THE STATUE MONUMENT OF OECUMENIUS: A NEW PORTRAIT OF A LATE ANTIQUE GOVERNOR FROM APHRODISIAS*

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(Plates IX–XXIV)

Ancient portraits are best interpreted with their busts or statue bodies and in the contexts in which they were set up and experienced, but such fully preserved monuments are not common. This article is the first publication of a new late antique portrait from Aphrodisias in Caria that has a statue body, an inscribed base, and a precise ancient setting.[1] It was set up in honour of a provincial governor named Oecumenius, and his chlamydatus statue is now the most complete example around which others of this characteristic type of late antique statue can be understood. The monument also has wider connections outside Aphrodisias and raises interesting problems of historical interpretation in the period around A.D. 400.

The new find is of real significance from a number of perspectives, and the main points can be summarized as follows. The monument consisted of an inscribed base, a statue, and the new portrait head, and it stood inside a grand double stoa in front of the Council House at Aphrodisias. This was a key honorific locale in the city and an area that has been the object of recent archaeological investigation (1). The new head can be placed without difficulty among a series of late antique portraits from Aphrodisias and

The following abbreviations are used:

Aurea Roma = S. Ensoli and E. La Rocca (eds), *Aurea Roma: Dalla città pagana alla città cristiana* (Exhib. Rome, 2000)
AJA 1995 = R. R. R. Smith and C. Ratté, 'Archaeological research at Aphrodisias in Caria, 1993', *AJA* 99 (1995), 33–58
AJA 1996 = R. R. R. Smith and C. Ratté, 'Archaeological research at Aphrodisias in Caria, 1994', *AJA* 100 (1996), 5–33
AJA 1997 = R. R. R. Smith and C. Ratté, 'Archaeological research at Aphrodisias in Caria, 1995', *AJA* 101 (1997), 1–22
AJA 1998 = R. R. R. Smith and C. Ratté, 'Archaeological research at Aphrodisias in Caria, 1996', *AJA* 102 (1998), 225–50
AJA 2000 = R. R. R. Smith and C. Ratté, 'Archaeological research at Aphrodisias in Caria, 1997 and 1998', *AJA* 104 (2000), 221–53
ALA = C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity* (1989)
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)
Jones, *LRE* = A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* (1964)

JRS 1999 = R. R. R. Smith, 'Late antique portraits in a public context: honorific statuary at Aphrodisias in Caria, A.D. 300–600', *JRS* 89 (1999), 155–89
Ratté = C. Ratté, 'New research on the urban development of Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity', in D. Parrish (ed.), *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor: New Studies on Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Hierapolis, Pergamon, Perge and Xanthos*, JRA Supplement 46 (2001), 116–47
Ševčenko = I. Ševčenko, 'A late antique epigram and the so-called Elder Magistrate from Aphrodisias', *Synthronon: Art et archéologie de la fin de l'antiquité et du moyen age, recueil d'études*, Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques 2 (1968), 29–41
Volbach = W. F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und frühe Mittelalters* (3rd edn, 1976)

Unless otherwise stated, photographs are from the Archive of the New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias.

[1] It is part of a project studying public statue practice in the city in the Roman and late Roman periods that comes from research undertaken at Aphrodisias by New York University since 1991 which aims to document the excavations undertaken by K. T. Erim between 1961 and 1990 (see *AJA* 1995–98 and 2000). Earlier studies include: R. R. R. Smith, 'Late Roman philosopher portraits from Aphrodisias', *JRS* 80 (1990), 127–55; 'Cultural choice and political identity in honorific portrait statues in the Greek East in the second century A.D.', *JRS* 88 (1998), 56–93; *JRS* 1999; 'A late Roman portrait and a himation statue from Aphrodisias', in H. Friesinger and F. Krinzinger (eds), *100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos: Akten des Symposions Wien 1995* (1999), 713–19; 'A portrait monument for Julian and Theodosius at Aphrodisias', in Chr. Reusser (ed.), *Griechenland in der Kaiserzeit: Neue Funde und Forschungen zu Skulptur, Architektur und Topographie* (2001), 125–36.

the region, and there is a second clear version of the portrait from Salamis on Cyprus, from which it should be deduced the same man also served there as governor (II). The perfectly preserved statue is an austere figure wearing the familiar late Roman chlamys in a costumed style that embodied a number of key political ideas of the day (III). The statue of Oecumenius can be reconstructed on its re-used base as a surprisingly tall and slender monument. The base was found *in situ* and carries a complete verse text praising the governor (IV). The combined text and figure are important for understanding this category of monument and for wider questions of the relationship of late antique artistic style and political style (V). The governor Oecumenius is potentially connected with a governor of the same name on Crete, but neither his identity nor date, outside his monument at Aphrodisias, can be established precisely (VI). The top of the new head carries a concealed Christian inscription which can be interpreted in a number of different ways (VII), and which, put in a wider context, invites discussion of the role of honorific statuary and epigraphy in expressing religious orientation in the years around A.D. 400 (VIII).

I.   URBAN CONTEXT: THE BOULEUTERION COMPLEX

The monument under discussion stood at the political heart of ancient Aphrodisias, in the double stoa that fronted the Bouleuterion and the main agora (North Agora); the late antique history of this urban complex may be briefly sketched.[2]

The complex was one of the three main areas for honorific display in the city which continued to flourish in Late Antiquity. The other areas were the great forecourt of the Hadrianic Baths with the adjoining west stoa of the South Agora and the Theatre with its impressive square, the Tetrastoon (Pl. IX).[3] The Bouleuterion area was originally excavated in difficult conditions in the 1960s, and in recent years a complete new documentation has been made of the archaeology and finds of the surrounding buildings: the civic offices to the east of the Bouleuterion, the Sculptor's Workshop behind, the Bouleuterion itself, the double stoa of the Agora in front of the Bouleuterion, and most recently the so-called Bishop's Palace.[4]

The Sculptor's Workshop was functioning until the fifth century, repairing, storing, and making statues, including the kind of late antique portrait statue that concerns us here.[5] The Bouleuterion was in vigorous and continuous use: it was adapted to accommodate shows by taking out its lower seats to form an orchestra pit — it is called a 'palaistra' in the inscription that records its remodelling.[6] Inside, there stood portrait statues of Antonine benefactors and of a great pagan figure of fifth-century Aphrodisias, a high-ranking man called Pytheas, whose statue and base are preserved.[7]

The wide, two-aisled stoa immediately in front of the Bouleuterion was a prime honorific setting (Pl. X). Here stood two imposing statue monuments set up in *c.* A.D. 200 to a great benefactor priest L. Antonius Dometeinus (Pl. XI, 2) and his niece Cl. Antonia Tatiana.[8] They remained standing even after the urban centre was abandoned in the seventh century. In time the statues fell over, to be found complete where they had fallen in the 1960s excavation. When middle-Byzantine inhabitants moved back in and divided and reworked the area for vernacular housing, the statues were probably already buried. These circumstances are important for understanding the preservation of these and other monuments at the site and for visualizing their immediate environment. The two statues of the Severan period were still standing when two more

[2] Ratté, 116–47; cf. J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Decline and Fall of the Roman City* (2001), 36–7.

[3] *JRS* 1999, 171–3, figs 7, 10–11; Ratté, 126–9.

[4] Recent work reported in: *AJA* 1996, 9–13; *AJA* 1997, 1–6; *AJA* 1998, 233–5; *AJA* 2000, 230–5.

[5] *AJA* 1996, 9–13; J. A. van Voorhis, *The Sculptor's Workshop at Aphrodisias*, PhD dissertation, New York University (1999).

[6] *ALA*, no. 43; Ratté, 134–5.

[7] Base: *ALA*, no. 56. Statue: IR I, no. 244. Reconstruction: *JRS* 1999, 167–8, fig. 8, pl. IV.

[8] IR II, nos 186–7, with reconstructions in Smith, op. cit. (n. 1, 1998), 66–8, figs 1–2.

statue monuments (including our statue) were set up to the west in front of the so-called
Bishop's Palace, in the late fourth and early fifth centuries (Pl. X).[9] All four statues
should be seen in the same frame, both late antique and middle-imperial, as still
functioning, operating, active images. We will return to this point.

The 'Bishop's Palace' is a large complex immediately to the west of the Bouleuterion
with a long history into Late Antiquity and the middle-Byzantine period.[10] It is a good
example of late antique adaptation of a civic structure for a new function. It was
originally perhaps the prytaneion, the councillors' dining and reception suite.[11] In the
fourth century, it was completely remodelled as a residential complex — with new
peristyle, new dining room, and a grand triple-apsed reception room in the best and
latest style. In this period, the nearby Church was still the Temple of Aphrodite, so that
the complex is unlikely to have been the bishop's residence.[12] Although it is not
impossible, it also seems unlikely that the bishop would have had racy wall-paintings of
the naked Graces and of a flimsily-clad Victory such as were found there.[13] A good
working hypothesis would make this complex the governor's residence.[14] It was in one
of the rooms of this complex that the new portrait was found.

II.   THE NEW PORTRAIT HEAD

Inv. 00.037. Marble head, broken off through the lower neck, preserved in one piece. Medium-
grained white marble. H: 30 cm, W: 20.5 cm, D: 21.5 cm. HdH (chin to crown): 26.5 cm.
Pls XII–XIV.

Find Context

The head was discovered in the 'Bishop's Palace' in the summer campaign of 2000 during
cleaning and documentation work that involved minor excavation. The head was found in Room 11
at the south-west corner of the complex, in the south-east corner of the room, face-up, with the top
of the head turned towards the south-east (marked A on Pl. X). In the middle Byzantine period, a
stairway had been built against the south wall of the room, rising towards the east. The head was
clearly in a secondary context, re-used as building rubble, either as part of the fill supporting the
stairway, or more likely as part of the fill that blocked the niche in the south wall which was covered
by the stairway (Pl. XIII, 3). This latter re-use would explain why the head was not recovered in the
original excavation of the chamber in the 1960s: it was then still part of the rubble packing in the
niche, and only came loose as part of a later 'slump' of the material from the niche.

Extant Condition

The back of the head is broken off in a vertical section that runs from the back right to a line in
front of the left ear (Pl. XIV, 4). This loss was probably the result of a single large blow to the top of
the head. The inner part of the left ear (tragus) survives between the beard and the break line on the

[9] For the setting: here Pls X and XI, 3. Statues and
reconstructions: *JRS* 1999, 162–7, figs 5–7.
[10] K. T. Erim, *Aphrodisias: City of Venus-Aphrodite*
(1986), 71–3; Ratté, 129–30. The complex is currently
being studied by M. Berenfeld.
[11] P. Gros, 'Les nouveaux éspaces civiques du début
de l'Empire en Asie Mineure: les examples d'Ephèse,
Iasos, et Aphrodisias', in *Aphrodisias Papers* 3 (1996),
112–20, at 118.
[12] *AJA* 1995, 43–52, for date of temple-church
conversion, based on coin finds; Ratté, 130–3.
[13] Erim, op. cit. (n. 10), 73, with fig.; S. Campbell,
'Signs of prosperity in the decoration of some
4th–5th c. buildings at Aphrodisias', in *Aphrodisias*

Papers 3 (1996), 187–99, at 190–2, figs 7 (three
Graces) and 8 (Victory). The study of Michelle
Berenfeld (above, n. 10) will present archaeological
arguments to date the paintings in the later fourth
century (contra, Campbell, 192: 'sixth, possibly sev-
enth century'). On possible resonances of these
images, see below, nn. 63 and 70.
[14] Erim, op. cit. (n. 10), 71; Ratté, 129; L. Lavan,
'Late antique governors' palaces: a gazeteer', *Antiqu-
ité Tardive* 7 (1999), 135–64, at 149–51; idem, 'The
praetoria of civil governors in late antiquity', in
L. Lavan (ed.), *Recent Research in Late-Antique
Urbanism*, JRA Supplement 42 (2001), 39–56.

(proper) left side. When found the head was covered with a fine layer of burial accretion which was mechanically removed.

The features have sustained the following breaks and damage. Most of the left brow and much of the nose are broken off. The centre-left of the moustache and the inner part of the right eyebrow are damaged. The tops of several locks are broken from the upper tier of the crown of hair over the forehead. Most of the outer rim of the surviving right ear is missing, and the lobe is badly damaged and broken below. The surfaces of the face, brow, eyes, and beard also have varied contusions and chips. Large flakes are spalled or 'plucked' from the neck, along the break line, which could indicate that the head was deliberately removed from the statue by mechanical means.

Technique

The surfaces of the face and neck are finely finished and were no doubt once polished like the statue body. The face now has a dull, satin-like finish. The beard and hair always had rougher textures to contrast with the skin. The hair was finished on the top and back of the head with a flat chisel, as was the short beard-hair on the cheeks. The hair 'wreath' over the brow and the lower part of the beard under the chin were worked with drills. A fine drill was used in the hair over the forehead (diam.: 2.5 mm). A thicker drill (diam.: 3–4 mm) blocked out the beard under the chin in an impressionist manner. Under the chin the beard was drilled horizontally from the front plane of the head towards the neck, on which the ends of horizontal drill channels are visible (Pl. XXI, 4). This method of working was dictated by the position of the head on the statue: the projecting folds of the chlamys around the neck and the chest of the figure impeded the use of the drill from underneath.

There is visible drill work also in the pupils of the eyes, the inner corners of the eyes, the nostrils, and the inner part of the ear. Five shallow drill holes are also visible above the right ear: they were part of a channel separating the ear from the hair which was never completed because it could not be seen from below.

Inscription (Pl. XIII, 1–2)

On top of the head, immediately behind the hair crest, on the proper right side, three letters, X M Γ, are engraved sharply and neatly (letter H: 1.5 cm). These letters are cut professionally with a chisel, with double-sided channels, V-shaped in section. The inscription is Christian and was written to be read from the back. Its significance will be discussed below in Section VII.

The bearded head is slightly larger than life-size and turns to its right. The upper edge of an undergarment remains at the break edge at the back right. The head has finely modulated plump portrait features: full lower cheeks; a broad fat nose; large, finely worked ears; and a light smile, especially when seen from below. At first glance the portrait appears to be of second-century, perhaps Hadrianic date, but the eye technique (deep U-shaped pupils, emphatically drilled) and the hairstyle (brushed forward to form a raised fringe or low 'crest' of drilled locks around the forehead) show it is of late antique date.

On top of the head the hair is flat and brushed forward, represented here with broad rough strokes of the flat chisel instead of the fine 'combing' with the claw chisel found on some heads of the period (Pl. XXIV, 2).[15] In profile there is a distinctive dip behind the fringe or crest of hair over the brow. This thicker fringe is articulated with fine drill-work. It is arranged broadly in two tiers of curling locks. Much of the upper tier of larger locks is broken off in the middle. The lower tier is made up of small deep 'comma'-shaped locks brushed down and curving mostly to the viewer's right across the top of the forehead. The locks are articulated by fine drill channels (almost 10 mm deep

[15] Some examples of 'combed' hair. (1) Istanbul 'Arcadius': IR II, no. 82; (2) Brussels head, here Pl. XXIV, 1: IR II, no. 204; (3) Getty head: H. Jucker and D. Willers (eds), Gesichter: griechische und römische Bildnisse aus Schweizer Besitz (1982), no. 95A.

The hair on the crown of the new head, though less well finished, is in principle most like the flat-chiselled hair of, for example, IR II, nos 196 (Aphrodisias), 194–5 (Ephesus).

in places), cleaned out with narrow chisels and files. Each lock is sub-divided by two shallower and more varied channels. At the back, on the nape, the hair was arranged in two tiers of tight, 'snail-shell' curls worked only with the flat chisel; only four of these snail curls are preserved.

The hair fringe frames a low square brow that is smooth and unlined. The preserved outer part of the right eyebrow was carved in relief as a sharp, lightly raised ridge. The drilled eyes are of unexaggerated natural size and shape, set below eyebrows that are slightly raised in a somewhat artificial manner. The eyelids are narrow and marked off by a sharply engraved channel above. The line between the lower lid and the eyeball was also engraved by a sharp, 'dragged' point. The inner canthus of the eyes was formed by two tiny drilled holes. The drilled U-shaped pupils have pronounced pendant 'highlights'. A separate, lightly engraved iris line, usual in middle-imperial portrait technique, is absent. The outer line of the drill channel, flattened by holding the drill obliquely, serves as the iris line. This is a variant of an eye technique found at Aphrodisias in portraits that belong probably in the mid- to later fourth (rather than fifth) century.[16] The lower lids are subtly modelled and have the shape of the eyeball continuing beneath them.

The plump face and cheeks with the broad nose set deeply into the cheeks are modelled with 'organic' naturalism and great sensitivity and individuality. There are no engraved lines on these features. The nose was clearly a highly distinctive personal feature. It has a strong curved profile, with a deep indentation between the bridge and the brow, and in front view it spreads out below with broad nostrils. The lower medial partition of the nose, the lower septum, is fleshy and hangs down below in a striking and unusual manner. In profile the nose is sunk behind the folds of the projecting full cheeks. The nostrils were drilled out carefully and asymmetrically. The individual form of this broad fleshy nose is all the more striking in a period when a favoured physiognomical manipulation in portraits was an artificially long, fine, and slender nose.[17]

The upper lip is covered by a thick and neatly trimmed moustache. The mouth is tightly shut in a thin straight line, pulled back at the corners in a way that reads as a light smile, especially when seen from below (cf. Pl. XII). In profile the upper lip projects over the lower lip. The thin lower lip has little modelled shape and no lower line of demarcation.

The beard has a short clipped 'Hadrianic' form, with a full moustache, and is short over the cheeks, longer under the chin. It displays three different textures: (1) hair engraved on the transition between cheek and beard, (2) an even mat of hair covering the cheeks, all worked with the flat chisel to give the impression of a short clipped beard, and (3) the lower part of the beard under the chin where there is longer hair and more shadow worked out with the drill. The neck is worked with the same fine finish as the face and has a carefully modelled adam's apple.

Whereas many non-imperial honorands of mature age followed the clean-shaven appearance of the Constantinian-style court until perhaps c. A.D. 380 and the early Theodosian period, from the later fourth century a smooth-faced portrait was the

[16] The following two late Aphrodisian portraits, of probably the mid- to later fourth (rather than fifth) century have similar eye formations to the new head, without a separately engraved iris: (1) unfinished togatus: IR II, no. 195; (2) bust of 'sophist': Smith, op. cit. (n. 1, 1990), 148–50, no. 11, pls XV–XVI. For examples of fifth-century eye technique: ibid., 135, pls VI–XIV; *JRS* 1999, 184, pls VI–IX.

[17] Slender noses, a few examples from many. (1)

Istanbul 'Arcadius': IR II, no. 82; (2) Eutropius from Ephesus: IR I, no. 194; (3) new head from Ephesus: M. Aurenhammer, 'Drei neue Porträtköpfe von der Tetragonos Agora in Ephesos', *ÖJh* 69 (2000), 17–33, at 25–33, figs 13–18. A period feature common also in the West: H. P. L'Orange, *Studien zur Geschichte des spätantiken Porträts* (1933), figs 192–3 (Munich), 194–5 (Terme); *Aurea Roma*, nos 200 ('Honorius'), 201 (Munich), 202 (Capitoline), 203 (Terme).

exception for such men.[18] Most portraits then wear either stubble beards (signs for civil office-holders of hard work and being away on administrative 'campaign') or beards of varying thickness and length. These beards are combined with different formulations of the 'wreath' or 'crest' hairstyle, in which the hair is brushed forward from the crown to form the low crest or thicker wreath over and around the brow, as seen in the new head and in the figures of courtiers attending the emperor on the Theodosian obelisk base in Constantinople of A.D. 390–2 (Pl. XXIV, 3).[19] Such hairstyles are immediately recognizable, especially in profile views, in a wide range of heads of different techniques and styles, as belonging to the later fourth and earlier fifth centuries.

At Aphrodisias, there are several such portrait heads with full beards: for example, a narrow-faced portrait found to the west of the Bishop's Palace,[20] a re-worked head from the Tetrastoon in front of the Theatre,[21] and a well-known head from the Hadrianic Baths, now in Brussels (Pl. XXIV, 1).[22] The first two have a similar classical eye formulation and plainer hairstyles. The Brussels head has a tall brow, gaunt face, greatly intensified eyes, and a fuller wreath-hairstyle that is combed forward from the crown and intricately drilled. It is probably later than the new head, but, given the lack of good externally dated comparanda during the fifth century, how such a time-difference should be measured in decades is not obvious.

Many high-quality marble portraits elsewhere also clearly belong in this period, but their relative sequence as well as their absolute dates are far from clear. They have been assigned precise but variable dates by different researchers using the same assumptions and criteria — those of gradualist style development. In the absence of much more detailed external documentation, however, it is genuinely difficult to assess how, for example, increased expressiveness (such as that of the Brussels head: Pl. XXIV, 1) intersects at the local level with different workshop preferences. Furthermore it is not clear how expressiveness and technique might both relate to chronology. None of the following marble portraits, which offer various points of comparison for the new head, has an external date.

A head with short beard from the Roman agora at Smyrna has a similar hairstyle over a tall square brow, but with the hair crest rendered more plainly as a near-continuous mass.[23] Its narrow and heavy-lidded classical eyes are unusual. A head fragment that preserves a bearded face and drilled hair crest, said to be from Ephesus, now in Berlin, is close in hairstyle and full beard but of reduced, inferior technique.[24] The plump physiognomy of the new Aphrodisias head is also widely paralled in this period — for example, in more exaggerated form, in a long-bearded portrait from Chios,[25] in a strange, broad-mouthed portrait from nearby Tabai, in the next valley to the east from Aphrodisias,[26] and in a short-bearded, fat-faced portrait in Bonn, said to be from Asia Minor.[27]

Two high-quality busts, in Tokat and Geneva, share with the new Aphrodisias portrait various features but most obviously a pronounced turn of the head to one side. The Tokat bust, from Sebastopolis in the Pontus region of north-east Asia Minor, turns

[18] Clean-shaven, some examples. (1) Unfinished togatus, Aphrodisias: IR II, no. 195; (2) head fragment, Aphrodisias: IR II, no. 196; (3) chlamydatus bust, Thessaloniki: H. P. L'Orange, 'Der subtile Stil: eine Kunstströmung aus der Zeit um 400 nach Christus', *AntK* 4 (1961), 68–74, pl. 27, 1 and 3; and (4) two clean-shaven togati from the 'Temple of Minerva Medica', Rome: M. Cima (ed.), *Restauri nei Musei Capitolini le sculture della sala dei magistrati e gli originali greci della sala dei monumenti archaici* (1995), 125–35; *Aurea Roma*, nos 12–13; for the provenance of these two statues, see now R. Coates-Stephens, '*Muri dei bassi secoli* in Rome: observations on the re-use of statuary in walls found on the Esquiline and Caelian after 1870', *JRA* 14 (2001), 217–38. On fourth-century portrait norms, see recently: M. Bergmann, 'Il ritratto imperiale e il ritratto privato: l'evoluzione delle forme', in *Aurea Roma*, 237–43, at 239–41.

[19] G. Bruns, *Der Obelisk und seine Basis auf dem Hippodrom zu Konstantinopel* (1935); B. Kiilerich, 'The obelisk base in Constantinople: court art and imperial ideology', *ActaAArtHist* 10 (1998), 1–194, at 96–101 (date), 105–11 (attribution to an Aphrodisian workshop).
[20] IR II, no. 205.
[21] IR II, no. 200.
[22] IR II, no. 204.
[23] IR I, no. 134 (now lost).
[24] IR II, no. 154.
[25] J. Meischner, 'Das Porträt der theodosianischen Epoche, II: 400 bis 460 n. Chr.', *JdI* 106 (1991), 385–407, at 388, pl. 88.3.
[26] P. Kranz, 'Ein Bildnis frühtheodosianischen Zeit in der Sammlung George Ortiz bei Genf', *AA* (1979), 76–103, at 86, fig. 6.
[27] IR II, no. 304.

to its left and has some similar main features — broad face, full beard with heavy moustache, and sensitive natural handling — but a different portrait effect.[28] The Geneva bust, probably from western Asia Minor, now in the collection of G. Ortiz, is also far removed in individual appearance but very close in hairstyle and especially in the drill technique of the two-tiered crest over the brow.[29] The head turns sharply to its right, so that when the bust is frontal the head is in three-quarter view. This is a dramatic and contingent posture more familiar at the height of Roman bust-portraiture in the Antonine-Severan age than among the timeless unmoving portraits normally thought to be typical of Late Antiquity. The portrait has a long beard with an unusual, highly personal, long-tailed moustache hanging over it and a refined rectangular face treated with great sensitivity. Because of its modulated physiognomical style and its natural, unaccentuated eyes, the Geneva bust has been dated, probably rightly, earlier than the series of more intensified, staring portraits — that is, in the early Theodosian period, in the later fourth rather than the fifth century.[30]

While all elements of the new head can be paralleled in other portraits, they do not appear at Aphrodisias or elsewhere in the same combination. The head was meant to look of its class (aristocratic Theodosian-style courtier and office-holder), but it was also meant to look different, real, and individual — to look like a real portrait.

This makes the interpretation of one last close parallel most interesting. A bearded late antique portrait head from Salamis on Cyprus, now in Nicosia, shares with the Aphrodisias head not only the period features of hair and technique but also the same distinctive physiognomical traits that make the new portrait so individual (Pl. XV).[31] The two heads are not exactly the same but are so close they surely represent the same person. The Cyprus head was found at Site F, 'The Atrium', in the southern part of Salamis, on the highest point of the town, at or in a building of which only small parts were uncovered — two large column bases set on a wall-foundation, steps, various other sections of wall, and fragments of mosaic floor. The excavators identified the structure as part of a large Roman mansion. The head was found at the wall with columns near some steps, which one might guess were part of the entrance to the complex.

In its main controlling components — drilled hair-crest, brow shape, thick nose, broad full cheeks, thick moustache and 'Hadrianic'-length beard — the Salamis head has a near-identical configuration to the new Aphrodisias head. The eyes are rounder and opened wider, but otherwise the portrait resemblance in front view is striking. There are some 'internal' differences of technical handling: in profile, the hair brushed forward over the temples has been drilled into longer deeper strands; the beard on the cheeks has engraved strands rather than an impressionist mat-like treatment; and the tight snail curls on the nape of the neck are replaced by continous wave. But the overall shape and disposition of head, hair, beard, and face remain close.

The two heads share more than a general resemblance that makes them look like portraits of the same man. They seem also to have a typological or 'genetic' relationship to each other. That is, they seem clearly to be based on the same image — to be two versions of the same 'authorized' portrait. Both repeat a controlling design of head shape, features, and relation of hair to face and face to beard, which they have handled slightly differently in terms of internal detail and technique (notably in the hair over the

[28] IR I, no. 107.

[29] Kranz, op. cit, (n. 26); Jucker and Willers, op. cit. (n. 15), no. 95; G. Ortiz, *In Pursuit of the Absolute: Art of the Ancient World, the George Ortiz Collection* (1996), no. 248.

[30] Kranz, op. cit. (n. 26), 89–102.

[31] Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, Inv. E 487. Marble, without visible crystalline structure. H: 27.5 cm. Find report: J. A. R. Munro and J. A. Tubbs, 'Excavations in Cyprus, 1890. Third season's work: Salamis', *JHS* 12 (1891), 59–198, at 99–101, on the find context, with pl. VII A (= plan of Site F, 'the Atrium'), and 145–6, no. 1, on the objects recovered: 'The finds were not of much importance, but ranged from the latest period to a very early date. A few may be

mentioned: (1) A marble portrait head of a bearded man. Life size, style of the Roman imperial period. Realistic work, truculent expression' (145–6). Later bibliography: O. Vessberg, 'Roman portrait art in Cyprus', *Opuscula Romana* I (1954), 160–5, at 165, figs 12–13 (early fifth century); O. Vessberg and A. Westholm, *Swedish Cyprus Expedition IV.3: The Hellenistic and Roman Periods in Cyprus* (1956), 103, pl. 20, 3–4; V. Karageorghis and C. C. Vermeule, *Sculpture from Salamis* II (1966), 31–3, no. 103, pl. 18 (*c.* A.D. 400); C. C. Vermeule, *Greek and Roman Cyprus: Art from Classical through Late Antique Times* (1976), 119–20 (*c.* A.D. 400, possibly of Hadrian); Kranz, op. cit, (n. 26), 84, figs 4 and 11.

temples and the size of the eyes). Multiple versions of 'authorized' portraits of non-imperial notables and grandees, such as Herodes Atticus, are well-attested in the middle imperial period,[32] but this phenomenon has not before been found in Late Antiquity, when marble portrait use was more restricted and correspondingly less survives.

There is, however, good reason to expect it. Great generals, praetorian prefects, and numerous governors were still regularly honoured in different provinces and cities, and for their statues and busts an authorized portrait image could usefully have been made available to the executing workshops in the different locales. Marble workshops were still perfectly familiar with working from given models that ensured a desired and recognizable image. Although the elevated, diademed, 'sacred' image of the late Roman emperor did not require the precise replication of a portrait type to secure its recognizablility as an image of the emperor, such replication is found after Constantine in a number of cases,[33] and the mechanism for sending out such authorized portraits (*imagines laureatae*, no doubt paintings) is well attested in literary sources.[34] The portrait images of famous culture figures of the past were also still routinely reproduced in the fourth and fifth centuries. These images could be heavily re-styled in line with late antique ideas about the subjects represented, but they still preserved the basic forms of centuries-old canonical images that immediately secured their recognition and identification.[35] The need for re-styling would of course not apply in the case of a contemporary portrait type originated close in time to its replicas. The only significant local adjustment made in the Salamis version of the portrait was in the accentuation of the eyes. The other differences, in the hair on the sides and back, should be due to different workshop habits and probably also to the practice of working from the single view(s) presented by a two-dimensional portrait picture(s).

It seems much less difficult then to accept the new Aphrodisias head and the Salamis head as near-contemporary versions of a common portrait image than to suppose their resemblance is an accident. The Aphrodisias portrait is of a provincial governor of the rank of *praeses*, and it need only be supposed, for example, that the same man also served a term, later, as governor of Cyprus, which was a post at the rank of *consularis*, held from the mid-fourth century at Salamis (re-named Constantia), which had taken over from Paphos as the provincial capital of the island.[36]

III. HEAD AND STATUE

The new Aphrodisias head fits on a late antique statue body excavated 45 m to the east of the find place of the head in 1965, in the excavation of the stoa in front of the

[32] Herodes and circle: G. M. A. Richter, *Portraits of the Greeks* (1965), III, 286–7; S. Walker, 'A marble head of Herodes Atticus from Winchester City Museum', *AntJ* 69 (1989), 324–6; H. Meyer, 'Vibullius-Polydeukion: ein archäologisch-epigraphischer Problemfall', *AM* 100 (1985), 393–404. Others: S. Dillon, 'The portraits of a civic benefactor of 2nd-c. Ephesos', *JRA* 9 (1996), 261–74; K. Fittschen, 'Courtly portraits of women in the era of the adoptive emperors and their reception in Roman society', in D. E. E. Kleiner and S. B. Mathieson (eds), *I Claudia: Women in Ancient Roman Society* (1996), 42–8, esp. at 46.

[33] K. Fittschen and P. Zanker, *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen Kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom* (1983–5) I, no. 126, with Beil. 95, for three versions of an imperial portrait type of the later fourth century (Valentinian or Valens?); ibid., III, no. 39, for three versions of a late empress portrait type ('Ariadne'); *Aurea Roma*, nos 269–71.

[34] P. Bruun, 'Notes on the transmission of imperial images in Late Antiquity', *Studia Romana in honorem P. Krarup* (1976), 122–31.

[35] Some examples. Pindar and Alexander: Smith, op. cit. (n. 1, 1990), 132–8, nos 1–2, pls VI–IX. Menander: Richter, op. cit. (n. 32), 222–33, nos 3, 9, 46–7 (Aphrodisias, Capitoline, Konya, Ephesos). These and others are well discussed by P. Zanker, *The Mask of Sokrates: The Image of the Intellectual in Antiquity* (1995), 320–7: 'Late Roman copies: new faces on old friends'.

[36] Cyprus, *consularis*: Jones, *LRE*, 1459. Salamis-Constantia, metropolis of Cyprus from mid-fourth century: G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus* I (1940), 249–50; Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Constantia. It might be tentatively suggested from the new evidence presented here that the 'Atrium' at Site F, a late Roman mansion, where the head was found (above, n. 31), was the governor's residence. For a parallel career promotion, *praeses* in Lycia, later *consularis* on Cyprus: below, n. 76.

Bouleuterion (Pl. X).[37] The head preserves only a small part of the neck, but what survives joins the statue break to break. The full height is 1.91 m, that is, above life-size or near a standard statue-size. The head and statue had been made in one piece, and the head either broke off when the statue fell or had been removed sometime before. The statue stayed where it was, in front of its base, while the head was taken off as building rubble. Their different preservation history accounts for their different surface appearance.

The resulting join transforms both the head and the statue (Pls XVI, XX, XXII). The statue no longer appears, as it did when it was headless, to be stiff and frontal: the head turns to its right and looks down slightly. (Pl. XVI shows the figure as seen by a viewer standing square to the front of the statue, with the head turned in three-quarter view. Pl. XXII shows the figure seen square to the front of the statue's head.) At the same time, the portrait is immediately given a late antique body form: it is now obviously not of the second century. The statue is a tall slender austere figure, wearing a long chlamys — a new government costume of the fourth to fifth centuries. It is finely worked and finished on the front to a deep polish, while the back is roughly sketched (Pl. XVII, 2).

The chlamys would have been fastened by a tall cross-bow fibula (now missing), separately added in the narrow dowel hole at the right shoulder, in bronze or marble. Chlamydatus figures on the Theodosian obelisk base, for example, show how these conspicuous fibulae were worn (Pl. XXIV, 3). The chlamys would probably have been decorated with coloured patches, painted on the statue to represent the *segmenta*, or sewn rectangular insets, seen in representations of chlamys-wearers in coloured media, such as mosaics and illuminated manuscripts.[38] Under the chlamys, the statue wears the usual knee-length belted tunic with tight long sleeves. The lower hem of the tunic is visible in the narrow opening of the cloak on the proper right side (Pl. XVII, 3). The tunic was belted at the waist, but the belt is concealed beneath the overfall of excess material.[39] The feet wear the usual soft plain pointed boots with slightly upturned ends. Their only articulation is a line lightly engraved on the proper right boot that indicates a thin sole (Pl. XXI, 3).

The hands of the statue, as of others of this category and period, are conceived and carved in a striking new style (Pl. XXI, 1–2). Compared to the big, heavy realistic hands of honorific statues of the early and middle Empire,[40] these hands are thin and refined, with long, elegant, formless, almost tubular fingers and tiny, mannered fingernails. The meaning is perhaps two-fold. Firstly, they are hands that do no physical work, and secondly, they are metaphorically 'pure' hands, such as are alluded to in the inscribed epigram on the statue's base (below, Section IV).

The figure holds a thin scroll in its right hand, and has, as is usual, a bundle of scrolls on the plinth at its left foot. The schematically rendered scroll bundle was not needed for practical, static purposes — the long chlamys provides full and adequate support for the figure — but for symbolic purposes. The scroll in the hand can be taken as the subject's codicils of office or as tokens of his literary culture. This question does not greatly matter, because the statue was not concerned to specify an answer and more importantly because the main semantic function of the scrolls lies elsewhere. The chlamys was explicitly and forcefully a military cloak, a fearsome extra-urban costume, banned for senators inside Constantinople, but worn by members of the civil administration in post and on duty: in the new style of the late Roman government their

[37] Inv. 65–199. K. T. Erim, 'Two new early Byzantine statues from Aphrodisias', *DOP* 21 (1967), 285–6, no. 2, fig. 2; *JRS* 1999, 162–5, fig. 6, pl. II.
[38] Some examples. (1) Mosaic picture of Justinian and entourage, Ravenna, S. Vitale: Grabar, *Byzantium*, figs 171–2; (2) Vienna Genesis, courtiers before Potiphar's wife: ibid., fig. 222; (3) Rossano Gospels, Pilate and officials: ibid., fig. 232. *Segmenta*: *JRS* 1999, 176–7, with refs nn. 66—7.
[39] Belt: Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. cingulum, with lit-

erary and law code references; R. Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler. Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte* II (1929), 36–7; H. Löhken, *Ordines dignitatum. Untersuchungen zur formalen Konstitutierung der spätantiken Führungsschicht* (1982), 83–6; *JRS* 1999, 176–8.
[40] Contrast the big powerful hands of an honorand of the first century A.D.: C. H. Hallett, 'A group of portrait statues from the civic center of Aphrodisias', *AJA* 102 (1998), 59–89, at 69, no. 2, figs 12–13.

service was considered to be a *militia*.[41] Scrolls were of course a civil, urban attribute, a root symbol of *paideia* and culture,[42] and here they represent the idea that the *militia* of these imperial officers was exercised in the civil realm. Officers in the military realm proper wore the same kind of cloak, but with a sword, sword-belt, and spear, both in images and life — for example, the general figured on the famous Stilicho(?) ivory diptych.[43] Thus all imperial *officiales* might wear the chlamys, and it was other features, such as colour, insets, and attributes, that distinguished the wearer's rank and function.

There are abundant parallels from Aphrodisias and elsewhere for this kind of chlamydatus figure with this kind of personal styling, in statues, busts, and other media. Closest and most important in this context are the two well-known statues from the Hadrianic Baths at Aphrodisias, excavated in 1904 and now in Istanbul, both complete with their heads, formerly referred to as the Elder and Younger Magistrates.[44] The 'elder' figure is near-identical in pose and dress design to the statue under discussion (Pl. XXIII). It also has a similar turn of the head to its right. There are only small differences of posture: the figure from the Hadrianic Baths does not have its right foot turned outwards in such a pronounced way, and it holds its left hand further out from the body, and this hand is entirely covered by the cloak which it lifts up. The left hand of the Oecumenius statue instead holds the edge of the cloak, leaving its slender fingers visible. A major technical difference lies in the flatter treatment of the statue from the Hadrianic Baths: it was carved from a shallower block and one that was defective in some way behind its back lower right where the depth of the figure is drastically reduced. The statue of Oecumenius has a fuller three-dimensional value over the length of the figure.

While the body design of the statue from the Hadrianic Baths is nearly identical to that of the Oecumenius statue, its very different portrait head (as well as its different location) ensured no one would confuse their identities. It has a short beard, lank unfashionable hairstyle lying flat on the brow, and emphatically drilled intense eyes. The technique of the eyes, intensified dour expression, with a broad thin-lipped mouth, may indicate that it is later in date than the new portrait. The gaunt, dour, solemn expression became typical of this category of public honorific portrait.[45] The affable smiling expression of the new portrait (we will return to this aspect in Section v) is unusual in this context.

Although the precise date is not clear from surviving textual or visual evidence, the full ankle-length military chlamys worn over a sleeved tunic was probably introduced as a new costume for imperial officials in the early fourth century. One of the earliest and most significant examples is the figure of Constantine in the small frieze on his arch in Rome in the scene of public address from the rostra.[46] Here for the first time an emperor wearing the long military cloak addresses the populace of Rome inside the city — and at its civilian epicentre, the Forum Romanum. The costume appears as a statue costume only later in surviving examples, though their chronology is imperfectly known. There are also chlamydatus busts of this period in marble,[47] and there are many evocative examples of chlamydatus figures in mosaics, manuscripts, and diptychs.[48]

[41] Terror-effect of military chlamys, banned for senators in Constantinople: *Theodosian Code* 14.10.1. Civil service as *militia*: Jones, *LRE*, 566; Libanius refers to members of the civil administration as 'soldiers' (*Ep.* 821, 81) and 'hoplites' (*Or.* 44.2): J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the Late Roman Empire* (1972, repr. 2000), 114, n. 3. Further lit. and refs: *JRS* 1999, 177, nn. 63 and 73.

[42] Zanker, op. cit. (n. 35), 190–7, 268–84.

[43] Volbach, no. 63; B. Kiilerich and H. Torp, 'Hic est hic Stilicho: the date and interpretation of a notable diptych', *JdI* 104 (1989), 319–71.

[44] J. Kollwitz, *Oströmische Plastik der theodosianischen Zeit* (1941), nos 2–3; IR I, nos 242–3.

[45] Examples and discussion: *JRS* 1999, 184–9, pls VI–XI.

[46] R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome: The Late Empire. Roman Art, AD 200–400* (1970), 77–8, fig. 69; B. Andreae, *The Art of Rome* (1977), fig. 629.

[47] Four well-preserved examples, in probable chronological order. (1) Thessaloniki bust: L'Orange, op. cit. (n. 18); (2) Ortiz bust: above, n. 26; (3) Tokat bust: above, n. 28; (4) Stratonikeia bust: R. Özgan and D. Stutzinger, 'Untersuchungen zur Porträtplastik des 5. Jhdts. n. Chr. anhand zweier neugefunden Porträts aus Stratonikeia', *IstMitt* 35 (1985), 237–74.

[48] Mosaics, manuscripts: above, n. 38. Ivory diptychs: Volbach, nos 35 (Halberstadt), 47 (Bologna), 64 (Novara).

The statue then is a near-perfectly preserved example of a familiar late Roman costume. And its inscribed base provides vital documentation about what kind of person was represented in such statues.

IV.   BASE AND INSCRIPTION

The chlamydatus statue was found fallen in front of the inscribed base on which it stood, and the base was found (and remains) *in situ*, with its back against the rear wall of the stoa that runs in front of the Bouleuterion and Bishop's Palace (Pls X; XI, 3).

The base has a shallow rubble foundation, on which was placed a levelling block (a re-used wall block) that was probably mostly buried (Pls XI, 1; XVII, 4).[49] The base itself is the re-used central pillar-shaft from a middle imperial base, that is, without its separately-made projecting upper and lower moulded elements. (Re-use was the rule for late antique statue bases at the site.)[50] This pillar-shaft has a moulded frame on three sides and is still *in situ* on the lower block. It certainly therefore had no lower plinth, and so surely no answering projecting plinth above either. If this is correct — and the archaeological circumstances speak strongly for it — it makes for a strangely tall, slender monument profile. The aesthetic is thoroughly willed and unclassical (Fig. 1).

The plinth of the statue would have been attached directly to the top of the pillar-shaft by clamps fastened in the clamp holes visible on the front and on the (viewer's) left side of the base (Pls XI, 1; XVII, 4). The clamps would simply have been turned down at right angles on the upper surface of the statue's plinth. Since there are no corresponding marks or cuttings on the plinth, leather or wooden tabs may have been used to prevent direct contact between the metal clamp and the finely polished statue plinth. This was certainly a common way of fastening plinths to their bases in this period, as earlier. Sometimes shallow tab-like cuttings show precisely where the clamps turned down on top of the plinth.[51]

The front of the base had its old inscription erased and was inscribed with a new text, a late verse epigram written in a typically elevated and pretentious style. The text is complete.[52]

Τὸν σὲ νόμων πλή|θοντα, τὸν Ἰταλι|ώτιδα Μοῦσαν v.|
v. Ἀτθίδος ἡδυεπεῖ|(5) v. κιρνάμενον μέλιτι|
τῆιδ' Οἰκουμένιον | τὸν ἀοίδιμον ἡγεμο|νῆα v.
στῆσε φίλη | βουλὴ τῶν Ἀφροδισιέω(v)·|
τῶι γὰρ δὴ καθαρῶι φρέ|να καὶ χέρα, τί πλέον | εὑρεῖν v.
μνημοσύ|νης ἀγαθῆς ἄλλο πά|ρεστι γέρας; leaf

You who are full of (knowledge of) laws (*ton nomōn plēthonta*), who have blended the Italian Muse with the sweet-voiced honey of the Attic, Oecumenius, the famous governor (*hegemōn*), 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 (*katharos*) in mind and in hand? (trans. *ALA*, no. 31)

The inscription tells us that the statue is of a governor (*hegemōn*) called Oecumenius and was set up by the *boulē*, the city council. Oecumenius is said to be an expert lawyer, to be bilingual in Latin (the Italian Muse) and Greek (sweet-voiced Attic), and has generally cultivated literary pretensions (he blended the Muses). He is also, like all good governors and judges, said to be incorruptible: pure in mind, pure in hand. The text

[49] Recently investigated: *AJA* 2000, 234–5, fig. 13.

[50] After *c.* A.D. 300, most of the statue bases at Aphrodisias, of which enough survives to tell, can be seen to be made from re-cycled components. About ten were made from re-used column parts (*ALA*, nos 8, 20, 23–7, 64, 82, 86). More were made from old statue bases, and of these about twelve from re-cycled tall panelled shafts of the high imperial period of the

kind used for Oecumenius' statue (*ALA*, nos 14, 16, 21, 31 = Oecumenius' base, 33, 37, 41, 56, 65, 73, 86, 88).

[51] Seen, for example, on the plinth of a late himation statue found near Geyre in 1989: *JRS* 1999, 181, pl. V, 2.
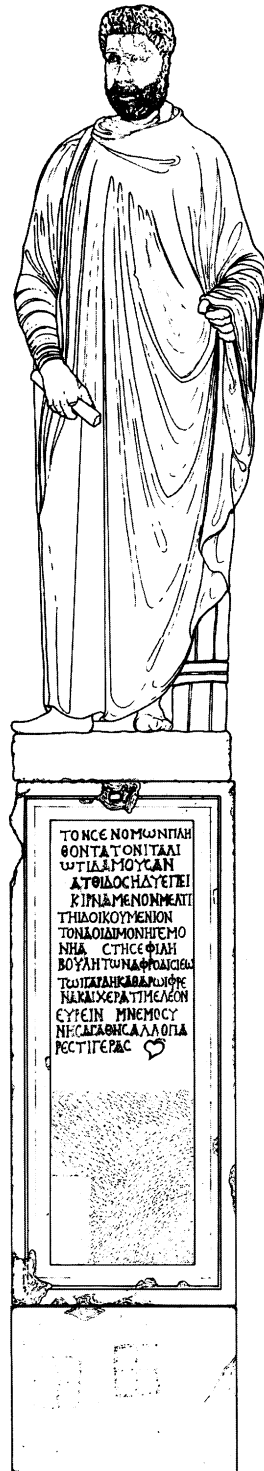
[52] Ševčenko, 30; *ALA*, no. 31.

FIG. I.   STATUE MONUMENT OF
OECUMENIUS. RESTORED ELEVATION.
(*Drawn by K. Görkay*)

closes with the usual leaf, and, on the face of it, there are no overtly Christian or pagan
symbols or sentiments in the text: purity of mind and hand could be equally appropriate
for a Christian, for a pagan, or for someone not deeply committed or engaged in
questions of religious orientation. This is part of the wider character of the text, shared

with many others like it, of being highly allusive, non-specific, non-committal about date, occasion, family, career, connections, priorities.

V.   GOVERNORS NOT MAGISTRATES: POLITICAL STYLE AND ART STYLE

Ihor Ševčenko made a first, full, and penetrating study of the inscribed text.[53] Most importantly, he highlighted that the statue represented a provincial governor and that other such chlamydatus statues from Aphrodisias and elsewhere, notably the so-called Elder and Younger Magistrates from the Hadrianic Baths (Pl. XXIII) should therefore also represent provincial governors, not local office-holders as had been generally assumed until then.[54] This adjustment and correction of the designation of these figures, from local magistrates to governors, may seem at first glance only of slight significance for understanding the statues. The implications are, however, of cardinal importance, and since they have been not been properly appreciated — indeed generally not understood or even noticed — it may be worthwhile briefly to spell them out.

At stake here is a broader matter of interpreting some important aspects of the clear change between middle imperial and late antique statues and representation. If these statues represented the same kind of local magistrates and city notables that earlier honorific statues had represented, then the style-change in Late Antiquity would seem to be, as many feel it is, essentially an artistic phenomenon — that is, due mainly to changes within the image-making process. If on the other hand, as the case of Oecumenius now strongly suggests, these statues represent rather Roman governors — that is, a different kind of figure and one informed by a radically different and distinctively late Roman political culture — then the change visible in the statues cannot be one internal to statue-making. In other words, the change was not due simply to artists or a disembodied art-style of the times, but to art-style or visual technology in the service of different political ideas and of different real costumes, hairstyles, and modes of personal presentation.

These points can be exemplified by the statues visible together in the same stoa with the Oecumenius. The next statue to the east of the Oecumenius was that of the great Severan-period benefactor, L. Antonius Dometeinus, wearing civic himation and huge priestly bust-crown (Pl. XI, 2).[55] Dometeinus is shown in the role of citizen-priest, and to ancient eyes looking at the statues of Dometeinus and Oecumenius together, their striking differences would not be due so much (if at all) to changed principles of representation between the Severan and the Theodosian age as to the different kinds of subjects represented. The gulf we see and feel between the statues of Dometeinus and Oecumenius was the calculated expression in life and art of the difference between a patriarchal city notable of c. A.D. 200, steeped in the backward-looking demos culture of the hellenistic polis, and the new military-style *officialis* of the fourth century oriented to a changed central court style.

As Ševčenko showed in great detail, the style and ideas of Oecumenius' inscription can be located firmly within the context already so well interpreted by Louis Robert, that is, among the verse epigrams on statue bases of late Roman governors.[56] The parallels for the pretentious style and the core ideas of learned culture of the Muses, bilingualism, knowledge of the law, and judicial incorruptibility (pure hands) are abundant in the epigraphic and literary sources concerned with the best kind of governor. In a recent study, the present writer suggested ways in which the expressive components and intensified visual style of the portrait statues could be interpreted in the light of the particular virtues of the severe, hard-working, straight-judging governor

[53] Ševčenko, 29–41.

[54] Ševčenko, 36–8. The two statues: above, n. 44.

[55] Above, n. 8. On the crown: cf. J. Rumscheid, *Kranz und Krone: Zu Insignien, Siegespreisen und*

Ehrenzeichen der römischen Kaiserzeit, Istanbuler Forschungen 43 (2000), 32–4, pls 4.2–4, 5.1.

[56] Ševčenko, 30–6, drawing on L. Robert, *Hellenica IV: Epigrammes du Bas-Empire* (1948).

and the colourful metaphorical language used to describe them — rather, that is, than in terms of a generalized late antique 'spirituality'.[57]

The new Oecumenius portrait has the intensified watchful eyes of the good governor, though as we have seen they are less radically staring than many, probably later, examples. Much more unusual is the expression of his mouth. Most governor portraits of the period have a straight, tight-lipped mouth, or a mouth slightly down-turned at the corners (Pl. XXIII). These features expressed the poker-faced impassivity or *severitas* that had long been part of the personal style of the Roman office-holding élite and in this period these were heightened technically. By contrast, Oecumenius' mouth wears a light smile. This expression, most often found as here in conjunction with a more portly physiognomy, attaches the portrait to a different, minority tradition that goes back at Rome as far as the image of Pompeius Magnus.[58] Corpulence expressed an honest and weighty presence, while the light smile, in military men, showed their affability and accessibility in their relations with their soldiers. The most extreme example of this combination of exaggerated corpulence and overt jovial smile is found in the astonishing public image of the emperor Licinius.[59]

The smile could also take on different shades of meaning according to the role, costume, and context of who was deploying it. For example, the slight smile of an Antonine benefactor portrait from the Bouleuterion at Aphrodisias has in its context the connotation of civic affability and mildness of manners (*epieikeia* and *praotēs*) that a leading aristocrat should display to his fellow councillors and citizens.[60] For the portraits of Oecumenius and late antique governors, the meaning of a slight smile could draw on these overlapping traditions: they had both military and civil aspects to their personae. They were dressed as commanders but are honoured in statues as civic benefactors.

There is also a further virtue praised in the ideal governor both at Aphrodisias and elsewhere that is particular to this period and is probably relevant in this context. Some texts allude to or praise the honorand for his *euphrosynē* or 'good cheer', that is, for a happy, radiant disposition and ability to bring joy to others (particularly appropriate but not confined to a banqueting context).[61] This is a virtue and moral trait that would be most easily expressed by the smiling demeanour of a portrait such as that of Oecumenius. His inscribed text makes no mention of such a virtue, but it was part of the semantic economy of statue monuments, in this period as earlier, that the image and text complement each other without feeling the need to repeat obvious information. The inscribed base of Dometeinus, for example, makes no mention of the priestly offices so prominently represented by his tall bust-crown (Pl. XI, 2).[62] Similarly in Oecumenius' case, it would have been a pleonasm to inscribe verses about *euphrosynē* beneath a smiling portrait.

This exact meaning of the smile however would have been suggested to ancient viewers by association. The inscribed base of the neighbouring statue, situated a few metres to the west of Oecumenius' monument in the same stoa (Pl. X), praises another late antique governor, one Alexander, for precisely this virtue: 'all words fall short of

[57] *JRS* 1999, 185–9.

[58] V. Poulsen, *Les portraits romains* I (1973), no. 1; L. Giuliani, *Bildnis und Botscahft: hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Bildniskunst der römischen Republik* (1986), 56–100: 'Pompeius, der leutselige Kriegsheld'.

[59] R. R. R. Smith, 'The public image of Licinius I: sculptured portraits and imperial ideology in the early fourth century', *JRS* 87 (1997), 170–202.

[60] IR I, no. 239; Smith, op. cit. (n. 1, 1998), 84, pls V, 4; XIII, 2. Other and later portraits with a slight smile, especially when seen in profile are (1) a head from Ephesus in Izmir: IR I, no. 188 ('Constantinian'); and (2) the chlamydatus bust in Thessaloniki: above, n. 18.

[61] *ALA*, no. 32 (Alexander): quoted below, n. 63. *I.Ephesos* 1310 (Stephanus): 'To straight-judging Stephanus, after the labour of his pure administration, the whole city set up this marble statue. It is fitting

that he was born as a fortunate child to Naxos, who nourished ivy-crowned Bacchus to (sc. bring) joy (*es euphrosynēn*)', with further refs and discussion in D. Feissel, 'Vicaires et proconsuls d'Asie du IVe au VIe siècle: remarques sur l'administration du diocèse asianique du bas-empire', *Antiquité Tardive* 6 (1998), 91–104, at 98. Feissel's translation of *euphrosynē* as 'la rejouissance' captures the combination of pleasure and delight that the word connotes — better than 'good cheer', 'joy', or 'rejoicing', which have different and later overtones. See also *I.Ephesos* 555 (Eulalios); G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta* (1878), 1055 (Philippopolis, Syria); interesting further texts and material in G. Manganaro, 'La dea della casa e la euphrosyne nel basso impero', *Arch Class* 12 (1960), 189–207; L. Robert, *BullEpig* 1973, 380; Rou‌ché, *ALA*, pp. 56–7, with further refs.

[62] Text in IR II, no. 107 (J. R. Reynolds); cf. Rumscheid, op. cit. (n. 55).

the man's good cheer (*euphrosynē*)'.[63] The word *euphrosynē* is placed last on Alexander's base, and the idea would thus have been in the minds of literate viewers of Oecumenius' statue as an appropriate concept. Polemic, dialogue, and associative transfer of meaning between monuments was surely common in the crowded conditions of ancient statue display in sanctuaries and city squares.[64] This is a rare example where such associative meaning can be documented in surviving statues.

VI.   OECUMENIUS: IDENTITY AND DATE

Oecumenius is a Greek name ('man of the *oikoumenē*') and doubtless the governor at Aphrodisias was of eastern origin. The name, however, is rare among the office-holding élite of the Late Roman Empire (it has only two entries in *PLRE* I–III).[65] Such rarity can be an argument both for making identifications (so rare, they should be connected) and for making divisions (with separated instances the name becomes less rare). Ševčenko suggested tentatively that the governor at Aphrodisias might be identical with an Oecumenius who was governor on Crete in A.D. 382–3 and was closely connected with the highest circles of the senatorial aristocracy in the city of Rome in this period.[66] This man was Oecumenius Dositheus Asclepiodotus.[67] He was honoured in statues in the city of Olus in north-east Crete and at his *praetorium* in Gortyn, and himself set up a remarkable series of statues there of leading figures of the senatorial aristocracy of Rome.[68] Some of them were prominent pagans in the emotional times of the later fourth century. What this Oecumenius was doing setting up this extraordinary series of statues in his headquarters on Crete is perhaps puzzling. Clearly he was or wanted to be well-connected.

Ševčenko's suggestion that the two governors of Caria and Crete were the same man was accepted in the Addenda to *PLRE* I.[69] This tempting identification would

[63] *ALA*, no. 32: 'A marble 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 (*euphrosynē*)'. It is worth recalling that Euphrosyne was one of the three Graces, and was represented in a large wall-painting with her sisters in the 'Bishop's Palace', the residence located immediately behind the statues of Alexander and Oecumenius: above, n. 13.

[64] Another example from the immediate context may be cited. The phrase 'full of (knowledge of) laws' (*nomōn plēthonta*) inscribed at the beginning of the text on Oecumenius' base no doubt picked up and echoed the phrase on Dometeinus' base (n. 62) where his role as 'the law-maker' (*ton nomothetēn*) is emphasized. The late Roman governor was thus placed in a local tradition of legal wisdom. For an excellent study of statue dialogue and response in a sanctuary in an earlier period: T. Hölscher, 'Die Nike der Messenier und Naupaktier in Olympia: Kunst und Geschichte im späten 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.', *JdI* 89 (1974), 70–111.

[65] *PLRE* I, (Oecumenius Dositheus) Asclepiodotus, on whom further below; *PLRE* II, Oecumenius, comes (East), A.D. 512–16; *PLRE* III, none. The name is no more common outside *PLRE* and the office-holding élite: Ševčenko, 39, nn. 80–1. Pauly-

Wissowa, s.v. Oikoumenios, adds only a bishop of the fourth century and a bishop of the sixth to seventh century. *LGPN* so far adds only one person of related name, of the imperial period from Athens(?) (*LGPN* II, Julius Eutychianus ho kai Oikoumenis = *SEG* 30.272).

[66] Ševčenko, 39–40, noting, beyond the rarity of the name, the bilingualism that the Cretan governor doubtless also had from his association with contemporary aristocracy in Rome (below, n. 68) and the old connections between Crete and Caria — neither admittedly strong arguments.

[67] He is *PLRE* I, Asclepiodotus 2.

[68] The inscriptions are: *I.Creticae* I, p. 256, no. 13 (Olus); IV, nos 284–5, 313–20 (Gortyn). The list of those honoured includes: Flavius Hypatius, Sextus Petronius Probus (both former praetorian prefects), Anicius Bassus (*consularis* of Campania), Valerius Severus, Gabinius Vettius Probianus, Anicius Paulinus, and the famous Vettius Agorius Praetextatus (all former prefects of Rome) — as well as the two statues of the governor himself and dedications to Gratian, Valentinian II, and Theodosius. For the date of these dedications, in A.D. 382–3: D. Novaks, 'Anicianae domus culmen, nobilitatis culmen', *Klio* 62 (1980), 473–93, at 478.

[69] *PLRE* I, Addenda, Oecumenius 2.

provide a date, a career, and a likely orientation (committed pagan).[70] The main difficulty is that the Cretan governorship was a post at the rank of *consularis*, and the Carian governorship in this period was at the lower rank of *praeses* (Greek *hegemōn*). The Carian position was upgraded to that of a *consularis* sometime after *c*. A.D. 400 and before *c*. A.D. 480.[71] Either Oecumenius went down a grade (unlikely in this hierarchical time), or he went to Caria first, Crete later. This latter reconstruction is possible, but it would put Oecumenius at Aphrodisias before A.D. 382. This chronology might be allowable for his statue (though unsupported by well-dated comparanda),[72] but may be too early for the inscription. Charlotte Roueché would prefer a date in the early fifth century for the inscription, and would have the Carian governor be perhaps a son of the Cretan governor, a possibility also entertained by Ševčenko.[73] This identification would still be useful: it would give a broad generational date and some interesting family history.

The truth is, however, that both identifications, with the Cretan governor or a putative son, based on only one shared name, are too weak to base anything else on. They are evocative possibilities, not more. The problem arises from the (for us) infuriating allusive informality of these late verse dedications. They had no need to spell out the man's family and career: in this local context, everyone knew who he was. Large numbers of these provincial governors were needed: they changed every one to two years (or less) because there was a big queue of applicants for the posts (Asia Minor alone needed some twenty per year). The posts brought tangible rank and privilege, and competition for them was intense. Through them, the wealthy and well-connected sought to join the body of swaggering ex-governors such as we meet in Libanius at Antioch.[74] Other difficulties aside, therefore, the chances are slim that the Carian and the Cretan governors were related. There is simply not enough in the one name Oecumenius to connect the two men with any confidence.

The only further element we may be able to add to the Carian governor's career, from visual rather than written evidence, is a Cypriot connection. We saw earlier how the same person was honoured in a marble portrait from Salamis, the provincial capital of Cyprus (Pl. XV), that reproduces precisely the same 'authorized' portrait type as that used in his Aphrodisian monument.[75] Possibly Oecumenius was from the island, or more likely he later served as governor there too — later, because the governorship of Cyprus was a post at the higher, consular rank.[76]

Oecumenius' precise date is beyond reach on prosopographical grounds. We have to settle for a broad date based on rougher but firmer criteria. Epigraphy suggests the later fourth or early fifth century. The statue suggests the same independently and has a large number of separate elements that point to this period.

In terms of the formal handling (style) and technical finish of the marble-carving (drill work, eye markings, surface treatment), the statue can be placed comfortably

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[70] On the committed pagan connections of the Cretan governor, see Robert, op. cit. (n. 56), 103–6, interpreting the dedication of his statue at Olus by one Ursus (above, n. 68) to the 'Victory of the Romans' in the light of the contemporary stand-off between the Roman Senate and the emperors (Gratian, then Valentinian II) over the Altar of Victory in the Curia in A.D. 382–4. 'Ursus et Asklépiodotos faisaient partie du milieu où la Victoire Romaine était un signe de ralliement' (Robert, 106). With this in mind it is worth recalling again the late antique paintings in the nearby (governor's?) residence at Aphrodisias, one of which was a flimsily clad frontal flying Victory of appropriate type: above, n. 13. For the appearance of the Victory statue in the Curia at Rome: D. Stutzinger (ed.), *Spätantike und frühes Christentum* (Exhib. Frankfurt, 1983), nos 78–9. For Olus: I. F. Sanders, *Roman Crete* (1982), 141.

[71] Ševčenko, 39; *ALA*, pp. 66–7, 320–1.

[72] This would depend essentially on when the 'Theodosian' court hairstyle worn by Oecumenius and seen by us first on the obelisk base of A.D. 390–2

(Pl. XXIV, 3) was introduced — that is, how much before A.D. 390. Further, below: nn. 79–81.

[73] Ševčenko, 40; *ALA*, p. 55. Roueché (ibid., pp. 51–2) also points out the striking similarity of the unusual phrasing used in the dedication of imperial statues at Gortyn by the Cretan governor in *c*. A.D. 382–3 and by the powerful praetorian prefect Tatianus at Aphrodisias in A.D. 388–92. Further, below: n. 98.

[74] Large numbers, short tenure: Jones, *LRE*, 380–7; Liebeschuetz, op. cit. (n. 41), 111, tenure often less than a year at Antioch. Swaggering ex-governors: Liebeschuetz, 174–80, 186–7.

[75] Above, n. 31.

[76] A similar career path is attested in the mid-fourth century, for example, for a governor named Quirinus, who was *praeses* of Lycia before going on to be *consularis* perhaps of Pamphylia and certainly of Cyprus: *PLRE* I, Quirinus. In this period, a second govenorship at the same rank was meant to be exceptional, while a second governorship at a higher grade was not unusual: Jones, *LRE*, 385.

within the extensive series of late antique portraits that survive from Aphrodisias. In broad relative terms, the Oecumenius belongs among the earliest in the Aphrodisian sequence. The public portrait statues of the late fifth to early sixth century, grouped around the well-documented statue of Flavius Palmatus, are distinct in technique, hairstyle, and expression. They have eyes with distinctive flat, disk-shaped pupils, 'mop'- or 'helmet'-shaped hairstyles, and stiff hard postures and expressions.[77] The Oecumenius shares with earlier pieces, usually dated in the early and middle of the fifth century, its hair and beard-style and a 'classical' or naturalistically modulated handling of the physiognomy (a hallmark of the Aphrodisian workshops), but it lacks their full technical and expressive intensification of hair and eyes.[78] In this crude artificial sequence, Oecumenius' statue should belong before those mentioned, but after the widespread resumption of full beards and the introduction of the crest-hairstyle perhaps in the 380s (Pl. XXIV, 3).

Such relative chronology advances not much further than epigraphic arguments about letter forms. Connections to documented monuments and to real dates are necessary, and some are available. In terms of its high polish and technical refinement, the statue is close to the two high-quality togate statues from a Theodosian family group (Arcadius, Honorius, and Valentinian II), set up at the entrance to the Hadrianic Baths in A.D. 388–92.[79] The best evidence, however, lies probably in the figure's personal styling — that is, in the real-life components of self-presentation that it deploys. These are often the most chronologically sensitive indicators. The figure is styled in the manner of the political élite of Constantinople, and, in hairstyle, beard-style, and dress-costume, it is like some of the chlamys-wearing office-holders and courtiers represented, among dated monuments, on the earliest ivory diptychs (late fourth and early fifth century)[80] and on the Theodosian obelisk base in the hippodrome in Istanbul, dated A.D. 390–92 (Pl. XXIV, 3).[81] Such parallels suggest a date for the statue in the late fourth or early fifth century.

VII.   THE SCULPTOR, THE GOVERNOR, AND RELIGION

The date and identity of the governor become important in interpreting one last inscribed element. It bears on the question of pagan and Christian relations in Aphrodisias in this period.

Three Greek letters are inscribed on the top of the new head behind the hair crown, to the (proper) left of centre, written from behind the statue and from above: X M Γ (Fig. 2; Pl. XIII, 1–2). This is a common Christian acronym and declaration that can be resolved, most are agreed, as *Christon Maria gennā*, 'Christ was born to Mary' (most of the other possible resolutions do not affect the sense).[82] It is found in a wide range of contexts and on a wide range of objects and seems simply to mark and declare the Christian faith of the person writing it.[83] It was a popular tag with which to affirm

[77] IR II, nos 207–8; *JRS* 1999, 168, 184–5, pls X–XI. For a fuller account of this late group of portraits, *c.* A.D. 500: Smith, op. cit. (n. 1, 1999).

[78] On the fifth-century series at Aphrodisias and elsewhere: H. G. Severin, *Zur Porträtplastik des 5. Jhds. n. Chr.* (1972); *Spätantike und frühes Christentum* (1983), nos 62–72; Kranz, op. cit. (n. 26); Özgan and Stutzinger, op. cit. (n. 47); Meischner, op. cit. (n. 25); *JRS* 1999, 182–5; most recently, Aurenhammer, op. cit. (n. 17); Bergmann, op. cit. (n. 18).

[79] *ALA*, nos 25–7; IR I, no. 66; *JRS* 1999, 162–4, figs 3–4, pl. I, 1.

[80] Early diptychs: Volbach, nos 2 (Felix), 35 (Halberstadt), 54 (Bresica), 62 (Probianus), 63 (Stilicho: also above, n. 43), 64 (Novara).

[81] Above, n. 19.

[82] This is based on the explicit resolution given in a

fragmentary manuscript of Psalm I, 3 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford: *P.Grenfell* II, 112 a. Fullest collection of material: J.-O. Tjäder, 'Christ, Our Lord, born of the Virgin Mary (XMΓ and VDN)', *Eranos* 68 (1970), 148–90; cf. A. Blanchard, 'Sur quelques interpretations de XMΓ', in *Proceedings of the XIV International Congress of Papyrologists, Oxford* (1975), 19–24; G. Robinson, 'KMΓ and OMΓ for XMΓ', *Tyche* 1 (1986), 175–7. Good discussion by Roueché, *ALA*, pp. 189–90, with further literature.

[83] Manuscripts: n. 82. Clay pot: *ALA*, no. 146; cf. F. M. van Doorninck Jr., 'The cargo amphorae on the 7th c. Yassi Ada and 11th c. Serçe Limani shipwrecks: two examples of a re-use of Byzantine amphoras as transport jars', in V. Déroche and J.-M. Spieser, *Recherches sur la céramique byzantine* (1989), 247–57, at 250–2.
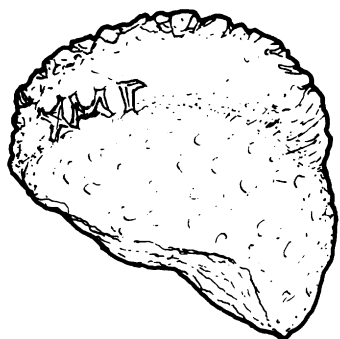
FIG. 2. TOP OF HEAD OF OECUMENIUS, WITH X M Γ INSCRIPTION. FRONT OF HEAD IS AT TOP. (*Drawn by K. Görkay*)

the faith probably because its sentiment was, for most Christians, relatively uncontroversial. Amid all the complex disputes about Christ's essence in Late Antiquity, this was something most could agree on.

Before we explore how this inscription might be interpreted in this context, what can be said securely of its circumstances should be described. Firstly, the letters are inscribed neatly, more neatly in fact than the text on the base. They were surely therefore contemporary, not inscribed later or after the statue had fallen over at the end of antiquity. Secondly, the inscription is engraved on top of the head in a covert position, invisible from the ground, intended only for the Christian god to see. And thirdly, the inscription was engraved as though to be read not from the front but by someone standing behind the statue, looking down on the head from behind — impossible obviously, because the back of the statue was placed close up against the rear wall of the stoa (Pls X; XI, 3). Since the head was carved in one piece with the statue, which would have been carved upright, the most likely person to have engraved the letters, neatly and unhurriedly from behind, was the sculptor standing on the scaffolding sometime before the statue was put up against the wall inside the stoa.

We may omit as uneconomical further speculative possibilities that the inscription could have been inscribed without the knowledge of either the governor or the sculptor — for example, merely by the last scaffolder above the statue when it was set in place. The letters are inscribed carefully and with purpose, and we should take them as the product of a considered intention. They resemble an alternative and private dedication inscription.

Why has this Christian declaration been made covertly on top of a statue's head? To whom or what does it refer? Who is speaking? It is not the only example from such a context. Another late antique portrait head now in Brussels, excavated in 1904 at the Hadrianic Baths in Aphrodisias (Pl. XXIV, 1), also no doubt broken from a statue of similar kind, has X M Γ engraved less carefully on the top of the head behind the hair crown over the brow, so also invisible and covert (Pl. XXIV, 2).[84] Here it is supplemented with *Th(e)e boēthe*, 'God, help!'. This inscription was both written and to be read from the front, but was still invisible from below.

One thing is clear, the Christianity of whoever was speaking in these inscriptions was something private — not something to be stated openly on a public monument. Beyond that there are several possibilities. The Christianity might most easily be the sculptor's, but it could also be the governor's, and theoretically it could be of both. Three scenarios may be sketched.

In the first scenario, the governor would be Christian. The sculptor would have marked the governor's faith on his statue for him, under instruction. One might argue that by this date most of the government élite had converted (indeed a law of A.D. 416 mandated it)[85] and that, in a strongly pagan city like Aphrodisias, there might be reason for him to mark his faith lightly and covertly.

[84] Head: above, n. 22. Inscription: *ALA*, no. 145.   [85] *Theodosian Code* 16.10.21.

An interesting earlier parallel from a different context is the sarcophagus of one M. Aurelius Prosenes, a high-ranking ex-slave of the emperor Caracalla, from Rome.[86] The inscription on the front records his many important offices at court in traditional form, from which one would never guess that he was a Christian. His faith we know from a secondary, near-covert inscription, written later on the side of the chest (which in a Roman tomb would normally have been concealed in a tight-fitting niche). This secondary inscription is on the upper border immediately below the lid and was engraved by Prosenes' own ex-slave Ampelius. It begins: 'Prosenes was received unto God five days before the Nones of [March] at S[. . .]nia when Praesens and Extricatus were consuls, the latter for the second time [A.D. 217]'.[87] Prosenes' sarcophagus is not precisely parallel to Oecumenius' statue, but his case is suggestive. It would invite us to consider a variant of the first scenario in which the sculptor was also Christian and played the covert role for Oecumenius that Ampelius had played for his patron Prosenes.

In the second scenario, the sculptor would be a Christian and the governor a man of culture, not particularly interested in marking his religion one way or the other. The sculptor would be marking or 'signing' his religion on his work secretly because such a mark expressed openly would not have been welcome in a public setting in late antique Aphrodisias. He would be affirming his faith for himself and his god, perhaps asking for support/protection for himself and his work. The inscription then would say nothing about the religious orientation of the governor. He might or might not have been a Christian.

In the third scenario, the governor would be a committed pagan and the sculptor a Christian making a sharper covert point, both affirming his faith and diffusing the possibly malevolent force of his subject's religion — affirming his faith to God, in spite of the unpalatable religious force embodied in the statue he has made: 'God, help (me)!', as the sculptor of the Brussels head added (Pl. XXIV, 2).

None of these scenarios can be definitively ruled out, and there is room for combinations and intermediate positions. The easiest, minimalist interpretation might be the second scenario — a Christian sculptor 'signing' his religion on his work regardless of the governor's orientation. There are some practical difficulties in the first scenario, the Christian governor. Firstly, the governor was a powerful figure in his province and could have had his statue base marked openly with a cross or X M Γ if he really wanted to and he would be gone before it could be awkward for him (if indeed it could be).[88] And secondly, since the governor usually held office for only a year, at most two, and was generally awarded a statue only towards the end of or after his tenure of office, it must be doubtful if he would still be there when the monument was finished and put up.[89] That is, he would not be there to see to its covert marking. The initiative remained at the local level. This argument would leave open the variant of the first scenario in which a Christian sculptor marked the religion of a governor he knew to be Christian too.

A Christian sculptor, as in the second and third scenarios, makes good sense. In a city with a strong pagan élite, it is precisely in the artisan 'middle-class' that we might expect the new faith first to have flourished. The famous Jewish stele from the site, now correctly re-dated in the late Roman period, attests this kind of religious experimentation

[86] G. Bovini and H. Brandenburg, *Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage* I (1967), no. 929.

[87] M. Beard, J. North and S. Price, *Religions of Rome 2: A Sourcebook* (1998), 334–5.

[88] This practice is however not found at Aphrodisias until considerably later. The apparently earliest such cross, on the statue base for Flacilla, *c.* A.D. 380, *ALA* no. 23, was certainly added later than the text; and the X M Γ (*ALA*, no. 144) on the side of the statue base for the praetorian prefect Anthemius, *c.* A.D. 410, was also cut later, independently of the statue's text (*ALA*, no. 36). The earliest crosses on public monuments, contemporary with the texts they accompany, are those on building works of one Flavius Ampelius in

the mid-fifth century: *ALA*, nos 38 ('Agora Gate' façade) and 42 (east city gate). On engraved crosses at Aphrodisias, cf. F. R. Trombley, *Hellenic Religion and Christianization, c. 370–529* (1993), II, 54–6, though not accurate on the cross on *ALA*, no. 23. For a subtle account of the governor's role, position, and powers in relation to provincial élites: P. Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire* (1992), 20–34.

[89] Length of tenure: above, n. 73. Honours at or after end of office: M. Horster, 'Ehrungen spätantiker Statthalter', *Antiquité Tardive* 6 (1998), 37–59, at 57–6.

at this social level.[90] It lists both full synagogue-members and *theosebeis*, 'God-fearers', who were gentile sympathizers — pagans and conceivably some Christians — of whom many are craft-workers. There are several sculptors, stonemasons, and marble-workers among them.[91] The writing of the X M Γ upside down on the statue's head, to be read only from behind, also strongly suggests a personal initiative of the sculptor. Really only he could have written and read it.

The governor's religious orientation is an interesting question. As mentioned earlier, there is nothing in the language and formulation of his inscribed epigram that expresses overtly Christian or pagan tendencies. And we have seen that the Christian tag on top of the head need not say anything about his preferences. Some arguments could be deployed on either side, but perhaps more on the pagan side.

In spite of the fervent Christianity of the emperors, the idea that by A.D. 400 most of the governing class had converted to Christianity is not borne out either by the law mandating it in A.D. 416 or by the painstaking analysis of this question by Raban von Haehling.[92] Rather the reverse: around A.D. 400 an imperial office-holder of the rank of governor seems as likely to have been a pagan as not. Further, there are good grounds for thinking that, given the widespread availability of trustworthy pagan administrators, they would be the ones most likely to be effective and to be sent to govern provincial capitals with a strongly pagan local élite.[93]

The formula 'pure in hands, pure in mind' has a striking contemporary sound to it, and could carry a number of connotations. As emphasized by Ševčenko, it doubtless refers to the prized judicial virtue of incorruptibility.[94] It might also be argued that 'pure hands' registers a concern to display scrupulous avoidance of blood sacrifice — now so frowned upon at the imperial centre. This however could imply as much a canny pagan as a committed Christian. The phrase also has, as Chaniotis has shown, a long and dense history in Greek pagan thinking and cult regulations.[95] And it could be argued that it was here a pagan code-phrase or periphrasis. None of these considerations is decisive, but together they have some force and invite serious consideration of the third scenario, that of a pagan governor and a Christian sculptor.

VIII. HISTORICAL CONTEXT: PAGAN AND CHRISTIAN IN LATE ANTIQUE APHRODISIAS

In the last generation, late antique historical studies have moved away from the model of a world divided and polarized in all its parts between Christian and pagan.[96] Images, archaeology, and urban building history also attest in different ways to the large neutral zones of public life that were simply unconcerned with questions of Christian or polytheist cult. But there of course remains abundant material attesting conflict on deeply-felt religious grounds in some places, periods, and contexts. At Aphrodisias there is suggestive evidence for serious religious friction from the late fourth and fifth century — that is, for provocative pagan gestures and practices over and above strong

[90] J. M. Reynolds and R. F. Tannenbaum, *Jews and Godfearers at Aphrodisias* (1987). Re-dating is most thoroughly argued on onomastic grounds by A. Chaniotis, 'The Jews of Aphrodisias: new evidence and old problems', *Scripta Classica Israelica* 21 (2002).

[91] Reynolds and Tannenbaum, op. cit. (n. 90), 6–7, Face B, lines 25, 46, 53 — *chalko(tupoi)*, bronze-workers; line 57 — *ikono(graphos?)*, image-painter or statue-maker; line 49 — *latu(pos)*, stone-worker; line 51 — *leu(kourgos?)*, marble-worker(?); line 60 — *tekto(n)*, carpenter; with commentary, ibid., pp. 118–22.

[92] R. von Haehling, *Die Religionszugehörigkeit der hohen Amtsträger des römischen Reiches seit Constantins I. Alleinherrschaft bis zum Ende der theodosianischen Dynastie* (1978).

[93] cf. Trombley, op. cit. (n. 88), 54: 'It is probable that the fourth-century governors of Caria were Hellenes (sc. pagans)'.

[94] Ševčenko, 35–6.

[95] A. Chaniotis, 'Reinheit des Körpers — Reinheit des Sinnes in den griechischen Kultgesetzen', in J. Assman and Th. Sundermeier, *Studien zum Verstehen fremden Religions, Band 9: Schuld, Gewissen und Person* (2000), 142–78.

[96] Compare, for example, A. D. Momigliano (ed.), *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century* (1963) and Brown, op. cit. (n. 88); cf. Liebeschuetz, op. cit. (n. 41), 226, 'no great personal animosity between pagans and Christians [at Antioch]'.

continued traditional feeling for the city goddess, as well as for Christian response, assertion, and confrontation.

This material has been well presented and analysed recently by Charlotte Roueché and by Angelos Chaniotis.[97] A few prominent examples may be cited. The inscribed bases of an imperial statue group, set up in A.D. 388–92 by the powerful pagan prefect Fl. Eutolmius Tatianus, record that they were 'purified with the customary consecration (*kathosiōsis*)'.[98] The phrase implies something pagan, probably something more than a libation, maybe even a public sacrifice — not comprehensively banned until A.D. 391/2, when the first imperial pronouncements on the subject were made (of many preserved in the *Theodosian Code* 16).[99] After the fall of Tatianus in A.D. 392, not only the prefect's name, but also this pagan-sounding phrase were erased on two of the three bases. Then, a generation or so later, when the disgraced prefect's name and family were rehabilitated, his statue was set up close by the original group at the Hadrianic Baths.[100] This looks like a cycle of pagan-Christian provocation and response.

Sometime in the fifth century, the inscribed base of an honorific statue for a governor set up at the theatre praises him for 'driving out city-destroying civil strife' from the town.[101] Under the administration of a late Roman governor, the trouble can hardly have been internal political faction, and it has more naturally been taken as religious confrontation. In such circumstances, the advisability of making only covert public markings of faith, as on the head of Oecumenius' statue, may be better appreciated.

There was still much open pagan provocation being staged in the town in the later fifth century. Two city magnates, Pytheas, a *vir illustris*, and Asclepiodotus the Elder, who married his daughter to the famous and radically pagan philosopher Asclepiodotus of Alexandria, flaunted their grandiose vision of the old gods in high-falutin verse on their public monuments — the one on his statue in the Council House, the other on his pyramid-shaped tombstone.[102] And contemporary literary sources referring to the 480s, both the pagan *Philosophical History* of Damascius and the Christian *Life of Severus* by Zachariah of Mytilene, conjure up a feverish atmosphere at Alexandria and Aphrodisias of militancy, confrontation, and religious showmanship on both sides.[103]

When a governor was a committed Christian and wanted to express it on his statue monument, he did it in a rather different way from the inscription on Oecumenius' head. This at least seems to me how we should explain another strange phenomenon on one of these statues. The chlamydatus statue of the Young Governor from the Hadrianic Baths at Aphrodisias, now in Istanbul, has a clearly carved and cleanly marked circular tonsure on top of his head, above or behind his abundant 'wreath' hairstyle (Pl. XXIV, 4).[104] The form of the thick curly wreath hairstyle, a Constantinopolitan style, is probably a generation or two later than that of Oecumenius. This governor's tonsure is strange, uncommented on, and without clear parallel. It might be understood in the context of using monuments and coded public inscriptions to indicate different group memberships.

This kind of tonsured hairstyle was probably called a *stephanites*. The *Chronicle of Theophanes* (de Boor, 437) contrasts a hairstyle called *stephanites* with that of a monk, glossed as follows: '*stephanites* means to have a clerical crown of hair (*clericalis corona*),

[97] Roueché, *ALA*, pp. 50–2, 64–6, 85–97, 105; A. Chaniotis, 'Zwischen Konfrontation und Interaktion: Christen, Juden und Heiden im spätantiken Aphrodisias', in C. Ackermann (ed.), *Patchwork: Dimensionen multikultureller Gesellschaften* (2002), 83–128.

[98] *ALA*, nos 25–7. The same formulation was repeated in dedications of imperial statues made by Tatianus elsewhere in the eastern provinces at the same date. At (1) Antinoopolis: *OGIS* 723; *ILS* 8809; and (2) Side: J. Nollé, *Side im Altertum* I, Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 43 (1993), 329–31, no. 52; cf. R. Scharf, 'Die Familie des Fl. Eutolmius Tatianus', *ZPE* 85 (1991), 223–31, at 225, 'It can be guessed similar statue groups were set up in all the

provincial capitals of Tatianus' prefecture by his supporters'.

[99] Beard, North and Price, op. cit. (n. 87), I, 386–8; II, 286–7.

[100] *ALA*, no. 37.

[101] *ALA*, no. 64.

[102] Asklepiodotos' grave stone: *ALA*, no. 54. Pytheas' inscribed base: *ALA*, no. 56. His statue and reconstructed monument: above, n. 7.

[103] P. Athanassiadi, *Damascius: The Philosophical History* (1999); M.-A. Kugener, *Zacharie le scholastique: Vie de Sévère*, Patrologia Orientalia II. 1 (1904, repr. 1980); Trombley, op. cit. (n. 88), II, 4–15, 20–9, 52–73.

[104] Above, n. 44; *JRS* 1999, 183, pl. VI, 4.

when before he will have had his whole head shaved in the manner of Greek monks'.[105]
Abundant sources and a few monuments attest clearly that this 'crown' tonsure was a
sign of the clergy.[106] The statue's costume is incorrect for a member of the clergy, and
no inscribed base at Aphrodisias records a statue for a churchman of any kind. He is
clearly then not a cleric, and the tonsure *a fortiori*, while worn mainly by clerics, need
not have been confined to them by any other rule than common practice. The
monuments show the tonsure was anyway optional for them.

It is peculiar then that an imperial office-holder, such as the Young Istanbul
Governor no doubt represents, should be wearing this clerical-style tonsure: clergy and
government were meant to be strictly separate. The easiest explanation might be that
the tonsure here has a metaphorical meaning: the viewer is to understand that the
governor is as committed a Christian as a clergyman. The military chlamys worn by
civil office-holders was a similar kind of visual metaphor, only more widespread: the
civilian governor holds his office with the authority and discipline of a military
commander.[107]

It was not until the later fifth century at the earliest that the bishop at Aphrodisias
finally managed to have the old temple of Aphrodite converted into a church.[108] And
probably only much later still that the hated name of Aphrodite was erased from public
inscriptions and that icons of the old gods and scenes of demonic pagan ritual were
defaced on public buildings such as the Sebasteion.[109] Such symbolic blasts of Christian
power in the city's monumental landscape were a long way off in Oecumenius' time.

The overall picture at Aphrodisias in this period, then, is of strong, assertive pagan
sentiment, occasionally going too far (or at least representing itself as doing so),
dominant up to say the mid-fifth century, with real battles fought then and later. For
the statue of Oecumenius around A.D. 400 the implication is clear. The sculptor had
good reason to mark his faith on his work covertly and good reason perhaps to feel
unease about his subject's religious preferences, unease he might feel that the simple
addition of Christ's and Mary's initials could address. The X M Γ tag is common and in
itself not of great force or bite, and appropriate, one might think, to the level of concern
another person's religious orientation might arouse. In the context, however, of a major
public monument in a proudly pagan city, on the statue of a governor of the province, it
takes on more significance and force than, for example, on a manuscript or ceramic
jar.[110]

IX.   CONCLUSION

The new head joined to its statue makes the monument of Oecumenius the most
complete and best documented of all late antique chlamydatus statues, a large category.
It will now do for them what the statue of Flavius Palmatus, also from Aphrodisias, does
for the higher-ranking late antique togatus figures.[111] That is, it will function as an
interpretive point of reference.

Both main parts of the statue design were replicated elsewhere in this period. The
portrait is reproduced again in a head from Salamis on Cyprus that came no doubt from
another monument honouring Oecumenius as governor there too (Pl. XV). And the
design of the chlamydatus body was used again for a statue from the Hadrianic Baths at

[105] C. Mango and R. Scott, *The Chronicle of Theo-
phanes*, 604–6.
[106] The sources are well collected in F. Cabrol and
H. Leclerq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de
liturgie* (1953), vol. 15, 2429–43, s.v. 'tonsure'. It is
however surprising how rarely the tonsure appears in
late antique monuments and images: it seems to be
optional even in the elaborate and careful presentation
of the clergy in the presence of the emperor on the
famous mosaic panel of Justinian at Ravenna (above,
n. 38).

[107] Discussed above, Section III.
[108] Above, n. 12; L. Hebert, *The Conversion of the
Temple of Aphrodite into a Christian Church*, PhD
dissertation, New York University (2000).
[109] Erasing Aphrodite's name: *ALA*, pp. 79, 148–50.
Defacing reliefs: R. R. R. Smith, 'The imperial reliefs
from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias', *JRS* 77 (1987),
88–138, at 97–8; Ratté, 133.
[110] Above, nn. 82–3.
[111] IR II, no. 208, with new reconstruction in *JRS*
1999, 168, fig. 9, pl. X.

Aphrodisias representing another man, also surely a governor (Pl. XXIII). These lightly adjusted 'copies' or repeated designs give an interesting insight into the portrait practices both of local workshops and of senior honorands. A workshop could recycle the same statue design for different monuments in different settings in the same city. And a high-ranking official could still expect to supply an authorized image for the portraits set up to honour him in different cities.[112]

We know a lot about Oecumenius and his statue. He was from the Greek East, a lawyer who knew Latin, a successful governor of at least two provinces, a man with literary pretentions, and his statue wearing the long military cloak of late antique government was made by a Christian sculptor, a brilliant artist. The governor has a real, plump, bearded face, and unlike the dour sobriety of most other governor portraits of this period, he has a genial, accessible-looking, near-smiling expression — judicial severity, we are to understand, has been tempered by the Muses invoked on his statue's base.

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[112] Compare the repeated formulations inscribed on statue bases set up by a praetorian prefect in this period in widely separated eastern cities: above, n. 98.
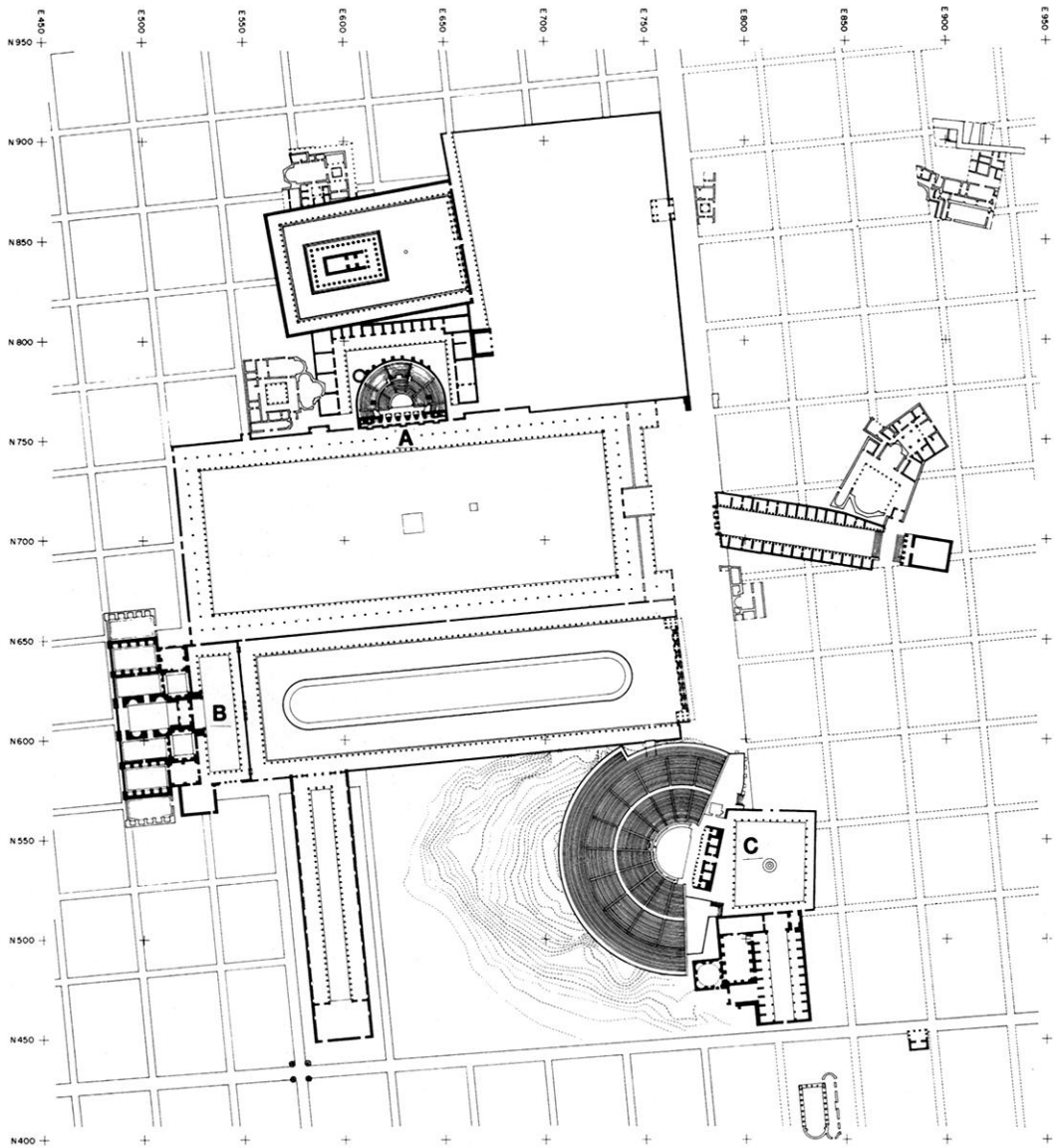
APHRODISIAS. RESTORED PLAN OF CITY CENTRE. A = BOULEUTERION, B = HADRIANIC BATHS, C = TETRASTOON.
Drawn by H. Mark

PLATE X
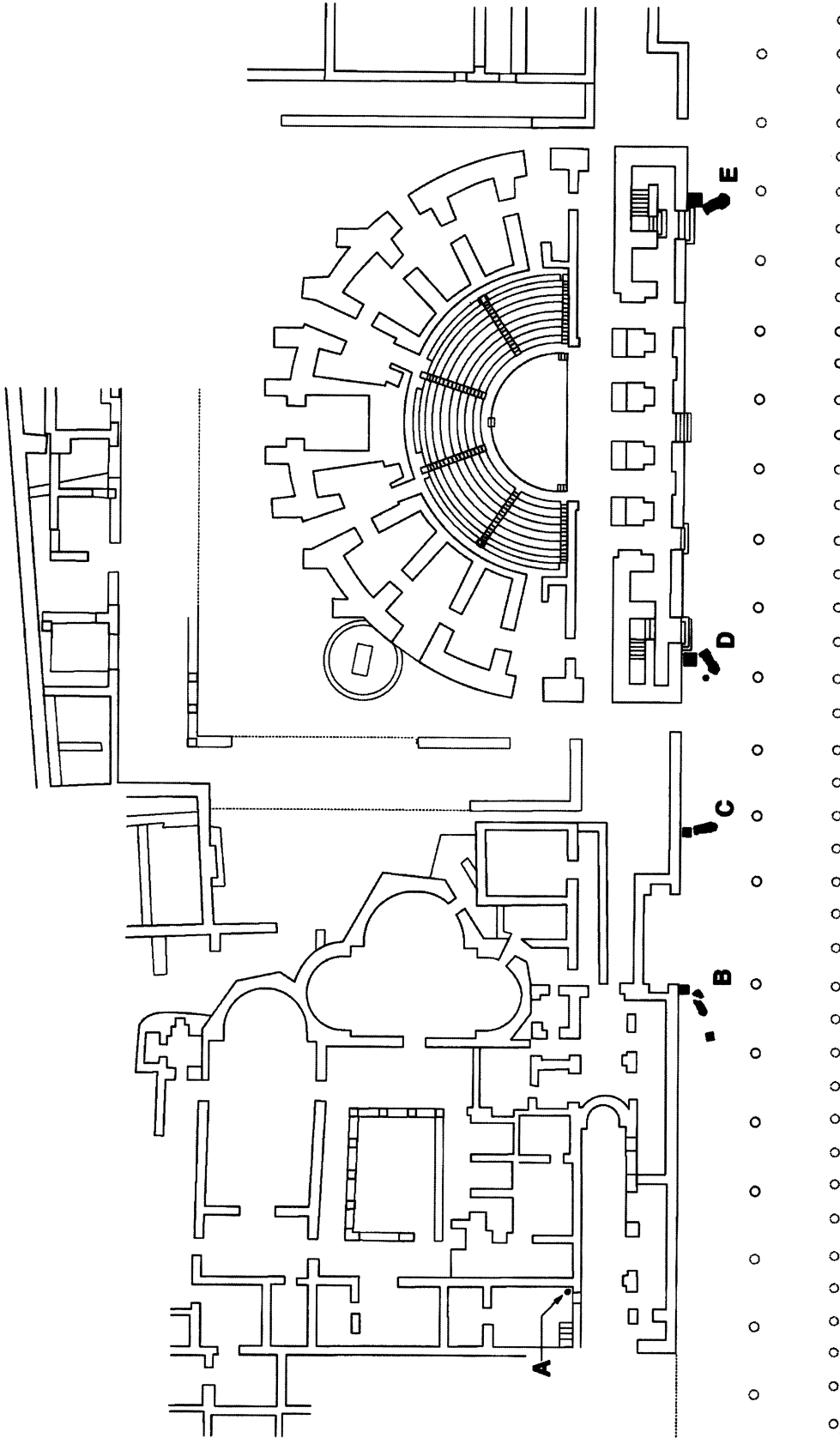
APHRODISIAS, BOULEUTERION COMPLEX. FIND PLAN OF STATUES AND BASES IN AGORA NORTH STOA. A = NEW HEAD (OECUMENIUS), B = ALEXANDER, C = OECUMENIUS, D = DOMETEINUS, E = TATIANA. *Drawn by H. Mark*

1. BASE OF OECUMENIUS' STATUE, SIDE VIEW. *IN SITU*, APHRODISIAS. BASE OF DOMETEINUS' STATUE IS BEHIND. SEE ALSO PL. XVII, 4.
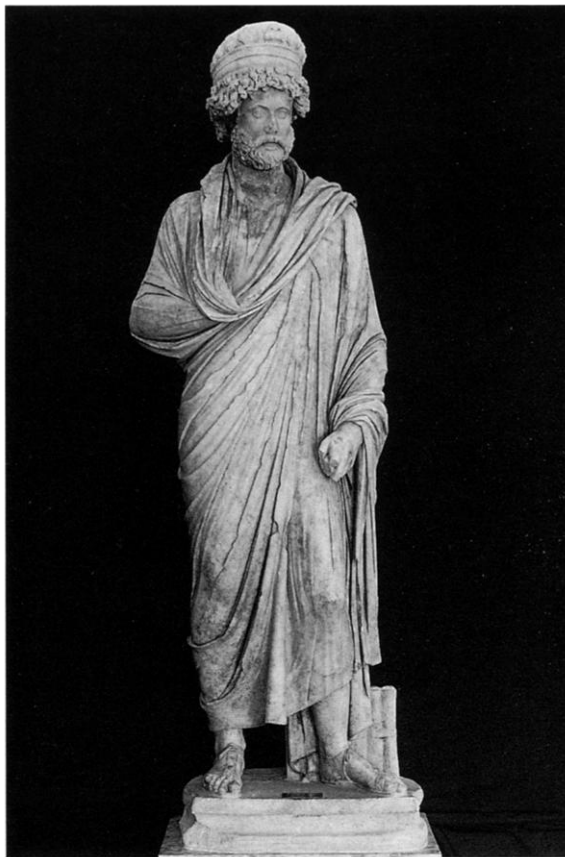
2. STATUE OF L. ANTONIUS DOMETEINUS, *c.* A.D. 200. APHRODISIAS MUSEUM.

3. AGORA NORTH STOA, LOOKING EAST. APHRODISIAS. STATUE BASES OF ALEXANDER AT LEFT, OF OECUMENIUS IN CENTRE, OF DOMETEINUS AT RIGHT. SEE PLAN, PL. X.
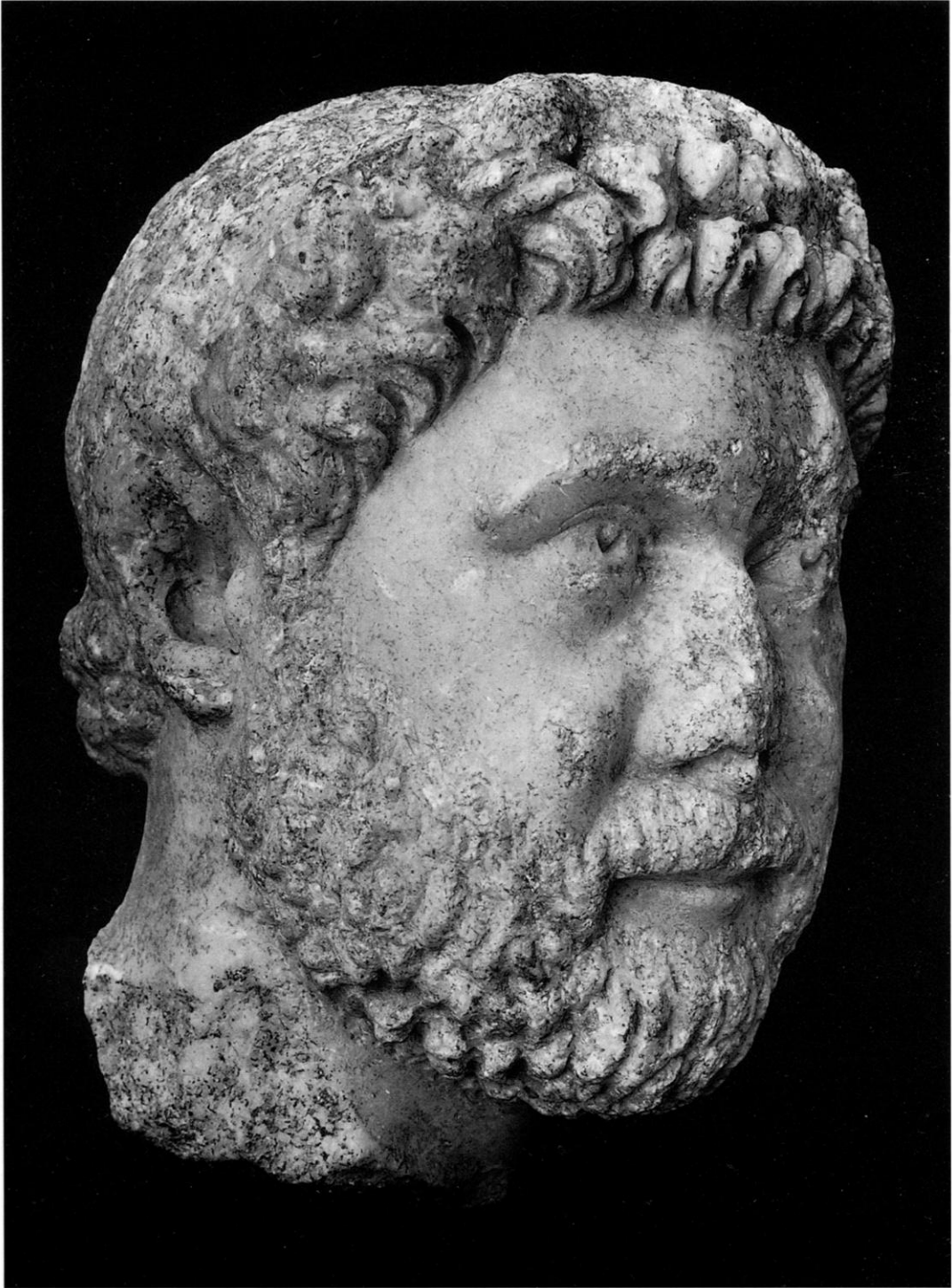
HEAD OF OECUMENIUS, *c.* A.D. 400. APHRODISIAS MUSEUM.
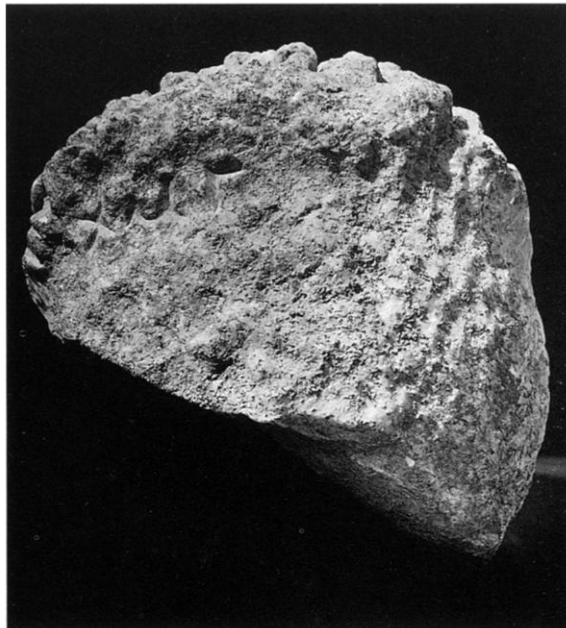
1–2. TOP OF OECUMENIUS' HEAD, WITH X M Γ INSCRIPTION.
FRONT OF HEAD IS AT TOP.
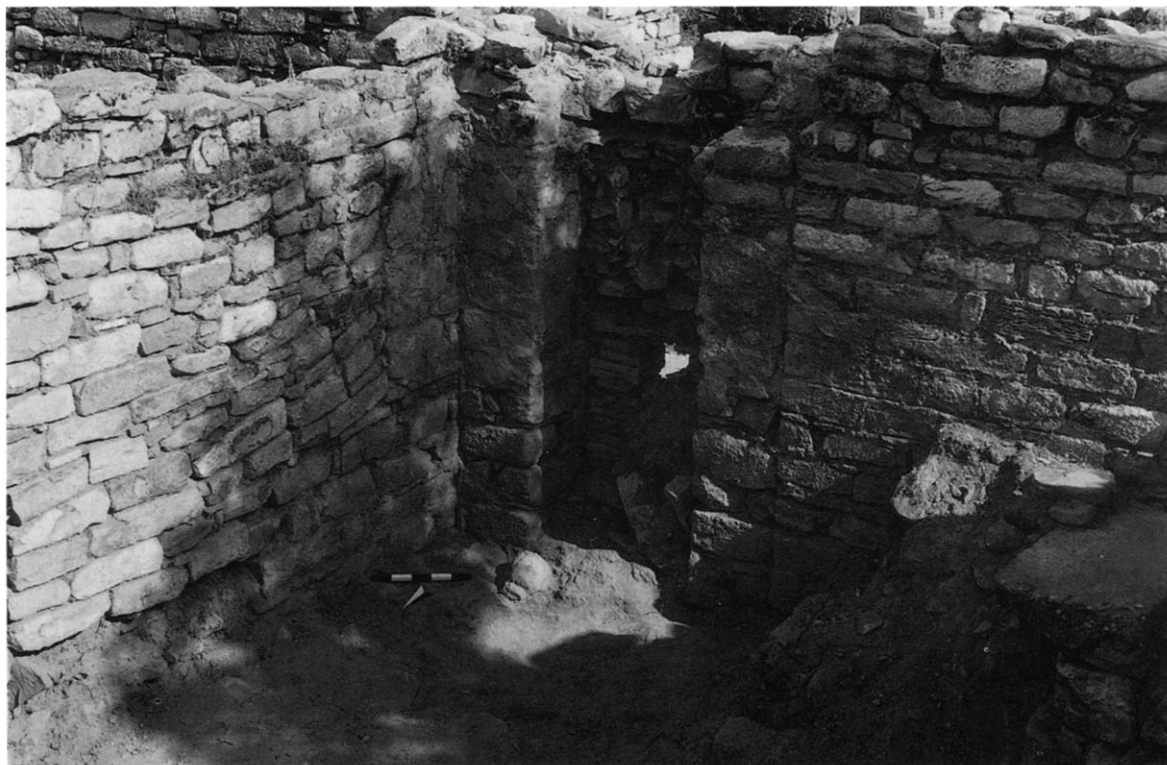
3. 'BISHOP'S PALACE', ROOM II, LOOKING SOUTH-EAST. APHRODISIAS. HEAD AS FOUND, PARTLY EXCAVATED, IN FRONT OF
BLOCKED-UP DOORWAY.

PLATE XIV
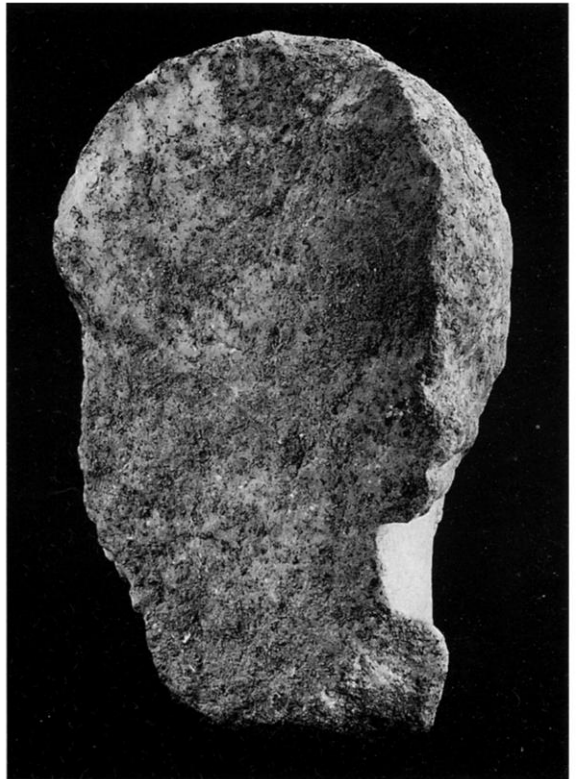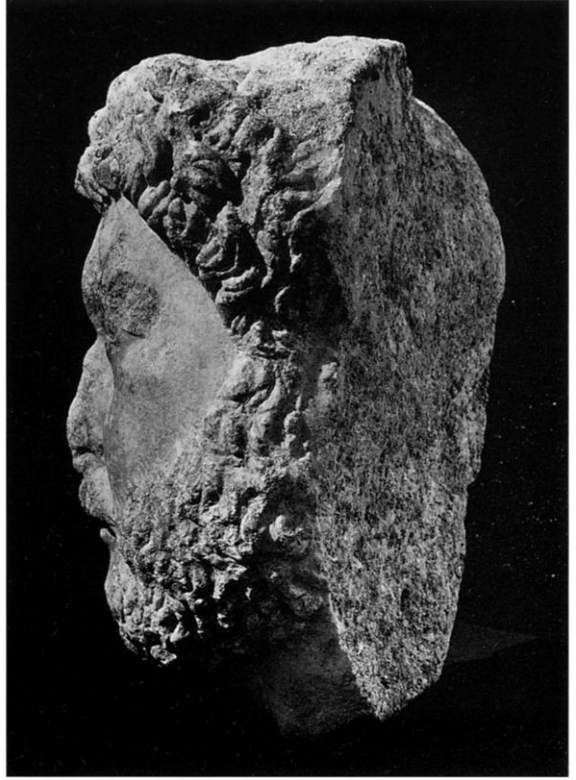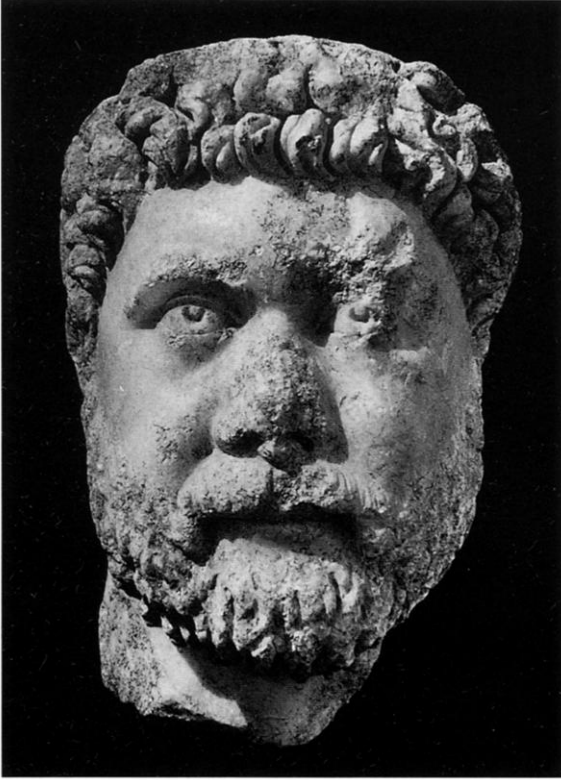
1–4. HEAD OF OECUMENIUS, *c.* A.D. 400. APHRODISIAS MUSEUM.

PLATE XV
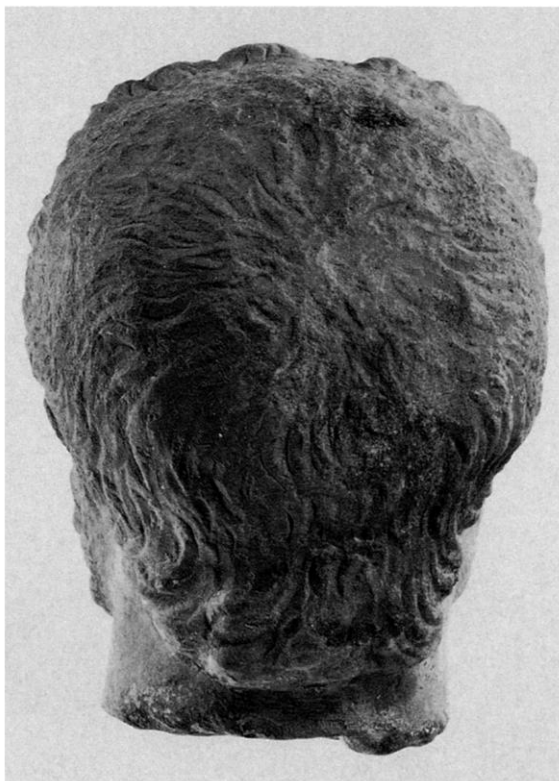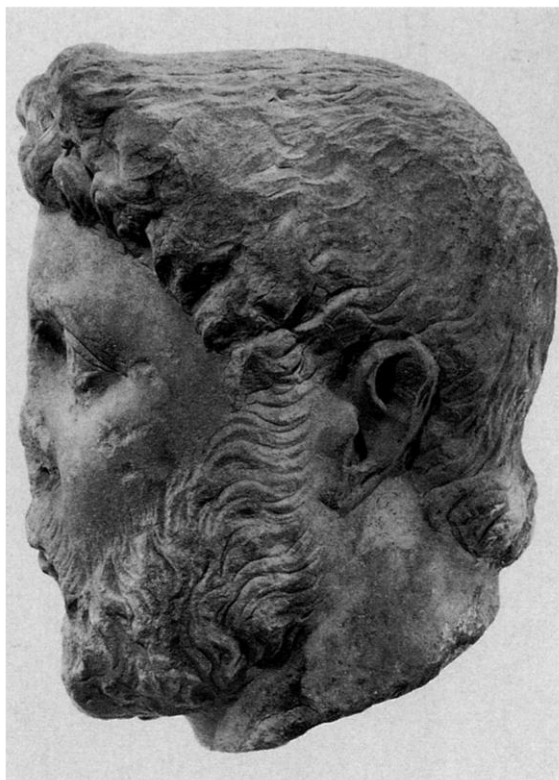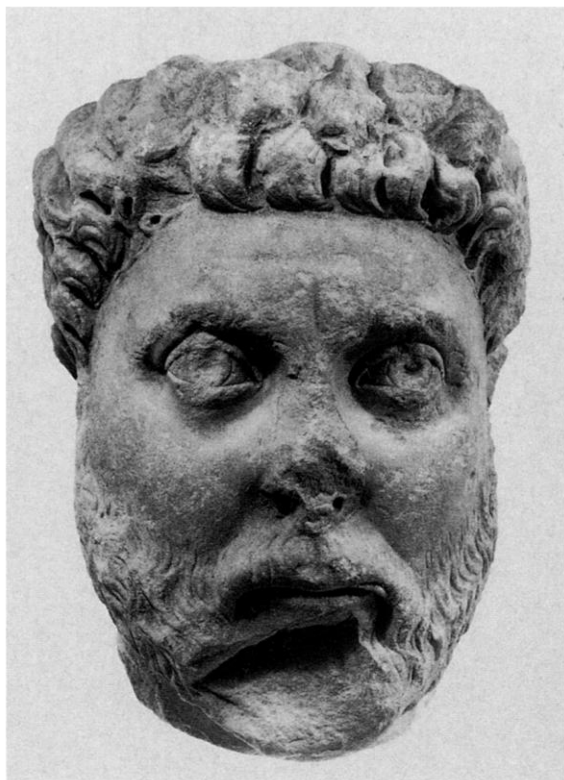
HEAD OF OECUMENIUS, FROM SALAMIS ON CYPRUS, c. A.D. 400. CYPRUS MUSEUM, E 487, NICOSIA. *Photos: Museum*
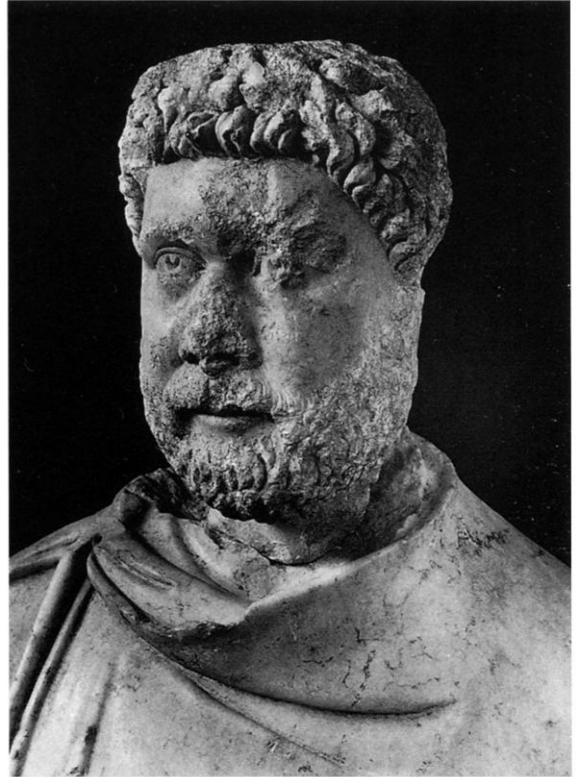*(with the kind permission of the Director of Antiquities, Cyprus)*
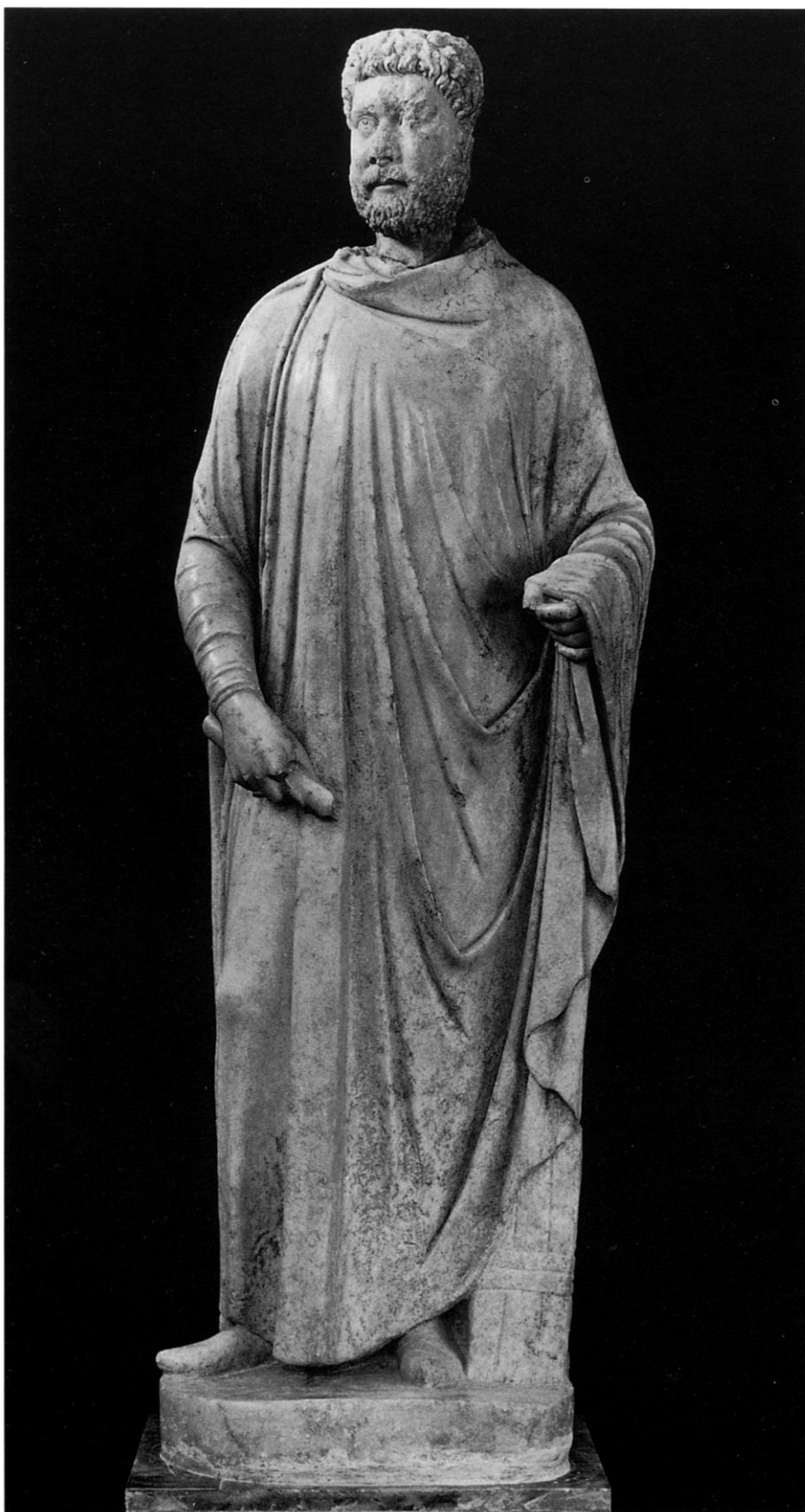
STATUE OF OECUMENIUS, *c.* A.D. 400. APHRODISIAS MUSEUM. VIEW SQUARE TO FRONT OF STATUE.
cf. PL. XXII.

PLATE XVII
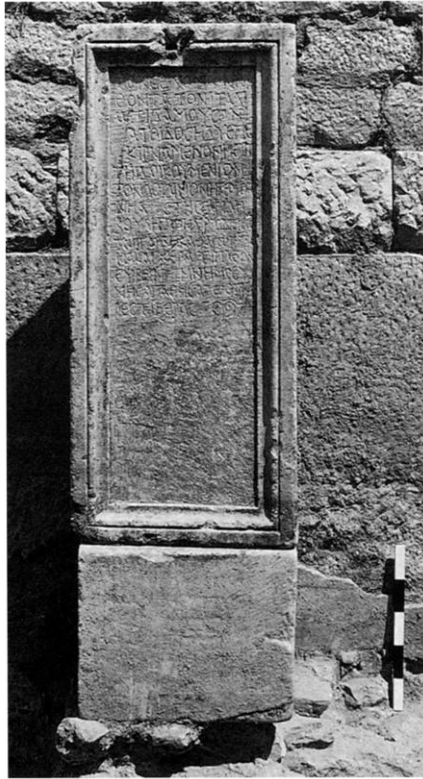
1–3. STATUE OF OECUMENIUS, SIDE AND BACK VIEWS.
4. INSCRIBED BASE OF OECUMENIUS' STATUE. *IN SITU.* APHRODISIAS.

STATUE OF OECUMENIUS, DETAIL OF HEAD.

PLATE XIX
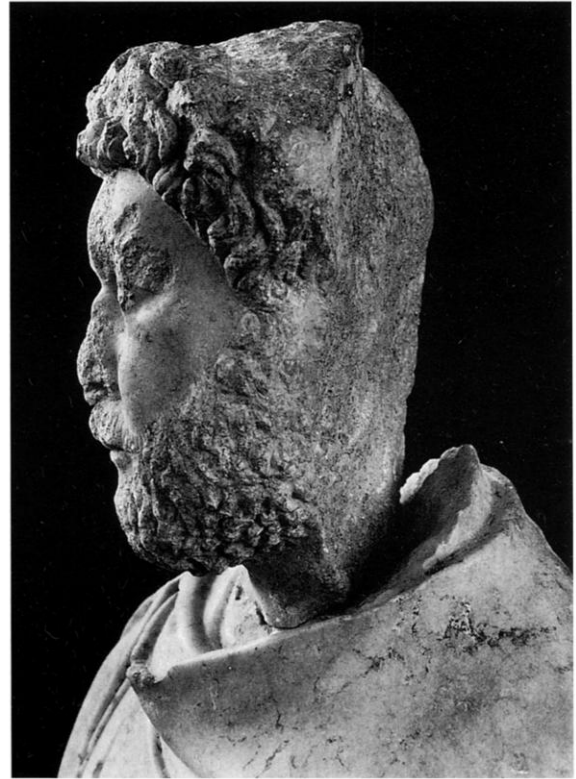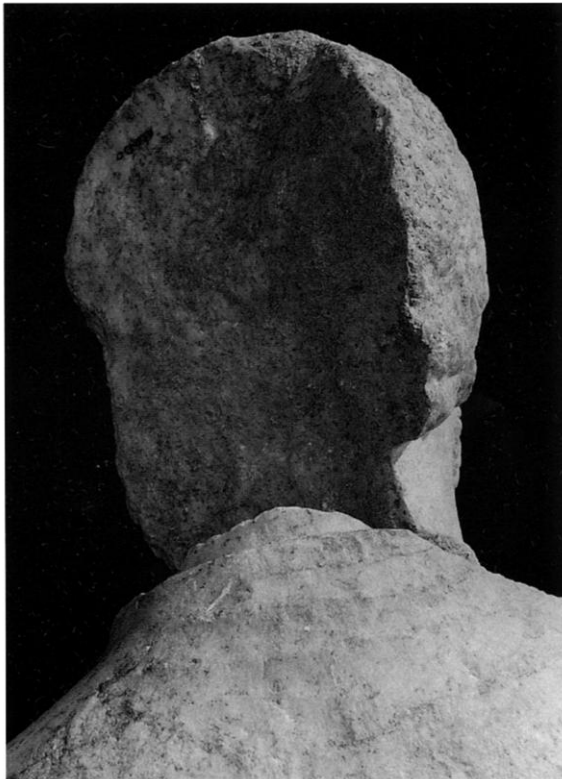
1–4. STATUE OF OECUMENIUS, DETAILS OF HEAD. 1. RIGHT PROFILE; 2. VIEW SQUARE TO FRONT OF STATUE; 3. BACK; 4. LEFT PROFILE.

STATUE OF OECUMENIUS, HEAD TO WAIST.

PLATE XXI

1–4. STATUE OF OECUMENIUS, DETAILS. I. RIGHT HAND WITH SCROLL; 2. LEFT HAND, HOLDING EDGE OF CHLAMYS; 3. RIGHT BOOT WITH ENGRAVED SOLE LINE; 4. VIEW OF BEARD FROM UNDER CHIN.

PLATE XXII

STATUE OF OECUMENIUS. VIEW SQUARE TO HEAD. CF. PL. XVI.

PLATE XXIII
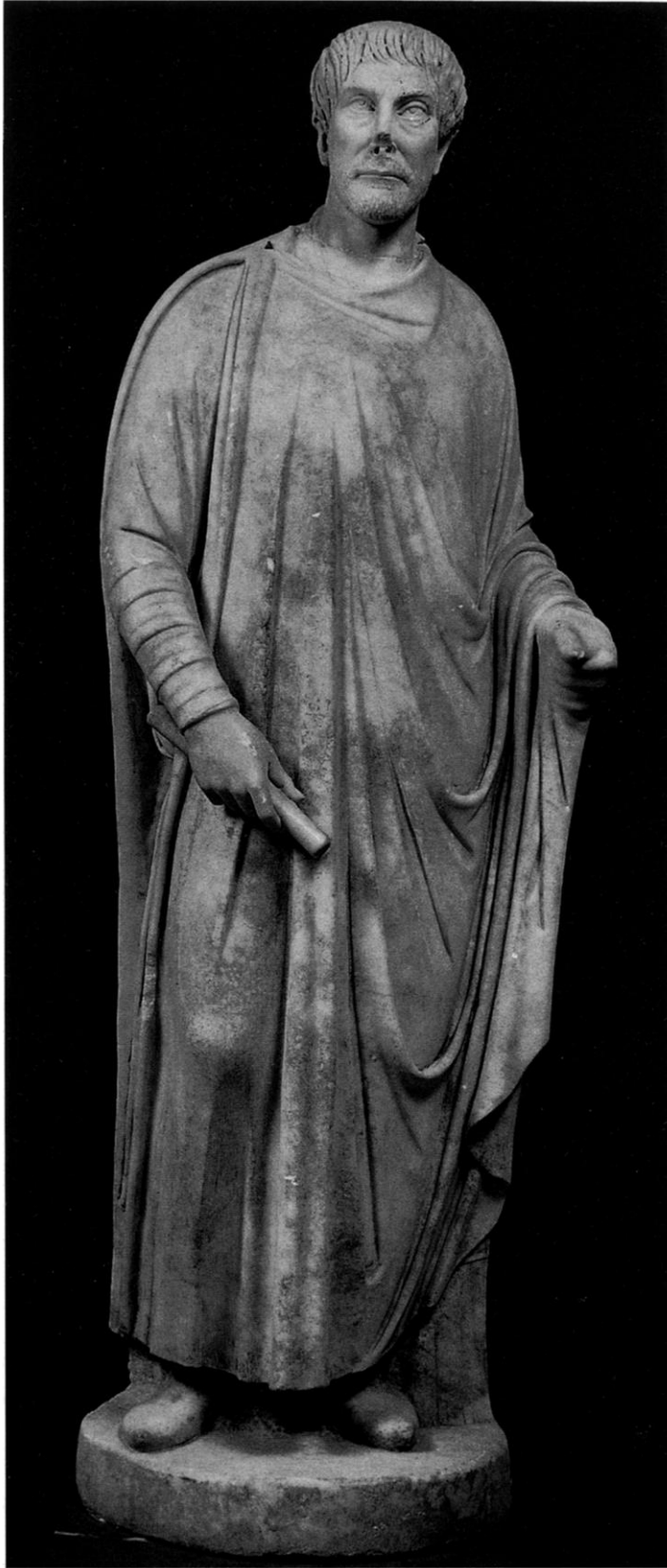
CHLAMYDATUS STATUE ('ELDER GOVERNOR'). VIEW SQUARE TO HEAD. EARLY FIFTH CENTURY. FROM HADRIANIC BATHS, APHRODISIAS. ISTANBUL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM (MENDEL 508). *Photo: Museum*

PLATE XXIV
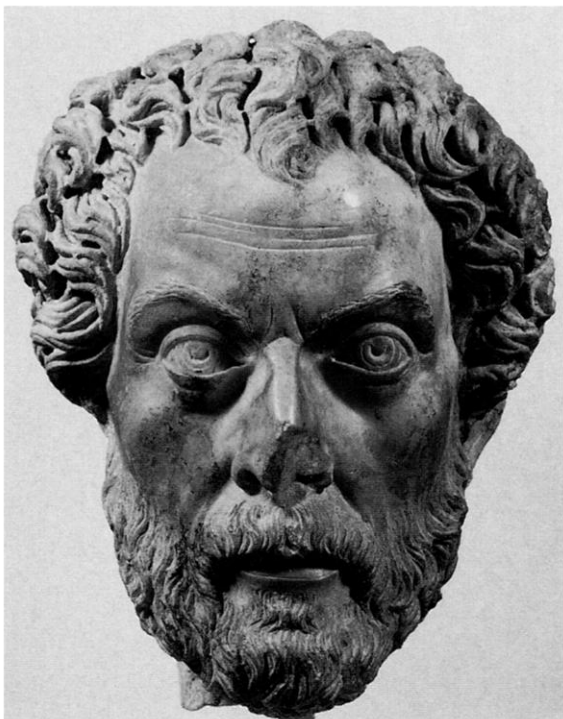
1. BEARDED MALE PORTRAIT HEAD. FIFTH CENTURY. FROM APHRO-
DISIAS. BRUSSELS, MUSÉE DU CINQUANTENAIRE. *Photo: Museum*

2. INSCRIBED TOP OF HEAD, PL. XXIV, 1. FRONT OF HEAD IS AT
BOTTOM. *Photo: Museum*

3. THEODOSIAN OBELISK BASE, *c.* A.D. 390–2, ISTANBUL. DETAIL
OF NW SIDE. *Photo: Forschungsarchiv für römische Plastik,
Cologne*

4. CHLAMYDATUS STATUE ('YOUNGER GOVERNOR'). PROFILE,
SHOWING TONSURE. FIFTH CENTURY. FROM HADRIANIC BATHS,
APHRODISIAS. ISTANBUL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM (Mendel
507). *Photo: Museum*