

# SIMULACRA GENTIUM: THE *ETHNE* FROM THE SEBASTEION AT APHRODISIAS\*

By R. R. R. SMITH

(Plates I–IX)

Porticus enim Augustus fecerat in qua simulacra omnium gentium conlocaverat: quae porticus appellabatur 'Ad Nationes'.

For Augustus had made a portico in which he had placed images of all the peoples; this portico was called 'Ad Nationes'. (Servius, *Ad Aen.* 8. 721)

Series of provinces and peoples were something new in Roman art. They were a distinctively Roman way of representing their empire visually, and reflect a distinctively Roman and imperial mode of thought. Such images are most familiar to us in sculpture from the reliefs that decorated the temple of Hadrian in Rome, and on coins from the 'province' series of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius.<sup>1</sup> We know, however, from various written sources that extensive groups of personified peoples were made at Rome under Augustus. Recently, the discovery of such a series in relief at Aphrodisias, there called *ethne* (peoples), allows us for the first time to see what an early imperial group of this kind looked like. The new reliefs were part of the elaborate decoration of a temple complex, probably called a Sebasteion, dedicated to Aphrodite Prometor and the Julio-Claudian emperors. I have already published in this journal the reliefs with imperial scenes,<sup>2</sup> which portray the Roman emperor from a Greek perspective. This article publishes the *ethne* reliefs which, it will be argued, set out to reproduce or adapt in a much more direct manner an Augustan monument in Rome. The use of an Augustan-style 'province' series in Asia Minor is a telling illustration both of some of the mechanisms in the transmission of imperial art and of a Greek city's identification with the Roman government's view of its empire.

The first section (I) will recapitulate briefly what we know of the Sebasteion and its decoration, and place the *ethne* series in context within it. II will discuss the evidence of the inscribed bases on which the *ethne* reliefs once stood. III will present the surviving reliefs, and IV will discuss them in the wider context of personifications of peoples and places in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

## I. THE SEBASTEION AND NORTH PORTICO

The complex lies off a main street running north-south from the temple to the theatre. It is oriented east-west and consisted of four main buildings: the propylon, the temple, and the two portico-like buildings that flank a narrow sanctuary or processional space measuring *c.* 14 × 90 m. The propylon was an aediculated two-storey structure. The temple was a Corinthian prostyle podium temple of imperial

\* I am very grateful to the excavator of Aphrodisias, Prof. Kenan T. Erim, for discussing this important new material with me and for allowing me to publish it. I also thank N. Thompson, K. Welch, and the participants in an Aphrodisias seminar at New York University in spring 1988 for their help and many suggestions.

The following abbreviations are used:

Erim = Erim, K. T., *Aphrodisias: City of Venus Aphrodite* (1982)—illustrations are cited by page number and by letter (a–d) within each page, from left to right, top to bottom.

Bienkowski = P. Bienkowski, *De Simulacris Barbararum Gentium apud Romanos* (1900).

JRS 1987 = R. Smith, 'The Imperial Reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias', *JRS* 77 (1987), 88–138.

Pais, A. M. = *Il 'Podium' del Tempio del Divo Adriano a Piazza di Pietra in Roma* (1979).

Reynolds, *Fest. Pippidi* = Reynolds, J. M., 'Further in-

formation 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.

Toynbee = J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School* (1934).

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 rounded brackets, (134), give actual measurements which are not the full original dimension of the panel.

<sup>1</sup> Bienkowski, 52–86; Toynbee, chs 1, 3 and 5; Pais, 33–81; cf. also M. Jatta, *Le rappresentanze figurate delle provincie Romane* (1908).

<sup>2</sup> *JRS* 1987.

type, set on a raised platform. The portico buildings were divided into rooms behind, but in front functioned as continuous engaged columnar façades. They were three-storeyed, with Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian superimposed orders, and were *c.* 12 m high. The architectural conception of the whole complex is an extraordinary combination of Hellenistic, Roman, and original ideas.<sup>3</sup>

Relief panels decorated the façades of the portico buildings along their entire length. There was a relief in each intercolumniation of the upper two storeys, set between engaged half-columns—originally a total of 190 reliefs. Those surviving can be certainly attributed to the north or south portico and to the lower or upper storey in each portico on the basis of their dimensions, since the porticoes have different intercolumnar widths, and the storeys have different heights. This basis for attributing the reliefs is further supported by the findspots and by some particulars of their relief format. The iconography of the reliefs was clearly conceived altogether, with a broad, overriding programme that divided the subject matter into four distinct categories and registers. These correspond to the upper and lower storeys in each portico. The nature or extent of a detailed programme within each register is debatable, but a coherent, over-all, four-part plan is quite clear. The south portico had emperors and gods above, Greek mythology below. The north portico had allegories (and probably emperors)<sup>4</sup> above, the series of *ethne* below.

Extensive inscriptions on the architraves of the buildings give a broad but sure chronology for the complex: it was begun probably under Tiberius and finished under Nero. We know that there was a severe earthquake, then a second major building phase under Claudius, extending into the early reign of Nero. Augustus, Tiberius (probably), Claudius, and the youthful Nero all appear in the reliefs. The buildings are dedicated to 'Aphrodite, the Theoi Sebastoi, and the Demos'. The project was undertaken by two families: one family paid for the propylon and north portico, the other for the temple and south portico. The leading figures in the construction of the north portico were one Menander, his brother Eusebes, and Eusebes' wife, Attalis Apphion.<sup>5</sup>

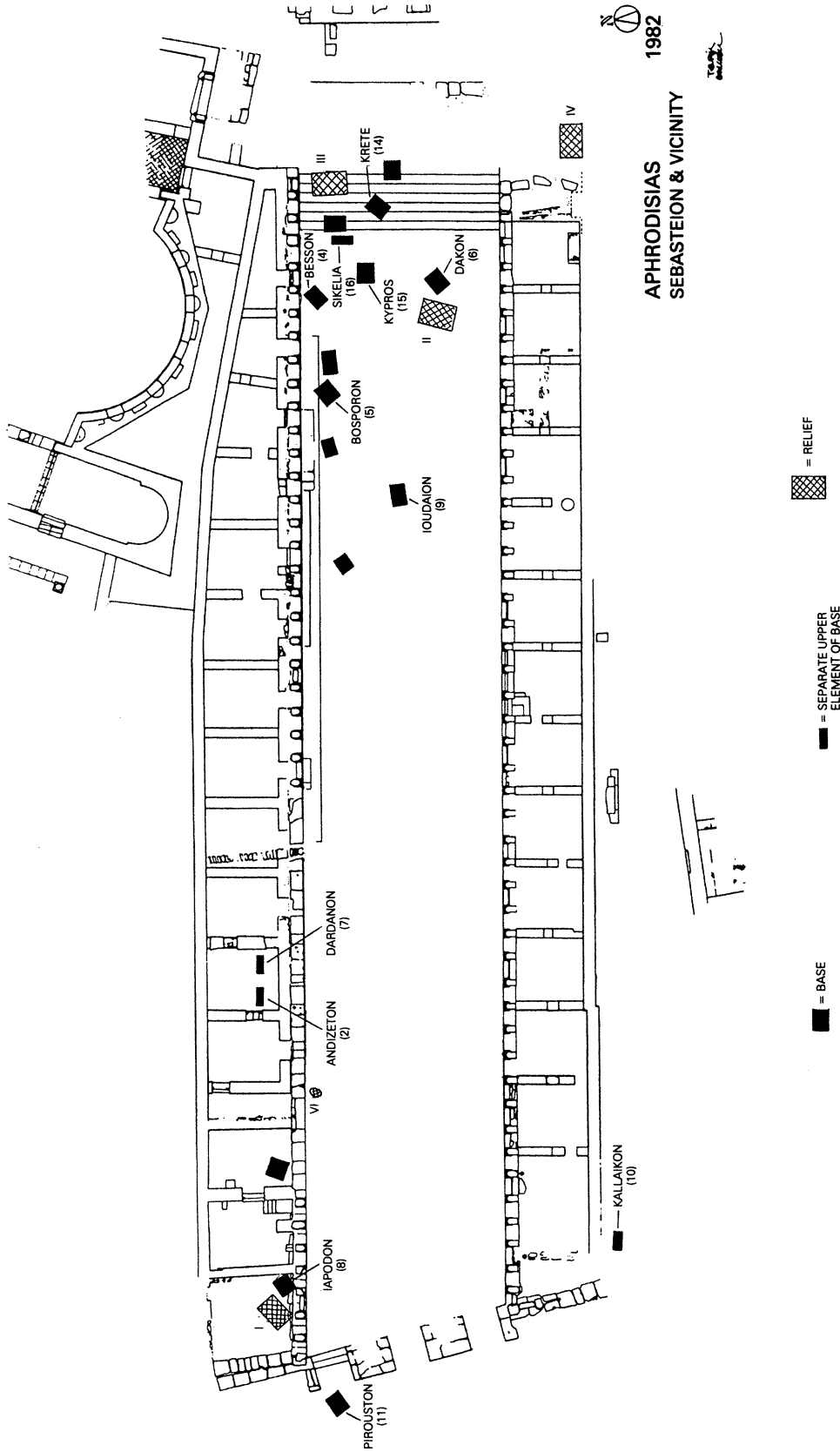
The north portico is much less well preserved than the south portico. From the pattern of the fall of the blocks and reliefs found in the excavation, it seems that the south portico collapsed in late antiquity some time after the north portico, and that its fallen ruins were not substantially disturbed; they were neither quarried for building materials nor cleared for space. A high proportion of its blocks and reliefs was recovered. For example, of the original forty-five myth panels from the lower storey, we have over thirty virtually whole panels and large fragments from most of the others. The finds of the architectural blocks and sculpture of the north portico, on the other hand, came mainly from its two ends: some at the very west end, more towards the east end (see Fig. 1). The following sequence of events seems likely: the middle of the north portico collapsed in an earthquake for much of its length, leaving the ends standing; these ruins were then cleared to allow continued use of the south portico (probably at this date, as shops; indeed, some of the cleared material from the north portico was found re-used in the area of the theatre); subsequently, a second earthquake brought down the south portico and the parts of the north portico still standing at each end. We thus have very much less of the north portico reliefs and bases. In total there are seven or eight reliefs and parts of about twenty to twenty-five bases. These as a group, however, are enough to give a good if partial impression of the north portico display.

Unlike the south portico, which has one wider intercolumniation in every three, articulating the centre of each room behind, the north portico has a uniform intercolumnar width (1.63–4 m). It is also longer and required fifty reliefs in each of the decorated storeys. The top storey featured, at least partly, a series of universal allegories of which we have only two, personifying Hemera and Okeanos, Day and

<sup>3</sup> On the architecture: F. Hueber, U. Outschar, in J. de la Genière, K. T. Erim (eds), *Aphrodisias de Carie: Colloque Lille 1985* (1987), 101–13.

<sup>4</sup> See *JRS* 1987, 128 and below p. 53.

<sup>5</sup> Reynolds, *ZPE*, 317–22, and *Fest. Pippidi*, 114–15.



APHRODISIAS  
SEBASTEION & VICINITY

1982

- = BASE
- = SEPARATE UPPER ELEMENT OF BASE
- ▣ = RELIEF

FIG. 1. PLAN OF SEBASTEION, WITH FINDSPOTS OF ETHNE BASES AND RELIEFS

Ocean (Pl. VII, 3–4). These two panels were found together with their inscribed bases at the very east end of the north portico.<sup>6</sup> There are no other upper-storey reliefs that could go with the bases, and it is easy to distinguish (by sex) which relief goes with which base. Ocean is a naked, bearded, male figure, Day a richly draped female. Both stand frontally with drapery in the *se velificans* motif arching over their heads. In style and in conception these are decidedly Hellenistic, universalizing allegories. It is unlikely that the whole storey was occupied by such figures; in fact there may have been an imperial series somewhere in the middle, from which one panel, featuring Nero, is preserved because it was taken down and buried in one of the middle rooms of the north portico, presumably at Nero's fall (*JRS* 1987, no. 11). However, the presence of Day and Ocean implies other universal figures. Ocean should be matched somewhere with an Earth, and Day with an Evening or Night. Perhaps Day at the east end was answered by Night at the west end, giving a widely-arched time bracket to the whole south portico. One might recall the female allegories of Morning and Evening that framed the beginning and end of Ptolemy II's great festival procession at Alexandria.<sup>7</sup> Such personifications could be used in Roman art as auxiliaries in a larger composition,<sup>8</sup> but single, self-sufficient figures of this kind seem Hellenistic. The Sebasteion figures were probably of a similar kind to the statues of Night, Day, Earth, Heaven, Morning and Noon carried in the procession of Antiochus IV at Daphne in 167 B.C.<sup>9</sup> We should probably assume that at least these personifications were included. In the Sebasteion programme as a whole these generalizing, Hellenistic allegories seem designed to provide a universal setting for the very particular series of peoples and places featured in the storey below them. This is conceptually similar or parallel to the south portico, where a series of mythological reliefs provided the setting above which the emperors were placed.

## II. THE INSCRIBED BASES

The *ethne* were each personified as a single statuesque figure in high relief standing on an inscribed base. The panels overlapped the back of the half-columns so that base and relief together filled the full height and width of each intercolumniation (Figs 2–3). The bases were designed to look like statue bases, and the ensemble seems clearly to have been inspired by, and intended to recall, a line of statues in a colonnade. The basic format of each unit—a figure on a base between columns—became a familiar feature of Roman display architecture, both in free-standing façades and in engaged façades with reliefs. It was later a common feature, for example, on arches.<sup>10</sup> Here the idea is simply repeated fifty times, which may also be due, we shall see, to Roman models.

The character of the *ethnos* series is best studied first from their inscribed bases (Pls VIII–IX). The bases are essentially high-relief pedestals attached to a background (usual dimensions, H: c. 115, W: c. 135, D: 35–40 cm). They are divided into two parts: a lower, main part decorated in high relief with a central mask and thick garland swags, and an upper element carrying the inscribed name in large letters (H: 4–5 cm). The whole base could be carved from a single block, or frequently in two parts with the inscribed element added separately (H: 29–30 cm). The garlands are tied over the mask with a large bow, and their ends are meant to be seen as attached, not to the background, but to the sides of the base. The masks can turn to left or right or face frontally, which could suggest (though hardly proves) that they were arranged in threes: a frontal head in the middle flanked by two looking in or out.<sup>11</sup> The heads

<sup>6</sup> Reliefs: Erim, 122, fig. 122a. Bases: Reynolds, *ZPE*, 325, nos 12–13.

<sup>7</sup> Athenaeus 5. 197d.

<sup>8</sup> For example, Nox(?) on Trajan's Column, scenes 28 and 90: K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die Trajanssäule* (1926), 54 n. 1, pls 21 and 70.

<sup>9</sup> Polybius 31. 3 = Athenaeus 5. 195b.

<sup>10</sup> Arches, for example: L. Crema, *L'architettura romana* (1959), figs 346–7 (Gavi, Verona), 564 (Trajan,

Timgad), 572 (Sbeitla), 576–7 (Marcus, Tripoli), 725 (Caracalla, Djemila), 729–31 (Tebessa). For a similar formula on tomb façades—relief figure on base between engaged columns—see, for a well-preserved example, the Khazne Firaun at Petra: *Der Königsweg: 9000 Jahre Kunst und Kultur in Jordanien und Palästina* (Cat. Exhib. Köln, 1987), 187–9, with excellent illustrations.

<sup>11</sup> Of those extant, eleven face to the front, three to the viewer's right, and two to the viewer's left.

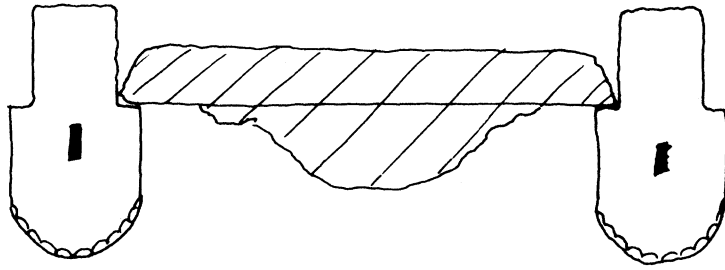


FIG. 2. PLAN OF INTERCOLUMNIATION AT LEVEL OF TOP OF COLUMN SHAFT, SHOWING RELIEF PANEL FITTED BEHIND HALF-COLUMNS

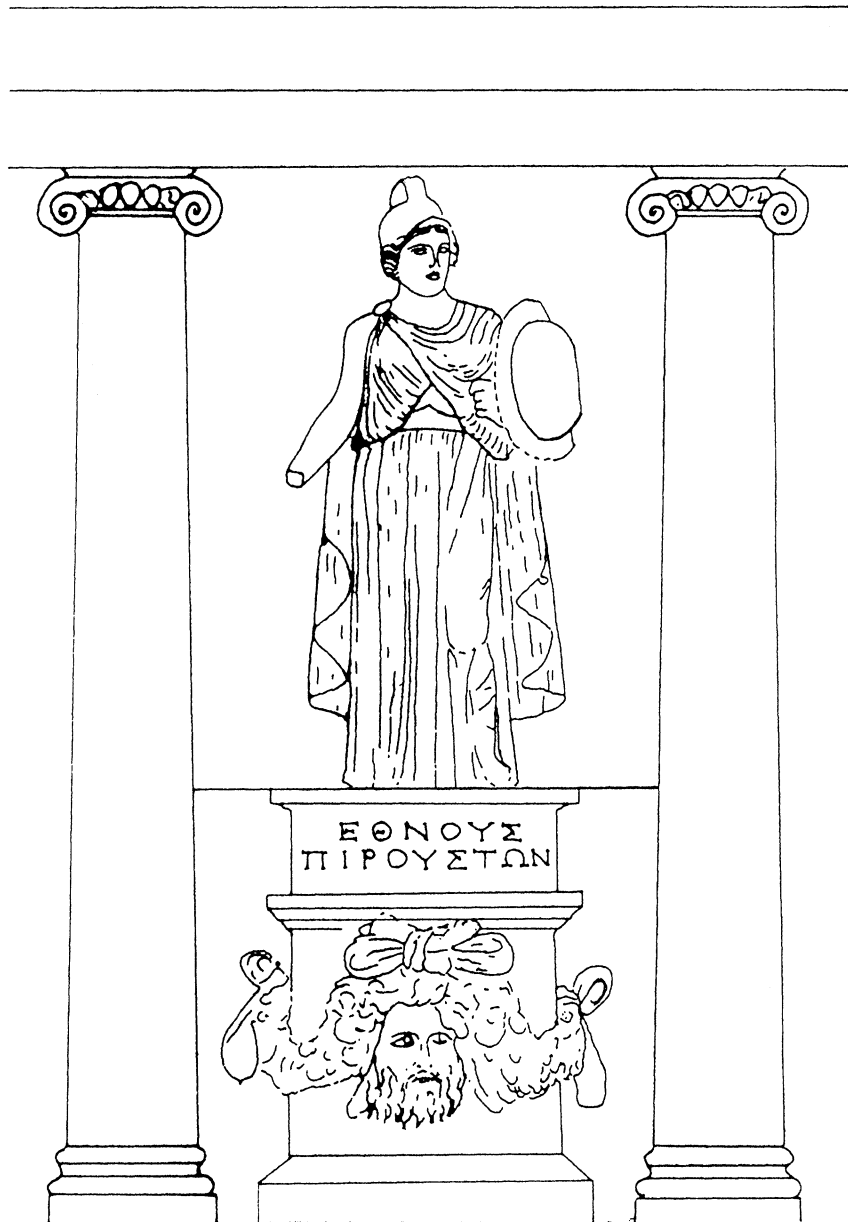


FIG. 3. ELEVATION OF INTERCOLUMNIATION, WITH PANEL AND BASE OF PIROUSTAE (NO. 1)



NO. 1, *ETHNOS* OF THE PIROUSTAE. Photo M. Ali Dügenci.



NO. 2, *ETHNOS WITH BULL*. Photo M. Ali Düğenci.



NO. 3, *ETHNOS* OR GREEK ISLAND. Photo M. Ali Düğenci.





NO. 4, *ETHNOS* WITH HEADBAND (BESSI?). Photo M. Ali Düğenci.



NO. 5, *ETHNOS* WITH BELTED PEPLOS. *Photo M. Ali Dügenci.*



NO. 6, HEAD OF AN *ETHNOS*. Photo M. Ali Dügenci.



(1) NO. 6, HEAD OF AN *ETHNOS*



(2) MUSE STATUE, THASOS



(3) *HEMERA*



(4) *OKEANOS*

*Photos (1, 3, 4) M. Ali Dügenci, (2) from AM 90 (1975), pl. 1.1.*



(1) *ETHNOUS BESSON*



(2) *ETHNOUS BOSPORON*



(3) *ETHNOUS DAKON*



(4) *ETHNOUS IAPODON*



(5) *ETHNOUS IOUDAION*



(6) *ETHNOUS PIROUSTON*



(7) *KRETE*



(8) *KYPROS*



(9) *(ETHIOPIANS?)*



(1) ETHNOUS AIGYPTION



(2) ETHNOUS ANDIZETON (3) ETHNOUS  
TROUNPEILON AND ETHNOUS RHAITON



(4) ETHNOUS ARABON(?)



(5) ETHNOUS DARDANON



(6) ETHNOUS KALLAIKON



(7) SIKELIA

ETHNE BASES: INSCRIBED UPPER ELEMENTS. Photos (1, 2, 7) M. Ali Düğenci, (3, 5, 6) author, (4) C. and M. Roueché.

are ideal and male, mostly bearded. Some have attributes (wreaths, horns), but most are iconographically indeterminate. In the eight cases (Pl. VIII, 1–8) which preserve mask and inscription together, none seems particularly relevant to its *ethnos*, as far as we can tell. The three most iconographically particular of the masks, a satyr head, a grinning Pan head, and a beardless head with African hair and features (Pl. VIII, 9), have the inscribed element either broken or missing. The African head is exceptional; it most likely stood for the *ethnos* of the Ethiopians, whose presence, we shall see, could be expected.

The extant remains of the bases are as follows: (1) eight whole bases with inscriptions (Pl. VIII, 1–8), (2) eight inscribed upper elements, either fragments or worked separately (Pl. IX, 1–7), (3) five bases without their separately worked upper elements, (4) three bases with their upper elements broken off. This gives evidence for a maximum of twenty-four bases; but, since some or all of the eight separate upper elements could belong to the five separately worked lower parts, the minimum number is nineteen. It may be helpful to give here a numbered list of the inscribed pieces, together with brief descriptions.<sup>12</sup> These numbers are used in the plan and map (Figs 1 and 4). Nos 1, 3, 12 and 13 were found out of context and are not shown on the plan.

1. *ETHN[OUS] | AIGY[PTION]* (Pl. IX, 1). Fragment of upper element, which included, unusually, a part of the draped figure (H: 88, W: 55 cm). The rear part of a small feline standing on a base is preserved beside the figure. The fragment has been cut down for re-use. From the theatre.
2. *ETHNOUS | ANDIZETON* (Pl. IX, 2). Separate upper element. A builder's numbering letter ( $\Phi = 21$ ) is carved roughly at the lower edge, which could refer to the intercolumniation it was to occupy, counting (presumably) from the west.
3. *[E]THNOUS | [ARA?]BON* (Pl. IX, 4). Fragment of upper element.
4. *ETHNOUS | BESSON* (Pl. VIII, 1). Whole base, with bearded male mask. Both sides of the background had clamps at the edge of the breaks for ancient repairs.
5. *ETHNOUS | BOSPORON* (Pl. VIII, 2). Whole base, with beardless male mask.
6. *ETHNOUS | DAKON* (Pl. VIII, 3). Whole base, with horned, Pan-like mask.
7. *ETHNOUS | DARDANON* (Pl. IX, 5). Separate upper element.
8. *ETHNOUS | IAPODON* (Pl. VIII, 4). Whole base, with damaged beardless mask with young bull's horns.
9. *ETHNOUS | IOUDAION* (Pl. VIII, 5). Whole base, with horned, Pan-like mask.
10. *ETHN[OUS] | KALLAIKO[N]* (Pl. IX, 6). Fragment of separate upper element, more worn than the others.
11. *ETHNOUS | PIROUSTON* (Pl. VIII, 6). Large fragment of whole base, with bearded male head.
12. *ETHNOUS | RHAITON* (Pl. IX, 3). Upper element, cut down for re-use. From the theatre.
13. *ETHNOUS | TROUNPEILO[N]* (Pl. IX, 3). Upper element, cut down for re-use. From the theatre.

<sup>12</sup> Eight published by Reynolds, *ZPE*, 325–7, nos 14–21; these and the other eight discussed in Reynolds, *Fest. Pippidi*, 115–16. The few restorations are all certain except no. 3, for which Reynolds now

prefers the Arabs (following G. W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia* (1983), 49 n. 15), rather than the Suebi or Perrhaebi: cf. *Fest. Pippidi*, 115 n. 37.

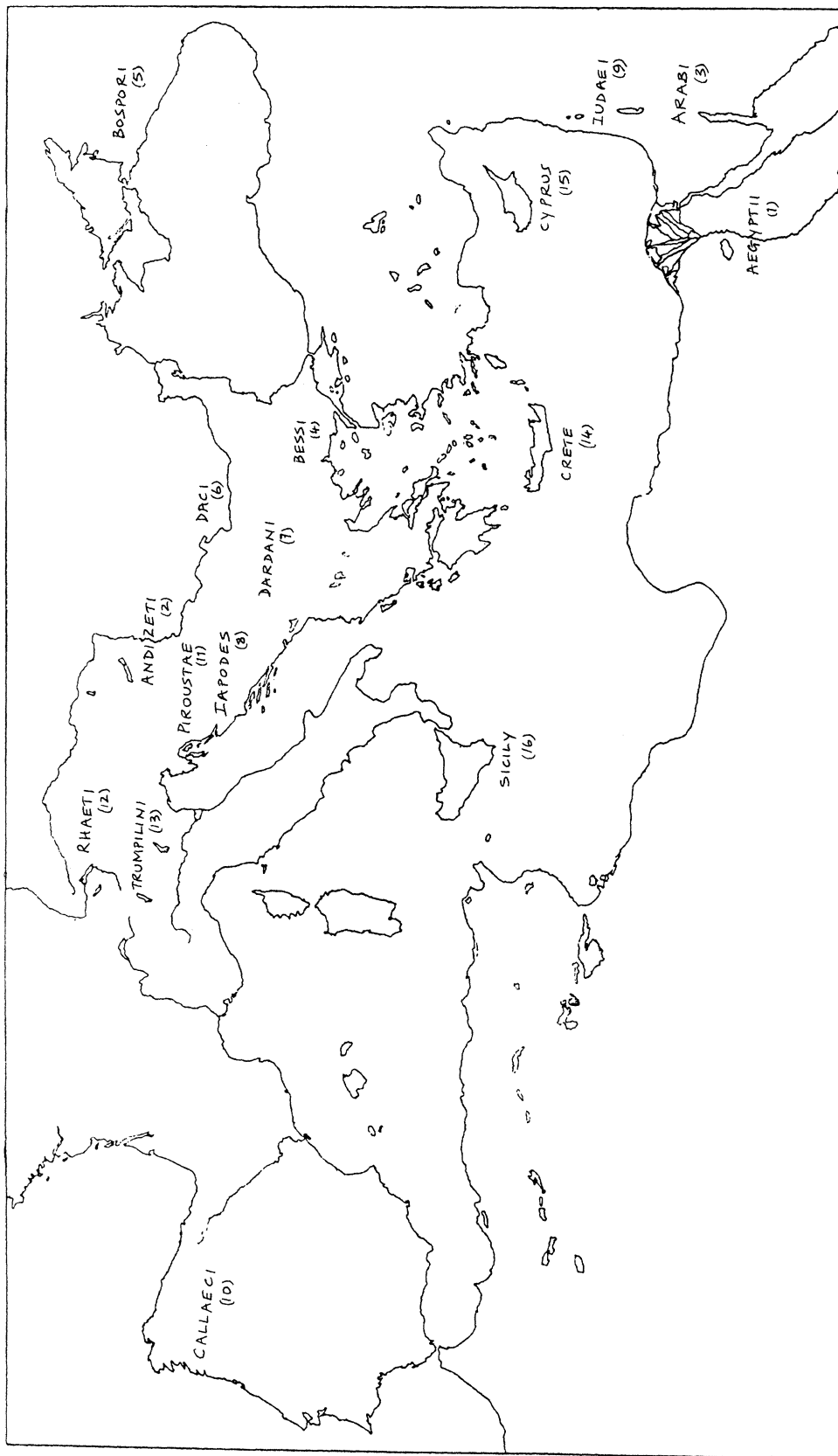


FIG. 4. MAP SHOWING ETHNE ATTESTED IN SEBASTIEON NORTH PORTICO



14. *KRETE* (Pl. VIII, 7). Whole base, with bearded male mask.
15. *KYPROS* (Pl. VIII, 8). Whole base, with youthful, smiling mask.
16. *SIKELIA* (Pl. IX, 7). Separate upper element.

The inscriptions, then, designate two kinds of personifications. There are thirteen *ethne* or foreign peoples (1–13) and three islands (14–16). The *ethne* range from one end of the empire to the other (see map, Fig. 4). In the west, the Callaeci were from the extreme north-west of Spain. In the north, the Rhaetians were on the frontier between the upper Danube and the Rhine, and the Trumpilini were located in the Alps to the north of Italy. In the Danube-Balkan area, we have the Iapodes in Illyricum, the Andizeti and Piroustae in Pannonia, the Dardani and Thracian Bessi south of the Danube, and the Dacians north of the Danube. In the north-east, we have the Bosporans above the Black Sea, and in the east, the Egyptians, Judaeans and Arabs (and probably the Ethiopians). In the Mediterranean heart of the empire are the three islands, Crete, Cyprus and Sicily.

An important question we may try to answer first is: were the *ethne* arranged in the north portico in any geographically coherent scheme or order? We may assume that the findspots of elements within the complex reflect their approximate relative order on the building; pieces that have been moved can be detected. Plotting the findspots of the inscribed bases on the plan (Fig. 1) shows only that a geographical arrangement is a possibility. We do not have quite enough evidence due to the large gap in the middle of the portico; and one or two findspots seem to contradict the idea. Very broadly, the more western *ethne* inscriptions were found at the west end and the more eastern ones at the east end. Towards the west end there are four of the Illyrian and mid-Danubian tribes—Piroustae, Iapodes, Andizeti, and Dardani. The Spanish Callaeci fragment is also from the west end, although it had strayed to its excavated position behind the south portico. Towards the east end of the portico come the north-eastern Bosporans, the eastern Judaeans, and two eastern islands, Crete and Cyprus. This would leave the Dacians and Bessi somewhat out of place at the east end—unless one draws a notional (and unlikely) line between east and west roughly at the longitude of the middle Danube, that is, for this purpose, with the Dardanians to the west and the Dacians and Bessi to the east.<sup>13</sup> Sicily, a western island found at the very east end of the portico, was no doubt placed here to be kept with the other two major Greek islands, Crete and Cyprus. The idea of strict geographical arrangement, then, is questionable.

What, then, do these peoples and places have in common? Most obviously, they were all either within or bordered upon the Roman empire. The distinction between the *ethne* and the islands is significant and easily explained. It represents the easiest and most natural way of dividing the different kinds of constituents of the empire. The *ethne* were the natural divisions for the outlying frontier areas; within the centre of the empire the only familiar unit, after the broad geographical area or the province, was the city. City units for this purpose would be too small. Even later, in Hadrian's 'province' series on coins, there was no strict portrayal of administrative provinces; the major constituents of the empire were categorized by their most prominent ethnic name (which at that date, however, was often a province, or two combined). The distinction between peoples and places was also convenient for another reason. Since these figures had at least overtones of conquest and capture, it was desirable that the older, Greek subjects of Rome be included not in person, as it were, but obliquely in terms of physical geography.

Some of the inscriptions seem of different lettering styles, and it is possible that the series was made over a period of time.<sup>14</sup> However, there is little or nothing to suggest a continuing programme that added new imperial gains as they occurred. We

<sup>13</sup> On the plan, Fig. 1, the putative Ethiopians' base (Pl. VII, 9) is immediately to the west of the Judaeans' base.

<sup>14</sup> Reynolds, *ZPE*, 327.

should interpret the series first as a monument conceived at one time in the Julio-Claudian period. In order to plan up to fifty places and peoples, that number must already have been available. (The topical inclusion of panels showing Claudius and Britannia, and Nero and Armenia in the south portico is different, since something else non-specific could equally well have been substituted there.) There is, we shall see, no epigraphical or historical need to invoke (for example) Domitian or Trajan for the Dacians and Arabs.

The various peoples and places are of rather heterogeneous character and status. Cyprus, Egypt, Judaea, Sicily and Rhaetia were all separate administrative provinces in their own right. Crete was a major part of a province (with Cyrene). Arabia and Dacia were not parts of the empire at all until later (under Trajan). The Bosporans (and Ethiopians) never were. The other *ethne*, all in the west or Balkan-Danube area (Andizeti, Bessi, Callaeci, Dardani, Iapodes, Piroustae, Trumpilini), were peoples within provinces of the empire. Some of these might be thought to stand for larger areas or for their province—thus the Callaeci for Further Spain or the Iapodes for Illyricum. But against this is the presence of two tribes, not one, of Pannonia (Piroustae and Andizeti). The Bessi were part of the Thracian client kingdom which became a province only in A.D. 46, that is, probably some time after the *ethnos* series was conceived.

All the peoples and places were relatively major entities and were sufficiently prominent to appear in Strabo's *Geography*. There is one notable exception—the Trumpilini—who were a minor Alpine tribe simply not in the same league as the other *ethne*. Here, however, it is very likely that they stand in as *pars pro toto* for the Alpine tribes, because we know that the Trumpilini were placed at the head of the list of forty-six tribes inscribed on the Augustan monument at La Turbie that commemorated the Alpine campaigns.<sup>15</sup> This is a convenient explanation because it maintains potential membership of the north portico at a certain level of importance: we do not have to imagine other *ethne* among the fifty as insignificant as the Trumpilini. However, the level of importance is hardly *so* high. Indeed, it is clear from the relative obscurity or unfamiliarity of many of the names we have that a selection must have been made (at some stage) from a list that could have been considerably longer than fifty.<sup>16</sup>

Joyce Reynolds has argued persuasively that the various peoples and places in the north portico can all be explained as parts of a series illustrating the victories of Augustus.<sup>17</sup> Some kind of victory or conquest by or for Augustus, real or claimed, is explicitly recorded for most of them: so, Iapodes (36–35 B.C.), Dardani (29 B.C.), Callaeci (mid-20s B.C.), Arabs (25 B.C.), Rhaetians (15 B.C.), Bosporans (14 B.C.), Bessi 35, 29, 11 B.C.), Andizeti and Piroustae (13–9 B.C. and A.D. 6–8), Trumpilini (7–6 B.C.), and Dacians (c. 1 B.C.–A.D. 4).<sup>18</sup> Augustan victory was, therefore, clearly a large component. For a few others, however—Sicily, Cyprus, Crete, Judaea—it may perhaps be doubted whether military defeat or conquest by Augustus would be perceived as the primary factor of connection with the empire. Sicily was 'recovered' in 36 B.C., Augustus says in the *Res Gestae*, that is, by the naval defeat of Sextus Pompey (*RG* 27. 3: 'reciperavi'). Crete and Cyprus might also be considered 'recovered', that is, by Actium, but in a rather less noteworthy manner than Sicily, and such a 'recovery' is nowhere explicitly claimed.<sup>19</sup> Judaea was similarly recovered, but remained a client kingdom under the same king till A.D. 6, when it was made a province.<sup>20</sup> The question for us is not whether Augustus could or did claim a defeat of

<sup>15</sup> The inscription: Pliny, *NH* 3. 136. The monument: J. Formigé, *Le trophée des Alpes, La Turbie* (1949); N. Lamboglia, *Le trophée d'Auguste à la Turbie* (1964).

<sup>16</sup> Cf. below p. 74 and n. 70.

<sup>17</sup> Reynolds, *ZPE*, 326–7 and *Fest. Pippidi*, 115.

<sup>18</sup> Main sources: Andizeti, Arabs, Callaeci, Dacians, Egyptians, Iapodes, Piroustae, Sicily—*RG* 26–7 and 30; Bessi, Bosporans, Dardani, Rhaeti—Dio Cass. 51. 23; 54. 22 and 24 (see also n. 70, for others in Dio).

More details and sources: Reynolds, *Fest. Pippidi*, 115–16 n. 38. Victory over Ethiopians (24–22 B.C.) is recorded in *RG* 27. 3 and Dio Cass. 54. 5. 4.

<sup>19</sup> The relevant section of the *Res Gestae*, 27. 3, is couched vaguely: 'I recovered all the provinces extending eastwards beyond the Adriatic Sea and Cyrene, then for the most part in the possession of kings...'

<sup>20</sup> Josephus, *B<sup>J</sup>* 1. 386–93 (for 'recovery' after Actium); Dio Cass. 55. 27. 6 (A.D. 6).

these places, but whether in such a monument they would be in the first instance included and categorized as victories. The distinction may seem trivial, and indeed the conceptual boundary between a conquered and a non-conquered subject of Rome was fluid. However, it will turn out to be of some importance in interpreting the iconography of the surviving *ethnos* and island reliefs that do not stress the iconography of defeat.

Given the heterogeneity of the preserved *ethne* and places, it would be pointless to speculate who else might have been included. In principle we should allow flexible rules for membership of the north portico, both so as not to prejudge the reliefs and to allow room for any late-comers. The members so far could be understood as including a range of different parts of the Augustan empire, thus: some from the civilized centre (the Greek islands, Egypt), some from beyond the frontier illustrating the effective reach of imperial power (Dacians, Bosphorans, Arabs), and many or most from the periphery, defining the Romanized side of the frontier (the northern and western *ethne*). This is similar to the categories of the *Res Gestae*, chs. 26–33: some ‘recovered’, some defeated, some ‘pacified’ (=Romanized). As in the *Res Gestae*, there is a clear emphasis on achievements and additions at the edges of the empire, and we could easily restore many major peoples on the northern Rhine from the pages of Tacitus and Dio Cassius.

All the *ethne* certainly included here seem to have one of three qualifications in Augustan imperial thinking. They have been either simply defeated, or defeated and added to the empire, or brought back into the empire after unwilling secession. The empire counted a spectrum of constituents, from near-equal partners to conquered subjects and neighbours. The personified figures seem to have been designed to express this idea.

### III. THE RELIEFS

The *ethne* are each personified as single, standing, draped women, each well differentiated by drapery and pose, and some by attributes no doubt intended to characterize that *ethnos*. Groupings or compositional accents within the series could be introduced by the turn of the figures’ heads to left or right, possibly, though not necessarily, to match the masks on the bases below.<sup>21</sup> The *ethne* are stylistically homogeneous and among the best of the Sebasteion reliefs in quality, both as regards their finish and the assuredness of their form and design. The Aphrodisians had probably never even heard of *ethne* like the Piroustaie or Trimpilini, and, as we shall see, the subtle characterization of the surviving figures shows that they most probably drew on ready-made models, which could only be a ‘province’ series at Rome. Indeed, the existence of such a series seems a necessary condition for the Aphrodisian decision to decorate the north portico with selected figures of peoples and places of the Augustan empire. The otherwise quite extraordinary and difficult nature of the commission seems to imply the availability of models for its execution. A commission that envisaged the creation *ex novo* of a series of images personifying merely a bald list of such unfamiliar names would be virtually impossible. Augustan Rome had such models (Part IV), and we may assume they would be used, that is, drawn, copied, adapted, adjusted, by the Aphrodisian designers and sculptors.

Three of the reliefs (nos 1–3) and the single head (no. 6) were found in or near their context in the north portico. Two others had been removed for re-use, one nearby (no. 4) and one to the agora (no. 5). Only one of the reliefs can certainly be associated with its inscribed base because of a builder’s inscription on the relief (Piroustaie, no. 1). Both base and relief were found at the extreme west end of the portico. It is fair to assume from the findspots that we have among the sixteen inscribed bases at least three of those that belong to the other extant panels. Purely on the basis of the findspots, no. 2 should be *ethnos Dakon*, and no. 3 one of the islands.

<sup>21</sup> Three of the figures turn to the viewer’s right (nos 1, 3, 4) and two to the viewer’s left (nos 2 and 5). The bases: above, n. 11. In the Hadrianeum reliefs,

eleven of the figures turn to the viewer’s right, five to the viewer’s left (cf. Pais, 118).

The reliefs are among the most carefully carved of both porticoes, and one would guess that they were made by a different workshop(s) from the south portico reliefs. In both porticoes, the lower-storey reliefs are generally better finished because they were closer to the viewer. But as far as they are preserved, the north portico *ethne* are higher quality than the myths from the lower storey of the south portico, and more consistent stylistically. The myth reliefs range widely in sculptural finish and ability, but we have many times more of them. The *ethnos* reliefs were carved from single blocks of marble, H: c. 172, W: 140, D: c. 42 cm. The figures were carved in high relief (c. 25 cm) against a generally flat, even background. This contrasts with the uneven and often 'swelling' backgrounds in the south portico imperial series. The width of the panels tapers slightly towards the bottom following the upper taper of the half-columns behind which the reliefs were fitted. Extremities were sometimes dowelled separately to prepared surfaces: hands in nos 1–2, sides of head and hair in nos 3 and 5. (The south portico reliefs, by contrast, seem to avoid piecing the figures.) With the exception of no. 2, all the figures probably held separately added attributes in their right hands. Several of the south portico reliefs have spears worked rather awkwardly in one piece with the block.

Three of the panels preserve evidence of their hoisting method. No. 1 has a lewis-hole set in the top of the panel, evidently cut after the relief was carved, and so for lifting the ready-carved panel. The other two were lifted by a decidedly singular method for architectural reliefs—by lifting tongs set in large holes in the front and back of the finished panel. No. 5 also preserves remains of the original lewis-hole used for lifting the quarry block in the head of the figure. The separate head, no. 6, has a similar 'redundant' lewis-cutting. Nothing can be concluded about the lifting and carving sequence from the lack of surviving lewis-holes in nos 2–3.

Each *ethnos* figure is a separately conceived, careful composition. Only one is related to a known type (a Hellenistic Muse) and in a quite indirect way (no. 3). They are distinguished by drapery schemes, pose and gestures, head type and hair styles, and by attributes. These components are used to express a range of subtle differences of character and degree of civilization. Even without the inscriptions, one would be able to read that the figures range from places within the fully civilized centre of the empire to different kinds of outlying and barbarian peoples. This is clear in dress, head types and attributes. For example, no. 3 is purely 'civilized'/'Hellenized' in costume, and no. 1 has war-like, so 'barbarian', attributes. No. 6 has wild, untied 'barbarian' hair. Only no. 2 has reference to overtly 'defeated' iconography in her crossed arms and slipped or *décolleté* dress.

Combining all the evidence of findspots, inscriptions and iconography, we may summarize what we have in the five reliefs as follows. No. 1, the warrior Piroustaie, is certainly identified. No. 2, a figure with a bull as attribute and conquered/barbarian iconography, was found next to the Dacians' base, and may therefore be *ethnos Dakon*. No. 3 is a 'civilized'-looking figure found beside the island bases and is more likely Sicily or Crete than Cyprus. No. 4 has specific Dionysian iconography in her head type which may link her to the Bessi. No. 5, a massive *peplos*-figure, has neither attributes nor useful findspot and so remains anonymous.

### 1. *Ethnos of the Piroustaie* (Pl. I; cf. Fig. 3)<sup>22</sup>

Panel preserved in one piece, with one fragment (the right wrist) added to the relief.

H: 172, W: 142 (top and bottom), D: 42 cm.

*Missing.* Large piece at upper left corner broken off (the panel may have been made weaker here by the cutting down of the back with a point chisel, possibly to remove an area of erosion or to fit the architecture behind). Other three corners also partly broken. Missing from the figure: right foot, most of left foot, right hand (added separately), parts of shield rim, pieces of lower edge of *himation* where it crosses the chest and stomach (it is considerably undercut here). From the head: tip of nose, two locks or 'waves' of hair from right side; damage to right cheek; front peak of helmet and large part of crest broken.

<sup>22</sup> Erim, 121, fig. 121b.

*Findspot.* Found towards the front and east side of the last room of the north portico (Room 15), marked 1 on plan.

*Technique.* The panel was lifted by an unusually wide lewis-hole (W: 4.50 cm, instead of the more usual W: 1.80–2.00 cm—see Fig. 5). The other dimensions of the lewis are normal: 10.50 cm long, 12 cm deep. The position of the lewis, in the middle of the panel top behind the background plane, suggests that the relief was carved on the ground and then lifted (unless, perhaps, the unusually wide lewis indicates a later, repair phase). A clamp cutting is preserved at the upper right corner, set obliquely towards the front.

The top of the panel is cut evenly with a claw chisel (this contrasts with the rough, point-chisel finish on the two extant upper storey panels of Hemera and Okeanos). There is a smoother band at the front, cut with a flat chisel, as if for contact with the architrave soffit.

Down the left side, the panel has a ragged edge that looks broken. In fact this seems to be rough working to reduce the width of the panel (and/or its depth) and was probably done as it was being fitted into the architecture. Indeed, usually in these panels there is a vertical strip at the side that fitted behind the half-column and is distinguished by different tooling. Faint traces of this and of the vertical line can still be seen beside the ragged edge. This was, of course, invisible once the panel was in position.

In the middle of the back of the panel, there is a shallow square cutting (8 × 6 and 2 cm deep), of uncertain purpose.

The relief was well laid out and executed so that the figure stands out in three dimensions with precise contours. It has a maximum relief depth of 25 cm, at the head, which leaves an even 16–17 cm behind the background plane. The background is slightly convex, swelling out lightly behind the figure.

The right hand was added separately by a narrow clamp set along the top of the wrist (where it would not be seen). The cutting is 3 cm long, 0.80 cm wide. The hand was probably attached at the break and was therefore a repair.

*Surface finish.* The background is uniformly worked with a claw chisel. The figure is well finished with flat chisel and rasp. Most of the drilled drapery channels are also modelled with a chisel. They are more carefully and deeply worked on the more visible, upper part of the figure.

Alone of the *ethnos* reliefs, this figure is certainly identified by a small builder's inscription engraved lightly in small letters on the background above and to the right of the shield: ΠΙΡΟΥΣΤΩΝ.<sup>23</sup> The inscription was clearly to ensure the connection of the right base and panel.

*Base.* The base was also recovered in the excavation (Pl. VIII, 6). It was found just outside the propylon, in front of the northern entrance way (see Fig. 1), that is about 5 m from the panel. It is broken on all four sides, preserving only its full dimension front to back (D: 44 cm). A bearded mask below supports the garland swags, looking towards the viewer's right in partial three-quarter view. It is of indeterminate ideal/divine iconography. The upper element, carved in one piece with the base, is inscribed in large letters (H: 4.50 cm):

ΕΘΝΟΥΣ  
ΠΙΡΟΥΣΤΩΝ

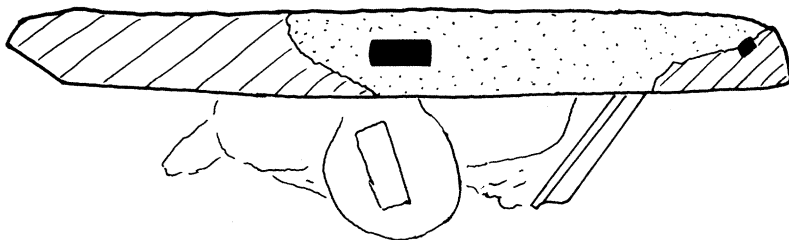


FIG. 5. TOP OF NO. 1, *ETHNOS* OF THE PIROUSTAE

<sup>23</sup> Visible with cross light, as in Erism, fig. 121b.

In the relief, the personified *ethnos* stands frontally, weight on her right leg, head looking evenly three-quarters to her left, that is, in the same direction as the mask on the base (see Fig. 3). She wears a helmet, cloak and belted dress, and carries a small shield on her left arm. The shield band is shown below, on the underside of the forearm. The right hand was held away from her right side, carrying a spear or similar attribute. The shield is given its full three-dimensional value and is cut off at the background.

Both helmet and shield are 'ideal' types, that is, they are recognizable versions of old classical Greek armour no longer worn in reality. The round shield is of diminished hoplite type. The helmet is of basic 'Corinthian' form, but worn, as usually by ideal figures in the Roman period, as if permanently pushed back from the face.<sup>24</sup> The short element in relief above the front peak is a vestigial nose-piece of Corinthian type, while the crest is borrowed from the 'Attic' type.

The dress is *peplos*-like with a thick, doubled overfold falling over the breast. The overfold reaches the hip at her right side and slopes up towards the left breast exposing the belt. It was probably conceived as coming down again on her left side but is concealed here by the *himation*. The sculptor or the design were perhaps not fully clear as to the drapery scheme at this point. The belt is shown as a flat band that broadens to form a low triangular peak over the middle of the stomach. The cloak is fastened with a round brooch over the right shoulder, falls diagonally across the chest, covering the left breast, and is pulled back over the left upper arm behind the shield. It falls behind in zigzag folds, with drapery weights shown at the corners on each side. It falls a little wider than it realistically could in order to provide a low relief frame for the figure against the expansive background of the panel.

The head has a firmly ideal structure. The face is borrowed from the more square, more masculine heads of fifth-century Athenas. The surface is plain, the features cut sharply. Expression is given by the deeply drilled, open mouth. The hair is centre-parted and swept back in thick waves articulated with alternating deep drill channels and shallow chisel lines. This hairstyle is borrowed from later classical models.

Neither head nor drapery scheme is taken directly from a known type. Nor, however, is there any serious attempt at national characterization of dress or weapons. The long cloak and the adjustments of the *peplos* arrangement were felt sufficiently 'un-Graeco-Roman'. The style and tenor of an ideal female warrior are indebted to classical Athenas, but to none in particular. The original figure was no doubt freshly composed out of the inherited stock of classical female drapery schemes.

## 2. *Ethnos with bull (Dakon?)* (Pl. II)<sup>25</sup>

Panel preserved in two pieces: (1) the upper left corner with a large part of background, and (2) the main part with the figure. No fragments added to the relief.

H: 172, W: 141 top, [c. 137] bottom, D: 42 cm.

*Missing.* From panel: large piece at lower right corner and small part of upper left corner. From figure: head (with part of background broken away behind) and left hand (separately added). Muzzle of bull broken off.

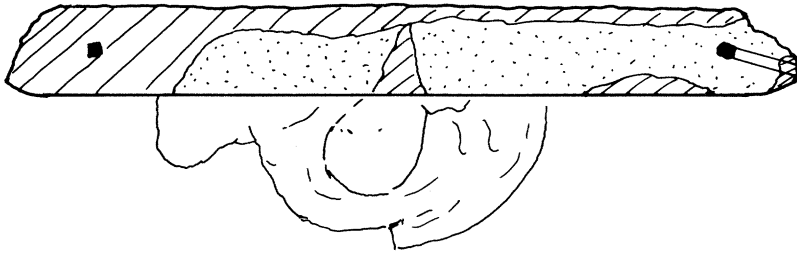
*Findspot.* Found between the two portico buildings near the east end, c. 8 m from the north portico and c. 5 m from the bottom of the steps leading up to the temple platform (marked II on the plan). Close to it was found the inscribed base for *ethnous Dakon*. The next closest (both c. 8 m away) were the bases for *Krete* and *Kypros*.

*Technique.* The top is evenly finished with a claw chisel (and point chisel towards the back) and preserves no lewis-hole (Fig. 6). The top was then probably cut down considerably on the building. There is a long clamp-cutting at the right side, set obliquely, and the end of a similar cutting is preserved in the break at the left.

The background is flat and even, cut in a slight bevel at the sides where they fit behind the half columns. The figure is fully three-dimensional, and the head was worked fully in the round so that it broke off more easily from its connecting bridge of stone than, for example, did the head of no. 3.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *JRS* 1987, 129 n. 124 for parallels.

<sup>25</sup> Erim, *RA* (1982), 166, fig. 10; Erim, 121, fig. 121a.

FIG. 6. TOP OF NO. 2, *ETHNOS* WITH BULL

The left hand and wrist were added separately to two prepared surfaces, attached by a clamp along the top of the forearm (like that used in the repair of the Piroustaie's right hand, no. 1) and by a small dowel pin in the right forearm.

*Surface finish.* Unusually, the claw work on the background has been mostly smoothed off with a flat chisel. The figure is well finished with abrasives, with flat work visible in some places (for example, on the bare right shoulder and breast). There is some deep drilling in the surviving hair at the back of the head and in the drapery. In the upper body and hair, the regularity of the alternating drill channels and folds gives a rather mannered, stylistic effect.

The figure stands with the weight on her right leg, forearms crossed at the waist, once looking to her right, as shown by the position of the surviving hair. She wears a *himation* over the left shoulder and a thick *peplos* with brooch slipping off the right shoulder partly revealing the breast. The forepart of a small bull appears standing in profile behind, at the lower left.

The relation of *peplos* and *himation* has not been fully thought out. The *himation* is a short cloak thrown over the shoulder. It covers the left breast (where its folds tend to merge with the *peplos*) and is held against the stomach by the forearms. Its lower edge looks very like that of the overfold of the *peplos*. Behind, the cloak falls down her left side, where two drapery weights are shown below, and is held in a bunch at the left hip. The *peplos* is belted round the waist (part of the belt is shown on her right side) and has a deep, doubled *kolpos* appearing below the edge of the *himation*. At the sides the doubled *kolpos* turns rather illogically into a plain hem. The dress completely covers the feet which would anyway not be visible from the ground.

The small bull has a lot of surplus stone behind to attach it to the background; otherwise it appears to be in the round. A separate, 'higher' background is used beneath its stomach for the same reason. The thick body, stocky legs, and the fold of loose skin from neck to chest seem intended clearly to indicate a bull rather than a cow. A feline stands in the same position on the surviving fragment of the *ethnous Aigyption* panel (Pl. IX, 1); and on a coin type of Trajan, the forepart of a small camel appears in the same way behind a personification, to identify it as Arabia.<sup>26</sup>

For a bull as an attribute of a province or people, one would perhaps think first of the Cretan bull mastered by Heracles. A Greek province such as Crete, however, seems ruled out by the iconography of the figure, which is at least half-barbarian. The bared breast and the gesture of the crossed arms are parts of the regular iconography of conquered 'barbarian' female figures. The conquered aspect is here slightly reduced by the lack of bonds on her wrists: she submits willingly. The hairstyle seems to have carried similar meaning. The hair was gathered behind the head in a loop, which is larger and more 'free' than a Greek bun or chignon, and which allows long curling locks to escape and fall forward on to the shoulders, one on her right, two on the left. In other words, the hair arrangement was 'barbarian', but not fully so, that is, not wholly dishevelled and falling forward untied. One of the Hadrianeum reliefs seems to have been quite close in its drapery scheme, pose and 'captive status'.<sup>27</sup> It

<sup>26</sup> Toynbee, pl. 11. 14-18.

<sup>27</sup> Doria Pamfili, Rome: Toynbee, pl. 36. 4; Pais, no. 5.

has one breast bare and arms crossed but not tied; its hair, however, was fully 'barbarian'. It is unidentifiable and cannot help with naming our figure.

Since our *ethnos* with the bull cannot be *Krete*, it is best to take the evidence as it lies and identify it provisionally with *ethnous Dakon* next to whose base it was found in the excavation. It should be noted, however, that the mask on the Dacians' base (Pl. VIII, 3) does not turn to the viewer's left, like the head of the figure, but looks straight ahead. With only the Piroustae base and panel (Fig. 3) to show that such an alignment of panel and base might be expected, this is not a serious objection.<sup>28</sup> Nor is it problematic that the later iconography of Dacia, in the second century, does not have any bovine attributes.<sup>29</sup> The Sebasteion series reflects an early, and perhaps the first, attempt at the visual codification of these places. In later monuments, revisions and improvements, based, for example, on closer observation of ethnically diagnostic detail, could be expected.

### 3. *Ethnos or Greek island in peplos* (Pl. III)<sup>30</sup>

Panel made up of seven joining fragments. Two large pieces comprise the main part of the figure (broken at the shoulders) and the right side. Left side in five smaller fragments. Six further fragments of relief added to the figure: two at chest, three forming the right forearm and hand, one at neck. Right side of neck made up with plaster.

H: 173.5, W: 137 (top), 132 (bottom), D: 40 cm.

*Missing.* Face, feet and attributes held in hand. Part of underside of right upper arm. Small parts of the corners. Both hands and the drapery closest to the front plane are weathered.

*Findspot.* The main fragments were found at the very east end of the north portico, near the top of the steps, about 2.50 m in front of column 1 (marked III on plan). Various bases were found in the immediate vicinity: those for the three Greek islands and the *Ethnous Besson*. The closest (c. 3 m) was the lower part of a base, carved separately from its inscribed element. Beside it (c. 4 m from the panel) was found a separate upper element with the inscription for *Sikelia*. It is quite possible that base and inscribed element belong together. The base has a frontal, bearded, male head with doleful expression, of indeterminate ideal/divine iconography.

*Technique.* The top (Fig. 7) was cut down with fine point and claw chisels. There is no trace of the lewis-hole. Long, oblique clamp-cuttings are preserved at both sides. The sides of the panel were bevelled back considerably to ease fitting against the adjoining half-columns. At the top right this becomes a trapezoidal depression, presumably meant to accommodate a slight backward projection at the rear of the half-capital.

The figure has full three-dimensional value, sliced off behind by an even background plane. The right arm is carved in the round and attached to the background by a thick strut at the hand.

*Surface finish.* The background is finished with the usual claw chisel, the figure with abrasives. Drilled channels are carefully modelled and rounded.

The figure wears a thick, sleeveless dress (*peplos*) and a short *himation*, and stands with the weight on her right leg, her head turned looking to her left in three-quarter view. Both hands once held attributes. The lowered left hand held a rounded,

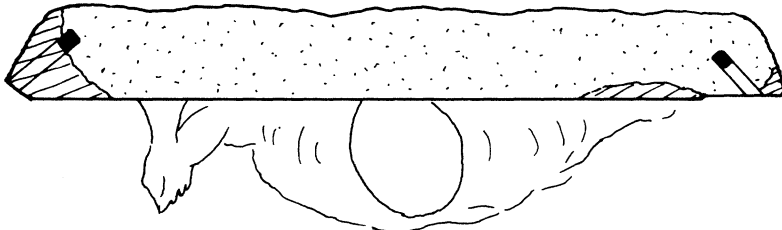


FIG. 7. TOP OF NO. 3, *ETHNOS* OR GREEK ISLAND

<sup>28</sup> Cf. above nn. 11 and 21.

<sup>29</sup> Toynbee, 70–80, pls 3. 23–6, 8. 1–3, 12. 11–28, 13. 1–14.

<sup>30</sup> Erim, 121, fig. 121c.



baton-like feature which was added separately and perhaps fastened by a pin, for which there is a small hole on the inside of the forefinger. The attribute in the raised right hand is also hard to interpret. The unseen part of the hand behind is not worked, and both it and the remains of the attribute are worn. The position of the arm would naturally lead one to expect a spear or staff, and this it may have been; but it is not read easily in the remains. It looks as if the attribute was held at the ends of the fingers and not in the palm, as a spear or staff would be. This may, however, simply be due to the rough working of the end of a staff, the rest of which was added separately.

Hairstyle, dress and pose seem designed to characterize the figure as unambiguously Greek and 'free', as opposed to barbarian and captive.

The head preserves nothing of the face except the ends of two drill holes that defined the corners of the mouth. The hairstyle, though sadly battered, can be made out in all its essentials. On her (proper) left side, the hair is swept back in wavy strands with a small kiss curl shown roughly in front of the ear. On the right side, the projecting hair over the ear was added separately to a prepared surface with a small dowel hole (as also on no. 5). The hair is gathered in a tight bun at the back with one curl escaping on to the neck. This is a familiar ideal hairstyle of Greek women and goddesses.

Her dress is thick and arranged in a manner close to a classical *peplos*. The thickness of the material can be seen most explicitly at the edge of the neckline. Three lower edges or hems appear below the waist. They are finely worked and undercut, and form a rich design, even if they are not strictly '*peplos* logical'. The lowest of the three should be the doubled *kolpos*, but it seems to have a definite hem or edge that it should not have. Above this should normally be the lower edge of the overfold; here it is doubled to two hemlines that closely follow each other. An unseen belt should be imagined high up under the breasts. A short *himation* or shawl is draped over the right shoulder, brought across the chest and hung over the left forearm. Here its folds become a little confused with those of the dress. From behind, it comes over the left shoulder and is wrapped round the upper arm and tucked in between arm and body.

The richly developed, complex drapery seems typical for a Hellenistic female, and this impression of a Greek figure as against a barbarian is shown to be correct by the close relation of the dress scheme of this figure to that of a Hellenistic statue from Thasos, almost certainly a Muse (Pl. VII, 2).<sup>31</sup> This statue wears a heavy *peplos* with the same, unusual, small *himation* brought across the chest from the right shoulder, creating a very similar composition. This is a borrowed drapery scheme, not a deliberate copy, for the Sebasteion figure changes both the pose and some details. It has the weight and columnar folds over the right not the left leg and has a raised right arm. The Thasos statue has a more upright, severe design, while the Sebasteion figure increases the complexity of the overfolds round the waist and has a less compact form over all. Hellenistic draped female statues have a thousand variations of pose and dress schemes, but the basic similarities of the Thasos and Sebasteion figures are enough to establish a connection between them. The composition for the Sebasteion figure was almost certainly not borrowed directly from Thasos; rather it came probably via Rome. The type would have been taken over (whether from the Thasos statue or another) by a designer in imperial service at Rome, looking for figure types of draped females, and there turned from a Muse into a *simulacrum gentis* by various adjustments of pose and attribute; and as such it was later reproduced or adapted at Aphrodisias. This provides interesting illustration of two processes probably quite common in art under the empire: (1) the combing of the Hellenistic repertoire for figures that could be appropriated for imperial subjects—part, as it were, of the 'iconographic economics' of creating imperial art; and (2) the 're-issuing' of these figures in the provinces with new, specifically Roman meaning.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Thasos Museum, inv. 1472: *Guide de Thasos* (1968), 133, no. 32, fig. 71; M. Gernand, *AM* 90 (1975), 3–10, pl. 1. 1–2.

<sup>32</sup> A good example in the mythological sphere is the group of Aeneas' Flight from Troy, a familiar Greek

composition, appropriated by Augustan art, and then 're-issued' to the provinces with Roman or Julio-Claudian meaning (see *LIMC*, s.v. 'Aeneias', nos 59–154 (F. Canciani)). It also appears in the Sebasteion in the south portico: Erim, fig. 118c (detail).

This figure, then, speaks a thoroughly Hellenized language in both drapery and hairstyle and should therefore represent one of the three Greek islands, Crete, Cyprus or Sicily, all of whose bases were found close to this panel at the very east end of the north portico. The *Kypros* we might expect to appear more in the manner of her best-known deity, Aphrodite, than as a heavily swathed, matriarchal figure. *Krete* and *Sikelia*, both Doric, would be equally appropriate. The base for *Sikelia* was found somewhat closer (see Fig. 1 and under *Findspot* above), and for a provisional name she should be preferred.

#### 4. *Ethnos with headband (Bessi?)* (Pl. IV)

Panel preserved in one piece.

H: 172, W: (125), D: 45 cm.

*Missing.* From figure: right forearm, left foot, nose, mouth, part of chin. From panel: large piece at lower left corner and a strip down the right side *c.* 13–14 cm wide (both cut, not broken: see below). Various cracks and faults run through the panel transversely (as can be seen on top), which have caused parts of the background to shear off at the upper corners and left side.

*Findspot.* Found in 1984 after the main excavations of the complex (1979–81), clearly out of context, at the south-east limit of the excavation under the perimeter wall of the dig-house area, that is, at the south end of the broad, raised terrace in front of the imperial temple (IV on plan). The panel was clearly moved from where it fell and re-used for a considerable time as a slab, upside down, since the back is worn smooth with only slight remains of the rough quarry-pick finish that all the panels exhibit. (The back is even smoother than that of the Nero and Agrippina panel which was re-used as a floor slab in one of the north portico rooms: *YRS* 1987, no. 11.) It must have been in connection with its re-use that the right side was roughly cut down to reduce the width. That the panel should be considerably wider at the right is clear from the present off-centre position of the figure and from the truncated right clamp-cutting on top. The large piece missing from the lower left also seems to have been cut away rather than broken.

*Technique.* The top (Fig. 8) was trimmed down with fine point and claw chisels and has two lateral clamp-cuttings, which, alone of those on the *ethnos* reliefs, are set at right-angles to the side. There is no trace of a lewis-hole for lifting; nor was one used. Rather, the ready-carved relief was hoisted by builder's lifting tongs fitted in large rectangular holes cut in the back and front of the panel just to the left of the figure's head. The back hole is roughly square: *c.* 5 × 5 cm and 4 cm deep. The front hole had to be set to the left of the head and is 'angled' to the right towards the back hole. It is 4.50 × 5 cm and 5 cm deep. The holes are large for the ends of iron tongs and may have had wooden 'liners' into which the tongs fitted to distribute their pressure. Once the panel was in position, the holes could have been easily concealed by wooden plugs, plaster or stucco.

*Surface finish.* The relief is very worn all over. No tool marks are visible on the figure or the background. It was clearly close in sculptural technique to the Piroustae (no. 1).

The figure stands with the weight on her right leg, the left leg bent forwards. She looks slightly to her left and held her right arm out from her body, probably with some attribute. She wears a plain, long dress reaching over her feet, belted at the waist and fastened over the shoulders. It is like a *peplos* without *kolpos* or overfold. A long

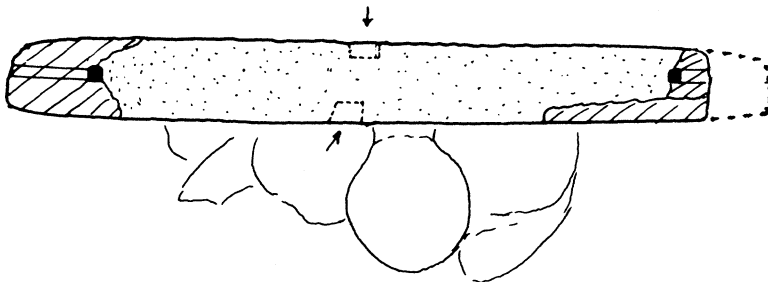


FIG. 8. TOP OF NO. 4, *ETHNOS* WITH HEADBAND

cloak is draped over her head, with a small tuck on top. It falls on to and behind her right shoulder and appears down her right side with two drapery weights at the lower corners. On her left, the cloak is brought over the front of the shoulder and held at the breast by her hand; it then falls in front of and behind her bent arm to near the ground (some of the forward folds are here broken off).

The head was clearly forceful, with an ideal, rather square face and lips slightly parted. The hair is centre-parted and swept back in deeply drilled, wavy strands: a regular ideal hairstyle, only more thick and dynamic than usual. It wears a flat headband tied tightly round the head, horizontally across the forehead just below the hairline. This is a specific manner of wearing a headband, worn exclusively, as far as we know, by Dionysus and members of his following, for example, Maenads and Ariadne.<sup>33</sup> Indeed, the whole head—face, hair and headband—seems to be borrowed from or modelled on Dionysian types. One might compare, for example, the fine Ariadne(?) head type known in marble versions from the Athenian Acropolis and another in Berlin.<sup>34</sup>

On the ground to the left of the figure, is an attribute that is most easily taken as a tall hat. The lower front edge is broken, but at the right it can be seen to have had a convex moulded rim. It is clearly closed at the top where two fillets or streamers are attached and flutter out, one to each side (that on the left is mostly missing). A variety of hats is worn later by eastern and northern 'province' figures, but none precisely parallel to this. No doubt its particular form was intended to be characteristic of this *ethnos*.

The headband and head type refer to Dionysus and are an indication of identity that we can read clearly. The only close association of Dionysus and one of the *ethne* known to have been present in the Sebasteion is with the fierce Thracian tribe of the Bessi. They jealously defended the guardianship of a great sanctuary of Thracian Dionysus in their territory, and the transfer of this area to the rival Odrysians was the occasion for serious revolt. We are told that a revolt in c. 11 B.C., in which the Bessi killed the Roman client king Rhascyporis and invaded as far as the Chersonese, was led by their priest of Dionysus, one Vologaesus, an inspired prophet with supernatural and charismatic powers.<sup>35</sup> Dionysus and his priest were clearly the focal points of Bessian religious and political life. This kind of detail, we may imagine, would have been seized on by the designers of a *simulacra gentium* series as being visually translatable in familiar iconography. It would provide a welcome opportunity to use a specific and recognizable head. For *gentes* without such 'picturesque' character traits, the designers would have to create ideal faces with no particular reference (like that of no. 1)—whatever their distinctions of dress and attributes. The tall hat(?) was no doubt supplied (whether from booty, a drawing or verbal account) and included for added specificity because it was already available.

Since no other of the surviving *ethnos* reliefs has Dionysian iconography and since no other of the *ethne* known to be present from the inscriptions has prominent Dionysian connections, we may provisionally title this panel '*Ethnos* with headband (the Bessi?)'. The panel was clearly moved (see Fig. 1), so that the relative findspots of base and panel are of little help—beyond the fact that both the base of *Ethnos Besson* and the relief come from the east end of the complex.

##### 5. *Ethnos* with belted *peplos* (Pl. V)

Panel preserved in one piece, with one fragment added to the figure (left side of face and head). H: 150, W: 147 (top), D: 41 cm.

*Missing.* Top right corner, both forearms of figure and most of features of face. Head and whole upper body worn. The bottom of the panel with the lower legs of the figure is missing to a height of c. 20 cm. At the lower left it is broken, but at the right and beneath the figure the bottom seems to be worked. The panel may have been joined to its base at this level, the base having the lower legs (the base for the *ethnos Aigyption* may be an example of this, Pl. IX, 1).

<sup>33</sup> A. Krug, *Binden in der griechischen Kunst* (Diss. Mainz, 1968), 114–18.

<sup>34</sup> M. Bieber, *Ancient Copies* (1977), 27, figs. 22–5.

<sup>35</sup> Dio Cass. 51. 25. 5: sanctuary transferred, 29 B.C. Dio Cass. 54. 34. 5–7: Vologaesus, priest of Dionysus, 11 B.C. Cf. R. Syme, *CAH* x. 356–7.

It seems more likely, though, that it was removed and cut down for secondary use after the north portico collapsed (see below).

*Findspot.* Found out of context at the monumental water basin that was built in the late antique period on to the front of the Agora Gate, a second-century columnar façade that closed the east end of the agora (Portico of Tiberius). The basin was built partly of re-used material.

*Technique.* The block is very rough and uneven behind, with some areas of erosion at the back left. At the top, the back of the block has been bevelled off roughly, leaving a top surface rather narrower than usual (Fig. 9). This is finished with a point chisel at the back and has a narrow band cut more smoothly with a flat chisel at the front.

There is interesting evidence of two separate lifting devices. In the back right of the figure's head are the remains of a lewis-hole, and in the front and back of the panel are holes for lifting tongs. The lewis is positioned for lifting the uncarved quarry block and was cut into and made redundant by the carving of the relief figure. Normally, without explicit evidence of other lifting devices, this should show that the relief was carved mainly on the building (as it does on the Okeanos and Hemera reliefs from the upper storey, Pl. VII, 3-4, and, for example, on some of the Gigantomachy panels of the Great Altar at Pergamum). But here, on the contrary, the additional tong-holes show that the relief was fully carved on the ground and then hoisted.

The lewis-hole was of the standard, narrow kind (W: c. 1.50 cm) and is now 8 cm long and 6.50 cm deep. Its depth indicates that the original block was reduced by c. 6 cm in height. The rectangular tong-cuttings measure as follows: front: 5 × 5.50 cm and 4 cm deep; back: 4.50 × 4.50 cm and 5 cm deep. As on the *Ethnos with Headband*, no. 4 above, the front tong-hole is 'angled' towards the back hole, which is positioned closer to the centre of gravity. Although the panel is thicker at the right, the tong-cuttings should ideally have been positioned further to the left, but the head of the figure is in the way. When hoisted the panel must have hung rather awkwardly as it was being set between the columns. One can only speculate why lifting tongs were preferred here to a lewis-cutting (for which there is enough space in the top of the panel). A lewis requires exact cutting and careful operation. The main advantage of lifting tongs, then, was probably speed.

Cuttings for lateral clamps are preserved on the top. That on the right is set obliquely over the corner to the front. The left cutting preserves only the hole for the end of the clamp, angled obliquely like the other. Since there is no trace of a cutting for its shank towards the front, it may have been clamped towards the back.

On the front of the panel, the left side is slightly bevelled back as is often the case. On the right, however, the band that fitted behind the column is, unusually, slightly higher than the adjacent background. Also on the right, at the lower middle, there is a shallow cutting (c. 3 × 4 cm and 1.50 cm deep) of uncertain purpose.

*Surface finish.* The background is mainly clawed, with some areas smoothed with the flat chisel. The figure is worn but was clearly well finished.

The broad, matronly figure stands with the weight on her left leg and head turned in three-quarter view to her right. She wears a *peplos* and a *himation* held behind by her raised right hand and lowered left hand. On the background at the right, at about shoulder-level, a single letter H is inscribed. This is presumably a

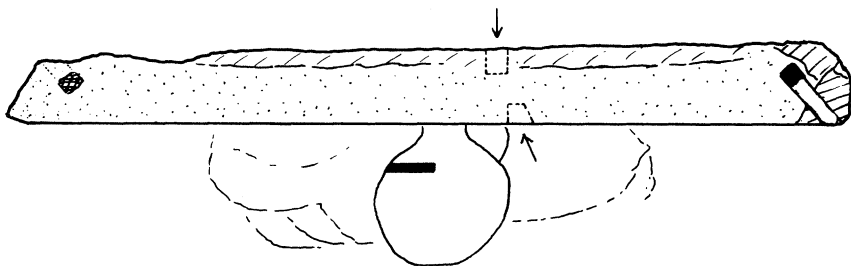


FIG. 9. TOP OF NO. 5, *ETHNOS* WITH BELTED *PEPLOS*

builder's mark, viz. 'no. 8', probably intended to ensure that the relief went in its correct position. The eighth of what series we have no way of knowing. Counting eight intercolumniations from the west end of the north portico, the nearest inscribed base that was found would be *Ethnos Iapodon*, and counting from the east end, the *Ethnos Besson* or *Ethnos Ioudaion* (see Fig. 1). Nothing can be built on these calculations.

The head is worked almost in the round, joined by a bridge of stone to the background. It was constructed, it seems, from a broad-faced, Hellenistic female ideal. The hair was centre-parted and swept back at the sides, leaving the lower parts of the ears visible (rather different from the thick, 'Dionysian' hair of no. 4). It is gathered in the usual bun at the back, seen on the (viewer's) right, just above the tong-cutting. A small piece of hair was separately added (or repaired) over the left ear to a prepared oval surface (now very worn) with a small, deep, central dowel-hole (0.60 cm in diameter, 2.50 cm deep).

The thick dress is fastened over both shoulders as is normal for a classical *peplos* and has a long overfold at the front reaching to the upper thighs. The *kolpos* is omitted, as it may be in this arrangement. The belt is worn over the overfold, high at the waist. This is the manner in which the *peplos* is worn by some classical Athenas (for example, the Athena Parthenos).<sup>36</sup>

The *himation* was held up over the right shoulder, hung diagonally across the back, and wrapped round the wrist of the missing left forearm. At both sides it fell to calf level or beyond. There are drapery weights on the (viewer's) left side at the upper corners. There is a slight drapery confusion under the right arm where a swag of cloth that belongs to the *peplos* appears to join the *himation* below.

Generally, the drapery scheme is well varied, and though worn and damaged, the columnar folds over the left leg, for example, are deeply drilled and well modelled. The figure as a whole is not directly related to any known type. One of the Hadrianeum reliefs<sup>37</sup> has a similar drapery scheme and bulky, matronly effect; its stance and head position are also similar, but its arms and *himation* are differently composed—its arms are crossed in front of the waist, in the semi-captive posture. Our figure has purely Greek dress and hairstyle and no captive reference. This could suggest that she is one of the Greek islands, but we should allow space and iconography for other, more 'civilized' *ethne* and for other Hellenic places.

#### 6. Head of an *ethnos* (Pl. VI, VII, 1)

Head broken from a panel behind, through the middle of the neck. Nose and upper lip broken off; right eyebrow and hair at right temple damaged. H: 31, head H: 25 cm.

*Findspot.* Found just in front of the stylobate at Room 12 of north portico (marked VI on plan, Fig. 1). The nearest inscribed bases were those of the Andizeti and Dardani to the east and the Iapodes to the west.

*Technique and surface.* The rectangular cutting seen at the back of the head in profile (Pl. VII, 1) is the remains of a lewis-hole. The lewis was originally positioned at the line of the background and was made redundant by the carving of the head. We cannot therefore assume that the panel was carved on the building, because a second lewis or tongs might have been used (as in no. 5).

The back and top are finished with a point chisel. The face is roughly rasped. The mouth and main hair channels were deeply drilled with a wide bit.

Iconography, scale, and findspot assure this head is from one of the *ethnos* reliefs. It has several features designed to distinguish it as a 'barbarian' *ethnos*. Most obvious is the thick, wild hair: roughly centre-parted and swept back, untied behind and covering most of the ears, as never for a respectable Graeco-Roman female. The face is strong and ideal, with an expression of pathos and vigour given by the widely parted

<sup>36</sup> N. Leipen, *Athena Parthenos: A Reconstruction* (1971). Cf. also the 'Artemis of Ariccia' type: J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Classical Period* (1985), fig. 198.

<sup>37</sup> Conservatori: Bienkowski, no. 41, fig. 69; Toynbee, 156, pl. 34. 3; Pais, no. 12.

lips. A non-Greek or barbarian element has been introduced by the use of some masculine ideal traits: broad, squarish face and brow, widely spaced eyes, heavy chin and thick neck. The 'barbarian' nature of the hair and pathos of the open mouth are made clear by comparing the exaggerated use of the same formulae for the small female prisoner crouching at the bottom of a trophy in one of the south portico reliefs (*JRS* 1987, no. 5). Since it is from a major independent figure, the expression of the *ethnos* head is more subtle, more differentiated. The head of one of the Hadrianeum reliefs is similar in hairstyle and general effect and provides a closer, more proper comparison.<sup>38</sup>

Although this head cannot be identified with any of the *ethne* precisely, its iconography and findspot should allow us to imagine the representation of *ethne* like the Andizeti and Dardani.

#### IV. THE *ETHNE* AND OTHER PEOPLES AND PLACES IN ART

Personifications of peoples and places have a long history in Greek and Roman art. To place the Sebasteion *ethne* in their proper context we need to look at both Hellenistic and Roman figures. I shall argue that these were essentially separate traditions and that the Sebasteion group belongs in the Roman series.

The Hellenistic world had created and extensively employed a great number of political and geographical personifications in art.<sup>39</sup> They might be similar in form to the Roman series that came after them, but were conceptually different. The Hellenistic figures tended to represent either single cities or very large geographical areas and concepts, and were not used for the visual enumeration of victories. An interesting example of a Hellenistic-cities group shows well some of the similarities and differences. In the great procession of Ptolemy II at Alexandria, a series of city personifications was paraded, representing not conquests but cities of the Islands and Asia freed from Persian rule (that is, by Alexander) and other cities of Ionia.<sup>40</sup> They are conceived as willing participants in the Ptolemaic *oikoumene*, grandly deemed co-extensive with Alexander's empire. While single cities were common as personifications, this kind of extended series was probably rare.<sup>41</sup> For representing larger areas, Hellenistic art preferred to create broader, more sweeping geographical allegories.<sup>42</sup>

To represent victory and territorial expansion, Hellenistic art used rather different methods. Battle pictures, like that preserved in the Alexander Mosaic, could give condensed, intensified accounts of single crucial moments in a war.<sup>43</sup> Appropriate mythological subjects, like the Gigantomachy at Pergamon, could present an imprecise but greatly elevated allegorical account of royal deeds.<sup>44</sup> The Attalids also commemorated their victories over the various *ethne* of Gauls with monuments that combined inscribed details of the tribes defeated with (we think we know) generic battle groups showing the heroic enemy.<sup>45</sup> Hellenistic art preferred emblematic representations, like the Gallic groups, rather than a multiplication of images showing

<sup>38</sup> Conservatori: Bienkowski, no. 44, fig. 57; Toynbee, 156, pl. 34. 5; Pais, no. 14.

<sup>39</sup> Toynbee, 7–12; F. W. Hamdorf, *Griechische Kultpersonifikationen der vorhellenistischen Zeit* (1964), 25–30, 90–3; M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (1975), index, s.v. 'personifications of cities ... or districts'. Much useful information in P. Gardner, 'Cities and Countries in Ancient Art', *JHS* 9 (1889), 47 ff.

<sup>40</sup> Athenaeus 5. 201d–e: '(They) wore very rich robes and ornaments and were named after cities, some from Ionia, while all the rest were Greek cities which occupied Asia and the islands and had been under Persian rule. They all wore gold crowns'. Cf. E. E. Rice, *The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (1983), 108–9.

<sup>41</sup> The statue group of the various cities which claimed to be the birthplace of Homer, set up in Ptolemy IV's temple of Homer in Alexandria, was a

curiosity: Aelian, *VH* 13. 21. For the (unlikely?) possibility that a group of c. 40 draped females found on the terrace of the Great Altar at Pergamon might represent cities, see H. Winter, *Altertümer von Pergamon* VII. 1 (1908), 74–6.

<sup>42</sup> Some examples: (1) Hellas, statue by Euphranor: Pliny, *NH* 34. 78; (2) Hellas and Asia, on Apulian crater (Naples 3253): *EAA* I. 709, fig. 902; (3) Aetolia, on coins of third century B.C.: Toynbee, 7, pl. 9. 1; (4) Oikoumene, on Archelaus relief (second century B.C.): Toynbee, pl. 21. 2; (5) Macedonia and Asia, see below, n. 46.

<sup>43</sup> B. Andreae, *Das Alexandermosaik aus Pompeji* (1977).

<sup>44</sup> Recently: M. Pfanner, *AA* (1979), 46–7; J. J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (1986), 97–110.

<sup>45</sup> E. Kunzl, *Die Kelten des Epigonos von Pergamon* (1971); R. Wenning, *Die Galateranatheme Attalos I* (1978); Pollitt (n. 44), 83–97.

the various parts. Thus we have the Ludovisi group of a Gallic chieftain and his wife, not the *ethne* of the Tolistoagii, Tectosages and Trocmi. Art could give a poetic synthesis of events; inscriptions (or the viewer's knowledge) could supply specific details. Our finest representation of this kind, a large painting known in a copy from Boscoreale, is so elliptical that it has not always been properly recognized for what it is—a powerfully understated allegory of the Macedonian conquest of Asia.<sup>46</sup>

In art under the empire, many of these modes of representation and personification endured. What was new was added to an expanding repertoire. Normal Hellenistic-style city personifications continued to be employed where appropriate.<sup>47</sup> It was in the sphere of victory art—art showing conquest and war—that Rome added most. Roman peoples and places are at first sight a direct continuation of the Hellenistic city personifications, but really derive from another context, namely Roman triumphal art. They are a part or an extension of a much larger body of Roman representations of foreign peoples that grew, in the first place, out of the Roman triumph. Conquered foreigners were paraded in chains and typical examples were concretized in art, in reliefs or statues, often to decorate arches.<sup>48</sup> Trajan's Dacians stand at the end of a long tradition and are unusual only in quantity and quality (parts of *c.* forty-five survive).<sup>49</sup> Female versions of such figures were then made to personify whole conquered peoples—*nationes captae* or *gentes devictae*—which appear in a considerable variety of forms and contexts.<sup>50</sup> These conquered personifications were made by combining the 'typical prisoner' figures with forms and style borrowed from the large Hellenistic repertoire of draped women.

The kind of peoples and places seen in the Sebasteion are an extension and an adjustment of the *gentes devictae*. First, they are multiplied because they are concerned with much more than just one campaign or triumph—they sum up the victories and frontier advances of a whole reign. Second, although they encompass conquest and victory, they also suggest peaceful incorporation. The Sebasteion provides the earliest such series that survives. It was clearly not the first. Study of the names, the figures and the circumstances, we have seen, makes it almost inevitable that a Roman series provided inspiration and models. Before discussing them, we may simply list the relevant Roman monuments we know of and the evidence for them.

### 1. *Pompey's theatre*

Fourteen *nationes*, by a sculptor Coponius: Pliny, *NH* 36. 41; Suet., *Nero* 46.

### 2. *Porticus ad Nationes*

*Simulacra* of 'all the *gentes*', set up by Augustus: Servius, *Ad Aen.* 8. 721; Pliny, *NH* 36. 39.

<sup>46</sup> First properly interpreted thus by M. Robertson, *JRS* 45 (1955), 58–67. Cf. K. Fittschen, in B. Andreae, H. Kyrieleis (eds), *Neue Forschungen in Pompeji* (1975), 93–100, with survey of literature, p. 100.

<sup>47</sup> Some examples: (1) Puteoli base with fourteen cities of Asia aided by Tiberius: C. C. Vermeule, *Studies B. L. Trell* (1981), 85–101; (2) two cities on a fragmentary Claudian(?) historical frieze (frs C and D): H. P. Laubscher, *Arcus Novus und Arcus Claudii: Zwei Triumphbögen an der Via Lata in Rom* (1976), 80, 91, pls 15–16; (3) frieze of *c.* twenty cities(?) on the Antonine altar at Ephesus: W. Oberleitner, *Funde aus Ephesos und Samothrake* (1978), 72–3, 83–7; (4) bronze statues of Athens' 'colonies' in the Olympieion at Athens (under Hadrian): Paus. 1. 18. 6. The city personification type, with mural crown, was used later for the busts of provinces on the mosaic from Biregik (near Zeugma on the Euphrates; now in Berlin); it included Britannia, Gallia, Hispania, Macedonia, Rhaetia: Jatta (n. 1), 9–28; Toynbee, pl. 25. 3, 26. 2, 28. 2.

<sup>48</sup> Examples: (1) Glanum: H. Schoppa, *Die Kunst der Römerzeit in Gallien, Germanien und Britannien*

(1957), pls 9–10; (2) Carpentras: *ibid.* pls 12–13; (3) Tripoli: E. Angelicoussis, *RM* 91 (1984), 186, pl. 74. 2.

<sup>49</sup> M. Waelkens, *AJA* 89 (1985), 645–8.

<sup>50</sup> Examples: (1) two seated figures on cuirass of Prima Porta Augustus statue: Toynbee, pls 25. 2 and 26. 3; (2) narrative group of seven figures (lead by Mars) on Boscoreale cup: Toynbee, pl. 22. 4; A. L. Kuttner, *The Boscoreale Cups of Augustus* (Diss. Berkeley, 1987), 104–37; (3) two figures on fragmentary Claudian(?) historical frieze (fr. B): H. P. Laubscher, *Arcus Novus und Arcus Claudii* (1976), 80, 91–3, pl. 14; (4) 'Thusnelda' statue in the Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence: Bienkowski, no. 17, fig. 17a; (5) seated 'Dacia' on keystone from an arch, Conservatori: Toynbee, pl. 25. 1; (6) gilded statues on arch for Germanicus in Rome, voted in A.D. 19, recorded in *Tabula Siarensis*: *ZPE* 55 (1984), 58, fr. 1, ll. 9–11: 'ianus marmoreus ... cum signis devictarum gentium in[auratis ...]'; (7) provincial relief, from Lydia, with Germania (inscribed) and rider: Toynbee, pl. 25. 4, Pais, 122–5; (8) Germania (labelled) on handle of Arretine pot: Toynbee, pl. 26. 1.

3. *Ara Pacis* (dedicated 9 B.C.)

Relief fragments of small ethnic figures, probably from the inner altar: H. Kähler, *JdI* 69 (1954), 89–100.

4. *Forum Augusti*

*Tituli* of 'Spain and the other *gentes*': Velleius 2. 39. 2.

5. *Augustus' funeral* (A.D. 14)

Images of 'all the *ethne* acquired by Augustus', carried in procession: Dio Cass. 56. 34. 2; Tacitus 1. 8. 4.

Pompey's monument of fourteen *nationes* was the only precursor of the Augustan series that we know of. From Pliny we learn its location, that the figures were of marble, and by a sculptor otherwise unknown.<sup>51</sup> Suetonius reports that, amid other portents of his end, Nero dreamt that 'he was surrounded and prevented from moving by the *simulacra gentium* dedicated in Pompey's theatre'.<sup>52</sup> This illustrates their prominence and familiarity as a monument. The figures no doubt represented Pompey's major conquests and additions to the empire. Iconographically, we may only suppose that they fell within the normal bracket of *gentes devictae*.<sup>53</sup>

The second monument, in the Porticus ad Nationes, is the most important for our concerns. Servius (quoted above, p. 50) says simply that Augustus placed 'images of all the peoples' ('*simulacra omnium gentium*') in a portico that he had made and which was called (after them) 'ad Nationes'. Pliny adds our only other mention of the Porticus ad Nationes (to localize a disgraceful statue of Melkart that had formerly received annual human sacrifices).<sup>54</sup> We have no further information on the portico, where it was located, and whether it was a separate Augustan building or part of another complex.<sup>55</sup>

The passage of Servius comments on the procession of future conquered peoples depicted on Aeneas' shield (*Aen.* 8. 720–8). Two aspects of Virgil's description are relevant in this context. First, his emphasis on distinctive variety of appearance: 'incedunt victae longo ordine gentes, / quam variae linguis, habitu tam vestis et armis'. Second, his selection of names is designed to stress the extremities of the empire. He includes: Nomads and Africans, Lelegae (Thessaly), Carae (island pirates), Geloni and Dahae (Scythia), Moroni (remotest coastal Gaul: 'extremi hominum'), and the frontier rivers Euphrates, Rhine and Araxes (Armenia). There is little specific about the Augustan group that we can safely deduce from Virgil's *gentes*. The extent of imperial gains, east to west, they probably had in common. We do not need to suppose from Servius' use of the pluperfect, 'conlocaverat', that Augustus had dedicated this group by the time Virgil wrote (before 19 B.C.). Virgil here, as elsewhere ('parcere subiectis et debellare superbos', *Aen.* 6. 853), reflects the known Augustan concern with conquest and imperial expansion, for which Servius finds supporting evidence in the Porticus ad Nationes.

From Servius' use of *simulacrum* (likeness) we may conclude that the figures were intended to be visually distinct. Although the word does not exclude reliefs and paintings, statues would be most likely.<sup>56</sup> From *omnes gentes* we may say that the series was extensive. This monument is the one most likely to stand behind the Sebasteion group.

Third, the altar frieze of the Ara Pacis. This does not constitute a major *gentes* monument, like those in Pompey's theatre or the Porticus ad Nationes. A series of small ethnic personifications in low relief was a subsidiary part of the decoration of the

<sup>51</sup> Pliny, *NH* 36. 41: '... a Coponio quattuordecim nationes, quae sunt circa Pompeium ...' (of marble, because in *NH* 36).

<sup>52</sup> Suet., *Nero*, 46: '... a simulacris gentium ad Pompeii theatrum dedicatarum circumiri arcerique progressu'.

<sup>53</sup> Bienkowski, 14–16, argued for large scale and ethnic, 'barbarian' dress because Nero was frightened by them.

<sup>54</sup> Pliny, *NH* 36. 39: 'inhonorus est nec in templo ullo Hercules, ad quem Poeni omnibus annis humana sacrificaverant victima, humi stans ante aditum porticus ad nationes'.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. S. B. Platner, T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (1929), 426, s.v. Porticus ad Nationes.

<sup>56</sup> *OLD*, s.v. *simulacrum*; used for statues, for example, by Suetonius, n. 52.



monument. Today it is little known or discussed due to its very fragmentary preservation. The fragments were assembled and identified as *gentes* by Kähler. He attributed them, surely correctly, to the main part of the inner altar, that is, the altar proper, below the better-known and much smaller processional frieze decorating the altar's crowning screen. From the scales of the figures, Kähler inferred two friezes of different heights and put the larger one (H: c. 90 cm) below the smaller one (H: c. 62.5 cm). The remains are so fragmentary that their interpretation as personified *gentes* has often been dismissed or ignored.<sup>57</sup> The five fragments of draped females from the larger frieze indeed allow no firm conclusion about its subject. However, three of the eleven fragments of the smaller frieze show 'barbarian' female figures and make their interpretation as *gentes* virtually certain.<sup>58</sup> These and the other draped figures (there were at least eight) were clearly of the same general kind as the Hadrianeum and Sebasteion reliefs, that is, single, standing, draped females.<sup>59</sup> The Ara Pacis figures seem to be turned to left and right in three-quarter or profile views, no doubt because they were part of a continuous frieze in which some interrelation of the figures was desirable.<sup>60</sup> It is not cogent to argue that the figures cannot be *gentes* because conquered peoples would be inappropriate to an altar of peace. Rather the inclusion of a series of *gentes* shows how these representations could be taken as combining both conquest and pacific ideas. They represented the peaceful incorporation of new conquests. New additions to the empire and the establishment of a peaceful order were quite consonant Augustan ideas.

Fourth, the Forum of Augustus. The context of Velleius' notice of *tituli gentium* in the Forum Augusti is both rhetorical and allusive. In the middle of his narrative of Pompey, he breaks off to give a compressed account of the 'peoples and nations that were reduced to provinces' by Rome (2. 38. 1). Between listing Galatia, Cilicia and Bithynia (188, 78, 74 B.C.) and Tiberius' gains in Illyria, Dalmatia and the north, he describes Augustus' provincial acquisitions as follows: 'Besides Spain and the other *gentes* whose *tituli* adorn his forum, Augustus made Egypt tributary, thereby contributing nearly as much to the treasury as his father did from Gaul'.<sup>61</sup> *Titulus* is the regular word for inscription and can refer to inscribed statue bases, and so might by extension refer to the statues standing on them as well.<sup>62</sup> But it is not necessary or warranted by the context in Velleius to take *tituli* as implying statues. The word is more naturally taken here simply as 'inscribed names'. Indeed, a series of *gentes* statues in the Forum Augusti is unlikely for three reasons. First, it would be a duplicate of that in the Porticus ad Nationes. Second, we know there was in the Forum Augusti an extensive statuary programme of military heroes of the Republic,<sup>63</sup> which would create potential problems of space and perhaps appropriateness for an Augustan *gentes* series. Third, we have quite a lot of evidence on the Forum Augusti and could reasonably have expected to hear of such a monument.<sup>64</sup> Little (beyond Spain, Egypt and the obvious) can be deduced from Velleius about what names were included in the Forum. He purports to be listing specifically those *gentes* reduced to Roman provinces, but there is no guarantee from the context that

<sup>57</sup> Included but misinterpreted in the basic publication by G. Moretti, *Ara Pacis Augustae* (1948), 83-9, 188-90, 282-4, figs. 70-84. Not discussed by Toynbee, 'The Ara Pacis Reconsidered', *Proc. Brit. Acad.* 39 (1953), 67-95, or E. Simon, *Ara Pacis Augustae* (1967). Recently: M. Torelli, *Structure and Typology of Roman Historical Reliefs* (1982), 35-6, 'Kähler's conjecture that at least one (of the friezes) represented the conquered northern provinces seems to me if not unlikely (considered the peaceful character of the altar), at least unproven'; E. La Rocca, *Ara Pacis Augustae* (1983), 52, '... non certo personificazioni di Provincie o di popoli vinti in quanto non sarebbe consono all'ideologia dell'ara'. The fragments are re-published by R. de Angelis Bertolotti, *RM* 92 (1985), 221-34.

<sup>58</sup> (1) Bare-breasted Amazonian figure, with axe, therefore not Roma-Virtus: Kähler, *JdI* 69 (1954), 98, no. 2, fig. 20. (2) Female(?) figure in calf-length, fringed dress and fringed cloak, holding spear: *ibid.*,

no. 7, fig. 25. (3) Fragment with ankle and foot wearing soft Amazonian boot and trousers: *ibid.*, no. 11, fig. 29. For the Amazonian axe=barbarian axe, cf. Horace, *Odes* 4. 4. 20: 'Amazonia securi' of the Alpine Vindelici.

<sup>59</sup> There are, however, in the surviving fragments, no exact parallels (*viz.* repeated figure types) with the Hadrianeum reliefs, as Kähler wanted to see, nor with the Sebasteion *ethne* figures.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. the interaction of the two *gentes* on the Claudian(?) state relief, above n. 50, no. 3.

<sup>61</sup> Velleius 2. 39. 2: 'Divus Augustus, praeter Hispanias aliasque gentes, quarum titulis forum eius praenitet, paene idem facto Aegyptio stipendaria, quantum pater eius Galliis, in aerarium reditus contulit'.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. *OLD*, s.v. *titulus*.

<sup>63</sup> G. Lugli, *Fontes ad Topographiam Veteris Urbis Romae pertinentes VI* (1965), 19, nos 117-43; cf. P. Zanker, *Forum Augustum* (1968), 14-16.

<sup>64</sup> Collected by Lugli (n. 63), 15-37, nos 80-208.

this was also the concern of the Forum names. His evidence, however, is important because it strongly suggests the existence of some kind of official Augustan list of conquests and additions to the empire.

Finally, the group carried in Augustus' funeral procession in A.D. 14. This is of great interest. Tacitus and Dio here complement each other. Dio says that the procession included an *eikon* of Pompey and '(eikones of) all the *ethne* that he (Augustus) had acquired (viz. added to the empire), each represented individually with some local characteristic'.<sup>65</sup> Tacitus records the most striking honours voted by the Senate for Augustus' funeral as follows: 'the procession was to be conducted through the Porta Triumphalis ... (and) the titles of the laws passed and the names of the nations conquered by him were to be carried in front'.<sup>66</sup> Tacitus' omission of the images of the *gentes* is not significant. We need only suppose subsequent adjustments of the funeral arrangements. Augustus had left instructions for the conduct of his funeral (Suet., *Aug.* 101), but they were clearly supplemented.<sup>67</sup> Procession through the Porta Triumphalis, recorded by Tacitus, makes explicit the triumphal overtone lent to the funeral by the carrying of the *gentes victae*. *Gentes* represented by individually characterized images appear in a later imperial funeral (of Pertinax) recorded by Dio: 'there followed all the subject *ethne* attired in native dress, represented by bronze *eikones*'.<sup>68</sup> This adds the important logistical fact that figures carried in such processions could be bronze statues.

From this variety of evidence for the representation of *gentes* of the empire in Augustan Rome, we may hypothesize the relation of the different groups to each other and to the Aphrodisias group. Pompey's *nationes* were a separate, proto-imperial monument; we are concerned with the other four.

An official or semi-official list of imperial acquisitions was no doubt maintained in Augustan Rome. This is reflected in Virgil's list of future conquests on Aeneas' shield, and all or parts of an early list were probably illustrated on a small frieze of the Ara Pacis' inner altar. Sometime later in Augustus' reign we have to imagine the drawing up of a 'final' list of names of peoples and places that represented victories, additions and 'recoveries' for the empire, perhaps with emphasis on what Augustus was particularly proud of, namely, the 'extension of the territory of all those provinces of the Roman people on whose borders lay *gentes* not subject to our empire' (*RG* 26. 1). Whether this full list was ever published does not matter for us. Some or all of it was inscribed in the Forum Augusti, and it must also have formed the basis for the compressed account and selection of names in the *Res Gestae*, chs. 26–33. Numbers of those included in such a list we can only guess. The Alpine victories alone generated forty-six names to inscribe at La Turbie, and the Gauls were represented by sixty *ethne* at the Lugdunum altar of Augustus.<sup>69</sup> This gives some idea of the available quantity of names—perhaps in the low hundreds. (Dio and Strabo, recording only relatively major peoples conquered, could supply us with over fifty.<sup>70</sup>) The figures 'of all the *gentes*' in the Porticus ad Nationes must have represented highlights from the list, picked perhaps with emphasis on Augustus' victories. The selection may have been based on, or perhaps identical with, that inscribed in the Forum Augusti.

<sup>65</sup> Dio Cass. 56. 34. 3: ... τὰ τε ἔθνη πάνθ' ὅσα προσεκτήσατο, ἐπιχωρίως σφισιν ὡς ἕκαστα ἀπηρεασμένα ἐπέμφθη.

<sup>66</sup> Tac., *Ann.* 1. 8. 4: '... ut porta triumphali ducetur funus Gallus Asinius, ut legum latorum tituli, victarum ab eo gentium vocabula anteferrentur L. Arruntius censuere'.

<sup>67</sup> On imperial funerals: S. R. F. Price, in D. Cannadine, S. Price (eds), *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremony in Traditional Societies* (1987), 56–105; also J. Arce, *Funus Imperatorum: los funerales de los emperadores romanos* (1988) (*non vidi*).

<sup>68</sup> Dio Cass. 75. 4. 5: καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰ ἔθνη πάντα τὰ ὑπήκοα ἐν εἰκόσι χαλκαῖς, ἐπιχωρίως σφισιν ἐσταλμένα ...

<sup>69</sup> La Turbie: above n. 15. Lugdunum: Strabo 4. 192; cf. *CIL* XIII, pp. 227–30.

<sup>70</sup> For example, in Dio Cassius 51–6, there are over forty peoples recorded explicitly as Augustan victories, conquests or acquisitions. In the following list, the eight marked with an asterisk are recorded in the Sebasteion (a few of the names subsume smaller peoples also listed): Egyptians\*, Cantabri, Vaccae, Astures, Pannonians, Dalmatians, Iapydes\*, Morini, Suebi, Dacians\*, Bastarnae, Moesians, Maedi, Getae, Artacii, Triballi, Dardani\* (Bk 51); Salassi, Arabians\* (Bk 53); Ethiopians(\*?), Camunni, Venni, Norici, Dentheleti, Scordisci, Bessi\*, Sarmatians, Sugambri, Usipetes, Tencteri, Rhaeti\*, Comati (Ligurians), Bosphorans\*, Frisians, Chauici, Cherusci, Chatti (Bk 54); Armenians, Hermunduri, Isaurians, Gaetulians, Breucians (Bk 55).

Propaganda or advertisement of this kind is more successful if it is consistent between the different contexts and formats in which it appears.<sup>71</sup>

The set of *gentes* carried in Augustus' funeral procession in A.D. 14 would have been either based on or identical with that in the Porticus ad Nationes. There would have been neither time for, nor purpose in, devising a new series. Since the account of Pertinax' funeral shows that bronze statues could be carried in such a procession, it would be the most economical solution to suppose that the Porticus ad Nationes series was bronze and that it was used for Augustus' funeral. Two substantial Augustan series of this kind would be unlikely. Dio states explicitly that the funeral series represented Augustus' additions to the empire.

The combination of bizarre subjects, stylistic homogeneity, and careful iconographic differentiation, we have seen, shows that the Sebasteion series must have been borrowed, and the only real possibility is from Rome. A direct connection between the various monuments in Rome, and between them and Aphrodisias, is supported by the significant overlap between the areas covered by the Sebasteion *ethne* and by Augustus in the *Res Gestae*.<sup>72</sup> We may imagine that Menander or his brother Eusebes or his sister-in-law Attalis Apphion, who together paid for the north portico, on a visit to Rome saw the Augustan series in the Porticus ad Nationes (or perhaps at the funeral) and that they took back to Aphrodisias drawings made for them by the draughtsmen from a copyist's workshop in Rome. Conceivably Menander and Eusebes had access to the original designs for the group, which they had copied. Alternatively, they could have sent a draughtsman from Aphrodisias to make the drawings. The basis of their selection of a possible fifty from the Augustan group we cannot guess, but it was probably not familiarity. It can probably be assumed that their selection was representative. We may guess also that they were careful to keep the right name with the right design. The preserved numbering of some of the bases and panels (like the Andizeti base, p. 55, and panel no. 5) and the inscribed panel of the Piroustae (no. 1) attest a concern for accuracy of this kind.

We know of no further province/people monuments at Rome between Augustus and Hadrian.<sup>73</sup> Hadrian had no proper conquests and turned from the imperial idea of Augustus and all his predecessors, for whom further conquest was always a desirable possibility or a duty postponed, to a policy of permanent fixed frontiers. His 'province' coin series had a clearly civilian meaning, corresponding to the military meaning of the *exercitus* coin series that celebrated the provincial units of the army. Together the different types of this 'province' and army series add up (nearly) to a kind of systematic, oecumenical representation of the empire.<sup>74</sup> The 'province' or 'civilian' issues commemorate twenty-five countries and cities, of which five places overlap with the Sebasteion (Egypt, Arabia, Dacia, Judaea, Sicily), but do not help with the iconography of any of its extant panels. For the most part Hadrian's units are much bigger than the Augustan *ethne*; many are Roman provinces or more than one province combined: thus Hispania alone, not the separate Spanish provinces, and certainly not the Callaeci. Although civilian or oecumenical in meaning, these province representations are still not 'equal' in iconography. This is partly due to the need for distinguishing variety, partly to 'graded' levels of 'civilization'.<sup>75</sup> Although they provide no identical figure types to identify our *ethne*, the coins are useful in

<sup>71</sup> For the interconnections between the various representations of Augustan myth-history in art, see now P. Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder* (1987), chs 3-5.

<sup>72</sup> Listed in n. 18: eight certainly, and the Ethiopians. On the *Res Gestae* and the Augustan monuments, see now C. Nicolet, *L'Inventaire du monde: géographie et politique aux origines de l'Empire romain* (1988), 27-68, at 66-8 on the Sebasteion.

<sup>73</sup> None of the monuments cited above, n. 50, constituted an independent series of peoples or provinces; they were single figures or parts of other compositions. For individual conquered provinces on the coinage between Augustus and Hadrian, see Toynbee, 22,

pls 9-17. The figures become regularly the abstract place rather than the people, e.g., Judaea under Vespasian, Arabia under Trajan. A major provinces monument after Hadrian has been doubtfully deduced from [P. Victor], *De Regionibus Romae*, Rubric Reg. ix: 'Basilica Antoniniana ubi est provinciarum memoria'; cf. Bienkowski, 20-2, discussing this and another doubtful provinces monument of the early fourth century.

<sup>74</sup> Excellent account of both 'province' and 'army' series in P. L. Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts* II (1953), 139-66. 'Province' series: Toynbee, ch. 3.

<sup>75</sup> Strack (n. 74) stressed graded levels of pacification.

giving us a sense of the detailed paraphernalia that these figures could deploy for individual characterization (as stressed by both Virgil and Dio). Most of the Sebasteion *ethne* carried extensive attributes now missing.

The only surviving series in sculpture comparable to the Sebasteion group is the group of reliefs made almost certainly in the temple of Hadrian in the Campus Martius.<sup>76</sup> In spite of more than a century intervening and the change from Augustan ideology of imperial expansion to Hadrian's idea of limited empire, the two series are surprisingly similar, not in common figure types but in general character or iconographic conception. The Hadrianeum reliefs show frontal, standing, draped women, like the Sebasteion figures, well varied by pose, dress, and attributes. Like the Sebasteion *ethne*, they also have little or no explicit 'captive' iconography.<sup>77</sup> Thus, unsurprisingly, they are not *gentes devictae*. However, a military aspect, already inherent in such lines of figures, is made explicit in the trophy-like ensembles of foreign arms in low relief featured between the personifications.<sup>78</sup> Their distinguishing iconography and grades of 'civilization', from fully 'classical' women to bare-breasted Amazonian types, span a considerably wider range than the Sebasteion figures, but this may be only because we have more of them.<sup>79</sup> The majority, as in the Sebasteion, are fully draped figures. Although we have the coin series to guide us for who should be present, the naming of almost none of the reliefs has achieved unanimous agreement.<sup>80</sup>

The underlying similarity between the Sebasteion and Hadrianeum reliefs might have surprised Jocelyn Toynbee. In her great work on the Hadrianic province series, she hypothesized that under the late Republic and the early empire a more 'realistic' and more Roman mode of province personifications prevailed—one based on real prisoners in native dress—and that an 'ideal' mode of province representation, modelled on classical and Hellenistic personifications, was then revived under Hadrian, with the implication that this better expressed his peaceful, oecumenical idea.<sup>81</sup> That is, with Hadrian, barbarians became Graeco-Romans. The new evidence of the Sebasteion *ethne* shows rather that broadly the same mode, mainly classical but with some real-looking, distinguishing characteristics, was used from Augustus to Hadrian. Hadrian's provinces were not reviving a classical/Hellenistic mode of personification, rather they were continuing to employ an Augustan one.

Since Toynbee we have grown accustomed to view the Hadrianic province series as the 'correct' visual portrayal of Hadrian's imperial idea. Our rather similar earlier series might thus seem 'wrong' or ill-suited to portray the very different imperial idea behind it. But too much should not be made of either the formal similarities or differences of ideology between the two monuments. Personifications like these could be deliberately imprecise. In their iconography, taken on its own, an explicit statement of status can be avoided or left open. The form of the monument and the names inscribed were enough to suggest a victory monument, if desired. For the Augustan series, the selection of peoples clearly suggests a concern (but not an exclusive one) to enumerate victories. The Hadrianic selection, on the other hand,

<sup>76</sup> A total of twenty-two reliefs have been recovered from the Piazza di Pietra which bounds the north side of the temple and are now in Naples, Rome, the Vatican, or lost. A fragment found closely associated with the temple in 1928 affirms their attribution to the building (Pais, 33 n. 1). Current dogma that the reliefs decorated the inside of the cella is surely wrong, for two reasons: (1) the proportions of the internal order would be too low (as in Passerelli, 130, fig. 8); and (2) there are too many reliefs for the number of internal columns that can be restored in the plan. For the temple: V. Passerelli, 'Rilievo e studio di restituzione dell'Hadrianeum', in *Atti del III Convegno Nazionale di Storia dell'Architettura* (1938), 123–30; L. Cozza (ed.), *Tempio di Adriano* (1982). For the reliefs: H. Lucas, *JdI* 15 (1900), 1–42; Bienkowski, 60–86; Toynbee, 152–9; Pais, 33–81.

<sup>77</sup> Two or three figures crossed their arms in front, like our no. 2: Toynbee, pl. 34. 2 (Conservatori), pl. 36. 1 (Farnese), and pl. 36. 4 (Doria Pamfili).

<sup>78</sup> Nine survive: Lucas, *JdI* 15 (1900), 17–21; Pais, 81–95.

<sup>79</sup> A fragment of a relief, almost certainly from the Sebasteion (a stray find), represents a standing frontal figure with boots, bare legs and calf-length cloak. Only the feet and lower legs are preserved. The dimensions are unusual, but it may nonetheless be from the *ethne* series.

<sup>80</sup> Bienkowski, 60–86, reviewed critically by Toynbee, 152–9; Pais, 33–81, 120–7, finds little to add. Several small figures on a fragmentary lid of a sarcophagus (in the Conservatori) have been interpreted as versions of the Hadrianeum figures but do not help identification: D. Mustilli, *Il Museo Mussolini* (1939), 160, no. 6, pl. 101 (I thank A. Kuttner for this reference).

<sup>81</sup> Toynbee, 3–23.

could only be a visual catalogue of *cura imperii*. In the Augustan group, the iconography can suggest other, 'non-conquest' aspects. For the Hadrianeum series the form of the monument and the trophy reliefs inject a victory aspect where none existed. Both monuments reflect a continuing ambivalence in Roman thinking about the nature of their empire. Was it a series of conquests or a family of equal partners? Both, they liked to think.

The preceding paragraphs have used the new reliefs for the evidence they give about the representation of the empire in Rome. We may conclude by asking what this series meant within the Sebasteion. Subtleties and ambiguities of imperial ideology at Rome tended to be replaced in the Greek East with a more straightforward view of things. There, as for the poets, the emperor was supreme victor, and the limits of his conquests and empire were the limits of the world.<sup>82</sup> In the *Res Gestae*, chs. 26–33, Augustus gives a carefully graded account of his achievements on the frontiers—conquest, pacification, diplomacy. However, in the preamble of the provincial copies, clearly not written by Augustus, these are telescoped to the bald statement: 'the deeds by which he subjected the world to the empire of the Roman people'.<sup>83</sup>

It seems clear that in the Sebasteion the selection of outlandish peoples was meant to stand as a visual account of the extent of the Augustan empire, and by the sheer numbers and impressive unfamiliarity of the names, to suggest that it is coterminous with the ends of the earth. We may note how many of the *ethne* we have were from the edges of the empire: Arabs, Bosphorans, Callaeci, Dacians, Piroustae, Rhaeti and probably the Ethiopians (the last were well known for being at one end of the earth).<sup>84</sup> This meaning is complemented by the universal allegories of time and place in the storey above (Pl. VII, 3–4). Combined, the allegories and the *ethne* stated that the Roman empire extends from furthest west to furthest east, from the rising to the setting sun, from Day to Night, bounded only by Ocean.<sup>85</sup> This theme and tone were continued in the upper storey of the south portico opposite, first in panels showing the more recent conquests of Britain and Armenia (both also proverbial for the opposite ends of the earth),<sup>86</sup> and second in elevated, allegorical panels showing Roma standing over Earth<sup>87</sup> and Augustus as saviour-benefactor of Land and Sea, a clear visual translation of ideas found in so many panegyric Greek inscriptions.<sup>88</sup>

The south portico reliefs thus represent both aspects of the emperor's rule, conquest and *cura imperii*, but the emphasis is most heavily on victory: in *Nikē* figures, scenes of actual conquest, and emperors with captives and trophies (*JRS* 1987, nos 1, 4–5, 8). The south portico reliefs forge their message out of the figure vocabulary of Hellenistic art combined with borrowed Roman components and native invention. The north portico employs Hellenistic allegories in its upper storey with a purely Roman series of peoples and places below. Within the overriding programme of the two porticoes, the south portico shows the imperial family (upper storey) against a background of the Greek mythological past (lower storey), while the north portico and the *ethne* represent broadly the physical extent and extremities of the empire. In their context, then, the new *ethne* reliefs illustrate the Aphrodisians' identification with Roman world rule and their determination to leave no iconographic means untried to represent it.

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<sup>82</sup> See esp. Horace, *Odes* 4. 14; cf. Crinagoras, below n. 85.

<sup>83</sup> 'Rerum gestarum divi Augusti, quibus orbem terrarum imperio populi Romani subiecit ...'

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Crinagoras, *Pal. Anth.* 9. 235: black Ethiopia, a 'great frontier-region of the world'.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. *ibid.* 16. 61: Tiberius' victories range from one end of the world to the other, from the rising to setting sun, from Armenia to Germany, from Araxes to Rhine.

<sup>86</sup> *JRS* 1987, nos 6–7.

<sup>87</sup> Inscribed base: Reynolds, *ZPE*, 323, no. 7. Relief: unpublished.

<sup>88</sup> *JRS* 1987, no. 2. Panegyric inscriptions: see e.g. V. Ehrenberg, A. H. M. Jones, *Documents illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*<sup>2</sup> (1955), no. 72 (Myra, statue base): 'God Augustus Caesar ... imperator of land and sea, the benefactor and saviour of the whole world ...'.