

LATE ANTIQUE PORTRAITS IN A PUBLIC CONTEXT: HONORIFIC STATUARY AT APHRODISIAS IN CARIA, A.D. 300–600*

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(Plates I–XII)

Aphrodisias in Caria is an unusually well preserved site that offers exceptional material for a case-study of the impact of changed social, political, and religious structures on the urban centre of a medium-sized prosperous city of the Late Empire, probably typical of others in Asia. Against the background of the city's well preserved late antique townscape and the (relatively modest) architectural reconfiguring of its classical fabric, this paper looks at the public statuary of the period, its context and significance.

I. INTRODUCTION

Generally archaeologists and art historians have tended to expect a big impact of the Christian religion in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.: the old gods displaced by an exclusive new divinity, with new churches to accommodate its worship and new styles and media in art and representation, such as mosaic, painting, and ivory relief instead of marble statuary. And against this background, it used to be customary to subsume the interpretation of what late Roman portrait sculpture there was under two generally agreed headings: in production, a decline in technical ability, and in style, a pervasive interest in the representation of the inner, spiritual self at the expense of the classical realist exterior. These headings were perhaps plausible for a few places and a few categories of sculpture, but abundant finds in recent years, especially at Ephesus and Aphrodisias, have rendered both unhelpful. While few would now insist on technical decline, much art history of the period still speaks in terms of grand trajectories of ancient visual representation in general moving towards abstraction and spirituality (the one often being conceived as a formal representation of the other). The influence of new religious attitudes can be detected fairly easily in distinct areas — most obviously in the quick fall-off of new public sculpture of the old gods, in the (eventual) defacing of some

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ALA = C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity* (1989)
Bruns, *Obelisk* = G. Bruns, *Der Obelisk und seine Basis auf dem Hippodrom zu Konstantinopel* (1935)
Delbrueck, *Konsulardiptychen* = R. Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler. Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte II* (1929)
Goette, *Togadarstellungen* = H. R. Goette, *Studien zu römischen Togadarstellungen* (1990)
Grabar, *Byzantium* = A. Grabar, *Byzantium: From the Death of Theodosius to the Rise of Islam* (1966)

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

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

JRS 1990 = R. R. R. Smith, 'Late Roman philosopher portraits from Aphrodisias', *JRS* 90 (1990), 127–55

JRS 1997 = R. R. R. Smith, 'The public image of Licinius I: sculptured portraits and imperial ideology in the early fourth century', *JRS* 97 (1997), 170–202

JRS 1998 = R. R. R. Smith, 'Cultural choice and political identity in honorific portrait statues in the Greek East in the second century A.D.', *JRS* 98 (1998), 56–93

Kollwitz = J. Kollwitz, *Oströmische Plastik der theodosianischen Zeit* (1941)

Robert, *Épigrammes* = L. Robert, *Épigrammes du Bas-Empire: Hellenica IV* (1948)

Volbach = W. F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und frühe Mittelalters* (3rd edn, 1976).

pagan images, and quite separately in the representation of some Christian saints and pagan sages engaged in a spiritually armed struggle. The intense, fervid images of such religious professionals as Neoplatonic philosophers (Pl. XII, 4) may be infected by an 'age of spirituality', but is it appropriate to explain the changed expression of *all* late antique self-representation in this way?

The detailed record of one city's public building and statuary can provide a different view. Much of this material is testimony not so much to the powerful idea and impact of monotheism but to the very large neutral zone of public life that was simply unconcerned with the nature of the divine — a broad band of political and cultural activity that was neither pagan nor Christian, and one that did not narrow much in the East until probably well into the fifth century. This is an archaeological record of public life as opposed to the more private record of our louder and more abundant literary sources. We see expressed less the concerns of Christ and the bishop than those of the Roman governor and wealthy leading local aristocrats. Such introductory observations will of course hardly be novel to most students of this period. A neutral zone of public city life is clear, but what archaeology can do that is less obvious is to give a fuller picture of what filled that neutral public space, what it looked and felt like — in terms both of important symbols as well as physical shape and appearance.

There were a lot of complex changes in late antique art and representation and they invite explanation in a corresponding variety of terms. The philosopher images were a small category and they belonged mainly in private contexts or contexts of limited access. The bulk of late antique sculpture was public statuary existing in the large neutral zone mentioned above. Aphrodisias provides an unusually full cross-section of the range and contexts of such public statuary in one city from which we can attempt a more differentiated analysis. The following is a first attempt to map in more specific terms this local statuary landscape and to offer some first thoughts on the interpretation of its image styles. It tries to present synthetically the results of recent research on this material, and at the same time to offer some kind of historical perspective on the images.¹ First, a word on the city, its history, and the urban background.

II. APHRODISIAS: URBAN HISTORY, A.D. 300–600

By the early third century Aphrodisias had enjoyed two and a half centuries of Roman peace and the privileged status of autonomy within the province of Asia. In this time the local aristocracy had built up the original late Hellenistic city plan with all the marble monuments and urban amenities of an aspiring Rome-friendly polis. The planned civic centre lay fully built up between the old Temple of Aphrodite and the Theatre (Fig. 1).² It presented a grand, late-Hellenistic-style, colonnaded townscape. There were two great marble-porticoed public squares, the North Agora with the Bouleuterion and associated offices, and the South Agora, closed at the east end by a great aediculated blind façade, the 'Agora Gate', and at the west end by the Hadrianic Baths, with a long decorative pool running its length in between. The two Agoras were neatly defined as units of the city grid, with main avenues running either side. Perpendicular to the south-west corner of the South Agora lay a huge civil Basilica.

¹ This work is part of a programme of archaeological research at Aphrodisias undertaken by the Institute of Fine Arts and the Faculty of Arts and Science of New York University since 1991. A principal aim is to document the excavations and finds made by the late Professor Kenan Erim at the site between 1961 and 1990. Preliminary reports: R. R. R. Smith and C. Ratté, 'Archaeological research at Aphrodisias in Caria, 1993', *AJA* 99 (1995), 33–58; 'Archaeological research at Aphrodisias in Caria, 1994', *AJA* 100 (1996), 5–33; 'Archaeological research at Aphrodisias in Caria, 1995', *AJA* 101 (1997), 1–22; 'Archaeolo-

gical research at Aphrodisias in Caria, 1996', *AJA* 102 (1998), 225–50.

² On the excavated city centre: K. T. Erim, *Aphrodisias: City of Venus-Aphrodite* (1986), 48–131. For recent work on the urban plan and city grid: see *op. cit.* (n. 1). On the new restored plan of the city centre (Fig. 1): C. Ratté, 'Urban development of Aphrodisias in the late Hellenistic and early imperial periods', in H. von Hesberg (ed.), *Kontinuität und Diskontinuität in den Städten frühkaiserzeitlichen Kleasiens* (forthcoming).

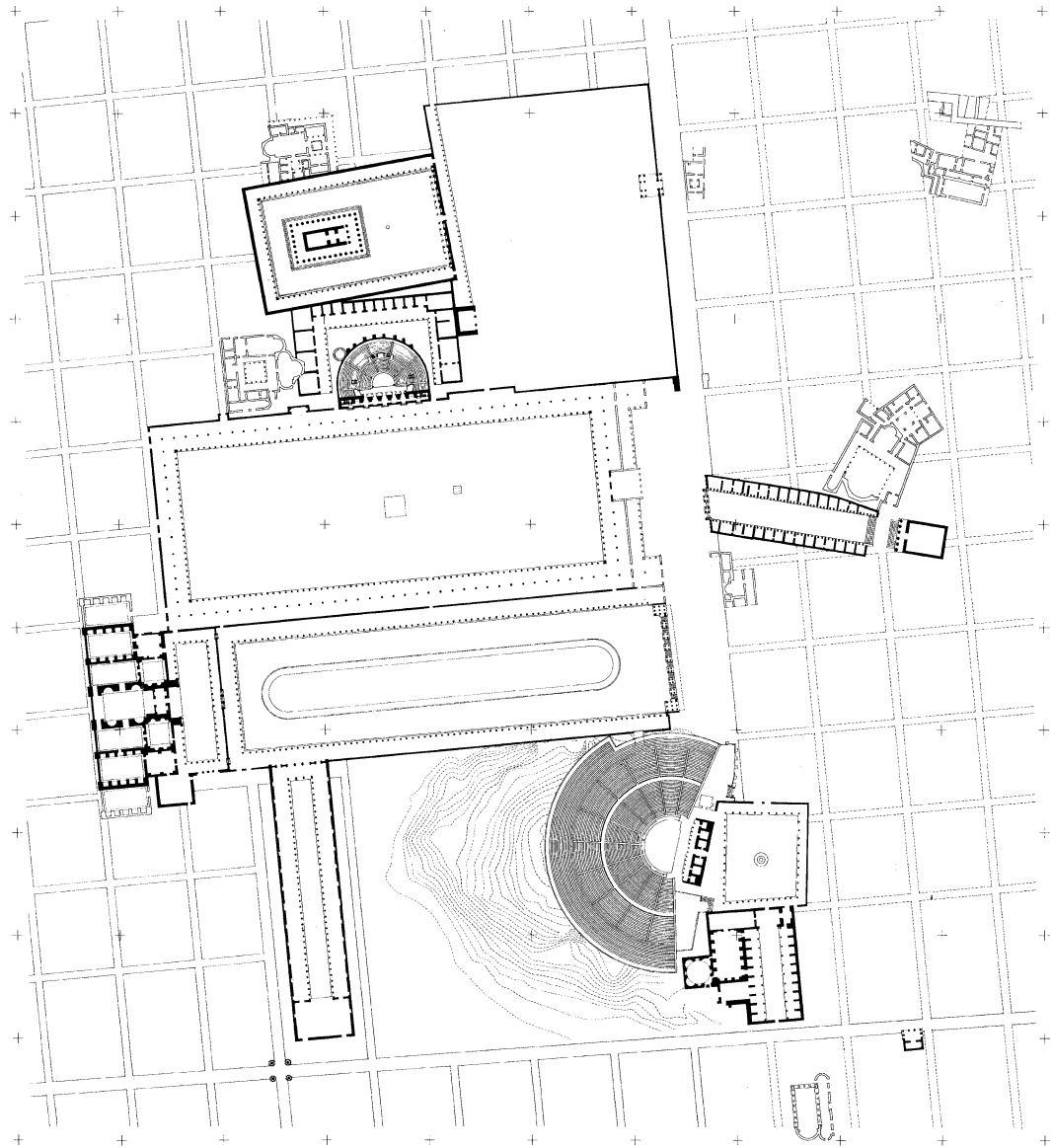


FIG. 1. APHRODISIAS. RESTORED PLAN OF CITY CENTRE (MIDDLE IMPERIAL PERIOD). (Drawn by H. Mark)

Religious cult was served by two grand complexes: the original Temple of Aphrodite (of Augustan date) now surrounded by a colonnaded temenos (of Hadrianic date), and the Sebasteion complex, dedicated to Aphrodite and the Julio-Claudian emperors in the mid-first century A.D. Culture, athletics, and leisure were housed in a fine marble Theatre, a marble-lined Stadium on the northern edge of town, and two bath complexes, the Hadrianic Baths and the Theatre Baths. Embedded in the fabric of these complexes, in prominent public settings, there stood everywhere fine marble statues of the great local benefactors who paid for this architecture, as potent symbolic rewards of their great-heartedness.³

In Diocletian's provincial reorganization Aphrodisias became the capital, the metropolis of the new province of Caria. It thus became the seat of a Roman governor (at first a *praeses*, later, in the fifth century, a *consularis*) who soon came to play an

³ On some of the statue monuments of the Middle Empire, see *JRS* 1998, 68–70.

important role in shaping city politics and building.⁴ Building work continues to be well documented from the overlapping evidence of inscriptions and archaeology. It is not really correct to speak of a decline in new public building in this period. More simply there was for the most part a halt to new building — that is, to building in the traditional manner with new, freshly quarried stone. There was at the same time a determined effort to maintain and adapt the classical city to current needs.⁵

Two big projects are attested in the mid-fourth century, both the initiative of governors. The city was surrounded by a 3.5 km fortification wall, faced on its outside with re-used architectural marbles and bases.⁶ The quantity of spolia required and clearly available implies either the delapidation or sacrifice of a significant number of classical complexes — in the latter case, it was probably something only a governor could order. Two governors are recorded as active in its construction on two of the city-gates.⁷ The second project was the construction (or perhaps extensive restoration) of the colonnaded Tetrastoon square in front of the Theatre in the 360s — which became a favoured locale for the display of late statue monuments (see Fig. 10).⁸

Building works were now for the most part engaged in the maintenance, restoration, embellishment, and functional adaptation and conversion of existing structures. The Hadrianic Baths were kept going and periodically improved and redecorated, by both governors and private citizens, from the mid-fourth well into the sixth century.⁹ Big columnar monuments such as the Agora Gate and the Tetracylon were fully restored (that is, dismantled, fixed, and put back up — major engineering projects), and numismatic evidence shows the Tetracylon restoration was carried out soon after c. 400.¹⁰ The Theatre was kept in constant use, and the architectural organization of its stage and orchestra-arena was changed several times.¹¹ The Stadium, like many others in this period, for example, at Perge and Ephesus, was also adapted: its east end was converted in the early fifth century into an amphitheatre for putting on better beast hunts than could be accommodated in the orchestra of the Theatre — their former venue.¹² The Bouleuterion and its civic offices to the north and west were remodelled — to the north there was a sculptors' yard and workshop,¹³ and to the west a grand late antique residence (nicknamed the Bishop's Palace but which could as well have been the governor's headquarters) was developed on top and out of an important civic complex of the earlier period (the prytaneion?).¹⁴ Cult buildings too were eventually converted. The Sebasteion buildings became a commercial centre, its temple dismantled, probably

⁴ Governor's rank: *ALA*, pp. 66–7, 320–1. On the role of the governor, recently: C. Roueché, 'The functions of the governor in Late Antiquity: some observations', *Antiquité Tardive* 6 (1998), 31–6; eadem, 'Provincial governors and their titulature in the sixth century', *ibid.*, 83–9. (This whole issue of *Antiquité Tardive* is devoted to the subject of late Roman governors.)

⁵ Generally on cities in Late Antiquity: A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* (1964), ch. 19; C. Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity: A Late Antique, Byzantine, and Turkish City* (1973); C. Mango, *Byzantium: Empire of New Rome* (1980), ch. 3; W. Liebeschuetz, 'The end of the ancient city', in J. Rich (ed.), *The City in Late Antiquity* (1992), 1–36; B. Ward-Perkins, *The Cambridge Ancient History XIII: The Late Empire, A.D. 337–425*, Ed. Averil Cameron and P. Garnsey (1998), ch. 12. On the urban history of late antique Aphrodisias: R. Cormack, 'The classical tradition in the Byzantine provincial city: the evidence of Thessaloniki and Aphrodisias', in *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition* (1981), 103–19; idem, 'Byzantine Aphrodisias: changing the symbolic map of a city', *Proc. Camb. Phil. Soc.* (1991), 26–41; *ALA*, xxix–xxvii, 329–30; C. Ratté, 'New research on the urban development of Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity', in D. Parrish (ed.), *Urbanism of Western Asia Minor: The Current Status of Archaeological Research* (forthcoming).

⁶ On the walls: Erim, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 50–4. On their date: *ALA*, pp. 43–5.

⁷ *ALA*, nos 19 and 22.

⁸ Erim, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 88–91; *ALA*, no. 20.

⁹ Well documented by inscriptions: *ALA*, nos 17–18, 48–52, 58, 61, 67, 74, 86–7 (summarized, p. 329).

¹⁰ G. Paul, 'Die Anastylose des Tetracylons', in C. Roueché and R. R. R. Smith (eds), *Aphrodisias Papers* 3 (1996), 201–14.

¹¹ cf. C. Roueché, 'Inscriptions and the later history of the theatre', in K. T. Erim and R. R. R. Smith (eds), *Aphrodisias Papers* 2 (1991), 99–108.

¹² K. Welch, 'The stadium at Aphrodisias', *AJA* 102 (1998), 547–69.

¹³ P. Rockwell, 'Unfinished statuary associated with a sculptor's studio', *Aphrodisias Papers* 2 (1991), 127–43. A full study is in preparation by J. A. Van Voorhis (based on her doctoral dissertation, 'The Sculptor's Workshop at Aphrodisias', PhD New York, 1999).

¹⁴ cf. P. Gros, 'Les nouveaux espaces civiques du début de l'Empire en Asie Mineure: les exemples d'Ephèse, Iasos, et Aphrodisias', in *Aphrodisias Papers* 3 (1996), 112–20, at 118, for the conjecture about the prytaneion.

sometime in the fifth century.¹⁵ And the great Temple of Aphrodite was finally turned into a church in the late fifth century.¹⁶ This too was a major engineering work, requiring massive cranes to move and re-set fourteen of the great Ionic columns. These were all very substantial projects, without undertaking new building.

The late urban profile, 300–600, was then not one of decay, nor was it one of building business as usual. There was little new construction, and virtually none in freshly quarried and carved stone. The new walls of the mid-fourth century were built entirely of spolia. The continuous new building of the first and second centuries should not be taken as a normal state of affairs, and had anyway stopped by the mid-third century. The city clearly had all the public buildings that it needed and could possibly use — and spare ones to plunder as spolia quarries for other projects. The maintenance of existing monuments was already a large enough public works project. The imperial governor was closely involved in such renovation work, and much of the building attested was of this nature, and felt to be a great and noble achievement. Major new projects tended to answer very specific needs only — such as city walls — while most new needs could be met by reorganization and creative adaptation of existing facilities. Until at least 600 it is clear that the city was able to engineer, organize, and maintain a functioning, classical-looking marble town that an aristocrat of *c.* 200 would have recognized if perhaps not applauded.¹⁷ Against this background, we turn now to one category of freshly carved monument — public honorific statues.

III. LATE ANTIQUE PORTRAIT STATUARY

As an archaeological and historical category, the public portrait statuary of Late Antiquity is a sharply defined coherent group, distinguishable at a glance, even in small fragments, from the portrait statuary of the Middle Empire (Pls I–XI). In this clear broad distinction lies its value to culture history: the statues were visual expressions and definitions of a new political culture. Where in the fourth century the sharpest line should be drawn between these two bodies of material, we cannot on present evidence say. The essential difference of the new statues is not only, or even mainly, one of 'style'. They are recognized by changed iconographic externals of self-presentation and self-styling in real life (clothes, hairstyles, attributes), by details of new technique and execution traits (for example, in drilled hair and eye formulations), as well as by style. The most easily noted stylistic features are the partial and intermittent manipulation of the naturalistic classical vocabulary — something available since the experiments of the period of the Tetrarchy — seen in the intensification, exaggeration, and accentuation of chosen traits for specific expressive ends. The Aphrodisias workshops, however, were conservative in long eschewing the more radical of these stylistic innovations, and the late antique statuary at the site is most easily recognizable by externals of hairstyle and dress and by technique.

A precise chronology of late antique portrait statuary in its different locales lies beyond our evidence. Portrait heads and statues of the kind under discussion are found

¹⁵ R. R. R. Smith, 'The imperial reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias', *JRS* 77 (1987), 88–138, at 96; Smith and Ratté, *AJA* 102 (1998), 238–9, for recent archaeological investigation of the late antique phases.

¹⁶ R. Cormack, 'The temple as cathedral', in C. Roueché and K. T. Erim (eds), *Aphrodisias Papers* 1 (1990), 75–88; Smith and Ratté, *AJA* 99 (1995),

43–52, for the date of the temple–church conversion, based on coin finds.

¹⁷ cf. Ward-Perkins, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 408: '... in most provinces ... late Roman aristocrats retained earlier habits of urban life. Where those aristocrats were, there artisans, with their keen eye for a market, are likely to have remained ...'

widely spread.¹⁸ Apart from the material found at Aphrodisias and Ephesus,¹⁹ the main concentrations are in Italy (Ostia, Rome),²⁰ Greece (Athens, Corinth, Sparta, Thessaloniki),²¹ and Asia Minor (Constantinople, Sardes, Smyrna, Stratonikeia).²² But only from Aphrodisias and Ephesus are there pieces well documented by accompanying inscriptions, and only Aphrodisias provides a sufficiently large number of documented examples to constitute a roughly dated series. They show that the phenomenon under discussion runs from at least the later fourth to the early sixth century. The concentration of material in the fifth century, backed by epigraphic evidence, is clear. A difficult question, unanswerable on present evidence, is how much earlier and how much later the undated material should be allowed to spread — how far back into the fourth century and how far into the sixth century.

The statues stand in marked contrast to those of the Early and Middle Empire, and I offer as an introduction a schematic sketch that mentions, as I see it, some of the most important aspects of this contrast. The summary statements made here about the siting of the statues and their inscribed bases, costumes, and portrait styles will be justified in detail in what follows.

Early and middle imperial statues were large, very numerous, and often set in carefully programmed architectural settings, such as the niches and aediculae of columned façades. They stood on tall, elegant, heavily moulded bases that carried precisely cut texts — machine-like in their uniformity and clarity — giving long prosaic descriptions of their subject's family, virtues, and good deeds. They wore Greek himatia, Greek shoes, and crowns of local priesthoods. Their portraits were oriented either to imperial styles or to local Hellenistic styles. And their statues might be accompanied by statues of female relatives — for example, wife, daughter, or niece.²³

The late-period statues were smaller, fewer, and set up in front of old monuments, not as part of them. They stood on re-used bases with unprofessionally cut inscriptions that transcribe verse epigrams of elevated, allusive style and give few and vague details of the subject's identity, career, or deeds. There is usually not even a patronymic. They wear a new-style toga, or a new-style long chlamys of Roman government officials. In terms of their most important externals — dress and hairstyles — the statues were now oriented to the court culture of Constantinople. The personal styling of private honorands was now distinct from that of the emperors — emperor and subject were now separated by a clear theoretical gulf plainly expressed in their respective portrait

¹⁸ Useful general studies and collections of material: W. von Sydow, *Zur Kunstgeschichte des spätantiken Porträts im 4. Jhd. n. Chr.* (1969); H. G. Severin, *Zur Porträtplastik des 5. Jhd. n. Chr.* (1972); S. Sande, 'Zur Porträtplastik des 6. Jhd. n. Chr.', *Acta Ad Art. Hist. Pert.* 6 (1975), 65–166; D. Stutzinger (ed.), *Spätantike und frühes Christentum* (1983), nos 62–77; J. Meischner, 'Das Porträt der theodosianischen Epoche I–II', *JdI* 105 (1990), 302–24 and *JdI* 106 (1991), 385–407; B. Küllerich, *Late Fourth Century Classicism in the Plastic Arts. Studies in the So-called Theodosian Renaissance* (1993).

¹⁹ Ephesus: Kollwitz, nos 6–11 (six headless togati); IR I, nos 192–202 (a togatus statue, togate busts, heads); IR II, nos 151–6 (a togate bust, heads). See also: W. Oberleitner, 'Fragment einer spätantiken Porträtkopfes aus Ephesos', *ÖJh* 44 (1959), 83–100; idem, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der spätantiken Porträtköpfe aus Ephesos', *ÖJh* 47 (1964), 5–35. A new catalogue is in preparation under the direction of Maria Aurenhammer.

²⁰ Ostia, Rome (togati, heads): H. P. L'Orange, *Studien zur Geschichte des spätantiken Porträts* (1933), Cat. nos 101–3, 117–19, 122; Goette, *Togadarstellungen*, 140, Bb 182, pl. 27.5–6; M. Cima (ed.), *Restauri nei Musei Capitolini: le sculture della sala dei magistrati e gli originali greci della sala dei monumenti arcaici* (1995), 125–35, for the two togati with raised mappas from the 'Temple of Minerva Medica'.

²¹ Athens (togate bust and torso): Kollwitz, nos 18–19; E. B. Harrison, *The Athenian Agora I: Portrait Sculpture* (1953), no. 64. Goette, *Togadarstellungen*, 153, L 77, pl. 58.1. Corinth (headless chlamydati): Kollwitz, nos 13–16. Sparta (two heads): A. M. Woodward, 'Excavations at Sparta, 1927: the theatre', *BSA* 28 (1926–27), 3–36, at 26–30, nos 3–4, figs 7–8; G. B. Waywell and J. Wilkes, 'Excavations at the ancient theatre of Sparta, 1992–94: preliminary report', *BSA* 90 (1995), 435–60, at 458, no. 3, pls 48c–49c. Thessaloniki (a pair of busts, a female and a chlamydati male): Küllerich, op. cit. (n. 18), 113, with earlier lit., figs 61–2.

²² Constantinople: Kollwitz, nos 4–5 (headless togati); IR II, nos 275–6, 335(?) (female bust, heads). Sardes: IR I, no. 220; IR II, nos 171–2 (heads). Smyrna: IR I, no. 134 (head). Stratonikeia (a pair of busts, a female and a chlamydati male): R. Özgan and D. Stutzinger, 'Untersuchungen zur Porträtplastik des 5. Jhdts. n. Chr. anhand zweier neugefundenen Porträts aus Stratonikeia', *Ist. Mitt.* 35 (1985), 237–74. Note also a new headless statue found at Caesarea Maritima in 1992, wearing short chlamys and sword: R. Gherst, 'Three Greek and Roman portrait statues from Caesarea Maritima', *Atiqot* 28 (1996), 99–113, at 103–8 (I thank Luke Lavan for this reference).

²³ For a fuller account of what is sketched here, see *JRS* 1998, 65–9.

vocabularies. Accompanying honorific statues of women were now rare (at Aphrodisias unattested, except for one statue of an empress).²⁴

The priorities of public statues thus went from being local and Greek to being central, metropolitan, and Constantinopolitan. Many of these differences, we will see, are to be explained not so much by date and artistic style, as by the different subjects represented and by the different political culture in which they operated. We go from the civilian world of city-minded, patriotic, local leaders whose political identity was located inside their poleis to the authoritarian world of central government, the provincial governor, and a restricted circle of local aristocrats whose prestige was now measured more by their proximity to imperial power.

One thing that did not change should be emphasized — that is, the quality of design and execution. Probably only a few top-grade marble sculptors were needed in the city for making the reduced numbers of these statues, but their ability to realize effectively society's changed collective vision of what constituted a fine emperor, governor, and city aristocrat was in no way diminished. In overall design and detail, the best of these statues are as well controlled and finished as the best middle imperial portrait statues.

IV. APHRODISIAS: SOME DOCUMENTED STATUE MONUMENTS

The excavation of Aphrodisias has produced about fifty items of late antique public sculpture (about twenty-five statues and a further twenty-five heads)²⁵ and about thirty-four inscribed bases that stood below such statues.²⁶ There is a clear general overlap between the extant statuary and the inscribed late bases of the site, an overlap in context, subject, date, and quantity that is highly informative. But even better, at least six statues can be safely connected with the bases they stood on. These complete, named, and documented monuments are invaluable. They provide some vital interpretative and chronological fixed points, and a brief presentation of them may serve to introduce some typical statues, their main types, their contexts, and the range of subjects they portrayed. The new drawings of them presented here aim to reconstruct their total effect as monuments.²⁷

Julian–Theodosius

The earliest complete and dated monument need only be briefly mentioned here, since it was made up entirely of re-used pieces. It is a monument to Julian, later adjusted and reinscribed for Theodosius I and II, that was set up in front of the west colonnade of the Tetrastoon in front of the Theatre, by the governor who paid for the Tetrastoon's construction (Fig. 2). The base was composed of two re-cut column bases and a re-used short cylindrical pillar, while the statue is made up of a re-carved Julio-Claudian head

²⁴ Flacilla: *ALA*, no. 23. A late antique headless draped female statue found in a private context, in the late mansion to the north of the Sebasteion ('Atrium House'), was probably a portrait statue: *JRS* 1990, 129, pl. V, 4. At Ephesus, note the headless (and re-used) statue of Scholastikia in the baths she restored: Foss 70, fig. 22; V. M. Strocka, 'Zuviele Ehre für Scholastikia', in M. Kandler, S. Karwiese and R. Pillingner (eds), *Lebendige Altertumswissenschaft: Festgabe zum Vollendung des 70. Lebensjahres von Hermann Vetters* (1985), 229–32, demonstrating that it is a recycled statue of the second century A.D.

²⁵ IR I, nos 243–6; IR II, nos 199–208. *JRS* 1990, nos 1–11. Some recent finds: R. R. R. Smith, 'Archae-

ological research at Aphrodisias, 1989–1992', *Aphrodisias Papers* 3 (1996), 10–72, at 13–20. Further below, nn. 34, 41, 43, 98. A new catalogue is in preparation.

²⁶ Collected and fully commented in *ALA*.

²⁷ It should be noted that some of the drawings are partial and preliminary reconstructions in that there may be elements missing which are not shown, especially upper and lower plinths on the bases. The drawings are intended primarily to illustrate the scale and effect of the bases and statues seen together — previously discussed and illustrated in separate places. The captions indicate, where relevant, what parts may be lacking.

set into an unre-cut recycled toga figure of the second century.²⁸ In this context, the monument is interesting as evidence of the attitude to spolia and of a broadened conception of what a successful statue monument should look like. It also raises the question, why, if such spolia monuments were acceptable, more of our statues were not made from recycled material.

Arcadius and Valentinian II

Two surviving imperial statues wearing togas came from a Theodosian family group set up by a Praetorian Prefect in the west portico of the South Agora in 388–92.²⁹ The preserved statues are probably to be associated with the tall (re-used) cylindrical inscribed bases for the young princes Valentinian II and Arcadius (Figs 3–4). They are extremely fine, highly polished statues, newly carved in this period from an extremely fine-grained marble used often for these late statues but not earlier — it was probably therefore also freshly quarried in this period (Pl. I, 1). Nothing earlier is precisely dated, and hence the uncertainty about whether the main phenomena we are analysing began earlier in the fourth century, or whether it is really a concentrated phenomenon of the late fourth and fifth centuries, as the surviving dated evidence seems to suggest. Both the portrait heads were youthful, clean-shaven and wore the jewelled imperial diadem (Pl. XII, 1–2). They give a local naturalizing stylistic treatment to the more schematic, ‘abstracted’ imperial portrait images of the centre, best seen for example in the fine, well known ‘Arcadius’ head in Istanbul from Beyazit.³⁰ Both statues also wear a distinctive, short kind of toga in a complex configuration that is not used in the later statues.

This kind of toga is worn by another important statue at Aphrodisias, and the Theodosian statues should provide an approximate date for it. This is a very fine, unusually small, complete but unfinished portrait statue of some kind of office-holder that wears precisely the same kind of toga as the Arcadius and Valentinian (Pl. I, 2).³¹ It was found *in situ* still in the Sculptors’ Workshop behind the Bouleuterion. The left hand holds what seems to be an inkpot and both arms are held out from the body unsupported by struts (an astonishing virtuoso technical feat).³² The body is beautifully finished and polished all over, front and back, while the unfinished portrait head, still slightly too large, has been left with a rough rasp finish. The portrait is already clearly a specified individual, short-haired and clean-shaven, so that this was not a portrait made for stock and awaiting a buyer.³³ It was a commission that was for whatever reason not taken up and left as an unfinished masterwork of its kind to adorn the sculptors’ yard. A story can easily be written to account for these circumstances: we might imagine, for example, an honorand disgraced before his monument could be finished and dedicated.

Oecumenius

A headless statue of a governor Oecumenius (*a clarissimus praeses*) wearing a long cloak was set up inside the double stoa that runs in front of the Bouleuterion on the North Agora (see Fig. 7), and is approximately dated by the inscribed base found with it, to around 400 or more cautiously to the first half of the fifth century (Fig. 6, Pl. II).³⁴ The inscribed base was found *in situ*, and it consists of two re-used parts. The lower

²⁸ Inscribed base: *ALA*, no. 20. Statue: K. T. Erim and R. R. R. Smith, ‘Sculpture from the theatre’, *Aphrodisias Papers* 2 (1991), 67–98, at 95–6, no. 38, fig. 34. Head: IR II, no. 80. Combined monument: Smith and Ratté, *AYA* 102 (1998), 243–4, fig. 20 (reconstruction without upper plinth). Full study: R. R. R. Smith, ‘A portrait monument for Julian and Theodosius’, in Chr. Reusser (ed.), *Festschrift für D. Willers* (forthcoming).

²⁹ Bases: *ALA*, nos 25–7. Statue: Kollwitz, no. 1; IR I, no. 66.

³⁰ ‘Arcadius’ head: IR II, no. 82.

³¹ Togatus holding inkpot (height: 1.60 m): IR II, no. 195.

³² For an inkpot and pens(?) in a narrative context, see the scene of Pilate’s court in the sixth-century Rossano Gospels: Grabar, *Byzantium*, 207, fig. 232.

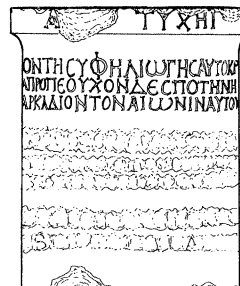
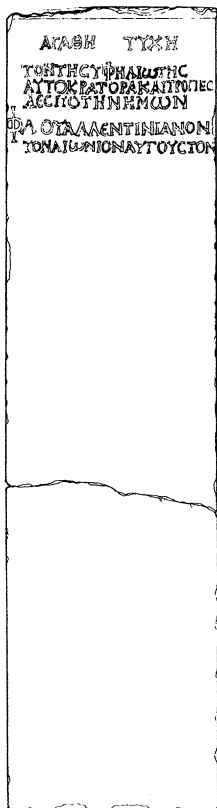
³³ As suggested by Rockwell, *op. cit.* (n. 13), 138.

³⁴ Base: *ALA*, no. 31. Statue: K. T. Erim, ‘Two new early Byzantine statues from Aphrodisias’, *DOP* 21 (1967), 285–6, no. 2, fig. 2.



FIG. 2. STATUE MONUMENT OF THEODOSIUS I OR II. RESTORED ELEVATION. CONNECTION OF UPPER PLINTH OF BASE IS UNCERTAIN. FOR FIND CONTEXT, SEE FIG. 10. (Drawn by K. Görkay)

part is a recycled wall block (it has anathyrosis from its former use on each side) that sits in the stoa's earthen floor on a few stones that function as a levelling foundation. Directly on top of this block, still *in situ* and so probably dowelled to it, sits the tall base with a moulded panel that carries the inscription. This, like so many other late bases, is the



FIGS 3-4. STATUE MONUMENTS OF VALENTINIAN II AND
 ARCADIUS, A.D. 388-92. PARTIAL RESTORED ELEVATIONS.
 PLINTHS ABOVE AND BELOW INSCRIBED COLUMNAR BASES
 MAY BE MISSING. (Drawn by K. Görkay)

re-used panelled shaft of a middle-imperial base. Such bases in the earlier period always had strongly projecting moulded plinths above and below the shaft that gave the whole pedestal a tall but strongly waisted outline and a broad platform on which to stand the statue.³⁵ What is so important about Oecumenius' base is that it certainly had no lower plinth and so seems surely to have had no upper plinth (none was found). The base then was a tall plain shaft and the statue was probably placed directly on top of it without any intervening member, as restored in the reconstruction here (Fig. 6). There are cuttings in the side and front of the shaft that should be for clamps that rose and turned down over the plinth of the statue. The result is an astonishing new aesthetic for a statue monument — the whole has a very tall, elegant, slender profile that rises unbroken by the horizontal projections that were so much part of earlier norms for statue monuments. Oecumenius' monument shows that this aesthetic was a new option. Other statues continued to deploy bases with projecting plinths above and below (for example, Figs 2, 5, and 9).

Oecumenius' statue was set up by the Council, and the inscribed text is an epigram that takes the form of an apostrophe to Oecumenius and his statue:

Τὸν σὲ νόμων πλή|θοντα, τὸν Ἴταλι|ώτιδα Μοῦσαν ν. |
 ν. Ἀτθίδος ἡδυεπεῖ|(5) ν. κερνάμενον μέλιτι |
 τῆιδ' Οἰκουμένιον | τὸν ἄοίδιμον ἡγεμον|νήα ν. |
 στήσε φίλη | βουλή τῶν Ἀφροδισιέω(ν)· |
 τῶι γὰρ δὴ καθαρῶι φρέ|να καὶ χέρα, τί πλέον | εὐρεῖν ν. |
 μνημοσύ|νης ἀγαθῆς ἄλλο πά|ρεστι γέρας; leaf

You who are full of (knowledge) of laws, who have blended the Italian Muse with the sweet-voiced honey of the Attic, Oecumenius, the famous governor, the friendly council of the Aphrodisians has set you up here; for what greater reward than that of being well remembered can the man find who is pure in mind and in hand? (Text and translation: *ALA* no. 31)

The epigram is typical in its vague, elevated formulation, praising the governor for his knowledge of the law, for his cultural attainments, bi-lingualism, and pure hands and pure mind. The statue wears a long chlamys and soft boots, holds a scroll in his right hand, and is supported by a tall bundle of further scrolls on the plinth behind his (proper) left foot. Oecumenius' statue clearly provides an approximate date and interpretive identity for two similar and very important statues from the old excavations of 1904–5 in the area of the Hadrianic Baths that survive complete with their heads. They are the so-called Younger and Elder 'Magistrates' now in Istanbul (Pl. I, 3–4).³⁶ The dress, design, and treatment of one of these statues (the 'Elder Magistrate') is very close to that of Oecumenius and they should clearly belong in the same chronological and cultural milieu. Both the Istanbul statues have highly distinctive portrait heads with light unshaven beards which provide, via Oecumenius, a broad chronology and context for a wide range of other bodyless portraits (Pls VII–IX). And like Oecumenius, they both probably represented governors.

Alexander

To the west of Oecumenius in the same stoa (Fig. 7) stood another late statue monument of one Alexander — almost certainly another governor, but probably a local man. The statue was set up on a re-used octagonal base, that rests on a re-used plinth taken from another base — the plinth is too large for the base (Fig. 5).³⁷ Both elements, like the corresponding parts of Oecumenius' statue are preserved *in situ*. The statue and

³⁵ See for example the reconstructed statue monuments of Dometeus and Tatiana at Aphrodisias: *JRS* 1998, 67, figs 1–2.

³⁶ Istanbul 'Magistrates': Kollwitz, nos 2–3; IR I, nos 242–3.

³⁷ Base: *ALA*, no. 32. Statue: unpublished.



FIGS 5-6. STATUE MONUMENTS OF ALEXANDER (left) AND OECUMENIUS (right). RESTORED ELEVATIONS. FOR FIND CONTEXT, SEE FIG. 7. (Drawn by K. Görkay)

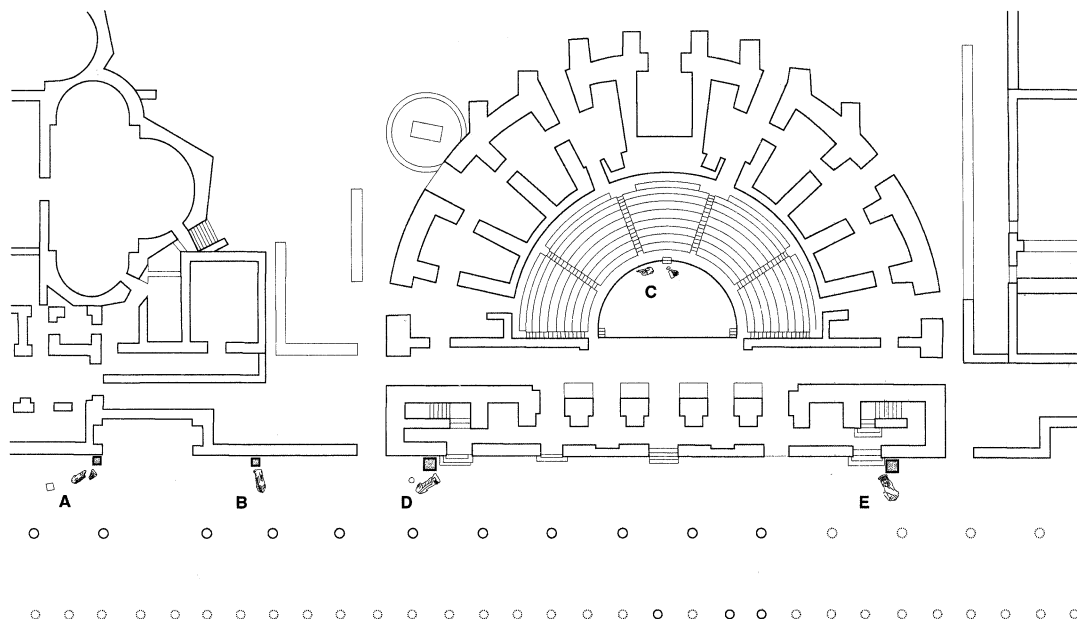


FIG. 7. FIND PLAN OF PORTRAIT STATUES AND BASES IN NORTH STOA OF N. AGORA AND BOULEUTERION, APHRODISIAS. A: ALEXANDER. B: OECUMENIUS. C: PYTHEAS. D: DOMETEINUS. E: TATIANA. (Drawn by H. Mark)

the upper plinth, a re-used Doric capital, were found nearby (see Fig. 7). The monument was set up by the metropolis of the neighbouring province of Phrygia and is dated approximately in the later fourth or early fifth century. The inscribed text is again a highly elevated verse epigram alluding to the honorand's just character and well-behaved tenure of office:

Εἰκόνα λαινέην μὲν | Ἀλεξάνδροιο δικαίου|
 ἢ Φρυγίης μήτηρ | μητέρι τῆι Καρίης|
 τῆς ζαθέης ἀρχῆς τέκμαρ | ἄμβροτον ἐνθάδ' ἔπεμψεν|
 πᾶς δὲ λόγος μείων | τ' ἀνδρὸς εὐφροσύνης|
 vacat
 Εὐτυχῶς

A stone image of the just Alexander the mother of Phrygia sent here to the mother of Caria, (as) an undying mark of his god-like rule; but all words fall short of the man's good cheer. With good fortune! (Text and translation: *ALA* no. 32.)

The direct reference to the marble image, found in other such texts, is something not found earlier in statue inscriptions. Statues had not been felt before to be such unusual things in themselves that attention needed to be drawn to them in the inscriptions. The head, inserted separately into a cavity in the shoulders of the statue and now missing, was however probably the only freshly carved part of the monument. The statue, supported by a bundle of scrolls behind, wears old-fashioned Greek sandals and the traditional civic himation and has clearly been recycled virtually untouched from a second-century monument. But clearly it was felt to be no less appropriate for that.

Pytheas

Two documented statues, complete with their heads and their inscribed bases, introduce the definitive form of the late Roman toga (a new garment, we will see) and take the chronology into the later fifth and early sixth century. They are firstly a statue

of a certain Pytheas, found with its base in the Bouleuterion and presumably set up there (Fig. 8, Pl. IV).³⁸ The base preserved (like the statue) in several pieces was again a narrow, re-used panelled shaft. It is unknown if it carried the statue directly on top, as Oecumenius' base seems to have, or if it had additional upper and lower elements (none that fit were found with it). The inscribed text is as follows:

Ἄστυ θεῆς | Παφίης καὶ | Πυθέου, ἡ μὲν | ὄρ[θῶσ]α stop
 τῆν | (5) [. . . .]ΟΙΑΘΕΗ| [. . . . π]όλιν | [. . . .]ΟΝ stop|
 ΧΟΡΓ[. . .]ΝΝΗΟΝ | γὰρ ἐπασ[σ]υτέροι|(10)σιν ἐπ' ἔργοις stop|
 ὄλβου ἀφειδείων | κτίσεν ἀπαρχόμενος leaf

City of the Paphian goddess and of Pytheas; she, for her part, having exalted [?has given blessings] appropriate to a goddess [to] the city [?. . .while he] in addition to constant works, unsparing of his wealth, has built [?. . .] as an offering. (Text and translation: *ALA* no. 56.)

This obscure, allusive, and fragmentary epigram tells us only that the city ('town of the Paphian goddess') set up the statue of Pytheas for his 'constant works, unsparing of his wealth'. This Pytheas was a great Aphrodisian magnate, a *vir illustris*, that is, of high senatorial rank. He appears in the *Palatine Anthology* (7.690), and we know quite a lot about his activities and allegiances in his local context at Aphrodisias. He was a benefactor and builder; he had his own clique of supporters, the *Pytheanitae*; and he mixed in fashionable Neoplatonic circles.³⁹

Fl. Palmatus

The second is the most fully preserved of all late antique portrait monuments, that of Flavius Palmatus, consular governor of Caria and acting vicar of Asiana, set up in front of the west colonnade of the Tetrastoon square in front of the theatre, by a leading citizen, the *pater civitatis* (Fig. 9, Pl. III).⁴⁰ The statue was found where it fell, immediately in front of its base, its head under the statue (Fig. 10). The base, found still assembled and *in situ*, was composed of two re-used statue bases, one cut in half through its shaft forming the lower part on which the other — a complete re-used base carrying the new inscription (Pl. V, 4) — was placed. The curious interrupted or double profile that this composition gives the finished base is another good example of the expanding aesthetic limits of spolia construction and the desire in these monuments for added height at all costs.

Both Pytheas and Palmatus wear the distinctive late toga and senatorial shoes, and both carried a *mappa* (handkerchief, napkin) in their right hand. Palmatus also carried a consular baton in his left hand (the upper end above the hand is missing). Pytheas had a middle-aged, round-faced, and clean-shaven portrait and a flat 'mop' hairstyle in the fashion of the time. Palmatus has a stubble beard, heavily drilled 'mop' hairstyle and a strikingly dour expression (Pl. XI). This hairstyle and the precise details of the technical formation of the eyes used for Palmatus' portrait (a plain raised disc for iris and pupil together, outlined by a drill line) are found in other heads that form a distinct later group within the period at both Aphrodisias and Ephesus, which are then to be dated approximately in the same period, in the later fifth and early sixth century, on the basis of the titles and posts mentioned in the text on Palmatus' base (Pl. X).⁴¹

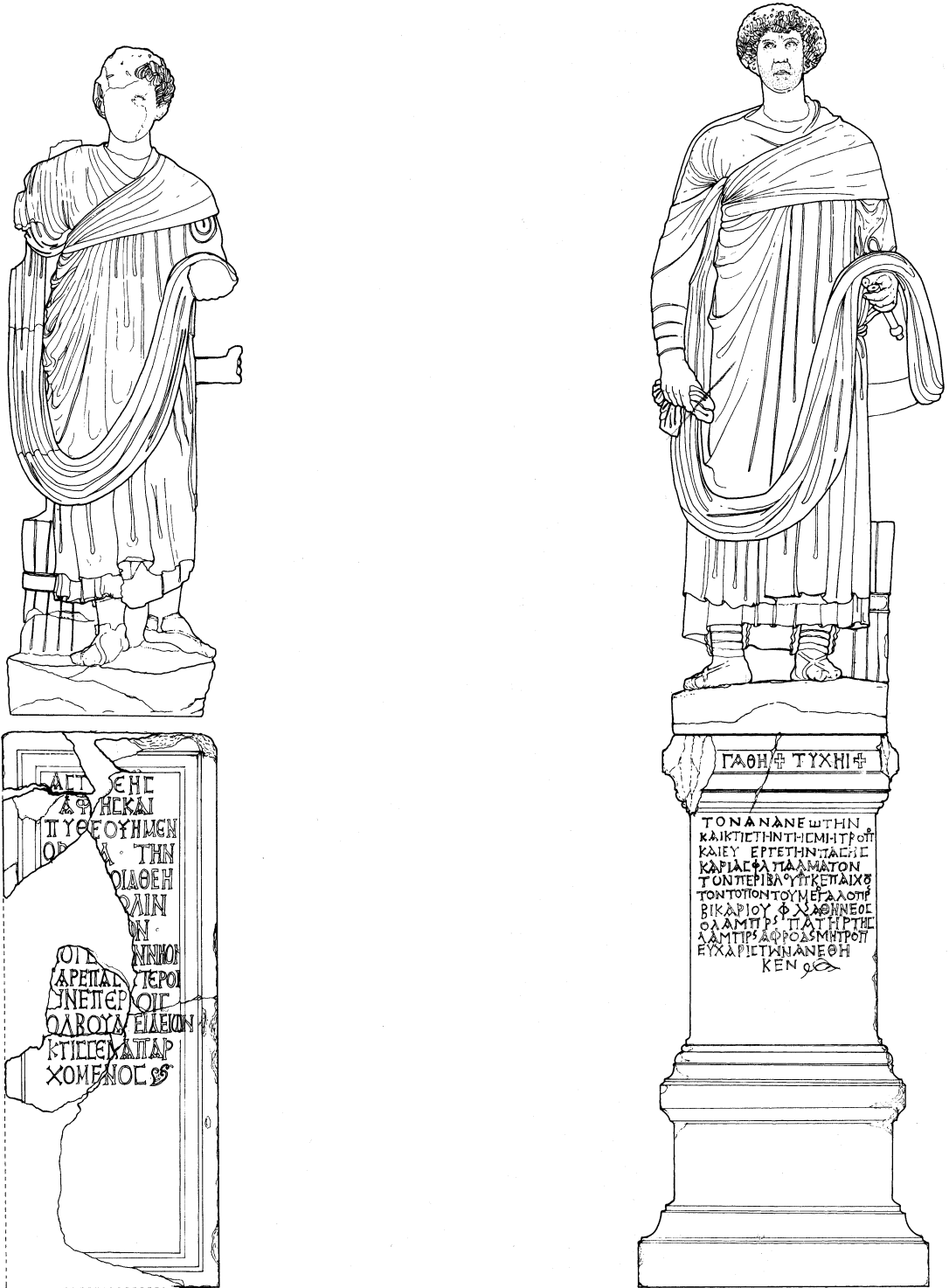
³⁸ Base: *ALA*, no. 56. Statue: IR I, no. 244.

³⁹ For all of which, see *ALA*, pp. 93–7, on nos 55–9.

⁴⁰ Base: *ALA*, no. 62. Statue: IR II, no. 208.

⁴¹ Date: C. Roueché, 'A new inscription from Aphrodisias and the title *patēr tēs poleōs*', *GRBS* 20

(1979), 173–85. For this group at Aphrodisias and Ephesus: R. R. R. Smith, 'A late Roman portrait and a himation statue from Aphrodisias', in *100 Jahre österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos: Akten des Symposions Wien* (1999), 713–19.



FIGS 8-9. STATUE MONUMENTS OF PYTHEAS (*left*) AND FL. PALMATUS (*right*). RESTORED ELEVATIONS. IN PYTHEAS' MONUMENT (*left*), PLINTHS ABOVE AND BELOW INSCRIBED SHAFT MAY BE MISSING. FOR FIND CONTEXTS, SEE FIGS 7 AND 10. (Drawn by K. Görkay)



FIG. 10. FIND PLAN OF LATE ANTIQUE STATUES AND INSCRIBED BASES AT WEST TETRASTOON, IN FRONT OF THEATRE, APHRODISIAS. A–E: ELEMENTS OF THEODOSIUS' MONUMENT (FIG. 2). F: FL. PALMATUS (FIG. 9). (Drawn by C. Norman)

V. SETTING, DISPLAY, AND HONORANDS

Drawing on the precise information given by the statues briefly presented above, we may now analyse some aspects of the statuary practice they exemplify. First, setting, patterns of finds, and subjects honoured.

The excellent preservation of Aphrodisias allows an unrivalled picture of late antique public statuary in its urban context.⁴² We have the city centre as it was in perhaps the sixth century, with a surprising amount — especially the statue bases — left *in situ* or near its original context. We have surviving much more late antique material proportionally than we should. The schematic find map (Fig. 11) filters out the finds of thirty-four inscribed late statue bases and some fifty items of statuary. Firstly and obviously, we can see a clear overlap of the two. That is, even when they cannot now be connected, the inscribed bases and the statues go broadly together, and — an obvious corollary — the statues and heads must represent broadly the range of subjects honoured on the inscribed bases. This is important: even without precise identifications, we can still infer broadly what *kind* of subjects we are dealing with. Secondly, the statue display, though much reduced in numbers compared to the middle imperial period, was concentrated for better effect in just three main civic areas: (1) in and in front of the Bouleuterion, (2) in the columned forecourt of the Hadrianic Baths and the adjoining east stoa of the South Agora, and (3) in front of the west colonnade of the Tetrastoon in front of the Theatre. All three complexes were important focuses of civic activity and all saw extensive maintenance and restoration works in the period.⁴³

In terms of their display, it is noticeable how the statues, though usually smaller in real height than middle imperial statues, tend now to enter into the public space in front of the old monuments rather than being set into programmed architectural frames — niches and columnar façades — where they would seem withdrawn from the viewer. Thus in the Tetrastoon in front of the Theatre (Fig. 10), the statue monuments to fourth-century emperors and fifth- to sixth-century governors were posted in front of the columns actually on the square (there was originally a line of seven statues here, some with their bases sunk into the paving). The same tendency is visible in the positioning of late antique honorific statues at Ephesus actually on the embolos street in front of the street colonnades (see n. 42). The deployment and closer engagement of the new statue monuments directly in the public space of circulating citizens compensated for their generally smaller scale. The same purpose lies behind the various configurations of spolia that make up the statue supports (re-used bases, column shafts, column capitals): to achieve a more imposing effect, a greater sense of height within the overall proportions of the monument.

Again in the columned forecourt in front of the Baths, statues of an imperial *comes* and a Praetorian Prefect were posted in front of the great grey column pedestals that carried the colossal architectural order of this very grand space.⁴⁴ This forecourt connected directly through a central doorway and stairs with the adjoining portico below that formed the west end of the South Agora. This portico too was a favoured setting for late statue monuments. Here there were the group of statues of Theodosius' co-emperors described above (Figs 3–4), a statue of a vicar, and one of a local magnate (Albinus) who was active in the refurbishing of this colonnade (a series of acclamations to him are inscribed on its columns).⁴⁵ At the Bouleuterion the great Pytheas stood inside somewhere and the two governors Alexander and Oecumenius outside facing the North Agora (Fig. 7) — perhaps significantly just in front of the grand refurbished residence that lies over the civic buildings to the west of the Bouleuterion. This setting was more traditional. The statues of Alexander and Oecumenius became part of the same gallery that contained the tall and majestic statues of Dometinus and Tatiana — a great city aristocrat-benefactor and his niece of the early Severan period.⁴⁶

⁴² Compare statuary settings at Ephesus studied in Foss, *op. cit.* (n. 5), ch. 5. On Constantinopolitan statuary practices, see Alan Cameron, *Porphyrius the Charioteer* (1973). Useful collection of evidence in F. A. Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal in der Spätantike: Untersuchungen zur Ausstattung des öffentlichen Raums in den spätantiken Städten Rom, Konstantinopel und Ephesos* (1996).

⁴³ The concentration of sculpture finds marked to the north of the Sebasteion are the late marble shield

portraits of classical sages and culture heroes from the 'Atrium House', published in *JRS* 1990, nos 1–11, supplemented by R. R. R. Smith, 'A new portrait of Pythagoras', in *Aphrodisias Papers* 2 (1991), 159–67.

⁴⁴ *ALA*, nos 14 and 37.

⁴⁵ Theodosian group, above n. 29. Vicar (Menander): *ALA*, no. 24. Albinus: *ALA*, no. 82 (his acclamations are nos 83–4).

⁴⁶ IR II, nos 186–7; *JRS* 1998, 66–7, figs 1–2.

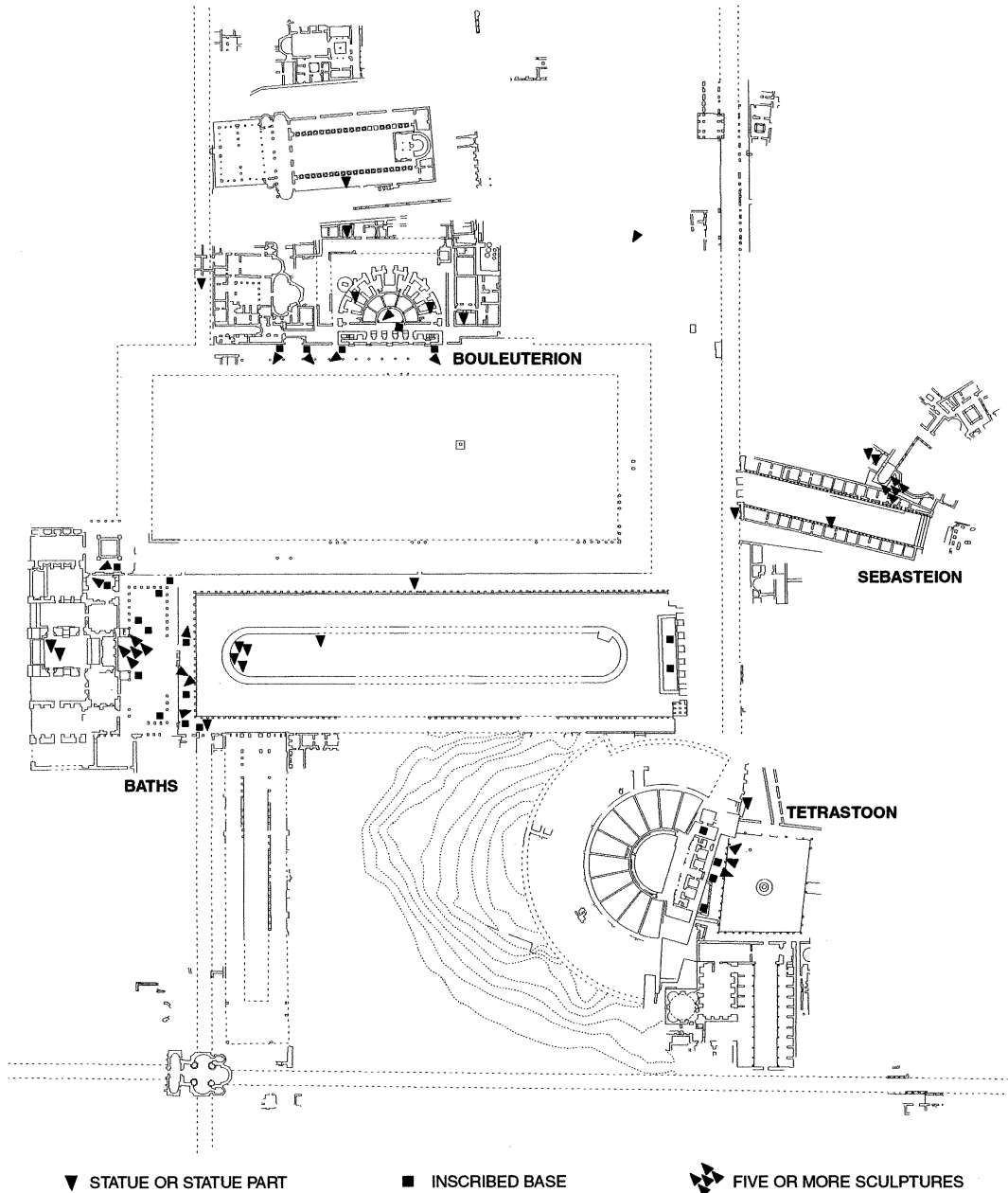


FIG. 11. FIND PLAN OF LATE ANTIQUE STATUARY AND INSCRIBED BASES IN CITY CENTRE, APHRODISIAS.
(Drawn by H. Mark)

In terms of the kinds of people honoured and the people responsible for setting up their images, the late statues are markedly different from those of the Middle Empire — the statues embodied a different set of political relations. The thirty-four surviving bases record the following subjects honoured: nine imperial figures (all before 400), sixteen officers of the imperial government (Praetorian Prefects, vicars, governors — throughout the period), and nine local notables (mainly late, that is, later fifth and sixth

century).⁴⁷ In the majority then and constant throughout are the governors. Two or three of the governors seem also to have been local men from Aphrodisias.⁴⁸

The statues were set up by a variety of bodies and individuals — the majority simply by the city (*patris, polis*), not the *boulē* and *dēmos* machinery of earlier times. The last statue set up by *boulē* and *dēmos* was still in the third century.⁴⁹ The *boulē* alone, now low in prestige, set up only three statues.⁵⁰ The province and the Carians set up four statues (of a governor, an empress, a prefect, and a vicar — all outside figures).⁵¹ And eight statues were dedicated by individuals, who are nearly all central government people, governors or prefects; and the majority of these dedications are the imperial statues of the middle and later fourth century.⁵² Only one local Aphrodisian sponsored a statue himself, and he was an important official, the *pater civitatis* — the Flavius Atheneus who set up the statue of Palmatus.⁵³ The densest parts of earlier statue practice — statues of citizen benefactors set up by council and people — are now the thinnest. The dedication of imperial statues, so prominent relatively still in the fourth century seems to stop abruptly in *c.* 400 and may well have been the subject of controlling legislation.⁵⁴

Clearly there were many fewer statues in total being put up compared with the Middle Empire. There are about 140 surviving inscribed bases for honorific statues at Aphrodisias from the first to the third century (many more no doubt are built into the fourth-century city-wall with their inscribed faces concealed), against thirty-four bases for the period A.D. 300–600. The equivalent ratio of inscriptions of all kinds — 1,500 imperial-period versus 230 for Late Antiquity — has been widely quoted as an index of decline.⁵⁵ The ratios, 4:1 for statues and 6:1 for inscriptions of all kinds, represent not so much a decline, a downward slope or curve of numbers tailing off in an increasingly exhausted civic environment, rather a sudden and drastic drop to a quite different level of public statue dedication. That new, lower level of statue dedication remained constant or even increased slightly during the period, in the fifth century. The number suddenly falls again for a second time in the later sixth or early seventh century, this time to zero.⁵⁶ The drop, which occurred *c.* 250–300, was also surely much more dramatic than these relative statistics suggest because we have proportionally much more surviving from the late period.

The simple causes of the sudden reduction in statue dedications are to be found in the new political relations of a late antique provincial capital. City politics were now organized by a governor, not a multiplicity of competing local aristocrats. There was less competition, fewer benefactions, and fewer people to be honoured. Paying for buildings and receiving honorific statues in return had been a major currency of civic politics in the imperial period. But now, with more than enough already built and the governor in control of local politics and directing building works to restoration and maintenance, much of the interest and point had gone out of the old game of competitive euergetism.

⁴⁷ Imperial figures: *ALA*, nos 2, 3, 4, 20–1, 23, 25–7. Governors and other imperial office-holders: *ALA*, nos 5, 6, 7, 14–16, 24, 31–2, 36–7, 41, 62–5. Local notables: *ALA*, nos 33, 53, 56, 73, 82, 85–8. For a wider perspective, see the very useful discussion of public statue practice in Late Antiquity by M. Horster, 'Ehrungen spätantiker Statthalter', *Antiquité Tardive* 6 (1998), 37–59, examining synthetically the some 300 surviving honorific texts for late antique provincial governors from both the eastern and western parts of the Empire.

⁴⁸ Certainly *ALA*, nos 7 and 24.

⁴⁹ *ALA*, no. 5.

⁵⁰ *ALA*, nos 24, 31, 88.

⁵¹ *ALA*, nos 16, 23, 36, 63.

⁵² *ALA*, nos 20, 21, 25–7, 37, 41, 62.

⁵³ *ALA*, no. 62.

⁵⁴ For which, see *ALA*, p. 62, with references.

⁵⁵ Figures in *ALA*, p. xx; cf. Liebeschuetz, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 4–6.

⁵⁶ On the final demise of honorific statue dedications: C. Mango, 'Épigrammes honorifiques, statues et portraits à Byzance', *Aphierōma ston Niko Svorōno I* (1986), 23–35 = *Studies on Constantinople* (1993), ch. IX; Cameron, *op. cit.* (n. 42), 254–5. A reduction of statues in the second half of the fifth century, following a law of 444 (CJ 1.24.4) stipulating that honorands should pay for their own monuments, is hypothesized by Horster, *op. cit.* (n. 47), 57.

VI. STATUE BASES AND EPIGRAPHIC STYLE

It is in this context that an explanation of some distinguishing characteristics of the inscriptions on the statue bases, to which we now turn, may lie. We have seen how the surviving bases of the monuments that we can reconstruct take novel liberties with earlier, long-established norms of construction and formal design. Statue and base seem often to aim for an aesthetic effect of tall, slender elegance. There are also striking novelties in the style and content of the inscriptions on the bases. There are three important new phenomena: (1) a new 'style' of lettering, (2) verse format, and (3) strangely empty content. Two or more of these things are surely in some way connected, but quite how is not immediately clear.

The new anarchic style of lettering is the most striking visual aspect of the inscriptions, and has been well described in the best recent account, by Charlotte Roueché, as 'the abandonment of the tendency towards uniformity'.⁵⁷ Roueché connects the new lettering manner with the lack of substantive content, in the following way. While noting there may have been 'organizational' problems in the letter carving business (lack of work), she sees as more important 'a change of taste, whereby uniformity no longer seemed desirable'. This is then connected with the general trend of late antique epigraphy away from the legible informative civic documents of the middle imperial period to inscriptions that convey little formal information. And this in turn is seen as a precursor of the elegant, decorative, and highly elaborated monumental epigraphy of early Byzantine churches.⁵⁸ This explanation seems to me to put the emphasis in not quite the right place. It is difficult to see the lack of uniformity as any kind of designed variety, and it seems a long way in epigraphic terms from the inscriptions of Constantinopolitan church architecture (SS Sergius and Bacchus is cited) to the writing on these provincial statue bases. It might be better, in my opinion, to start with the circumstances of production.

Inscriptions of the Early and Middle Empire have a uniform, refined, machine-like neatness, an elegant formality that derived from a long tradition of professional letter-cutters sustained by very high demand (Pl. V, 3).⁵⁹ In the fourth century, a sharp and relatively sudden drop in demand simply put the professionals out of business, leaving epigraphic texts to be inscribed by other masons, perfectly legibly but not uniformly (Pl. V, 4). A pleasing variety seems less their goal than an affordable and readable transcription of the text — a decorative effect is mostly not within their reach. Variety in this perspective seems to be an accidental by-product of the lack of a professional standard. There was clearly an element of economy involved, seen also in the number of late bases that are second-hand (the great majority). The sharp change in lettering style came at Aphrodisias sometime after 300. The last dated inscription cut in the old precision style is that for a governor of the Tetrarchic period.⁶⁰ We witness here the death of a workshop tradition, and it is striking that the disjunction in the epigraphic tradition did not coincide with one in the sculpture workshops. While sponsors (and their target public) were prepared to tolerate non-professional inscriptions, they still provided enough work to keep a few high-grade portrait sculptors in business — perhaps only one or two families. They maintained fine statuary carving skills until demand became so intermittent in the sixth century that quality faltered and the tradition quickly died.

⁵⁷ *ALA*, p. xxii.

⁵⁸ *ALA*, pp. xxii–xxiii; followed, in condensed form, by Liebeschuetz, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 5: 'Verse epigrams tend to take the place of prose in honorific inscriptions. . . . often seem to have been set up for their decorative value. . . . aesthetic and ceremonial rather than political'.

⁵⁹ Pl. V, 3 shows the inscribed panelled shaft (inv.

72–54) from an early third-century honorific monument to a leading local citizen, one T. Flavius Sallustius Athenagoras, which was re-used with a new inscription on the back for the base of a statue of Valens (*ALA*, no. 21) set up in the west Tetrastoon. The earlier text is unpublished.

⁶⁰ *ALA*, no. 7.

The change of lettering style, or lack of it, is to be explained then by the breakdown of a profession rather than by a taste for variety or by low substantive content. It is probably rather the new preference for verse epigrams and the nature of the honorands and their benefactions that should explain the character of the content of the texts.

Early and middle imperial honorific inscriptions give detailed local family connections of the men honoured — father always, grandfather and other forebears often. They itemize civic careers and posts held, and they enumerate good deeds and benefactions — all in long ponderous single prose sentences. The late inscriptions on the other hand are cultivated, highly allusive, Hellenistic-style epigrams in fancy sub-Homeric language.⁶¹ They give as a matter of course only the honorand's name. They rarely give a patronymic. Sometimes they allude to an office (governor) but often not. And they may make vague mention of good deeds and works, but certainly not always or necessarily. The texts concentrate instead on the virtue, integrity, and culture of the subject. They also like to mention the statue above, something now sufficiently rare and astonishing in its technical attainment to deserve comment. With so few statues set up of such a restricted circle of prominent individuals, there was probably no need to specify an honorand's family names and curriculum vitae in order to identify him. Everyone knew who and what each new statue represented: he was usually the governor. Since he was also generally not a local, his family details would be less interesting. Family is a local matter, and these are men from central government. (There are few women among these statues — unlike the Middle Empire — simply because women did not hold such government posts.) Imprecise or no mention is made of benefactions, either because again they were well-known to all, or because there were not really so many great good works or benefactions to speak of. Often one suspects the subject of the statue was being honoured simply because he was the governor: a favourite topic, now thought worthy of lavish praise, was the mere honest discharge of the office itself.

The allusive verse format and the lofty phrases with the ring of heroic but vague *kluta erga* were, in this perspective, a useful way of masking the lack of real euergetic substance. It is easier after all to say nothing in verse than in prose. Concrete good deeds and benefactions had earlier been set out in dry but limpid prose, while the late epigrams hurry over concrete actions to dwell on virtues, such as culture, wisdom, and what everyone wanted from a governor and judge in an age of heavy bureaucracy and taxation — honesty and uncorrupt practice. (More on this later: it is the fullest and most positive aspect of the epigrams.)

This relationship might also be looked at another way. Instead of seeing verse as a mask for a lack of real content, it might be said that vague content made the use of verse possible — verse having its own distinct advantages. The fact that everyone knew so well who the honorand was and what his good deeds were that they did not need to be specified, itself permitted and encouraged the use of verse. One obvious advantage of verse was that it could convey merely through its language a much more highly charged, more highly coloured laudatory and honorific effect than the documentary prose text of earlier times. In this perspective, verse, so strongly favoured in the Greek-speaking part of the Empire, can be seen as an equivalent of the grandiloquence and rhetorical escalation that overtook official Latin prose in Late Antiquity, both government pronouncements and honorific texts.⁶² This desire for more emphatic and forceful expression, often of old and traditional ideas, was something distinctive to Late Antiquity in both its verbal and visual media. We will look later at how it affected the statuary under examination.

⁶¹ For the late epigrams: esp. Robert, *Épigrammes*. See also Mango, op. cit. (n. 56); R. Merkelbach and J. Stauber, *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten* (1988); C. Roueché, 'Benefactors in the Late Roman period: the eastern empire', in M. Christol and O. Masson (eds), *Actes du Xe congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine, Nîmes Oct. 1992* (1997), 353–68; Horster, op. cit. (n. 47), 52–3.

⁶² Mounting moral rhetoric of government:

S. Corcoran, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs: Imperial Pronouncements and Government (AD 284–324)* (1996), 207–13. Escalation of language of virtues in Latin honorific texts: *ILS* 1220–1284 (earlier fourth to mid-fifth century), with V. Neri, 'L'elogio della cultura e l'elogio delle virtù politiche nell' epigrafia latina del IV secolo d.c.', *Epigraphica* 43 (1981), 175–201.

VII. DRESS CODES AND STATUE TYPES: CHLAMYS, TOGA, HIMATION

In comparison with those of the early and middle imperial period, late antique statues make a striking contrast in both external matters of dress and hairstyle and internal style and expression. The most common dress-types were the chlamys and the new 'late' toga. Both were quite unlike anything worn in the earlier period — especially the chlamys. The new costumes so radically altered the shape and design of statues that statues wearing them could not readily be carved out of old recycled statues. It was the demand for statues in the new costumes that kept figure sculptors in business for three centuries after the letter-cutters had been paid off. Both literary texts and official texts, such as the law codes, also show how extraordinarily important wearing the correct clothes in the correct way was in Late Antiquity.⁶³

Late antique dress is a large and complicated subject, and recent discussion of the new costumes worn by these statues has tried to find specific correlations between them and particular offices. Some competing claims need to be assessed.

Chlamys

The chlamys was a long, thick cloak fastened over the right shoulder with an elaborate long fibula (Pl. II). On statues the fibula would be added separately, and its shape and prominence is best understood in real examples and in representations in other media.⁶⁴ The cloak reaches to the ankles and is worn over a long-sleeved tunic, belted at the waist, that reaches below the knees. The belt (*cingulum*) is sometimes shown prominently on the statues, seen at the opening of the cloak on the proper right side of the figure, and carried the special significance of the belt of office which is mentioned in literature and the law codes; when no belt is visible, however, it should probably not be concluded, as many have, that the person represented was not an office-holder on active service.⁶⁵ In coloured media (manuscripts, wallpaintings, mosaics), the tunic is usually white (sometimes with patterns) and the belt red, while the chlamys can be brown, red, blue, white, or purple, and can carry various patterns in the field.⁶⁶ In addition the chlamys can and usually did have distinguishing rectangular 'patches' (*segmenta*) of contrasting colour usually sewn at mid-height along the front and back

⁶³ Literary texts: R. MacMullen, 'Some pictures in Ammianus Marcellinus', *Art Bulletin* 46 (1964), 435–55 = *Changes in the Roman Empire: Essays in the Ordinary* (1990), 78–106, esp. 95–102; from a different perspective, M. Roberts, *The Jeweled Style: Poetry and Poetics in Late Antiquity* (1989), ch. 3, 'Poetry and the Visual Arts', esp. 111–21, on dress. For the variety of literary interest in dress, see the texts on togas gathered in Delbrueck, *Konsulardiptychen*, xxxiv–xlvi, and Goette, *Togadarstellungen*, 10–19. For the late antique *habitus* regulations in the law codes, see H. Löhken, *Ordines dignitatum. Untersuchungen zur formalen Konstitutierung der spätantiken Führungsschicht* (1982), 82–7; O. Schlinkert, *Ordo senatorius und nobilitas. Die Konstitution des Senatsadel in der Spätantike* (1996), 147–53. The best known is *Cod. Theod.* 14.10.1 of 382, about senatorial dress in Constantinople (senators must wear the toga for senate meetings and senatorial trials, otherwise the peaceful *paenula*, and certainly not the chlamys); cf. Schlinkert, op. cit., 148–50.

⁶⁴ On the chlamys costume in general Delbrueck, *Konsulardiptychen*, 36–40. Fibulae: J. P. Sodini, 'La contribution de l'archéologie à la connaissance du monde byzantin (IVe–VIIe siècles)', *DOP* 47 (1993), 139–84, at 167, with specialist literature cited nn.

205–9. The long 'crossbow' fibula is the type normally worn with the ranking chlamys: *ibid.*, fig. 23, and regularly in narrative scenes (below, n. 66).

⁶⁵ Belt of office: Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. *cingulum*, with literary and law code references; Delbrueck, *Konsulardiptychen*, 36–7; Löhken, op. cit. (n. 63), 83–6. Against the widely held view that the lack of a (visible) belt in representations implied that the subject was 'inactive' or 'with only titular office', see Horster, op. cit. (n. 47), 45.

⁶⁶ Grabar, *Byzantium*, figs 143 (St Demetrios, Thessaloniki), 162 (King Herod, S. Maria Maggiore, Rome), 171–2 (Justinian and entourage, S. Vitale, Ravenna), 222 (courtiers before Potiphar's wife, Vienna Genesis), and 232 (Pilate and officials, Rossano Gospels). Note especially the cycle devoted to dressing in the chlamys uniform painted in the tomb at Silistra on the lower Danube, in which it is remarkable that separate wall panels feature the bringing by servants of the following items of the master's dress, (1) tight booted trousers (visible on the statues only as boots?), (2) tunic, (3) massive *cingulum*, and (4) the chlamys itself: D. P. Dimitrov and M. Čičikova, *The Late Roman Tomb near Silistra* (1986).

vertical open edges of the garment — they were to be visible from both the front and the back.⁶⁷ On his feet, the chlamydatus figure always wears plain pointed boots. Boots, sleeved tunic, long cloak were all parts of a new distinctive uniform of the late antique period. Long cloaks had been worn in the Hellenistic and Roman periods (they were travelling and winter cloaks) but were never part of a representational costume that might be worn in this way on statues.⁶⁸ The cloak had previously been the dress of the camp, the hunt, and the journey; it was worn outside the city and was opposed to the civilian toga and himation worn inside the city.

Who wore the chlamys? The different colours and segment patches may have expressed a range of ranks and offices within the dress type, now mostly lost to us, but in itself it was not an exclusive dress type and had a wide range of potential wearers. In representational art, however, it probably had a recognizably defined range of primary wearers. On monuments at Constantinople it is worn by emperors, princes, and high-ranking members of the court and military. It was clearly a garment of the centre, of the imperial court and the imperial government. On monuments such as the Theodosian obelisk base it can be used to mark off military offices (including the emperor's) from those of high-placed civilian and senatorial figures who wear the toga.⁶⁹

In the provinces, at Aphrodisias and elsewhere, chlamydatus statues were once thought to represent local 'magistrates', that is, local *politeuomenoi* and members of the *boulē*. But this clearly misses their significance, and reacting against this deeply-rooted opinion, Ihor Ševčenko used the base and statue of Oecumenius to suggest instead that they represent provincial governors.⁷⁰ Many, perhaps most, did indeed represent governors, but it was hardly an exclusive uniform of that office. That is, the primary association of the chlamys in a provincial city might have been with the figure of the governor, but it was demonstrably not exclusive to his images. A fragmentary chlamydatus statue from the Hadrianic Baths at Aphrodisias was found with and seems to belong to an inscribed base honouring a local man who seems to have exercised no office,⁷¹ and in the famous scene of Pontius Pilate's court in the sixth-century Rossano Gospels the governor wears a chlamys but so too do other officials in the scene.⁷²

The chlamys was essentially a military garment and an intrusion into the previously predominantly civilian statue landscape. For a modern parallel, one might think of the comparable effect nearer our own times that was conveyed by the great coat, which shares with the chlamys both the heavy, body-length covering and the directly military evocation. The chlamys then was a garment of the centre, of the court, of the military, and in the provinces of imperial governors. Governors were part of the civilian administration of the late Roman government, but the military chlamys might usefully suggest a governor's power of authoritarian command. It could set the governor off from local politicians and could represent the (metaphorical) idea of his government service abroad as a *militia*.⁷³

The scroll held in the right hand of some chlamydatus statues (Pls I, 3; II) could be taken as the general attribute of literary education and culture, widely carried by statues earlier in a variety of contexts; or in this context it could be taken as a more particular

⁶⁷ MacMullen, *op. cit.* (n. 63), 99–101. Front and back: Grabar, *Byzantium*, fig. 232 (Pilate scene, Rossano Gospels).

⁶⁸ Long travelling cloak: R. R. R. Smith, *Aphrodisias I: The Monument of C. Julius Zoilos* (1993), 34–5, with further examples n. 37, pls 12–13. Short paludamentum worn with tunic only (that is, without armour), common in middle imperial historical reliefs but rare as a statue costume: H. G. Niemeyer, *Studien zur statuarischen Darstellung der römischen Kaiser* (1968), nos 34–5.

⁶⁹ cf. Delbrueck, *Konsulardiptychen*, 40, with illustrations in Bruns, *Obelisk*.

⁷⁰ I. Ševčenko, 'A late antique epigram and the so-called Elder Magistrate from Aphrodisias', *Synthronon (Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques 2, 1968)*, 29–41.

⁷¹ *ALA*, no. 33: 'the wise Eupethius', who may then have been a sophist. Fragmentary statue (plinth, feet, lower part of chlamys), inv. 66–554: unpublished. This man's wearing of the chlamys does not undercut its root military meaning. What is striking is that even a local wanted to wear this garment.

⁷² Grabar, *Byzantium*, fig. 232.

⁷³ On administrative office as *militia*: Löhken, *op. cit.* (n. 63), 36–7; Schlinkert, *op. cit.* (n. 63), 84, n. 1, 134, n. 36. The dress law of 382 alluded to above (n. 63), *Cod. Theod.* 14.10.1, is explicit on this connection, and in a striking turn of imperial rhetoric refers to the 'terror of the chlamys': senators are not to wear the *habitus militaris* in the capital, rather the toga or the *paenula*, 'the fearsome chlamys having been laid aside', *chlamydis terrore deposito*.

representation of the codicil of the honorand's office — his official papers of appointment.⁷⁴ The statues of course did not need to specify which allusion was meant. The costume and known role of Oecumenius as governor, for example, invite the more particular reading as an imperial document; the inscribed base of the statue (quoted above, p. 165) however draws attention to his advanced literary culture, thus inviting the more traditional allusion. In an age whose leading historian could credibly accuse the aristocracy of Rome of 'hating learning like poison' (Ammianus Marcellinus 28.4.14), the traditional symbolism of the scroll no doubt retained value and potency. So too with the almost universal use of tied bundles of scrolls posted on the statue plinths as supports for the figures (even sometimes where they are not structurally required). They could refer to traditional literary ability, and in this late official context they could carry a complementary reference to the bulging packet of papers, documents, briefs, petitions that were the business of the conscientious late Roman governor and administrator (an office-holding meaning probably not absent also from earlier honorific statues of city notables). The scroll bundles would thus allude to the praiseworthy virtue of carrying out one's duties scrupulously — the honorand is always with his papers. The scroll bundle may then be taken in this late antique provincial context as a civilian complement to the military chlamys. It refers to the sphere of action in which these militarily costumed figures operate — that is, the sphere of jurisdiction and administration for which their education and learning ideally suits them.⁷⁵

Toga

If the chlamys was like a great coat, the toga was like a morning-coat or tails with top hat. The late Roman toga was the same garment as the early imperial dress-toga that had been formalized by Augustus as the display suit of the *civis Romanus*. That is, it was still called a toga and was still a voluminous, awkward, stately white garment, but it was not simply a formal variant or evolution of the old toga. The late toga worn by public statues was a separate, re-designed, more compact uniform with its own distinct formal 'architecture' (Pls III–IV).⁷⁶ It is now worn with *two* undergarments — a thin long-sleeved tunic reaching to the upper ankle, and over this the old tunic whose lower hem now reaches down to just above that of the undertunic. The two separate lower edges of these two undergarments are always clearly articulated on the statues. The toga itself is a much shorter garment, more practical but no less impressive. Unlike the old toga which dragged around the feet, the new design comes only to the knees, leaving the long stretches of the fine tunic and undertunic visible below. Above, the old bulky scheme of *balteus* and *umbo* is abandoned in favour of a simple, triangular overfold pulled tightly across the chest from the right armpit to the left shoulder. The garment then re-appears from behind, on the proper right side, wide of the body, forming a single broad U in front of the body, rising from the right knee to the extended left forearm over which the excess cloth hangs — this was a traditional (and awkward) defining feature of the garment.

⁷⁴ Scroll as attribute of literary culture: P. Zanker, *The Mask of Sokrates: The Image of the Intellectual in Antiquity* (1995), 190–7, 268–84. Codicils: Löhken, *op. cit.* (n. 63), 78, 124, 131. The presentation of such a document is the core narrative of the Theodosian missorium in Madrid: Grabar, *Byzantium*, 303, figs 348–51; most recently, M. Meischner, 'Das Missorium des Theodosius in Madrid', *JdI* 111 (1996), 389–432, proposing to change the date, on which see now W. Raeck, 'Doctissimus Imperator: Ein Aspekt des Herrscherideals in der spätantiken Kunst', *AA* (1998), 509–22, at 520–2.

⁷⁵ On which, see material collected by D. Nellen, *Viri litterati: Gebildetes Beamtenum und spät Römisches*

Reich im Westen (2nd edn, 1981). It is remarkable that the new chlamys-wearing statue from Caesarea Maritima (above, n. 22) has both a highly visible sword and a scroll bundle at its feet (on which the end of the sword scabbard rests). This seems to be a rare explicit combination of military and administrative/cultural attributes.

⁷⁶ On the late Roman toga: Delbrueck, *Konsulardiptychen*, 44–51; Goette, *Togadarstellungen*, 59–63; H. Wrede, *Gnomon* 67 (1995), 541–50, at 544–8 (review of Goette, *Togadarstellungen*); S. Stone, 'The toga: from national to ceremonial costume', in J. L. Sebesta and L. Bonfante (eds), *The World of Roman Costume* (1994), 13–45, at 34–8.

The shortened lower part of the costume leaves the ankles and feet exposed and visible, and this opportunity is taken for detailed representation of the boots. These are the same cross-strapped senatorial boots of the Early Empire (*calcei patricii*), but they are now represented with much more detail and attention.⁷⁷ The shorter toga allows particular emphasis to be put on the horizontal strapping around the ankles, and the free-hanging ends that fall over the ankles on either side are shown with great care. Separate fragments of such footwear are immediately recognizable as belonging to late antique toga figures. And this was surely part of the purpose of the new toga design — to allow clearer distinctions of rank and office. Since in the early third century all free-born members of the Empire had become Roman citizens and so could in theory wear the (old-style) toga when they liked, we may imagine that the élite began to feel the need for new dress distinctions. And significantly, there are new toga types available starting in the early third century. Their significance is most clearly legible on the ‘biographical’ sarcophagi of the Roman élite, such as the well known ‘Brothers’ sarcophagus now in Naples, which shows the deceased in several different kinds of toga according to a series of stereotyped contexts, roles, and virtues — at home, at sacrifice, with fellow senators.⁷⁸ Old-style togas continued to be worn during our period,⁷⁹ and generally, the various new forms of the late toga can be seen as ways of defining further, higher ranks or offices within the larger group of possible toga-wearers.

What then were these higher ranks or offices and what did the new toga costume signify for them? Clive Foss in an important study of the Ephesian late togati has concluded that it signified the rank and office of proconsul.⁸⁰ This we will see is not quite right: while most of the late togati from Ephesus may well be statues of proconsuls (the provincial governorship of Asia, based at Ephesus, was of proconsular rank), this does not necessarily mean that the form of toga they wear signified a proconsul.

Two primary associations of the costume seem clear: it was civilian and senatorial and thus combined both rank and public role. It is significant that on fully preserved figures the new toga is always worn with senatorial shoes. Other visual media and literary sources show that there were again hierarchies represented within the new toga costume by embroidered patterns and by variations in the way the upper garments were disposed.⁸¹ At Constantinople, the new toga costume is worn by emperors, princes, consuls, and high-ranking senatorial members of the civilian administration. In the provinces it is worn by proconsuls at Ephesus (for example, by Stephanus),⁸² at Aphrodisias by a consular governor and acting vicar (Palmatius: Pl. III), and by a senatorial-ranking local (Pytheas: Pl. IV). The emphatic footwear with cross-straps probably continued to denote senatorial rank. Additional attributes could raise the rank represented, especially the sceptre, which was a badge of the consul and so a symbol of consular rank.⁸³ This was the attribute carried by Palmatius. It is a frequent element of these statues attested, even when no longer preserved, by broken connecting struts on the left shoulder. The new toga then was the dress of the senator, and when combined with a sceptre, of consuls, proconsuls, and consulares.

Many have taken the mappa to be a further attribute of rank. A number of the statues carried the mappa, either in their lowered right hand, as Palmatius does (Pl. III), or in their raised right hand, as did Stephanus at Ephesus (see n. 82) and Pytheas and one of the Theodosian statues at Aphrodisias (Pls I, 1; IV). This latter posture with the mappa raised above the shoulder requires a larger block of marble for the statue and

⁷⁷ H. R. Goette, ‘Mulleus-Embals-Calceus’, *Jdl* 103 (1988), 401–64.

⁷⁸ On different toga types current in the third century and the ‘Brothers’ Sarcophagus: Goette, *Togadarstellungen*, 51–8, 161 S 32, pl. 74.2; Stone, op. cit. (n. 76), 25, fig. 1.16.

⁷⁹ For example, a statue from Ostia: Goette, *Togadarstellungen*, 140, Bb 182, pl. 27.5–6.

⁸⁰ C. Foss, ‘Stephanus, Proconsul of Asia, and related statues’, *Okeanos: Essays I. Ševčenko* (= *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7) (1983), 196–217 = C. Foss, *History and Archaeology of Byzantine Asia Minor* (1990), ch. III.

⁸¹ Delbrueck, *Konsulardiptychen*, 51–4.

⁸² Stephanus: IR I, no. 202; Foss, op. cit. (n. 80). Note an important recent article that affects Stephanus’ office and chronology: D. Feissel, ‘Vicaires et proconsuls d’Asie du IV^e au VI^e siècle: Remarques sur l’administration du diocèse asianique du bas-empire’, *Antiquité Tardive* 6 (1998), 91–104, at 95–102, showing that Stephanus was both proconsular governor of Asia and vicar to the prefect of the other provinces of the diocese of Asia, in the early fifth century.

⁸³ Sceptre: Delbrueck, *Konsulardiptychen*, 61–2.

some very difficult and high-risk carving of the raised arm which has to be worked in the round and supported by awkwardly placed struts. It was clearly therefore felt to be a very important signifying feature, and we should pay close attention to its meaning. According to common opinion, the mappa indicates a consul at the circus and when raised that he is about to start a chariot race by dropping the mappa.⁸⁴ There is however a logical problem: consuls may have started races by dropping a mappa,⁸⁵ but this need not mean either that all figures with mappas are consuls or consulars, or that all figures represented with a mappa in their raised right hand are deemed to be starting a chariot race. Contextual narrative scenes, especially those on the Theodosian obelisk base, suggest a rather different and broader meaning — at least for the statues, but perhaps also for the figures on the diptychs.

On the Theodosian base the emperor and court are represented as though at the games in the hippodrome. On the south-eastern side, where the emperor surrounded by his entourage holds out the crown of victory while dancers and musicians perform below, no less than four togati hold mappas and at waist level (like *Palmatius*).⁸⁶ They cannot therefore be consuls (nor, obviously, starting races). Here the mappa is simply part of a costume. Furthermore, on the south-western side of the base, where the emperor and ranked entourage are deemed to be watching a race (shown in miniature below), a further five figures hold the mappa, here raised in their right hands; but not only are they not consuls, they are not even high-ranking togati. They stand in the lower tier wearing the *paenula*, the non-ranking, civilian garment.⁸⁷ So they are neither consuls nor probably even senators, and are clearly not presiding over games. They hold up their mappas simply to wave on the action, to articulate enthusiastic participation. It seems then that on the Theodosian base the mappa indicated no particular rank and was merely a part of the late antique urban and civilian dress code — something like a silk handkerchief in more recent times, something a gentleman both had with him and liked to show he had with him.

In the local context of our provincial toga statues, the mappa can then be understood as a part of the new dress toga suit, an item of Constantinopolitan fashion, and when held up in the raised right hand as a populist expression of enthusiastic participation in the people's entertainments or more simply as a gesture of greeting and address to the public (and viewer). It might then also be considered whether the togati with raised mappas on the diptychs are not also represented either as simply participating in the action or as addressing, greeting, acknowledging the crowd (and the viewer). (If they are deemed to be starting a race with the mappa, it is perhaps strange that the event depicted below is usually not a chariot scene but some other event, such as a beast hunt. In only two cases is the lower scene a chariot race, and in both of them the presiding togatus holds his mappa at his waist.)⁸⁸ It may remain for the moment an open question whether the implied narrative of the gesture (participation/address) in the provincial statues with raised mappa needs to be located at the games (as seems likely) or whether it is a gesture of wider application.

At Aphrodisias the toga figures with sceptres should represent men of consular rank. Without a sceptre, such as *Pytheas* (Pl. IV), they would be simply of senatorial rank. Those of consular rank were presumably, like *Palmatius*, usually governors.

⁸⁴ On the mappa: Delbrueck, *Konsulardiptychen*, 62–3. More recently, with references and different view: A. St Clair, 'Imperial virtue: four late antique statuettes', *DOP* 50 (1996), 147–62, at 153–5, proposing to see the attribute more as a symbol of the imperial authority of the bearer in the context of the games. Most recently, in an important article on the function of the diptychs: Alan Cameron, 'Consular diptychs in their social context: new eastern evidence', *JRA* 11 (1998), 384–403, holding mostly to Delbrueck's consular (and for the raised mappa, race-starting) view.

⁸⁵ Delbrueck, *Konsulardiptychen*, 62, citing only the role of the *mapparius* mentioned in Cedrenus (I, p. 297 Bonn), was unnecessarily cautious on this

point. Other sources, especially Suetonius, *Nero* 22 and Martial 12.29, make it clear. See further texts cited in Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. mappa.

⁸⁶ Bruns, *Obelisk*, 61–8, at 64–5, figs 77 and 82–3 (details). On the base, see recently Küllerich, op. cit. (n. 18), 31–49, with lit. n. 91.

⁸⁷ So correctly Bruns, *Obelisk*, 53–61, at 56, fig. 62 and 68–9 (details). So also on the more weathered NE side, below which the raising of the obelisk itself is shown, five mappa-waving figures in the lower tier are wearing the *paenula*, or at least clearly not the ranking *chlamys* with large crossbow fibula: *ibid.*, 46–7, figs 49–50.

⁸⁸ Delbrueck, *Konsulardiptychen*, nos 6 and 56; Volbach, nos 5 and 54.

Between 400 and 480 the governor of Caria was upgraded from *praeses* to *consularis*,⁸⁹ and one might argue that this change should be matched with, or connected to a change in the monuments in the fifth century — that is, from lower chlamys-wearing *praesides* to toga-wearing *consulares*. The toga figures might then generally be later than the chlamys figures. There is perhaps a trend, exemplified by the statues of Oecumenius and the Elder and Younger ‘Magistrates’ in the earlier fifth century (Pls I, 3–4; II) and the statue of Palmatus in later fifth or early sixth century (Pl. III), but no firm rules should be drawn.

Some dress types then were appropriate to an office but not necessary for them, while at the same time basic dress types were not exclusive to certain ranks or offices. In art and statues, emperors can wear, depending on context, either toga or chlamys (or cuirass). Statues of proconsuls prefer the toga at Ephesus but could probably wear the chlamys too (for example, in Achaea, at Megara, and Corinth).⁹⁰ Consuls in Rome and Constantinople naturally wear the toga, but consular governors and vicars in the provinces outside could wear either the toga or the chlamys. The type of garment most often goes with the role and context: thus, for example, on an ivory diptych, one Rufus Probianus appears twice, wearing a chlamys as *vicarius* of the city of Rome and a toga as a senator.⁹¹ Statues of lower-ranking governors seem to prefer the chlamys, but if the subjects were of senatorial rank they might presumably also wear a toga. The choice for statues in a provincial context would depend on what was thought locally to express the most important and most impressive aspects of the honorand’s role. At Ephesus (where there are no chlamys figures preserved) toga statues were probably preferred because they express the idea of proconsul, the rank of the governor of Asia, better than a chlamys statue. At Aphrodisias both types were used.

Himation

Powerful local aristocrats were a third important category of honorand recorded on the late-period inscribed bases from Aphrodisias — along with emperors and governors (above, n. 47). Some held or had held central government offices, some however had not. What dress types were appropriate for their statues? They could wear a chlamys — for example, the sophist(?) Eupeithius mentioned above (n. 71). They might also, if of senatorial rank, wear the new toga and the strapped boots — so, for example, Pytheas (Pl. IV). But there was also still available the more traditional choice of the himation.

In the Early and Middle Empire, the great majority of local benefactors’ statues wore the civilian suit of tunic, himation, and sandals, the costume of the Greek polis *par excellence* since the Hellenistic period.⁹² As well as the recycled himation statue used in the monument to the governor Alexander described earlier (Fig. 5), there is at Aphrodisias an unusual group, small but significant, of late antique himation statues, not re-used but newly-made statues. The best examples (all headless) are: (1) a formal-looking seated figure,⁹³ (2) a large standing figure carrying a codex (Pl. V, 1),⁹⁴ and (3) a standing figure holding a scroll which has ‘late’ sloping shoulders and a hard, simplified, ‘metallic’ handling of the himation’s vertical folds (Pl. V, 2).⁹⁵ It is remarkable, when so many fine himation statues were available for re-use, that new statues of this kind should have been made. They answered contemporary needs for figures that combined this

⁸⁹ *ALA*, 66–7, 320–1.

⁹⁰ Megara, Corinth: Kollwitz, nos 13–17.

⁹¹ Volbach, no. 62; so also no. 35, the Halberstadt diptych, which is the subject of Cameron, op. cit. (n. 84).

⁹² Himation suit: *JRS* 1998, 65–6, with refs n. 51.

⁹³ Published in Smith, op. cit. (n. 41).

⁹⁴ Inv. 83–69 and 87–3, from near Tetracylon: K. T. Erim in *Aphrodisias Papers* 1 (1990), 10–11, fig. 2.

⁹⁵ Stray find in 1989 from north side of Karacasu-Tavas highway, near Geyre: R. R. R. Smith in *Aphrodisias Papers* 3 (1996), 37–8, fig. 35. Another (battered) himation torso, inv. 76–44, might also be late in date. The himation was naturally still worn on contemporary philosopher and intellectual portraits (Pl. XII, 3–4).

traditional costume with new postures (more formal, seated), new attributes (codex), and a more contemporary treatment or formal style (plainer, simpler).

The dress choice represented by such figures is probably to be connected with the significant group of leading local aristocrats — men attested at Aphrodisias such as Asclepiodotus, Albinus, and Rhodopaius,⁹⁶ who flourished and achieved great local power in the later fifth and sixth centuries in the political space left by the decline of the *boulē* as a significant institution. These men tended to be aristocratic landowners (*possessores*, *ktētores*), conservative, pagan, attached to the old ways, and perhaps philosophically interested. Some, like Pytheas (n. 39), had central government senatorial credentials (he was a *vir illustris*) and preferred a new-style togate statue. Others we may guess are represented in these striking-looking late himation statues.

We can thus isolate three main statue choices in this period for an honorific portrait: chlamys, toga, himation. Their primary associations probably corresponded to the roles of a governor, a consular governor, and a leading local *politeuomenos*, but there was probably no automatic or necessary equation between dress-types and offices. Any expectations of a strict 'Byzantine' hierarchy of dress and rank are disappointed, for apart from the senatorial toga and shoes there was no exclusive match between basic dress types and particular offices. Details of rank and office were probably indicated rather by additions to the two basic 'official' dress-types — colours, stripes, patches, shoes, belts, buckles, brooches, and sceptres. We can see the diadem of the emperor, the sceptre of the consular, and the cross-strapped shoes of the senator, but other such distinctions there may have been now mostly escape us.

That the dress types were hardly exclusive uniforms, we have seen, is easily demonstrated: we have statues of governors wearing the old himation (Alexander at Aphrodisias (Fig. 5) and Damocharis at Ephesus)⁹⁷ and a statue of an office-less local wearing a chlamys (Eupeithius, n. 71). Without affecting the basic or 'root' associations of the himation (civilian, Greek) and the chlamys (military, Roman administration), a local's statue might thus adopt prestigious contemporary Constantinopolitan dress, while statues of governors might also wear the old-fashioned himation for its cultured associations.

With only a few fixed costume rules and only basic but 'transferable' root meanings attached to particular costumes, it is all the more significant that most late antique statue monuments that we can document prefer the expense of carving new figures rather than simply re-using old statues from stock. As mentioned above, the old statues wore the 'wrong' costumes, and it was simply not possible to carve a chlamydatos or a new togatus out of an old toga or himation figure. The trouble and expense of making newly carved statues in an age that tolerated a wide range of spolia monuments illustrates the enormous symbolic importance invested in these dress types.

VIII. BEARDS, STUBBLE, HAIRSTYLES, AND PORTRAIT STYLES

We may turn now to the portrait heads that were placed on these statues at Aphrodisias (Pls VI–XII).⁹⁸ Of the subjects recorded on the statue bases, the emperors

⁹⁶ *ALA*, nos 53, 82, 85–7, with Roueché's detailed commentaries.

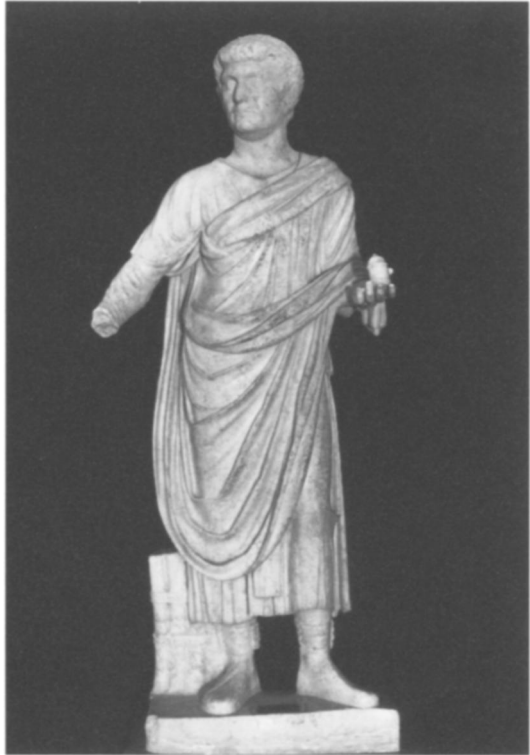
⁹⁷ F. Miltner, *Öjh* 44 (1959), Bb 347–8, fig. 189. Text on base is *IEphesos* 1302. Recently, Horster, op. cit. (n. 47), 46, n. 50, but her identification of Damocharis' costume as an early form of toga is incorrect.

⁹⁸ References for the portrait heads illustrated in Pls VI–XII are as follows. Pl. VI, 1, Eutropius: IR, no. 194 and below n. 109. Pl. VI, 2–4, Istanbul 'Magistrates': above n. 36. Pl. VII, head from South Agora, inv. 64–431: IR II, no. 199. Pl. VIII, 1–2, Brussels head: IR II, no. 204. Pl. VIII, 3–4, head

from South Agora, inv. 89–4: Smith, *Aphrodisias Papers* 3 (1996), 13–20, fig. 6. Pl. IX, head from South Agora, with squinting eye, inv. 67–697, 84–50: K. T. Erim, 'De Aphrodisiensi restituto: an early Byzantine head from Aphrodisias', in C. Bayburtluoğlu (ed.), *Akurgal'a Armağan: Festschrift Akurgal (= Anadolu-Anatolia* 22, 1982–83) (1989), 111–13, figs 1–3. Pl. X, 1–2, Boston head: IR II, no. 207. Pl. X, 3–4, head from South Agora, inv. 89–2A: Smith, op. cit. (n. 41). Pl. XI, Palmatus: above n. 40. Pl. XII, 1–2, Valentinian II/Arcadius: above n. 29. Pl. XII, 3–4, 'sophist' bust and philosopher shield, from Atrium House, inv. 81–111 and 81–112: *JRS* 1990, nos 8 and 11.



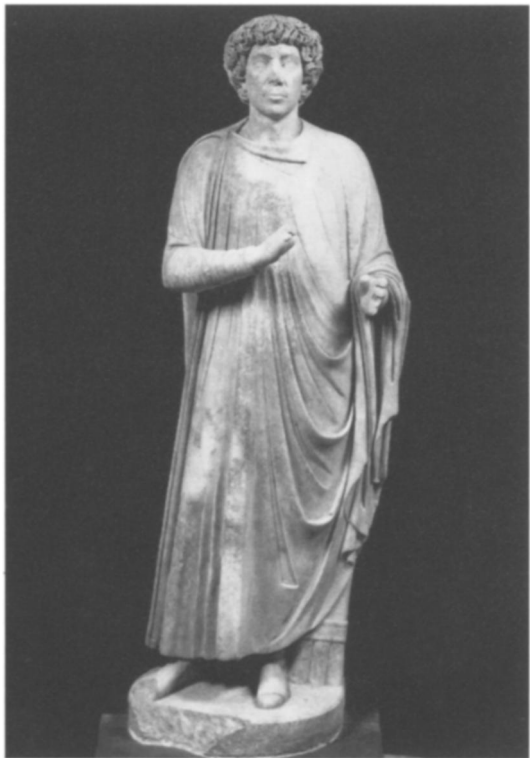
1. VALENTINIAN II OR ARCADIUS, WEARING TOGA.
A.D. 388–92. APHRODISIAS MUSEUM (75–248)
Photo: M. Ali Döğenci



2. UNFINISHED TOGATUS, HOLDING INKPOT (?). LATER FOURTH
OR EARLY FIFTH CENTURY. APHRODISIAS MUSEUM (69–425)
Photo: M. Ali Döğenci



3. CHLAMYDATUS ('ELDER MAGISTRATE').
EARLIER FIFTH CENTURY. FROM APHRODISIAS.
ISTANBUL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM (Mendel 508)
Photo: Museum



4. CHLAMYDATUS ('YOUNGER MAGISTRATE').
EARLIER FIFTH CENTURY. FROM APHRODISIAS.
ISTANBUL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM (Mendel 507)
Photo: Museum



OEUMENIUS, WEARING CHLAMYS AND HOLDING SCROLL. EARLIER FIFTH CENTURY.
APHRODISIAS MUSEUM (65-199).
Photo: M. Ali Döğenci



FL. PALMATUS, WEARING TOGA AND HOLDING MAPPA AND SCEPTRE. LATE FIFTH OR EARLY SIXTH CENTURY. APHRODISIAS MUSEUM (72-49).
Photo: M. Ali Döğenci



PYTHEAS, WEARING TOGA. LATE FIFTH OR EARLY SIXTH CENTURY.
APHRODISIAS MUSEUM (62-484, 62-489, 63-72).
Photo: M. Ali Döğenci



1. HIMATION STATUE, HOLDING CODEX. FOURTH–SIXTH CENTURY. APHRODISIAS MUSEUM (87–3).



2. HIMATION STATUE, HOLDING SCROLL. FOURTH–SIXTH CENTURY APHRODISIAS MUSEUM.



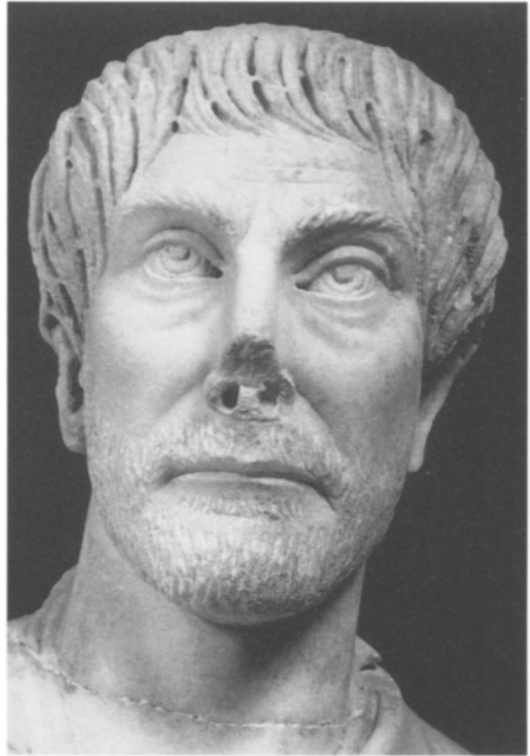
3. INSCRIBED STATUE BASE (FOR T. FL. SALLUSTIUS ATHENAGORAS). EARLY THIRD CENTURY.



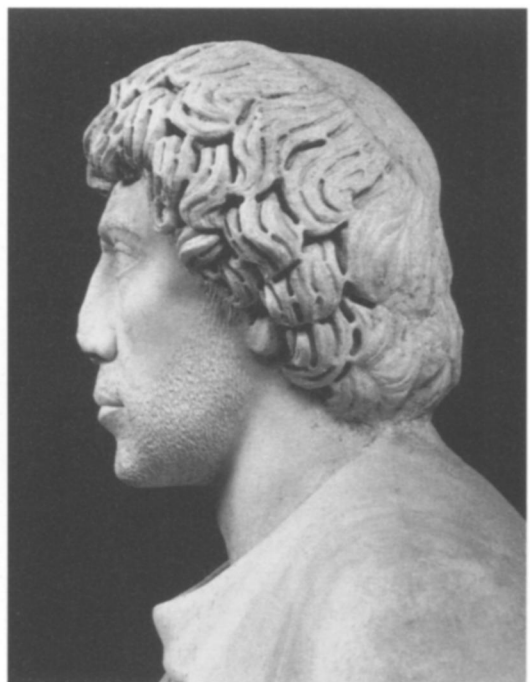
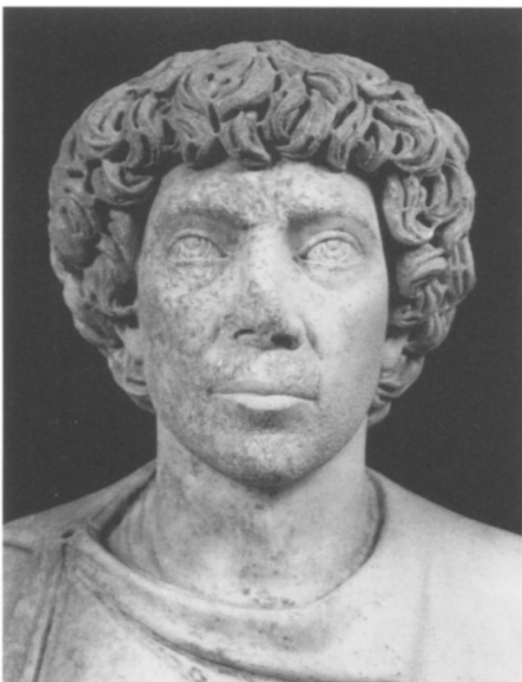
4. INSCRIBED STATUE BASE (FOR FL. PALMATUS, PL. III). LATE FIFTH OR EARLY SIXTH CENTURY.



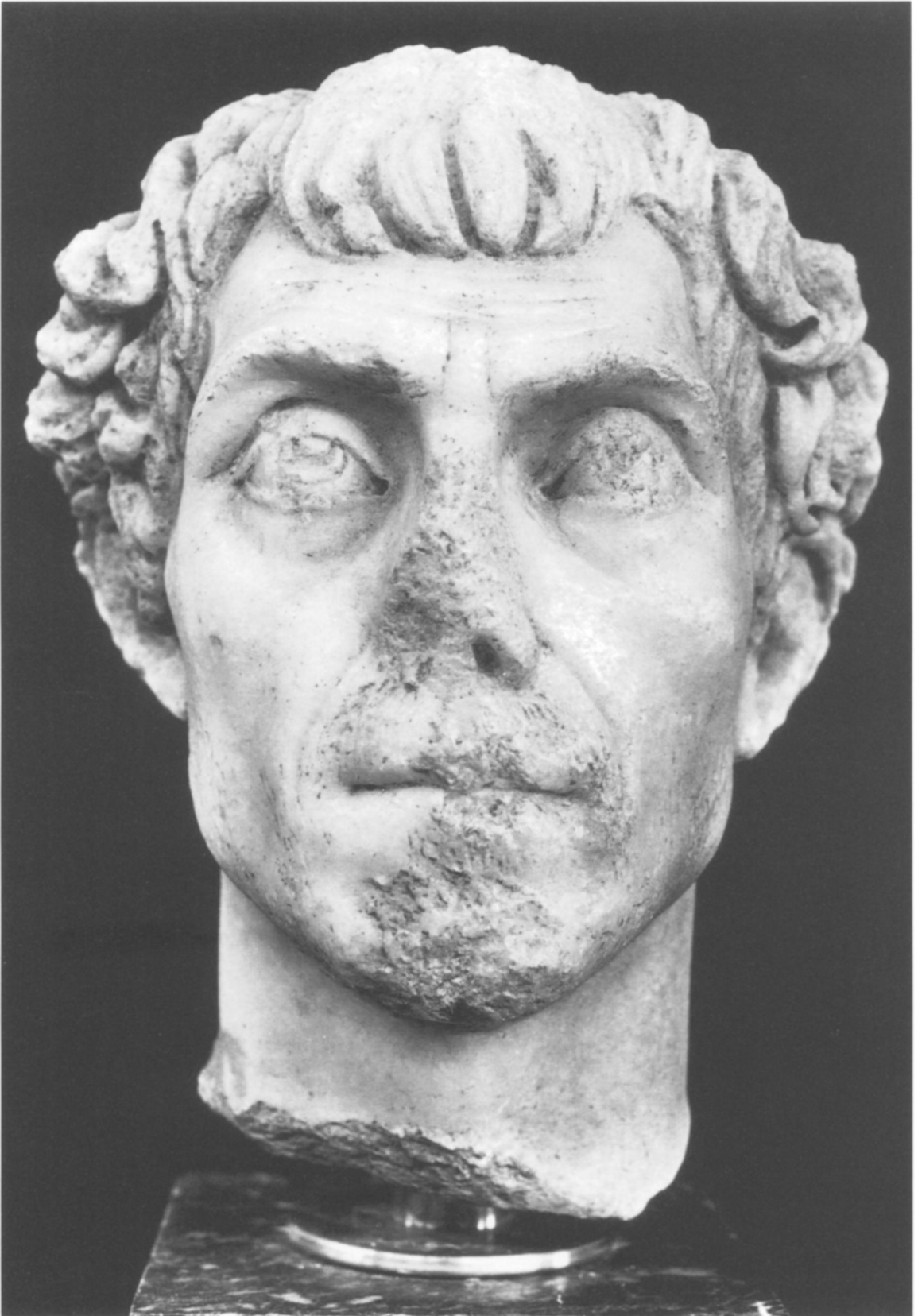
1. BUST OF EUTROPIUS (PROBABLY WEARING TOGA). FIFTH CENTURY. FROM EPHEBUS. VIENNA, KUNSTHISTORISCHES MUSEUM. *From Grabar, Byzantium, fig. 244.*



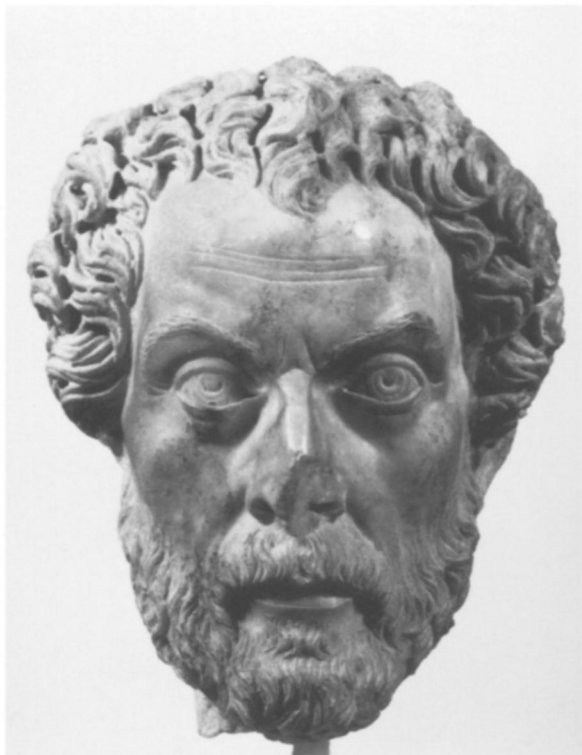
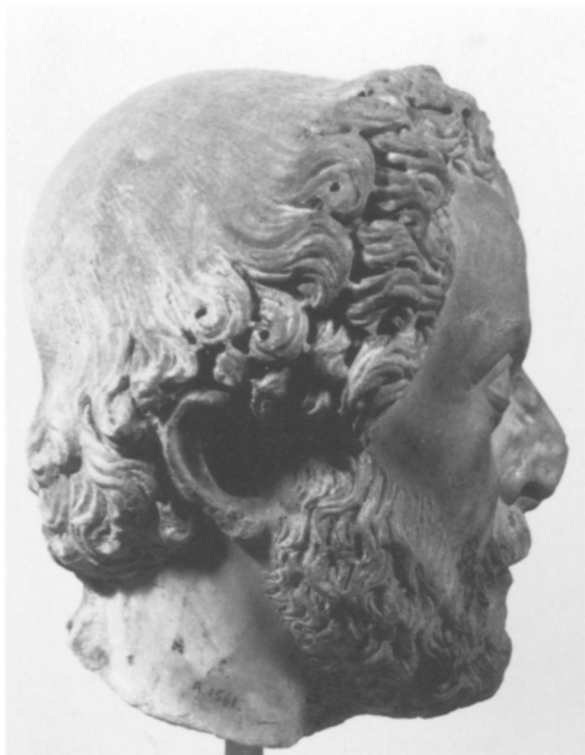
2. 'ELDER MAGISTRATE'. DETAIL OF STATUE, PL. I. 3. *Photo: Museum*



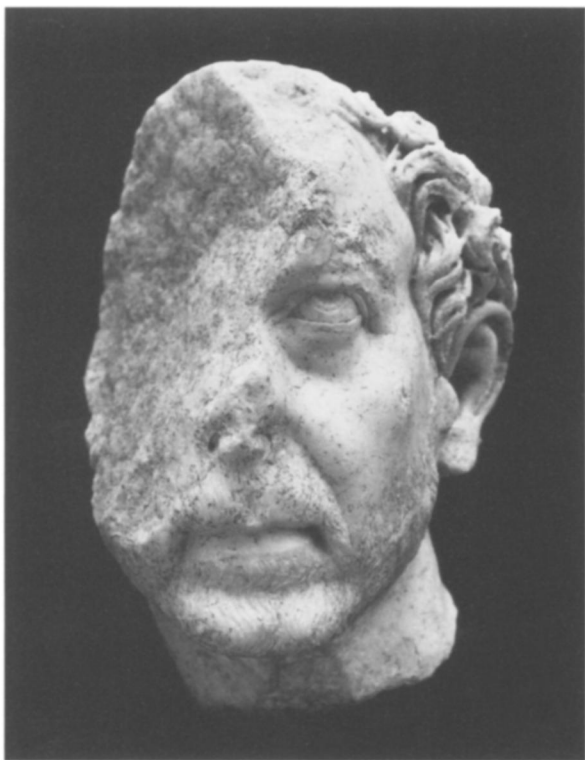
3-4. 'YOUNGER MAGISTRATE'. DETAILS OF STATUE, PL. I. 4. *Photos: Museum*



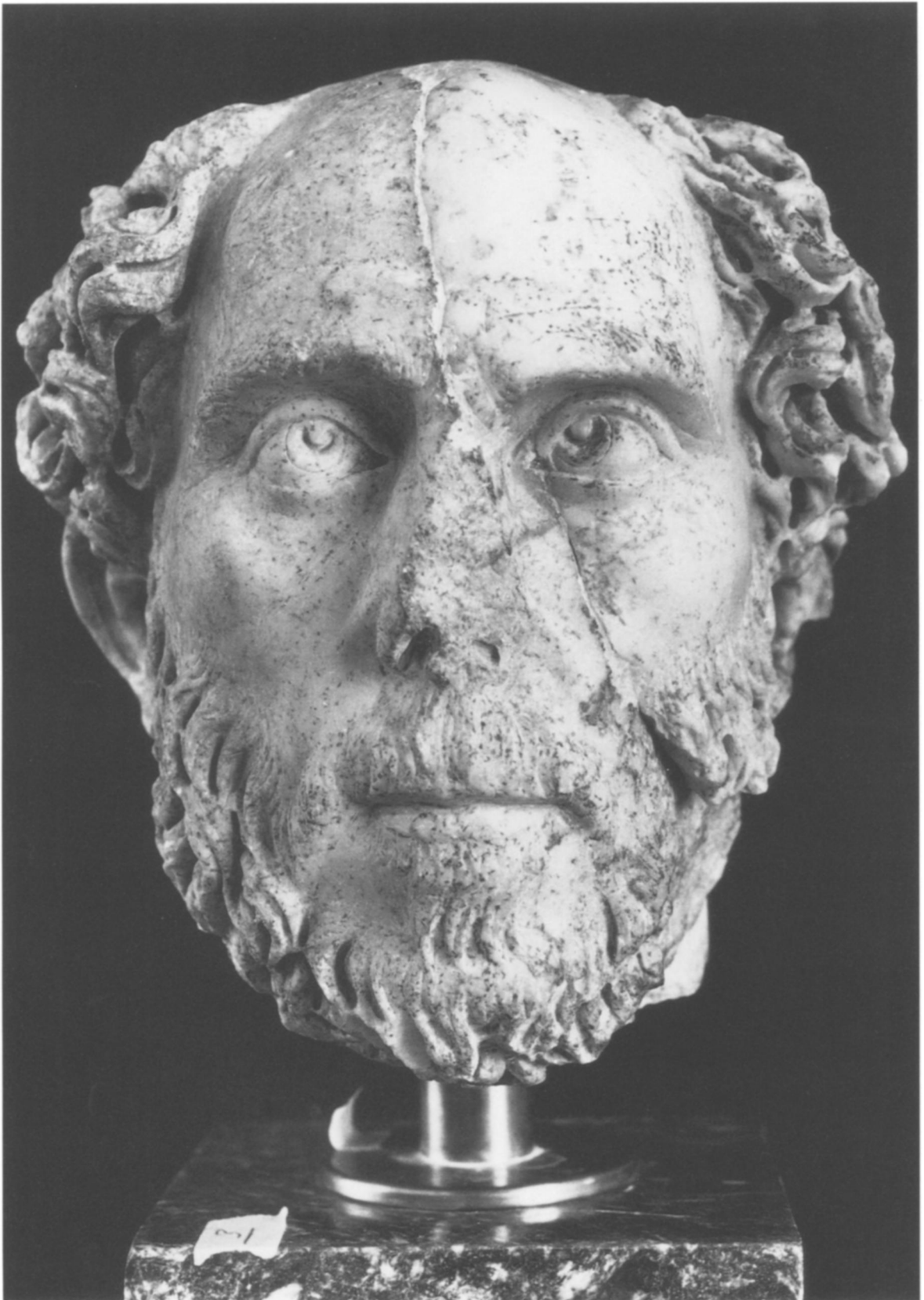
MALE PORTRAIT HEAD WITH BEARD STUBBLE. FIFTH CENTURY. APHRODISIAS MUSEUM (69-341).
Photo: M. Ali Döğenci



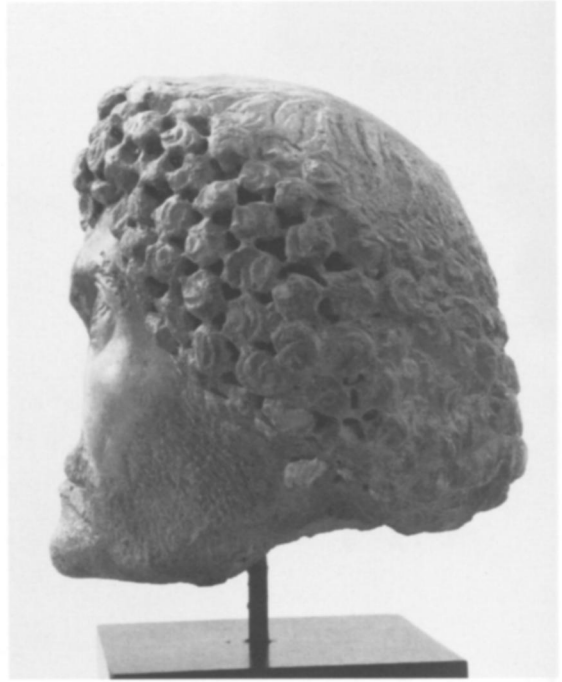
1-2. BEARDED MALE PORTRAIT HEAD. FIFTH CENTURY. FROM APHRODISIAS. BRUSSELS, MUSÉE DU CINQUANTAIRE.
Photos: Museum



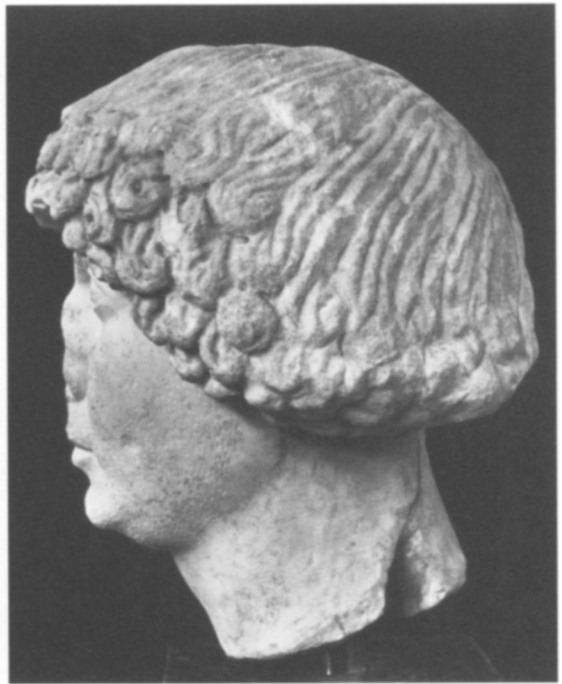
3-4. BEARDED MALE PORTRAIT HEAD. LATER FOURTH-FIFTH CENTURY. APHRODISIAS MUSEUM (89-4).
Photo: M. Ali Döğenci



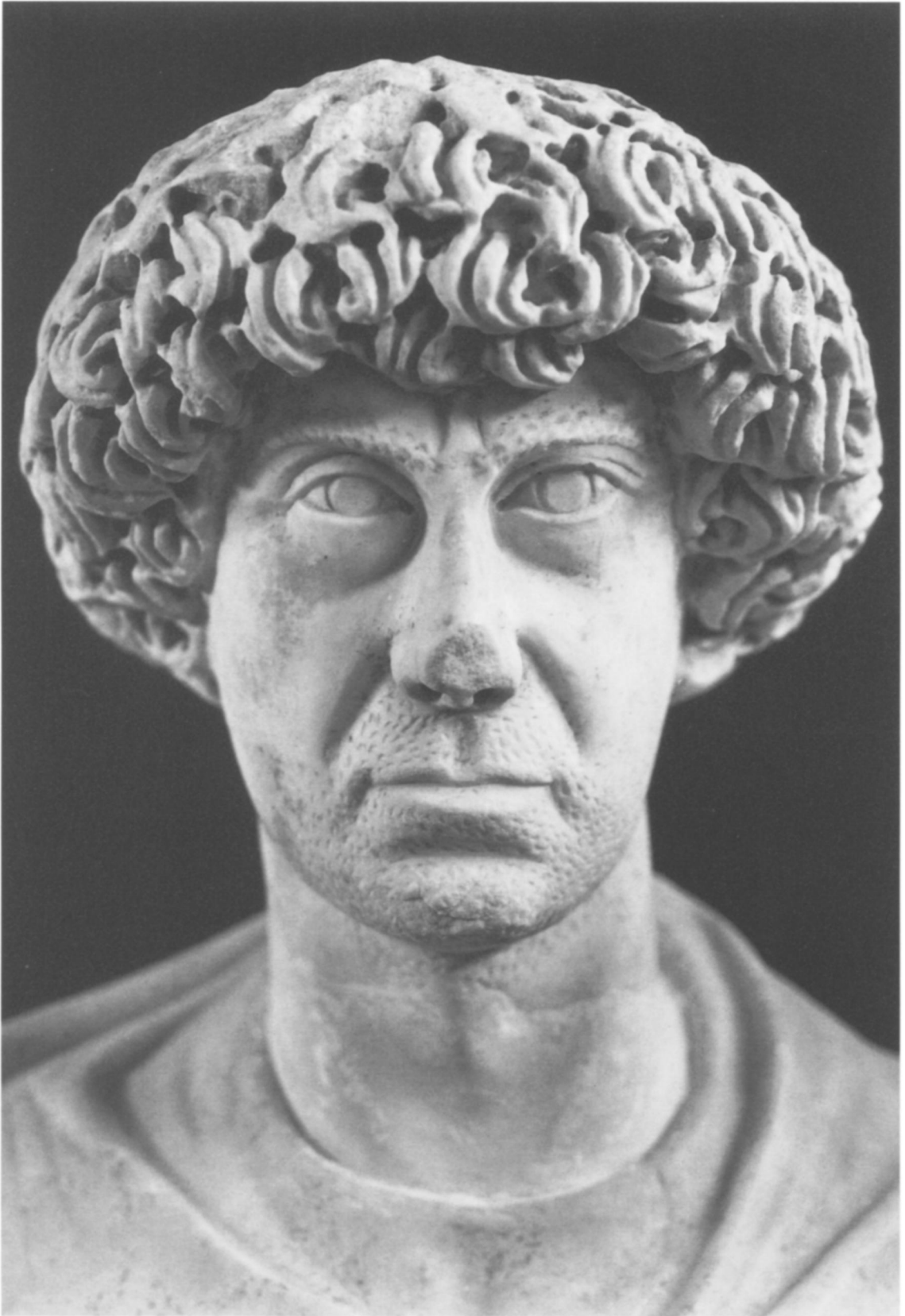
BEARDED AND BALDING MALE PORTRAIT HEAD WITH SQUINTING LEFT EYE. FIFTH CENTURY.
APHRODISIAS MUSEUM (67-697, 84-50).
Photo: M. Ali Döğenci



1-2. MALE PORTRAIT HEAD WITH BEARD STUBBLE. LATE FIFTH OR EARLY SIXTH CENTURY.
FROM APHRODISIAS. BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS.
Photos: Museum



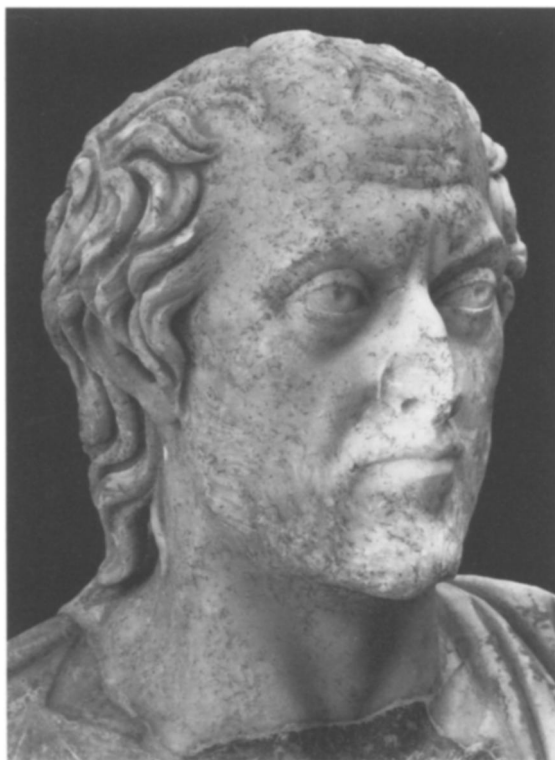
3-4. MALE PORTRAIT HEAD WITH BEARD STUBBLE. LATE FIFTH OR EARLY SIXTH CENTURY.
APHRODISIAS MUSEUM (89-2A).
Photos: M. Ali Döğenci



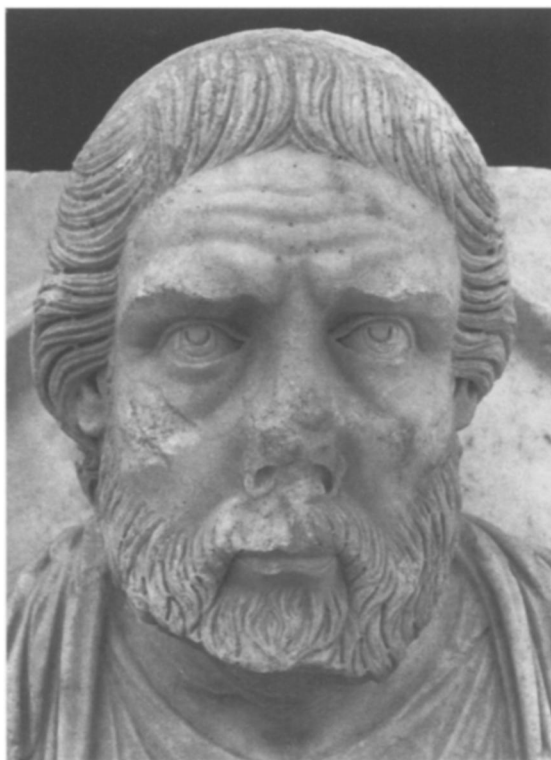
FL. PALMATUS. DETAIL OF STATUE, PL. III.
Photo: M. Ali Döğenci



1-2. VALENTINIAN II OR ARCADIUS. A.D. 388-92. DETAIL OF TOGATE STATUE, FIG. 4. ISTANBUL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM.
Photos: Museum



3. 'SOPHIST'. DETAIL OF HIMATION BUST. LATER FOURTH OR EARLIER FIFTH CENTURY. APHRODISIAS MUSEUM (81-111).
Photo: M. Ali Döğenci



4. PHILOSOPHER. DETAIL OF SHIELD PORTRAIT. LATER FOURTH OR FIFTH CENTURY. APHRODISIAS MUSEUM (81-112).
Photo: M. Ali Döğenci

are easily recognized, and their portrait styling is very much *sui generis*: clean shaven, youthful, diademed, with elevated calm handsome ideal features (Pl. XII, 1–2). Their portraits follow the one basic model for the serene imperial *sacer vultus* established by the images of Constantine and Constantius II.⁹⁹ The portraits of philosophers also go their own way, but they are not recorded in public settings (Pl. XII, 3–4).¹⁰⁰ The remaining portraits from public contexts surely represent the governors and leading locals recorded on the statue bases. None of them follows any aspects of the imperial image in hairstyle or physiognomy — the emperor was now above and different in principal from all of his subjects. Rather they have strikingly observed, real-looking elder faces, usually a light beard or stubble, and some or all parts of a contemporary fashion hairstyle.

As with their dress, the sculptured portraits share a set of externals and basic norms of personal styling with a wide range of other representations of the period, from public statuary in other provincial cities to the representations of the consular aristocracy on the ivory diptychs of the capitals and the representations of the emperor's close entourage on the Theodosian obelisk base and the mosaic panels at Ravenna.¹⁰¹ There are some chronological changes, but more impressive probably was the constancy of the same range of portrait and personal styling choices over a long period. There are some important regional differences, especially at the level of medium-specific workshop handling, but for the most part we see in these monuments the preferred faces of an 'international' late antique political élite.

The hairstyles of the statues are central and Constantinopolitan and can be traced at court from Theodosius to Justinian. The hair is brushed straight forward from the crown to form a raised coil or thick wreath of hair, often tightly curled, around the forehead. It can also be brushed outwards from the crown to the sides and back as well, to form a thick low-hanging wreath of hair all around the head (Pl. VI, 3–4). On top of the head, therefore, the hair is flat and is often represented with the finely engraved parallel lines of a fine-gauge claw chisel (Pl. VIII, 1). Sometimes the effect is heightened by an artificial tonsure or circular shaved patch on top of the head, seen also in the self-styling of churchmen.¹⁰² Some prefer plainer flatter hair but still brushed forward (Pl. VI, 2), and the baldness of the more elderly is happily displayed (Pl. IX). There is a tendency for thicker mop-like and helmet-like hairstyles, also fashionable at court, to predominate later (Pls X–XI). In these hairstyles, the hair almost or fully covers the ears. As in the second century, the tightly curled new hairstyles pushed sculptors to develop refined drill techniques to represent them.

A majority of the late portraits wear beards. It can be a full beard (though not long), a light growth, or emphatic stubble. The light growth and stubble are merely technical alternatives, different ways of representing a temporary beard that will eventually be shaved off again (Pls VI, 3–4; VII; X–IX). In some cases, this may have been pure fashion, but for late Roman governors, a stubble beard probably represented something more and something more serious. Like the chlamys, it probably represented the idea that they were on service outside the capital — administration as *militia*. Tireless work and unremitting labour, the epigrams inscribed on the bases often tell us, were the lot of the ideal governor,¹⁰³ and the stubble beard can be seen as a sign, as it had long been in a military context, of prolonged engagement abroad in a context where the niceties of urban life should be ostentatiously dispensed with — a real or metaphorical place where there was simply no time for or purpose in shaving.¹⁰⁴ In military campaign contexts,

⁹⁹ On the Constantinian *sacer vultus* and fourth-century imperial style, see recently *JRS* 1997, 185–7, with further refs.

¹⁰⁰ On which, *JRS* 1990; Zanker, op. cit. (n. 74), ch. 6.

¹⁰¹ Statuary in other cities: above nn. 18–22. Diptychs: Delbrueck, *Konsulardiptychen*; Volbach. Theodosian base: Bruns, *Obelisk*. Ravenna: Grabar, *Byzantium*, figs 170–3, for best accessible colour illustrations; more in F. Deichmann, *Frühchristliche Bauten und Mosaiken von Ravenna* (1958).

¹⁰² The 'Younger Magistrate' in Istanbul has a tonsure: Pl. VI, 3–4. Churchmen with tonsure, for example, at Ravenna: Grabar, *Byzantium*, fig. 171.

¹⁰³ Governor's toil: Robert, *Épigrammes*, 21, n. 3, with listing of examples; also *ALA*, no. 41; *IEphesos* 1304, 1310.

¹⁰⁴ On military campaign stubble in portraits and texts, see *JRS* 1997, 197.

even the normally clean-shaven late Roman emperor was shown with stubble (as on the Barletta colossus), and in the sixth century the emperor (Justinian), wearing a chlamys, has a distinct beard shadow even in an urban/church setting in the famous mosaic panel of S. Vitale at Ravenna.¹⁰⁵

There are, as one might expect, exceptions. Not all of these men were governors, and shaving and beard-style were not things likely to have had hard and fast rules. There are some clean-shaven portraits, one for example in the later fourth century (the unfinished togatus: Pl. I, 2), and another in the later fifth or early sixth century (Pytheas: Pl. IV) in the middle of the most heavily stubbled period. It may simply be a personal choice, or for Pytheas, a local Aphrodisian, while wearing his senatorial toga, it may be intended to show that he is at home — a meaning it seems to have for toga-wearing figures at Constantinople (n. 105). A few of the Aphrodisian portraits also wear fuller, longer beards — which combined with contemporary fashion hairstyles are not likely to have marked them as philosophers (Pls VIII, 1–2; IX). Such beards may be taken as personal choices, possibly loose statements of older values looking back to the second century and to the Hellenistic period — a choice equally appropriate to governors and locals. Examples of old hairstyles counter to current fashion norms seem confined to the private sphere (for himation-wearing images of philosophers and intellectuals).¹⁰⁶ Very much the standard combination for the public statues was a fashion hairstyle with a longer or a shorter beard.

A fine balding, elder, bearded head from the west stoa of the South Agora at Aphrodisias has a markedly squinting left eye that looks inwards and upwards over the root of the nose — obviously a real trait (Pl. IX). This is an extreme example, but generally the portraits have a range of realistic-looking physiognomies — younger, older, fuller, leaner — that corresponded no doubt to some measure of recognizable likeness to the real appearance of the honorand. There are also, however, some marked constants and repeated physiognomical signs. Heads tend to be set straight and unmoving on their statues, without the inclinations and turns to left or right that gave early portraits a slight air of the momentary and contingent. And they have a uniformly plain, severe, even dour expression — broad, thin, very tight-lipped mouths, unsmiling, straight or downturned, and accented by heavy naso-labial lines — these were old and familiar signs of mature Roman office-holding *severitas*.

But it is the brows and eyes that carry the most marked constants. The brows are furrowed and lined horizontally often with additional vertical accents at the root of the nose, an old visual pattern conveying effort and energy (Pls VI–VIII; XI). And what is most striking for the modern viewer, amid such real-looking physiognomies, the whole portrait is usually given an air of unnatural intensity by the treatment of the staring eyes. The eyes are opened wide by the raised arching of the eyebrows above; their lids are carved emphatically, bringing them ‘forward’ in the image, and a new drill formula is used to emphasize the internal markings of iris and pupil. Instead of the lightly engraved iris and the impressionistically drilled pupils of the Middle Empire the eyes now have a heavy iris line and a deep U-shaped drill-line for the pupils (Pls VI–IX). The effect of these new markings is like that made on a pencil drawing by going over the eyes with a heavy line.

The wide open eyes treated in such an emphatic technique, combined with the immobile posture and often ascetic-looking features, are what give these portraits for the modern viewer such a strong impression of interior spirituality. Until the latest monuments of the series, that of Palmatus and the pieces around it (Pls X–XI), the late antique portraits of Aphrodisias generally combine this effect with a strong organic portrait realism and an adherence to observed proportions, forms, and textures. In this,

¹⁰⁵ Barletta: R. Delbrueck, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts* (1933), 219–26, pls 116–20. Ravenna: Grabar, *Byzantium*, fig. 171. Note also the armoured Honorius with light beard on the Probus diptych in Aosta: Volbach, no. 1. Stubble is very rarely worn by togati in the Constantinopolitan settings of the diptych scenes (Volbach, no. 6), and most of the toga-wearers on the

Theodosian base (Bruns, *Obelisk*, for details) seem to be beardless. The conclusion seems to be that togate senators were to be (represented as) clean-shaven at home in the capital; cf. Delbrueck, *Konsulardiptychen*, 43.

¹⁰⁶ For example, the long hairstyles of the ‘sophist’ and old philosopher: here Pl. XII, 3–4.

the city's workshops were being conservative, holding to their strong Hellenistic sculptural traditions. Other centres, notably Ephesus and Constantinople, were more interested in the forceful expression of the root ideas embodied in these images, in bringing out their theoretical content, and their sculptors were engaged in a wilful 'unnatural' manipulation and re-ordering of observed features for special effects. What were then the root ideas and the theoretical content?

IX. LATE ANTIQUE PORTRAITS, ÉLITE IDEALS, AND THE JUST GOVERNOR

Modern scholarship has tended to work with a simple broad interpretation of the phenomenon of late antique portraiture that implicitly or explicitly ascribes a major part to new religious attitudes. A common model of interpretation sees in the portraits of the third century a chronic psychological anxiety brought on by political and religious crisis, which was then assuaged or replaced in the portraits of Late Antiquity by a new spirituality, abstraction, and expression of inner values. According to Ernst Kitzinger, for example, a well known late portrait bust of this period from Ephesus 'conveys with great power the consuming intensity of one man's awareness of the supernatural world' (Pl. VI, 1).¹⁰⁷ And for André Grabar the same bust has 'a spiritual grandeur of a quite exceptional order'.¹⁰⁸

Some of these late portraits may remind us unwittingly of images of monks or saints, but they were in fact, we have seen, public honours for members of the late antique political élite and most often for provincial governors and officers of the Roman state, and they should perhaps be interpreted first in relation to their ideals. The bust from Ephesus (Pl. VI, 1), so often singled out to illustrate late antique spirituality, is a documented public monument from the street that ran north from the library of Celsus to the theatre whose inscribed console mount records in verse that it honours an Ephesian benefactor called Eutropius for his 'sleepless labours' in paving the city's streets with marble.¹⁰⁹ The clear identification of the bust as that of a member of the local political élite (he was perhaps also governor) has often been quietly forgotten or set to one side by scholars keen to see here a soul portrait.

A wide range of late antique portraits and other images have intense expressions and large staring eyes for which the traditional view seeks an all-embracing interpretation in the period's changed relationship with the divine. Thus enlarged eyes come to mean the same thing for emperors, philosophers, generals, governors, and anybody else. But visual expression of this kind did not have absolute meaning — the same images, signs, and styles could and often did mean different things according to the time, place, and context of their use.¹¹⁰ In themselves these aspects of the images have little meaning until contextualized. We need first both to place a given image in its proper place within an evolving category, tradition, and visual language and to locate in contemporary sources the range of ideas likely to be in play around the subject. Without some external written evidence that grounds the interpretation within a range of possible attested meanings, we fall back on *a priori* (modern) assumptions about what the image communicates to us — which as often as not turns out to be wide of the mark. We may say easily that intense expression and emphatic eyes are visual claims to some kind of personal intensity, energy, and power, but the question then becomes claims to personal

¹⁰⁷ E. Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making* (1977), 80. On this bust (IR I, no. 194); below n. 109.

¹⁰⁸ Grabar, *Byzantium*, 226: 'The quiet resignation of the faces of these men, whose lot was cast in age of iron, gives them a look of spiritual grandeur of a quite exceptional order'.

¹⁰⁹ F. Eichler, 'Das Denkmal des Eutropius von Ephesus', *Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien: Philosophisch-historische Klasse: Anzeiger* 76.1939 (1940), 5–13. The inscription reads: 'Accept this small return for your sleepless labours (*philagrupnoi mochthoi*),

Eutropius, divine scion of Ephesus, for having adorned your native city (*patris*) with well-laid avenues of marble' (*Ephesos* 1304). The bust is one of a group of similar portraits from Ephesus, the most recent addition to which is a fine and striking head from near the Octagon on the Embolos: M. Aurenhammer, *ÖJh* 54 (1983), Beiblatt 140–2.

¹¹⁰ The following repeats briefly some points of method made more fully in *JRS* 1997, 194–5 and *JRS* 1998, 57–61.

energy and power of what kind, exercised in what sphere of activity, in relation to what set of interests, in relation to whose expectations. Some preliminary assessment is necessary of the leading ideas associated with the subjects of the images by their 'user-groups' — the priorities and ideals, of which the images might be capable of representing and highlighting some aspects.

We are well informed about the ideals of the late antique aristocracy — their sense of tradition, the dignity of office, the solemnity and seriousness of their participation in an empire-wide political culture of imperial offices.¹¹¹ The widespread new portrait manner of Late Antiquity was thus in one broad perspective an expression and part of a new style of office-holding that drew its prestige from the imperial centre. At the more particular, local level represented by the statues from Aphrodisias, essentially that of the governor and the most powerful and well-connected city aristocrats, some more particular ideals and expectations stand out in the texts inscribed on their statue monuments.

Amid occasional praise of the governor's cultural attainments and unceasing work and benefactions for the city, one theme stands out loudly and consistently in the verse epigrams, that is, the governor's adherence to justice.¹¹² A primary role of the governor was that of judge, and the cities wishfully prescribe *eunomia*, *eudikia*, *dikaio sunē* for him, invoking all known cognates of *dikē* and *themis*. The governor's probity had, of course, been a praiseworthy ideal earlier, but in the late antique period, perhaps because of an increase in autocratic administration, corruption, and bureaucratic intrusiveness, it became a concern that seems to override all others.¹¹³ The good governor is a master of jurisprudence, a judge who knows the laws, and applies them with rigour and unbending fairness. He is incorruptible, clean and pure in hand and mind, and he gives right judgements — *ithudikēs*, perhaps the most favoured epithet of all.¹¹⁴ In an age of pervasive graft, the key virtues of an ideal governor had become integrity, honesty, impartiality. The epigrams sound the theme in elevated and varied terms, but the one idea is constant. A conspectus of metaphors from the epigrams of various cities will demonstrate both the flavour and the strength of the idea.

In Gortyn the statue of a Praetorian Prefect proclaims 'I stand at the door of Dikē, kind to the lawful, fearsome to the unlawful (*adikoi*)'. At Epidamnus a prefect is a 'vigilant hero who cuts down the rude strength of the *adikoi*'. At Olympia a governor is a 'bulwark of justice'; at Thespieae he is 'nourished on all the Muses and right judgements, . . . a defensive wall of Achaea'. At Aphrodisias he is 'an unbroken tower of lawfulness'. At Ephesus he is compared to Minos, Lycurgus, and Solon. The good governor 'has learnt the solemnities of Themis (*ta semna Themidos*)'; at Athens he is 'the frontline fighter for the law, (*ton promachon thesmōn*), impartial to all (*ison*)'. And at Argos he is acclaimed as 'the most just eye of the Achaeans, Eye of Dikē (*Dikēs omma*)'.¹¹⁵

Knowledge, vision, strength, impartiality, and justice are what Late Antiquity wanted to see in those invested with political authority — its governors, imperial officers, and city leaders. The intensity and exaggeration of expression, which we read in the portraits as familiarity with the supernatural world, might be better seen in contemporary terms as visual means for emphasizing in a new way old virtues of personal austerity, dignity, and uncompromising honesty — a technically and stylistically intensified expression of unwavering rectitude. In this perspective these images express the ideals of a changed political-moral culture — one in which the problems of the Empire were laid explicitly at the door of failed personal morality. In terms of their visual means and what one might call their rhetorical strategy, the intensified expressivity and exaggerated eye-power of the images can be seen as part of the wider

¹¹¹ Virtues and ideals are catalogued by B. Näf, *Senatorisches Standesbewusstsein in spätromischer Zeit* (1995), vices and possible malfeasances by K. H. Noethlich, *Beamtentum und Dienstvergehen. Zur Staatsverwaltung in der Spätantike* (1980). See also Schlinkert, op. cit. (n. 63).

¹¹² For this and what follows: Robert, *Épigrammes*, *passim*.

¹¹³ R. MacMullen, *Corruption and the Decline of*

Rome (1988); J. Matthews, *The Roman World of Ammianus* (1989), ch. 12: 'The Character of Government'; Noethlich, op. cit. (n. 111).

¹¹⁴ *Ithudikēs*: Robert, *Épigrammes*, 13–29.

¹¹⁵ Robert, *Épigrammes*, 89 (Gortyn), 17 (Epidamnus), 20 (Olympia), 24 (Thespieae), 21 (Ephesus), 25 (*ta semna Themidos mathōn*): Himerius, *Or.* 27.11), 41 (Athens), 138 (Argos); *ALA*, no. 41 (Aphrodisias).

trend towards hyperbole, pleonasm, and rhetorical inflation that came to infect much of the official media of the period — from imperial laws to honorific texts and acclamations. The images, like the texts, are trying to speak more loudly.

Some of the most expressive features of the statues can be interpreted or described in the same language as that used in the epigrams. The immobile, plain frontal stance with straight frontal head — often said to be stiff and ‘hieratic’ — may be read more positively both as a representation of correct contemporary public posture (further below) and as a visual metaphor of the unbending strength praised in the texts: ‘bulwark of justice’, ‘defensive wall’, ‘unbroken tower of lawfulness’ (Pl. III). The emphatic eyes (something they have in common with emperors and philosophers) represent the penetrating vision of those with superior powers, something that is of course generally appropriate to those in authority.¹¹⁶ The wide-open eyes of emperors and governors are all-seeing — they are the eyes of *Dikē* that seek out the *adikoi*. The dour, tight-lipped, sombre-looking expressions of the portraits express the severity and solemnity appropriate to a judge’s demeanour — and the moral seriousness with which any aristocratic leader takes his offices and responsibilities (Pl. XI). These are faces that display familiarity with ‘the solemnities of the law’ (*ta semna Themidos*). The furrowed brow is a sign not only of energy but also of the fearsome quality summed up in the Greek terms *deinos* and *deos*. The good prefect is ‘kind to the lawful, but fearsome to the *adikoi*’ (Gortyn, n. 115). Through their most common general evocation of energy, vigour, and action (in whatever sphere), furrowed brows in this context could also carry the idea of the care, toil, and hard work expended by the ideal administrator and benefactor — the sleepless *mochthoi* and *kamatoi* that some of the epigrams allude to. The epigram accompanying the statue of Stephanus of Naxos, governor at Ephesus, for example, alludes in the space of one line to the honorand’s impartiality (*ithudikēs*), incorruptibility (*katharos*), and hard work (*mochthos*).¹¹⁷

Finally the portraits, within the limits imposed by such theoretical components and by contemporary fashion hairstyles, are strikingly realistic-looking. They remain three-dimensional, naturalistic, verifiable in relation to the external material world. Until the period of Palmatus, around the late fifth or early sixth century, there is little sign of the wilful ‘theoretical’ re-ordering of physiognomical form that we see at Constantinople and Ephesus (Pl. VI, 1). With the group of portraits around Palmatus, the Aphrodisian workshops come closer to the contemporary mainstream (Pls X–XI). This conservatism at Aphrodisias through the fifth century was a local tradition but it was also a preference with a purpose (Pls VII–IX). Sharply observed portrait realism had been a time-honoured visual sign in Roman self-presentation for plainness of personal character, for candour, honesty, and truth — *simplicitas*, *veritas*, *integritas*. It is the tension between a prosaic individualizing realism and the ideological components of powerful vision and austere solemn expression that give these images their distinctive character. In this context, the local preference for a more realistic-looking portrait vocabulary, which functioned as a visual metaphor for the subject’s personal integrity, can be seen as a way of privileging this particular aspect of contemporary political ideology over others.

Emphatic-looking realism was also part of a wider visual tradition in the representation of Roman office-holding virtues — a tradition of personal styling that emphasized recognizable identity, adherence to traditional values, and a serious demeanour and personal authority that had roots in the late Republican period.¹¹⁸ This tradition was now combined with contemporary hairstyles and beardstyles and with the intensifying effects of wide-open eyes and the partial manipulation of organic classical physiognomy that heightened the aspects of austerity and solemnity. These heads were now set on statues dressed in metropolitan court costumes that were worn all over the

¹¹⁶ Special eyes of late antique philosophers: *JRS* 1990, 146. Special eyes of late Roman emperors, densely attested in texts: *JRS* 1997, 198–201.

¹¹⁷ Toil: above nn. 103, 109. Stephanus: *IEphesos* 1310: *ithudikēs Stephanōi katharēs meta mochthon a[p]jenēs*, which Feissel, op. cit. (n. 82), 98, translates as follows: ‘À Stephanos, pour sa droite justice, après

la peine de son intègre gouvernement’; *apēnē* = *carpentum*, is used here as an image of the proconsul’s ‘vehicle of office’, as explained fully by L. Robert, *Bull. Épig.* (1961), 220.

¹¹⁸ L. Giuliani, *Bildnis und Botschaft: Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Bildniskunst der römischen Republik* (1986).

Empire as badges of central office-holding, and we may at first feel a contrast or contradiction between the stylistic treatment of the statues and the realistic-looking portrait heads. The clothing of the statues is now generally styled in a harder, plainer manner, and the figures are composed in more rigid, frontal postures, with often mannered gestures. Both aspects of the statues' style and composition, however, can be seen as ways of representing the real-life postures and gestures adopted by the actors in the stiff world of late Roman political ritual.

We may enlarge on this last point a little. Modern art-historians have correctly described the formal appearance of much late antique art as abstracted from an older classical organic naturalism, but have tended to attribute this either to a devotion to inorganic, non-material concerns (spirituality) or to an aesthetic preference for abstraction itself (obviously a twentieth-century point of view). In the perspective of the late antique political world, the statues are stiff, frontal, and simplified in form and often mannered in gesture, it might rather be argued, not because they were meant to look abstracted, unclassical, unreal (therefore attached to spiritual values), but simply because the reality they were representing had changed. The real-life public posture of emperors and office-holders — the carriage, movement, and gestures of their costumed persons — was now governed by a well-documented set of stately political rituals.¹¹⁹ The imperial court defined the practice and set the tone, which was doubtless imitated and repeated in modulated forms in the lesser offices of the imperial hierarchy and in the relations of superiors with their subordinates more generally. The stiff ceremoniousness of postures at court is familiar from monuments such as the Theodosian missorium in Madrid, the Theodosian obelisk base in Istanbul, and the Justinianic mosaic panels at Ravenna.¹²⁰ And we see it everywhere in the consular diptychs and in the representation of a provincial governor's court in the Pontius Pilate scene of the Rossano Gospels.¹²¹ Public officials surely struck these stiff postures and made such ritualized gestures in real life, and it is this new reality we may say that the 'frontality' and 'abstraction' of these figures in art sought to represent. It follows that any contrast that we may feel between the real-looking portrait heads of the Aphrodisias figures and their frontal, 'hieratic' statue bodies is a modern illusion. In late antique terms they were both equally 'real'.

X. CONCLUSION

The portrait manner under discussion was developed in the later fourth and fifth centuries for figures of political and judicial authority, figures of legitimate imperial state power. If some images of saints and churchmen should also look like this, we should not be surprised.¹²² They were merely borrowing or participating in the use of a contemporary portrait language in order to characterize the representatives of another kind of authority and law. The intensified, rather stiff and austere personal style was widespread in late Roman society and art — part of a general capitalizing on the loosening or broadening of classical representation that had been taking place under the

¹¹⁹ Averil Cameron, *Fl. Cresconius Corippus: In laudem Iustini Augusti minoris libri IV* (1976), 12–14, 172–4; eadem, 'The construction of court ritual: the Byzantine *Book of Ceremonies*', in D. Cannadine and S. Price (eds), *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies* (1987), 106–36, esp. 125–6, on the earlier period and the (lost) book on ceremonies that one Peter the Patrician was able to compile in the sixth century.

¹²⁰ Missorium: above n. 74. Theodosian base: above n. 86. Ravenna: above n. 101. Cf. S. G. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (1981), concerned however mainly with texts.

¹²¹ Diptychs: above n. 84. Rossano Gospels scene: above n. 72.

¹²² Churchmen, for example, in the Ravenna mosaics: Grabar, *Byzantium*, figs 152 (Ursicinus, Sant'Apollinare in Classe) and 171 (Maximianus and three others to viewer's right of emperor, San Vitale). Saints and martyrs in this manner, some examples: Grabar, *Byzantium*, figs 138 (martyr in church of St George, Thessaloniki), 143 (youthful St Demetrios between bishop and togate eparch), 146 (Sts Cosmas and Damian, Rome), and 151 (St Apollinaris, Ravenna). Full treatment: H. Maguire, *The Icons of their Bodies: Saints and their Images in Byzantium* (1996).

pressure of new needs since the Tetrarchy. But its combination with a range of other components, such as costume, posture, hairstyle, and physiognomy, allows us to contextualize and interpret its use in the case of the public statues of governors and political élites in provincial cities such as Aphrodisias as a way of visualizing the ideals of a new political culture. The point is not what intensified expression and staring eyes meant on their own, but what they meant within the setting of the whole image, and of that image in its broader context.

This paper has tried firstly to present some detailed new information derived from study of the bases and statues preserved in context at Aphrodisias which allows us to map the deployment of honorific monuments in Late Antiquity in public settings in more detail than before, and secondly to interpret the dress and portrait styles of the statues in relation to ideas surrounding the role of those honoured. They were expressions not of a changed relation to the divine but of a radically changed political culture, one specific to Late Antiquity. It has been argued that a large part of what is rather abstractly called 'late antique portraiture' can thus be shown to have a meaningful public context that has little to do with religion and religious attitudes and that the surviving texts that were once attached to those images, perhaps unsurprisingly, can help us to interpret their unusual and striking appearance.

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