' MAIN TYPE (RIGHT). CF. PLS V, 4 AND XIX, 2

features show he was probably not intended. The small ears, short protruding nose (as seen in profile) and the broad brow with square upper 'corners' are not found in Augustus' portrait types. They are typical elements of Tiberius' portraits.[102] Details like the nose and smaller ears might be accidental, but the square brow and its relation to the hair, that is, the height between eyebrows and fringe, was a basic 'signifying' element in the composition of a Julio-Claudian portrait. Augustus' hair lies lower down the brow, whereas Tiberius' portraits introduce a greater space between eyes and hair. If we are to weigh the forked central locks against the physiognomy, we should probably prefer the latter as giving the intended identity, since it requires more care and attention. There seem to be subtle but detectable Tiberian elements in the facial features, and although this panel was perhaps carved by a less competent sculptor, it should be noted that the two Augustus reliefs already discussed (nos 1–2) had little difficulty in fixing an Augustus physiognomy when it was required. If this portrait is Augustus, some of the features are surprising, but not impossible given the considerable diversity in the execution of the imperial series. If the portrait is Tiberius, the central locks could be explained simply as a partial mis-quote of the Prima Porta, that is, as an accidental use of a partly remembered fringe type. This is likely for a Tiberius portrait because his fringe arrangements were unmemorable and typologically indistinct.

Tiberius' surviving portrait heads are harder to divide into neat typological groups than those of most emperors. He has a youthful pre-accession portrait ('Adoption type') that is reproduced in some close copies with the same repeated hair arrangement.[103] His later portrait types use a more mature, less ideal image, in which the accurate reproduction of hair design was at less of a premium for recognizability; their sculptured versions often use a simple fringe design based on a centre-parting.[104] If our sculptor was trying to recall a Tiberian hair pattern, it would be the early type (n. 103), which has an off-centre parting over the left eye, a lock turning back to the centre over the right eye, and locks framing each side of the forehead to form the distinctive Tiberian 'square-cornered' brow. However, it is probably easier to see the arrangement here as an *ad hoc* imperial fringe, accidentally related to Augustus' main type or perhaps deliberately adapted from it.

Tiberius, then, seems more probable for the portrait than Augustus. The physiognomy (especially in profile) and the 'square' brow seem more significant than

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[101] Compare the Augustus portraits on the statues from Corinth and Aquileia: Niemeyer, *Studien* (n. 41), nos 1 and 9, pls 1. 1 and 4. 1; Kiss, *Iconographie* (n. 77), fig. 272 (Aquileia). It is worth noting that the Aquileia portrait has sometimes been taken for Tiberius: L. Polacco, *Il volto di Tiberio* (1955), 183.

[102] On Tiberius' portraits: Polacco (n. 101); U. Hausmann, *Eikones: Fest. H. Jucker* (1980), 135–8;

Zanker, FZ I, nos 10–14; M. Aurenhammer, *ÖJh* 54 (1983), Beibl. 112–25.

[103] See esp. Zanker, FZ I, no. 10. Close copies in Copenhagen (623: Poulsen, *PR*, no. 45) and the Capitoline (FZ I, no. 10).

[104] Polacco, *Volto* (n. 102), 125–45; Zanker, FZ I, nos 12–13.

the milder reminiscence in the hair pattern. Tiberius is also better suited to be the victor over specifically northern captives.

9. *Two princes* (Pls XX–XXI)[105]

(The two figures will be called A and B, from the viewer's left and right.)
Panel preserved in one piece, with two fragments of the ground ledge joined at left: one fragment gives the lower left corner with A's right foot; the other has part of A's left foot.
H: 159, W: 139 (top), 133 (bottom), D: 43 cm.
Missing. From panel: upper left corner, most of left side, right half of ledge with feet of B. From A: index finger of right hand, penis. From B; fingers of left hand, end of right index finger, some drapery at left shoulder, penis and lower part of scrotum, end of nose. The back of the panel has a shallow groove or channel caused by the bisection of an erosion 'tunnel' in the marble bed from which the block was quarried. It does not affect the relief.
Findspot. Found at the back of Room 6, nearer to the east side wall.
Technique. The top of the panel (Fig. 10) preserves an oblique clamp-cutting at the right side and a narrow lewis-hole (1.80 × 11.60 cm and 8.50 cm deep), evidently cut after the relief was carved. The lewis is now too shallow for use, so the top was trimmed down on the building.
   The original block was slightly thicker at the right; but since naturally the relief was laid out from the squared front, this irregularity is confined to, or left in the back of the block. (The depth behind the background plane is *c.* 4 cm greater on the right than the left.) The figures did not require the full depth of relief planned (*c.* 30 cm) and the background 'swells' behind them with a slight hollow between. The heads of the figures and the top of the panel immediately behind them were cut to a slightly lower level so that they would not bear any weight. This was done with a point chisel, while the rest of the panel's top was dressed down smoothly with the claw. The slight change of level was marked off with a straight edge (see Fig. 10).
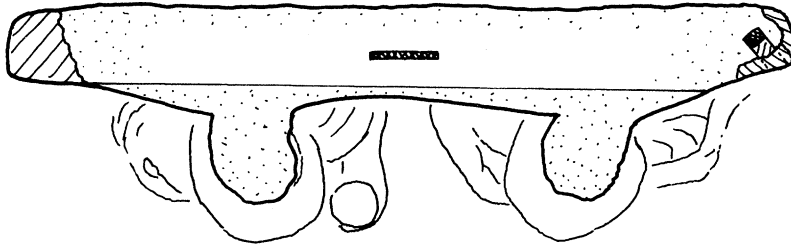

FIG. 10. TOP OF NO. 9, TWO PRINCES

Surface finish. The figures are outlined nearly all round with a drill channel. The top of the ledge and the feet are finished with a fine point, the background with a claw. The figures have a variable finish with flat chisels and rasps. Faces, hair, and drapery have more flat work visible. The torso of A is a little weathered; B's has clear rasp marks. A small, roughly worked strut or bridge, from his chest to the orb, supports A's left arm; another attaches B's right hand to his chest.

   Two young naked princes stand frontally in mirrored classical poses. Prince A holds an *aphlaston* (ship's stern ornament) and an orb: he is clearly the senior in status. Prince B did not certainly hold any attribute. His missing left fingers may have held something but not necessarily; his right hand merely 'holds' the strut that is attached to his chest. Both wear long cloaks with large round brooches. A's is fastened round his neck, B's draped over his left shoulder and arm. This variation in the drapery arrangement serves partly to mask the similarity of their mirror-reversed poses. Their stances are slightly different: A is more frontal, and B turns more towards the centre and has his feet closer together. Both turn their heads and look down, seemingly at the orb held by A. The ideal classical forms and proportions of both figures are well managed. A's roughly worked feet were not to be seen.
   The two princes are differentiated both by attributes and their portraits, but the heads are not certainly identifiable by portrait type (Pl. XXI). A's head is slightly

[105] Erim, fig. 115c.

larger and better finished, with more detail shown in the hair. Both have youthful, classically structured faces with almost no individualizing traits. A's face is longer and narrower; B's is shorter, more square, and seems slightly younger, although he has a furrow engraved in his brow. Both have regular, ideal profiles, heavily lidded eyes, and full mouths with drilled corners. In technique and generalizing effect, they are close to the head of the unidentifiable *imperator* in no. 5.

The slight portrait effect of the heads is expressed in their thick caps of hair with Julio-Claudian fringes: A has an off-centre parting over the left eye with an 'extra' lock above; B has a simple side-parting over the right eye. It is possible that these were copied or adapted from defined imperial types, but given the near-total lack of particularity in the faces, it cannot be assumed for the hair. On the one hand, their hair patterns could be invented and any resemblance to imperial hair types accidental. On the other hand, one could imagine them as versions of imperial types that had highly idealized physiognomies (as often for Julio-Claudian youths), in which case their hair arrangements should be treated as if they are as accurate as in some of the other panels. In other words, it is not possible to tell whether we have a pair of generic, invented Julio-Claudian portraits, or simplified versions of defined but idealized types. No known young imperial types match the hair patterns of either A or B closely enough for them to be recognized as clearly related. Identification, then, must be in the first instance circumstantial.

The available candidates can be easily narrowed on external grounds. There are four possible 'pairs' of youthful princes in the Julio-Claudian dynasty: (1) Gaius and Lucius, Augustus' grandsons; (2) the twin sons of Drusus the Younger; (3) Nero Caesar and Drusus Caesar, the sons of Germanicus; and (4) Nero and Britannicus. Only Gaius and Lucius or Nero and Britannicus are really possible here. Drusus' sons were twins, whereas here one is clearly senior; also one of the twins died before his fifth birthday so that they were never important as a dynastic pair, except as baby boys.[106] The sons of Germanicus were both disgraced in 29–30, died in the early 30s, and were not subsequently rehabilitated through the portrait system, as far as we know.[107] Attributes and age distinction would fit Gaius and Lucius or Nero and Britannicus equally well. Gaius and Lucius were separated by three years, Nero and Britannicus by four to five. The orb, which must mark the elder prince as imperial successor, is equally appropriate for Gaius or Nero. The *aphlaston*, the symbol of naval victory, is not particularly relevant to either crown prince, as far as we know.

Gaius and Lucius both appeared in the statuary display associated with the propylon,[108] and although they are not regularly honoured as late as the reign of Claudius, they would be obvious figures for inclusion in a series of reliefs devoted to the high points of the Julio-Claudian dynasty from Augustus. (The propylon statues are earlier, probably Tiberian, but the south portico was probably planned earlier too, with additions made as time progressed.) The portrait typology of Gaius and Lucius is problematic, most importantly in identifying which is which between the two key portraits, those from Corinth.[109] The heads of A and B could perhaps be read as faint echoes of these (highly idealized) types: A would be a simplified echo of Corinth 135, which has a similar off-centre parting over the left eye but also locks turning back to the centre over the right eye that are absent from A;[110] and B would echo faintly and in reverse Corinth 136 which has a similar side parting, but over the right eye, not the left as on B; it also has a small lock turning back to the centre in a much more complex arrangement than B's.[111] This is not particularly helpful. A and B could be read in this way only if they were certainly Gaius and Lucius. The hair designs do not come

[106] Tiberius Gemellus, A.D. 19–37, and Gemanicus Gemellus, A.D. 19–23. They appear as baby boys in facing cornucopia busts on coins of 22–3; Kent-Hirmer, *Roman Coins* (1978), no. 156.
[107] Nero Caesar, banished to Pandateria in 29, starved to death in 31. Drusus Caesar, imprisoned at Rome in 30, starved to death in 33.
[108] Reynolds, *Fest. Pippidi*, n. 22.

[109] P. Zanker, *Studien zu den Augustusporträts* 1: *Der Actium-Typus* (1973), 47–51. Cf. Fittschen. *Kat. Erbach*, no. 12, on 'Type B' and other possible Gaius portraits.
[110] Corinth 135: Zanker, *Actium-Typus* (n. 109), pl. 35a.
[111] Corinth 136: Zanker, ibid., pl. 35b.

close to demonstrating an identity of type in either case: the simplifications and divergences are clearly too great. Other possible Gaius and Lucius portrait types cannot help, since it is a basic principle (not always fully recognized in modern studies of ancient portraits) that one unidentified head cannot identify another. However, even if the hair designs were certainly *not* of guaranteed Gaius and Lucius types, this would not exclude them. Augustus in no. 2 above gives a certain example of an improvised hair design in a portrait clearly made after a recognized type.

If Nero and Britannicus were represented, the panel would, of course, belong before Nero's accession in 54 or at least before the murder of Britannicus in 55. A would be Nero, B Britannicus. No certain Britannicus portrait types are known for comparison. Nero could not be in his second or accession type (as in nos 7 and 11), which shows him older. He would have to be in a slightly maturer version of his first or boyhood type, which, however, is not very like A and has a plain centre-parting. Alternatively, A would be a 'non-typological' Nero.

The portrait heads, then, perhaps marginally favour Gaius and Lucius. And circumstances are perhaps slightly against Nero and Britannicus. They were a dynastic 'pair' for just five years, from Claudius' adoption of Nero in 50 to Nero's murder of Britannicus in 55. The panel of Nero and Armenia (no. 7), only three rooms to the east of this panel, clearly implies a date after 54. (It also had an older Nero portrait that was more correct for this date.) Assuming that the two panels belong to a roughly contemporary building phase, time becomes very short for a relevant Nero and Britannicus.[112] Gaius and Lucius, on the other hand, were from the beginning defined, in dynastic thinking and in the portrait system, as the ideal youthful pair of the imperial house. They died young and so remained young in their images. They would come obviously to mind in any portrayal of Julio-Claudian dynastic mythology. They would be probably a safer choice both for us and the Aphrodisians.

10. *Empress sacrificing (Livia?)* (Pls XXII–XXIII)

Panel made up of three joining fragments: the main part with both figures, the lower left corner, and a large piece of plain background at the upper right (not yet added in Pl. XXII). A fragment of drapery joins the woman's left arm. Fragments from the heads of both figures also belong but do not join.
H: (154), W: 133 (bottom), D: 40 cm.
Missing. From panel: all of top, most of left side with upper part of altar, upper half of right side. From the woman: right forearm and both hands. From attendant: right forearm, fingers of left hand and front edge of tray.
Findspot. The main fragments were found at the doorway of Room 1, between columns 2 and 3, partly in front of the line of the stylobate.
Technique. The panel was laid out with the usual ledge below, cut short of the sides to fit the architecture. The background is even as far as preserved. The relief depth is *c.* 25 cm, with *c.* 15 cm of block behind the background plane.
Surface finish. The ground ledge is finished with a point chisel, the background with a claw. The figures are outlined with a drill channel and finished with flat and rasp.

A draped imperial woman stands in the centre, most probably to be restored as pouring a libation on to the altar on the left. A sacrificial attendant stands at her side with an offering tray, looking slightly to his right. The altar is cylindrical and has a moulded base set on a square pedestal with lion's feet. The attendant is clearly a 'real' figure, and, with the contemporary hairstyles worn by both figures, guarantees that this is an imperial sacrifice, not an Olympian or mythological sacrifice such as appear elsewhere in the south-portico reliefs.

The boy attendant wears a short-sleeved tunic belted at the waist with an overfold concealing the belt and, on his feet, roughly indicated ankle boots (perhaps

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[112] It is possible, however, that Nero was added to the Armenia composition a little later: see no. 7 above.

intended for plain shoes of Roman type). He carries a sacrificial tray on his left shoulder, holding it with both hands. There is nothing shown on the tray, since it would have been invisible from below. He has a thick fringe of hair falling low on his forehead, and long locks reach to the shoulders behind, leaving the large protruding ears uncovered. The hairstyle and dress are normal for sacrificial attendants at Rome. Of his face, only the right eye is preserved with the head. A small fragment, which belongs but does not join, gives part of his left cheek, mouth, and one nostril (see Pl. XXIII, 1). It was clearly a well-carved, round, boyish face, with a strongly contemporary, metropolitan air.

The imperial woman wears a thin, sleeved *chiton* of normal Hellenistic type, belted under the breasts with a knotted fillet, its fringed ends tucked up under itself. She wears a *himation* over one shoulder, brought round the opposite hip and hung over the free forearm. Her feet are only roughly worked and it is not clear whether shoes are indicated or not. Her now fragmentary portrait head was in an ideal manner and is most compatible with Livia.

Portrait head (Pl. XXIII, 2–4). The head is composed of three joining fragments: (1) front, with all that remains of the face; (2) right side of head and hair; (3) a battered fragment at the back. H: 24.5, W: 19.5, D: 22 cm.

The lower part of the face and neck are broken away. Only the hair, brow, eyes and part of the left cheek are preserved. The surface is broken at the back where the head was attached to the background. The forehead and eyes are in a wholly ideal manner, with the eyebrows and upper lids cut in sharp classical style. The change of plane at the jaw line on the left side is indicated by an incised line. The face was probably equally austere in technique and effect.

The hairstyle is of a basically classical form. The hair is swept off the face to form a thick 'wreath' round the head that covers all of the ears except the lobes (preserved on the left). Above the 'wreath', the hair is a plain cap, here left with a roughly worked surface. As is normal in such classical hairstyles, the strands of hair on the sides are swept back in gentle S-shaped waves. But here, instead of the usual centre-parting, the S-waves are continued across the middle of the forehead, which results in a few uncertainties as to the proper direction of these locks, especially at the right of centre. This could be interpreted as a deliberate 'portrait' variation on the purely classical, centre-parted hairstyle or as a simple misunderstanding. One lock of hair escapes on to the cheek in front of the ear, and on the brow below the hairline there is a row of ten small curls in low relief arranged symmetrically round the central axis. These are a contemporary 'portrait' or fashion element.

The hairstyle as a whole does not closely match that of any defined portrait type of an imperial woman known to us. However, both hairstyle and circumstances combine quite strongly to suggest Livia as the most likely candidate.

The circumstantial argument is simply that the woman must be of major importance in Julio-Claudian dynastic mythology, sufficient to have a whole panel to herself and to rank equally with the other imperial figures in the south-portico display. The sure and probable identifications in the preceding nine panels suggest that the south-portico reliefs featured the best-known figures from the whole span of Julio-Claudian history, from Augustus to early Nero. Of imperial women of the required status in this period, only Livia, Antonia Minor (mother of Claudius), and Agrippina the Younger (mother of Nero) seem possible. An imperial wife of the Claudian or early Neronian period seems unlikely; none, except perhaps Agrippina under Claudius, reached this stature. Imperial women generally had more independent stature as mothers of emperors than as imperial wives. In the other panels, no imperial woman appears alone. Agrippina is Claudius' wife (and subordinate) in no. 3 and the mother (and equal) of Nero in no. 11. Of the three possible women, Antonia Minor seems the least likely, while Agrippina is certainly ruled out on portrait grounds. Livia's position in the dynasty as wife of the first *princeps* and mother of the second, thus uniting its Julian and Claudian lines, was unique. While living, she was the 'first lady' in Rome for nearly sixty years, and though not deified at Rome till 41

under Claudius, her posthumous status outstripped that of all other Julio-Claudian women, probably in both provincial and Roman perception. At Aphrodisias, she was included in the architrave dedication of the Sebasteion temple with Tiberius.

Of the Julio-Claudian women with known portraits, the hairstyle of the fragmentary head also best suits Livia. Antonia's portraits have a plain hairstyle, but not at all close to this.[113] All others after Livia use much more complex fashion arrangements, usually involving more or less well-defined rows of curls on the temples (so Agrippina the Elder and Younger, and Messalina on coins).[114] The simpler hairstyles did not have enough distinctive elements, while more complex hairstyles could give portraits with idealized faces the illusion of having 'recognizable' particulars.[115] Further, in the Julio-Claudian period, such ideal hairstyles had probably been appropriated by the posthumous images of Livia.

During her life, Livia's main portrait types used a simple hairstyle with the hair brushed back on the sides as here, forming a 'wreath' with a plain area above; but this hairstyle also had a central bunch of hair folded back over the middle of the forehead, which was a clear contemporary and real feature.[116] In many later and posthumous portraits that use a more idealizing image, the contemporary real element (the central bunch over the forehead) can be omitted in favour of a purely ideal, classical hairstyle with centre-parting.[117] The unusual and uncertain arrangement over the middle of the forehead on the Sebasteion head could be explained if it were a posthumous Livia by a sculptor who half-remembered that Livia portraits often had some distinguishing feature here.

The row of small locks lying on the forehead below the hairline is found quite often on female portraits of the Julio-Claudian period, and they go back at least to later Hellenistic times.[118] Although they were probably not a distinguishing part of a portrait type, they occur four times on major Livia portraits in Asia Minor: two from Ephesus, one from Marmaris, and one from Aphrodisias.[119] On these portraits, the forehead locks are slightly longer and without the curled ends which they have on the Sebasteion head. These portraits also retain the earlier fashion hairstyle with central bunch above the forehead. The combination of a purely ideal hair arrangement with the row of forehead locks is seen in a posthumous Livia portrait from Velleia,[120] which shows that this combination, as seen on the Sebasteion head, was probably a recognized option for Livia's posthumous image.

We may conclude, then, that the hairstyle of the fragmentary portrait head and Livia's unique prominence among Julio-Claudian women make her (as Ioulia or Thea Sebaste) the most likely candidate for this relief.

11. *Nero and Agrippina* (Pls XXIV–XXVI)[121]

Panel preserved in one main piece with a separate fragment joined at the upper left (Nero's head with Agrippina's right forearm). The surface has other large cracks (not breaks), for

[113] Fittschen, *Kat. Erbach*, nos 18–19; P. Erhardt, *AJA* 82 (1978), 193–212.

[114] Agrippina I: Zanker, FZ III, no. 4. Agrippina II: see nos 3 and 11 with n. 132. Messalina: *BMC Augustus*, pl. 34. 8; cf. K. Polaschek, *Porträttypen einer Klaudischen Kaiserin* (1973).

[115] A more or less pure ideal hairstyle is not used again by an imperial woman till the main portrait type of Sabina, Hadrian's wife, which has a modified, late-classical, Aphrodite hair arrangement: Fittschen, FZ III, no. 10.

[116] On Livia's portraits: W. H. Gross, *Iulia Augusta* (1962); Hausmann, *Römerbildnisse* (n. 77), 19–23, 120–1; R. Winkes, *AA* (1982), 131–8; Zanker, FZ III, nos 1–3. The main types referred to here are defined round two key pieces, (1) Copenhagen 615: Poulsen, *PR*, no. 35; and (2) Marbury Hall: Gross, pl. 18; on these, cf. Zanker, FZ III, no. 1.

[117] On these portraits (of the 'Salus'/'Ceres' type): Zanker, FZ III, no. 3. Three good and varied examples

in Copenhagen (NCG 618, 617, 531): Poulsen, *PR*, nos 36–8. The hypothetical intricacies of recent Livia typologies need not concern us; we need only to distinguish the two basic hairstyle options for her images, the 'real' or fashion hairstyle and the ideal hairstyle.

[118] Late Hellenistic, for example, the Berlin and Cherchel Cleopatras: K. Vierneisel, *JhbBerlMus* 22 (1980), 5–33, figs 1–3 and 27–31; Fittschen, *MM* 15 (1974), 167–8, pl. 31c–d (Cherchel). Julio-Claudian, for example: Felletti, *Ritratti* (n. 43), nos 106 and 131; Poulsen, *PR*, no. 63; cf. W. Trillmich, *HeftABern* 9 (1983), 21–37, pls 2–7.

[119] IR I, no. 11 (Marmaris); IR II, nos 5–6 (Ephesus and Aphrodisias); M. Aurenhammer, *ÖJh* 54 (1983), Beibl. 104–11, figs 1–3 (Ephesus).

[120] Gross, *Iulia Augusta* (n. 116), 112–14, pl. 24; Saletti, *Il ciclo* (n. 76), 33, no. 4, pls 11–14; cf. Jucker, *JdI* 92 (1977), 206.

[121] Erim, figs 4a, 21a, 32a (heads), 122b (panel).

example, at Nero's right elbow and round Agrippina's neck. These have been consolidated with modern filling.

H: 172, W: 142.5 (bottom), D: 37.5 cm.

Missing. From panel: most of top and upper left side, with background behind Nero; triangular piece at lower left side; corners and some front parts of the ground ledge. From Nero: both hands, rim of right ear, tip of nose. From Agrippina: some fingers on left hand, lower tip of cornucopia, most of the central element in the cornucopia.

Findspot. Found face down in Room 9 of the north portico, at the back north-east corner, at floor level.

The panel was most likely taken down from the building at Nero's fall in A.D. 68 and re-used as a floor-slab. Rough removal from the architecture might account for the missing upper corners (where the panel would have been clamped). Secondary use is evident in the wearing down or smoothing of the rough quarry-pick surface of the back. Two cuttings near the top should also be attributed to secondary use. The first is a hole cut through the background between the figures, which emerges above Agrippina's right arm. It is roughly rectangular (6.00 × 7.50 cm) and runs obliquely through the block, sloping down towards the back and veering to the right. The second cutting is at the back upper left: a rounded channel cut vertically in the panel and about 7 cm deep. It runs into the break at the top of the background, and its original character and purpose are not clear. (It may have formed a loop within the depth of the panel.) A third cutting at the back lower right, a roughly rectangular, shallow hollow (*c.* 9 × 7 cm and *c.* 3 cm deep), may or may not be secondary.

The position of the panel in the architecture is not certain, but it was most probably part of the north portico. It cannot have been part of the south-portico lower storey, because the panels there have a quite different format; they have side-frames enclosing the relief. It is also unlikely that it was part of the imperial series in the upper storey of the south portico, with nos 1–10 above. It is *c.* 12 cm taller than most of these; and it is *c.* 13–15 cm narrower than the central panels (nos 1–5) and *c.* 10 cm wider than the side panels (nos 6–10). Its extra height could conceivably have been taken up in a lower base, but in width it would probably not have filled a central space, while in a side position its size would cause difficulties at the back of the half-columns.

Its findspot and dimensions suit a position in the north portico much better. The north portico had regular intercolumniations of 163–4 cm, with reliefs *c.* 140 cm wide. Its height (172 cm) would fit either the upper or lower storey: it is 5 cm taller than the one surviving measurable upper panel (Hemera, H: 167 cm) and the same as the average height for the reliefs of conquered peoples in the lower storey (*c.* 172 cm).

We have, then, to reckon with imperial subjects in the north portico also: probably another series with allegories and victories, either in the middle of the conquered-peoples series or above them in the top storey, as in the south-portico arrangement. A solitary Nero and Agrippina in the middle of the north portico display seems unlikely.

Technique. This panel also stands somewhat apart from the imperial series of the south portico in its technical quality. The relief is unusually well laid out and carefully worked. The feet are properly finished, and there is much careful undercutting and freeing of elements from the background. Its quality and finish are close to those of the conquered-peoples series. The ground ledge is worked flat and square to the background. The background is even, 'swelling' only slightly behind the figures (the relief depth is *c.* 24 cm, leaving *c.* 13–14 cm behind the background plane). The drapery hanging over Nero's left arm is carved in the round: it hangs free for *c.* 20 cm before 're-joining' the background below. Nero's left leg is also carved in the round, from above the knee to the calf.

Surface finish. The top of the ledge is worked with a point chisel. The background is finished to a smooth surface between the figures, with a claw at the sides, and with a point between Nero's ankles. The figures are worked smooth except for some flat-chisel work still visible in the fine ribbon folds of Agrippina's dress. The faces are finely rubbed down with abrasives. The drill work is careful and varied, with a range of bit widths: for nostrils, mouth corners, hair curls, drapery folds, and figure outlines.

The surface of the relief is worn in places, and the broken areas are considerably eroded, so that marble crystals crumble when touched, especially at the upper breaks. There are also traces of black deposit over much of the surface, both carved and broken. Together the crumbling and the deposit suggest exposure to fire at some stage. There is no trace of the black deposit on the back of the panel, but it could have been worn off during its subsequent re-use as a floor-slab.

The relief represents Agrippina the Younger crowning her son Nero with a laurel wreath. Agrippina carries a cornucopia, and Nero, in military dress, held a spear, now

broken off, in his right hand and probably an orb in his left. His helmet (removed for the crowning) lies on the ground at the side. Both figures are clearly identifiable by portrait type, and the dramatic date or the date to which the composition refers is A.D. 54, Nero's accession to the throne.

Both figures stand frontally, each with a pose roughly mirroring that of the other (compare no. 9). Nero looks to his left and out of the relief, while Agrippina's head is turned more, to look at him. A quite subtle interplay of imperial status is represented. The mother is senior and therefore slightly taller; she bestows the wreath on her son, who already has political and military *imperium*, symbolized by his spear and probably an orb. What is represented, then, is Nero's promotion from heir to emperor (for which there was no Roman ritual or coronation), portrayed in the symbolic terms of the crowning of a military victor. Such a task could be performed only by a notionally superior authority, either a deity like the Genius of Senate or People (as in nos 3 and 5) or a senior member of the imperial family as here.

The wreath is already firmly on Nero's head, as it would be on a statue or bust. It has a plain central medallion and is composed of a triple tier of well-worked laurel leaves. He wears a plain moulded cuirass with the normal band (*cingulum*) tied round the waist, and a short-sleeved tunic beneath the cuirass. The *cingulum* is shown in bold relief with well-articulated folds and knot; one end (left) has a rough fringe, the other is uncarved. Fringed leather arm-straps are shown at each shoulder, and there are seven armoured flaps below the cuirass, four of which are decorated in low relief. The central three have flowers: a rosette flanked by a five-petalled flower to each side. The others are plain, except for the second from the (viewer's) right, which has a thunderbolt. Below these hangs the usual skirt of fringed leather straps.

On his feet, Nero wears shoes with 'toe-caps' and straps crossing the top of the feet to be wrapped three times round the ankles and tied at the front. These are a clear representation of the patrician *calcei* worn by Roman senators.[122] This combination of *calcei patricii* and cuirass is found also on imperial statues, and is a reference to the emperor's combined civilian and military roles.[123] His military cloak (*paludamentum*) is worn in the usual way: fastened on the right shoulder with a large round brooch and draped over the left forearm. Two drapery weights are shown at its hanging lower edge. Traces of Nero's spear carried in his right hand can be seen on his forearm. A sword in its scabbard would be a common attribute for the left hand, but the horizontal position of the forearm and the dynastic circumstances make the orb more likely here (compare nos 4 and 9). The crested helmet resting on the ground by Nero's right foot is an ideal or 'unreal' type. Its lower edge has a slightly irregular line (perhaps derived from the old 'Boeotian' cavalry helmet), while the high, domed, upper element is taken from the classical 'Corinthian' type. It is an example of the later, 'ideal' version of the Corinthian helmet that was conceived as worn permanently pushed from the face.[124] It is the same type as Nero wore in the Armenia relief (no. 7).

Agrippina wears a thin *chiton*, belted under the breasts with a narrow twisted band. The dress is of fine material and clings close to the lower torso, revealing the navel. A *himation* is draped in the normal manner, over her left shoulder, round the opposite hip, and wrapped over the left forearm. Two drapery weights are shown on the lower edge of the *himation* on Agrippina's left. In her hair she wears a *stephane* which is decorated with a small, central, leaf motif in low relief. The feet are not sufficiently worked to distinguish footwear. She holds a large cornucopia in her left hand. It has a moulded rim (two fasciae divided by a narrow groove), plain upper part, and ribbed or fluted lower part. The horn contains a central pomegranate,

[122] Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. calceus, 816–17, fig. 1016.

[123] Niemeyer, *Studien* (n. 41), 51, nos 37 (Nero) and 43 (Titus), pls 21. 1 and 13. Cf. Fittschen, *BJb* 170 (1970), 545, for interpretation.

[124] Compare the helmet worn by, (1) Mars on the Augustus Boscoreale cup: Andreae, *Art of Rome*, figs 303–4; (2) Mars on the cuirass of the Cherchel statue: above n. 54; (3) Minerva on Cancelleria Relief A: F. Magi, *I rilievi Flavi* (1945), pl. 11.

flanked by two apples (?); the usual vertical element behind (pyramid) is broken off. A bunch of grapes spills over the rim at the front, from under a vine leaf. About twenty-seven grapes are separately articulated with the drill, and the vine leaf has carefully modelled veins. The body of the horn is separated from Agrippina's left arm at two places by narrow slots that can be seen only from the side. This careful detail would have been invisible when the panel was in position.

The portraits (Pls XXV–XXVI). Both portrait heads were clearly based on official types of Nero and Agrippina that we know well. In both heads, the hair arrangement is a quite detailed and particular rendering, while the face is more generalized.

Nero's head is a clear version of his second portrait type that was created probably for his accession in A.D 54.[125] It appears on coins early in his reign both alone and in double portraits with Agrippina.[126] It is also known in several good-quality marble versions from both Rome and the provinces (Pl. XXVI, 3).[127] This portrait type shows the young, eighteen-year-old Nero still firmly in the mould of the good, youthful Julio-Claudian *princeps/imperator*, in the following of Germanicus; that is, as opposed to his later portrait types (best seen on coins), which show him in a new, more tumid, flamboyant style that we recognize as more distinctly 'Neronian'.[128]

The Sebasteion portrait reproduces the plain, carefully centre-parted hair of the accession type, articulating the main divisions in the locks on the forehead with the drill. The sculptor knew that the locks were arranged in pairs with larger spaces between, and applied this idea a little schematically. Above the main fringe, however, he includes a surprising detail, namely another row of centre-parted locks, finished more lightly. This 'second fringe' is found on only one of the other sculptured versions, the head in the Capitoline which has an unusually detailed rendering of the hair (Pl. XXVI, 3).[129] It is easier to suppose that this feature was an optional part of the official type than to suppose that its appearance on heads in Rome and Aphrodisias was fortuitous.

The Sebasteion portrait has long curling sideburns that are not usual for the type. The other versions normally have a large crescent-shaped lock curling forward in front of the ear. This is not an adjustment of great importance. The one surviving sculptured version of Nero's third portrait type, a head in the Terme,[130] has long sideburns, but we need not suppose them borrowed from this type. Such sideburns were optional in the portrait types of other princes (especially Germanicus).[131] The close typological relationship to Nero's second type is established by the form of the centre-parting and the correct relation of the 'low' fringe to the forehead. Unlike the Claudius in no. 3, this head does not exaggerate or 'magnify' the fringe arrangement.

The physiognomy is also recognizable as belonging to the type: broad at the temples, long triangular face, and protruding ears. It is treated here in a generalizing or idealizing manner; that is, it elides some of the strong individualizing features that were available in the model, for example, a larger, more prominent chin (best seen in the veiled head from the Palatine, n. 127). It substitutes a more even, smoother appearance, with classical brows and eyes. The shape of head and face and the disposition of the main features according to type were felt to convey sufficient portrait character.

[125] On this Nero type: Fittschen, *GGA* 225 (1973), 56, on no. 24; U. W. Hiesinger, *AJA* 79 (1975), 113–19; M. Bergmann, P. Zanker, *JdI* 96 (1981), 321–2; Zanker, FZ I, no. 17.
[126] *BMC Augustus*, pl. 38. 1–6, 9f; Hiesinger (n. 125), pl. 17. 1–6.
[127] Rome, from Palatine: Felletti, *Ritratti* (n. 43), no. 108; Hiesinger (n. 125), pl. 23, figs 37–8. Rome, Capitoline: FZ I, no. 17=here Pl. XXVI, 3. Sardinia

(Cagliari): Hiesinger, pl. 21, figs 33–4. Asia Minor (Stratonicea): IR I, no. 24.
[128] Coins: *BMC Augustus*, pls 39–48. Cf. Bergmann, Zanker, *JdI* 96 (1981), 322–32.
[129] FZ I, no. 17.
[130] Felletti, *Ritratti* (n. 43), no. 123; Hiesinger (n. 125), pl. 24, figs 43–4.
[131] See above, n. 79.

FIG. 11. AGRIPPINA'S HAIRSTYLE, NO. 11 (CF. PLS XXIV–XXVI)

The portrait head of Agrippina has a very similar relationship to its official model. First the hair (Fig. 11 and Pl. XXVI, 2). It is parted in the centre and arranged in three tiers of curls over each temple. The centre of each curl is drilled. On each side, the upper two rows have four curls, the lower five or six. The more visible left side has six curls in the lowest tier and an extra curl between the upper two tiers, next to the ear. At the back, the hair is tied behind in a plain, pony-tail loop, allowing two long corkscrew locks to 'escape' from behind the ears. The hair arrangement is a quite precise version of that used on the most frequently copied of Agrippina the Younger's portrait types (see Pl. XXVI, 4).[132] It is the same type as was used for Agrippina in no. 3, but there reproduced in a looser, reduced manner. Normally this type had four rows of curls on the temples, but when worn with a *stephane*, as here, the top row was omitted. The pony-tail loop on the nape and the long locks behind the ears can vary in form. The long locks can be single or double; two seem more usual, in which case they are of corkscrew form. Single locks in this position can be wavy or corkscrew, and omission of these locks altogether is rare. The differences between this main Agrippina hair arrangement, well attested on coins at precisely this date (54), and possibly earlier types are not sharp.[133] It is, however, formally distinct from two later Agrippina portraits that start the rows of curls at the centre-parting, omitting the short passage of plain strands to either side of the parting seen here.[134]

As with the Nero, the finely-worked portrait face is a quite strongly idealizing version of Agrippina's physiognomical type. The brows, eyelids, and enlarged eyes are firmly classical. In front view there is some abraded individuality in the form of the mouth and the long face structure; and the fine-featured profile is a little more particular, for example, in the prominent chin and slightly upturned nose. However, these features are softly played, subordinated to classical appearance. There were certainly Agrippina portrait models with sharper individuality available, for example that lying behind the Copenhagen head (Pl. XXVI, 4).[135] However, Agrippina's image was reproduced over a long period of time, and the female imperial portrait was always open not only to idealization but also to 'infection' or physiognomical input from the reigning emperor's image.[136] In front view, the Sebasteion portrait is

[132] Versions grouped round Copenhagen 636 (here Pl. XXVI, 4) and a head in Ancona: Trillmich (n. 67), pl. 39; Zanker, FZ III, on no. 5. Cf. Trillmich (n. 118), arguing that the related Fulda 22/Munich 316 group of sculptured and cameo portraits (formerly Messalina or a sister of Caligula) are also Agrippina the Younger.

[133] The Agrippina heads grouped as the 'Milan type' are divided from her main portrait type only on the basis of the small curls on the forehead (so Trillmich,

(n. 67), and Zanker, FZ III, no. 5, n. 4); these curls were probably an optional 'extra'; cf. above n. 118.

[134] (1) Stuttgart: Hausmann, *Römerbildnisse* (n. 77), no. 8; (2) Petworth: FZ III, Beil. 6.

[135] Poulsen, *PR*, no. 61.

[136] The Chiarmonti Agrippina (FZ III, Beil. 3c–d), for example, is strongly Neronian; cf. R. Smith, *JRS* 75 (1985), 214–15.

formally quite close to that of Nero beside her. But its thin, sharp-featured profile recalls an imperial physiognomical norm of Caligula's time. Such a reminiscence could be accidental (it is hard to judge at this level of idealization), or the head could have been based on an Agrippina portrait of that period.

This relief is better finished and more detailed than the other imperial panels, and its portraits are much closer versions of metropolitan Roman types. Its figures are also composed in a more fluent, more controlled design. In contrast to the other imperial panels, it seems a likely candidate for having been based on a Roman composition. It involves no overtly Hellenistic allegory; alone of the imperial figures, the emperor is armoured, not naked; and finally, it comes from the north portico where the series of conquered peoples, as we saw, must have been based on central models.

III. THE SOUTH-PORTICO PROGRAMME AND OTHER IMPERIAL RELIEFS

It would be premature to attempt an account of the precise place of each imperial panel within the sculptural programme of the south portico as a whole—if programme is the right word. The various categories of panel can be certainly assigned to their correct positions in the architecture, that is, the lower-storey panels can be distinguished formally from the upper, and the side from the centre panels in each. The approximate relative order of the panels along the façade can also be determined from the findspots with some certainty. However, not every panel, except in a few cases, can yet be attributed certainly to its original intercolumniation. Further study of the dimensions of the panels, their bases, the architecture, and the clamp positions, in conjunction with the findspots, will undoubtedly reveal more; but due to gaps in the surviving evidence, the sure attribution of all the panels to their original places will probably not be possible. A brief and partial sketch may be made here to indicate the context of the imperial panels and the nature of the 'programme' involved.

The east end of the south portico has most surviving, and here, closer to the temple, it seems that the 'programme' element became stronger; that is, there seem to be more meaningful groupings, more imperial scenes, and more scenes with specific reference to the Rome-Aphrodisias theme. One possible reconstruction of Rooms 1 to 3 is as follows (see Fig. 12).

In the top storey over Room 1, the central panel features Augustus with Nike (no. 1 above), flanked by side panels with the Dioscuri (of common type, armoured and with horses). Below these in the myth register, is Aeneas' flight from Troy in the centre, flanked by an obscure Poseidon story and a unique scene of the birth of Eros from Aphrodite. Here, unusually, there is some vertical thematic relationship between the upper and lower storeys. Mostly this is hard to detect. Room 2 has the Claudius and Agrippina (no. 3) in the upper centre, flanked to the east by the sacrificing empress (no. 10) and an allegorical panel of Roma and Ge (inscribed, n. 30) to the west. Below is a defaced central panel with someone sacrificing to a statue of Zeus (?), flanked by panels with Apollo and the Pythia at Delphi (consulted by a hero) on one side, and the three Graces in the standard scheme on the other. Room 3 (cf. Fig. 2) has perhaps the most certainly positioned panels. Above, a fine central Victory, named *Nikē Sebastōn*, is flanked by the two panels of overt imperial conquest, the Claudius and Britannia, and the Nero and Armenia (nos 6–7). Below is another defaced sacrifice scene in the centre, and panels with Romulus and Remus to one side and a hero with two hunting dogs to the other.

In the following rooms the vertical association by which certain myth panels come under certain upper panels becomes much less certain. The number of spaces for which there are few or no fragments allows considerable latitude of error in the reconstruction. For rooms with imperial scenes, possible relative groupings in the upper storey only may be sketched as follows (see Fig. 13).

After the purely imperial upper storey over Room 3, the next room (4) is purely Olympian: it has three (defaced) gods—Zeus, with Athena and Hera (or Aphrodite) to the sides. Room 5 has probably the Unfinished Imperator (no. 8) and a Nike as side

PLATE III

VIEW OF PORTICO BUILDINGS OF SEBASTEION, LOOKING WEST, FROM TEMPLE TERRACE TOWARDS PROPYLON. *Photo author.*
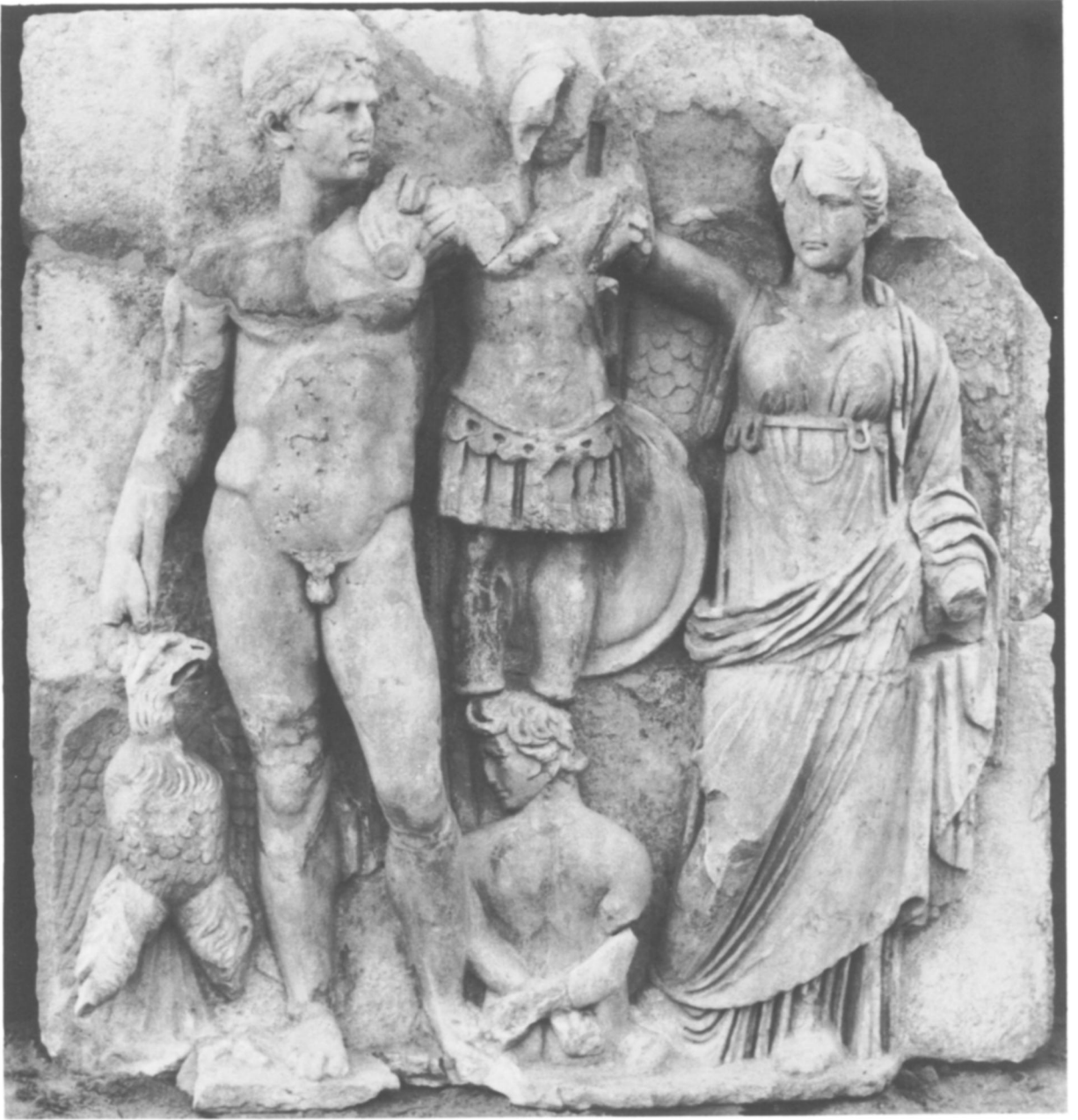
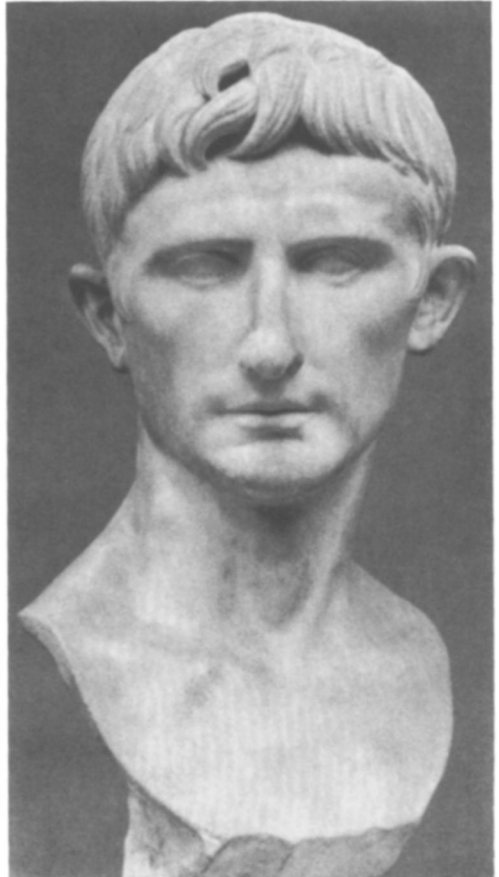NO. I, AUGUSTUS WITH NIKE AND TROPHY. *Photo M. Ali Düğenci.*

PLATE V

(1) AUGUSTUS FROM NO. 1. *Photo M. Ali Düğenci.*

(2) TOP OF NO. 1 *(see Fig. 4).* Photo author.

(3) AUGUSTUS FROM NO. 1. *Photo M. Ali Düğenci.*

(4) BUST OF AUGUSTUS. COPENHAGEN 610. *From Poulsen*, PR I, *pl.* XLVII.

PLATE VI

NO. 2, AUGUSTUS BY LAND AND SEA. *Photo M. Ali Düğenci.*

(1)–(2) AUGUSTUS FROM NO. 2. *Photos (1) author, (2) M. Ali Düğenci.*

(3) DETAIL OF LAND FIGURE FROM NO. 2. *Photo author.*

(4) AUGUSTUS' TORSO FROM NO. 2. *Photo author.*

NO. 3, CLAUDIUS AND AGRIPPINA. *Photo M. Ali Düğenci.*

(1) AGRIPPINA FROM NO. 3. *Photo M. Ali Düğenci.*
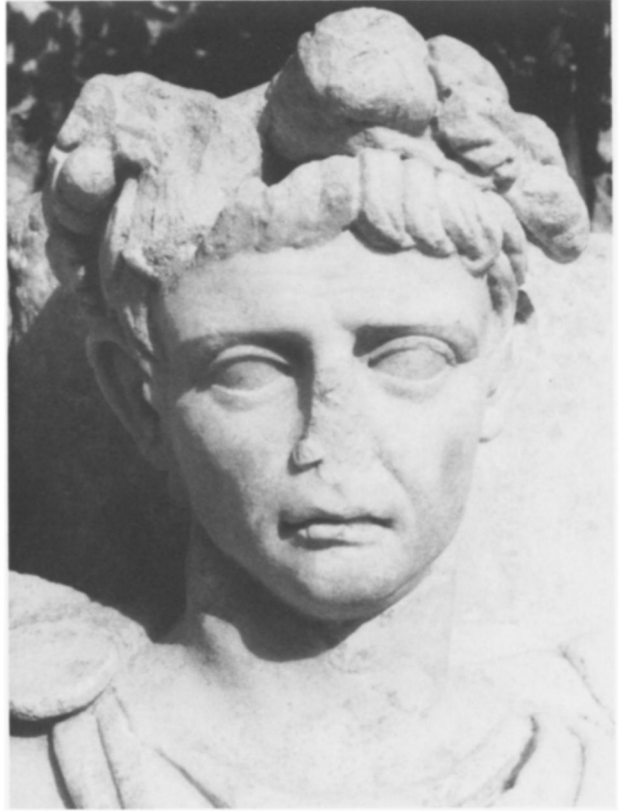
(2) CLAUDIUS FROM NO. 3. *Photo author.*

(3) AGRIPPINA FROM NO. 3. *Photo author.*
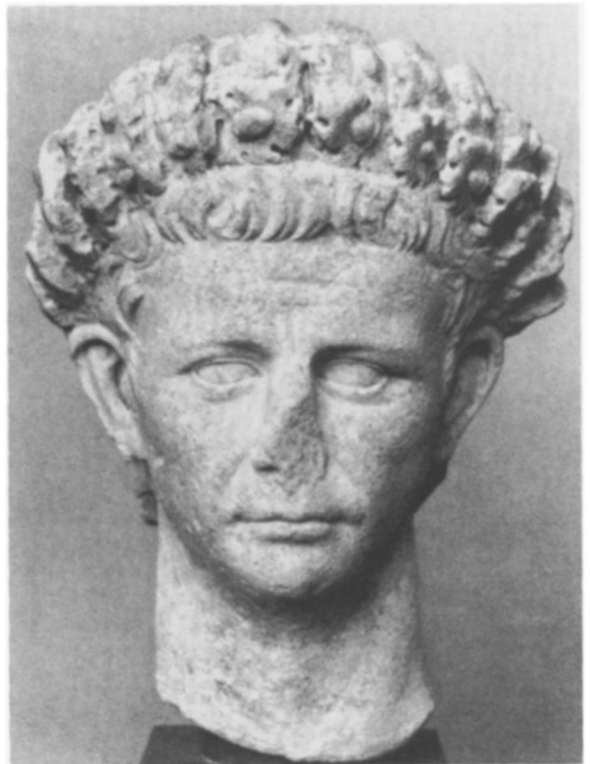
(4) HEAD OF CLAUDIUS WITH CORONA CIVICA. COPENHAGEN
648. *From Poulsen*, PR, *pl.* XCVII.

PLATE X

NO. 4, GERMANICUS WITH CAPTIVE. *Photo M. Ali Düğenci.*
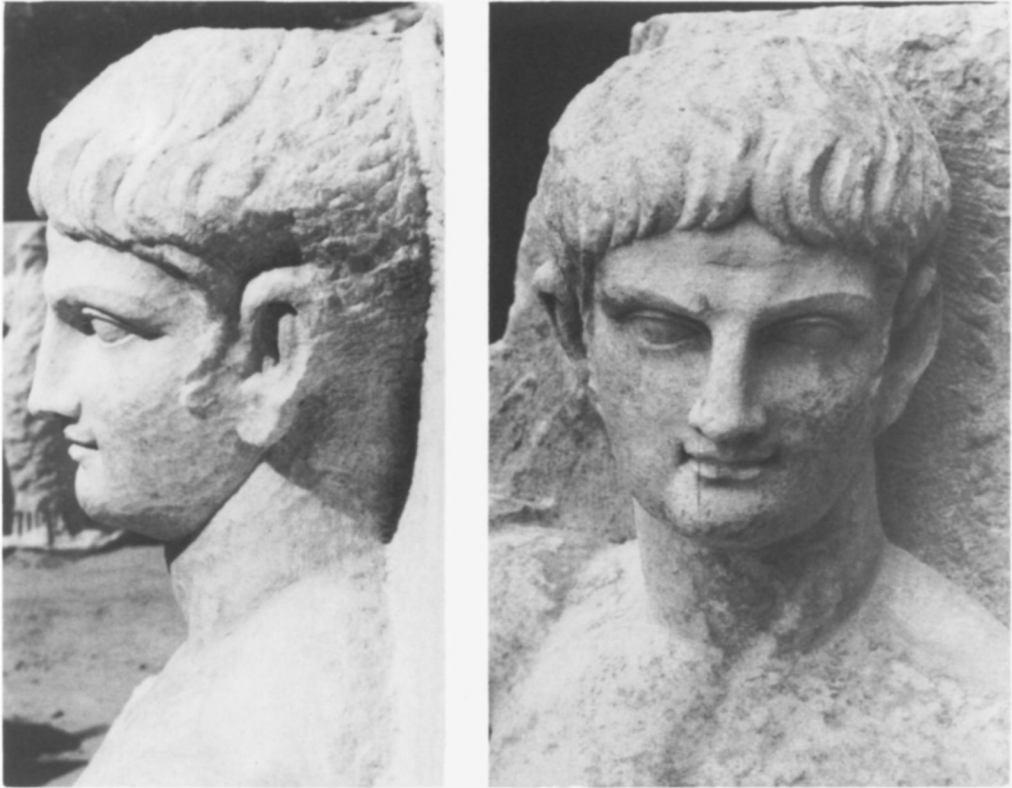
(1)–(2) GERMANICUS FROM NO. 4. *Photos (1) author, (2) M. Ali Düğenci.*
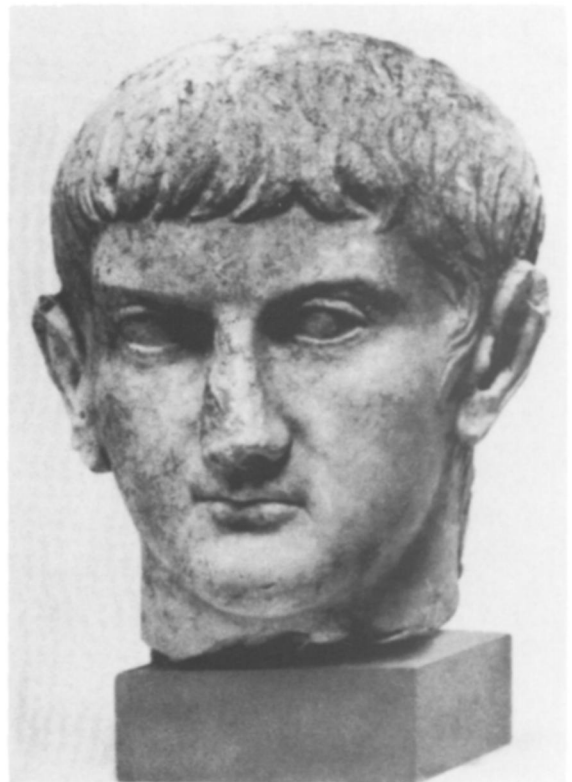
(3)–(4) HEAD OF GERMANICUS (IN 'LEPTIS-BÉZIERS' TYPE). STUTTGART 65/10. *From U. Hausmann*, Römerbildnisse *(1975), figs 11 and 13.*

NO. 5, IMPERATOR WITH ROMAN PEOPLE OR SENATE. *Photo M. Ali Düğenci.*
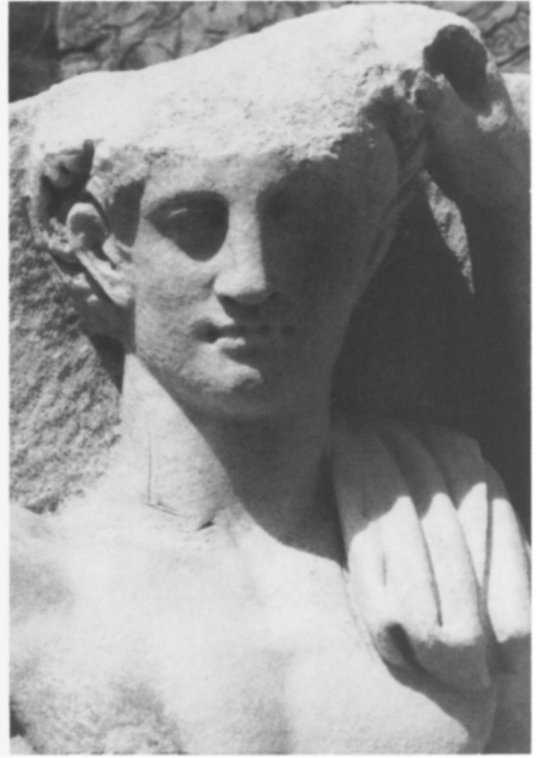
(1)–(2) IMPERATOR FROM NO. 5. *Photos (1) M. Ali Düğenci, (2) author.*

(3)–(4) ROMAN PEOPLE OR SENATE FROM NO. 5. *Photos author.*
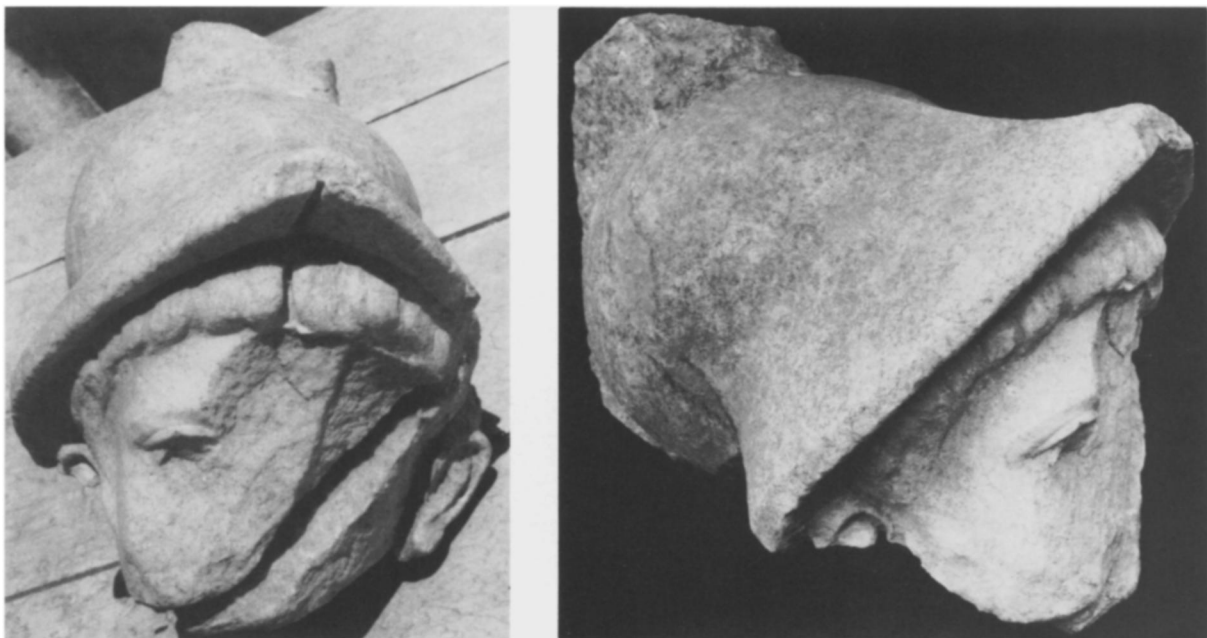
PLATE XIV

NO. 6, CLAUDIUS AND BRITANNIA. *Photo M. Ali Düğenci.*
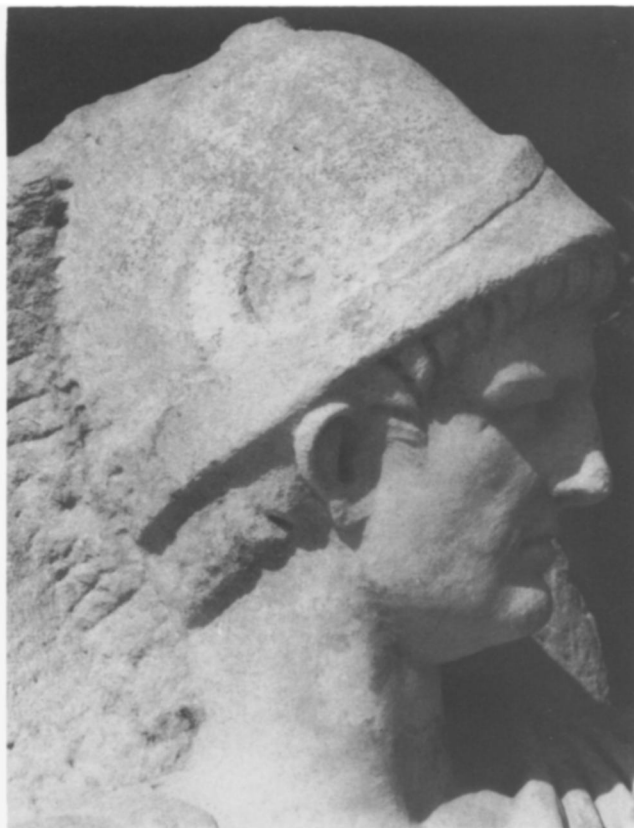
(1)–(2) CLAUDIUS FROM NO. 6. *Photos author.*

(3) BASE FOR NO. 6, CLAUDIUS AND BRITANNIA. *Photo author.*

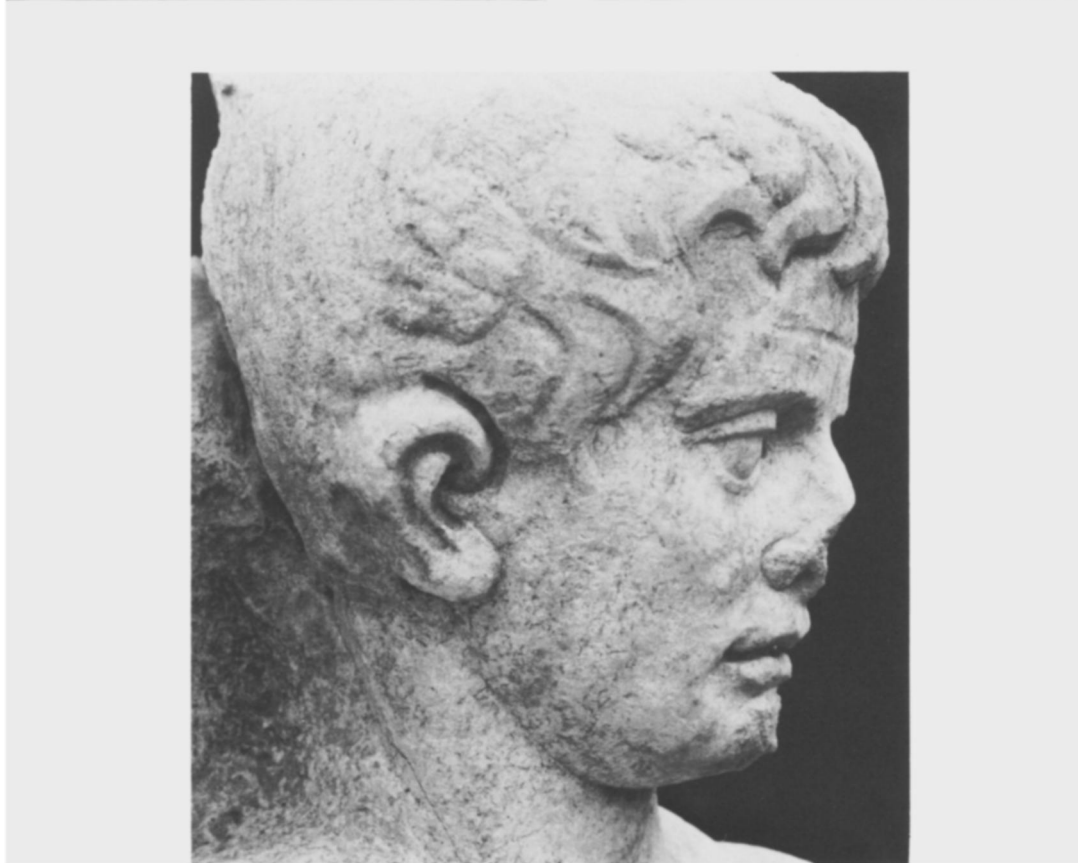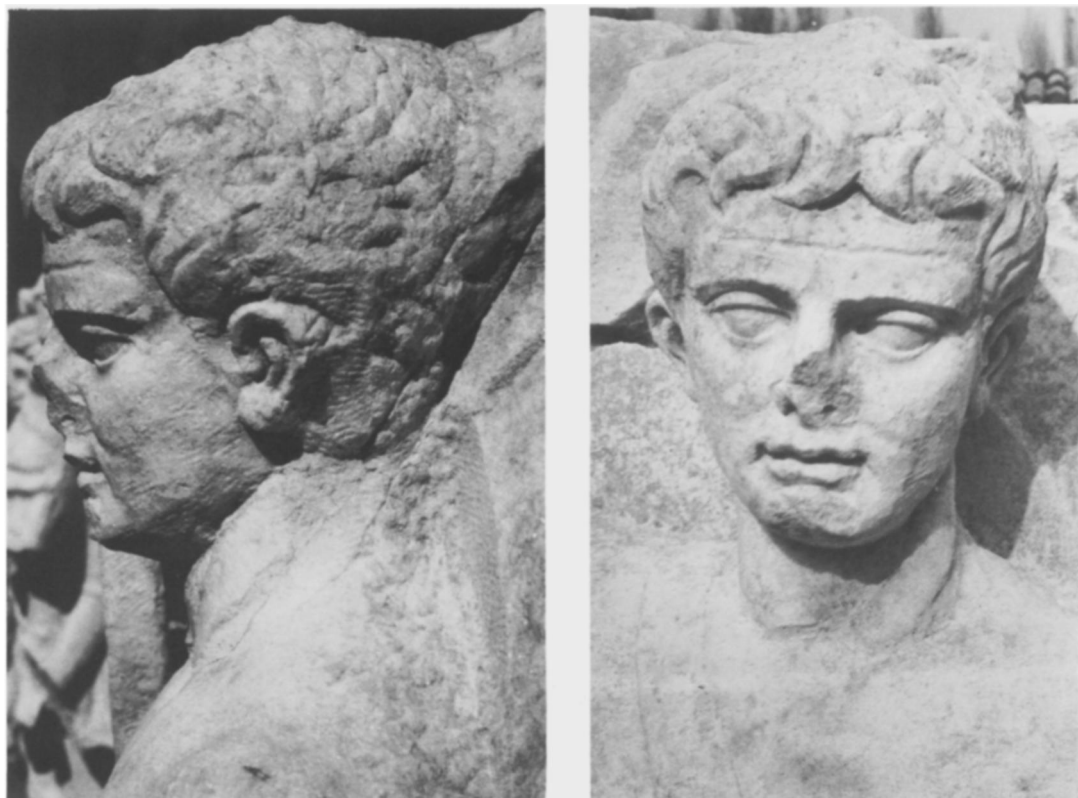NO. 7, NERO AND ARMENIA. *Photo M. Ali Düğenci.*

(1)–(2) FRAGMENTARY HEAD OF NERO FROM NO. 7. *Photos (1) author, (2) M. Ali Düğenci.*
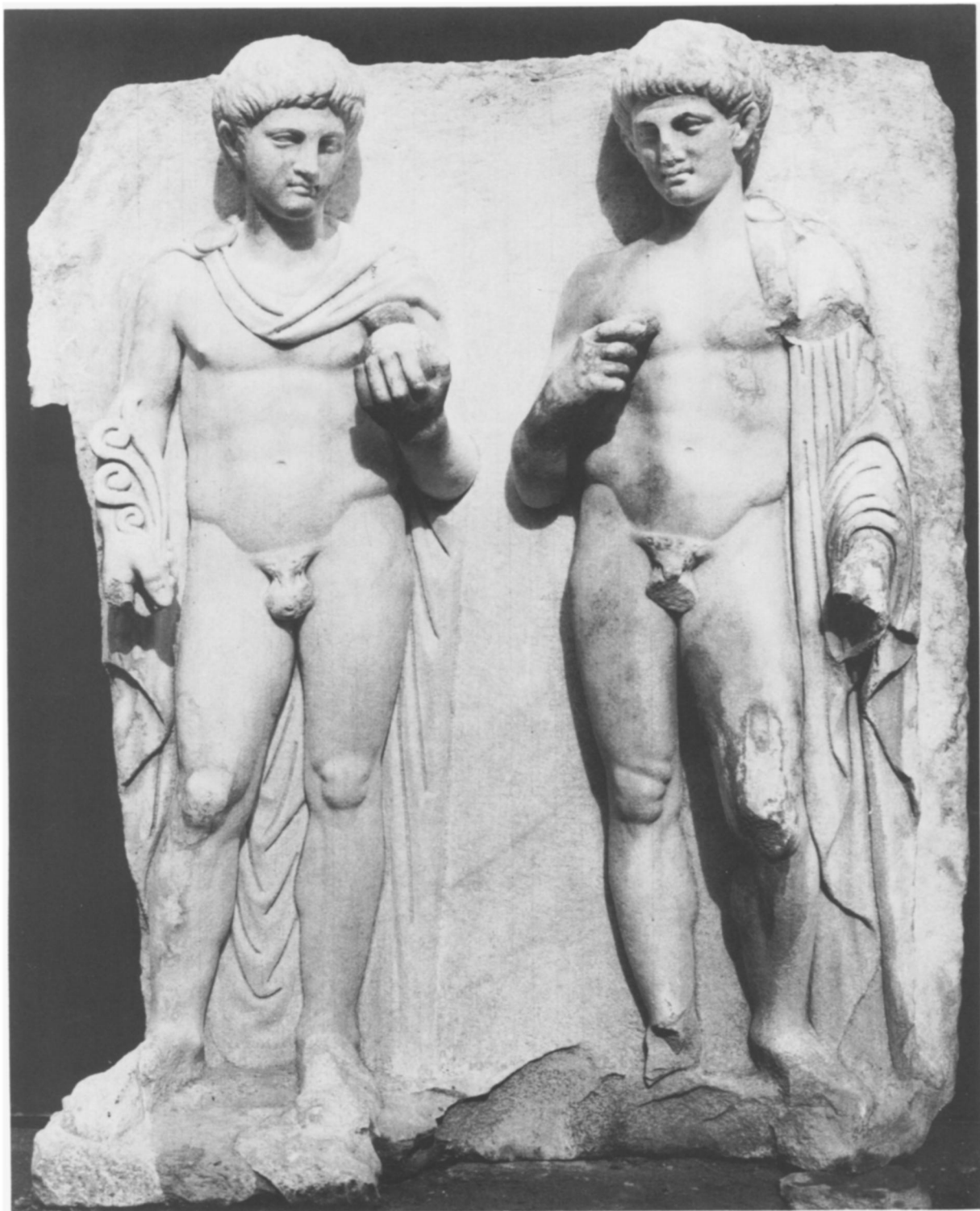

(3) BASE FROM NO. 7, NERO AND ARMENIA. *Photo author.*

NO. 8, UNFINISHED IMPERATOR (TIBERIUS?) WITH CAPTIVE. *Photo M. Ali Düğenci.*

(1)–(3) TIBERIUS (?) FROM NO. 8. *Photos (1) author, (2)–(3) M. Ali Düğenci.*

PLATE XX

NO. 9, TWO PRINCES. *Photo M. Ali Düğenci.*

(1)–(2) PRINCE A. *Photos author.*

(3)–(4) PRINCE B. *Photos author.*

NO. 10, EMPRESS SACRIFICING (LIVIA?). *Photo M. Ali Düğenci.*

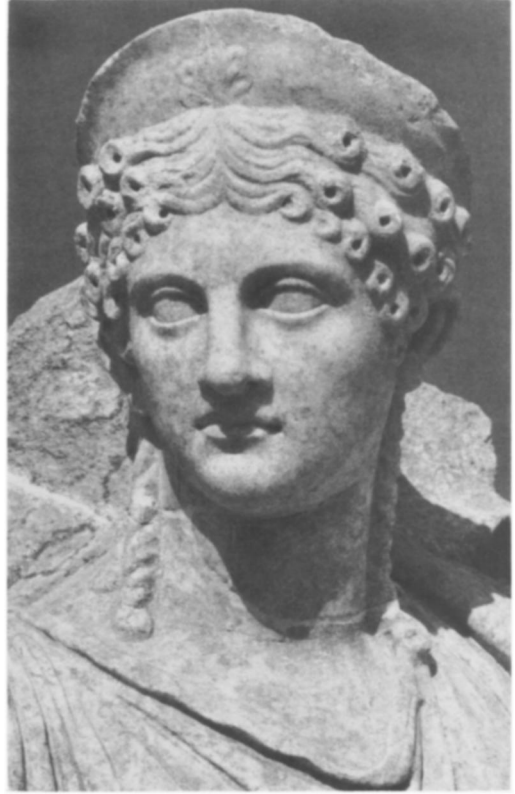(1) ATTENDANT FROM NO. 10, WITH FACE
FRAGMENT. *Photo author.*

(2)–(4) FRAGMENTARY HEAD (LIVIA?) FROM NO. 10. *Photos (2)–(3) author, (4) M. Ali Düğenci.*

PLATE XXIV

NO. 11, NERO AND AGRIPPINA. *Photo M. Ali Düğenci.*

(1) NERO FROM NO. 11. *Photo M. Ali Düğenci.*

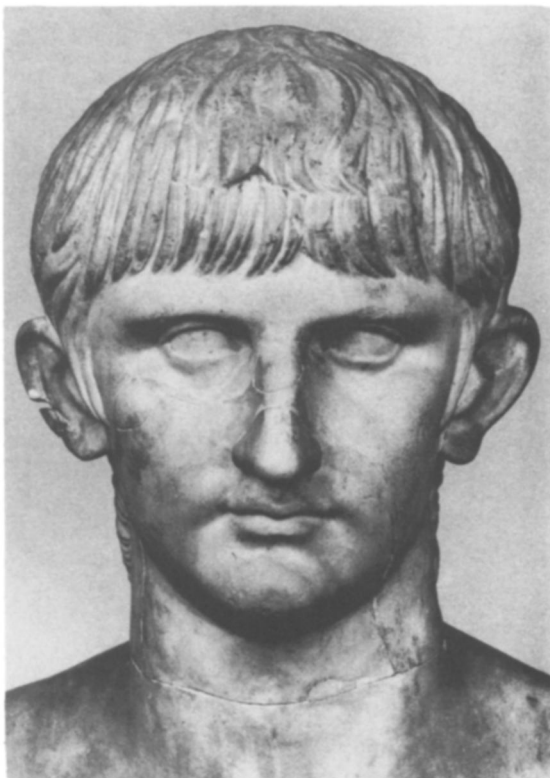(2) AGRIPPINA FROM NO. 11. *Photo M. Ali Düğenci.*
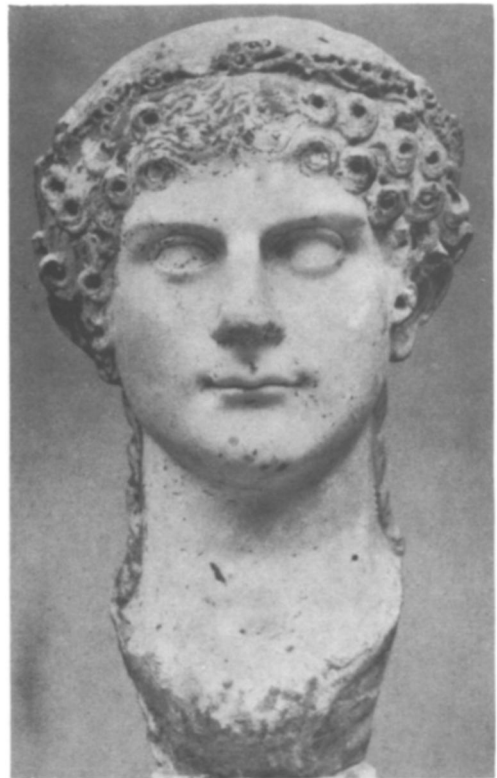

(3)–(4) NERO FROM NO. 11. *Photos author.*

(1) NERO FROM NO. 11. *Photo author.*

(2) AGRIPPINA FROM NO. 11. *Photo author.*

(3) HEAD OF NERO (SECOND OR ACCESSION TYPE). CAPITOLINE MUS. 418. *From FZ 1, pl. 17.*

(4) HEAD OF AGRIPPINA THE YOUNGER. COPENHAGEN 636. *From Poulsen*, PR 1, *pl. CIII.*

Dioskouros	Augustus w. Nike (No. 1)	Dioskouros	Livia (?) (No. 10)	Claudius +Agrippina (No. 3)	Roma+ Ge	Nero+ Armenia (No. 7)	Nike Sebaston	Claudius+ Britannia (No. 6)
Aphrodite w. Eros	Aeneas' Flight	Poseidon	Three Graces	Sacrifice to Zeus	Apollo +Pythia	hero w. dogs	Sacrifice	Lupa

FIG. 12. POSSIBLE SCHEME OF RELIEFS ABOVE ROOMS 1–3, AT EAST END OF SOUTH PORTICO

Nike	Veiled God	Unfinished Imperator (No. 8)	Roma+ Aphrodisias	Prince w. Roman Senate or People (No. 5)	Two Princes (No. 9)	Nike		Nike

FIG. 13. POSSIBLE SCHEME OF RELIEFS OF THIRD STOREY OF ROOMS 5–7

panels, flanking a defaced central deity. Room 6 has the Prince with the Roman Senate or People (no. 5) in the centre, and to the sides probably the Two Princes (no. 9) and an allegorical scene of Roma crowning the Polis of Aphrodisias. Rooms 7 and 8 do not have identifiable centre subjects; they should perhaps be imperial, since their side panels are military allegories (Nikēs, a figure inscribing a trophy, and an armed Roma (?)). Rooms 9 and 10 have the last surviving imperial scenes from the south portico, and both are central panels: the Augustus by Land and Sea (no. 2) and the Germanicus (no. 4). Their flanking subjects are uncertain, but included a defaced male deity (Asclepius) and a defaced scene of the cult statue of Aphrodite of Aphrodisias crowned by an allegorical figure. (After Room 10, the myth series continues virtually complete in the lower storey, but the upper storey is here poorly preserved; it perhaps collapsed earlier and was cleared.)

The south portico probably had no closely ordered, integrated programme. Many of the myth panels have too general or neutral a reference (for example, the three Graces or Heracles drunk) to be from a programme that had particular significance in all its parts. The findspots do not encourage a systematic reconstruction on the basis of a consistent, vertical connection of meaning between the upper and lower storeys. There are, however, some clear horizontal connections. These are easier to see in some sections than others, and it is possible that the façade had several focal points of more concentrated meaning, and looser groupings between. However, this impression could be due merely to the accidents of survival. The evidence at least suggests, as we saw (Fig. 12), that there was a concentration or increase of significant grouping towards the temple and, with this, more imperial and more Rome-connected subject matter.

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We saw earlier how the architecture of the Sebasteion combined Hellenistic and recognizably Roman imperial components with innovations of its own: the architecture adapts, borrows, and innovates in order to devise a monumental setting for a function and a building, for which there were no pre-ordained types. The compositions used for the relief panels reveal a similar combination of Greek and Roman elements with local invention. The 'cosmic' figures of Day and Ocean in the north portico belong clearly to a received Hellenistic allegorical language. The mythological scenes in the south portico are for the most part demonstrably borrowed from a variety of familiar classical and Hellenistic compositions. Only the Lupa scene is certainly Roman. A few with more specific significance in the complex (like the Birth of Eros) were perhaps of local design. The conquered peoples, on the other hand, as we saw, must have been borrowed from a series at Rome. This is likely both on *a priori* grounds and from analysis of the well-differentiated figures that survive. The imperial scenes are more complex. They can be neither pure copies nor pure inventions; they seem to use varying combinations of invented and borrowed elements. Precise analysis is hindered by our very incomplete record both of Hellenistic royal iconography and of early imperial narrative scenes at Rome.

The relation of the portrait heads to official imperial types is one tangible aspect. Within the imperial panels there is a full range of practice, from closely copied versions in the Nero and Agrippina (no. 11), where models must have been used, through to the unidentifiable princes in nos 5 and 9, whose portraits seem to be generalized inventions unrelated to defined types. Between these two extremes is a range of portrait heads which partly reproduce an imperial type or at least attempt to recall one. The Claudius in no. 3 copies the emperor's face type closely, but both exaggerates and simplifies the pattern of the forehead hair. The Augustus in no. 1 seems to aim to recall the Prima Porta type hair, but gets it wrong in detail, while the other Augustus (no. 2) has a simple but strong version of Augustus' main facial type, but is oblivious to the appropriate hair arrangement. Whether or not the sculptor had a model to hand for these portraits, they are recognizably related to known imperial types. The Germanicus (no. 4) and the Unfinished Imperator (no. 8, Tiberius?) seem similarly related to defined models, but at some lower level of confused or simplified reminiscence on the part of the sculptor.

Imperial portrait types were disseminated independently as heads or busts, and their use, partial use, or non-use gives no indication of the use of a model for a panel composition as a whole. Analysis of the iconography of the individual panels strongly suggested that most of the imperial scenes cannot have been taken directly from Roman models, but were made up by the designers at Aphrodisias from a generalized knowledge of imperial and Hellenistic royal iconography, combined according to their idea of what was appropriate. Apart from the details that seem 'wrong', like the beardless but togate personification of the People or Senate (in no. 5), the arguments against Roman models for the imperial scenes can be grouped under three headings: design features, imperial nudity, and allegory.

We noted in a number of the imperial panels what may be termed a lack of design confidence, a hesitant quality in the execution. The myth panels are sometimes briskly carved, but they usually transmit a fluent composition with which the sculptors seem familiar. In the imperial panels the designs seem much less assured and the sculptors much less at ease. Proportions can be ill-managed and design details can go wrong, requiring improvisation.[137] These features are most easily explained if the designers and sculptors of the reliefs did not have ready-made models to follow, as they seem to have had for the conquered peoples (and did not need for the familiar myth scenes).

The argument concerning imperial nudity was mentioned earlier (see no. 1 above) and is quite strong. All the emperors and princes in the imperial panels, with

[137] For example, Augustus' left arm in no. 1, his torso and legs in no. 2, and the legs and left hand of the *imperator* in no. 5.

the one exception of no. 11, which is from the north portico, are shown naked. At Rome the emperor can be nude in single, free-standing statues in which his nakedness is portrayed as 'classical' and in some sense unreal; that is, it is used as an elevating feature, an ideal or metaphorical statement of special status.[138] However, in surviving narrative scenes at Rome where the emperor appears with other figures, the intention is normally to maintain a convincing impression of reality: the scene has to look at least possible in real life. The emperor is therefore always clothed or armoured in such scenes. By contrast, Hellenistic leaders could appear naked in narrative scenes in the time-honoured Greek manner, either with all naked participants or some naked and some clothed in the same composition.[139]

The idealizing imperial nudity in the panels well matches the tenor of the allegory present in many of them. Four of the panels (nos 1, 4, 5, and 8) present imperial victory in broad allegorical terms, using simple variations on the theme of conquering leader with military trophy, representative prisoner, and sometimes another personification. In these, there is little or no attempt at an illusion of historical specificity. The two panels showing more particular military victories, the conquests of Britannia and Armenia (nos 6 and 7), use a heightened, non-historical manner of portrayal, featuring the emperor with a single personification of the barbarian enemy. They also seem to be modelled loosely on Hellenistic mythological groups that have the inappropriate implication that the conquered enemy will actually be killed. The one relief that presents an obviously Augustan theme, no. 2, portraying the prosperity of earth and sea under imperial rule, is also the relief which uses the most elevated or encomiastic allegorical language. Imperial cameos can show allegorical scenes similar in tone, but these are in a very different medium and were made for limited, essentially private consumption; they can hardly have been a direct medium for the transmission of designs to Aphrodisias.[140] This relief showing Augustus with land and sea figures (no. 2) is especially difficult to visualize on a public monument at Rome. Apart perhaps from the details of Nero's patrician *calcei* in no. 11, there are very few elements in the imperial panels that would have to be derived directly from Rome. The orb as a symbol of world power (in nos 4, 9, and 11?) or togate personifications (in nos 3 and 5), for example, are known mainly on Roman monuments, but would have been sufficiently familiar for the designers not to have needed a specific model for them.[141] Some figures and motifs could have been and probably were based loosely on Roman models, for example, Augustus' eagle in no. 1, the handshake between Claudius and Agrippina in no. 3, or the sacrifice with long-haired attendant in no. 10, but they do not need to be. Generally in the imperial panels, Augustus and his family are presented on a more elevated plane, more freely portrayed as, and associated with, gods than would be normal on monuments in Rome. The reliefs seem to use a mainly Hellenistic visual rhetoric designed to dissociate the divine emperors from the mundane level of their subjects. This is also plain in the juxtaposition of the imperial, allegorical, and Olympian panels in the south façade as a whole.

The overall conception of the south-portico programme is obviously not derived from central Roman models. Its broad concern is one more directly relevant to Aphrodisias—the integration of the Greek world with imperial rule—and reflects a mainly Greek view of the emperor's role. Comparison with the Ara Pacis, the only major, early imperial, figured monument at Rome we know in detail, provides a simple foil for illustrating the Sebasteion's two main distinguishing aspects in the

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[138] Cf. Niemeyer, *Studien* (n. 41), 45–64; Fittschen, *BJb* 170 (1970), 545–6.

[139] Two examples, (1) the lion and stag hunt mosaics at Pella: M. Andronicos, *Pella Museum* (1975), 10–11, figs 4 and 7, each with two naked Macedonians hunting, wearing only a *chlamys*; (2) the hunt painting on Tomb II at Vergina: M. Andronicos, *Vergina: The Royal Tombs and Ancient City* (1984), 106–19,

figs 57–69, where seven figures are naked, three clothed; not all the naked figures are subordinates (as they seem to be on the Alexander Sarcophagus).

[140] Recently on imperial cameos: W. Oberleitner, *Geschnittene Steine* (1985); H. Möbius, *ANRW* II. 12. 3 (1985), 32–88; W. R. Megow, *JdI* 100 (1985); 445–96.

[141] On the orb, cf. T. Hölscher, *Victoria Romana* (1967), 41–7.

presentation of the emperor: its Greek perspective and its relatively uncomplex equation of gods and emperors.

The Ara Pacis had, of course, a very different function from the Sebasteion, and is a monument to the emperor only in a typically oblique manner.[142] However, it presents implicitly the simple idea that Augustus and the rule of the Julian family were the pre-ordained and natural conclusion of Roman history up to that time. The sculptural programme of the Forum Augustum presented the same idea rather more forcefully in a different format.[143] The Sebasteion south portico, on the other hand, presents in great detail the idea that Augustus, the Julio-Claudians, and the Roman empire were the natural outcome or continuation of *Greek* myth-history up to that time. Greek myth-history (naturally edited) unfolds in the lower storey, with, as we saw, some kind of thematic progression towards Rome and the Julian family in the reliefs nearest to the temple, and culminates with the victories of the Roman emperors above.

In the upper storey, the emperors are set on a straightforward, equal footing with the Olympian gods. This is also stated explicitly in one of the portico architrave inscriptions (north), which dedicates the building to the *Theoi Sebastoi Olympioi*, that is, the Olympian imperial gods. The divine emperors are added to the old gods, not as successors or replacements, but as a new branch of the Olympian pantheon. Such simple equivalence of divine status was avoided at Rome both conceptually and in art. The deified dead emperors (*divi*) were something different from the traditional gods (*dei*).[144] Gods and mythical figures appear on the Ara Pacis, but they are kept quite separate in the structural logic of the monument. They appear without the emperor in allegorical panels on the shorter sides flanking the entrances. The emperor is only shown on the Ara Pacis quite inconspicuously as a normal civilian, in the midst of a naturalistically presented mortal procession in the frieze of one of the long sides (south). The contrast with the Aphrodisias Sebasteion is simple but instructive. The Ara Pacis represents the imperial ideology of the centre, a version of things tuned to the prevailing attitudes of the Roman élite. It represents a powerful, tacit *recusatio* of exalted status. In the Sebasteion, on the other hand, the emperors are gods ruling over, and accommodated smoothly into the conceptual structure of, the Greek world.

Finally, we may look briefly at the Sebasteion's imperial imagery in relation to other provincial representations of the emperor and ask, if not answer, an outstanding question: in what ways, if any, were the Sebasteion and its sculptures typical?

Statues and busts were always by far the most common form of provincial representation of the emperor. Although different combinations of location, scale, and statue type could be used to express his different aspects, the emperor's portrait image itself, that is in the head types, was changed little; the provinces were mostly content to reflect back to the centre the kind of imperial image with which they had been provided.[145] The Sebasteion is highly unusual in deploying, as well as the usual statues (on the propylon and no doubt in the temple), a whole series of quasi-narrative reliefs designed to explain, analyse, and interpret Julio-Claudian rule in relation to the city. When provincial monuments to the emperors did use figured scenes, they were usually, it seems, on altars, and usually on a much more modest scale.

In the Greek East there is very little to compare in the early imperial period. The only sculptured narrative complex of comparable quality and scale is the earlier Zoilus frieze, also from Aphrodisias.[146] It, however, is from a different kind of monument (a heroon or tomb?), dedicated not to an emperor but to a local magnate, C. Julius Zoilus. The reliefs show a partly Romanized Zoilus in a mainly Hellenistic

[142] Cf. *RG*, 12; Toynbee (n. 54), 71–3; M. Torelli, *Structure and Typology of Roman Historical Reliefs* (1982), ch. 2.

[143] Cf. Zanker, *Forum Augustum* (1968), 14–21, 26–7.

[144] See Price, *JHS* 104 (1984), 83–5.

[145] For the range of provincial adjustment or 'inter-

pretation' of imperial portrait types, see esp. P. Zanker, *Provinzielle Kaiserporträts* (1983); cf. Smith (n. 136), 213.

[146] Erim, *Aion in Merida* (n. 57), 35–7, pls 21–9; Erim, 136–8. On Zoilus: Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (n. 6), 156–65.

framework of allegories and personifications, and although, like the Sebasteion, the frieze is concerned to show the city's connection with Rome, it does this with a simpler, perhaps more traditional iconography.

Miletus offers a probable altar of Augustus, set within the courtyard of the city's *bouleuterion* complex, and decorated with reliefs featuring local myths or divinities that are now fragmentary and uncertain as to interpretation.[147] This apart, there is no figured monument to the Roman emperors in the Greek East that is really comparable with the Sebasteion relief display until the great frieze of the Antonine altar (*Partherdenkmal*) at Ephesus, probably of the 160s.[148] It represents a similar Hellenistic translation of imperial mythology, combining Hellenistic-style allegory and battle iconography with city personifications and Roman imperial elements. It also has some important differences from the Sebasteion. It both uses more purely Roman imperial iconography, and is more specific and explicit in its portrayal of the emperor's divinization. Also, being a continuous frieze, it has to try to speak a more unified visual language. The Sebasteion programme, on the other hand, is divided into distinct registers and panels, with separate themes that are connected by the logic of the façade's construction and the viewer's association of them.

Statues and busts apart, the provincial representation of the emperor in figured monuments from the western part of the empire is also sparse. What survives seems to suggest a clear difference from the Greek world. The western provinces had little of their own in terms of a mythological and allegorical repertoire with which to portray and interpret imperial authority for themselves, and as a result they seem to copy and combine the monuments of the capital with little conceptual or iconographic contribution of their own. Carthage provides two interesting early imperial examples. A large altar to the Gens Augusta (dedicated by one P. Perelius Hedulus) combines and abbreviates on three of its sides diverse pieces of familiar Augustan mythology (Apollo, Roma, Flight of Aeneas).[149] And the well-known reliefs in Paris and Algiers, both from Carthage and probably from one altar, combine close imitations of the Ara Pacis and the cult group in (probably) the temple of Mars Ultor.[150] Similarly, in Italy at lower social levels and in private contexts, one finds the clear imitation and re-combining of imperial models for sacrifice scenes and various imperial subjects (for example, on the Belevedere altar in the Vatican or the 'historically' decorated silver cups from Boscoreale).[151] And two centuries later, Severan Leptis in North Africa is still closely following central imperial iconography for the great attic reliefs of the arch to Septimius.[152] The contrast with the presentation of the emperor in the Greek East, as now best documented by the Sebasteion, should be plain. The Sebasteion reliefs combine and innovate from both Greek and Roman sources to create their own distinctive visual interpretation of imperial rule.

To conclude. The Aphrodisias Sebasteion gives material evidence of the imperial cult that is both different in kind and greater in quantity than anything known before. The series of relief panels is new to us in subject, setting, and extent. The individual reliefs with imperial scenes give us the visual conception of the divine emperors together with their helpers, real and symbolic, as seen from the Greek East. Aphrodisias was also a city with a special connection with Rome and the Julian family, and some of the panels were designed to play on this more particular theme, which

[147] Tuchelt (n. 16), 120–40.

[148] W. Oberleitner, *Funde aus Ephesos und Samothrake* (1978), 66–94; cf. W. Jobst, *ÖJh* 56 (1985), 79–82; T. Ganschow, *AA* (1986), 209–21.

[149] L. Poinssot, *L'autel de la Gens Augusta à Carthage* (1929); I. S. Ryberg, 'Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art', *MAAR* 22 (1955), 89–90, pl. 27, fig. 41.

[150] Louvre: Toynbee (n. 54), 81, pl. 14; *LIMC*, s.v. Aigyptos 9*; cf. Torelli, *Structure* (n. 142), 39–40. Algiers: Zanker, *Forum Augustum*, 18–20, fig. 47. Cf.

Rostovtzeff, *RM* 38/9 (1923/4), 294; P. Wuilleumier, *Musée d'Alger, Supplément* (1928), 40; T. Krauss, in *Studies P. H. von Blanckenhagen* (1979), 245.

[151] Belevedere altar: Ryberg (n. 149), 53–8, pls 14–15, fig. 28a–c; *Helbig*⁴ I. 255; Zanker, *RM* 76 (1969), 205–18, pls 65–7; on *lares* altars, cf. also Zanker, *BullCom* 82 (1970/1), 147–55. Boscoreale cups: A. Heron de Villefosse, *Le trésor de Boscoreale* (*Mon Piot* 5, 1899); Andreae, *Art of Rome*, figs 299–310.

[152] V. M. Strocka, *Antiquités Africaines* 6 (1972), 147–72.

can also be seen in the striking use of Roman ideas and forms in the series of conquered peoples and in the temple design and sanctuary plan. We have here, then, some strong reflections of the imperial centre itself as well as a Greek city's own interpretation of it.

The reliefs were clearly designed as much more than simple decoration; they did not, however, constitute a body of propaganda. It is true that for any visitors who cared to pause to recognize the subjects and have the inscriptions read to them, there was something to take in about the Greek past, the city of Aphrodisias, and the family of Augustus. But there was, as we have seen, no tight coherent programme that fits all the panels and which urges a unitary doctrine on the viewer. Instead, the relief panels as a whole present a detailed and broadly expressed vision of the fortunate position of the Greek world under Roman imperial rule, such as we have nowhere else. The attitudes to the Roman emperor found here were common to the other cities of Asia Minor in the first century A.D., but the grand and elaborate manner in which they are expressed in marble in the Sebasteion is so far unique.

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Addendum On the architecture of the Sebasteion, see now F. Huber and U. Outschar in J. de la Genière, K. T. Erim (eds), *Aphrodisias de Carie: Colloque de l'Université de Lille, 13 Nov. 1985* (1987), 101–6 and 107–13.