CONTEXTUALIZING ROMAN HONORIFIC MONUMENTS: STATUE GROUPS OF THE IMPERIAL FAMILY FROM OLYMPIA, EPHESUS, AND LEPTIS MAGNA

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ABSTRACT

EMILY VICTORIA OLSON: Contextualizing Roman Honorific Monuments:
Statue Groups of the Imperial Family from Olympia, Ephesus, and Leptis Magna
(Under the direction of Dr. Mary C. Sturgeon)

This dissertation contextualizes Roman sculpture within its local environment, giving particular attention to the honorific statue groups of the imperial family in the first and second centuries CE. Previous studies focus primarily on issues of style and typology, whereas this project examines how statues influenced and were influenced by surrounding architecture, topographical features, and significant landmarks. Moreover, it asks how social, political, and historical phenomena relate to a group's significance and its effect on the ancient viewer. The ultimate goal of this investigation is to explore the social and physical contexts of imperial dynastic ensembles in order to improve our understanding of how honorific monuments functioned within the local landscape.

The study focuses on three ancient sites - Olympia, Ephesus, and Leptis Magna – that provide some of the best preserved imperial honorific and dynastic material as well as a broad geographical spread. Groups from Rome and the West largely are omitted since epigraphic material often is lacking. The three main chapters present imperial honors (both individual and familial) in chronological order and consider relevant architectural, historical, and topographical developments. Dynastic groups with preserved statues, display contexts, and patron(s)/dedicator(s) are discussed in separate sections that outline the group's historical background, patron(s), associated sculpture, honorands, date, arrangement, and relationship

to previous honors.

This study confirms that dynastic groups from the three sites are centered in four major types of architectural settings: temples, nymphaea, entertainment structures, and fora/agorai. Familial groups also coexist with individual honors and ensembles of other dynasties. This investigation further demonstrates that the Julio-Claudian and Antonine households have the most extant evidence for dynastic honors and that a correlation exists between the initial phases of a dynastic monument and the first emperor of a new dynasty. Both prominent citizens and civic groups erected representations of the imperial family in areas that were visited frequently in order to express loyalty and gratitude toward the ruling household as well as visually convey their power, wealth, and prestige. These communal areas ensured maximum visibility and interaction with the statues during everyday events and special rituals related to the city's identity.

To my family

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Architecture and its sculptural decoration are unique within the discipline of Classical archaeology, largely because in many cases the context of this material is preserved. With a little imagination, one can reconstruct how a monument appeared and functioned in the daily life of an ancient city. This is seldom true with freestanding sculpture, which, due to the nature of sculpture itself, is easily broken and separated from its original setting. As a result, ancient sculpture has come to be scattered throughout various museums and displayed or illustrated in detached, isolated ways. Rarely does one obtain a sense of a statue's ancient context and hence, the original function and experience of sculpture often remains ambiguous. In reality, statues were a vibrant part of public and private life in antiquity.

In this dissertation I address the issue of contextualizing Roman statues within their local settings, giving particular attention to the honorific statue groups of the imperial family in the first and second centuries CE. My goal is to focus on how the original social, political, and physical contexts of imperial dynastic groups ultimately shaped their meaning. My method is to move beyond issues of style and typology to a consideration of how these portraits functioned within their immediate and broader physical surroundings. My approach, which differs from that of previous scholars, is to address the following questions: How are the imperial groups integrated into the local honorific and architectural-urban landscape? How does this integration reflect or relate to the politics and history of the city? What display preferences are evident? My project thereby fills a significant lacuna in the

scholarship and improves our understanding of how honorific monuments functioned within their local socio-political environment. Furthermore, this project offers an important contribution to the study of the representation of the imperial family. For example, our knowledge of Augustan and Julio-Claudian statue groups currently exists in a vacuum; there is no real examination of how these early ensembles fit into a larger framework of imperial familial representation. I accordingly focus on how the honorific dedications of succeeding dynasties continue, adapt, or abandon earlier developments, thereby broadening our knowledge of the way imperial statue groups function over time.

Historiography

Imperial portraiture always has been a primary focus of scholarship in Roman art, which is attested by the extensive amount of catalogues and studies on the subject. The *Römische Herrscherbild* series is perhaps the most important for its thoroughness and scope, yet new material and perspectives continually are being published.[1] The *Herrscherbild* series includes imperial women,[2] but additional studies by A. Alexandridis, E. Bartman, K. Fittschen, M. Flory, R. Winkes, and S. Wood have made significant contributions to our understanding of female portraiture.[3] The same holds true for male portraiture, with more specific and in-depth works supplementing the general catalogues. Other scholars, notably J. Pollini and Fittschen, have advanced our knowledge of child iconography.[4] Using these catalogues and focused studies, numerous works have been published that analyze imperial

[1] A recent example is the 2009 catalogue *Divus Vespasianus*: *il bimillenario dei Flavi.*

[2] E.g. Wegner 1956; Daltrop, Hausmann, and Wegner 1966; Wiggers 1971.

[3] Alexandridis 2004; 2005a; 2010a; Bartman 1999; Fittschen 1982; 1996; Flory 1993; 1995; 1996; Winkes 1995; Wood 1995; 1999; 2010. This list is not exhaustive.

[4] Pollini 1987; Fittschen 1999.

portraiture in terms of style, function, and context, among them most recently J. Fejfer's monumental *Roman Portraits in Context* (2008). Fejfer's publication confirms that the topic is by no means exhausted and continues to be of interest. Indeed, in her introduction Fejfer describes how scholars have only begun recently to study Roman portraits in a wider context through an approach that combines "social explanation and aesthetic understanding."[5]

Surprisingly, imperial family groups have not received much attention in this large corpus of literature despite a focus on family and children in Roman art and society in recent research. Anthologies began to explore the topic in the 1990's,[6] and these were followed by even more collections of essays in the subsequent decade.[7] Other important studies include those by S. Dixon and T. Wiedemann.[8] A new Blackwell *Companion to Families in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (2011) also has just been published and includes such articles as "Picturing Greek Families" and "Picturing the Roman Family."[9] In addition, B. Rawson and J.D. Uzzi have published on the iconography of children, specifically looking at the imagery of children on public imperial works.[10]

Dynastic groups occasionally are included in portrait catalogues, but when they do appear, they typically are relegated to a short section, sometimes a chapter; rarely are they the primary focus of an entire book. The examples are few enough that they can be discussed here in some detail. Fittschen includes an appendix on the image galleries of the Antonine

[5] Fejfer 2008, 3-10.

[6] E.g. *Marriage, Divorce, and Children in Ancient Rome* (1991, edited by B. Rawson); *The Family in Italy: From Antiquity to Present* (1991, edited by D.I. Kertzer and R.P. Saller); *The Roman Family in Italy: Status, Sentiment, Space* (1997, edited by B. Rawson and P. Weaver).

[7] E.g. Dixon 2001; Harlow and Laurence 2002; George 2005; Mustakallio, et al. 2005; Cohen and Rutter 2007.

[8] Dixon 1992; Wiedemann 1989.

[9] Rawson 2011. The first essay is by A. Cohen and the second is by J. Huskinson.

[10] Rawson 2001; 2003; Uzzi 2005; 2007.

family in his monograph on Antonine princes,[11] compiling all the literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence of sixty Antonine family groups organized by site. It is a useful resource, but one that is chronologically limited. Furthermore, since Fittschen's main aim is to establish typologies and dates, the appendix does not offer any summary or conclusions, nor does it provide much in the way of contextualization. The reader is presented with a catalogue of the Antonine family groups, but is left with no real understanding of their larger significance. This shortfall has been noted in the reviews.[12]

In a separate study, Alexandridis discusses the representation of women in the context of the imperial family. The section on family groups is part of a larger chapter on the imagery of imperial women, however, and is thus summary in nature.[13] In terms of methodology, Alexandridis is most interested in how the images of imperial women relate to the self-representation of the emperor and the imperial household, as well as in differences between depictions of imperial, elite, and non-elite women. As a result, her discussion of local settings and contexts is brief, with the emphasis instead on analyzing themes (in terms of recurring subjects or personifications), statue types, and iconographic elements (hair, dress, ornaments, facial features and expressions, attributes, gestures, etc.).[14]

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[11] Fittschen 1999, 108-138.

[12] Hallett 2001. Fittschen's approach is based on the notion of the "replica series," which allows for portraits to be identified, dated, and organized on the basis of principal types. For criticisms of this approach see Rose 2003; Alexandridis 2004, especially Chapter 2, 7-12; Riccardi 2007; Fejfer 2008, 407-419. See Smith 1996 for an argument in favor of this approach.

[13] Alexandridis 2004, 98-103.

[14] For reviews of Alexandridis see Hemelrijk 2006; Fejfer 2006; Winkes 2007. Also see Fejfer 2006, who questions Alexandridis' methodological approach. Fejfer believes that Alexandridis' argument that statues of the empress should be understood within the context of private representation is problematic since neither in dedication nor in representation were such images private. Fejfer further argues that scholars know very little about the commissioning and selection of imperial portraits, and even less about statue bodies and attributes, so that the images should not be understood within the framework of private versus public portraiture, but rather the distinction is one of Rome versus the provinces. Other methodological shortcomings noted by Fejfer

Fejfer's recent book mentioned above, although not strictly a catalogue, also includes discussions of familial statue groups. The author largely is concerned with contextualizing Roman portraits, both within their physical settings and socio-cultural surroundings. The book is divided into four main sections, with the first (Public Honours and Private Expectations) dealing primarily with the physical and social contexts of honorific portraits as well as with issues of erection, dedication, reuse, and social function. Fejfer further explores social function in the second section (Modes of Representation), which considers how material, pose, and statuary type were manipulated to convey identity and status. The third and fourth chapters on the empress (and other elite women) and the emperor, respectively, offer important insights for my purposes, but there is no separate discussion of programmatic family groups. Moreover, the discussion of female portraiture is concerned mostly with physiognomic features, while that of the emperors is focused on typology, production, and dissemination.[15]

include Alexandridis' comparison of provincial statues to Roman coins, which results in few new interpretations of the material. Moreover, Fejfer believes Alexandridis is too cautious in her approach to body language, and thus could have done more with gender studies. In her 2010a publication, Alexandridis does, in fact, address this topic, arguing that the repetition of female statuary types is due to their embodiment of both local and global female ideals.

[15] Fejfer's book has received mixed reviews among scholars. See Dardenay 2009; Balty 2010; Kuenzer 2010; Tanner 2010. The earliest review by Dardenay describes the text as a good synthesis of the material and therefore a work of great educational value. Dardenay praises Fejfer for clearly developing her project and methodology in the introduction, but criticizes her discussion of sculptural workshops, which he finds to be based on too many assumptions, her lack of references, and the brief conclusion. Dardenay's generally positive review parallels that of Kuenzer and Balty. The latter notes some typological and caption errors and bibliographic omissions, but overall he believes the work has much to offer and will stimulate new research. Balty's only critique is that the last two chapters of Fejfer's book are controversial and unconvincing. While Tanner also acknowledges the contributions of Fejfer's book, he ultimately argues that Fejfer was not selective or systematic enough in her analysis, thus causing the book to become a compilation of many small summaries of earlier studies. He further criticizes Fejfer for not being clearer in her introduction as to what her key terms - social context and identity - entail. Tanner further finds that Fejfer's careless citations and numerous errata undermine her larger arguments and make it difficult to verify any of her claims.

Additional works include those by D. Boschung, J.C. Balty, and F. Salviat, which all focus on the representation of the imperial family in the early imperial period.[16] Works by W. Trillmich and A. Mlasowsky also may be noted here since they discuss the politics and propaganda of the imperial family by focusing on numismatic evidence.[17] And while several scholarly articles do mention family groups, the focus, as with the books and catalogues described above, is usually on another topic. For example, several articles and chapters by Alexandridis look specifically at female imperial portraiture.[18]

In addition to these sources that deal with dynastic group portraiture on a limited level, several books are wholly dedicated to the subject. The three main studies include C.B. Rose's *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture in the Julio-Claudian Period* (1997), Boschung's *Gens Augusta* (2002), and the recent study by K. Deppmeyer entitled *Kaisergruppen von Vespasian bis Konstantin* (2008).

The earliest of these monographs, that of Rose, is divided into three sections. Part One begins with a brief description of the origins of dynastic group monuments in the Hellenistic Period, but quickly moves on to an analysis of the portraiture of Augustus and his Julio-Claudian successors (ca. 31 BCE – 68 CE). Rose, while focusing on sculptural representations of the dynasty, also considers historical accounts, inscriptions, monuments, and coinage in order to assess how dynastic policy was formulated. He further explores how this policy was promulgated and received within provincial cities and what, if any, regional variations can be discerned from the evidence. Part Two of Rose's study addresses the

[16] Boschung 1990; 1993; Balty 1993; Salviat 1980.

[17] Trillmich 1978; Mlasowsky 1996, 249-388.

[18] Alexandridis 2005b; 2010a; 2010b. Another example is Keesling's 2007 article, which mentions family groups in the context of early Hellenistic portraiture from the Athenian Acropolis.

identifications of the portraits and statuary types, which often can be difficult to determine given the idealized style of the period. Part Three is a catalogue of all 130 extant groups organized by find spot.

Rose's book has been well received by scholars of Roman art and archaeology, being described as "magisterial," an "outstanding contribution to the study of Julio-Claudian portraiture," and as "the standard reference on the subject of Julio-Claudian dynastic portraits."[19] K. Galinsky especially commends Rose on moving beyond aesthetic and iconographic considerations to a broader, holistic analysis that utilizes all the available evidence in order to contextualize statuary groups. Moreover, Galinsky praises Rose's broader geographical focus and his insights into regional differences, both in regard to reception and production.[20] E. Bartman further recommends Rose's work for its contributions to early imperial iconography and what she feels are "convincing answers to long-vexing questions of Julio-Claudian iconography."[21]

In spite of such fulsome praise, scholars have taken issue with aspects of Rose's study. Bartman argues that Rose does not give enough attention to the physical setting of the statuary groups. While he includes the original location (if known) in his catalogue, he fails to provide further excavation details, visual aids, or reconstructions. As a result, the reader

[19] The first quotation is from Vermeule's 1998 review, the second from Galinsky's 1999 review, and the third from Bartman's 1997 review. Dabrowa 2001, offers another positive review.

[20] From the evidence, Rose concludes that production was shaped by many different factors, only one of which was the influence of the imperial court. This parallels Alexandridis' 2004, conclusions regarding female imperial portraiture. She likewise finds that the emperor exerted some control over representations of himself and his family, but that he did not have a complete monopoly on imperial portraiture.

[21] Bartman 1997, 877, is referring to questions regarding the identification of statues from group ensembles.

does not get a sense of how the ancient viewer would have seen these portraits, or of the overall visual, social, and political impact of a group.[22]

Five years after Rose's study, Boschung published *Gens Augusta*, a revised version of his Habilitationsschrift, which likewise focuses on Augustus and the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Although Rose's and Boschung's studies overlap in terms of chronology, their aims and methodology are markedly different. Boschung's work is not intended to be a comprehensive catalogue or an investigation into the provincial reception of imperial imagery. Rather, Boschung focuses on select groups organized by find context (i.e. forum, basilica, theater, etc.) and then discusses how these groups were displayed. Boschung thus shows less interest in the attributes and qualities of the individual sculptures and more emphasis on architectural and topographical context and on the performative function of the statues. The book is divided into nine chapters, with the first six cataloguing the groups by context. Chapter Seven discusses the epigraphic and numismatic evidence for groups without extant sculptural evidence, and Chapter Eight looks at the occasions for erection and the larger significance of the sculptural displays. The final chapter looks at the Julio-Claudian dynasty as a "Bildthema" by detailing the different types of imagery for imperial family members.

Boschung's book has received mixed reviews from scholars of Roman sculpture. The work has been praised for its wealth of information, including its vast bibliography and images. Boschung's new context-based perspective in a field normally dominated by

[22] Other reviewers voice concerns over problems of identifying the portraits. See Boschung 1998; Kersauson 1999; Saletti 2000; Balty 2002. All argue that Rose proposes some identifications that are untenable based on iconographical grounds. Saletti further believes that Rose's work lacks a concise definition of "dynastic cycle," which leads to assumptions and subjective reconstructions throughout the text. Saletti and Balty also criticize the inclusion of controversial groups, the omission of relevant groups, as well as other mistakes and shortcomings in the catalogue. In the end, Saletti questions whether such a work was too ambitious in its approach.

typological research has also been noted as an important contribution.[23] Yet reviewers highlight methodological flaws in Boschung's analysis, which is largely based on the idea of the "replica series." Because of this approach, Rose believes Boschung often considers portraits with identifications and dates already in mind and thus fails to explore programmatic compositions in his analyses. Rose also argues that the "replica series" model cannot be upheld since no such system existed during the early empire, as attested by marked regional variations.[24] In Rose's opinion, there is ultimately no evidence that Rome controlled all facets of portrait production, dissemination, and dedication. Rose takes further issue with Boschung's focus on display at the exclusion of reception. He suggests that Boschung's study would have been strengthened by an analysis of how dynastic power was articulated through costume, gesture, attributes, gender, age, etc. Other shortfalls noted by Rose include an emphasis on the material from Italy and the West, an insufficient discussion of associated inscriptions, a lack of relevant maps, an inadequate explanation of dating criteria, and a confusing organizational framework that results in diverse ensembles being grouped together simply on the basis of display.[25]

Two other specialists on Roman sculpture, R. Winkes and C.H. Hallett also have reviewed Boschung's book.[26] Winkes praises Boschung's thorough catalogue and his

[23] Olszewski 2004; Skopek 2006. Both authors provide a generally positive review of Boschung.

[24] Rose 2003.

[25] Alexandridis 2005a, offers another critical review of Boschung's study that focuses on issues of methodology. According to Alexandridis, Boschung fails to establish systematically which model of portrait production and dissemination, whether centralized or pluralist, he accepts. The absence of this clearly defined framework, combined with the contradictory and ambiguous manner in which Boschung discusses the material, leads Alexandridis to describe his work as inconsistent. She also argues that Boschung could have offered a more substantial analysis of iconography and semantics. He focuses on identifying statues rather than on establishing their iconographic and visual context, and he fails to take into account the significance of statue body types. Furthermore, Alexandridis criticizes Boschung for his mixing of imperial and provincial coinage and for his insufficient explanation of the strong visual presence of the imperial family at certain sites.

excellent discussion of the epigraphic, numismatic, and literary evidence. His criticisms include the confusing (or missing) titles, inconsistent citations, and inadequate explanations for the selection of the sites. Hallett offers a more in-depth review. Overall, he sees the work as a remarkable achievement, describing it as "the first fully 'contextual' account of imperial portrait groups." He especially finds Chapter Nine, in which Boschung describes the development of Julio-Claudian portraiture, to be a "tour de force." Yet this praise of the typological analysis perhaps exposes a less effective consideration of the book's chief aim, namely context. Indeed, Hallett finds that the would-be climax of the book, Chapter Eight, which examines the effects and meanings of group monuments in their original settings, is the least successful.[27]

Deppmeyer's book, published in 2008, is the most recent work to focus on imperial family groups. The study is broader in scope than either Rose's or Boschung's as it includes portrait groups from the Flavian dynasty to the beginning of the fourth century CE. The work is divided into two volumes, an evaluation and a catalogue, which includes 249 statue groups with secure contexts and twenty-eight without. While this new study is valuable, it is not as thorough as the previous two monographs and due to its breadth, tends to be more

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[26] Winkes 2002-2003; Hallett 2004.

[27] Hallett 2004, further argues that the part of this chapter that focuses on viewer response is abstract and anecdotal. The following section that describes the occasions for statue honors presents the honorific process as something "rational and calculated." Boschung's discussion thus fails to situate honorific monuments in relation to the daily events, festivals, banquets, religious rituals, etc., that ultimately shaped the ancient viewer's perception of them. According to Hallett, Boschung also omits an analysis of the statues themselves in terms of aesthetic and formal qualities, thereby failing to convey how and why the statues would have impacted the ancient viewer. Hallett takes further issue with Boschung's argument that some groups were formally repetitive in terms of costume and body type and that this was done in order to express the *Concordia* of the imperial family. Boschung thus ends up dismissing the statues as standardized, impersonal, and homogenous, whereas Hallett argues that actually a great amount of variety is present among the Julio-Claudian material. A final critique of Hallett's is the title of Boschung's work since technically there was never such a thing as a *Gens Augusta*. Donderer 2007, reiterates some of Hallett's concerns and draws attention to other problematic aspects of the work, including misinterpreted inscriptions and erroneous assumptions regarding statue types and portraits of disgraced family members. Donderer further criticizes Boschung's typological errors, inconsistent terminology, and the omission of relevant inscriptions and statue groups cited in Rose's catalogue.

descriptive and summary than analytical. Indeed, Deppmeyer discusses 700 years of family groups, from their Hellenistic beginnings through the emperor Constantine. Moreover, she seeks to touch on nearly every aspect of these groups, including architectural context, reasons for erection, and distribution. This approach results in a sequence of cursory sections that fail to go into any real depth. In the end, the work, especially the catalogue and bibliography, is a useful resource, but Deppmeyer still leaves much to be done in terms of in-depth contextualization and analysis.[28]

From this historiographical survey, it is apparent that various models and approaches exist for interpreting the relevant material. The works that this investigation engages with the most are those by Rose, Fittschen, Boschung, and Deppmeyer since the interests of these authors align with my own in terms of chronology, geography, and context. Although drawing heavily on this earlier research, I make an original contribution to the discipline by addressing the problematic aspects of these studies and extending their focus. The works cited have been criticized for not giving enough attention to the physical setting and overall visual, social, and political impact of a statuary group. I concentrate precisely on this issue, namely contextualizing groups within their local honorific and architectural landscapes by considering both their original installations and how the groups functioned in subsequent centuries. Also, Rose's and Boschung's works focus on the earlier dynasties and primarily

[28] Only Fittschen 2009, has reviewed Deppmeyer's book so far, and he criticizes elements of both the text and the catalogue. The latter he finds to be unconvincing in terms of its separation of groups with secure contexts and those without. The "secure" context category includes cases that have no evidence for their group character; on the other hand, Deppmeyer sometimes includes examples in both categories that undoubtedly have group contexts. Fittschen also criticizes Deppmeyer for occasionally approaching the material as if she had never made this distinction at all. Overall, Fittschen describes the catalogue as disappointingly incomplete, repetitious, and cumbersome in its layout, and thus, he finds that it negatively affects the quality and accuracy of the text. He further criticizes Deppmeyer for not clearly defining the term "Kaisergruppen," and for using the term "Weiternutzung" instead of "gewachsen" when referring to agglutinative monuments since no statues actually were reused. Fittschen notes some original contributions of Deppmeyer's book, including her discussions of the use of portraits of deceased emperors and of instances in which multiple statues are dedicated to a single individual (usually an emperor). Yet with the latter topic at least, Fittschen argues that Deppmeyer should have presented the material in a separate section instead of scattering it throughout her chapters.

on material from Italy and the West. My investigation thus complements these studies by considering groups from the later dynasties and by focusing on material from the East and North Africa. In the end, I am well positioned to build upon previous research and learn from past critiques in order to present an original and meaningful study of imperial family groups in their contemporary and geographical settings. In the following sections, I discuss terminological problems related to this study and outline my approach and methods in more detail.

Terminology

It is important to define the major terms and concepts of my study. The term "family or dynastic group" for the period of the Roman Empire is not as straightforward as one might expect due to difficulties in identifying relationships within the complicated dynasties (especially for the Julio-Claudians) and to complexities of Roman law and the adoption system.[29] My use of the term is derived largely from the works of Rose and Boschung, which consider a family or dynastic group as including two or more individuals related either by blood ties or adoption. Thus, a dynastic group could include two mature men who are not related biologically, but who are part of the same family through adoption, such as Augustus and Tiberius.[30] Although these two men were not related by blood, Augustus and Tiberius were technically family through Livia's marriage to Augustus (then Octavian) and Augustus' eventual adoption of Tiberius in 4 CE. Alternatively, in an eastern city there might have been a representation of the empress in the guise of a local goddess shown with small

[29] For a detailed discussion of ambiguous terminology relating to dynastic groups see Boschung 2002, 1.

[30] Numerous examples of groups with the two men can be found in Rose's 1997 catalogue.

children as part of the iconographic assimilation.[31] This would not be considered a dynastic group even though it has the major components of a family (i.e. mother, children). The children have no biological or adoptive relationship to the empress; they are simply symbols of her divine-like status. Similarly, images of the emperor with children may be intended to convey his symbolic role as *pater patriae* or his concern for the youth of the empire.[32] Again, such representations would not constitute a family group since the children and adults are not related. In sum, the following definition applies for this study: dynastic groups include two or more members of the imperial household that may be related by blood or by legal adoption.

Another fundamental component of this study is a "focus group," which refers to the five sculptural groups that the chapters of this investigation consider in the most depth. The focus groups were selected because each has known statues, display contexts, and patrons or dedicators. Moreover, the focus groups come from ancient sites with some of the largest amount of imperial honorific and dynastic material preserved. The number of focus groups admittedly is small, but I intentionally kept my study limited so that I could thoroughly

[31] An example includes a tetradrachm minted in Alexandria in 41 CE showing Messalina, the wife of Claudius, holding ears of wheat in her left hand and two small children in her right. See Rose 1997, plate 30. Another example includes a series of coins issued in bronze, gold, and silver (112-117 CE) that show Matidia (Trajan's niece) with two children and the phrase PIETAS AVGVST(a).

[32] Numerous instances of such representations exist that cannot be enumerated here, but one important example includes the *Ara Pacis Augustae* on which several young children are depicted. Their specific identities and ethnicities are debated, but no matter their identification, the children fundamentally convey the idea of youth and all are clearly related to or interacting with nearby adults. Later in 88 CE, Domitian used child iconography on his coins celebrating the *Ludi Saeculares*. Three small boys are shown in procession holding branches before the emperor. Another example is the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum, which includes a relief panel depicting the emperor along with fathers and their children. Although the emperor is not directly next to the families, he is shown distributing either grain or money to two fathers, and thereby his concern for the family is conveyed. Multiple coins from the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius show the emperor with generic children. Still other examples include a relief from Hadrian's reign that was re-used on the later fifth century CE arch, the *Arco di Portogallo,* and the *liberalitas* relief from the lost arch of Marcus Aurelius.

analyze the dynastic ensembles at each side and place them in a broader context of other imperial honors and architectural dedications.

A final term central to this study is euergetism, which has been defined by B. Longfellow as "the spending of private funds on public works projects and amenities in return for status and honor."[33] In antiquity, reciprocity between patrons and cities was an important and mutually beneficial social phenomenon. Cities benefited through the aggrandizement of their sanctuaries and civic places. The dedicators, in turn, gained honor, prestige, and perhaps most importantly, cultural and political power. Often the physical manifestation of this social power was a statue erected in honor of the donor at prominent site(s) throughout the city.[34] Euergetism also functioned at the imperial level, with the emperor bestowing a variety of awards, honors, games, buildings, etc. upon a city in exchange for its allegiance. As with private patrons, the emperor could be honored with statues and monuments erected in his or his family's name. Ultimately, the process of euergetism was a complicated one, and one that varied across time and space. This study focuses on the imperial period and specifically on honors to the ruling dynasty erected by cities and private individuals. In setting up such monuments to the imperial household, dedicators were able to express visually their loyalty and gratitude to the emperor, their expectation of future imperial benefactions, as well as their own power and influence within the social hierarchy.

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[33] Longfellow 2011, 2. For more on euergetism and patronage see Nicols 1980; 1988; Horsfall 1988; Veyne 1990; Rose 1997, 3-10; Cenerini 2006; Kantiréa 2007, 21-39; Fejfer 2008, Part 1; Zuiderhoek 2009; Longfellow 2011, 1-8. For euergetism specifically in Roman Italy see Strong 1968 and the essays in Lomas and Cornell 2003. For imperial benefactions in the Greek East see Shear 1981; Gauthier 1985; Mitchell 1987a; 1987b.

[34] As Rose 1997, 4, says "The production of family monuments and the institution of euergetism were therefore parallel developments, with the former really a by-product of the latter, and monuments to the Imperial family were components of the same system." On the terminology and language of honorific inscriptions see Payne 1984, 10-57; Forbis 1996; Ma 2007.

Approach

Each chapter of the present investigation focuses on a specific site or city, namely Olympia, Ephesus, and Leptis Magna (figure 1.1); these chapters are followed by a conclusion that considers developments both across space and time. The main sites of the study were chosen first with a view to maximum geographical distribution, and second, with a view to maximum continuity in the erection of imperial dynastic groups. Groups from Rome and the West largely are omitted since epigraphic material often is missing, making discussion of context difficult.[35] Indeed, of the numerous dynastic groups known from Rome, all lack either sculptural or epigraphic evidence.[36] Nonetheless, sites in the West with both forms of evidence (figure 1.2) exist, such as Casinum, Misenum, Ostia, and Rusellae.[37] There are even cities in the West with two such dynastic groups, including Gabinum, Herculaneum, and Velleia.[38] Yet out of considerations of space and time, this investigation is limited to three ancient sites. Moreover, the sculptural and epigraphic evidence from Olympia, Ephesus, and Leptis Magna is published thoroughly and easily accessible. These three sites also allow for a focus on material from the East and North Africa, which contrasts

[35] Rose 1997, xviii: "The evidence for groups in the east consists largely of inscribed bases without statues, and in the western groups, far more statues than inscriptions are preserved. This imbalance in evidence results from regional variation in construction. Statues in eastern groups were usually bronze and were therefore melted down in antiquity, but their bases were long, solid pedestals suitable for reuse as building materials. The favored medium for western statues was marble, which was less likely to be destroyed than bronze, but the inscribed plaques that accompanied them were often attached, like nameplates, to the wall, and they were therefore easily broken and scattered throughout a site." Also see Fittschen 2010.

[36] Rose 1997, 102-116, nos. 31-43; Deppmeyer 2008, 18-20, nos. 4-6; 92-98, nos. 36-39; 186-197, nos. 86-91; 333-338, nos. 163-168.

[37] Rose 1997, 86-87, no. 6 (Casinum); 116-118, no. 45 (Rusellae); Deppmeyer 2008, 16-17, no. 3 (Misenum); 181-183, no. 83 (Ostia).

[38] Rose 1997, 91-92, no. 15 (Herculaneum); 121-126, no. 50 (Velleia); Deppmeyer 2008, 7-8, no. 1 (Gabinum); 8-16, no. 2 (Herculaneum); 20-30, no. 7 (Velleia); 328-332, no. 161 (Gabinum).

with much of Roman scholarship that tends to concentrate on Italy and the West.[39] In the end, both the dynastic groups from these three sites and the cities' local honorific practices have been studied before, but the relationship between the two has not been explored in any depth. I therefore aim to analyze the material with a different focus than previous scholarship, namely the contextualization of imperial dynastic groups within their broader surroundings, in order to produce new insights.

I have chosen to focus on imperial dynastic groups out of personal research interests and because I do not feel they have been studied thoroughly. As outlined above, scholars in the past have explored typological and chronological issues relating to Roman imperial portraiture but not how representations of the ruling family were integrated into the architectural and honorific landscapes of ancient cities. I do not, however, wish to give the impression that only imperial statues were set up at these sites, since in fact, private and imperial dedications co-existed both spatially and chronologically. Nonetheless, I believe that dynastic ensembles are significant enough and that enough evidence is preserved to warrant an investigation that examines exclusively familial installations of the imperial household during the high imperial period.

The material from the sites of this study consists largely of statues, inscribed statue bases, and architectural foundations, but other evidence, such as reliefs, coinage, and literary sources, also is considered. J.M. Højte and B. Ruck have published comprehensive catalogues of imperial statue bases, which provide information about the appearance and context of many statuary groups (if *in situ*) for which the actual sculptures no longer

[39] For example, Hausmann 1989, 233-240, and Saletti 1968, discuss the statues from the basilica at Veleia. A Julio-Claudian group from the theater at Caere was published by Fuchs, Liverani, and Santoro 1989. Balty and Cazes 1995, published the imperial portraits from the forum at Beziers. Other works from Jesi, Otricoli, and Veii also are represented in the literature. See Sensi 1979, for Jesi; Dareggi 1982, for Otricoli; Liverani 1987, for Veii.

survive.[40] Moreover, inscriptions from the three individual sites considered here (Olympia, Ephesus, and Leptis Magna) are accessible in extensive catalogues.[41] Discussion of the numismatic evidence is scattered throughout several publications,[42] most notably the detailed catalogues of Roman coinage by H. Mattingly.[43] Ancient literary sources are another critical form of evidence. For example, Pausanias describes extant statues of the imperial family from the Metroon at Olympia (V.20.9), and other literary sources give crucial information on portraits of the imperial family that are now lost.[44] Without these testimonia, many family groups would be unknown to modern scholars.

It is important to note, however, that the sculptural material preserved today is only a small fraction of what there was originally. Many marble sculptures do not survive because they were crushed or burned, while bronze statues often were melted down for their material. In other studies, scholars have found a survival rate between 25-50% for imperial portraits and 5% for inscriptions.[45] This means that any patterns or preferences that emerge are tenuous since extant material is limited. In addition to incomplete and fragmentary sculptural evidence, another important point is that ancient statues rarely are found *in situ*. The later re-use, recycling, and transportation of material means that much evidence is discovered in

[40] Højte 2005; Ruck 2007.

[41] Olympia: Dittenberger and Purgold 1896 (here abbreviated as *Olympia* V); Ephesus: Wankel 1979 (here abbreviated as *IvE*); Leptis Magna: Reynolds and Ward Perkins 1952 (here abbreviated as *IRT*).

[42] E.g. Trillmich 1978; Mlasowsky 1996; Rose 1997; Rawson 2001; 2003; Boschung 2002; Deppmeyer 2008.

[43] Mattingly 1967.

[44] E.g. Tacitus *Annals* 4.15.56 (Rose 1997, 180-181, no. 123); Ovid *Ex Ponto* 2.8.1-8, 55-76 (Rose 1997, 181, no. 124); 2.9.105-12; Cassius Dio 53.27.2-4 (Rose 1997, 102-103, no. 31). Also see Rose 1997, nos. 36 and 38; Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 12, 36, 47, 52, and 86, for more examples. Leypold [Forthcoming b], notes that Pausanias describes 320 statues from the sanctuary at Olympia, the majority of which were not found during excavations.

[45] Smith 2006, 13, notes 31 and 33.

secondary contexts. Archaeological find spots are therefore not necessarily reflections of imperial landscapes, but rather, indicate the appearances of sites in late antiquity. This does not mean that analysis is pointless, as long as interpretation is based on intelligent speculation and relevant comparanda.

Extant material is still meaningful in that it provides valuable information for understanding honorific practice in the ancient world, including how dedications were regulated and what sorts of interplay there were between imperial and local patrons. Based on epigraphic evidence, Fejfer argues that Roman honorific statues did not become common until around the time of Sulla.[46] Similarly, W. Eck believes that competitive honorary monuments only became common in the late second century BCE, with the peak in the mid-first century BCE.[47] Eck further argues that it was only with Octavian's victory in the civil war that public honors became the prerogative of the ruling family. Although Octavian (later Augustus) always tried to convey himself as *primus inter pares*, in reality his political power allowed him to monopolize public forms of display. This is evident when one considers the transformation of traditional display areas (i.e. Campus Martius) as well as the disappearance of the triumph and triumphal monuments.[48] It is also apparent in the fact that from the Augustan period onwards, the senate and emperor had to grant approval for public honorific

[46] Fejfer 2008, Part I.

[47] Eck 1984. Examples of competitive displays in the mid-first century BCE include the theater and adjacent porticus of Pompey (55 BCE), which held several statues of the general, as well as the many statues of Caesar set up on the rostra.

[48] On the transformation of the Campus Martius see Zanker 1988; Favro 1996; 2005; Rehak 2006; Von Hesberg 2006; Haselberger 2002; 2007. The curtailment in the area of triumphal displays by the senatorial aristocracy, combined with renovations of old buildings and the erection of new structures by the *princeps* or members of the imperial family, meant that the area became what Rehak calls a "Julian family monument." Augustus also curtailed public display by the senatorial aristocracy by disallowing triumphs for such men. In 19 BCE, Cornelius Balbus was the last person to have a triumph who was not a member of the imperial family. In addition to triumphs, Augustus also restricted the erection of triumphal buildings, monuments, and other spoils from war. The theater of Cornelius Balbus (Theatrum Balbi) in the southern Campus Martius is the last example of such triumphal building from someone outside the imperial family.

statues. There may never have been explicit legal restrictions on this matter, but there was nonetheless a tacit understanding between the emperor and the senatorial aristocracy in Rome.[49] Senators still could be honored through the *ornamenta triumphalia* and *statua triumphalis*, through statues voted by the senate and/or emperor, through funerary monuments, and within the private realm.[50]

When we look to other cities of the empire, however, there appears to be a different set of assumptions and restrictions operating.[51] Indeed, in other areas the forms of senatorial display differ little from those displays in honor of the emperor. Eck provides the example of Pompeii, where public honorific statues for senators continued to be erected in the forum and nearby areas, including the theater, the baths, and other public buildings.[52] D. Erkelenz, P. Stewart, G. Lahusen, G. Zimmer, V. Koeckel and M. Flecker, and C. Witschel, provide additional evidence from sites like Thamugadi, Tarraco, and Cuicul.[53] This is not to say that there was complete equality among honorific monuments. Restrictions are evident, but they revolve more around the relationships between statues rather than on the dedications themselves. Imperial monuments are often larger and higher than non-imperial ones, and they often are located in more prominent areas within a city. In addition, imperial statues could be distinguished by material, design, and format/type. Thus, there were not legal

[49] Stewart 2003.

[50] Eck 1984; Alfoeldy 2001; Erkelenz 2003; Stewart 2003; Lahusen 2010. Augustus always conferred the *ornamenta triumphalia* and *statua triumphalis* for military successes, but in later periods, such honors became general distinctions of honor. By the time of Trajan, the award was offered only occasionally and mostly posthumously. After Marcus Aurelius, there are even fewer examples, and by the third century CE there are no known examples.

[51] Eck 1992; Alfoeldy 2001; Erkelenz 2003; Stewart 2003; Lahusen 2010.

[52] Eck 1992.

[53] Erkelenz 2003; Stewart 2003; Lahusen 2010; Zimmer 1992, Koeckel and Flecker 2008; Witschel 1995; 2007.

restrictions on local honorific practices, but norms and customs likely regulated the appearance of a monument and its relationship with nearby imperial displays.

The promulgation of these norms and customs, as argued by C.F. Noreña, was not a "concerted campaign of political propaganda."[54] The patterns scholars find among public displays indicate instead that such norms successfully served the needs and interests of "ideologically unified" patrons.[55] Certain honorific practices were repeated throughout the empire because a common approach to the public representation of the emperor benefited many levels of society:

> And so it was in the Roman empire, where the collective production of a symbolic system centered on the figure of the emperor manifestly served the interests of those who produced it, the central state and local aristocrats. For the upper-tier aristocrats who controlled the central state, this symbolic system universalized and naturalized the supreme authority of the state's principal symbol, the emperor. For the lower-tier aristocrats who controlled the empire's municipalities, this system not only helped to naturalize a social and political order from which they themselves had secured a privileged position, but also provided a useful vehicle for class cohesion and social differentiation – it was the aristocrats, after all, and not the masses, who were the ones expending their own resources on the production of such symbols, especially imperial statues and the monumental complexes constructed in connection with the imperial cult.[56]

The evidence therefore suggests that there was not direct imperial involvement or strict regulations regarding the dedication of imperial honors. Patrons' chose to promote similar, collective representations of the emperor and his family at sites throughout the Roman Empire because in all places it legitimized the patrons' local authority and connected them to imperial power. It also gave the municipal elite a way to display publicly their generosity, which, in turn, led to statues or dedications being set up in their own names. In this way, ties

[54] Noreña 2011, 300.

[55] Noreña, 2011, 302: "And it is when different groups and collectivities within a given polity can be shown to subscribe to the same ideals and values that we can speak of the "ideological unification" of these groups."

[56] Noreña 2011, 311.

between the emperor and the local aristocrats were strengthened since the latter was being honored in the same manner as the former.

Ultimately, my aim for each chapter is to explore the social and physical contexts of the imperial focus groups – both how the installations influenced and were influenced by the local honorific and architectural landscape. To this end, each chapter presents imperial honors (both individual and familial) in chronological order, and also examines relevant architectural, historical, and topographical developments. I then present the focus groups in separate sections, with detailed discussions on the ensemble's historical background, patron(s), associated sculpture, honorands, date, arrangement, and relationship to previous honors. At the end of each chapter, I attempt to bring all the sections together by considering the overall honorific landscape of a given site and how it developed over time.

For this broader contextualization, I first examine where in the city honors are concentrated, how this changes over time, and what some possible explanations might be for these patterns. I next turn to a consideration of a viewer's reception of these major areas of display. Using spatial analysis, I speculate on sight lines, how people moved through spaces, and how the dedications potentially impacted a viewer. Portraits were not viewed in isolation, but were situated consciously in positions where they could interact with the surrounding architecture, monuments, and topography in order to promote a particular message. Third, I ask questions regarding patronage: Who are the patron(s)? How does this change over time? Why did the patron(s) care to put up the dedication? In this way, I attempt to analyze agency as well as the motivations behind imperial dedications. I next discuss who is being honored and why, as well as how patterns regarding how honorands relate to historical circumstances and the local dynamics at a particular site. Finally, I

examine comparative material primarily from the same general region of the Roman Empire in order to place the dynastic groups in a broader geographical setting.

In the concluding chapter, I analyze and assess the material comparatively and discuss the spatial and chronological relationships of dynastic dedications to one another. I compare and contrast the sites in terms of display preferences, which involves examining where groups are located both within the city and within the broader geographical region. I also consider honorands and patrons: Which dynasties have the most and least extant groups? What are political and historical circumstances that might explain the archaeological record? Who is setting up these groups and for what reasons? How do dedications reflect relations with Rome as well as local identities and ideals? How do practices and developments change over time? Moreover, I am interested in issues regarding regionalism and whether or not the phenomenon of setting up these honorific monuments is the same at all three sites. I find that the evidence suggests a centralized system for representations of the imperial household. Differences are present, but dynastic groups throughout the empire ultimately are connected by an overarching ideological unification, which allowed the imperial system to survive and flourish for generations despite being comprised of diverse populations. In the end, an in-depth contextualization of imperial dynastic groups confirms that such ensembles were integral elements of a city's landscape that functioned as public expressions of both local and Roman identities.

CHAPTER TWO: OLYMPIA

Introduction

As a panhellenic sanctuary and the site of the quadrennial Olympic games, the Altis at Olympia had been a favored site of honorific display since Archaic times (figures 1.1, 2.1).[1] Located in the Peloponnesus, the prestige of Olympia within the Mediterranean world did not diminish during the Hellenistic or Roman periods. This chapter considers two imperial focus groups from Olympia, namely the sculptures from the Metroon and the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus, in an attempt to understand better how these ensembles fit into the larger honorific landscape of the sanctuary.[2]

A general note at the beginning of the chapter is necessary in regard to the sacred context of the Altis. As a sanctuary, all statues set up at the site were primarily votives to deities and thereby fulfilled religious functions. Honorific sculpture, strictly speaking, includes those statues erected by individuals and official bodies in honor of other individuals or groups, and it tends to be discussed most often in relation to socio-cultural and political events. At Olympia, therefore, there is a combination of votive and honorific sculpture, which is not altogether surprising since the two types of sculpture are known to have

[1] For familial dedications at Olympia from the Archaic period through the end of the fourth century BCE see Löhr, 2000, nos. 3, 14, 15, 20, 36, 44, 45, 49, 61, 68, 73, 74, 79, 96, 137, and 140. Also see *Olympia* II, 144-161; Hölscher 2002. Leypold [Forthcoming a and b] gives the total number of statue bases found *in situ* as 170, and of known bases no longer *in situ* as ca. 1000, 340 of which carry inscriptions. For a discussion of the early Olympic sanctuary in general see Kyrieleis 2002; 2011; Scott 2010, 146-180.

[2] A research project of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut on Olympia in the Roman imperial and late antique periods is in progress. See http://www.dainst.org/en/project/olympia?ft=all. For a general overview of the sanctuary see Sinn 2004, 233-249; Kyrieleis 2011.

appeared in similar contexts since the Archaic period.[3] Nonetheless, the dual functions of the statues set up at Olympia distinguishes the site from the other two cities of this investigation, Ephesus and Leptis Magna, since the latter were not panhellenic sanctuaries, but rather thriving metropolises.

[3] Price 1984, 172-188; Hitzl 2003; Keesling 2003, 3-21, 63-93, 165-203; Ma 2007.

The Honorific Landscape of Olympia: Hellenistic through Early Imperial Periods

Hellenistic Period (figure 2.2)

From Hellenistic Olympia, thirty-four statue bases survive.[4] The literary tradition provides further information about honorific display within the Altis in the Hellenistic period. Pausanias devotes two books to Elis (V and VI), which include descriptions of buildings, votive offerings, games, and honorific monuments for Olympic athletes as well as Hellenistic kings. The Eleans and other states often honored the latter in order to express gratitude for donations and to curry the favor of these powerful, influential dynasts.[5] Individuals likewise set up honorific monuments to kings for these same reasons.[6]

In addition to individual honors, familial groups of Hellenistic dynasties were erected at Olympia from an early date. Perhaps the best known statues are the chryselephantine images[7] of Philip and his family made by the sculptor Leochares and housed in a round building within the Altis commissioned by Philip after his victory in the battle at Chaironeia

[4] Schmidt 1995, I.1.49-57; III.13; IV.1.143-146; IV.2.30-33; VI.2; VII.26-37; XIV.3-4; XV.5. Also see *Olympia* II, 144-161. Leypold's two forthcoming articles explore the topographical contexts of honorific statues in the Altis during the Hellenistic period.

[5] For examples see Kotsidu 2000, 127-128, no. 71 (*Olympia* V, no. 314); 128-129, no. 73 (*Olympia* V, no. 312); 130, no. 74 (Pausanias VI.15.9); 130-132, no. 75 (*Olympia* V, no. 303); 132, no. 76 (Pausanias V.12.7). Also see *Olympia* V, no. 316. For a thorough discussion of Hellenistic donations at Olympia see Bringmann 1995, 101-106, nos. 57-61. The five donations include votive offerings of Ptolemaeus I Soter (Pausanias VI.3.1), Ptolemaeus II Philadelphus (Pausanias VI.12.5; *Olympia* V, no. 308), Ptolemaeus III Euergetes (*Olympia* V, no. 309), Antiochus IV Epiphanes (?) (Pausanias V.12.4), and Nereis and Gelon (*Olympia* V, no. 310). The offerings by Ptolemaeus II Philadelphus, Ptolemaeus III Euergetes, and Nereis and Gelon also have archaeological evidence.

[6] E.g. Pausanias V.25.1; VI.16.2; VI.17.3.

[7] The novel architectural features and forms of this building have been the subject of scholarly interest, but the interior statues were also of an unprecedented nature. Not only were they made of materials normally reserved for the Olympian gods, but they were located within the sacred boundaries of the sanctuary itself. Schultz 2007, 216-221, argues for an Atticizing and retrospective style based on comparanda as well as the Athenian influences on the monument's architecture. He also uses the beddings on the base to support the idea first proposed in 1987 by F. Eckstein that the statues were made of stone, not gold and ivory. In contrast, Krumeich 2007, note 104, suggests that the cuttings on the base "may, in fact, reflect a special technique of constructing chryselephantine statuary."

(338 BCE).[8] This building, commonly referred to as the Philippeion, is located prominently in the northwest corner of the sanctuary, just west of the Temple of Hera and the heroon of Pelops. This was not the first familial statuary group in the Altis, but it was the first time such a commission had been erected by a Hellenistic royal dynast.[9] The sculptural display undoubtedly would have encouraged the ancient viewer to associate these statues of the ruling family with the nearby chryselephantine cult statue of Zeus located within the same sanctuary.[10] A family group of Philip and Alexander on horseback also was set up around this time (338 – 323 BCE).[11] Pausanias (VI.11.1) says that the group stood next to statues of Olympic victors and was erected as an offering by the Eleans. Statues of Seleukos (on horseback) and Antigonos Monopthalmus (on foot) were added later to this ensemble.[12]

Familial statue groups of Hellenistic dynasties continued to appear within the sacred boundaries of the Altis at Olympia after the death of Alexander in 323 BCE. Pausanias (VI.16.3) mentions a group south of the Temple of Zeus that included statues of Demetrius,

[8] Pausanias V.17.4; V.20.9-10. The use of the dative by Pausanias has led to different interpretations regarding the patron of the Philippeion. Some translate it as a dative of agent, so that the building was built *by* Philip, whereas others interpret it as built *for* Philip and assume that Alexander was the patron. The majority of scholars believe that patronage was split between the two men; Philip commissioned the structure, but after his death in 336 BCE, Alexander completed its construction and commissioned the interior portraits. See Löhr 2000, no. 137; Krumeich 2007, note 104; Schultz 2007, 207-210, for bibliography and a summary of scholarship. Schultz argues that the Philippeion should be dated 338-336 BCE. Whoever the patron was, either Philip or Alexander, the important point is that this building set a new precedent for early Hellenistic rulers. Also see *Olympia* II, 128-133; Bringmann 1995, 403-406, no. *329; Kotsidu 2000, 430-432, no. *305; Sinn 2000, 99-100; Scott 2010, 210-214; Kyrieleis 2011, 28-29. For the grammatical formulas of honorary statues in general see Payne 1984, 10-57; Forbis 1996; Ma 2007.

[9] For earlier familial statuary groups see Löhr 2000, nos. 49, 61, 68, 73, 74, 79.

[10] Rose 1997, 4; Krumeich 2007, 169; Kyrieleis 2011, 28-29. Krumeich stresses that despite this connection, the Macedonian statues should be interpreted not as representations of divinities, but rather as votive offerings to Zeus. Also see *Olympia* I, 52-56.

[11] Stewart 1993, 388 (S11); Löhr 2000, no. 140.

[12] The representation of Philip and Alexander together was common in antiquity. Pliny XXXIV.75; 78, tells us of two similar bronze groups of Alexander and Philip, one by Euphranor and another by Chaereas. Pausanias I.9.4, also mentions a group of the two rulers erected by the Athenians in the city's Agora. For more on the Olympian group see *Olympia* I, 155-156; Kotsidu 2000, 121-122, 128, nos. 64-65, 72.

Antigonus Doson III, Philip V, and Ptolemaeus I Soter along with personifications of Elis and Hellas.[13] Elis is described as being in the act of crowning Demetrius and Ptolemaeus while Hellas crowned Antigonus and Philip. Probably near this group, the Byzantines erected statues of Demetrius and his father Antigonus Monopthalmus.[14] A rather conspicuous group featuring two colossal statues of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II was set up in the 270's BCE by Kallikrates of Samos, an Egyptian admiral and priest.[15] These portrait statues likely were made of bronze and were perhaps even gilded. They stood on two separate Ionic columns nearly nine meters tall that shared a common base. The monument was located at the far eastern edge of the sanctuary, just in front of the Doric stoa known as the Echo Hall.[16] As with the Philippeion, this position was likely a conscious attempt to create a visual link between the statues of the Hellenistic rulers and important cultic points within the sanctuary.[17] The portraits of Ptolemy and Arsinoe would have faced the east facades (i.e. the entrances) of the two monumental Doric temples to Hera and Zeus, thereby associating their marriage and earthly rule with those of the Olympian deities. The statues also were raised to a height that was similar to that of the Nike by Paionios, which was

[13] Kotsidu 2000, 125-127, nos. 69-70, with earlier literature.

[14] Pausanias VI.15.7; *Olympia* V, nos. 45; 304-305; Herrmann 1972, 181, note 707; Kotsidu 2000, 122-125, nos. 66-68. Pausanias identifies one statue as Antigonus Gonatas, but scholars assume he was mistaken and that the statue was in fact of Demetrius' father, Antigonus Monopthalmus. The majority of the inscription fragments were found south of the Temple of Zeus.

[15] *Olympia* II, 141-142; Hoepfner 1971, 11-54; Herrmann 1972, 181-182; Rose 1997, 6; Sinn 2000, 101; Hölscher 2002; Krumeich, 2007, 162; Leypold [Forthcoming a]. As with the Macedonian group, Krumeich interprets these statues as a votive offering to the gods, especially Zeus. The date is based on historical context. In the 270's BCE the Ptolemies were the dominant Hellenistic power and ruled the seas, but in 261 BCE, Ptolemy II lost a battle and his naval supremacy to Antigonus Gonatas. For the associated inscriptions see *Olympia* V, nos. 306-307.

[16] Leypold [Forthcoming a], discusses in detail the base foundations in front of the Echo Hall and proves that the area became a major site of honorific display after the stoa was begun ca. 340/330 BCE. The area continued to be an important display site until at least the Augustan period, when construction of the hall was completed.

[17] Rose 1997, 6; Hölscher 2002.

located near the southeast corner of the Temple of Zeus. This victory monument erected to commemorate the Battle of Sphakteria (425 BCE) in which the Messenians and Naupactians defeated the Spartans therefore established a link between Ptolemy and Arsinoe and triumphs of the past.

The remnants of honorific statues in the Hellenistic period are fragmentary, but the bases, inscriptions, and literary accounts that survive suggest that many honorific monuments existed throughout the Altis at this time. Such monuments provided a means to assert loyalty and gratitude in a politically instable period. As the power and influence of Rome grew in the second century BCE and Achaea became a province (146/5 BCE), the panhellenic sanctuary at Olympia became a prominent center of display for honoring Roman officials as well.[18] For example, in 169 BCE the Achaean Federation dedicated an equestrian statue of Quintus Marcius Philippus (consul 176 and 169 BCE), and a few years later (167 BCE) the people of Elis set up a statue of the strategos Gnaeus Octavius.[19] After the Roman general Mummius sacked Corinth (146 BCE), he erected two equestrian statues of himself at Olympia and was honored with a third by the Eleans.[20] Another monument in the south of the Altis included statues of Mummius and ten Roman legates.[21] The consuls Quintus Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus (143 BCE) and Gaius Marius (107, 104 – 100, 86 BCE)

[18] For surviving inscriptions to Roman officials see *Olympia* V, nos. 318-364. Honorific monuments still were set up for Greeks at this time, such as the monument to Polybius (*Olympia* V, no. 302) that probably was erected for his services in the reorganization of Greece under Roman rule. For others see nos. 293-301. For literature on statues for Romans in the East during the Hellenistic period see Payne 1984; Erkelenz 2003; Roedel 2010.

[19] *Olympia* V, no. 318. Also see Siedentopf 1968, 102, no. 47; Payne 1984, 149-150. For the honor to Gnaeus Octavius see Payne 1984, 156-157.

[20] *Olympia* V, nos. 278-281; 319; *Olympia* II, 159-160. Mummius also erected two statues of Zeus in the sanctuary and put twenty-one gilded shields on the east frieze of the Temple of Zeus (Pausanias V.24.4, 8; V.10.5). Also see Siedentopf 1968, 102-103, nos. 48-49; Payne 1984, 165-167.

[21] *Olympia* V, no. 320-324 (fragments of inscriptions). Also see *Olympia* II, 159-160; Payne 1984, 165-167.

likewise were honored with monuments.[22] The Eleans honored another Roman, C. Servilius Vatia, with an equestrian statue in the first half of the first century BCE.[23] Around this same period a statue of Quintus Mucius Scaevola, governor of Asia in 98 – 97 or 94 – 93 BCE, was set up at Olympia.[24] This survey is not exhaustive, yet it is important to note that Sulla's interaction with Olympia and the ensuing civil wars of the first century BCE led to the impoverishment of the sanctuary and of Greece more generally.[25] It is not until the early imperial period that evidence emerges for renovation and a revival of honorific display.

Early Imperial Period (figure 2.3)

In the early imperial period, honorific monuments at Olympia were erected for three main groups: Greeks, the emperor alone, and the emperor and his family.[26] The evidence suggests that monuments for local Greek individuals outnumbered imperial dedications, but the emperor and imperial household nonetheless were well represented throughout the sanctuary.[27]

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[22] *Olympia* V, nos. 325 (Quintus Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus); 326 (Gaius Marius). Also see *Olympia* II, 160; Payne 1984, 160-161; 198-200.

[23] *Olympia* V, no. 329; Siedentopf 1968, 28; Payne 1984, 198. The inscription does not give the man's military title or a specific reason for the dedication.

[24] Payne 1984, 202.

[25] For other honors to Romans at Olympia see Payne 1984, 200, 276, 302, 310-315. Sulla withdrew money, material, and offerings from Olympia in order to pay his troops for his war against Mithridates IV of Pontus and the contemporaneous civil wars in Italy. Sulla also had the Olympic games moved to Rome in 80 BCE (175th Olympiad). Four years later the games returned to Olympia, but had become more of a local event. For overviews of the history of Olympia see *Olympia* I, 16-68; Herrmann 1972, 175-195; Mallwitz 1988.

[26] The dearth of honors for Roman officials is related to administrative and political changes that occurred with the transition from Republic to Empire. See Erkelenz 2003; Roedel 2010. For more on the economy and population of Elis in the imperial period see Zoumbaki 2001, 37-85.

[27] *Olympia* V, nos. 396-492 (Greeks in the Roman period); nos. 365-395 (the emperor and his family). The former group includes inscribed statue bases, plates, and columns; the latter group includes inscribed tiles, architraves, bases, and plates.

Single honors for the emperor and his relations were set up for various reasons. For example, seven fragments of a marble (pavonazetto) inscription found northeast of the Temple of Zeus demonstrate that Agrippa was commemorated for his repairs to the building after it was damaged by natural disasters in the mid-first century BCE.[28] Two monuments for Augustus confirm that the first *princeps* also received honors within the Altis. One of these includes a base discovered in front of the east façade of the Temple of Zeus, west of the base for the Bull of the Eretrians.[29] The Augustan base, dated between 40 and 27 BCE based on the use of the praenomen imperator and the absence of the title of Augustus, was a dedication of the Achaean League.[30] The other monument is attested by a marble tabula.[31] It, too, was found in front of the east façade of the Temple of Zeus, but it cannot be as precisely dated (40 BCE – 14 CE) due to its fragmentary state. In addition to archaeological evidence of honors for Augustus, Pausanias (V.12.7) mentions a statue of Augustus Elektron set up within the Temple of Zeus itself.

Monuments for Tiberius are attested as well. Some time before his adoption by Augustus, Tiberius won a chariot race in the Olympic games.[32] An inscribed base discovered

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[28] *Olympia* V, no. 913; *Olympia* I, 56-59. Also see Vermeule 1968, Appendix C. The gilded bronze letters were set into a new pavement of polychrome marble in the pronaos. For more on this inscription see Spawforth 2012, 163-164. The natural disasters included a lightning strike in 56 BCE and an earthquake ca. 40 BCE. The latter appears to have affected especially the roof, which was given new lion-head waterspouts and roof tiles. The original tiles were re-used from 36 BCE until 265 CE for inscriptions detailing cult personnel. For a chronology of renovations to the temple see Younger and Rehak 2009. Other repairs in the mid-first century BCE were undertaken on the Echo Hall, the stadium, and the Metroon. See Herrmann 1972, 183-184; Mallwitz 1988, 26-27; Zoumbaki 2001, 166-172.

[29] On the dedication of the Eretrians see Pausanias V.27.9; *Olympia* V, no. 248. The date and occasion of the dedication is unknown, but the early fifth century BCE has been suggested.

[30] *Olympia* V, no. 367; Vermeule 1968, Appendix C; Zoumbaki 2001, 166-172; Boschung 2002, no. 33.9; Højte 2005, 253, Augustus 147.

[31] *Olympia* V, no. 368; Højte 2005, 253, Augustus 148.

[32] Tiberius did not directly participate in the games as Nero would do later. Rather, professional charioteers performed in the games and then their owners were given the title of victor. The date of the monument is

to the east of the Temple of Zeus and south of the Bull of the Eretrians is associated with this victory.[33] Cuttings on the top indicate that the base supported an equestrian statue and the inscription confirms that the monument was dedicated by Tiberius Claudius Apollonios, a man who set up another monument at Olympia in honor of Tiberius as patron and benefactor (see below).[34] Later in 17 CE, Germanicus participated in the 199th Olympiad and was honored with a monument by Antony Pisanus for his victory in the chariot race.[35] The base was discovered to the east of the Temple of Zeus and north of the base of the Eretrian monument. Two other bases for Tiberius are preserved, one of which was discovered in the east Byzantine wall.[36] It dates to before Augustus' adoption of Tiberius in 4 CE and was dedicated by the city of Elis. The other base again dates to before Tiberius' adoption and was dedicated by the city. It was found to the east of the Temple of Zeus and from the base it can be inferred that the monument included an equestrian statue.[37] The specific occasion for these honors is not known, but it is apparent that Tiberius continued the positive relations Augustus had established with Olympia by promoting and participating in the Olympic games as well as by serving as a patron and benefactor of the Eleans.

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uncertain, but it must date before Tiberius' adoption in 4 CE on the basis of the inscription. The 190th Olympiad would be the earliest possible date (20 BCE), but most scholars favor either the 194th Olympiad (4 BCE) or the 195th (1 CE).

[33] *Olympia* V, no. 220; *Olympia* I, 60; Trummer 1980, 167; Mallwitz 1988, 27; Zoumbaki 2001, 166-172; Boschung 2002, no. 33.11; Højte 2005, 279, Tiberius 99.

[34] For more on the dedicator see *Olympia* V, no. 424; Rose 1997, 146, no. 78, who speculates that the name of this dedicator may suggest that he received Roman citizenship from Tiberius. Also see Zoumbaki 2001, 166-172.

[35] *Olympia* V, no. 221; *Olympia* I, 60; Zoumbaki 2001, 166-172; Boschung 2002, no. 33.13. On the dedicator see *Olympia* V, nos. 223, 426.

[36] *Olympia* V, no. 370; Vermeule 1968, Appendix C; Højte 2005, 279, Tiberius 100.

[37] *Olympia* V, no. 371; Siedentopf 1968, 105-106, no. 54; Vermeule 1968, Appendix C; Boschung 2002, no. 33.12; Højte 2005, 279-280, Tiberius 101.

Less material survives from the reign of Caligula, but the evidence suggests that relations with Achaea were still strong at the time of the new emperor's accession. An inscription describes the enthusiastic support of Caligula's reign shortly after his assumption of power by numerous groups including the League of the Achaeans, Boeotians, Locrians, Euboeans, and Phocians.[38] These groups came together for a festival in Caligula's honor and voted that statues be set up of the new emperor. The emperor's response likewise survives and indicates that in Greece Caligula only allowed portraits to be erected at the panhellenic sanctuaries of Olympia, Nemea, Delphi, and Isthmia.[39] The only other image of Caligula for which evidence exists is known from literary sources.[40] Ancient authors write that Caligula planned to remove the portrait of Zeus from the cult statue at Olympia and have it replaced with his own likeness. The head of Zeus was to be sent to Rome, but a number of strange incidents prevented the transfer.[41]

From the Claudian period not much evidence of honorary monuments exists. The only surviving inscription from this period is on a marble base found to the southeast of the Temple of Zeus.[42] The fragmentary text honors Nero as *princeps iuventutis* and names the dedicator as [Γ] ’Ιούλιος Σώστρα[τος] Φιλοκαῖσα[ρ].[43] The monument thus dates after Claudius' adoption of Nero in 50 CE and before Nero's accession in 54 CE.

[38] *IG* 7.2711, lines 21-43; Oliver 1989, 69-77, no. 18; Rose 1997, 32.

[39] No evidence of these statues survives today.

[40] Suetonius *Caligula* 22.2; Cassius Dio LIX.28.3-4.

[41] Suetonius *Caligula* 57.1; Cassius Dio LIX.28.3-4.

[42] *Olympia* V, no. 373; *Olympia* II, 159; Vermeule 1968, Appendix C; Boschung 2002, no. 33.15; Højte 2005, 324, Nero 33.

[43] For more on the dedicator see *Olympia* V, no. 470.

Monuments for Nero continue to be erected at Olympia once he assumed power in 54 CE. Fragments of an inscribed base from a late wall and the Southeast Hall have been associated with Nero and dated to 57 CE.[44] Other fragments from the Byzantine tower in the east wall offer a second example of an honorific monument for Nero during his third consulship (58/59 CE).[45] Like his predecessors, Nero also participated in the Olympic games, of 67 CE, but unlike Tiberius and Germanicus, Nero was involved directly in the chariot race, even falling out of the chariot at one point.[46] Moreover, architectural projects undertaken for Nero's visit transformed the Altis. At the eastern end of the sanctuary a structure, the so-called Southeast Building, was renovated and converted into a residence for the emperor and his retinue.[47] The Altis wall, which also was renewed at this time, was considerably expanded to the south of the sanctuary.[48] A Roman honorary arch at the eastern end of this wall has been dated to the time of Nero, although its foundations may date earlier.[49] These preparations did not go unrewarded. Before his departure, Nero granted Achaea freedom, tax exemptions, Roman citizenship (to the judges), and a large amount of

[44] *Olympia* V, no. 374; Højte 2005, 324, Nero 34.

[45] *Olympia* V, no. 375; *Olympia* II, 159; Vermeule 1968, Appendix C; Højte 2005, 324, Nero 35.

[46] Suetonius *Nero*, 24.2. Nero also introduced musical and dramatic competition as part of the Olympic games, and participated in these himself. See Suetonius *Nero* 23.1. Nero also had the 211th Olympiad postponed by two years (it originally was to be held in 65 CE) so that he could participate and have time to prepare.

[47] The Neronian date is confirmed by a Latin inscription on a water pipe that leads into a basin of the building. See *Olympia* V, no. 915, figure 33. Nonetheless, the Southeast Building is highly problematic and much debated in the literature. For a brief discussion of its excavation history, location, description, dating, and identification see Leypold 2008, 110-114. Sinn 2004, 115, 238, argues that after the Prytaneion had been moved from this structure to the northwest part of the sanctuary in the middle of the fourth century BCE, the building served as the official residence of priests and judges. Also see *Olympia* II, 73-76; *Olympia* I, 60-61; Herrmann 1972, 185; Mallwitz 1988, 27; Sinn 1999, 14-18; 2000, 111-118.

[48] *Olympia* I, 70-71; *Olympia* II, 61-62; Herrmann 1972, 185; Mallwitz 1988, 27.

[49] *Olympia* I, 70-71; *Olympia* II, 61-62; Herrmann 1972, 185; Mallwitz 1988, 27. Mallwitz discusses the possibility that the substructure, which is comprised almost exclusively of bases from other monuments, dates to the time of Sulla.

money.[50] Nero is also known to have placed offerings within the Temple of Zeus; yet, at the same time, Nero destroyed or removed treasures from the Olympian sanctuary.[51]

Sculptural remains may provide additional evidence of Neronian honorific monuments. A diademed female head from the Palaestra, identified by R. Bol as the head of Claudia Octavia, the first wife of Nero, has been interpreted as part of the original sculptural installation within the Metroon (see below).[52] Yet scholars convincingly have questioned Bol's reasoning, so that both the association of the head with the Metroon and the identification as Claudia Octavia are tenuous.[53] One of the female statues found in the vicinity of the Heraion has been interpreted as an image of the second wife of Nero, Poppaea Sabina.[54] Yet scholars again question this assumption, arguing that the female group of which it is a part probably represented Elean priestesses of Hera.[55]

In addition to individual honors, familial statue groups were erected at Olympia during the early imperial period. One such monument is attested by fragments of an inscribed base, which probably was located originally to the east of the Temple of Zeus.[56] Two phases have been proposed for the monument based on the inscriptions. The main

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[50] Suetonius *Nero* 24.2; *Olympia* I, 60; Hitzl 1991, 106-114.

[51] Pausanias V.12.8 (offerings);); V.25.8 (removal); V.26.3 (removal); Suetonius *Nero* 24.1 (destruction). Also see *Olympia* V, no. 163 on a work possibly robbed by Nero.

[52] Bol 1986; 1988.

[53] Hitzl 1991, 117-19, Appendix I; Rose 1997, 149.

[54] Treu 1897, 259-260, suggests that a statue of Nero stood next to the woman. Also see Trummer 1980, 172.

[55] Herrmann 1972, 184, note 739; Gauer 1980, 209, no. 149. Rose 1997, 148, note 27, thinks that this statue, along with the four other women, represented a group of priestesses. The identification of the statue as Poppaea Sabina is also problematic since according to the catalogue in Alexandridis 2004, no extant statue can be identified safely as Poppaea Sabina.

[56] *Olympia* V, no. 369; Vermeule 1968, Appendix C; Rose 1997, 146, no. 78; Boschung 2002, no. 33.10; Højte 2005, 280, Tiberius 102.

inscription, which refers to the statues of the two stepsons of Augustus, Tiberius and Drusus I, must date to before Drusus' death in 9 BCE.[57] Below this text is a dedication to Drusus II; this appears to be a later addition due to its positioning and the different form of the letters.[58] The dedicator of the monument was Tiberius Claudius Apollonios, the same man who dedicated the equestrian statue of Tiberius mentioned above. Another dynastic group in the Altis honored Germanicus and Drusus II, the adopted and biological sons of Tiberius, with statues, which were possibly set in a quadriga.[59] The monument's location is unknown, but it certainly dates after the adoption of Germanicus by Tiberius in 4 CE and before the death of Germanicus in 19 CE.[60] The people of Elis and the boule of Olympia set up the dedication.

Flavian Period

Honorific monuments continue to be dedicated to the Flavian emperors, although the surviving evidence is much sparser than in the Julio-Claudian period. Fragments of a plaque honoring Vespasian, discovered in the cella of the Heraion, were identified as coming from a statue base.[61] Neither a precise date within Vespasian's reign nor the dedicator can be

[57] The date is based on the fact that the posthumous title "Germanicus" is missing for Drusus I. This is the only known example of an honor for Drusus from Olympia, but for examples from other sites in the East see Rose 1997, 146, note 2; 153-154, no. 87. No cuttings are preserved on the Olympia base to indicate the medium of the statues, but Rose believes they were of bronze since most statues set up in the Altis were of this material.

[58] Rose 1997, 146, proposes a date shortly after Drusus II's birth in 13 BCE and thinks that the statue of him was probably not very large. He suggests an arrangement of Tiberius in the center, Drusus I at the right, and Drusus II to the left of his father.

[59] *Olympia* V, no. 372; Vermeule 1968, Appendix C; Rose 1997, 146-147, no. 79; Zoumbaki 2001, 166-172; Boschung 2002, no. 33.14.

[60] A date after 4 CE is secured because the title of Caesar has been added to both names. It is unclear if the monument is Augustan or Tiberian, however, since the titles of Tiberius are not given. Rose 1997, 146-147, proposes 17 CE and sees the monument as related to Germanicus' participation in the Olympic games in that year. Dittenberger and Purgold 1896 (*Olympia* V), 483-484, as well as Vermeule 1968, Appendix C, propose 14-19 CE.

determined from the preserved material. A fragment of a marble base for Domitian survives,[62] but the original location is uncertain since the base came from a lime kiln. A portrait of Domitian also was recovered at Olympia, but apparently it was re-cut after the emperor's death into an image of Trajan. Two fragments of a recarved head from near the Temple of Zeus have been identified as a variant of Trajan's *Opferbildtypus*, but the head clearly shows vestiges of a Domitianic hairstyle.[63] The original context of the Domitianic portrait is unknown, but it provides evidence that statues of Domitian were set up within the Altis and that these likely do not survive in large numbers due to subsequent reworking. This phenomenon also is attested by the discovery of three honorific inscriptions for Domitian re-used in the walls of the building identified as the clubhouse of the athletic guild.[64]

In terms of dynastic group monuments, the Flavian period is characterized by a paucity of evidence.[65] Vermeule explains the minimal material from Olympia as "not only because the Flavian Olympians were not rich but also because the Altis was overcrowded with older monuments and there was little room for new statues until Herodes Atticus built his nymphaeum-exedra in the middle of the following century."[66] The situation certainly was more complicated than this, however, and room must have been made to accommodate

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[61] *Olympia* V, no. 376; Vermeule 1968, Appendix C. On the identification as a statue base see Daltrop, Hausmann, and Wegner 1966, 77.

[62] *Olympia* V, no. 377; Vermeule 1968, Appendix C; Højte 2005, 358, Domitian 31.

[63] Olympia Museum Inv. Λ 129; Varner 2004, 267, no. 5.22.

[64] Flower 2000, 60, note 19; Flower 2001, 627, note 12; Zoumbaki 2001, 166-172; Varner 2004, 132, note 185. The identification of this building is much debated, but it is not immediately relevant to the present investigation. See Sinn 2004, 240-242.

[65] Vermeule 1968, 236. The missing evidence for the Flavian period also is discussed by Alexandridis 2010b, and is supported by the catalogues in Højte 2005, and Deppmeyer 2008.

[66] Vermeule 1968, 236. One must wonder, then, how Vermeule explains the many Julio-Claudian monuments since even in the early imperial period the Altis was crowded with Hellenistic statues.

imperial honors. Instead, the dearth of Flavian dynastic sculpture probably relates to imperial ideology and general honorific practices. A study by Alexandridis demonstrates that under the Flavian emperors, the evidence shows that honorary dynastic statues were much less prevalent in comparison to the Julio-Claudians.[67] Alexandridis argues that this paucity of material is due to biographical reasons since none of the Flavian emperors came to power with a living wife or sister. Moreover, she connects the lack of Flavian female portrait sculpture to socio-political factors, namely that the Julio-Claudians attempted to maintain the appearance of a Republican *gens* to promote traditional values and ideals, whereas the Flavians did not have the same kind of distinguished lineage and therefore could not present themselves in such a light.[68] Instead of honorary statues, Flavian women appear to have been honored with images on coins beginning with the reign of Titus. Julio-Claudian empresses occasionally were represented on coin issues, but the Flavians were the first to disseminate systematically the image of imperial women through coinage.[69] Yet even these representations first appear only under Titus; Vespasian followed the tradition set by Augustus in omitting images of female family members from his coinage.

[67] Alexandridis 2010b.

[68] It is interesting to note that the armored statues of Vespasian and Titus from the Metroon at Olympia (see below) are shown wearing *calcei patricii*, which were not the normal footwear for military depictions. This type of footwear instead was worn with the Roman toga and civic costume. See Goette, 1988, 452-464; Hitzl 1991, 61; Boschung 2002, 100-105.

[69] Coins depicting Agrippina the Elder and Younger are known, but these usually show the women along with an image or legend of the current emperor.

The Metroon

Historical Background

The first focus group at Olympia comes from the Metroon, a temple that has been identified based on correspondences between the testimony of Pausanias (V.20.9) and topographical and archaeological evidence.[70] The Metroon is located in the northern part of the Altis, immediately south of the terrace of treasuries and between the Heraion and stadium (figure 2.2). It is a modest peripteral temple in the Doric order with an opisthodomos and pronaos, both distyle in antis, and an inner cella (figure 2.4).[71] The orientation of the Roman temple is debated, but the majority argues for a westward orientation on the basis of several criteria, including votive offerings discovered in front of the west end of the temple, the location of an altar six meters to the west of the Metroon, the fact that the western porch is 0.4 meters deeper than the eastern porch, and that other temples to chthonic deities, including those to the Great Mother, typically have westward orientations.[72]

In addition to the orientation of the Roman temple, the original date of the Greek temple also is controversial, with some scholars advocating a date in the late fifth century BCE and others a date in the late fourth century BCE.[73] The Greek temple was destroyed in the middle of the third century CE, when the upper portions of the building were dismantled

[70] The building was identified by excavators in 1878. See Dörpfeld 1892, 37-40; Hitzl 1991, 1-3.

[71] Hitzl 1991, 4-8, figures 1, 5. The dimensions of the euthynteria are 11.88 x 21.93 m; of the stylobate 10.62 x 20.67 m; of the naos 13.80 x 6.30 m. There were six columns across the short sides, eleven on the flanks. For more on the architecture of the building see Dörpfeld 1892, 37-40.

[72] Dörpfeld 1892, 37-40, initially argued for a temple that faced east, but Stone 1985, 377, note 2, Hitzl 1991, 4-8, and Rose 1997, 147-149, convincingly argue for an entrance on the west side. On the altar see Pausanias V.14.9; also no altar has been found to the east of the Metroon.

[73] For a review of the debate see Stone 1985, 377, note 2; Hitzl 1991, 4-8. Dörpfeld 1892, 37-40, initially argued for the first half of the fourth century BCE. On the basis of historical probability, Hitzl argues for a date at the end of the fifth century BCE. Cf. Mallwitz 1988 (fourth century BCE); Rose 1997, 147-149 (ca. 320 BCE); Boschung 2002, 100-105 (early fourth century BCE).

and used in the construction of a fortress wall in order to protect the sanctuary from invading Germanic tribes.[74] Between its construction and destruction, the Metroon suffered an earthquake in the mid-first century BCE (ca. 40 BCE). This event damaged the temple to such a degree that extensive restoration was required, which typically is attributed to Marcus Agrippa in the Augustan period (see above).[75]

An inscribed limestone block associated with the Metroon may indicate a change in the temple's function in the early imperial period (figure 2.5). The association is based on several factors: the find spot of the block in the eastern Herulian wall in front of the Temple of Zeus, where other pieces of the Metroon were discovered; its material, namely limestone covered in stucco, which is similar to other architectural blocks from the Metroon; its size (length, height, and thickness), and the use of T-clamps, both of which again correspond to architrave material from the Metroon.[76] This convincing association is supported by the majority of scholars, including K. Hitzl, who provides the most thorough and extensive discussion of the block.[77]

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[74] Dörpfeld 1892, 37-40; Herrmann 1972, 193-195; Mallwitz 1988, 41-43; Hitzl 1991, 4-8. Blocks of the temple were found in the northern and eastern fortification walls. The Germanic tribes never actually invaded Olympia, thereby rendering the precautions unnecessary.

[75] Mallwitz 1988, 26. The attribution is based on a fragmentary building inscription that was composed of large Latin bronze letters (0.15 H x 0.19 W m) embedded in a pavement of polychromatic marble (*Olympia* V, no. 913). The extant material preserves the initial 'M' and part of the name [Ag]rippa, but the inscription probably continued onto an adjacent stone that no longer survives. See Spawforth 2012, 163. Scholars assume that the inscription honors Agrippa as the renovator of the Temple of Zeus in the mid-first century BCE (ca. 40 BCE). Spawforth 2012, 163, argues that some repairs may have occurred later in the first century BCE. Scholars also suggest that Agrippa was responsible for the concurrent Metroon renovations. See Boschung 2002, 100-105.

[76] The block measures 1.40 L x 0.625 H x 0.25-0.29 W m (height of letters not given). It was covered with stucco, in which the inscription was incised and which was the same material as that used by the Roman architects to coat all visible parts of the temple after it was restored in the Augustan period. See Dörpfeld 1892, 37-40. I would like to thank Drs. Kenneth Sams and William West of the Classics Department at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill for their insights and helpful discussions regarding the block.

[77] Hitzl 1991, 19-24. Others who support the association include Herrmann 1972, 184; Gauer 1980, 203; Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 36; Stone 1985, 379-381; Queyrel 1991; Zoumbaki 2001, 166-172; Boschung 2002, 100-105; Kantiréa 2007; Deppmeyer 2008, 39-44; Bol and Bol 2011; Spawforth 2012, 222-223.

A. Benjamin and A.E. Raubitschek, however, question this traditional identification based on the formula of the inscription. The authors argue that the block instead comes from an altar because the emperor's name is in the genitive, which compares to other known altars, and which contrasts with honorific dedications that give the name in the accusative or dative.[78] In addition to the formula of the text, Rose notes that the appearance, quality, and format of the inscription differ from other architrave dedicatory inscriptions.[79] He therefore sees the block as a separate dedication to Augustus. The questions raised by scholars concerning the association of the inscribed block with the Metroon are valid, but they typically are secondary to the authors' main topic and are not supported by the archaeological evidence. I therefore support the views of the original excavators and Hitzl, the scholar who has dealt with the Metroon material in the most depth, all of whom argue that the block occupied the central position on the temple's western architrave, over the main entrance.

[78] Benjamin and Raubitschek 1959, 69, no. 18. Later supported by Trummer 1980, 32; Kreikenbom 1992, 158-159. 311-344. For the grammar of honorific inscriptions see Payne 1984, 10-57; Forbis 1996; Ma 2007. Also see Thompson 1966, 180-187, for what may be a comparable case in the Athenian Agora. In the Augustan period, a small annex was added to the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, probably to house the imperial cult. Statues were displayed inside the annex and an altar was erected concurrently in front of the stoa. Perhaps a similar situation occurred at Olympia, where an older structure was converted in the Augustan period into a site of imperial worship through the addition of interior statue(s) and an altar outside. Nonetheless, one regula is preserved on the Metroon block, which suggests a Doric entablature, and I have been unable to find any clear comparanda for the block among Doric altars. See Yavis 1949.

[79] Rose 1997, 147-149, note 3: "This block, however, bears no relationship to the traditional appearance of an architrave. The letters have also been rather carelessly rendered, and the entire inscription consists of four lines oriented vertically, which is not the common format for an architrave inscription. There is no reason why one should not regard this as another dedication to Augustus." I have found no other extant architrave building inscription from Olympia with four lines of text, so this might lend support to Rose's point. Moreover, another architrave block from Olympia (*Olympia* V, no. 653) that dates to the Roman period and has a building inscription preserved (one line) differs from the Metroon block in that the letters appear to be more regular in height and arrangement and are thicker, deeper, and spaced farther apart (no precise measurements are given by the authors). These differences are also apparent when one compares the Metroon block with imperial building inscriptions from Corinth. See West 1931, nos. 120-137; Kent 1966, nos. 311-344. The closest parallel to the Olympia block I have found is an inscription from a marble lintel at Patras, but even this example differs from the block at Olympia in its date (second or third century CE) and size (0.53 L x 0.215 H x 0.30 W m). See Rizakis 1998, 267, no. 277. The Olympia inscription therefore emerges as an oddity in the realm of early imperial epigraphy.

The inscription is incomplete, but enough remains to propose a reconstruction of the text (figure 2.6). The reconstruction provided in the original publication reads:[80]

'Ηλῆοι θ[εοῦ] υἱοῦ Καί[σαρος] / Σεβαστοῦ Σωτ[ῆρος τῶν 'Ελ] / λήν[ω]ν [τ]ε καὶ [τῆς οἰκου/μέ]ν[ης] πά[σ]η[ς...]

A more recent reexamination of the inscription by Hitzl attempts to supplement the missing portions of the text (figure 2.7). The author provides the following translation:

> The Eleans [erected and/or dedicated] the [temple] to
> The Son of the God, Caesar Augustus, the rescuer
> Of the Hellenes and of the whole inhabited earth.[81]

Since it was first published, the inscription has been associated with Augustus and the Augustan renovations of the Metroon.[82] Scholars thus interpret the inscription as evidence that the Eleans renovated the temple and re-dedicated it, along with a colossal statue of Augustus (see below), as a site of the imperial cult.[83] A passage by Pausanias (V. 20.9), which describes how the Metroon did not house an image of the Mother of the Gods, but statues of Roman emperors, further supports this interpretation.[84] The architrave inscription

[80] *Olympia* V, no. 366.

[81] Hitzl 1991, 23. Earlier translations are provided by Hermann 1972, 184; Stone 1985, 379-381. Hitzl argues for two corrections to the reconstruction provided by Dittenberger and Purgold in *Olympia* V. First, he believes the article των should be omitted in order to have the first two lines agree in length; and second, he supplements the word NAON as the last word in line four based on his belief that the Eleans were dedicating the newly renovated Metroon to Augustus. He is supported by Queyrel 1991, 282-283. Moreover, the block is broken into three pieces, with the right portion of the inscription missing. Dittengerger and Purgold argue that the block extended an additional 0.35 m to the right. Hitzl believes that the block should actually be extended further to the right since the left side has a margin of 0.35 m and one must assume that the inscription was centered in the middle of the block.

[82] *Olympia* V, no. 366; Hitzl 1991, 19-24.

[83] For the motivation behind the involvement of the Eleans see Hitzl 1991, 106-108, who argues that their dedication could have been simply to improve the reputation and economy of the sanctuary. Elsewhere Hitzl 1991, 107-108, proposes the possibility of two different donors. In this scenario, the Eleans renovated the Metroon with their modest finances while a member of the imperial family or another wealthy patron financed the colossal cult statue.

[84] No further information is given by Pausanias so it remains unclear as to how, when, and why the original cult statue was removed. Stone 1985, 381, 387, dates the displacement of the Mother of the Gods in the second half of the first century CE based on his belief that the cult statue was removed by Nero during his visit to Olympia

is dated after 27 BCE since the inscription refers to the first emperor as Σεβαστός, which was a Greek synonym for Augustus. Moreover, it must date to within Augustus' lifetime (i.e. before 14 CE) since there is no reference to the emperor's divinization.[85]

The theory that the imperial cult was introduced into the Metroon in the Augustan age remains problematic, however, in part because the issue of an imperial cult in Greece during the Augustan period has been much discussed.[86] Additionally, Pausanias does not indicate which emperors were represented, so it is not certain when the earliest statue was installed.[87] The ancient author also does not specifically identify the building as a site of imperial worship,[88] and there are other statues of Roman emperors erected within a temple that did not

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in 68 CE. See Stone 1985, 387, notes 56 and 57, for the ancient literary sources that mention Nero's looting of Greek sanctuaries. Dähn 1973, 82, no. 37-38, places the conversion of the Metroon in the reign of Claudius based on his dating of the statues of Augustus and Claudius to this period. Trummer 1980, 32, dates the inception of the imperial cult to the Flavian period, when Vespasian celebrated the restoration of the cult of Claudius that Nero had abolished.

[85] Hitzl 1991, 19-24. The author further states: "Die allgemeine politische Situation in Griechenland sowie die noch zu besprechende Rekonstruktion der Kolossalstatue sprächen aber eher für die Jahre nach Actium." Hitzl is supported by Boschung 2002, 100-105. Stone 1985, 379-381, dates the inception of the cult to the reign of Tiberius at the earliest since he claims that no evidence exists for a cult dedicated solely to Augustus in the provinces during his lifetime. The author does not, however, explain what the evidence is for the reign of Tiberius. Hitzl 1991, 24, note 219, 106-107, refutes Stone's argument because he fails to differentiate provincial and municipal imperial cults. Since the seat of the governor of the province of Achaea was in Corinth, only there would a provincial imperial cult dedicated to both Augustus and Roma be required.

[86] Magie 1950, 470-471; Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 13-21, 80-87, 129, note 5; Hitzl 1991, 107, notes 624-625; Kreikenbom 1992, 159, note 4; Spawforth 2012, 82-86. An example of the worship of Augustus during his lifetime includes the monopteros on the Athenian Acropolis dedicated to Augustus and Roma between 27 and 18 BCE. The interior contents of the temple are not known; Thakur 2007, 111-112, believes the structure housed bronze cult statues of Augustus and Roma. For a general discussion of the ambiguity of the emperor's divinity during his lifetime see Price 1984, 234-248; Clauss 1999; Peppel 2003. Cf. Spawforth 2012, 83-84, who argues that "there is no shortage of evidence for Athenian notables welcoming the Augustan regime and taking the lead in embracing the imperial cult as a public expression of their loyalty to Augustus and his house." See Schmalz 2009, 364, for the epigraphic evidence supporting Spawforth's assertion.

[87] It is important to note that Pausanias does not mention any statues of women in the Metroon.

[88] If the Metroon did serve as a site of imperial worship, it would be a rare example of a reference to an imperial cult facility by Pausanias. Hitzl 1991, 119-122, Appendix II, compiles all known references to such cultic buildings by Pausanias; including the Metroon, the total is ten. These cults, three of which date to the time of Augustus, typically occur in older, sacred buildings, which may support the view that the Metroon served as a site of imperial worship in the Augustan period and in later dynasties as well.

necessarily have cultic functions.[89] Nonetheless, later comparanda are known,[90] and while there are statues set up in temples that do not have cultic significance, H.G. Niemeyer has demonstrated that in most temples in which imperial statues are found, the building served as a site for the imperial cult.[91]

Associated Sculpture

G. Treu first excavated the Metroon between 1878 and 1879.[92] The sculptural findings were published later in 1897.[93] Fragments of five different statues were found in the foundations of the temple itself (figure 2.8), including the torso of a colossal headless statue in Zeus type (figure 2.9),[94] a statue of Claudius in the guise of Zeus,[95] a portrait statue of

[89] At Olympia itself, Pausanias mentions statues of Hadrian and Trajan in the Temple of Zeus (V.12.6-7) and imperial statues in the Treasury of Cyrene (VI.19.10). Also see Hitzl 1991, 105.

[90] See Hitzl 2003, who discusses a Late Classical treasury house from the sanctuary of Apollo at Cyrene that was converted into a site of imperial worship for Tiberius during his lifetime. Sculptural fragments from the building suggest that a statue of Tiberius stood inside. The cult was maintained until at least the fourth century CE.

[91] Niemeyer 1968, 30, argues that this is true as early as the Augustan period. Thus Hitzl 1991, 105, claims there is no reason to doubt that the Metroon was renovated for the cult of Augustus and that the later imperial statues also had cultic significance. For more on the imperial cult in the East in general see Harter-Uibopuu 2003, who looks at the impact of the cult on the koina of Greece; Kantiréa 2007, who focuses on imperial worship specifically in the province of Achaea from the time of Augustus through the Flavian period; and Price 1984, and Witulski 2007, who discuss the imperial cult in Asia Minor. Fishwick's 2002 study of the ruler cult is also informative, although it focuses on the Western provinces. Similarly, Gradel's 2002 study explores emperor worship in Italy.

[92] For a general history of the German excavations at Olympia see Kyrieleis 2011, 14-18.

[93] Treu 1897, 232-235; 243-248; 255-258.

[94] Olympia Museum Λ 110α-λ. The estimated total height is given by Treu 1897, 234. Also see Niemeyer 1968, 108, no. 97; Dähn 1973, 82, no. 37; Maderna 1988, 161-162, JS5; Hitzl 1991, 34-38, no. 1; Kreikenbom 1992, 158-159, III.7; Rose 1997, 147-149, no. 80; Boschung 2002, 100-105, no. 33.1; Deppmeyer 2008, 39-44, no. 12.

[95] Olympia Museum Λ 125. See Stuart 1938, 76, no. 31; Niemeyer 1968, 107, no. 96; Dähn 1973, 82, no. 38; Gauer 1980, 205, no. 143; Hertel 1982, 284-285, no. 152; Maderna 1988, 158-160, JS3; Hitzl 1991, 38-43, no. 2; Rose 1997, 147-149, no. 80; Boschung 2002, 100-105, no. 33.2; Deppmeyer 2008, 39-44, no. 12. This statue also carries the signatures of two artists, Philathenaios and Hegias, on the strut. See *Olympia* V, no. 642; Treu 1897, 244. On repairs to this statue in antiquity see Hitzl 1991, 122-123, Appendix III.

Titus (figure 2.10),[96] a headless female statue,[97] and a fragment of a kneeling barbarian. The latter was connected subsequently to a headless armored statue discovered to the south of the bases of Zanes in 1879.[98] The find spots of the statues were relatively close to one another; the colossal statue was found at the southern edge of the stylobate, near the statues of Claudius and Titus.[99] The kneeling barbarian and female statue were discovered in the cella.[100]

Among these five statues, three have been identified securely. The colossal, standing statue was discovered in 1878 and initially identified by the excavators as *Divus Augustus* on the basis of its size and divine pose; no one has challenged this interpretation.[101] Also in 1878, the statues of Claudius and Titus were found in the south foundation walls of the Metroon. Later, in 1879, portrait fragments of Claudius and Titus were discovered only a few meters apart behind the Echo Hall, approximately sixty meters to the east of the Metroon. These pieces, which joined the headless torsos from the Metroon, allowed two

[96] Olympia Museum Λ 126. See Daltrop, Hausmann, and Wegner 1966, 90; Niemeyer 1968, 94, no. 43; Stemmer 1978, 33, III.5; Gauer 1980, 206-207, no. 145; Hitzl 1991, 46-52, no. 4; Boschung 2002, 100-105, no. 33.2; Varner 2004, 247, no. 2.37; Deppmeyer 2008, 39-44, no. 12.

[97] Berlin Staatliche Museen, Pergamonmuseum SK 1400. See Hitzl 1991, 49-52, no. 5; Scholz 1992, 44; Mikocki 1995, 189-190, no. 265; Filges 1997, 13-31, 241, no. 1; Boschung 2002, 100-105, no. 33.7; Alexandridis 2004, 176-177, no. 160; Deppmeyer 2008, 39-44, no. 12.

[98] Olympia Museum Λ 127. See Daltrop, Hausmann, and Wegner 1966, 103-104; Niemeyer 1968, 94, no. 42; Stemmer 1978, 33, III.4; Hitzl 1991, 52-55, no. 6; Boschung 2002, 100-105, no. 33.4; Deppmeyer 2008, 39-44, no. 12.

[99] On the find spots of the statues see Hitzl 1991, 25-29.

[100] All the statues are in the Olympia Museum except for the headless female statue, which is in Berlin. See Treu 1897, 232-235; 243-248; 255-258; Stone 1985, 378, note 7.

[101] Treu 1897, 243-244. The possibility that it had been a representation of Zeus usually is excluded by the testimony of Pausanias (V.20.9; V.25.1). Other fragments of the statue were found a year later in various locations, allowing for almost a complete reconstruction except for the missing head.

more statues to be identified securely.[102] The remaining two statues of a female and an armored male remain unidentifiable based on present evidence.

Two additional female statues found some distance from the Metroon have been associated with the other sculptures on the basis of material, size, style, technique, and because they seemed to be appropriate sculptural "pendants" for the male figures.[103] These include a statue identified as Agrippina the Younger[104] (figure 2.11) and a headless female statue.[105] The former was discovered in 1877 built into a rubble wall immediately in front of the Heraion, about forty-five meters west of the Metroon.[106] Her identity as Agrippina the Younger, the daughter of Germanicus, wife of Claudius, and mother of Nero, is based primarily on the hairstyle, which consists of a central part and three parallel rows of spiral curls across the forehead and temples.[107] The other figure, whose identity remains controversial, was found about eight meters from the southeast corner of the Metroon in

[102] Treu 1879, 248; Hitzl 1991, 25-26. On the identification of Claudius see Stuart 1938, 76, no. 31; Fittschen 1977, 56, no. 19; of Titus see Daltrop, Hausmann, Wegner 1966, 90.

[103] Rose 1997, 147-149, is the only one to disassociate the two female statues from the Metroon and to identify the headless female statue in Berlin as Agrippina the Younger. Stone 1985, 378, acknowledges the distance of the Agrippina statue from the Metroon, but according to him, similarities in style and iconography with the Metroon sculpture means that "its place in the cella cannot be doubted." Hitzl 1991, 27, reiterates the sentiments of Stone: "Alle sieben Statuen gehörten folglich zur Ausstattung des Metroon." The find spots of the bases and statues of the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus (see below) are also quite spread out, which confirms that sculpture from the Altis is not always found near its original location.

[104] Olympia Museum Λ 143. See Gauer 1980, 205-206, no. 144; Hitzl 1991, 43-46, no. 3; Rose 1997, 147-149, no. 80; Boschung 2002, 100-105, no. 33.4; Alexandridis 2004, 161-162, no. 111; Deppmeyer 2008, 39-44, no. 12. The statue is signed by an Athenian artist, Dionysus the son of Apollonios. See *Olympia* V, no. 646; Treu 1897, 256.

[105] Olympia Museum Λ 142. See Hitzl 1991, 55-56, no. 7; Mikocki 1995, 189-190, no. 265; Boschung 2002, 100-105, no. 33.6; Alexandridis 2004, 177, no. 161; Deppmeyer 2008, 39-44, no. 12.

[106] Treu 1897, 256-257. Also see Hitzl 1991, 25-29. The head was found later in 1878 in the same wall. The plinth was found in 1879 in a Byzantine wall; the arms are lost.

[107] Treu 1897, 256-259; Schmidt 1967, 67; Gauer 1980, 205-206; Trummer 1980, 170; Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 7, no. 5; Stone 1985, 382-384. For a list of those who identify the portrait as Agrippina see Alexandridis 2004, 161-162. The statue is in Agrippina's Ancona type. For more on the portraiture of Agrippina see Boschung 1993, 73-74.

1879.[108] Together, these seven statues are understood to constitute the Metroon statuary ensemble.[109]

The traditional interpretation is that the colossal image represents the cult statue of Augustus installed within the Metroon when the temple was renovated and converted into a site of imperial worship in the late first century BCE.[110] Then, either gradually or in a single Flavian phase, the other statues were added. There are many nuances to this general interpretation, however; the following is an attempt to clarify some of the issues surrounding the date, arrangement, and significance of the Metroon sculpture.

Date and Arrangement of the Sculpture

Interpretation of the Metroon sculpture is based on stylistic and technical analyses, as well as historical probability and archaeological context. Using these criteria, all agree that the statues date between the first century BCE and the first century CE.[111] Even within this relatively limited time frame, however, many chronological sequences have been proposed for the ensemble, which lead to divergent identifications, arrangements, and understandings of the Metroon sculpture.

In the earliest publication of the sculptural material, Treu acknowledges a certain stylistic uniformity among the statues, but ultimately argues that they were erected

[108] Treu 1897, 256. Also see Hitzl 1991, 25-29.

[109] Hitzl 1991, 27, argues that because of the small size of the cella, no more statues could have been accommodated.

[110] The statue of Augustus usually is considered separate from the other statues due to its size, quality, plinth, and style.

[111] Vermeule 1959, 58, dates the two cuirass statues to the Late Hadrianic/Early Antonine Period, but all subsequent publications view this date as unacceptable.

sequentially, during the reigns of Augustus, Claudius, and Titus.[112] For the arrangement, Treu places the colossal statue, which he identifies as Augustus, along the back wall of the cella because of its size, and has the three figural pairs face one another along the cella's long walls (figure 2.12).[113] Domitian and Domitia occupy the positions nearest the statue of Augustus, Claudius and Agrippina stand in the central intercolumniations, and Titus and Julia Titi are placed in the intercolumniations nearest the entrance. Treu and other early authors consider the Metroon sculptures largely as individual pieces and from an art historical perspective. Beginning with E. Schmidt in 1967, scholars have begun to analyze the statues as a programmatic entity.[114] In her study of Roman female statues, Schmidt emphasizes the stylistic uniformity among the statues,[115] and, due to the presence of Titus, she dates them all to the early Flavian period.[116] Schmidt's identifications, dating, and programmatic reading

[112] Treu 1897, 246-248, thus believes that the first statue installed was the colossal portrait of Augustus (27 BCE – 14 CE), which was later followed by statues of Claudius and Agrippina in the first century CE (41-54 CE). The third phase (79-81 CE) included the statue of Titus and its pendant female statue (the statue in Berlin), which Treu identifies as Julia Titi, Titus' daughter. The fourth and final phase (81-96 CE) Treu associates with Domitian, whom he argues was represented by the headless armored statue. In this identification Treu is followed by Rodenwaldt 1926, 341-342; Stuart 1938, 47; Thompson 1966, 185-186; Herrmann 1972, 184; Kruse 1975, 427-428, note 99; Mallwitz 1988, 26. Those who argue instead for an identification as Vespasian include Schmidt 1957, 67; Niemeyer 1968, 94, no. 42; Stemmer 1978, 33, III 4; Goette 1985, 454-455; Hitzl 1991, 52-55; Kreikenbom 1992, 101; Rose 1997, 147-149; Alexandridis 2004, 161-162, note 1; Deppmeyer 2008, 39-44. Those who leave the identification open include Daltrop, Hausmann, Wegner 1966, 103-104; Gauer 1980, 203; Trummer 1980, 167-173; Maderna 1988, 158-162. The third female statue is identified by Treu as Domitia, the wife of Domitian. For the identification of the female statues see Treu 1897, 255-257, who is followed by Lippold 1923, 206, 211; Stuart 1938, 47; Thompson 1966, 185-186; Vermeule 1968, 18-19, 73; Herrmann 1972, 184; Trummer 1980, 32, 170 (for Julia Titi).

[113] Treu 1897, 255, figure 291. This plan is reproduced later in Vermeule 1968, 19; Herrmann 1972, 184, figure 128; Hitzl 1991, 28, figure 5. It is also followed by Kantiréa 2007. The central position of Augustus is comparable to the ensemble from the Augusteum at Narona, which preceded and may have influenced the Metroon sculptural arrangement. See Marin 2004, 282.

[114] Schmidt 1967, 67-69, explains the inclusion of Claudius by the fact that Vespasian reintroduced the cult of Claudius after it had been abolished by Nero. The Eleans therefore dedicated the group in order to honor the new dynasty by distancing it from Nero and by associating it with the *Divi* of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

[115] Other scholars disagree with the notion of stylistic uniformity. See Maderna 1988, 158-162; Hitzl 1991, 70-93; Rose 1997, 147-149; Boschung, 2002, 100-105; Alexandridis 2004, 161-162, note 1.

are followed by S. Stone, who likewise notes stylistic and technical similarities among the statues in order to argue that the entire ensemble was installed in a single Flavian phase (71 – 73 CE).[117] Unlike Schmidt, however, Stone offers a new arrangement for the sculpture (figure 2.13), yet one that is still based on male/female pairings.[118] In this new arrangement, the position of Augustus is the same, but Claudius is located on the north side of the cella, in the eastern-most intercolumniation next to Augustus, because of the rightward focus of the figure. Stone places the statue of Vespasian in the central intercolumniation due to its large size, which leaves Titus standing nearest to the cella entrance. The three female statues are placed across from their respective male counterparts.

R. Bol is another scholar who has dealt with the Metroon sculpture extensively. In the 1980's Bol looked closely at the cuirassed statue of Titus and found that the portrait head was not original to the torso, but instead belonged to a statue that initially depicted Nero, based primarily on the uneven proportions of the statue's head and body and on the fact that only the statues of Claudius and the headless armored torso have ribbons lying conspicuously

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[116] Schmidt 1967, 67-69. Followed by Trummer 1980, 30-32. Kruse 1975, 427-428, note 99, agrees that the statues date to the Flavian period, but he dates the colossal statue to the Augustan/Tiberian period and the headless armored statue later, to the reign of Domitian. Gauer 1980, 203, follows Kruse but leaves the interpretations of the headless armored statue and the headless female statues open. Schmidt 1967, 68, identifies the headless armored statue as Vespasian and the two headless females as the two Flavia Domitillae, the wife and daughter of Vespasian, because these two women received many posthumous honors during the first decade of Flavian rule. Schmidt is supported by Hitzl 1991, 49-56; Alexandridis 2004, 161-162, note 1; Deppmeyer 2008, 39-44.

[117] Stone 1985, identifies the third male figure as Vespasian based on the Flavian emperor's imitation of Augustus, his revival of the cult of Claudius, and the iconography on the statue's cuirass, and he identifies the two headless females as the two Flaviae Domitillae. The author 1985, 390, note 77, acknowledges, however, the possibility that Julia Titi was represented, but argues that she was only an important figure after Titus became emperor. With a Flavian date for the ensemble, Stone 1985, 386-387, does not see the mid-first century BCE earthquake and the subsequent re-dedication of the Metroon for the imperial cult as the impetus behind the destruction of the original cult image. Instead, Stone argues that the original cult statue fell victim to Nero's looting of Greek sanctuaries in the first century CE, and that the Eleans then decided to replace it with imperial statues in the Flavian period. In terms of the occasion for re-dedication, Stone sees Titus's capture of Jerusalem in 70 CE as "suitable."

[118] Stone 1985, 383, figure III.1.

on their shoulders, which was the usual presentation; such ribbons are absent from the statue of Titus.[119] Bol concluded that the original statue did not wear a wreath, and that this was best explained by the fact that it was a representation of the young Nero. Moreover, Bol associated the head of a young, diademed woman from the Palaestra with the female statue now in Berlin. She identified the head as a portrait of Claudia Octavia, the daughter of Claudius and the first wife of Nero.[120]

Three decades later Bol published another article on the Metroon sculpture with P. Bol that built on her earlier research and added new insights as well.[121] In contrast to previous interpretations, the two authors disassociate the colossal statue of Augustus from the Metroon and argue that it was set up in the open, to the south of the temple, around 27 BCE based on physical and stylistic characteristics of the statue.[122] They further claim that the rest of the Metroon sculpture was installed in two phases, with the first phase dating between 49

[119] Bol 1986; 1988. The re-use of the statue therefore explains the stylistic uniformity among the statues noted by earlier scholars and disproves an inception of the imperial cult in the Metroon in the Flavian period. Bol is supported by Hitzl 1991, 85-93; Kreikenbom 1992, 101; Kantiréa 2007. Rose 1997, 149, agrees that there are signs of re-use, but does not agree with the assumption that the original statue represented Nero. Varner 2004, 55-56, includes the head as an example of an image of Titus that was re-cut from an existing image of Nero.

[120] Bol 1986, makes this association because of similarities with the Metroon statues in terms of style, features (e.g. Venus rings, modeling, turn of the head), technical aspects, proportions, size, and marble. The identification is based on epigraphic and numismatic comparanda. The association is maintained by Bol and Bol 2011. Also see Vermeule 1968, 193. The argument is not accepted by Hitzl 1991, 117-19, Appendix I; Rose 1997, 149.

[121] Bol and Bol 2011.

[122] Bol and Bol 2011. The argument is based on the small size of the cella (6.30 L x 51.15 W and 5.80 H m), the problems of transporting the colossal statue, the difference between the colossal statue and the others in terms of size and format, the good workmanship on the back, and clear signs of weathering (the tops of the feet are weathered heavily, but the upper surfaces of the shoulders do not appear to be). The date of 27 BCE is based on stylistic reasons and the title of Augustus in the architrave inscription. The authors do not explain how the statue can be dated by the architrave inscription even if it was not set up inside the Metroon. Trummer 1980, 171, thinks it possible that the colossal statue of Augustus originally was placed in another building based on his belief that the imperial cult was first introduced in the Metroon in the Flavian period. See note 84 above. Stemmer 1978, 34, likewise suggests that the statues of Augustus and Claudius were moved from elsewhere and re-used in the Metroon. Stone 1985, 384, note 34, finds this unlikely.

and 53 CE.[123] Bol and Bol believe this original installation included statues of Claudia Octavia, Nero, Agrippina the Younger, Claudius, and Livia, whom the authors identify as the headless female statue found southeast of the Metroon.[124] Later, in the early Flavian period, two Julio-Claudian statues (the armored statue of Nero and the headless statue in Berlin) were re-used for portraits of Titus and Flavia Domitilla the Younger, respectively. The headless armored statue, which the authors identify as Vespasian, was a new Flavian addition to the Metroon. Bol and Bol thereby differ with earlier publications in their disassociation of the colossal statue from the Metroon ensemble, in their two-phase history, and in some of their identifications of personages represented.

As for the arrangement of the sculpture in the Julio-Claudian period, the authors argue that the statue of Claudius was placed before the back wall of the cella, since, as noted above, they believe the statue of Augustus stood outside the Metroon (figure 2.14).[125] On the side wall to the left of Claudius stood Agrippina Minor and Livia; to Claudius' right were Nero and Claudia Octavia. This arrangement thus leaves the area nearest the entrance to the cella empty. The two authors do not propose an arrangement of the statues for the Flavian period.

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[123] Bol and Bol 2011. The early articles by R. Bol 1986; 1988, date the initial phase to after Nero's marriage to Octavia in 53 CE and most likely to after Claudius' death in 54 CE since, according to Bol's analysis of type, pose, and attributes, the image of Claudius is a posthumous portrait. Stuart 1938, 47; Niemeyer 1968, 107; Dähn 1973, 82; Maderna 1988, 158-162, however, date the statue to the lifetime of Claudius. The more recent article by Bol and Bol 2011, argues for an installation between 49 and 53 CE for the original Julio-Claudian statues based on historical reasoning as well as the statues' comparable size and style. The difference in quality among the statues is explained as a result of different sculptors and also perhaps different patrons. The authors see the marriage of Nero and Claudia Octavia as the reason for the dedication of the statue group.

[124] Bol and Bol 2011, argue for this identification based on Claudius' relationship with Livia and his decision to divinize her after his accession. However, Bol 1986, 298-303, note 46, had thought the Berlin statue originally depicted Livia. Kantiréa 2007, also identifies the Berlin statue as Livia based on Flavian ideology and the new dynasty's concern with political legitimacy. Bol and Bol 2011, further argue that the first installation phase emphasized Nero's legitimacy through Claudius' adoption of him and his marriage to Claudius' daughter, Octavia.

[125] Bol and Bol 2011.

The interpretation proposed by Bol and Bol is problematic for several reasons, notably because it was rare for Julio-Claudian dynastic groups to have more females than males depicted,[126] and it was uncommon to include an image of Livia without one of Augustus.[127] The authors also do not address the issue of why Agrippina's statue was allowed to remain intact while that of Nero and Claudia Octavia were re-used. Moreover, the argument that the colossal image of Augustus was not set up in the cella ignores the statue's find spot, the possibility that weathering on the statue could have occurred at a later time, and that weathering on the shoulders of the statue does not seem appropriate.[128]

Hitzl has published the most thorough monographic assessment of the Metroon sculpture. Based on the association of the architrave inscription with the Metroon (see above), Hitzl argues that the temple was renovated during the time of Augustus and re-dedicated to the imperial cult. At this time, the colossal statue of Augustus was installed.[129] In the reign of Claudius, the cella of the Metroon was filled with statues in order to legitimize

[126] According to Rose 1997, out of 130 entries only five such groups exist and none from Greece: no. 4 (Baiae); no. 21 (Luna); no. 53 (Glanum); no. 125 (Leptis Magna); no. 128 (Alexandria).

[127] According to Rose 1997, out of 130 entries twelve such groups exist: no. 26 (Paestum); no. 49 (Velia); no. 52 (Baeterrae); no. 53 (Glanum); no. 59 (Asido); no. 82 (Thespiae); no. 99 (Ancyra); no. 102 (Andriaca); no. 107 (Apollonia Sozopolis); no. 113 (Ephesus), no. 116 (Ephesus); no. 123 (Smyrna). The majority of these groups date to the Tiberian period; none date to the reign of Claudius or Nero.

[128] Bol and Bol 2011, note 25, describe the weathering as follows: "Besonders auffällig sind die Auswitterungen entlang der Marmoradern, z.B. bei der im Bogen über der linken Brust verlaufenden Rille oder an der linken Halsseite wie auch am rückwärtigen rechten Oberarm. Es ist bei der Brustpartie ablesbar, dass die Verwitterung durch von oben eindringende Nässe verursacht wurde und deshalb nicht durch die mit den Schultern nach unten weisende Position der Fundlage zu erklären ist. Ein Vergleich mit den in unmittelbarer Nähe aufgefundenen Torsen des Claudius und der Panzerstatue, die beide ohne Verwitterungsspuren erhalten sind, bestätigt, dass die Schäden nicht erst durch die Verschüttung im Erdreich entstanden sind." This description, however, fails to consider the possibility that weathering may have occurred after the statue was removed from the cella in a later period, yet still before it was buried. In addition, if the torso had stood outside for a long time, one would expect it to be more heavily weathered.

[129] Hitzl 1991, 107-108, 115, assumes direct imperial involvement due to the high quality of the cult statue. For a summary of Hitzl's overall argument see 115-116; for a detailed discussion on identifications and dating see 93-101.

visibly Claudius' accession and to emphasize the future of the dynasty.[130] Only statues of Claudius and Agrippina the Younger survive from this phase, but Hitzl believes that the cella also accommodated statues of Tiberius, Livia, Germanicus, and Agrippina the Elder.[131] Under Vespasian,[132] the cella was full, so contrary to usual practice Vespasian removed four of the statues, but left Augustus and Claudius, the two *Divi*, along with Claudius' wife, Agrippina the Younger. According to Hitzl, the four statues that were removed were relocated to the Treasury of Cyrene, where Pausanias (VI.19.10) saw additional imperial statues.[133] Vespasian then added to the Metroon a cuirassed statue of himself and a statue of his late wife, Flavia Domitilla the Elder. Also at this time a former statue of Nero not originally connected with the Metroon was re-used for an armored statue of Titus and a former statue of Nero's wife was re-used for Titus' late sister, Flavia Domitilla the Younger.[134] Hitzl argues that Vespasian installed these statues because he had revoked

[130] Hitzl 1991, 93-101, argues that since Agrippina is represented in her second portrait type, the statues perhaps were created at the time of Agrippina's accession (49-54 CE). But Hitzl proposes another possibility, namely that the statue of Claudius was set up earlier with an image of Valeria Messalina, his third wife, which then later was replaced with a statue of Agrippina the Younger. On the basis of stylistic similarities between the two statues, however, Hitzl is inclined to favor a date between 49 and 54 CE. Yet in his summary, Hitzl, 115, says it is not certain whether the statues date to after 41 or 49 CE. Also see Hitzl 1991, 108-111.

[131] Hitzl 1991, 108-111, argues that Livia and Tiberius were counterparts to one another. The third couple he believes consisted of Germanicus and Agrippina the Elder due to the fact that they were the parents of Claudius' wife as well as the fact that Germanicus was popular and the brother of Claudius. But Hitzl thinks the couple also may have represented Drusus and Antonia the Younger, the parents of Claudius.

[132] Hitzl 1991, 54, believes it most likely that the Vespasianic phase dates between the sack of Jerusalem in 70 CE and the next Olympiad in 73 CE based on historical probability and the iconography of the cuirass. He therefore argues that the Berlin statue could not have depicted Julia Titi, who was only ten years old at the time.

[133] Hitzl 1991, 114; 119-122, Appendix II. Hitzl is followed by Kantiréa 2007, who argues that the treasury was used to house imperial statues from the Metroon after the ascension of the new Flavian dynasty. The argument proposed by Kantiréa 2007, 192, however, is based simply on the proximity of the treasury to the Metroon: "Nous n'avons aucune indication chronologique plus précise sur cette fonction du trésor, mais étant donné sa proximité avec l'ancien temple de la Mére des dieux, nous pouvons supposer qu'il a commencé à servir de lieu de dépôt et de conservation des statues impériales lorsqu'il y avait besoin de les ôter du Métrôon." The author's assumption is problematic, primarily because this treasury has not been identified securely.

[134] Hitzl 1991, 85-93, believes that the two statues originally depicted Nero and one of his wives. He suggests Statilia Messalina based on the belief that the statues were set up in relation to Nero's trip to Greece in 66-68

freedoms and tax exemptions from Achaea that Nero had granted two years earlier and was thus facing resentment in the province. The erection of statues at a site of the imperial cult within a prominent Greek sanctuary thereby served as an ideological tool for the new emperor to proclaim his power and legitimacy.[135]

Hitzl thus sees the seven Metroon statues as being installed in three stages (Augustan, Claudian, Flavian), and as being composed of three pairs, with the colossal cult statue located before the rear cella wall.[136] For the arrangement of the pairs, Hitzl focuses primarily on find spots,[137] on how the statues are worked, and on optimal viewing conditions (figure 2.15).[138] He places Vespasian to the left of Augustus on the south wall,[139] and his wife Flavia Domitilla the Elder on the opposite north wall. The central positions are occupied by Claudius and Agrippina the Younger, while the statues of Titus and the younger Flavia

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CE. The statues subsequently were taken from their original context after Nero's death and re-used in the Flavian period. Hitzl is ambiguous on this earlier context, however, and there are many uncertainties with his argument, including whether or not the two statues originally were displayed together.

[135] Hitzl 1991, 111-116. Hitzl sees the choice of cuirass statues for Vespasian and Titus as a means to emphasize the power of the new dynasty and to garner respect from the Greeks. This message is reinforced by the imagery on the breastplates; the cuirass of Vespasian shows victories crowning a tropaion while Titus' armor depicts two Nereids riding hippocamps. The decision to retain the statues of Augustus and Claudius is seen as a way to legitimize the new emperors since Augustus and Claudius were the only two divinized predecessors.

[136] Hitzl 1991, 101-105, follows Treu in this placement and argues that it is the only one that makes sense given the spatial restrictions of the cella and the fact that the statue was worked for a frontal view. The cella was ca. 5.80 m high, so the 4.5-4.6 m statue of Augustus would have dominated the cella space.

[137] Hitzl 1991, 25-29, argues based on topography that the most probable direction for the statues to fall would have been to the south. Thus, the male torsos found in the south foundations of the Metroon were probably in the southern part of the cella and the female statues were on the north side.

[138] Hitzl 1991, 85-93, 101-105, argues that the statues with the portraits of Titus and Flavia Domitilla the Younger are worked for frontal viewing while all the other statues are worked in order to optimize the oblique view from the entrance.

[139] Hitzl 1991, 101-105, argues that this position would have signaled Vespasian's importance, which was emphasized further by the statue's slightly larger size in relation to the other five statues (ca. 20 cm). Hitzl thus differs from Stone 1985, 382-383, in that he does not see the central spots along the long walls as hierarchically more important.

Domitilla are set up closest to the entrance.[140] The recent studies that deal with dynastic imperial portrait groups largely follow Hitzl's interpretations.[141]

In my opinion, the chronological sequence proffered by Hitzl is the most probable based on the available evidence. I therefore agree with a multi-phase history for the Metroon sculpture, with statues being installed in the Augustan, Claudian, and Flavian periods.[142] The colossal size of the Augustus statue suggests that it could only have been set up during the renovations of the temple after the first century BCE earthquake because of the associated technical issues of installation (figure 2.19).[143] It also is likely that at this time the Metroon was re-dedicated as a site of the imperial cult since evidence confirms that Augustus was worshipped elsewhere in the East during his lifetime.[144] Whether or not any changes or additions were made to the Metroon during the reigns of Tiberius or Caligula remains uncertain, but it seems clear that under Claudius (ca. 42/43 CE) a statue of this emperor in the guise of Zeus was added to the temple's cella.[145] Presumably at the same time, the statue

[140] Hitzl 1991, 103, figure 8. No arrangement is proposed formally by Hitzl for the Claudian phase, but he does suggest, 110-111, that perhaps Claudius and Agrippina the Younger originally occupied the positions nearest to Augustus and were moved subsequently to their central positions under Vespasian.

[141] Rose 1997, 147-149; Boschung 2002, 100-105; Deppmeyer 2008, 39-44. However, as noted above (note 103), Rose disassociates the statue found in front of the Heraion from the ensemble and instead identifies the Berlin statue as Agrippina the Younger.

[142] I believe Bol has shown effectively that there are at least two phases for the Metroon sculpture due to the re-use of the statue with the portrait of Titus. Other evidence that speaks against a single Flavian phase is the fact that most Claudian portraits date during the emperor's lifetime. Out of 125 statues of Claudius in Stuart's 1938 catalogue, only two date to the reign of Vespasian and none come from Greece. See Stuart 1938, 41; Vermeule 1968, 196. Rose 1997, 149, also notes that we have no surviving Flavian dedications in the eastern Mediterranean dedicated to Claudius or Agrippina the Younger. Moreover, the larger size of Vespasian (ca. 20 cm) in comparison to the other male figures (with the exception of Augustus) seems to argue against a single phase. See Kruse 1975, 427-428, note 99; Kreikenbom 1992, 101. The Augusteum at Narona provides a comparable multi-phase ensemble with statues from the reigns of Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, and Vespasian. See Marin 2004, 281-283.

[143] See Mallwitz, 1988, 26, note 14; Hitzl 1991, 15-18.

[144] See note 86 above.

of Agrippina the Younger was set up as well. Thus, in the Claudian phase the Metroon accommodated a total of three statues (figure 2.20).

The third phase of the Metroon's sculptural ensemble (ca. 70 CE) included new statues of Vespasian and two Flavian women, and the re-use of a statue of Nero from elsewhere in the Altis for a portrait of Titus (figures 2.17, 2.18, and 2.21).[146] The early reign of Vespasian seems most probable for several reasons. In 70 CE Titus captured Jerusalem, and a year later Vespasian and Titus held a joint triumph in Rome.[147] Given the military emphasis of the two cuirassed statues,[148] which undoubtedly must have stood out in comparison to the earlier images in divine type, it seems probable that the motivation for installing the statues also was related to military triumph. Moreover, a dedication around the time of Titus' and Vespasian's joint triumph explains the omission of Vespasian's other son, Domitian. E. Varner also has shown that the majority of Titus' portraits re-cut from earlier

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[145] Although Claudius is shown in the guise of Jupiter, which has led some (e.g. Stone 1985, 384) to view the statue as a posthumous portrait, Hitzl 1991, 85-101, 117-119, convincingly argues against a Neronian date due to a lack of known Neronian family groups, which suggests that Nero did not have a great interest in familial propaganda, in legitimizing his succession, or in honoring Claudius. Indeed, no examples of posthumous portraits of Claudius set up by Nero are known. Also see Maderna 1988, 158-160; Hitzl 1991, 62-63; Boschung 2002, 153; Fittschen 1977, 55-58, who all date the statue to the reign of Claudius. As for a specific date within the Claudian period, Stuart 1938, 47-51, suggests 42/43 CE based on type, comparanda, and historical reasoning. Graindor 1931, 182-184, proposes a similar date of 43 CE since he believes the occasion of dedication was Claudius' victories in Britain. Rodenwaldt 1926, 341-2, dates the statue to the early fifties CE based on style and his belief that the statue was erected at the time of Claudius' marriage to Agrippina the Younger. Fittschen 1977, 55-58, suggests that the type was created for the occasion of Claudius' accession. I favor an earlier date since, as argued below, I see the dedications in the Metroon as a way for the Eleans to honor a new emperor's reign.

[146] I therefore follow Hitzl in viewing the statue of Nero as originally being set up outside the Metroon since the armored figure of Nero would seem out of place as the only military statue in an otherwise divine-oriented ensemble. Indeed, of the statue groups from Greece with extant sculpture listed by Rose 1997, and Deppmeyer 2008, none combine representations of imperial male personages in divine and military dress. It should also be noted that, although the figures in the hypothetical views of the Metroon cella (figures 2.20, 2.21) are distorted due to the conveyal of three-dimensionality using two-dimensional photographs, the images nonetheless provide the reader with an approximation of how the installation was viewed.

[147] Suetonius *Vespasian* 8.1, *Titus* 6; Stone 1985, 391.

[148] The military theme was not only emphasized by the statue types, but also by the iconography on the breastplates (tropaion, Nikai), attributes (a lance for Titus), and supports (kneeling barbarian for Vespasian; sword for Titus). See Niemeyer 1968, 94; Stemmer 1978, 33, 45-46; Trummer 1980, 167-173.

images of Nero are in Titus' first portrait type, which suggests that most transformations of Neronian portraits into images of Titus occurred early in the reign of Vespasian and not during the emperorship of Titus.[149]

The installation of Flavian statues in an otherwise Julio-Claudian ensemble dedicated to the imperial cult would not have been inappropriate or incongruous. K. Scott argues that in the East, Vespasian was viewed as a divine ruler in the tradition of Hellenistic kings and previous Roman emperors.[150] Moreover, both Vespasian and Titus adopted Augustus as a model for their reigns,[151] and Vespasian revived the worship of Claudius that had been neglected under Nero and built the Temple of Claudius on the Caelian Hill in Rome.[152] Coins issued during the reign of Titus also honored Claudius.[153] Thus, the dedication of two statues of Vespasian and Titus in the Metroon's cella created a visual connection between the two dynasties that already was present in Flavian imperial policy and ideology.

After the addition of the Flavian statues, the Metroon ensemble remained unchanged until the temple was dismantled for the construction of the fortification wall in the third quarter of the third century CE. This is partially due to space restrictions, as more statues would be difficult to accommodate given the small dimensions of the cella. Yet new sculptural additions also probably were avoided due to reverence for the figures depicted.

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[149] Varner 2004, 55-56.

[150] Scott 1936, 21.

[151] Scott 1936, 4, 25-39, 51. Also see Alexandridis 2010b.

[152] Suetonius *Claudius* 45; Suetonius *Vespasian* 9.1. Stone 1985, 391, notes that Vespasian's *pietas* towards Claudius was restricted to the early part of his reign, which would be another reason for dating the Flavian installation in the Metroon ca. 70 CE.

[153] *BMC* II, 289, nos. 297-299; *RIC* II, 146-147, nos. 232-244.

Surely any alteration to or removal of these statues would have reflected poorly upon one's *pietas*.[154]

For the arrangement of the statues, I agree with the majority of scholars in placing the colossal statue of Augustus before the rear wall of the cella due to its large size. Beyond that, however, I do not believe there is sufficient information to project an arrangement of the other statues, either in the Claudian or the Flavian phase. There are no surviving statue bases,[155] which means that scholars have relied on find spots and the way in which the sculpture is worked to propose reconstructions. The former approach is problematic since sculpture obviously shifted during the destruction of the temple.[156] The latter approach is equally tenuous since it is unclear if the statues were oriented towards the viewer or the cult statue.[157] Scholars also have attempted to arrange the statues based on the idea of symmetrical pairs. This method presents further difficulties since such "counterparts" or "pendants" can be based on varying criteria, including statuary type, size, gender, genealogical relations, etc. Moreover, scholars disagree as to which position was the most important. Stone, for example, thinks the central position was the most important, whereas Hitzl believes the spot next to Augustus held the greatest significance.[158]

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[154] A fragmentary bronze right foot that was nearly two times life-size was found in the Metroon on the same day as the kneeling prisoner from the statue of Vespasian. Hitzl dates it to the late second or early third century CE. He interprets it as a later bronze imperial statue erected in the pronaos of the Metroon as a means to honor the depicted emperor by connecting him with the statues inside the cella. See Hitzl 1991, Appendix IV, 123-124.

[155] Hitzl, 103-104, is the first to discuss the lack of bases. He suggests that the statues stood on ca. 1 meter high pedestals in order to maintain a 1:2 ratio with the colossal cult statue, but this is speculation.

[156] Sculptures were discovered in the foundations of the Metroon, but multiple fragments were found to the east of the temple and one of the female statues was discovered eight meters from the southeast corner. The statue of Agrippina the Younger also was found a significant distance from the Metroon (forty-five meters to the west). Also see note 103 above.

[157] Queyrel 1991; Alexandridis 2004, 161-162, note 1.

The idea of statuary pendants also should be abandoned because of the questionable reconstruction of the inner columns. Ten Doric capitals found during the early excavations in the eastern part of the Herulian wall were associated with the first century BCE renovation of the Metroon.[159] As Hitzl argues, however, the Metroon's cella was too small to accommodate ten interior columns (five along each long side) and that if ten columns were used, the resulting span of the intercolumniations would not be wide enough for the imperial statues.[160] These ten columns therefore should not be connected with the Metroon. Inner columns are unlikely given the small, narrow cella and since such columns would have made viewing the statues especially difficult.[161] Without the inner columns, it is not necessary to argue that the statues were arranged as corresponding pairs placed within intercolumnar niches.

In summary, there is no firm evidence for how the Metroon sculpture was arranged. Scholars have wanted to restore male/female pairs out of a desire for symmetry, but given how complex and intertwined the genealogical relations were in the first century CE, there is no indication that ancient viewers saw the imperial household in such clear and simple terms.[162] Moreover, the larger size of the Vespasian statue (ca. 20 cm) would have disrupted any sense of balance or symmetrical display among pendants.[163] Scholars therefore should

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[158] Stone 1985, 388; Hitzl 1991, 102, note 594.

[159] Dörpfeld 1892, 37-40. It is important to note that even in 1892 Dörpfeld questioned this association.

[160] Hitzl 1991, 15-18. Rose 1997, 148, note 6, still places the statues between columns, but questions the accuracy of the proposed reconstruction of the interior columns.

[161] Hitzl 1991, 101-105.

[162] For example, Livia was the wife of Augustus and eventually was adopted by the first *princeps*, and she was also the grandmother of Claudius. Valeria Messalina was the third wife of Claudius and the great-grandniece of Augustus. Agrippina the Younger was both the fourth wife of Claudius and the granddaughter of Augustus.

be open to the possibility that the statues were not arranged symmetrically given the restrictions of the cella itself and the differences among the statues.

To conclude, I have argued that the Metroon sculpture was installed in three phases: a statue of the first *princeps* was set up in the cella after the earthquake and subsequent renovations of ca. 40 BCE, portraits of Claudius and Agrippina Minor were added ca. 42/3 CE, and finally, statues of Vespasian, Titus (with a re-used torso of Nero), and two Flavian women were installed ca. 70 CE. In addition, I have questioned the validity of statuary pendants on the basis of the surviving evidence. The reconstruction presented here therefore removes the need to propose non-existent statues, as recent scholars have done (i.e. Hitzl), and it does not require the transferal of these assumed Julio-Claudian statues to the Treasury of Cyrene. It is especially difficult to imagine the removal of a statue of Livia from the Metroon since she was the wife of Augustus, grandmother of Claudius, and first divinized empress.[164]

I have omitted so far a discussion of the programmatic significance of the Metroon sculpture because I believe the ensemble's importance can be understood only through a contextualization of the sculpture within the larger architectural and honorific landscape at Olympia. I hope to accomplish this in the following section, but here it is important to note that many previous scholars have described the Metroon sculpture as if the emperor(s) himself installed the statues. Højte's study of imperial bases, however, demonstrates that

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[163] This difference in size could have been due to a number of reasons; Vespasian could have been shown larger in order to emphasize his importance, because he stood closest to the statue of Augustus, or for optical reasons.

[164] Hitzl 1991, 114, note 696, agrees that it is hard to imagine the removal of Livia's statue, but he claims it was due to space restraints, the male-directed program of Vespasian, and the decision by Vespasian to retain only the two *Divi*. Yet in his reconstruction, Hitzl includes three male and three female statues, so I do not see the program as necessarily privileging men. Moreover, Livia was made *Diva* under Claudius, so if Vespasian were retaining divinized images, the statue of Livia would have fit that criterion. Other scholars have noted the improbability of removing Livia. See Queyrel 1991; Alexandridis 2004, 161-162, note 1.

neither the emperor nor his administration appear as dedicators in the surviving examples.[165] Hitzl's argument that the statues of Vespasian and Titus asserted the emperors' power and influence in Achaea is thus misguided, as is Vermeule's comment that the statues "usurped" and "invaded" the Metroon as a symbol of Roman *imperium*.[166] Rather than seeing these images as imperial directives from Rome, one should view the Metroon sculpture as intricately connected to local contexts and needs. The temple ultimately provided the Eleans with a venue for displaying their loyalty to the emperor and his family. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the phases outlined above all date to the first years of the emperor's reign. The installation of these statues thereby allowed the Eleans to honor the newly named emperor at the time of his accession and to connect the new emperor with his divinized predecessors, which, in turn, hinted at the emperor's own future divinization. By conveying a message of continuity in flattering terms, the Eleans aimed to ensure that imperial benefactions were maintained from one dynasty to the next. Past scholars also have viewed the female statues in the Metroon as mere pendants for the male portraits.[167] Yet the inclusion of women obviously was purposeful and added a significant dynastic element to the ensemble.[168] The next section attempts to consider these issues in more depth by situating the dynastic group from the Metroon within a larger honorific context.

[165] Højte 2005, 167-188.

[166] Hitzl 1991, 60, 111-114; Vermeule 1968, 18-19.

[167] E.g. Stone 1985, 390: "the Flavian women, like the Agrippina, were simple pendants of their male counterparts." Hitzl 1991, 113: "Demgegenüber haben die weiblichen Figuren keine andere Funktion, als die zweite Cellalangseite zu füllen, und hierin wird die Nachahmung der claudischen Gruppe faßbar."

[168] I believe that the inclusion was purposeful since statuary honors for women were still relatively new phenomena in comparison to honors for men. For the history of honorific sculpture for women see Kajava 1990; Flory 1993; Fejfer 2008; Dillon 2010.

The Metroon Sculpture in Context

From this discussion, the area surrounding the Temple of Zeus, especially the area in front of the temple's east façade, emerges as the favored site of display based on the find spots of the extant material (figure 2.16).[169] In the Hellenistic period, 48% (10) of individual honors and 60% (3) of group honors were discovered in this area or are known to have been set up here from other evidence (figures 2.22, 2.23). In the early imperial period, the percentages are 69% (9) for individual honors and 33% (1) for group honors (figures 2.24, 2.25). The Flavian period presents a slightly different picture, with no Flavian group honors from this area, and only one (20%) individual honor (figures 2.26, 2.27). The apparently continual use of this space for royal and imperial dedications suggests that no single ruler or dynasty dominated the honorific landscape at the ritualistic heart of the Altis. Material was found near other buildings as well, such as the Heraion, Leonidaion, Palaestra, Pelopion, Philippeion, Prytaneion, and, of course, the Metroon. Yet none of these other buildings reflects the same concentration of extant evidence as the area surrounding the Temple of Zeus. It is, therefore, clear that, just as the sanctuary was dedicated to Zeus, patrons seeking to erect honorific monuments concentrated their attention and resources on the structure built to house the worship of the same deity.

Of course this conclusion is problematic because it is based on remains not found in situ. The extensive re-use of material in cisterns, churches, and especially the Byzantine wall reflects just how much material was dismantled and relocated in antiquity. Additional evidence is lost through the destruction of statuary and bases, whether through natural disasters like floods and earthquakes, or intentional destruction, including burning in lime

[169] For the area east of the Temple of Zeus as a favored site of display see Sinn 2004, 233-249; Leypold [Forthcoming a and b].

kilns. What scholars are left to consider and analyze, then, is really the later history of the sculpture and the use of early imperial material in late antiquity.[170] In the end, a low survival rate combined with the transportation and demolition of material means that questions regarding display preferences and original contexts can only lead to tentative, hypothetical answers based on intelligent speculation.

Nonetheless, a preference to erect monuments near the Temple of Zeus is not unexpected given the history of dedications in this area and the close proximity to the temple of the father of the gods.[171] Moreover, the area had been leveled in the seventh century BCE, thus providing a flat plan for gatherings and sacrifices, as well as for the installation of statuary.[172] This position probably was favored in the early imperial period since the three buildings framing the space, the Temple of Zeus, the Metroon, and the Echo Hall, all were renovated in the Augustan period. Honors in this area thus conveyed continuity, but connoted development and progress as well. A visitor walking through the ritualistic center of the sanctuary, following the processional way, therefore, would see honorific statues in his or her immediate field of vision as well as in the distance, but all these honors would have been set against a grand backdrop of renovated, monumental architecture. The numerous stone effigies elevated on their bases and juxtaposed with the columns of the surrounding temples, stoa, and treasuries ultimately created what scholars have described as a "forest" of statues.

Returning to the Metroon, the location of the temple in the northern section of the Altis differentiates its associated dynastic sculpture from the majority of honors concentrated

[170] Smith 2006, 1-19.

[171] For a history and spatial analysis of early honors in this area see Scott 2010, 181-210.

[172] Scott 2010, 146-147.

to the east of the Temple of Zeus. The Metroon was still clearly visible from other parts of the sanctuary, including the Temple of Zeus, but it was positioned in what M. Scott has described as a "node," or area devoted to the display of a specific type of dedication, which in this case was imperial dynastic statuary.[173] The later Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus (see below), erected just to the northwest of the Metroon, contributed to this "node" by honoring the Antonine dynasty with water displays and imperial statues.

Moreover, the location of the dynastic sculpture inside the Metroon was uncommon. Pausanias mentions a statue of Augustus inside the Temple of Zeus, and states that Caligula may have replaced the cult statue of the temple with his own image, but there is no archaeological evidence at Olympia of imperial images inside a building during the Roman period. Indeed, the only other known example of interior statues is the Philippeion from the late fourth century BCE. Whether or not a reference to these Hellenistic statues was intentional remains unclear, but it is noteworthy that the two families that brought dramatic political and cultural changes to Olympia both were represented with interior sculptural ensembles.[174] What is certain, however, is that by placing the statues inside the temple, the Eleans removed the imperial statues from the "forest" of dedications and eliminated the ability of viewers to make comparisons with other honors. This separation meant that, unlike the majority of ancient honorific sculpture, the patrons of the Metroon ensemble largely controlled the viewing experience.

[173] Scott 2010, 154-162.

[174] Of course a major difference between these two family groups is that the Philippeion statues were commissioned by Philip or Alexander whereas the Metroon group presumably was dedicated by the city. Also, the Metroon was a preexisting structure that was appropriated for the imperial cult; it was not built specifically to honor the ruling family like the Philippeion. See Schultz 2007.

In addition to being inside a temple, the Metroon sculpture was noteworthy for serving a cultic function. Hitzl rightly takes issue with those who describe the statues as "ordinary portrait statues" or as "simply honorific statues."[175] As already discussed, all honors in the Altis took on a votive function due to their position within the temenos. Yet the Metroon sculpture also held a greater significance due to its relationship with the worship of the Mother of the Gods and the imperial cult. Moreover, the Metroon was located at the foot of the hill of Kronos, in the area of the sanctuary that housed the oldest cults and earliest structures.[176] The decision to set up an imperial dynastic ensemble within a temple located at the ritualistic heart of the sanctuary surely held significance and perhaps was intended to emphasize the power and importance of the ruling family.

An interior location also raises the issue of accessibility and visibility (figures 2.17-2.21). Scholars discuss the ideological influence and power of the Metroon sculpture, but one must ask how many people actually would have seen the statues, and, moreover, how much light would have reached the cella of the temple.[177] The dim interior would have provided a stark contrast to the outdoor "forest" of statues and white marble columns of the surrounding buildings, all of which were naturally illuminated with sunlight. The crowded cella also would have created a rather overwhelming display where the imperial statues, presumably upraised on pedestals, would have loomed over visitors. The colossal image of

[175] Hitzl 1991, 105. The first quotation comes from Thompson 1966, 186; the second from Price 1984, 179.

[176] Scott 2010, 146-180.

[177] The only reference I have found to lighting within the temple is a brief note by Dörpfeld 1892 (*Olympia* II), 39: "Die Beleuchtung der Cella erfolgte ausschliesslich durch die Thür. Wenn der Zeustempel und das Heraion keine Hypaethraltempel waren, so kann auch das kleine Metroon keine Oberlichtbeleuchtung gehabt haben." Oil lamps could be used to light interior spaces, but Dörpfeld's description nonetheless suggests a dim interior. The majority of ancient temples would have had similar issues of lighting and visibility since rarely were special measures taken to enhance illumination of the interior. The Parthenon, for example, had windows cut in the east wall of the cella and a large rectangular pool of water installed in front of the statue of Athena Parthenos in order to provide extra light. See Hurwit 2004, 146-154.

Augustus, situated at the rear of the cella and on the main viewing axis, would have been especially imposing due to its size and divine guise. As one continued farther into the temple, his or her eyes would be drawn upward and to either side, where over-life-size images of emperors and empresses stood, some in divine types, others in armor and holding weapons. At this point, a visitor would be close enough to touch the figures physically, which thereby would collapse the space between viewer and honorand as well as between citizen and emperor, and it would also add a tactile aspect to the viewing experience.[178] The fourth-century BCE limestone architecture served to reinforce the monumentality and gravity of this site of imperial worship and it further served to set off the imperial statues of Pentelic marble. As suggested above for the newly renovated structures within the Altis, the juxtaposition of Roman and Greek phases ultimately enhanced the aesthetic and sensory impression of the statuary display.

The viewing experience of the dynastic group continued as one left the cella of the Metroon. The return to the open sanctuary required the visitor to adjust to the natural sunlight and outdoor temperature. The view of the Altis from inside must have been remarkable as well. From this vantage point, a visitor in the early imperial period would have seen most immediately the east façade (and entrance) of the Temple of Hera. This building and the Pelopeion to the south were two of the oldest structures in the Altis, and both had served as popular backdrops for the display of honors throughout the sanctuary's history.[179] A little farther beyond the Temple of Hera stood the Philippeion, with its chryselephantine images of Hellenistic royalty, and the northwestern entrance to the

[178] In later periods, the close proximity between viewers and statues would also collapse the temporal space between past and present.

[179] Scott 2010, 146-217.

sanctuary. On the viewer's right was the foot of Kronos Hill where treasury houses had been built in commemoration of military victory, athletic competition, and as expressions of political power. A visitor leaving the Metroon was thus confronted with the oldest, most sacred part of the Altis and reminded of the sanctuary's long history.

When considered in relation to the imperial dynastic group, this view once again highlighted for a visitor the continuity between Olympia's Greek past and Roman present, an important aspect of cultural memory. The link between history, memory, and landscape is exemplified at many sites of antiquity, notably the Athenian Acropolis and Campus Martius in Rome.[180] At these sites and others, the venerable past was acknowledged, even accented, in order to lend authority and legitimacy to new monuments. These new structures thereby conveyed a message of power, but they did so through the use and transformation of acceptable, traditional forms. The careful design and interplay of monuments ultimately allowed socio-political changes to be presented as a continuum.

In addition to location and setting, the extant material provides insight into the patrons of imperial honors at Olympia in the late first century BCE and first century CE. During this time, dedications to the emperor and his family continued to be erected both by civic institutions and private citizens. An analysis of how patronage evolved at Olympia is difficult due to the limited evidence, especially for the Flavian period, but most likely there was no linear evolution. It can be said, however, that the majority of inscriptions that preserve the patron(s) name the Eleans (45%, 5), but individuals also comprise a substantial percentage (36%, 4) of known dedicators as well.

[180] On the Athenian Acropolis see Hurwit 2004, 49-86; Thakur 2007. On the Campus Martius see Rehak 2006. For general studies on cultural memory see Gowing 2005, and the essays in Bommas 2011; Bommas, Harrisson, and Roy 2012.

Moreover, Julio-Claudian honors were set up for various reasons, including victory in the Olympic games and gratitude for patronage and benefactions. Some of these surviving inscriptions also indicate that honorific monuments could be understood as votive offerings to Zeus.[181] Indeed, one must keep in mind that any monument set up in the Altis was located within a sacred boundary and therefore had a religious aspect to it. A patron's decision to erect an honorific dedication at Olympia, then, was motivated by complex and multivalent aims.

This investigation also highlighted the fact that the Augustan and Julio-Claudian honors from the Metroon were just a few of the many dedications set up for the dynasty. This was not the case in the Flavian period, which was characterized by an overall dearth of honorific monuments. Indeed, the Flavian installation in the Metroon appears to be one of only three, perhaps four honors to the family and the only securely identified Flavian dynastic group within the Altis. The dominance of the Julio-Claudians in the archaeological record can be stated in quantitative terms; of the surviving individual honors for the first two imperial dynasties, the Julio-Claudian material constitutes 72% (13) (figure 2.28). The Julio-Claudians also dominate the group honors, with 75% (3) of the material representing this household (figure 2.26).

Augustus, Tiberius, and Nero were the most commonly honored emperors, each with three individual honors, which represents 23% of the extant material. Caligula has two extant honors (15%), while Germanicus and Agrippa each have one (8%) (figure 2.30). Julio-Claudian group ensembles provide evidence of additional family members being honored, including Drusus I, Drusus II, Agrippina the Younger, and the emperor Claudius.

[181] This is the case for *Olympia* V, nos. 220, 221, 367, 369. For more on honors within sanctuaries serving as votives see Hölscher 2002; Krumeich 2007.

For the Flavian material, individual honors survive in the greatest number for Domitian (80%, 4), and there is one known honor for Vespasian (20%) (figure 2.31). As with the Julio-Claudian material, the Flavian dynastic group from the Metroon supplements the material for individual honors, proving that additional family members (i.e. Titus and two Flavian women) were honored within the Altis. The evidence then does not support any clear correlation between whom patrons chose to honor individually and whom they honored in familial groups.

Possible reasons for the dearth of Flavian dynastic material has been discussed previously in relation to imperial ideology in the last quarter of the first century CE and the socio-biographical background of the Flavian family. Yet it also was mentioned that Vespasian and Titus honored Augustus and Claudius as imperial models, which makes it more difficult to explain the dearth of Flavian individual honors. The evidence is admittedly incomplete, and gaps must be acknowledged due to the survival rate of inscriptions (see Chapter One), but historical circumstances perhaps play a role in the high proportion of extant Julio-Claudian material.

After a period of decline in the first century BCE, the sanctuary at Olympia experienced a resurgence in architectural renovation and honorific display during the Augustan period. Little evidence exists to connect this renovation with Augustus directly,[182] but the multiple monuments in his honor suggest that the Greeks were eager to honor the first *princeps* in order to ensure the protection and future prosperity of the Altis. The opportunity to obtain the goodwill of the emperor was especially important given that the Greeks had supported Antony in the civil wars. I therefore see the installation of a colossal statue of the

[182] Similarly, the foundations and construction activities in Augustan Athens were not necessarily initiatives of the emperor himself. See Roedel 2010.

princeps in the Metroon during the early part of Augustus' rise to power, and probably the concurrent images of Augustus in front of the Temple of Zeus and within the temple itself, as ways for patrons to confirm their allegiance to the future emperor.

The continuing importance of Olympia under the later Julio-Claudian emperors is attested by the participation of Tiberius, Germanicus, and Nero in the Olympic games and the ongoing installation of imperial honorific monuments. These monuments are focused again in front of the east façade of the Temple of Zeus. Here there were single honors to Tiberius and Nero and group monuments of Tiberius, Drusus I, and Drusus II and of Germanicus and Drusus II. The absence of Claudius from this list strengthens a Claudian date for the second phase of the Metroon ensemble since, based on the available evidence, it appears that he was not honored elsewhere in the sanctuary.[183] The monuments to the east of the Temple of Zeus would have connected the honorands with past honorific display, including the earlier images of Augustus, as well as with Zeus.

For either the Julio-Claudian or Flavian dynasty, however, there is a notable absence of female honorific sculpture. Indeed, no base or inscription within the Altis at Olympia can be identified securely as an honorific monument for a Roman empress.[184] Moreover, apart from the Metroon, only two other dynastic groups from the first century CE are confirmed, both of which included solely male figures. Scholars who thus dismiss the Metroon female portraits as simple pendants for their male counterparts thereby overlook a crucial feature of the sculptural ensemble that sets it apart from other honorific monuments at Olympia.

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[183] I also believe that a date of 42/3 CE for the Claudian phase is strengthened by the fact that some of the individual imperial honors (e.g. *Olympia* V, no. 367; *IG* 7.2711, lines 21-43) are dated securely to the early part of the emperor's reign. This also supports an early Flavian date ca. 70 CE for the third phase.

[184] Women were represented most often with male family members, but they also could be honored individually. See Alexandridis 2004, 31-35, as well as the discussions presented in the following two chapters.

Indeed, the Metroon sculpture was the most comprehensive representation of the imperial family for generations and one that simultaneously was able to legitimize the current emperor and allude to the continuation of the dynasty into the future. The Eleans probably intentionally and purposefully included the female portraits in the Metroon as a means to honor the entire imperial household and to convey in visual form their support of the current *princeps*' dynastic ambitions.

When we look at other sites on the Greek mainland, similar patterns of dynastic display emerge for the periods in question. In addition to the Olympian groups, thirteen other Julio-Claudian dynastic ensembles are attested on the mainland, but only one Flavian.[185] Within those thirteen Julio-Claudian groups, Augustus is the emperor represented most often (6), followed by Tiberius (3), Claudius (2), and Nero (1).[186] Other male members of the imperial family were represented as well, including Lucius Caesar (5), Gaius Caesar (4), Germanicus (2), Drusus II (2), and Marcus Agrippa (2).[187] Female honors, as at Olympia, are proportionally less than those of the men (Livia (3); Julia (3); Agrippina the Elder (2), Agrippina the Younger (2), and Statilia Messalina (1)).[188] In terms of dating, seven of the groups date to the Augustan period (54%), two each from the Tiberian (15%)

[185] For the Julio-Claudian groups see Rose 1997, nos. 67 (Acraephia), 68 (Athens), 69 (Corinth), 70 (Delphi), 71 (Eleusis), 72 (Epidaurus), 73 (Epidaurus), 74 (Gytheum), 75 (Hypata), 76 (Megara), 77 (Mekes), 81 (Sparta), 82 (Thespiae); For the Flavian group see Deppmeyer 2008, no. 10 (Eretria).

[186] For Augustus see Rose 1997, nos. 68 (Athens); 69 (Corinth); 71 (Eleusis); 74 (Gytheum); 75 (Hypata); 77 (Mekes); for Tiberius see nos. 68 (Athens); 74 (Gytheum); 77 (Mekes); for Claudius see nos. 72 (Epidaurus); 73 (Epidaurus); for Nero see no. 67 (Acraephia).

[187] For Lucius Caesar see Rose 1997, nos. 69 (Corinth), 70 (Delphi), 75 (Hypata), 81 (Sparta), 82 (Thespiae); for Gaius Caesar see nos. 69 (Corinth), 75 (Hypata), 81 (Sparta), 82 (Thespiae); for Germanicus see nos. 68 (Athens), 69 (Corinth); For Drusus II see nos. 68 (Athens), 77 (Mekes); for Marcus Agrippa see nos. 76 (Megara), 82 (Thespiae).

[188] For Livia see Rose 1997 nos. 71 (Eleusis), 74 (Gytheum), 82 (Thespiae); for Julia see nos. 70 (Delphi), 76 (Megara), 82 (Thespiae); for Agrippina the Elder see nos. 70 (Delphi), 82 (Thespiae); for Agrippina the Younger see nos. 72 (Epidaurus), 73 (Epidaurus); for Statilia Messalina see no. 67 (Acraephia).

and Claudian (15%) periods, one from the Neronian period (8%), and one group was a two-phase monument from the reigns of Augustus and Caligula (8%) (figure 2.32).[189] Moreover, the groups were set up both by civic bodies (77%, 10) and by private individuals (15%, 2) (figure 2.33).[190] Thus the evidence from elsewhere in Greece regarding who was being honored with dynastic monuments and by whom, as well as when such dedications were being set up, complements the material from Olympia.

The original location of most of these other Greek dynastic groups is not known, but one came from a basilica, two from a theater, and four were set up in front of (3) or inside of (1) temples (figure 2.34).[191] The interior honor was set up at Acraephia (Boeotia) by the demos and boule between 66 and 67 CE. It included figures of Nero and Statilia Messalina and was placed within the cella of the Ptoan Temple of Apollo. Another imperial dynastic group was erected at Delphi between 16 and 13 BCE in front of the entrance to the Temple of Apollo. It was dedicated by the Amphictyonic League and honored at least three people (Julia, Lucius Caesar, and Agrippina the Elder). Its position in front of the east façade of a major temple and in the part of a sanctuary already crowded with honorific monuments and columns directly parallels some of the Julio-Claudian dynastic groups from Olympia discussed above. Contemporary with the dedication at Delphi, the people of Thespiae set up a group in honor of Marcus Agrippa, Agrippina the Elder, Julia, Lucius Caesar, Gaius

[189] For the Augustan period see Rose 1997, nos. 68 (Athens), 70 (Delphi), 71 (Eleusis), 75 (Hypata), 76 (Megara); 81 (Sparta), 82 (Thespiae); for the Tiberian period see nos. 74 (Gytheum), 77 (Mekes); for the Claudian period see nos. 72 (Epidaurus), 73 (Epidaurus); for the Neronian period see no. 67 (Acraephia); for the Augustan/Caligulan group see no. 69 (Corinth).

[190] For groups set up by civic bodies see Rose 1997, nos. 67 (Acraephia, demos and boule of Acraephia), 68 (Athens, people of Athens), 70 (Delphi, Amphictyonic League), 71 (Eleusis, people of Athens), 74 (Gytheum, city of Gytheum), 75 (Hypata, city of Hypata), 76 (Megara, demos and boule of Megara), 77 (Mekes, probably dedicated by the city), 81 (Sparta, city of Sparta), 82 (Thespiae, people of Thespiae); for groups set up by individuals see nos. 72 (Epidaurus, Tiberius Claudius Nikoteles), 73 (Epidaurus, Tiberius Claudius Nikoteles).

[191] For groups set up in front of temples see Rose 1997, nos. 68 (Athens), 70 (Delphi), 82 (Thespiae). For the group set up within a temple see Rose 1997, no. 67 (Acraephia).

Caesar, and Livia, most likely in the sanctuary of the Muses.[192] Yet another dynastic group was erected in front of the west façade of the Parthenon on the Athenian Acropolis by the people of Athens after 4 CE. Epigraphic evidence confirms the presence of Drusus II, Tiberius, Augustus as emperor, Germanicus, and (later) Trajan. In light of the evidence from the Metroon, it is remarkable that no later Julio-Claudian or Flavian emperors were added to this group, especially given its prestigious location at a major site of antiquity. Interestingly, the only other Flavian group from the Greek mainland also was set up inside a temple, at Eretria.[193] As with the Metroon ensemble, the Eretrian group presumably had both an Augustan and Flavian phase. When considered together, the four Julio-Claudian ensembles and single Flavian group from Greek sanctuaries support the argument proposed here, namely that the patrons at Olympia made conscious, deliberate choices in the positioning of their dedications in order to maximize the resonance and impact of such monuments within the local honorific landscape.

In the end, previous research on the Metroon sculpture typically has ignored the ensemble's larger context in favor of stylistic and chronological arguments. Such considerations are important and necessary for establishing sequential phases, but only a broader contextual analysis allows one to understand how the statues fit into the overall honorific landscape of Olympia. Based on this investigation, I argue that the Metroon sculpture is not especially uncommon in terms of its patron (presumably the city of Elis), and there is not enough sculptural evidence to determine fully the significance of the statuary types used. Nonetheless, the sculpture is distinct for its incorporation of Flavian and female

[192] The inscribed blocks of the dedication were re-used in a Byzantine wall so their original context is unclear. The monument was dedicated to the Muses, however, which leads Rose to argue that the group probably was installed in their sanctuary.

[193] It was set up in the so-called Sebasteion. See Deppmeyer 2008, no. 10 (Eretria).

images, location both within the Altis and a building, and cultic function. These aspects, I believe, argue against the idea that the Metroon was "usurped," "invaded," "disfigured, or at least modernized in an unappealing way."[194] While scholars may never know exactly how the Metroon sculpture was perceived by ancient viewers, the fact that the Eleans chose to convert a temple previously dedicated to the Mother of the Gods into a site of imperial worship, and then chose to honor the imperial household repeatedly in three different phases speaks against such a negative interpretation. Indeed, with each dynasty represented, one may conclude that the Eleans did not passively allow the Metroon to be overtaken with imperial images. Rather, they were active participants in the construction of their local honorific landscape.

[194] Vermeule 1968, 18, 68.

The Honorific Landscape of Olympia: Second and Third Centuries CE (figure 2.3)

Second Century CE

Moving into the second century CE, Olympia continues to be a popular site for honors, both to the Roman emperor alone as well as to the emperor and his family. The head of Trajan mentioned previously that was re-cut from a portrait of Domitian may have belonged to an honorific monument.[195] In addition, four fragments from a marble plate attest to a monument built for Trajan between 103 and 114 CE.[196] Two additional fragmentary plaques for monuments to Hadrian also have been identified and dated to the emperor's reign (117 – 138 CE).[197] Other marble fragments found to the north of the Temple of Zeus provide evidence of yet another monument, although it is unclear from the inscription if the emperor honored is Hadrian or one of the Antonines.[198]

No archaeological evidence exists for a Trajanic or Hadrianic familial statue group, but Pausanias (V.12.6) mentions that images of the two emperors were located in the pronaos of the Temple of Zeus.[199] The ancient author does not indicate if the statues were set up simultaneously (i.e. as a familial group) or separately, and he also does not say if the statues served a cultic function.[200] Yet Pausanias does record that the statues were dedicated by two different groups, the Greeks (Trajan) and the cities of the Achaean Confederation (Hadrian).

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[195] Varner 2004, 267, no. 5.22.

[196] *Olympia* V, no. 378; Vermeule 1968, Appendix C; Højte 2005, 389, Trajan 116.

[197] *Olympia* V, nos. 379-380; Vermeule 1968, Appendix C; Højte 2005, 441, Hadrian 261.

[198] *Olympia* V, no. 381.

[199] Fragments of a base (*Olympia* V, no. 385) were found in 1880 in the pronaos of the Temple of Zeus, but not enough evidence exists to determine for whom the monument was erected.

[200] Kantiréa 2007, argues that after the Flavian dynasty ended, the imperial cult was transferred to the Temple of Zeus as a way for the new dynasty to disassociate itself from the previous one.

Honors at Olympia, both single and familial, continue into the Antonine period. For example, fragments of a base for a statue of Faustina the Younger were found to the southeast of the Temple of Zeus in 1876.[201] The inscription indicates that the monument was set up by the Achaean City Council, and based on the titulature, the monument is dated after Hadrian's death and before the assumption of imperial rule by Marcus Aurelius in 161 CE. In terms of Antonine family groups, the only one attested by archaeological evidence comes from the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus (see below). A second Antonine group perhaps stood in the Treasury of the Libyans of Cyrene, but the only evidence comes from Pausanias (VI.19.10), who simply says that he saw statues of Roman emperors inside the building. Pausanias does not mention which emperors were represented, and so although scholars can assume a *terminus ante quem* of ca. 150 CE, no evidence exists for the statues' dates.[202]

Severan Dynasty (193-235 CE)

No dynastic groups at Olympia are known of the Severan family and the evidence for imperial honors in general is minimal. A monument in honor of Caracalla is known from an extant base.[203] Cuttings on the block indicate it supported a marble statue, which is now lost. The titles used for Caracalla suggest that the monument dates between 211 and 215 CE. A fragmentary base of Pentelic marble confirms that Julia Domna likewise was honored at

[201] *Olympia* V, no. 382. The authors speculate that nos. 383 and 384 may belong to either this monument or a memorial of one of the many children of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina the Younger.

[202] Hitzl 1991, Appendix II, argues that Julio-Claudian statues were transferred from the Metroon to this treasury in order to make room for new Flavian statues. Thompson 1966, 185-186, sees the Metroon as housing Julio-Claudian portraits, the Temple of Zeus as housing Trajanic/Hadrianic portraits, and thus the treasury as the preferred site of display for Antonine imperial portraits. It must be stressed, however, that there have been no sculptural remains found in the temple or treasury so that all reconstructions are speculative. Another problem with these interpretations is that the treasury has not been identified securely.

[203] *Olympia* V, no. 386; Vermuele 1968, Appendix C.

Olympia with a statue.[204] The only other evidence for a possible Severan honor is speculative. A twice life-size bronze foot was found in the Metroon.[205] The date of the piece has ranged from the Hellenistic period to third century CE, with Hitzl arguing for a date in the late second or early third century CE.[206] Moreover, Hitzl believes that this bronze statue may reflect yet another phase of the Metroon sculpture in which the statue of a later emperor was erected in the pronaos in order to connect him to the previous emperors represented inside the temple's cella.

Third Century CE

As with the Severan period, no dynastic groups at Olympia are known from the third century CE. The dearth of evidence from this period probably is due to damage from a possible earthquake in the area as well as invasions of the Peloponnesus by Germanic tribes.[207] In the face of these invasions, the Eleans dismantled a large number of buildings in the Altis in order to have material to build a fortress wall.[208] In addition, several statues, bases, and votive offerings were used as construction material. While later repairs and restorations are attested, Olympia never truly recovered, and it continued to decline gradually throughout the century. One of the most important aspects of the ancient site, the Olympic

[204] *Olympia* V, no. 387; Vermuele 1968, Appendix C.

[205] *Olympia* IV, 13.

[206] Hitzl 1991, Appendix IV, 123-124: "Meines Erachtens weisen die grobe Kerblinie des kleinen Zehs, die schlechte Gußtechnik bei gleichzeitiger plastisch organischer Gliederung und vor allem die harte, an olympischen figürlichen Bronzen in dieser Weise nicht vorhandene Feilung der Oberfläche auf die spätere römische Zeit hin."

[207] For more on Olympia in late antiquity see *Olympia* I, 57-65; Herrmann 1972, 175-195; Mallwitz 1988; Sinn 1999, 8-9, 13, 19-26; 2000, 119-129; Younger and Rehak 2009, 58-59.

[208] Dismantled buildings included the Bouleuterion, Echo Hall, Leonidaion, Pelopion, treasuries, as well as the Metroon.

games, eventually came to an end in the late fourth century CE under Theodosius I. Another earthquake in the sixth century CE destroyed any remaining structures.

The Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus

Historical Background

The second focus group at Olympia comes from the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus, situated in the northern section of the Altis, just west of the treasury house terrace and between the Metroon and Heraion (figure 2.3). This location on the south slopes of Kronos Hill was the highest point in the Altis and thus of obvious importance, but it remains unclear what was here before the Nymphaeum's construction in the middle of the second century CE.[209]

Two literary sources mention the elaborate Nymphaeum,[210] but the monument is best known from archaeological investigations. The site was first excavated and the structure identified in the campaigns of 1878 and 1879. The associated architectural elements, statues, and inscriptions were published a little over a decade later.[211] Subsequent investigations were undertaken in 1939 by H. Schleif and H. Weber.[212]

From the epigraphic evidence, the fountain and its sculpture are known to have been dedicated by the city of Elis and a man named Lucius Vibullius Hipparchus Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes, more commonly known as Herodes Atticus, along with his wife

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[209] Foundation walls uncovered in the middle of the Nymphaeum's upper basin may represent the remains of two treasury houses like those to the east or a small Archaic fountain. See Schleif and Weber 1944; Settis 1968, 52-60.

[210] The Nymphaeum is mentioned by Philostratus in his *Lives of the Sophists* (2.551) and by Lucian in his essay *On the Death of Peregrinus* (19-20). Pausanias does not mention the monument, but most scholars assume it was standing at the time of his visit and that the author omitted the structure out of a disinterest for contemporary works. See Tobin 1997, Appendix 1.6, 314-323. For an argument against this traditional view see Settis 1968, 29-43.

[211] Inscribed bases found within the building complex allowed for its identification. The publication of the monument was divided among three works: *Olympia* II 1892, 134-139, plates 83-86 (architecture dealt with by Adler); *Olympia* III 1897, 260-279, plates 65-69 (statues dealt with by Treu); *Olympia* V 1896, 615-640, nos. 610-628 (inscriptions dealt with by Dittenberger and Purgold).

[212] These were published in *Olympische Forschungen*. See Schleif and Weber 1944, 53-82.

Appia Annia Regilla Atilia Caucidia Tertulla, or Regilla.[213] Herodes was a famous Greek rhetorician, sophist, and patron of art and architecture in the middle of the second century CE.[214] Regilla, on the other hand, was of a patrician Roman family with connections to the imperial house.[215] The two married in Rome in the early 140's CE and together they made significant contributions to the sacred space at Olympia. In addition to the Nymphaeum, Pausanias (VI.21.2) mentions that Herodes replaced two cult statues of Demeter and Kore with new ones of Pentelic marble. Furthermore, an inscribed base for a statue of Hygieia records Regilla as the dedicator.[216] In addition to these donations, Regilla was also a priestess of Demeter Chamyne at Olympia.[217]

The monumental Nymphaeum faced south, towards the interior of the precinct, and served as both a site of central water supply and sculptural display.[218] The Nymphaeum's sculpture will be discussed in more detail below, but the preserved material indicates that two groups were represented: members of the imperial family and of Herodes' family. Extant

[213] As discussed below, the dedicatory inscription for the entire monument names Regilla alone while the bases for the imperial statues name both Herodes and Regilla as the dedicators. The bases for the private statues were set up by the city of Elis. Another statue group of Herodes' family was erected at Delphi. See Tobin 1997, Chapter II, 69-111. Monuments similar to the Nymphaeum at Olympia were dedicated by Herodes at other locations. See Graindor 1930, 191-202; Neugebauer 1934; Bol 1984, 76-82.

[214] For detailed studies and monographs on Herodes see Graindor 1930; Neugebauer 1934; Ameling 1983; 1992; Tobin 1997; Galli 2002. Herodes was also a tutor to imperial princes in Rome and held high offices in the provinces. His patronage was focused primarily in Athens and the Greek East. His decision to erect a Nymphaeum at Olympia testifies to the site's importance in the Roman world in the second century CE.

[215] Regilla was related to Faustina the Elder on her father's side. See Graindor 1930, 83; Bol 1984, 22-30; Tobin 1997, Chapter II, 69-111.

[216] *Olympia* V, 411-414, no. 288. The base was found in 1880 built into a later wall located in front of the Echo Hall and to the south of the Zanes bases. Tobin 1997, Appendix 1.6, 314-323, argues that the statue may have stood originally near the entrance to the stadium and perhaps was set up in connection with the Nymphaeum.

[217] Bol 1984, 22-30; Tobin 1997, 69-111; Galli 2002, 223-226. Regilla's role as priestess is confirmed by two dedications at Olympia, the statue of Hygieia and the Nymphaeum. For more on the priestesses of Demeter Chamyne in the imperial period at Elis see Zoumbaki 2001, 149-150.

[218] The Nymphaeum was fed by a mile-long aqueduct from the Alpheios Valley.

bases confirm two different dedicators for this sculpture; the imperial group was a dedication of Herodes and Regilla, while the statues of Herodes' family were set up by the citizens of Elis.[219] The dedicatory inscription for the entire monument also survives on the side of a large marble bull (figure 2.35). It names Regilla, priestess of Demeter, as the sole dedicator of the monument and further states that "the water and the things around the water" were dedicated to Zeus.[220]

The original appearance of the Nymphaeum has been debated since its discovery in the nineteenth century. All scholars agree that the monument was axially and symmetrically designed and consisted of a semicircular exedra with a series of niches for the associated bases and sculpture.[221] In front of the exedra was a water basin, which was also semicircular. Another basin, wider than the exedra and of rectangular shape, lay in front of the exedra and upper basin. A parapet wall with lion-headed waterspouts separated the two basins and allowed water to fall from the upper into the lower pool. At either end of the lower basin was a monopteros, the precise function of which is unclear. Finally, in front of the lower basin was a channel where water could be collected by visitors to the Altis or distributed to other areas of the sanctuary.

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[219] *Olympia* V, 615-640, nos. 610-628. The inscriptions name the person honored, followed by the dedicator of the statue. Longfellow 2011, 249, notes that for the bases that list Herodes as dedicator, the name is highlighted and emphasized by appearing on its own line.

[220] *Olympia* V, 619-620, no. 610: 'Ρήγιλλα ιέρεια / Δήμητρος, το 'υδωρ / και τα περι το 'υδωρ τω Διί. Although Regilla is the sole dedicator in the inscription, Herodes was probably the one who provided the funds for the project. Scholars argue that Herodes did not list himself in the dedicatory inscription as a show of modesty. In addition to Dittenberger and Purgold's commentary in *Olympia* V, see Neugebauer 1934; Settis 1968, 1-11, 24; Tobin 1997, 69-111.

[221] For more on the typology of exedra nymphaea see Schleif and Weber 1944; Bol 1984, 76-82. Also, in Bol's 1984 publication there is an essay by Hoffmann (pages 67-75) on the structural layout and architectural sculpture of the exedra. By considering the bases in depth, Hoffmann reconstructs the average dimensions of the niches as 1.10 m (width); 0.43 m (depth); 3.20-3.30 m (height of lower niches); 2.90-3.00 m (height of upper niches). The niches were vaulted with rounded arches and were flanked by pilasters on pedestals. Schleif and Weber 1944, also provide a thorough technical analysis of the bases, architecture, and architectural sculpture of the Nymphaeum.

The architectural features of the Nymphaeum that are most controversial include the number of niches, the number of storeys, and the presence (or absence) of a vaulted half-dome roof. The latter feature, which first was proposed by F. Adler in 1892, was not based on any archaeological evidence and thus was rejected in the study by Schleif and Weber and subsequently by R. Bol and A. Hoffmann.[222] Moreover, the earliest publication placed the statues as pairs in alternating rectangular and semicircular niches (figure 2.36).[223] The study by Schleif and Weber abandoned this reconstruction in favor of an unroofed exedra with statues set up individually in fifteen niches and with the three larger statues of the emperors occupying the attic storey (figure 2.37).[224]

The third and most recent investigation of the Nymphaeum is R. Bol's 1984 publication, *Das StatuenProgramm des Herodes-Atticus-Nymphäums*. In her study, Bol aims to reconstruct the arrangement of the Nymphaeum sculpture and to understand its programmatic import by considering the known sculptural material as well as unpublished material and fragments that previously were not associated with the Nymphaeum. Bol also uses a more interdisciplinary approach than earlier scholars, incorporating historical and genealogical context to a far greater degree. She arrives at a new reconstruction of the monument as a two-storey edifice with eleven niches on each level (figure 2.38).[225] The

[222] *Olympia* II, 134-139; Schleif and Weber 1944, 53; Bol 1984, 105-108; Hoffmann's refutation of the dome hypothesis can be found in Bol 1984, 72.

[223] *Olympia* II, 134-139, plate 83.

[224] Schleif and Weber 1944, 53-82, plates 35-37.

[225] Bol 1984, 50-58, acknowledges that apsidal facades with rich sculptural decoration typically have a maximum of seven niches. Yet Bol has attributed new sculptural material to the Nymphaeum (see below for more), thereby raising the number of bases beyond what could be accommodated by seven niches.

general lines of Bol's reconstruction have been accepted by the majority of scholars and will be adopted for this study as well.[226]

Associated Sculpture (figures 2.39, 2.40)

Statue Bases

Numerous inscribed bases as well as fragments of freestanding sculpture survive from the Nymphaeum. In addition, the dedicatory inscription mentioned above, which names Regilla as the sole dedicator of the fountain, is preserved on the right side of a large bull made of Pentelic marble.[227] The animal likely was positioned on the wall separating the two basins, facing to the right so that the inscription would be visible, although perhaps not readable.[228] As for extant bases, Bol's recent reassessment and catalogue include eleven bases for members of Herodes' family and five for the imperial family.[229] The eleven private bases were for Herodes (no. 18), Regilla (no. 20), Tiberius Claudius Atticus, the father of Herodes (no. 13), Appius Annius Gallus, the father of Regilla (no. 10), Vibullia Alcia, the mother of Herodes (no. 12), Atilia Caucidia Tertulla, the mother of Regilla (no. 19), Atticus Bradua, the son of Herodes (no. 14), Marcus Appius Bradua, the grandfather of Regilla (no.

[226] For reviews of Bol see Goette 1985; Fullerton 1985; Colledge 1986; Fuchs 1986. Fuchs argues that each storey had thirteen niches and that there were at least five ideal statues, but cf. Deppmeyer 2008, 211-224, no. 102, note 15. Bol's reconstruction is followed most recently by Longfellow 2011, 210-211.

[227] *Olympia* V, 619-620, no. 610; Bol 1984, 109-110. The bull as preserved measures 1.60 m long and 0.70 m high. Its legs are broken, however, so it originally would have stood taller. It was found in 1878 in the lower basin of the Nymphaeum. Both the choice of the bull and the format of the inscription have been described as intentionally archaizing. See Dittenberger and Purgold's commentary in *Olympia* V, as well as Settis 1968, 9-11; Spannagel 1973-1974, 68-69; Mallwitz 1988, 38-39; Galli 2002, 223-227.

[228] This location was proposed first by Treu in *Olympia* III, 270, and was later supported by Graindor 1930, 191-202; Neugebauer 1934; Settis 1968, 9-11; Spannagel 1973-1974, 68-69; Bol 1984, 105-110; Galli 2002, 223-227. However, Adler, *Olympia* II, 134-139, plates 83-86, places the bull in the interior of the upper basin.

[229] Bol 1984, 109-150. Only two intact bases survive since many were re-used as pavement in the early Christian church.

11), Athenais, daughter of Herodes, and Regillus, the son of Herodes (shown together on the joint base no. 16/17), and Elpinike, daughter of Herodes (no. 15). The imperial bases name in their inscriptions Faustina the Elder (no. 4), Faustina the Younger (no. 5), Lucius Verus (no. 6), Lucilla (no. 9), and Tiberius Aelius Antoninus and Annia Faustina (shown together on the joint base no. 7/8).[230]

All the statue bases are of the same shape and are similar in their technical details, which suggests that they were executed at the same time. They are all of marble, except for three bases for statues of emperors, which were of brick covered with thin slabs of marble.[231] Moreover, the roughly worked backs of the bases indicate that they were meant for display in niches.[232] Most of the bases carry inscriptions identifying the private or imperial honorand as well as the donor (either Herodes and Regilla or the city of Elis). Traces of paint indicate that some of these inscriptions were painted red in order to increase legibility, and some of the newly attributed bases (nos. 21-22) appear only to have been painted since no traces of inscribed letters are preserved.[233] Despite these similarities, the bases employ two different types of mouldings that vary depending on whether the base was for a member of the imperial or private family (figure 2.41).[234] Citing these different profiles, Bol argues that each base fit individually into a niche and that the lower level included the bases for the

[230] The numbers here reflect the catalogue numbers assigned by Bol 1984, 109-150. For the numbers assigned by the excavators see *Olympia* V, 615-640, nos. 610-628.

[231] Schleif and Weber 1944, 54.

[232] Schleif and Weber 1944, 61; Bol 1984, 13-17. Hoffmann's analysis of the bases in Bol 1984, 67-75, also demonstrates that the bases partially stood out from the niches.

[233] Bol 1984, 13-17, 141-143. These bases are associated with the Nymphaeum due to technical similarities. Painting was a regular feature of carved inscriptions. See Gordon 1983, 12-33; Kent 1966, nos. 98, 275, 311, 342, 377, 452, 489, 492, for examples from Corinth in the Roman period.

[234] The one exception is no. 11, which has an imperial base profile yet was used for the statue of Regilla's grandfather, Marcus Appius Bradua. See *Olympia* V, 627-630, no. 620; Bol 1984, 121-123, no. 11. Bol 1984, 50-58, explains this as a last minute change of plans. Cf. Fuchs 1986.

imperial family while the upper series of niches housed the statues of Herodes and his family.[235]

Freestanding Statues

On the basis of find spot and style, Bol argues that twenty-two statues can be associated with the Nymphaeum at Olympia.[236] In addition, Bol attributes two other, larger portraits to the complex, which will be discussed separately below. The twenty-two images are all of Pentelic marble and appear to be made simultaneously, although by different sculptors.[237] Their roughly worked backs suggest display in niches.[238] The twenty-two statues include: four males in armor, three males in togas, one male in a himation, three women in the Large Herculaneum type, one woman in the Small Herculaneum type, four other female statues, two girls, two boys, and two divine statues.[239] Eight of the twenty-two statues have extant portrait heads.[240]

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[235] Bol 1984, 50-58. Using the newly attributed bases, Bol argues that at least eighteen statue bases are known for the Nymphaeum, which goes against Schleif and Weber's reconstruction that only allowed for a maximum of fifteen niches. Moreover, the varying base profiles support the separation of the bases into two distinct display groups, which Bol connects to the two different levels of the exedra. Bol places the imperial family on the lower level since this position would have been closer to the viewer and thus hierarchically more important and also because the imperial group is slightly taller than the private one.

[236] Bol 1984, 7-21. For the find spots see *Olympia* III, 260-278, plates 65-69.

[237] Graindor 1930, 191-202; Bol 1984, 18-21, argues that they probably were made in an Athenian workshop. Cf. Goette 1985.

[238] Bol 1984, 18-21, points out that this applies even to the armored statues of the emperors, which Schleif and Weber 1944, had placed on the open attic storey of their reconstruction.

[239] For a catalogue of the statues see Bol 1984, 151-193. For more on the typological and stylistic analyses see Conze 1891, 535 (nos. 2-3); Wegner 1939, 26-27, 52, 102-103, 136, 159, 216, 237, 282-284; Harrison 1953, 44-45, 78; Hanfmann 1957, 232, note 66; Vermeule 1959-1960, 49 (no. 129), 55 (no. 181), 61 (no. 232); Rosenbaum 1960, 92-93; Bieber 1962, 117-118; Kabus-Jahn 1962, 8-10; Schmidt 1967, 119-123; Niemeyer 1968, 97 (nos. 51-52); Vermeule 1968, 276, 282-283, 394 (no. 2), 396 (no. 9); Stavridis 1970, 44-45, 51-52, 63-64, 86-91; Fittschen 1971, 224-227; Kruse, 1975, 137, note 210, 176-179, 284-285 (B29-B31), 316-318 (C32), 374-376 (D87-D91), 349 (D42); Linfert 1976, 54-57; Bieber 1977, 151; Calza 1977, 70-71 (no. 69); Fittschen 1977, 80-88; Bergmann 1978, 40-41; Stemmer 1978, 49-50, 110-111; Wegner and Unger 1979, 92, 109-110,

Unfortunately, no bases have plinth cuttings and no statue was found with its base, so none of the surviving sculpture can be associated with a particular base or its inscription. Identification of the statues thus is based on the surviving portraits and historical probability.[241] The two larger armored statues preserve the heads of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, and one of the two smaller armored statues has been associated with a portrait of Lucius Verus excavated in the upper basin (figure 2.42). The other small armored statue lacks a head, but it is assumed to be Marcus Aurelius due to the presence of Lucius Verus and the base that names Faustina the Younger. Bol identifies two of the three togati as the father and grandfather of Regilla by associating them with inscriptions ten and eleven. Bol tentatively identifies the third as Herodes himself. The man in the tunic and himation is believed to represent Herodes' father, Tiberius Claudius Atticus.[242]

Three females depicted in the Large Herculaneum type were found in the upper basin. One preserves the portrait of Faustina the Elder and belongs with inscription four (figure 2.43). The other two statues do not have extant portraits, but Bol identifies them as Sabina and Regilla based on sculptural and epigraphic evidence.[243] The four other female statues

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129, 158; Gauer 1980, 207-208 (nos. 146-148); Wegner and Unger 1980, 23-24, 50-51; Wegner 1980, 191; Ridgway 1981, 422-448; Fittschen 1982, 27-28, 49-51; Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 69 (no. 90); Goette 1990, 137 (nos. 106-108); Mikocki 1995, 60-61, 200 (no. 349); Smith 1998, 70-77; Alexandridis 2004, 188-189 (no. 192); Deppmeyer 2008, 211-224 (no. 102).

[240] In Bol's catalogue, these include nos. 28 (Hadrian), 29 (Antoninus Pius), 31 (Lucius Verus), 34 (Marcus Appius Bradua), 35 (Tiberius Claudius Atticus), 37 (Faustina the Elder), 43 (Athenais), and 48 (Zeus).

[241] Bol 1984, 22-30.

[242] Smith 1998, 70-77, however, thinks that this figure represents Herodes and that the third togatus is Herodes' father on the basis of a comparison with the Philopappus Monument in Athens where Philopappus wears the himation while his grandfather wears the toga. Smith views Herodes' decision to represent himself in a himation as a display of modesty, *pietas,* and a statement of the "equal footing" of Greek and Roman dress.

[243] The identification of the Sabina portrait is based on historical probability, since she would be expected if portraits of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Faustina the Elder are preserved. The statue of Regilla, which is associated with inscription five, is identified as such because the statue is the same size as Faustina the Elder and Sabina, which precludes identification as Faustina the Younger since the portrait of Marcus Aurelius is

found in the Nymphaeum do not have preserved portraits so that identification remains difficult. Nonetheless, Bol proposes that one depicts the mother of Herodes, who is known to have been included in the Nymphaeum from inscription twelve. Bol further argues that since Herodes was represented with both parents, Regilla probably was shown with her mother and father, and thus another female statue depicts Atilia Caucidia Tertulla. The other two female figures Bol tentatively identifies as Faustina the Younger and Elpinike, the oldest daughter of Herodes. The female statue in the Small Herculaneum type is identified as the other daughter of Herodes, Athenais, who is named in the joint inscription sixteen/seventeen with her younger brother.[244] Four other statues of children are preserved.[245] The two boys Bol identifies as sons of Herodes, Regillus and Atticus Bradua. She argues that the two girls represent daughters of Marcus Aurelius, Lucilla and Domitia Faustina. The only base with no surviving sculptural material is seven/eight, which was a joint base for additional children of Marcus Aurelius, Tiberius Aelius Antoninus and Annia Faustina.[246]

Finally, Bol associates two divine images, both presumably of Zeus, with the Nymphaeum. A fragment of a nude male discovered in the lower basin was immediately

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smaller than those of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. Moreover, the statue of Regilla is the only female portrayed with a wreath, which Bol connects to Regilla's role as priestess of Demeter.

[244] This statue had been identified previously as Faustina the Younger. See *Olympia* III, 274; Schleif and Weber 1944, 58-61; Wegner 1939, 216; Harrison 1953, 44-45; Kruse 1975, 316-318. Yet Bol 1984, 22-30, argues that the statue is too small for Faustina, even if one assumes that she would be shown smaller like the statues of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. Bol connects the small size of the statue to the fact that Athenais would have been only about ten years old at the time the statue was erected.

[245] There is much debate about which children are represented since this has implications for the birth order of the children of Herodes and Marcus Aurelius. See Graindor 1930, 191-202; Barnes 1968; Settis 1968; Avotins 1975; Bol 1984, 31-45; Schumacher 1985; Fuchs 1986; Ameling 1992; Filges 1997, 98-105, 274, no. 153; Tobin 1997, 69-111. For this investigation, these debates are not relevant. The important point is that at least seven children were represented, which is attested by epigraphic and sculptural evidence.

[246] Alternatively, statues without surviving bases include those of Antoninus Pius, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, Sabina, and Domitia Faustina.

identified as a divine statue and attributed to the complex.[247] Bol associates another statue in the Dresden Zeus type with the Nymphaeum on the basis of its similar style and find spot in relation to the other divine image.[248] Bol believes the two statues complemented each other as representations of Zeus Olympios (Dresden Zeus) and Zeus Chthonios (Nude Zeus).[249] Moreover, Bol views the two images as appropriate for the Nymphaeum due to the dedicatory inscription, which names Zeus as the recipient of the donation, as well as the fact that the sanctuary was a center of worship for the father of the gods. Also, other multi-figured statuary monuments dedicated to a divinity not only have a dedicatory inscription like the Nymphaeum, but also a representation of the deity.[250]

In addition to the above sculpture, Bol follows the original excavators in associating two other portraits with the Nymphaeum, one in armor and the other in a toga (figure 2.44).[251] The two statues differ from the others in their style, larger size, and better quality. Moreover, the two statues are finished carefully on the back, which suggests that unlike the other statues, these two images probably were not meant for display in niches. Bol argues

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[247] *Olympia* III, 270. The fragment was found in 1878, but other pieces of the statue were found throughout the site, including the torso, which was found in 1938 in a late wall of the Gymnasium Hall. The fragments of the lower body of the Dresden Zeus were found in the same section of the wall during the same excavations. See Bol 1984, 187-193, for the excavation history.

[248] Bol 1984, 187-193. Fuchs 1986, identifies this statue as Asklepios and the statue of Elpinike as Hygieia. She is supported by Galli 2002, 223-227. Bol 1984, 22-30, explores the possible interpretation as Asklepios, but argues against it due to the absence of Asklepios' attribute (the rod) and on typological grounds. For more on the style and typology of the two Zeus statues see Mingazinni 1969-1970, 71-84; Bol and Herz 1989.

[249] Bol 1984, 22-30. Bol and Herz 1989, further argue that the statue of Zeus Olympios/Dresden Zeus may have served as a representation of Zeus Panhellenios and that it reflects the cult image set up in the Panhellenion in Athens. Sinn 2000, 108, however, argues that the divine statue(s) of the monument are now lost, and he assumes that there should be a statue of Demeter-Chamyne represented somewhere within the complex.

[250] Bol 1984, 27-30.

[251] Bol 1984, 46-49, 193-195. The togatus was found in 1877 in front of the western portion of the lower Nymphaeum basin, built into a late wall. The plinth was found in a similar wall by the southeast corner of the Heraion. The armored statue was excavated in 1878 in front of the eastern wing of the lower basin. Some fragments were found in other areas of the Altis. See *Olympia* III, 266-273.

that the two statues belong to the complex's sculptural display based on typological similarities.[252] By analogy with the other statues, which utilize cuirass types for the imperial rulers and togati for members of Herodes' family, Bol believes that the armored statue represents Marcus Aurelius and that the togate statue is Herodes.[253] Bol thus sees these two statues as representing a later addition (see below for more on the dating and phases) to the Nymphaeum undertaken by Herodes in order to demonstrate visually his ties and loyalty to the new emperor.[254] Bol places these two statues in the two monopteroi flanking the lower basin of the Nymphaeum, which may have functioned originally as elaborate fountains before the sculpture was set in place.[255]

In summary, according to the most thorough investigation, the sculptural display of the Nymphaeum at Olympia was comprised of twenty-four statues, which included imperial, private, and divine representations. These statues were set up on twenty-two bases (due to two double bases) placed individually in the niches of the Nymphaeum, which likewise

[252] Bol 1984, 46-49, argues that the armored statue has the same tight-fitting armor with double Pteryges and the paludamentum falling down on both sides, while the togate statue has typological similarities in terms of the balteus, the support, and the folds of drapery.

[253] Bol 1984, 46-49, notes 151-152, argues for Marcus Aurelius (and not Antoninus Pius) based on stylistic differences, which speak for a later date: "Alles was dort hölzern, schwer und kompakt erscheint, die dicken Auflagen des Panzerschmucks, die brettartigen Lederstreifen, die wulstig dichten, röhrenförmigen Faltenzüge der Toga, ist hier scharfkantig und dünn gezeichnet: die metallisch gestanzten Panzerappliken, die bewegter akzentuierten Lederstreifen und die dünnschichtige Oberfläche des Panzers oder des Togastoffes, welche die vorgeschobene Hüfte über der Standbeinseite betonen und eine Drehung verdeutlichen; der Körper zeichnet sich sichtbar ab, und der Stand erscheint straffer und gefestigter." Her identification also is based on a fragmentary inscription found in the rectangular basin that she associates with the statue (number twenty-seven in her catalogue; *Olympia* V, 625-626, no. 617; Højte 2005, 495, Antoninus Pius 201). Cf. Schleif and Weber 1944; Hanfmann 1957, 232; Vermeule 1959-1960, 49; Niemeyer 1968, 97; Stemmer 1978, 49-50.

[254] Bol 1984, 46-49.

[255] The original publications (*Olympia* V, 617, 637-640; *Olympia* III, 268-276) placed the statues on the parapet wall between the lower and upper basin. Bol 1984, 58-67, argues that a position in the monopteroi is more satisfactory since it would explain both the good state of preservation of the two statues as well as their find spots; the armored statue was found immediately before the eastern monopteros and the togatos was found only a few meters in front of the western temple. The precise function and chronology of the monopteroi, however, remain unclear. The original publications suggested that the temples housed statues, while Schleif and Weber 1944, 75, claimed that the monopteroi originally held fountains. See *Olympia* II, 136; *Olympia* III, 261, 270. For a summary of the controversy see Tobin 1997, 318-321.

numbered twenty-two (eleven on each level). In addition, the dedicatory inscription of the entire complex is preserved on a large marble bull, which probably stood on the parapet wall separating the two basins. At a later time, two other portraits were set up in the round temples flanking the rectangular basin. While Bol's attributions and identifications cannot be confirmed definitively, they are based reasonably on the available evidence and historical context. I therefore find no reason to challenge Bol's attributions or her assumption that the sculpture of the Nymphaeum is known in its complete form.[256]

Arrangement

There have been three main theories for the arrangement of the sculpture of the Nymphaeum since the monument was excavated in the nineteenth century. The excavators initially proposed that the statues were displayed as pairs in alternating rectangular and semicircular niches, with the former housing images of the private family and the latter the imperial statues (figure 2.45).[257] Regilla and Herodes occupied the central niche. This theory, however, has been discounted by all subsequent scholars.

Schleif and Weber offered a new arrangement based on their reconstruction of the Nymphaeum as a single storey exedra with thirteen niches facing toward the basin and two southern-facing niches at either wing (figure 2.46).[258] In the peripheral niches they placed Herodes and Regilla since such a position would have highlighted the donors without making them superior to the imperial family. The imperial images were arranged in the remaining

[256] Bol 1984, 50-67. As Smith 1998, 76, states "There is enough surviving of the statues, the portrait heads, and the inscribed bases they stood on to have confidence in the broad lines of the latest, full-argued and fully-documented reconstruction proposed by Renate Bol."

[257] *Olympia* III, 260-279, figures 294, 298. For another early arrangement of the statues see Graindor 1930, 191-202.

[258] Schleif and Weber 1944, plates 35-37.

niches with two niches of private statuary intervening between each one. The statues of Antoninus Pius, Hadrian, and Marcus Aurelius were placed atop the exedra because of their larger size and higher rank.

Bol's new investigation and reconstruction of the Nymphaeum as a two-storey structure means that Schleif and Weber's arrangement must be abandoned. Bol instead offers an arrangement in which the two groups of statues were superimposed in eleven niches, with the imperial images below and the private images above (figures 2.47-2.49).[259] The central niche in each series was reserved for a cult image of Zeus.[260] Moving outward symmetrically on either side, Bol argues that the statues were arranged according to the rank of the person represented. Thus, on the lower level Zeus was flanked on his right by Antoninus Pius and Faustina the Elder, to his left by Hadrian and Sabina. The third niches from Zeus held statues of the designated successors, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. Faustina the Younger (next to Marcus Aurelius) and Domitia Faustina (next to Lucius Verus) occupied the next niches, and the exterior-most niches held the statues of the children of Marcus Aurelius. In the upper level, Zeus was flanked by Regilla to his right and Herodes to his left. To Herodes' left were images of his family: father (Tiberius Claudius Atticus), mother (Vibullia Alcia), son (Atticus Bradua), and children (Athenais and Regillus). On the other side, Regilla was followed by statues of her father (Appius Annius Gallus), mother (Atilia Caucidia Tertulla), grandfather (Marcus Appius Bradua), and daughter (Elpinike).

[259] Bol 1984, 50-67, thus abandons the idea that the wing walls had niches.

[260] Bol 1984, 53-54, argues that the large nude Zeus/Zeus Olympios would appear in the lower level on the basis of his pose (which parallels that of the two emperors), large size, and heroic nudity. The Dresden Zeus/Zeus Chthonios stood in the upper level with the private portraits, his draped body an appropriate complement to the civilian statues. The emphasis on the central axis was carried through to the dedicatory inscription in honor of Zeus, which was located on the bull that stood in the center of the parapet wall.

Bol's placement of the statues is supported by the turn of the extant portrait heads and bodies toward the center and by the symmetry achieved between sculptural "pendants" or "counterparts."[261] For example, Antoninus Pius and Hadrian mirror one another in terms of pose and armor type, as do Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. Familial relationships also are mirrored between eastern and western niches. So the father of Herodes is in a similar position as the father of Regilla, and the mothers of the founders occupy mirror niches. Moreover, there appears to be a certain rhythm both vertically and horizontally in terms of alternating male and female portraits.[262] Thus, a careful consideration of the interconnection between architectural design and statuary program created a display based on hierarchical differentiation and axial symmetry in terms of rank, pose, dress, type, and familial relation.[263]

Date

The date of the Nymphaeum and its sculptural program is based largely on the inscribed bases and the names of those mentioned in the dedications. Broad parameters for dating are obtained from the inscriptions that refer to Antoninus Pius as Αυτοκράτορος and

[261] On the sculptural pendants see Stemmer 1978, 49-50, 110-111; Bol 1984, 50-67; Colledge 1986. Smith 1998, 70-77, considers the correspondences between the statues specifically in terms of dress. Fuchs 1986, argues that Bol's arrangement of the statues based on the turns of the heads cannot be substantiated by the fragmentary remains. Moreover, he finds Bol's argument problematic since it would mean that the peripheral-most statues would have had to turn sharply away from the viewer.

[262] Bol 1984, 57.

[263] The general lines of Bol's arrangement of the Nymphaeum sculpture are convincing, but problems do arise. First, the apparent axial symmetry breaks down in some instances, and the exclusion of some family members is noticeable, such as the grandmother of Regilla, whose representation would have complemented that of Regilla's grandfather, Marcus Appius Bradua. Moreover, the presence of Regilla's grandfather makes the absence of Herodes' grandfather all the more conspicuous. This issue has been addressed previously by scholars, who claim that the absence of Tiberius Claudius Hipparchus was because Herodes' grandfather was not of senatorial rank and had an infamous past. See *Olympia* V, 617-620; Neugebauer 1934; Bol 1985, 25. Yet Deppmeyer 2008, 220-224, still raises some provoking questions: Why are the gods not greater or differentiated from the emperors? Similarly, why is the divinized image of Hadrian not differentiated from the others? I nonetheless follow Bol's arrangement for the sculpture since it offers the most satisfactory solution given the current state of research.

Hadrian as Θεου.[264] The complex therefore must date after the deification of Hadrian in 139 CE and before the death of Antoninus Pius in 161 CE.[265] The inscription for Faustina the Younger raises the *terminus post quem* to 147 CE since she is named as *Augusta*, a title she received after giving birth to a daughter in 147 CE.[266] The fact that the double inscription refers to two additional children of Marcus Aurelius places the *terminus post quem* closer to 149 CE.[267] Thus, the date of the Nymphaeum can be placed generally in the decade between 150 and 160 CE.

A more precise date is a source of controversy among scholars. The problems with determining the birth order for the children of Herodes and Marcus Aurelius have already been noted above.[268] Based on which birth order and which sculptural identifications one accepts, the Nymphaeum can be assigned various dates.[269] Moreover, the dedicatory inscription names Regilla as priestess of Demeter Chamyne, which traditionally is associated with the Olympic games of 153 CE.[270] Thus, some believe that this date marks either the

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[264] *Olympia* V, 621-624, no. 613; 627-630, no. 620; Bol 1984, 113-114, no. 4; 121-123, no. 11.

[265] The *terminus post quem* is supported by the inscriptions for Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, which use the titles employed after the boys were adopted by Antoninus Pius in 138 CE. See *Olympia* V, 623-626, 491-492, nos. 614, 618, 615/616, 383; Bol 1984, 98, 114-120, nos. 5-9. The *terminus ante quem* is supported by the portrait of Lucius Verus, which still shows him with boyish features. See Avontins 1975; Gauer 1980, 208-209; Bol 1984, 98-100; Tobin 1997, 321; Fittschen 1999, 128; Galli 2002, 225. The youthful portrait even may be replaced by a bearded one in 154 CE, thus lowering the *terminus ante quem*. See Fittschen 1999, 39-45.

[266] *Olympia* V, 623-624, no. 614; Bol 1984, 98, 114-116, no. 5.

[267] *Olympia* V, 623-626, no. 615/616; Bol 1984, 98-100, 117-119, no. 7/8. Also see Ameling 1992.

[268] See note 245 above.

[269] E.g. Adler in *Olympia* II, 139, (157 CE); Graindor 1930, 87-88, (153 CE); Neugebauer 1934, 108, (around 155 CE); Barnes 1968, 583 (probably completed 153 CE); Settis 1968, (157-161 CE); Kruse 1975, 284-285, 316-318, 374-376, (147-150 CE); Stemmer 1978, 49-50, 110, (157-161 CE); Bol 1984, 98-100, (149-153 CE); Tobin 1997, 314-323, (probably finished by 153 CE); Smith 1998, 70-77 (early 150's CE); Fittschen 1999, 127-128 (149-153 CE); Galli 2002, 223-227 (140-153 CE). For a review of the issues and problems associated with dating the Nymphaeum see Avotins 1975, who argues that "no theory published so far can conclusively establish or exclude any one of the Olympic years 149, 153, or 157."

start or completion of the Nymphaeum,[271] although even this argument has been challenged.[272] The silence of Pausanias is a third variable in determining a date for the complex. Some see this silence as a simple omission on the part of the ancient author, but others believe it has implications for the date of the Nymphaeum.[273] Finally, Lucian's satirical biography of Proteus Peregrinus includes a reference to the Nymphaeum that has been used to date the building.[274] In the end, a precise date for the Nymphaeum is desirable and important, but it is not directly relevant to the present investigation. The important point for this study is that the structure and its sculptural display originally were set up during the reign of Antoninus Pius, probably sometime in the 150's CE.

The Nymphaeum underwent two subsequent renovations. The first has been mentioned already in connection with the later addition of the large armored and togate statues. Possible occasions for this sculptural addition typically are cited as either the accession of Marcus Aurelius in 161 CE or the personal intervention of Marcus Aurelius in

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[270] *Olympia* V, 619-620, no. 610. Another inscription, no. 456, suggests that Antonia Baebia held the priesthood in 157 CE.

[271] E.g. Adler in *Olympia* II, 139, believes it marks the start of construction while Bol 1984, 100, believes it refers to completion.

[272] Settis 1968, 15-17, 24-29, challenges the assumption that Regilla was priestess in 153 CE and attempts to prove that she actually held the priesthood in 157 CE and that Antonia Baebia held it in 161 CE. He thus dates the completion of the Nymphaeum to 157 CE, the year that he believes Regilla was priestess at the games. For problems with Settis' argument see Avotins 1975.

[273] See Settis 1968, 29-52, for a thorough discussion of this issue.

[274] According to Lucian's biography (19-21), Peregrinus criticized the building at the Olympic games, withdrew his criticism at a subsequent Olympiad, and then either during those games or the next he claimed he would commit suicide, which he later did at the Olympics of 165 CE. Scholars thus try to count back from 165 CE to determine the date of the Nymphaeum, and typically arrive either at 153 or 157 CE. Yet this approach is problematic since it is not known if the Nymphaeum was in the midst of construction or complete at the time of Peregrinus' attack. Moreover, it is not clear at which games Peregrinus announced his decision to commit suicide. All that is certain is that the Nymphaeum existed at least eight years before the death of Peregrinus in 165 CE. See Settis 1968, 17-29; Avotins 1975; Tobin 1997, 314-323.

the affairs of Herodes, which resulted in a special triumph for Herodes in 174/175.[275] The third phase involved repairs to the water line in the northern part of the Altis and the alteration of three base inscriptions. Both activities are attributed to the grandson of Herodes Atticus, Vibullius Hipparchus, around the year 200 CE.[276] No fragments of the Nymphaeum or its sculpture have been found in the Herulian wall, so it appears that the complex remained intact until the establishment of the early Christian Church, when its marble bases were re-used as floor pavement for the nave. Architectural and sculptural pieces also have been found in the late antique walls of the Altis, but the precise date of this re-use cannot be determined.[277]

In the end, the abundant architectural, sculptural, and epigraphic evidence for the Nymphaeum has not allowed for definite conclusions regarding the monument's date or the arrangement of its individual statues. Despite this uncertainty, it is important to consider the function and overall significance of the complex and its sculptural display. The majority of previous works have considered the Nymphaeum in isolation or in relation to other

[275] Bol 1984, 46-49.

[276] *Olympia* V, 637-640, nos. 627-628; Schleif and Weber 1944, 57; Bol 1984, 101-104, 134-141, nos. 18-20. All agree that the bases date to the original construction and at that time they either had painted inscriptions or no inscriptions at all. At a later date, the bases were given carved inscriptions; how and why this occurred has been explained in various ways. The original publication assumes that the bases were kept in reserve for any expansion of the family. Schleif and Weber argue that a change to the original design of the Nymphaeum was made after the statue bases already were completed. Later Vibullius used some of these "extra" bases to erect statues of himself and his family on the edge of the upper basin. Bol argues that the bases were originally for Herodes, Regilla, and Regilla's mother. Vibullius replaced the earlier painted names with inscriptions of his own name and those of two other relatives. This change is limited to the statue bases; the earlier statues were re-used. Although it may seem strange that the names of the donors were removed, Bol points out that the names of Herodes and Regilla still were preserved on the statues bases of the imperial family and on the bull with the dedicatory inscription. Fuchs 1986, does not agree with Bol's assessment and instead assumes that the original bases for Herodes, Regilla, and Regilla's mother are lost.

[277] See Bol 1984, 101-104, for the complete history. Most of the statues were not re-used and were found in the basin of the Nymphaeum. Those pieces found outside the Nymphaeum typically came from the northern and eastern structures of the Altis, such as the Palaestra and Prytaneion, although others were found near the stadium and the Echo Hall. In other words, some pieces of the Nymphaeum sculpture were found at a considerable distance from the monument, which parallels the scattered find spots of some of the Metroon statues (see above).

benefactions of Herodes Atticus. This study adopts a different approach by considering the Nymphaeum in relation to the surrounding honorific landscape of Olympia in the middle of the second century CE. A contextualization of the monument hopefully will allow one to understand better how its sculpture was both integrated into and distinguished from the local surroundings.

The Nymphaeum Sculpture in Context

What is apparent immediately from the above discussion is just how little honorific sculpture survives from second- and third-century CE Olympia and how difficult it is to reconstruct the original context of what does survive. As with the late first century BCE and first century CE (see section above on *The Metroon Sculpture in Context*), the majority of find spots of imperial honors are centered near the Temple of Zeus, which is illustrated by the accompanying map (figure 2.16) and charts (figures 2.50, 2.51). A continued preference for displaying honors in the vicinity of this temple is not surprising since, as already described, the area had a long history of honorific display and offered a flat plain with impressive backdrops for statuary. It also hosted large gatherings and processions, so dedications would have been viewed frequently.

As noted above, however, survival rate for inscriptions is low and find spots reflect more the late antique use of honorific material than original display preferences. It is easy to imagine the Eleans transporting peripheral sculptural material to the center of the sanctuary as they constructed their fortification walls in the third century CE. The scattered location of both the Metroon and Nymphaeum material should discourage any firm conclusions being drawn from honorific bases or sculpture not found *in situ*. The only imperial honors for

which the original location is known include those mentioned by Pausanias (V.12.6; VI.19.10). Interestingly, both of these passages describe interior groups, one in the pronaos of the Temple of Zeus and another inside the Treasury of the Libyans of Cyrene. These two groups suggest that the placement of the Metroon statues inside a building created an effective and impressionable viewing experience that was then adopted for the representation of subsequent emperors and dynasties. It also suggests that as the "forest" of statues grew in the Altis, patrons sought to separate their dedications from others.

In light of the limited evidence, the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus stands out for its large amount of preserved material and verifiable context. The Nymphaeum was located at the highest point of the Altis on the south slopes of Kronos Hill and at one of the most important and visible sites within the sanctuary.[278] Lying to the west of the row of treasury houses, the Nymphaeum was positioned between the Heraion and Metroon and faced towards the Pelopion and Temple of Zeus. The monument thus was framed by major, longstanding cultic points and overlooked the ritualistic heart of the sanctuary. It contributed to the display "node" established by the Metroon, but the Nymphaeum's height and elevated position made its outdoor statuary much more conspicuous than the interior Metroon ensemble.[279] Nonetheless, the two installations both were located in the same part of the Altis and one wonders if the common longitudinal axes of the two buildings were intentional.

Moreover, the architectural setting of the Nymphaeum surely enhanced the overall impression of the sculpture for the ancient viewer. The monumental edifice was entirely of

[278] Indeed, the Nymphaeum dominated all other monuments of the Altis except the Temple of Zeus. See Graindor 1930, 191-202; Schleif and Weber 1944, 81-82; Settis 1968, 57-60; Herrmann 1972, 175-195; Bol 1984, 83-84; Galli 2002, 223-227.

[279] Hoffmann in Bol 1984, 67-75, reconstructs the height of the entire building as approximately 16.50 m with respect to the stylobate of the Heraion, which is four meters taller than previously thought.

marble, which reflected the natural light of the pools. Semi-circular shapes (exedra, basin, niches) were juxtaposed with round monopteroi and rectangular basins. Columns framed the niches, which, in turn, framed individual statues, thereby creating visual contrasts and layers of depth for the viewer. The monument affected all the senses, however, since as visitors splashed themselves with cool water and drank from the basin, they could also hear water flowing from spouts.

The outdoor setting meant that the viewing experience was less controlled than with the interior Metroon ensemble, but the Nymphaeum display still manipulated viewers' interaction with the statues. The elevated location meant that viewers were always seeing the sculpture at an upward angle and that anyone standing in front of the fountain had his or her back to the interior of the sanctuary, where the majority of other honors were erected. The frontal and self-enclosed layout of the Nymphaeum also meant that background and peripheral views were cut off. Thus, as with the interior Metroon group, comparisons with other dedications were limited. Moreover, a viewer never got close enough to touch the actual statues; a large space between viewer and honorand was always maintained through the water basins and the height of the monument. A viewer was then left to experience the statuary from a distance, which surely affected visibility of inscriptions and of sculptural details. One is left to wonder if visitors even were able to identify the figures or who the dedicator of the monument was. It seems that Herodes and Regilla were concerned more with creating a rich sensory experience and overall impression of grandeur than on designing an intimate dedication along the lines of the Metroon ensemble.

It is also important to consider how the Nymphaeum altered the view for those leaving the Metroon. As described above, a visitor returning to the Altis from the temple

would have seen some of the sanctuary's oldest and most sacred buildings, including the Temple of Hera directly ahead, the Pelopeion to the left, treasury houses and Kronos Hill to the right, and the Philippeion in the distance. With the construction of the Nymphaeum, a large marble edifice would have competed with the Temple of Hera on the main sight axis, undoubtedly attracting viewers' eyes with its illuminated marble facade, flowing water, and extensive statuary. This juxtaposition of Greek and Roman elements has been touched on earlier, when discussing the area surrounding the Temple of Zeus and the statues inside the Metroon. For the Nymphaeum, other ways such elements were juxtaposed was through the representation of Herodes, a Greek by birth, alongside his Roman wife, Regilla. The position of Herodes' family atop the imperial household likewise relates to imperial politics and the integration of Rome and the provinces.[280] Yet even subtle details reflect cultural overlap, such as the breastplate of Hadrian that shows Athena supported by the she-wolf of Rome, the two statues of Zeus that recall earlier Greek types, and the use of both Greek and Roman dress.[281] Such combinations have been tied to the cultural movement within the Roman Empire of the second and third centuries CE, the so-called Second Sophistic.[282] This movement was characterized by the growing wealth and power of the provincial elite as well as a return to Classical Greece in many disciplines, including literature, rhetoric, oratory,

[280] Bol 1984, 105-108. This integration was achieved by the admission of provincials to high offices of the Roman state, including priesthoods, and by the sponsorship of marriage between provincial and Roman families. Fuchs 1986, 855-860, questions this interpretation and feels that Bol's book could have done without a discussion of the programmatic aspect of the Nymphaeum sculpture.

[281] On the breastplate see Settis 1968, 5-6; Vermeule 1959-1960, 55; Galli 2002, 230-231. The cuirass of Antoninus Pius showed a similar confluence of cultural elements with its depiction of Nikai, a palladion, and the Roman she-wolf. On the Zeus types see note 248 above. On the Greek and Roman dress see Smith 1998, 70-77.

[282] Herrmann 1972, 175-195; Bol 1984, 88-91; Bol and Herz 1989; Spawforth 2012, 264-270. Galli 2002, 214-218, 223-227, stresses the religious and sacred character of the monument in particular. For recent literature on the Second Sophistic see Whitmarsh 2005, as well as the essays presented in the volume edited by Schmidt and Fleury 2011.

religion, art, and architecture. This retrospection and knowledge of the past was seen as a way of displaying one's cultural erudition and political power in the present. The complexities and nuances of the Second Sophistic lie outside the realm of this study, but it is important to view the Nymphaeum as part of this broader social phenomenon.

Turning to the patrons of the Nymphaeum, one wonders why Herodes and Regilla would care to dedicate such an extravagant monument with so many layers of meaning at one of the most important sites within the sanctuary. The question of the fountain's ultimate purpose is even more important to consider in light of the fact that it is the only extant imperial honorific monument of second-century CE Olympia known to have been dedicated by Herodes Atticus and Regilla. This private display of munificence surely was intended as a grandiose expression of the family's wealth as well as its social and political influence. Indeed, both Herodes and Regilla were alleged to be of divine descent and they were related to the imperial house through Regilla's father.[283] The Nymphaeum's juxtaposition of private, imperial, and divine statues and its proximity to long-established sacred sites within the Altis may be seen as a way for the couple to promote visually this prestigious lineage.

In addition to displaying wealth and power, the dedication probably also was intended to honor the ruling family and express the loyalty of Herodes' and Regilla's family while simultaneously suggesting that the private family had close ties with and was a part of the imperial aristocracy.[284] These close connections were conveyed through the equal representation of and parallelism between the private and imperial households. Both levels documented four generations with eleven portrait statues and included ancestors and

[283] Graindor 1930, 83; Neugebauer 1934; Barnes 1968; Settis 1968, 8; Bol 1984, 88-91; Tobin 1997, 69-111. Herodes boasted descent from Cimon, Miltiades, Theseus, and Hermes. Regilla claimed to be descended from Aeneas and was related to Faustina the Elder on her father's side.

[284] *Olympia* I, 57-65; Bol 1984, 88-97, 105-108; Tobin 1997, 69-111; Smith 1998, 70-77; Galli 2002, 232-233.

children. While the statues of Herodes and his family were somewhat smaller in size and less easily visible on the upper floor, they still were given the same amount of space as the imperial family.[285] Moreover, it is interesting to note that these were the only images of Herodes and his family at Olympia.[286] The juxtaposition of the imperial family with that of Herodes' therefore would be all the more effective and powerful since an ancient visitor to Olympia would be familiar with the private family only in this quasi-imperial, quasi-divine context.

The Nymphaeum served no cultic purpose, but it did have a religious aspect as an elaborate votive offering to Zeus.[287] This is confirmed by the dedicatory inscription, the inclusion of divine statues, the reference to sacrifice with the bull statue, the monopteroi, and the paterae held by some of the mortal figures. Thus, in many ways the Nymphaeum can be seen as a continuation of or addition to the temples immediately adjacent to it, namely the Temple of Hera and the Metroon. The monument significantly altered the sculptural landscape of Olympia, but it also achieved a sense of integration with existing structures.

Herodes and Regilla dedicated the monument and imperial sculpture, but scholars often overlook the involvement of the Eleans, who were the patrons of the Nymphaeum's private statues. This civic involvement likely relates to the larger phenomenon of euergetism in which generous patrons financed large construction and renovation projects in order to benefit and beautify cities as well as to demonstrate their wealth and power to the

[285] This diminution of size corresponds to the diminution of scale in superimposed orders as prescribed by Vitruvius. See Winter 67, 219-234.

[286] Tobin 1997, 69-111; Galli 2002, 218-239. Other sites with statues of Herodes include Athens, Corinth, Delphi, Ephesus, Eleusis, Kephisia, Marathon, and Rhamnous. Other statues of Regilla appeared at Athens, Corinth, Delphi, and Eleusis. The combination of statues of civilians, rulers, and divinities within a single context has parallels to Hellenistic gymnasia. See Von den Hoff 2004.

[287] Settis 1968, 57-60; Bol 1984, 84-87; Mallwitz 1988; Galli 2002, 223-227.

community.[288] In return, patrons received public honors and social prestige. In this way, utilitarian and social objectives converged and resulted in the dramatic transformation of the local landscape. By setting up statues of Herodes' and Regilla's family, the Eleans obviously wished to honor the private donors and express gratitude for the construction of such an elaborate fountain. Elean patronage, however, may have an underlying competitive aspect to it as well. As I discuss in the next chapter on Ephesus, there is evidence of cities refusing lavish donations presumably because overtly ostentatious honors were seen as surpassing the socially imposed boundaries of euergetism. Ultimately, the patronage of Herodes and Regilla conveyed their social, political, and cultural clout; the Eleans' dedication complemented and competed with this private patronage both by emphasizing its benefits and requiring that it be shared.

As noted, Herodes and Regilla are the only individual patrons known from the extant honorific material at Olympia in the second and third centuries CE. Groups that set up monuments include the Greeks, the Eleans, and the Achaean Federation. The preserved material confirms that these patrons and others whose identities are now lost erected at least twelve honors during the period from Nerva's reign through the Severan dynasty, including nine individual honors and three dynastic groups (figures 2.52, 2.53). Of the nine individual honors, 22% represents Trajan (2), 33% Hadrian (3), 11% Faustina the Younger (1), 11% Caracalla (1), 11% Julia Domna (1), 11% a Severan emperor (1) (figure 2.54). The three group honors come from the Hadrianic (33%, 1) and Antonine periods (67%, 2) (figure 2.55).

The accompanying chart (figure 2.56) makes it particularly clear that, as in the Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods, the number of honors for females is proportionally low (22%

[288] For a discussion of euergetism see the Introduction of this investigation; for euergetism specifically within sacred spaces see Galli 2002, 207-250.

of individual honors), which makes the prominence of women within the sculptural display of the Nymphaeum all the more remarkable. Regilla in particular was given a special position as the horizontal counterpart of Herodes, the vertical counterpart of the reigning emperor Antoninus Pius, and the sole dedicator of the entire monument. Numerous imperial women were represented as well, probably as a visual confirmation of the continuation of the dynasty into the next generation.

The female statues also served as a link between the male figures and the children depicted in the peripheral niches. It is noteworthy that these are the only honorific representations of young children we have from Olympia. Their inclusion undoubtedly created a different sort of viewing experience than the earlier Metroon ensemble, which was comprised of solely adult figures. Indeed, the combination of male, female, and child statues created a display with an overriding emphasis on family and dynastic ambition.[289] In the lower level of the Nymphaeum, dynasty was stressed through the inclusion of Antoninus Pius' divinized predecessor and his two designated successors.[290] Above, Herodes' family likewise was shown in a retrospective and prospective mode through the representations of ancestors and children. The overall large number of statues occupying the two levels ultimately reinforced the strength and stability of both dynasties and guaranteed the citizens of Elis that the benefactions of Herodes' family would continue into the future. The later maintenance of the Nymphaeum and the addition of statues by Vibullius Hipparchus may be seen as the fulfillment of these claims and as a further display of dynastic continuity.

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[289] Settis 1968, 8; Bol 1984, 84-87; Tobin 1997, 69-111. Fuchs 1986, disagrees and argues that instead of dynasty and continuity being emphasized, the Nymphaeum stressed the concept of social and familial harmony, or *Concordia*. I do not think these two views are mutually exclusive.

[290] The inclusion of Hadrian is obvious for dynastic reasons, but scholars also argue that Hadrian's reputation as a generous benefactor in the East may have been another reason for his inclusion in the Nymphaeum. See Bol 1984, 88.

At other sites on the Greek mainland, we find additional dynastic material from the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, and from the Antonine and Severan periods (figure 2.57). The dynastic group atop the Athenian Acropolis honoring Augustus, Tiberius, Drusus the Younger, and Germanicus has already been mentioned above. After 102 CE a statue of Trajan was added to this group.[291] Two other dynastic ensembles for Hadrian and Sabina are attested at Bragylas and Megara.[292] The Antonines were honored extensively in the area, with eight extant dynastic groups, three from Eleusis, one from Loukou, one from Hermione, one from Megara, one from Rhamnous, and one from Probalinthos.[293] Within these groups, the emperor honored most often was Marcus Aurelius (6), followed by Lucius Verus (5), Antoninus Pius (1), and the divine Hadrian (1).[294] The evidence confirms multiple female honors as well, including those to Faustina the Younger (3), Lucilla (2), Faustina the Elder (1), Sabina (1), and one honor for either Domitia Faustina or Annia Galeria Aurelia Faustina.[295] The majority of the groups date to the 150's (2) and 160's CE (4), while one group dates to the 170's CE.[296] Four dynastic groups for the Severans are known from sites throughout Greece, including Eleusis, Epidauros, Kleonai, and Sparta. All the groups

[291] Deppmeyer 2008, no. 46 (Athens).

[292] Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 48 (Bragylas, 128-137 CE (?)); 51 (Megara, 132-138 CE).

[293] Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 95 (Eleusis); 96 (Eleusis); 97 (Eleusis); 98 (Loukou); 99 (Hermione); 101 (Megara); 103 (Rhamnous); 104 (Probalinthos).

[294] For Marcus Aurelius see Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 95 (Eleusis), 97 (Eleusis), 98 (Loukou), 101 (Megara), 103 (Rhamnous), 104 (Probalinthos); for Lucius Verus see nos. 97 (Eleusis), 98 (Loukou), 101 (Megara), 103 (Rhamnous), 104 (Probalinthos); for Antoninus Pius see no. 98 (Loukou); for the deified Hadrian see no. 95 (Eleusis).

[295] For Faustina the Younger see Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 95 (Eleusis), 96 (Eleusis), 98 (Loukou); for Lucilla see nos. 95 (Eleusis), 99 (Hermione); for Faustina the Elder see no. 95 (Eleusis); for Sabina see no. 95 (Eleusis); for the honor to Domitia Faustina or Annia Galeria Aurelia Faustina see no. 99 (Hermione).

[296] For groups dating to the 150's see Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 96 (Eleusis), 99 (Hermione); for groups from the 160's see nos. 97 (Eleusis), 101 (Megara), 103 (Rhamnous), 104 (Probalinthos); for the group from the 170's see no. 95 (Eleusis).

included representations of Septimius Severus, three honored Julia Domna, two honored Caracalla, and one also may have included statues of Fulvia Plautilla and Geta.[297] All date to the reign of Septimius Severus.[298]

Civic groups continue to act as patrons, as do individuals (figure 2.58).[299] Interestingly, Herodes Atticus was involved in the dedication of two of the dynastic groups listed above. A fragment of a statue base for Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus from Eleusis demonstrate that the city dedicated the group at the request of Herodes.[300] In addition, Herodes installed portrait busts of himself, Antoninus Pius, Lucius Verus, Marcus Aurelius, Faustina the Younger, and later Severan emperors in his villa at Loukou.[301] Together, the groups confirm the widespread influence of Herodes in Roman Greece and his interest in forging a close relationship with the imperial household.

Some of the second- and third-century CE Greek dynastic groups have unknown display contexts,[302] while others are known to have been set up originally in private settings.[303] The remaining examples all come from religious sanctuaries except for one

[297] For the groups with representations of Julia Domna see Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 175 (Eleusis), 176 (Eleusis), 181 (Sparta); with Caracalla see nos. 179 (Kleonai), 181 (Sparta); with Fulvia Plautilla and Geta see no. 181 (Sparta).

[298] Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 175 (Eleusis, 198-211 CE), 176 (Epidauros, 197/8 CE), 179 (Kleonai, 198-211 CE), 181 (Sparta, 202-204 CE)

[299] For group dedications see Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 46 (Athens, Demos), 48 (Bragylas, Polis and Politeia), no. 95 (Eleusis, Panhellenion (?)), 97 (Eleusis, the city), 99 (Hermione, the city), 101 (Megara, Boule and Demos), 176 (Epidauros, the city). For individual patrons see Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 51 (Megara, private house), 98 (Loukou, Herodes Atticus), 181 (Sparta, several local magistrates).

[300] Deppmeyer 2008, no. 97 (Eleusis).

[301] Deppmeyer 2008, no. 98 (Loukou).

[302] Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 48 (Bragylas), 95 (Eleusis), 97 (Eleusis), 99 (Hermione), 101 (Megara), 176 (Epidauros).

[303] Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 51 (Megara), 98 (Loukou).

Severan group at Kleonai erected in the agora (figure 2.59).[304] A statue of Trajan was added to a Julio-Claudian group on the Athenian Acropolis, and Antonine groups were set up in the sanctuaries of Demeter at Eleusis, of Nemesis at Rhamnous, and of Isis at Probalinthos.[305] Severan groups are also attested in the sanctuary at Eleusis as well as on the acropolis of Sparta.[306] These groups from other sites in Greece are thus similar to the Nymphaeum in that they, too, were erected in a sanctuary, but none parallel the fountain of Herodes Atticus in terms of magnitude, location, quantity of sculpture, or setting. The Nymphaeum was truly an extraordinary display within the honorific landscape ancient Olympia.

Conclusion

This chapter provided an in-depth study of two focus groups at Olympia, the imperial statues set up in the Metroon and the portraits from the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus. These two sculptural ensembles then were considered within the context of the broader honorific landscape of the sanctuary. In so doing, it was demonstrated that the majority of dynastic honors were set up in the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods. The Flavians were represented in the Metroon and the Antonines in the Nymphaeum, but archaeological evidence is sparse for Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the Severan dynasty. The same picture emerges when looking at individual honors to the emperor. Thus, although all the dynasties were honored in some form within the Altis, the prominence of the Julio-Claudian and Antonine dynasties in the archaeological record is undeniable and somewhat surprising, since one might assume that the most recent material would have survived more readily than

[304] Deppmeyer 2008, no. 179 (Kleonai).

[305] Deppmeyer 2008, no. 46 (Athens), 96 (Eleusis, 103 (Rhamnous), 104 (Probalinthos).

[306] Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 175 (Eleusis), 181 (Sparta).

statues two hundred years older. The first and second century CE material therefore was remarkably not re-used or built over for several generations.

Of course the finds are dependent upon chances of survival, but the picture that emerges perhaps also is related to architectural patronage at Olympia. As previously mentioned, the Temple of Zeus, the Metroon, the stadium, and the Echo Hall all were renovated in the Augustan period.[307] Neronian construction is attested as well.[308] Two building inscriptions of Antoninus Pius confirm that the emperor was involved in the architectural development of the sanctuary.[309] Yet in this context the absence of Hadrian is particularly perplexing because the emperor was known to have made many visits to Greece, including Elis, and to have been popular in the eastern part of the empire.[310] In her study of the imperial cult in Roman Achaea, Trummer also finds that Hadrian, along with Augustus, was the most revered emperor in the province.[311] Moreover, inscriptions attest to celebrations in honor of Antinous, and Hadrian presumably restored the cult image of Zeus.[312] Hadrian thus obviously had close relations with Olympia and yet there is very little extant honorific sculpture of him. This situation reflects how difficult it is to assess the material based on what survives.

In addition to which dynasties were honored at Olympia, this chapter also looked at dedications set up by a variety of patrons, including cities, groups, and wealthy individuals.

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[307] *Olympia* I, 57-65; Herrmann 1972, 175-195; Mallwitz 1988.

[308] See notes 47 through 49 above.

[309] *Olympia* V, 669-672, nos. 654-655; Vermeule 1968, Appendix C. The nature of this construction activity cannot be determined from the inscriptions.

[310] *Olympia* I, 57-65; Boatwright 2000a.

[311] Trummer 1980, 190-191.

[312] *Olympia* V, 541-546, nos. 450-452; *Olympia* I, 57-65.

In this regard, there was not a linear progression since the different kinds of patronage existed simultaneously, and because the reason for erecting an honorific monument often was the same; the monument served as an expression of gratitude and loyalty to the imperial household. With the Metroon, the statues also probably served a cultic function as a site of imperial worship. Yet it is important to remember that all the honorific statues within the Altis served as votive offerings and therefore had a sacred dimension.

It became clear throughout the course of this study that the preferred area of honorific display at Olympia was east of the Temple of Zeus and west of the Echo Hall.[313] Other important locations for honorific monuments included the northern edge of the sanctuary between the Metroon and the stadium entrance (Zanes bases), along the main road of the sanctuary before the Leonidaion, on both sides of the road south of the Temple of Zeus, and in front of the Pelopion.[314] These areas had been traditional centers of display due to their associations with processions, ceremonies, and cult practices.[315] Sculpture set up in such prominent locations would have been highly visible to worshippers and visitors to the sanctuary.

The concentration of statues in these areas (and thus, presumably, a lack of space) perhaps explains why the two dynastic family groups of the imperial period both came from a different area or "node" of the sanctuary, between the treasury houses and the Heraion. This area also probably was chosen since it included some of the oldest structures of the Altis and was the early ritualistic heart of the sanctuary, which thereby linked the new Roman

[313] Sinn 2004, 233-249, and the forthcoming articles by Leypold come to a similar conclusion based on *in situ* foundations of statuary dedications.

[314] Leypold [Forthcoming a and b].

[315] Sinn 2004, 233-249; Leypold [Forthcoming a and b].

statues with the Greek past. The importance of establishing continuity may explain the axial alignment and proximity of the Metroon and Nymphaeum. Perhaps Herodes intentionally planned his elaborate fountain to align with the earlier temple in order to suggest a connection with the dynasties of the first century CE.

The location of the two focus groups might overlap, but their display settings and designs are distinct. The Metroon group was located in the cella of a temple while the Nymphaeum sculpture was placed within the niches of a two-storey exedra preceded by two large basins and two monopteroi. The viewing experience and visibility of these two sculptural groups must have been dramatically different and reflect a shift away from secluded arrangements to more overt and elaborate displays of dynastic representation.

Finally, Olympia is an important site for the study of familial statuary. Indeed, the number of dynasties represented here with focus groups is higher than at any other site of the Roman Empire. This testifies to the importance and prominence of the panhellenic sanctuary in the Roman world. With its grand Temple of Zeus, the cult statue by Phidias, and as the site of the Olympic games, it was a popular destination for travelers in antiquity. It thus became and remained a desirable venue of honorific display for both dedicators and dedicatees.

CHAPTER THREE: EPHESUS

Introduction

Ephesus is known to many as an important center of early Christianity, but the city was a longstanding and significant Greek and Roman settlement as well (figures 1.1, 3.1, 3.2). It was the site of the famous Temple of Artemis, which was described as one of the Seven Wonders of the World by ancient authors, and in the Roman period it became the provincial capital of Asia. Due to its proximity to the Mediterranean Sea, Ephesus was also a major site of trade and exchange. Earthquakes, silting, and violent incursions contributed to the city's decline and eventual destruction, but ancient Ephesus nevertheless is one of the most important sites for Classical archaeologists. British and Austrian excavations have uncovered much of the city, including architectural and sculptural remains. Chapter Two focuses on these remains, especially the imperial honorific monuments and the two focus groups from Ephesus, the Nymphaeum of Trajan, which dates between 102 and 114 CE, and an Antonine group from the Bouleuterion/Odeion complex. The ultimate aim of this chapter is to contextualize the imperial dynastic statues within the larger honorific and architectural landscape of the city.

The Honorific Landscape of Ephesus: Hellenistic through Trajanic Periods

Hellenistic Period[1]

Ephesus was excavated first by the British engineer J.T. Wood in the 1860's. The Austrian Archaeological Institute directed excavations later in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These excavations led to the discovery of much material, but evidence for Hellenistic Ephesus is still relatively limited and generally confined to the city wall, the sanctuary of Artemis, a small Hellenistic agora in the area of the later Tetragonos Agora, the road connecting this agora to the harbor, and a theater, which was rebuilt in the Roman period on the same site as its Hellenistic predecessor.[2] The limited archaeological knowledge of Ephesus in the Hellenistic age has led to debates on the size of the city as well as the location of its harbors.

The dearth of Hellenistic material is evident especially in regard to honorific sculpture. Indeed, the majority of known royal honors are attested either by literary or epigraphic evidence. For example, Pausanias (VII.2.9) describes a tomb of the legendary founder of Ephesus, Androklos, as being located on the road that goes past the Olympieion to the Magnesian Gate. The ancient author says that a statue of an armed man appeared on the tomb as well. H. Thür has identified this heroon as the pi-shaped monument located on Curetes Street, a little farther north from the Nymphaeum of Trajan and on the southern side of the road.[3] The author also argues that the mythic battles depicted on the reliefs of the

[1] For discussions of pre-Hellenistic Ephesus see Erdemgil 1986, 6-15; Scherrer 1995; 2001; Knibbe 1998, 59-94.

[2] Erdemgil 1986, 15-18, 25-33, 93-98; Aurenhammer 1995; Scherrer 1995; 2001; Wiplinger and Wlach 1996; Knibbe 1998, 25-59, 94-109, 237-245; Ridgway 2002, 22-26; Sear 2006, 110-113, 334-336; Raja 2012, 56-63. The limited information about Hellenistic Ephesus is due to excavators' tendency to focus on the boundaries of the Roman city and to stop at the Roman levels.

monument represent Androklos, but no remains of the freestanding statue described by Pausanias have been found. Adjacent to the heroon of Androklos is another commemorative royal tomb for the younger sister of Cleopatra VII, Arsinoe IV, who was assassinated in 41 BCE.[4]

A different ancient author, Arrian, provides indirect evidence for another Hellenistic royal honor. In his description of Alexander the Great's campaigns, Arrian (*Anab*. I.17.10 – 12) explains how after Alexander arrived at Ephesus in 334 BCE, he removed the oligarchs and established a democratic form of government. The Ephesians were so relieved at the abolishment of oligarchy they attacked the men who had given entrance to Memnon, a general of the Persian King, Darius. These men also had pillaged the Artemision and thrown down a statue of Philip that had been placed within the temple. No additional information about the statue is given, but it is possible that Alexander had it restored since he later offered funds for the rebuilding of the Artemision after it was destroyed by fire in 356 BCE.[5]

In terms of archaeological evidence, two dedicatory plaques to Ptolemy II Philadelphus and Arsinoe survive. One was found in Terrace House II and preserves the dedicator's name as Δικαι[----].[6] The second dedication was found in the same location but was a dedication of Isidoros, the στρατηγοὶ and ‘ηγεμόνες.[7] The remaining honors attested for Hellenistic kings include an inscription recording celebrations and wreaths given by the

[3] Thür 1995, 63-103, figures 23-28. Also see Wiplinger and Wlach 1996, 153-155; Scherrer 2001, 68; Halfmann 2001, 27. For other images of Androklos in Ephesus see Aurenhammer 1990, 124-129; Longfellow 2011, 88-89.

[4] Thür 1990, 43-56; Knibbe and Thür 1995, 91; Halfmann 2001, 21-33.

[5] On the statue of Philip II see Kotsidu 2000, 360-361, no. 244. On Alexander's contribution for the rebuilding of the Artemision see Bringmann 1995, 304-308, nos. 263-264. Alexander's offer was refused by the Ephesians.

[6] *IvE* II.199 = *SEG* 39.1232.

[7] *SEG* 33.942; *SEG* 39.1234.

boule and demos of Ephesus in honor of Demetrius I Poliorketes for his victory in 306 BCE over Ptolemy I at Salamis.[8] Epigraphic evidence from the second century BCE also confirms athletic contests in honor of the Ptolemies and of Eumenes II.[9] The latter might be related to the gymnasium foundation of Eumenes II at Ephesus.[10] Last, a marble stele from the mid-first century BCE mentions an unspecified honor for Antiochus I Commagene.[11]

As a result of the conflict and warfare among the Hellenistic dynasts, Ephesus eventually came under the rule of the Attalids, who bequeathed their kingdom to Rome in 133 BCE. Monuments at Ephesus from the Late Hellenistic period thus honor prominent Roman officials as well as Hellenistic rulers.[12] Indeed, Ephesus was a favorable site for honorific display since it was a major trade center and thoroughfare, and because it became the center of Roman administration in Asia.[13]

The koinon of Asia set up a statue of Caesar at Ephesus soon after his victory at Pharsalus.[14] Nothing remains of the statue itself and the associated inscription was found built into a Byzantine aqueduct, so nothing of the monument's original context can be reconstructed. A monument dedicated to C. Memmius is another example of an honor for a

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[8] Kotsidu 2000, 363-364, no. 247.

[9] Kotsidu 2000, 364-365, nos. 248-249.

[10] Bringmann 1995, 311-312, no. 266; Kotsidu 2000, 365.

[11] Kotsidu 2000, 365-366, no. 250.

[12] *IvE* V.1535-1545. The evidence of honors for Roman officials is similar to that for private persons (*IvE* V.1546-1563), but dramatically less than honors for the Roman emperor and the imperial family (*IvE* II.251-342; V.1498-1517). The situation differs in regard to extant portraits. Inan and Rosenbaum 1966, 22-29, list eighty-one portraits from Ephesus, thirteen of which are imperial and fifty-six of which are private (twelve are from late antiquity).

[13] Halfmann 2001, 21-33; Scherrer 2001.

[14] *IvE* II.251; Raubitschek 1954, 65. The Ephesians had reason to honor Caesar because he twice had saved the treasure of the Temple of Artemis from looting by the troops of Pompey. He also restored the city's liberty in 48 BCE.

high-profile Roman from the Late Republic (50 – 30 BCE). Memmius was the grandson of Sulla and perhaps *consul suffectus* in 34 BCE.[15] The memorial's dedicator is unknown, but it must have been a person or group of some wealth because the monument is located prominently at the intersection northeast of the State Market. The structure was designed as a four-sided tower (23 H x 9 W m) with niches set on a square plinth. The four sides were decorated with arches supported by caryatids, above which were reliefs on three sides that were divided into five zones, with the central zones occupied by representations of Sulla, C. Memmius, and Memmius' son. The monument's original dedication and continual presence in the city's landscape certainly held political significance since Sulla had taken away the freedom and liberty of Ephesus after it sided with Mithridates in the First Mithridatic War and imposed large fines on the city. Ephesus would not recover financially from this debt until the establishment of the principate.

Early Imperial Period

Under Augustus, Ephesus was made the residence of the proconsul and thus the capital of the province of Asia. As a result of this new prestige and prominence, several architectural projects were undertaken in early imperial Ephesus that contributed to the urban development of the city. This development has been studied extensively by previous scholars, so only a brief overview is presented here in order to contextualize better the sculptural material.[16]

[15] *IvE* II.403. For more on the monument and on Memmius see Miltner 1958a, 87; Erdemgil 1986, 53; Wiplinger and Wlach 1996, 98-99; Halfmann 2001, 27; Ridgway 2002, 19-20. Also see the 1971 publication by the Österreichischen Archäologischen Institut with chapters on the history of excavation (W. Alzinger), the monument and its restoration (A. Bammer), and its importance in art history (W. Alzinger).

[16] Erdemgil 1986, 18-19; White 1995; Scherrer 1995; 2001; Knibbe 1998, 109-134; Halfmann 2001; Raja 2012.

The main area developed architecturally under Augustus was the State Market (figure 3.3), which was located to the southeast of the ancient harbor on a small, oblong plateau between two hills. A temenos in the center of this space contained a small temple to Divus Julius and Dea Roma.[17] Government and political buildings were situated to the north of the temenos, including the Prytaneion, which also housed the sanctuary of Hestia, and the Bouleuterion. In between these two civic buildings was a double foundation surrounded by peristyles on three sides, which may have served as another temenos for Augustus and Artemis.[18] In between the central temenos of Divus Julius and Dea Roma and the civic buildings there was a long, three-aisled stoa, the so-called Basilike Stoa, which was dedicated in 11 CE to Artemis, Augustus, Tiberius, and the city of Ephesus by Sextilius Pollio and his family.[19]

In the Augustan age the city of Ephesus was provided with two new aqueducts, the Aqua Iulia and Aqua Throessitica.[20] The Koressian district to the north appears to have been

[17] In 29 BCE Augustus authorized the *conventus civium Romanorum*, the body responsible for controlling the economy of Ephesus, to build the temple to Divus Julius and Dea Roma (Dio LI.20.6). Most scholars identify the small peripteros temple in the State Market as this structure. Some authors, however, have proposed instead that it is a temple of Isis built during the second triumvirate or a temple of Dionysos in honor of Mark Antony. For the arguments and relevant bibliography see Alzinger 1970, 1648-9; Price 1984, 254-257, no. 27; Erdemgil 1986, 38; Scherrer 1995; 1997; 2001, 69-74; 2007; Halfmann 2001, 21-33; Süss 2003; Burrell 2004, 59-85; Thür 2007; Raja, 2012, 66-67. Today only the *in situ* foundations and fragments of the superstructure remain.

[18] This argument is based on an inscription of 27 BCE that refers to a temple of Augustus within the city itself (*IvE* III.902). See Miltner 1959; Price 1984, 254-257, no. 29; Scherrer 1995; 1997; 2001; 2007; Halfmann 2001, 21-33; Thür 2007.

[19] *IvE* II.404 = *SEG* 39.1210 (bilingual). The basilica replaced an earlier, one-aisled stoa and was donated by Pollio, his wife, and stepson. The stepson of Pollio also is known from the inscriptions associated with the so-called Pollio Monument (*IvE* II.405-406), a nymphaeum at the western boundary of the State Market. See Alzinger 1970, 1634-6; Erdemgil 1986, 39, 55; Scherrer 1995; 1997; 2001; 2007; Halfmann 2001, 21-33; Thür 2007. Scherrer sees this building as potentially another site of imperial worship, and Price 1984, 254-257, no. 30, includes it in his catalogue as well. Also see Süss 2003.

[20] *IvE* II.401-402. The funding for the water lines came from Sextilius Pollio, the same donor of the Basilike Stoa. See Halfmann 2001, 21-33.

built up and expanded under Augustus with a new theater and gymnasium.[21] Furthermore, the Tetragonos Agora was enlarged and embellished at this time and the Artemision likewise was restored and an Augusteum was dedicated in the sanctuary.[22] Thus, the layout and landscape of imperial Ephesus was largely due to architectural initiatives of the Augustan period.

Under the succeeding Julio-Claudian emperors Tiberius and Claudius, architectural activity in Ephesus was limited mainly to the Tetragonos Agora and to restoration work after an earthquake in 23 CE.[23] During Nero's reign new constructions were undertaken, including the east portico of the Tetragonos Agora, which was dedicated to Artemis, Nero, and Agrippina, an annex to the basilica in the State Market (the so-called chalcidicum), also dedicated to Nero, and a customs house built by the fishermen and fishmongers of Ephesus in honor of Nero and Agrippina.[24] Restoration work continued as well, with renovations conducted on the theater, stadium, and Augustan aqueducts.[25]

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[21] For both buildings see Scherrer 1995; 1997; 2001; Halfmann 2001, 21-33; Raja 2012, 71-72. Scherrer claims there is no clear evidence for dating the theater before the second half of the first century BCE, whereas Halfmann states the theater probably was built in the Late Hellenistic period and expanded in the early imperial period. The gymnasium was rebuilt in the second century CE as a bath-gymnasium complex.

[22] *IvE* V.1522-1525 (bilingual inscription); Price 1984, 254-257, no. 28; Halfmann 2001, 21-33; Scherrer 2001. The inscription was not found *in situ*, which has led to debate about the precise location of the shrine. For more on the early provincial cults in Asia see Price 1984; Friesen 1993, 7-28; Scherrer 1997, 93-112. By looking at evidence from sites like Pergamum, Smyrna, Miletus, and Ephesus, Friesen concludes that a cult of Augustus and Roma, which was granted in 29 BCE, was the only provincial cult in Asia for nearly five decades. The second provincial cult in Asia was granted by Tiberius in 23 CE for the worship of Tiberius, Livia, and the Senate. No cults are known for Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Vespasian, or Titus during their lifetimes. The third provincial cult was not established until the reign of Domitian.

[23] An edict of the proconsul Paullus Fabius Persicus notes the destruction of many buildings and the difficult financial situation under Claudius (*IvE* Ia.17-19 = *SEG* 39.1177). Also see Scherrer 1995; 2001; Halfmann 2001, 21-33; Raja 2012, 59-75.

[24] Scherrer 1995; 2001; Wiplinger and Wlach 1996, 166-167; Halfmann 2001, 36-39; Raja 2012, 73-74. For the east portico, *IvE* VII.1.3003 (a bilingual inscription); for the annex, *IvE* II.410; for the fishery building, *IvE* Ia.20 = *SEG* 39.1211.

It is within this context of urban development that private patrons and civic bodies embellished the city of Ephesus with statues and monuments in honor of the Julio-Claudian emperors. Extant bases and portraits attest to numerous individual honors in the early imperial period. A marble base for Augustus was found in the wall of the latrine on Curetes Street.[26] The text reads: ‘Ο [Θίασος?] / των νέων γυ[μνασι] / αρχουντος ‘Ηρ[ακλεί] / δου Πασσα[λα]. From the Tiberian period, an architrave fragment names Tiberius as the honorand and the dedicator as the demos.[27] Another base for Tiberius found in a well preserves the inscription Πόπλιος Κ[ορνήλιος] / [---και την] βάσιν εκ [των ιδίων ανέστησεν].[28] A simple bilingual inscription from the Byzantine citadel and another text built into the east hall of the so-called Marble Street attest to honors for Germanicus.[29] Drusus the Younger also was honored at Ephesus, as confirmed by an inscription built into an aqueduct.[30] Another inscription re-used as building material for an aqueduct provides evidence of an individual honor to Caligula.[31]

With four bases, Claudius is the Julio-Claudian emperor with the most surviving single honors. One base was built into a Byzantine aqueduct, so its original form is unclear. The preserved text reads: Κατά την / διαθήκην Τιβερίου Κλαυ / δίου Δαμονίκου οι κλη /

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[25] Scherrer 1995; 2001; Halfmann 2001, 36-39; Raja 2012, 71-75. The stadium was renovated by the freedman C. Stertinius Orpex (*IvE* II.411; VI.2113; VII.2.4123).

[26] Højte 2005, 256, Augustus 165.

[27] *IvE* II.254; Højte 2005, 256, Tiberius 118.

[28] Højte 2005, 282, Tiberius 119.

[29] *IvE* II.255-255a; Vermeule 1968, 464.

[30] *IvE* II.258.

[31] *IvE* II.259; Højte 2005, 292, Caligula 21.

ρονόμοι αποκατέστησαν.[32] Another base from the so-called Villa in Pamucak carries a bilingual inscription, which names the dedicator as the procurator of Asia.[33] A third base with a Latin inscription can be dated precisely to 43 CE and gives the dedicator as the *conventus civium Romanorum*. This base also probably carried an equestrian statue of the emperor.[34] The fourth extant honor for Claudius comes from the Tetragonos Agora and may have included a statue of his wife, Messalina.[35] Evidence for an individual honor to Nero comes from the base of Claudius in Pamucak mentioned above. The name of Nero was removed deliberately and replaced with that of his predecessor, Claudius.[36] Two other inscriptions, one built into an aqueduct and the other from the north side of Curetes Street near the Nymphaeum of Trajan, confirm additional honors to Nero.[37]

In addition to bases, portraits provide evidence of individual monuments erected in honor of the Julio-Claudian emperors. A head of Augustus with the *corona civica* was discovered in 1965 in the eastern part of the Basilike Stoa, beneath a late antique pavement. The portrait may have been part of the original decoration of the stoa, which was dedicated in 11 CE, or a posthumous dedication set up by Tiberius.[38] A second portrait of Augustus was found within the presumed temenos of Augustus and Artemis between the Prytaneion and

[32] *IvE* II.259b; Højte 2005, 312, Claudius 118.

[33] *SEG* 39.1178; Højte 2005, 313, Claudius 121.

[34] *IvE* VII.1.3019; Højte 2005, 312-313, Claudius 119. Also see Inan and Rosenbaum 1966, 46, no. 5; Vermeule 1968, 464; Scherrer 1995, 8. For more on the *conventus civium Romanorum* see Kirbihler 2007, 28-31; Scherrer 2007.

[35] *IvE* II.259a (Claudius); II.261 (Messalina); Højte 2005, 313, Claudius 120. Also see Inan and Rosenbaum 1966, 46, no. 6 (Claudius), no. 1 (Messalina); Vermeule 1968, 464.

[36] *SEG* 39.1178; Højte 2005, 326, Nero 44.

[37] *IvE* II.260-260a.

[38] Scherrer 1995; 1997, especially note 7; Boschung 1993, 186, no. 186; 2002, 66-67, no. 18.3; Aurenhammer 2011, 105-106. The head is in Selçuk Museum, no. 1891. On the stoa's dedication, see note 19 above.

Bouleuterion,[39] and a third image of the emperor has been discovered near Ephesus as well.[40] The former is thought to represent the statue dedicated within the temenos between 27 and 25 BCE by Apollonius Passalas, a member of a prominent Ephesian family. Apollonius' father, Herakleides Passalas, also is known to have made a dedication to Augustus as founder of the city (κτίστης), but its form and location is unknown.[41] A head of Lucius Caesar from the agora is preserved, but its original context is unclear.[42] As for Augustus' successors, a fragmentary portrait of Tiberius was found built into the late antique walls erected in front of the Library of Celsus, which stood to the south of the Tetragonos Agora.[43] Another fragmentary head may represent Nero Germanicus.[44] The only extant portrait of Claudius was built into a substructure wall of the Temple of the Flavian Sebastoi at the west end of the State Market.[45] It is an over life-size head in the emperor's principal portrait type.

Members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty not only were honored individually at Ephesus, but in familial groups as well.[46] One such group was set up in 4/3 BCE by Mazaeus and Mithridates, two freedmen of Augustus and Agrippa, atop the triple-bayed arch that served as the south entrance to the Tetragonos Agora (figure 3.4).[47] Epigraphic evidence

[39] *IvE* III.902; Price 1984, 254-257, no. 29; Scherrer 1997; 2001; Aurenhammer 2011, 105-106.

[40] Aurenhammer 2011, 105-106.

[41] *IvE* II.252; Scherrer 2001, 71.

[42] Inan and Rosenbaum 1966, 45, no. 2.

[43] Vermeule 1968, 385, no. 16; Aurenhammer 2011, 106-107.

[44] Aurenhammer 2011, 109.

[45] Aurenhammer 2011, 109.

[46] Two-dimensional representations of the imperial family are known, but lie outside the realm of this study. For paintings see Rose 1997, 176-176, no. 116; Scherrer 1997. For sculptural reliefs see Aurenhammer 2011, 105-109.

confirms that in the monument's first phase Augustus was depicted as emperor along with Livia, his daughter, Julia, and Marcus Agrippa.[48] In a later phase (2 CE), a statue of Lucius Caesar was added.[49] The statues themselves do not survive, but cuttings atop the attic cornice of the gate confirm that statues of the imperial family once stood there. Based on the formula of the bilingual inscription, Rose places Augustus and Livia over the left bay and Agrippa and Julia over the right.[50] When the statue of Lucius Caesar was added, it likely was placed next to Augustus and Livia since Lucius was named as son of the emperor.[51]

Other Julio-Claudian family groups are attested only by epigraphic evidence, such as a group of Augustus and his adoptive grandsons.[52] Another inscription provides evidence of a dedication set up by the Neopoioi of Ephesus, possibly in the Augusteum within the sanctuary of Artemis.[53] Much remains uncertain about this monument, but the persons

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[47] The left bay was dedicated by Mazaeus to Augustus and Livia, the right by Mithridates to Agrippa and Julia. The inscription suggests that the gate might have been planned on or before the death of Agrippa in 12 BCE because although no husband of Julia is named in the inscription, she is presented as Agrippa's wife. Rose 1997, 172-174, no. 112, believes that the gate may have been planned in relation to Agrippa's and Julia's travels in the East (16-13 BCE), or as a result of Agrippa's death. The location of the dedication is significant; the gate marked a major intersection known as the Triodos, which was the mythical birthplace of Artemis and Apollo.

[48] *IvE* VII.1.3006. Also see Vermeule 1968, 463-464; Erdemgil 1986, 86-87; Scherrer 1995; 2007; Rose 1997, 172-174, no. 112; Halfmann 2001, 21-33; Højte 2005, 256, Augustus 166; Aurenhammer 2011, 109-110.

[49] *IvE* VII.1.3007. An inscribed base for Lucius Caesar was found during excavations of the gate in 1903. Lucius is not named in the original dedication and no other statuary group from the Greek East includes a statue of the boy (or Gaius) alongside statues of Augustus and Agrippa, but Rose 1997, 173, nonetheless states that the base "was without question set above the gate." Rose further believes that the statue of Lucius was set up after his death in 2 CE as a funerary memorial. In the Augustan period, Curetes Street was lined with ancient graves, including the heroon of Androklos and the tomb of Arsinoe IV (discussed above). Thus, a commemorative aspect to the gate would not have been inappropriate. The donors themselves may have been buried in annexes of the gate since a grave inscription naming Mithridates has been found nearby (*IvE* III.851).

[50] Rose 1997, 172-174, no. 112. Based on comparanda, Rose believes each pair stood on one base and that all the statues were of marble.

[51] Rose 1997, 172-174. Aurenhammer 2011, 109-110, however, leaves the date and precise location of the statue of Lucius (whether atop the attic or on the ground) open.

[52] *IvE* II.253.

represented are known to have included Germanicus, Drusus the Younger, Tiberius, and probably another figure, perhaps Augustus.[54] The arrangement of the inscription suggests that Drusus appeared in the center, with Germanicus to the left and Tiberius to the right. The text further confirms a date after the adoption of Tiberius in 4 CE and before his accession in 14 CE.

Another family group that probably postdates the adoption of Tiberius by Augustus in 4 CE included at least two statues of Livia and Augustus.[55] The figures both were enthroned and over life-size.[56] The inscription for this group is not extant, so the dedicator is not known. Based on the find spot, the statues presumably were located in the eastern portion of the Basilike Stoa in the State Market, perhaps within the so-called chalcidicum.[57] Such a location would mean that the sculpture was separated from the main hall, and this has led some scholars to speculate that the statues were associated with the imperial cult.[58] A lack of epigraphic evidence also means dating is difficult. The dedicatory inscription of the basilica

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[53] *IvE* II.257. Also see Wood 1877, 153-154; Heberdey 1912, 106-107, no. 18; Rose 1997, 174-175, no. 114; Højte 2005, 282, Tiberius 117.

[54] Rose 1997, 174-175, no. 114, suggests that the group was erected in response to the adoption of Tiberius in 4 CE. He further postulates that Augustus was included in the group and stood to the left (the left part of the inscription is missing), thereby producing a monument where the figures of Drusus the Younger and Germanicus were framed by those of Augustus and Tiberius.

[55] Selçuk Museum, no. 1957 (Augustus) and no. 1.10.75 (Livia).

[56] Augustus may have held a scepter in his upraised left arm, but there is no indication that Livia had any divine attributes. For more on the typologies of the portraits see Boschung 2002, 66-67, nos. 18.1-18.2 (with additional bibliography); Aurenhammer 2011, 105-111.

[57] The statues were discovered in the north peristyle of the eastern annex (the so-called chalcidicum) under the same late antique pavement as the portrait of Augustus with the *corona civica* (see note 38 above). For more on the group see Price 1984, 254-257, no. 30; Friesen 1993, 50-75; Rose 1997, 175, no. 115; Scherrer 1995; 1997; 2001; Aurenhammer 2011, 110-111.

[58] Friesen 1993, 50-75; Rose 1997, 175; Scherrer 1995; 1997; 2001; Aurenhammer 2011, 110-111. No altar has been found, but the area was rebuilt in late antiquity. Scherrer suggests that other members of the imperial family such as Tiberius and Germanicus also may have been represented in the statuary group and worshipped together with the statues of Augustus and Livia.

is dated to the Augustan period, but the representation of these two figures enthroned is more common under Tiberius.[59] The two statues thus probably were posthumous images set up after the deification of Augustus in 14 CE.

Yet another dynastic group at Ephesus that dates between 4 and 14 CE comes from a private domestic context.[60] Two marble portraits of Tiberius and Livia were discovered in a niche within Terrace House II, located to the south of Curetes Street.[61] A statue of Augustus may have been represented as well.[62] Nothing about the occupants of the house is known, and there is no associated inscription, so the name(s) of the dedicator(s) is not known. From the pose, carving technique, and size, however, it appears that the two portraits originally were part of the same group and were full-length statues.[63] They later were reworked as busts and re-used in this private space.

A Tiberian or Caligulan family group is attested by four statue bases found scattered throughout Ephesus.[64] The dedicator and medium of the group is unknown, and given the scattered find spots, the original location of the monument also is not certain. The bilingual inscriptions, however, indicate that Germanicus, his wife Agrippina the Elder, and their two

[59] On the dedication of the basilica see note 19 above. On the enthroned format under Tiberius see Rose 1997, 175. Aurenhammer 2011, 110-111, suggests a Claudian date. The statues must have been visible in late antiquity since each had a cross carved into the forehead in the fourth century CE.

[60] The date is based on the portrait type of Tiberius. See Rose 1997, 174, no. 113; Boschung 2002, 131, nos. 46.1-46.2 (with additional bibliography); Aurenhammer 2011, 111.

[61] Selçuk Museum, no. 81.59.80 (Tiberius) and no. 80.59.80 (Livia). Both portraits were found in Terrace House II, which was destroyed in the middle of the third century CE. In addition to the statues of Livia and Tiberius, a bronze snake and a small marble torso of a goddess were found in the room, suggesting a religious context. See Aurenhammer 2011, 111.

[62] Rose 1997, 174.

[63] Rose 1997, 174, suggests that the statues may belong to the family group set up by the Neopoioi (see note 53 above).

[64] Rose 1997, 176-177, no. 117.

sons, Nero Caesar and Drusus III, all were represented.[65] On the basis of the blocks and epigraphic evidence, Rose reconstructs the group as a four-meter long ensemble with Drusus III at the far left, followed by Agrippina and Germanicus, with the position of Nero Caesar undeterminable.[66] Moreover, he suggests that the group either could have been set up in response to Germanicus' campaign in the East in 18 CE, when Germanicus possibly visited the city, or under Caligula, when groups of Germanicus and his family were common.[67] Two portraits of Nero Caesar and Drusus III have been found in different locations in secondary contexts at Ephesus, but they originally probably belonged to the same group.[68] These heads, therefore, might belong to the statues of the two sons from this dynastic group.

Flavian Period

Under the Flavian emperors, the urban environment of Ephesus continued to be developed. No building projects are known from the reign of Vespasian, but under Titus repairs were conducted within the sanctuary of Artemis, both to the temple of the goddess and the Augusteum.[69] In addition, a nymphaeum was erected at the southwest corner of the State Market in 80/81 CE. The elaborate fountain bears the name of the proconsul C. Laecanius Bassus Caecina Paetus, but it was funded by the city of Ephesus.[70]

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[65] *IvE* II.256. Also see Højte 2005, 292, Caligula 20 (the name of Germanicus once was interpreted as that of Caligula).

[66] Rose 1997, 176-177, no. 117.

[67] Rose 1997, 176-177, no. 117, note 3.

[68] Aurenhammer 2011, 108-109. Their common origin is suggested by the similar treatment of the hair and eyes.

[69] *IvE* II.412 = *SEG* 39.1206; White 1995; Halfmann 2001, 39-40.

[70] *IvE* III.695; Erdemgil 1986, 62; Scherrer 1995; Wiplinger and Wlach 1996, 56-57, 82-85; Halfmann 2001, 39-40.

During the reign of Domitian Ephesus experienced an upsurge in architectural projects, largely due to the establishment of Ephesus' first provincial imperial (neokorate) cult.[71] The temple for this cult, that of the Flavian Sebastoi, was built at the west end of the State Market on a massive terrace (64.5 x 85.6 m) with a cryptoporticus below.[72] Olympic games were established at Ephesus in connection with the new cult and the dedication of the temple in 89/90 CE.[73] Additional buildings were constructed to accommodate these contests and celebrations, including gymnasia, porticoes, and baths.[74] More water lines and aqueducts also were built to meet the increased water demands of the city.[75] These lines fed numerous new nymphaea throughout Ephesus, including a fountain built on the south side of the State Market and the so-called Fountain of Domitian or Fountain of Pollio that stood directly to the east of the Temple of the Flavian Sebastoi.[76] Another new temple located to the southwest of

[71] Friesen 1993, especially 29-49; White 1995; Burrell 2004, 59-85; Witulski 2007; Raja 2012, 75-76. The year in which the provincial cult was established at Ephesus is debated, but Friesen convincingly argues for a date in the mid 80s CE. Friesen 142-168, also demonstrates that there is no evidence for the cult being initiated by Domitian or greatly influenced by him. Rather, the cult allowed the province of Asia to express reverence for the new dynasty and the city of Ephesus to demonstrate its power. For general information on neokorate cults and temples see Burrell 2004.

[72] *IvE* II.449; II.232-243; V.1498; VI.2048; Miltner 1958b, 38-40; Daltrop, Hausmann, and Wegner 1966, 38, 100; Alzinger 1970, 1649-1650; Price 1984, 254-257, no. 31; Erdemgil 1986, 57-58; Friesen 1993, especially 29-75; White 1995; Scherrer 1995; 1997; 2001; Wiplinger and Wlach 1996, 79-81; Halfmann 2001, 40-44; Süss 2003; Burrell 2004, 59-85; Raja 2012, 75-76. The province of Asia funded the construction of the temple, using land that previously had been part of a residential district. The cult honored the three Flavian emperors and perhaps Domitia as well. After Domitian's *damnatio memoriae*, the emperor's name was expunged from the dedicatory inscriptions and the cult focused primarily on Vespasian.

[73] Friesen 1993, especially 29-49, 114-141. The games were discontinued after Domitian's reign, but were revived under Hadrian and continued to be celebrated into the third century CE.

[74] Friesen 1993, 114-141; White 1995; Scherrer 1995; 2001; Halfmann 2001, 40-44. The city of Ephesus sponsored both the games and buildings.

[75] *IvE* II.414, 416, 419a (aqueduct built in 92/93 CE under the proconsul of Asia, Calvisius Ruso). Tiberius Claudius Aristion, the same donor of the Nymphaeum of Trajan, financed the construction of a water line that originated west of Ephesus, in Tire, and was about twenty miles long (210 stadia). It fed both fountains dedicated by Aristion, the Nymphaeum of Trajan and the fountain on the road to the Magnesian Gate. See the discussion below for more information.

the Tetragonos Agora, the so-called Serapeion, also was begun under Domitian.[77] Additional building projects during the late Flavian period include the paving of the Embolos in 94/5 CE,[78] which was paid for by the city, the funding of a road in 86 CE,[79] and the reconstruction of the theater by private citizens.[80]

With no known Vespasianic building projects, it is perhaps not surprising that only one honorific base for Vespasian survives from Ephesus.[81] Similarly, only one block from a secondary context preserves an inscription in honor of Titus set up by the imperial freedman and procurator Eutactus.[82] The relatively large number of preserved bases for honors to Domitian reflects the extent and magnitude of architectural initiatives and religious developments under the last Flavian emperor. Cities of Asia erected thirteen dedications in the area of the Temple of the Flavian Sebastoi.[83] S.J. Friesen argues that these honors were set up in conjunction with the dedication of the provincial imperial temple at Ephesus and

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[76] *IvE* II.413, 419. The tomb of Sextilius Pollio (Augustan period) was rebuilt as a fountain in 92/3 CE, thus the dual name. The proconsul of Asia, Calvisius Ruso, dedicated the fountain in honor of Domitian and Artemis, which makes it the first known civic fountain dedicated to an emperor. Statue fragments have been associated with the fountain and suggest that the sculptural program represented scenes from the Odyssey, similar to displays in imperial residences. For a detailed discussion of this fountain, its associated sculpture, and other benefactions of Ruso see Longfellow 2011, 62-76. For more on Sextilius Pollio see Kirbihler 2007, 28-31; Scherrer 2007; Thür 2007.

[77] There is no extant dedicatory inscription, which makes it difficult to reconstruct the history and context of the temple. The temple typically is dated to the end of the first century CE, but the façade never appears to have been completed. There is also no information on the deity worshipped. See Miltner 1958b, 69-72; Alzinger 1970, 1652-1654; Price 1984, 254-257, no. 35; Wiplinger and Wlach 1996, 41, 142-143; Halfmann 2001, 40-44. Scherrer 1995, believes the temple dates later, in the early second century CE.

[78] *IvE* VII.1.3008; White 1995; Scherrer 1995; Halfmann 2001, 40-44.

[79] *IvE* II.263b (bilingual); Halfmann 2001, 40-44.

[80] *IvE* II.471; VI.2034, 2037. Also see White 1995; Halfmann 2001, 40-44.

[81] Inan and Rosenbaum 1966, 46, no. 2; Vermeule 1968, 464.

[82] *IvE* II.262; Inan and Rosenbaum 1966, 46, no. 4; Vermeule 1968, 464; Højte 2005, 351, Titus 53.

[83] *IvE* II.232-243; Price 1984, 254-257, no. 31; Friesen 1993, 29-49; Scherrer 1997; Højte 2005, 359-363, Domitian 41-53; Deppmeyer 2008, 47, no. 15. All the dedications but one (an unfluted marble column) are carved on rectangular marble blocks.

thus date to 89/90 CE.[84] After Domitian's assassination in 96 CE, the name of the emperor deliberately was removed from the blocks and a new dedication to the divine Vespasian was inscribed. Two other honors to Domitian are attested by epigraphic evidence,[85] and inscriptions confirm that at least two images of Domitian stood in the theater.[86] Only one honor for a female member of the Flavian family is preserved; a fragment of a marble plate names Domitia Longina, the wife of Domitian, as the honorand. The statue of the empress presumably stood next to an image of her husband.[87]

Unlike their Julio-Claudian predecessors, the Flavians were represented as a dynastic family group in only one context, as cult images in the Temple of the Sebastoi. In 1970, J. Keil led excavations in the southwest corner of the State Market and discovered the head of a four-times life-size acrolithic male statue in the cryptoporticus of the terrace along with fragments of at least one other statue. The portrait initially was thought to be Domitian by the excavator, but was later identified as a likeness of Titus.[88] Friesen has demonstrated that the cult was dedicated to all three Flavian emperors, so that similar colossal images of Vespasian, Domitian, and perhaps Domitia may have been included.[89] P. Scherrer postulates that the cult group even included statues of Augustus and Claudius.[90] The author sees such

[84] Friesen 1993, 29-49.

[85] *IvE* II.263; 263a.

[86] *IvE* VI.2047; Højte 2005, 359, Domitian 40; *IvE* VI.2048.

[87] *IvE* II.263c. On the general dearth of honors for women of the Flavian dynasty see Alexandridis 2010b.

[88] Daltrop, Hausmann, and Wegner 1966, 26, 38, 86, 100. Inan and Rosenbaum 1966, 46, 67, no. 27, follow the identification as Domitian. Also see Stemmer 1971, 575; Bammer 1972-1975, 386; Kreikenbom 1992, 102, III 93; Varner 2004, 128.

[89] Friesen 1993, 50-75. Also see Price 1984, 254-257, no. 31; Scherrer 1997; Deppmeyer 2008, 49, no. 16. The portrait of Domitian probably was removed or made into an image of Nerva after Domitian's *damnatio memoriae*.

an arrangement as a later imitation of the statuary ensemble from the Metroon at Olympia. An adaptation of the Olympian group at Ephesus certainly is feasible given the similar context (a temple of the imperial cult), size of the Ephesian temple (24 x 34 m) and elapsed time (ca. twenty years). Also, the numerous dedications to Augustus and Claudius discussed above confirm the prominence of the two deified emperors within the honorific landscape of Ephesus. The presence of Domitia, however, remains speculative since no epigraphic or sculptural evidence links her with the temple. If the empress were indeed included in the dynastic group, this would suggest a centralized approach at Ephesus for honorific monuments. Rather than simply include statues of the emperors, the dedicators presumably had information from Rome regarding the imperial family, which they used in designing this dynastic display.

Nerva and Trajan

The urban development of Ephesus continued during the reign of Trajan, largely through the initiatives of private donors.[91] Old buildings were remodeled, such as the port, the theater, and the Prytaneion.[92] New constructions included another gymnasium and two gateways, one erected in honor of Trajan at the south entrance of the Tetragonos Agora, the other to the east of the Nymphaeum of Trajan on Curetes Street.[93] The roadways received

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[90] Scherrer 1997.

[91] Scherrer 1995; 2001; Halfmann 2001, 63-73.

[92] *IvE* VI.2034 (theater); 1024 (Prytaneion); Scherrer 1995; 2001; Halfmann 2001, 63-73. The expansion of the port was funded by P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus. The renovation of the theater was financed by T. Flavius Montanus, the provincial head priest of the Sebasteion and the city. The Prytaneion was remodeled by the prytanis Dionysodorus in 105 CE.

[93] *IvE* VII.1.3066 (gymnasium funded by T. Flavius Montanus); *IvE* II.329 = *SEG* 39.1184 (gate of Tetragonos Agora, so-called Gate of Hadrian); *IvE* II.422 (gate on Curetes Street, dated to 114/5 CE). Also see Miltner

further elaboration through paving and the donation of thirty-one statues by C. Vibius Salutaris for celebrations of Artemis.[94] The well-known Baths of Varius and the Library of Celsus, both located to the north of the Nymphaeum of Trajan on Curetes Street, also date to this period.[95] Moreover, as discussed in detail below, Tiberius Claudius Aristion is linked with several Trajanic projects, including the Nymphaeum of Trajan, the Library of Celsus, monumental fountains, and a water line. Thus, under Trajan patrons from both the East and West focused on increasingly rich and elaborate displays as a means of simultaneously beautifying the city and expressing their wealth, prestige, and generosity.

In addition to funding architectural projects, the people and city of Ephesus invested in honorific monuments for the emperors. A base in honor of Nerva was found about fifty meters in front of the theater,[96] while another inscription was discovered in the area of St. John's Church.[97] The latter monument consisted of either metal statuettes referring to the αρεταί of Nerva, or a statue of the emperor himself made from the material of melted-down άνδριαντίδια. The names of the dedicators are preserved as 'Ασκληπ[---] / Δημητρίο[υ---].

1959, 346; Vermeule 1968, 346, 464; Scherrer 1995; 2001; Halfmann 2001, 63-73; Højte 2005, 393, Trajan 144. The architrave block from the gate on Curetes Street records the dedication to Ephesian Artemis and Trajan.

[94] *SEG* 39.1185 (paving of Curetes Street in 116/7 CE). On the Salutaris donations see *IvE* Ia.27-37. Also see Rogers 1991, 16-30; Scherrer 1995; 2001; Halfmann 2001, 63-73.

[95] *IvE* II.500 (baths); *IvE* VII.2.5101, 5153 (library). Also see Miltner 1958b, 52-54; Vermeule 1968, 464; Alzinger 1970, 1650-1652; Price 1984, 254-257, no. 32, 149-150; Erdemgil 1986, 36; Scherrer 1995; 2001; Wiplinger and Wlach 1996, 31-35, 62-63, 124-126; Halfmann 2001, 63-73. At the entrance to the baths is the so-called Temple of Hadrian (*IvE* II.429), which was vowed in 114 CE by Varius, but finished in the reign of Hadrian.

[96] *IvE* II.264; Højte 2005, 370, Nerva 33.

[97] *SEG* 34.1087; Højte 2005, 370, Nerva 34.

Two extant bases represent honors for either Nerva or Trajan,[98] and another honor for Nerva is attested by sculptural material.[99]

Only three inscriptions have been associated securely with honors to Trajan. Two fragments confirm a dedication; one has no recorded find spot and the other was found in the area between the Harbor Gymnasium and the so-called Verulanus Hall.[100] A second base with a bilingual inscription was discovered in the debris of the theater parodos.[101] It might be part of the group of statues set up within the theater by C. Vibius Salutaris in 104 CE, which included a silver statue of the founder of Hellenistic Ephesus, Lysimachus, as well as statues of Artemis and Trajan, which also were made of precious material.[102] The third base comes from the Artemis sanctuary and was dedicated to Trajan by the boule and demos during the proconsulship of Q. Fulvius Gillo Bittius Proculus (115/116 CE).[103] No dynastic groups from this period are known aside from the Nymphaeum of Trajan, which is the focus of the following section.

[98] *IvE* II.264a; *IvE* II.264b.

[99] Vermeule 1968, 464.

[100] *IvE* II.265b.

[101] *IvE* II.265a.

[102] *IvE* Ia.27-37; Kotsidu 2000, 362-363, no. 246. On Lysimachus see Pausanias I.9.7; Bringmann 1995, 308-311, no. 265.

[103] *IvE* V.1500; Højte 2005, 393, Trajan 145. Also see Wood 1877, Appendix 3, no. 13; Hicks 1890, 164-165, no. 500; Inan and Rosenbaum 1966, 47, no. 6; Vermeule 1968, 464.

Nymphaeum of Trajan

Historical Background

The earlier of the two focus groups at Ephesus comes from a monumental fountain complex known as the Nymphaeum of Trajan (figure 3.5).[104] The fountain was located on the north side of Curetes Street, the road linking the Tetragonos Agora and State Market (figures 3.2, 3.6). On the same side of this road but farther north were the so-called Temple of Hadrian, the Baths of Varius (also known as the Scholastikia Baths), and a latrine. On the south side of the road were numerous structures including the Library of Celsus, the Gate of Hadrian, two heroa, and residential buildings. The fountain thus was located prominently on a major thoroughfare of the city.

F. Miltner first excavated the area in his campaigns from 1955 to 1958, publishing his findings in 1958.[105] Excavations revealed a large rectangular basin (11.90 x 5.20 m) faced by a longer and narrower distribution pool (17.0 x 0.90 m) that extended approximately four meters into the roadway (figure 3.6). The larger basin was framed on three sides by a two-storey façade (16.45 L x 7.10 D x 9.50 H m) punctuated with columns that formed niches and aediculae for sculptural display (figures 3.7, 3.8).[106] The structure was made of rusticated blocks with marble facing while the architectural decoration and sculpture were of marble.

The building inscription from the monument survives and provides the names of the patrons, Tiberius Claudius Aristion, who was a prominent citizen of Ephesus during the late

[104] For descriptions in the excavation reports see Miltner 1958a, 1959; Eichler 1963. Also see Miltner 1958b, 50-52, no. 10; Alzinger 1970, 1607; Bammer 1972-1975, 386, figures 9-10; Erdemgil 1986, 65-66; Knibe and Thür 1995, 88-89; Wiplinger and Wlach 1996, 96-97; Dorl-Klingenschmid 2001, 188-189; Quatember 2006; 2011; Longfellow 2011, 77-95. The monument also is known as the Fountain of Trajan and the Hydrekdocheion of Trajan.

[105] Miltner 1958a.

[106] The appearance of the façade has been compared to stage architecture. See Knibe and Thür 1995, 88-89; Quatember 2006, 73; 2011.

first and early second centuries CE, and his wife, Julia Lydia Laterane.[107] Aristion's prominence is confirmed by his appearance in nineteen inscriptions from Ephesus and the fact that he served as grammateus, prytanis, and gymnasiarchos during his career in the city.[108] He was the first known holder of the offices of the neokoros and of high priest for the Temple of the Flavian Sebastoi. Aristion also served as Asiarch at least three times and Friesen postulates that he was perhaps the agonothete of the first Ephesian games [Olympics].[109]

Most of the inscriptions that mention Aristion relate to the provincial cult of the Sebastoi or to civic offices in Ephesus, but his name appears in the context of several major construction projects as well, including the Library of Celsus and the fountain on the road to the Magnesian Gate.[110] Aristion also may have been connected to the building of the Sebasteion as well as the Harbor Baths and Gymnasium.[111] The prominence of Aristion led Pliny the Younger to describe him as *princeps Ephesiorum, homo munificus et innoxie popularis*.[112]

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[107] *IvE* II.424. For more on Tiberius Claudius Aristion see Miltner 1958a; Friesen 1993, 45-47, 102, 111-112, 162; Scherrer 1997, 122-123; Quatember 2007, 2011; Longfellow 2011, 77-95. The inscription was located on the architrave above the lower-storey columns. The text confirms that Aristion financed the water line, which also appears in an edict (113/114 CE) of the proconsul of Asia, A. Vicirius Martialis, and confirms the patronage of Aristion. See *IvE* VII.1.3217.

[108] *IvE* II.461, 508, 638; Longfellow 2011, 81.

[109] *IvE* II.425; Friesen 1993, 139-140. For more on the terminology of highpriest and Asiarch see Friesen 1995; 1999.

[110] *IvE* VII.2.5101, 5153. The inscription for the library is dated after 114 CE. For the fountain on the road to the Magnesian Gate see *IvE* II.424a. This fountain was donated by Aristion and his wife some time before 114 CE in honor of Artemis, Trajan, and the city of Ephesus. It is similar to the Nymphaeum of Trajan in design, but is larger and its sculptural program cannot be reconstructed. See Alzinger 1970, 1606, 1632; Erdemgil 1986, 84-86; Scherrer 1997, 122-123, 138-140; Quatember 2007, 2011; Longfellow 2011, 77-95.

[111] Longfellow 2011, 81; Raja 2012, 76-77.

[112] Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 6.31. Pliny mentions Aristion in the context of cases that were being tried. The precise crime Aristion was on trial for is not specified, but he eventually was acquitted.

Aristion's dedication of the Nymphaeum of Trajan has been dated between 102 and 114 CE based on the imperial titulature, which refers to Trajan as *Dacicus*, a title he adopted in 102 CE, but not *Parthicus* or *Optimus*, titles he received in 114 CE. It was dedicated to the goddess Artemis, the emperor Trajan, and the city of Ephesus.[113] As with the Nymphaeum at Olympia, the names of the dedicator and the honorand(s) are preserved, and the monument can be dated to within a decade of a particular emperor's reign.

Associated Sculpture

Eight statues are associated with the original construction of the Nymphaeum, including a statue of Dionysus (Selçuk Museum Inv. 1405),[114] a female statue in the Kore type (Inv. 772), a female statue identified as Aphrodite or a nymph (Inv. 768), a female figure in the Ceres type (Inv. 1404) (figure 3.10), a reclining Satyr (Inv. 754),[115] the lower body of a Nike (?) (Inv. 771), a young man with a hunting dog (Inv. 773) (figure 3.11), and fragments of a colossal statue of Trajan (Inv. 7/56/72, *IvE* I.265) (figure 3.9).[116] The hunter typically is identified as Androklos, the legendary founder of Ephesus.[117] The statue of Trajan is attested by fragments of the nude chest, which are now lost, as well as the bare right foot, which was connected to a globe and an inscribed plinth identifying the figure as the

[113] The building project, including the water line and fountain, is an early and rare example of a project of this magnitude being dedicated to the emperor. Trajan may have seen the dedication in person if he passed through Ephesus on his way to the Parthian campaign in 113 CE. See Longfellow 2011, 77-95.

[114] For detailed stylistic analyses of the Dionysus statue see Fleischer 1982, 123-129; Aurenhammer 1990, 53-55, no. 31; 62-63, no. 41.

[115] For stylistic analyses see Fleischer 1982, 123-129; Aurenhammer 1990, 70-72, no. 51; Filges 1997, 44-49, 256, no. 65.

[116] The exact number of associated statues varies from publication to publication with no explanations given as to why. I use the most recent inventory given in Quatember 2011, 66-72.

[117] For a stylistic analysis see Aurenhammer 1990, 124-126, no. 104.

reigning emperor.[118] The statue was two times life-size and probably shown in the hip mantle type.[119] All the other statues are either slightly larger than life-size or about two-thirds life-size and are roughly worked in the back, which suggests that originally they were displayed in niches.

In addition, ten bases were recovered from the vicinity of the Nymphaeum and are grouped together because of their identical profiles.[120] The bases fall into two categories based on height (46 cm or 60-65 cm), and these categories presumably correspond to the two floors of the Nymphaeum. The larger bases are placed on the ground level and the smaller bases on the second storey since one large base was found *in situ* in the lower storey of the eastern wing.[121] Based on size, it is assumed that the larger sculpture stood on the larger bases and the smaller statues on the smaller bases.

Only one base carries any text; a block found in the western short wall of the Nymphaeum preserves the inscription [θ]εον Νέρβαν and is interpreted as a base for a posthumous statue of the divine Nerva.[122] The dynastic aspect of the Nymphaeum display therefore is defined by the statues of Trajan and Nerva, but the preserved material does not necessarily represent the entirety of the fountain's original sculpture. Indeed, several

[118] *IvE* II.265. The fragments currently are housed in the Ephesus Museum. See Miltner 1958a; 1959, figure 174; Inan and Rosenbaum 1966, 47, no. 5; Vermeule 1968, 464; Kapossy 1969, 63; Knibe and Thür 1995, 88-89; Dorl-Klingenschmid 2001, 188-189; Højte 2005, 393, Trajan 143; Deppmeyer 2008, 125-127, no. 54; Quatember 2011, 66-67.

[119] Deppmeyer 2008, 125-127, no. 54. Vermeule 1968, 514, note 12, suggests that the statue of Trajan may have been shown seated in the manner of Jupiter Capitolinus.

[120] Quatember 2011, 74-76.

[121] Quatember 2011, 74-76.

[122] *IvE* II.420. Miltner 1958a; 1959; Vermeule 1968, 234; Dorl-Klingenschmid 2001, 188-189; Højte 2005, 370, Nerva 35; Deppmeyer 2008, 125-127, no. 54; Quatember 2011, 74-76. A himation statue (Selçuk Museum Inv. 1403) once was thought to belong with the base, but has since been disassociated from it.

scholars believe that additional members of the imperial household may have been represented, which would have strengthened the dynastic emphasis of the monument.[123]

Date

The extant building inscription places the Nymphaeum between 102 and 114 CE while archaeological evidence confirms subsequent additions and renovations. For example, at a later date another statue of Dionysus (Inv. 769) was added to the sculptural display either as a new piece or a replacement.[124] Also, after the original installation a portrait statue of an unknown Roman (Inv. 1403) may have replaced the statue of Nerva.[125] The addition of dowel holes and grooves in the parapet of the front basin indicate subsequent alterations to the water pool.[126] Finally, evidence confirms the later installation of herms, perhaps either on a new attic zone or on the parapet between the basins.[127] The date of these changes is uncertain. Some scholars argue that they occurred in the fourth century CE, specifically after an earthquake in 362 CE, based on stylistic evidence and a known Theodosian renovation to the Nymphaeum.[128] M. Aurenhammer, however, dates the Dionysus statue (Inv. 769) to the late Antonine period based on stylistic analysis.[129]

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[123] For the argument and additional bibliography see Quatember 2011, 74-78, 100-103.

[124] This is based on stylistic differences between the statue of Dionysus (Selçuk Museum Inv. 769) and all the others. See Fleischer 1982, 123-129, who dates the statue of Dionysus to the 160s CE based on the treatment of the hair and eyes.

[125] Miltner 1959; Dorl-Klingenschmid 2001, 188-189; Quatember 2011, 73-74. This is the statue that was believed erroneously to have been Nerva. See note 122 above.

[126] Dorl-Klingenschmid 2001, 188-189; Quatember 2011, 79-86.

[127] Miltner 1958a; 1959; Kapossy 1969, 63; Knibe and Thür 1995, 88-89; Dorl-Klingenschmid 2001, 188-189, note 760; Quatember 2011, 79-86. The four herms include two ideal female heads, a helmeted warrior, and a bearded man.

Arrangement of the Sculpture

The excavators of the Nymphaeum did not record detailed find spots for the sculpture or inscriptions (figure 3.12).[130] Miltner's handwritten diary and excavation reports as well as a few photographs provide some help, but even this information is vague and limited. One must remember, too, that where excavators discovered a base or statue reflects the sculptural arrangement in the late antique period and not necessarily the location at the time of installation. Determining original positions for the statues is also problematic since eight statues and ten bases survive, but there were twenty-three niches for display. Finally, only one base, a block from the lower storey of the eastern wing, was found *in situ*.[131] All these factors make it difficult to reconstruct the original sculptural arrangement of the Nymphaeum, but scholars nonetheless speculate primarily based on size and (presumed) identities. So, for example, the colossal statue of Trajan is assumed by all scholars to have dominated the display by occupying the two-storey central aedicula in the middle of the back wall.[132] This position meant that the current emperor stood over the outlet of the fountain and appeared as the source of the flowing water. The globe under Trajan's bare feet and the monumental, heroically nude form further emphasized the ubiquity of the emperor's power.

The statue of Trajan is the only one whose original location is agreed upon unanimously. For the other sculptures, most scholars situate them generally between the

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[128] Miltner 1958a; Fleischer, 1982, 123-129; Knibe and Thür 1995, 88-89; Dorl-Klingenschmid 2001, 188-189; Quatember 2006.

[129] Aurenhammer 1990, 62-63.

[130] Quatember 2011, 76-78.

[131] Quatember 2011, 74-76.

[132] Trajan's statue is thus the only one that extended through both floors of the fountain façade. Eichler 1963; Kapossy 1969, 63; Fleischer 1982, 123-129; Knibe and Thür 1995, 88-89; Dorl-Klingenschmid 2001, 188-189; Quatember 2006; Deppmeyer 2008, 125-127, no. 54; Longfellow 2011, 86.

columns in niches (figure 3.13), but some have offered more specific arrangements.[133] B. Kapossy places the statues of Nerva, Androklos, and the female portrait in the western short wall, and Dionysus (identified by Kapossy as Apollo) flanked by two other female figures in the eastern section. On the upper floor, Kapossy locates the nymph or Aphrodite figure and the satyr.[134] R. Fleischer likewise places the statue of the young hunter in the middle of the western side flanked by the female statue in the Kore type to the right and Nerva to the left.[135] The Trajanic statue of Dionysus Fleischer puts in the middle intercolumniation of the Nymphaeum's east wall next to the late Antonine statue of Dionysus and the unidentified female statue, which Fleischer postulates might represent the donor named in the inscription, Julia Lydia Laterane.[136] Fleischer questions the assumption that the other figures, the Aphrodite/nymph and the satyr, were located in the upper storey since he believes that they were not designed for display in a high niche and since the sculptural motifs (i.e. shell, wineskin) were more appropriate for a lower location near the water.

C. Dorl-Klingenschmid offers a different arrangement for the Nymphaeum sculpture.[137] She places the statue of Nerva and an assumed imperial counterpart in the side niches on the back wall beside Trajan.[138] In the wings, Dorl-Klingenschmid locates the

[133] For vague descriptions of the sculptural arrangement see Miltner 1958b, 50-52, no. 10; Eichler 1963; Vermeule 1968, 234; Knibe and Thür 1995, 88-89. The recent publication by Deppmeyer 2008, 126, no. 54, lists the original location for the statue of Nerva as "in den Interkolumnien der Säulen an der Fassade."

[134] Kapossy 1969, 63.

[135] Fleischer 1982, 123-129, thinks it unlikely that the hunter represents the mythical founder Androklos.

[136] Fleischer 1982, 123-129, thus suggests that a statue of Aristion also was present but does not survive. Fleischer's arrangement is followed by Aurenhammer 1990, 53-55, 62-63, 70-72, 124-126.

[137] Dorl-Klingenschmid 2001, 188-189.

[138] Longfellow 2011, 88-89, argues that none of the known statues can be placed in the side niches of the back wall based on the recent discovery of small openings for lead pipes (see Quatember 2006, 74-75). According to Longfellow, the flanking niches of the side walls probably held the sculptures. Quatember 2011, 76-78,

mythological and religious figures; Androklos and the statue in the Kore type were in the west, the Ceres-type female figure and the statue of Dionysus in the east. The author believes that the two-thirds life-size figures, the Aphrodite and satyr, were in the upper floor of the Nymphaeum. The position of the Nike (?) remains uncertain.

The most recent and thorough publication on the Nymphaeum by U. Quatember follows Dorl-Klingenschmid's arrangement (figure 3.14). Quatember further proposes that the pendant for Nerva was Plotina, the wife of Trajan, based on comparanda from Perge and Olympia (figure 3.15).[139] Quatember also uses comparanda to argue that the donors, Tiberius Claudius Aristion and Julia Lydia Laterane, were depicted within the statuary display. She believes that they stood opposite each other at the north end of the two side wings, which means that they were immediately adjacent to but still separated from the imperial family.[140] Moreover, Quatember connects the female figure in the Ceres type with Julia Lydia Laterane (figure 3.10), and suggests that the statue of Androklos (figure 3.11) carried a portrait of Tiberius Claudius Aristion (figures 3.16-3.19).[141] In this way the dedicators were not only connected to the imperial family, but to mythological and divine figures as well.

Many possibilities thus exist for the original arrangement of the Nymphaeum sculpture, but the important point for this investigation is that the reigning emperor was shown alongside his (deified) predecessor and possibly other members of the imperial family. The evidence also confirms that the emperors were juxtaposed with gods (e.g.

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confirms that the base of Nerva shows no signs of a lead pipe opening, but also notes that a pipe could have been mounted instead in the statue plinth.

[139] Quatember 2011, 76-78.

[140] Quatember 2011, 76-78, cites the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus at Olympia and the Nymphaeum from the Lower Agora at Sagalassos as comparisons.

[141] Quatember 2011, 76-78, 100-103.

Dionysus, Aphrodite (?), Nike (?)), at least one hero of the city of Ephesus, mythological figures, and perhaps representations of the monument's founders as well. Therefore, the fountain at Ephesus combined portraits of multiple genres into a grand display of imperial and local politics. The following section focuses on how this display fit into the larger honorific landscape of Ephesus.

The Nymphaeum of Trajan Sculpture in Context

As with most ancient sites, much material at Ephesus survives in a fragmentary state or was transported and re-used in later settings. Aqueducts appear to have been major sites of recycling, with 20% (2) of Hellenistic and 22% (5) of early imperial individual honors coming from these secondary contexts. Additional material was re-used in late antique walls (two (20%) of ten Hellenistic individual honors; two (10%) of twenty Flavian individual honors), wells (one (4%) of twenty-three early imperial individual honors), villas (two (9%) of twenty-three early imperial individual honors), and bridges (six (30%) of twenty Flavian individual honors). The continual habitation of Ephesus and its role in Christianity also means that many early churches recycled earlier material.

This re-use makes it difficult based on find spots to reconstruct the honorific landscape of a given site, but general observations can be made on what presumably were preferred locations for statuary display (figure 3.20). At Ephesus for the Hellenistic period, first century BCE, and first century CE, these locations include the main roads of the city and the two large meeting places, the Tetragonos Agora and the State Market. Of the ten Hellenistic individual honors, two (20%) come from Curetes Street (figure 3.24) and the only group honor from this period was located at a major intersection on this same road. Two

(9%) Augustan/Julio-Claudian individual honors were discovered on Curetes Street, one (4%) on the so-called Marble Street, two (9%) from the Tetragonos Agora, and three (13%) from the State Market (figure 3.25). For group honors from this period, one (4%) comes from the Tetragonos Agora, one (4%) from the State Market, and one (4%) from Marble Street (figure 3.26). Two (10%) Flavian individual honors were found in the State Market, as well as one (5%) from Curetes Street (figure 3.27). The single Flavian group honor likewise was located in the Sebasteion at the western end of the State Market. No individual honors from the Nervan or Trajanic periods were discovered in these "nodes" of imperial honorific display (figure 3.28), but the only dynastic group, the Nymphaeum of Trajan, was located on Curetes Street.

The preference to display honorific statues in these areas is probably tied to historical and architectural developments. In 41 BCE, Mark Antony visited Ephesus and was hailed as a new Dionysus.[142] Later, in 33 BCE, Mark Antony chose the city as the political and military center of his contingent against Octavian.[143] After the Battle of Actium, in which Octavian defeated Mark Antony, Octavian visited Ephesus, thereby demonstrating that the city would retain its importance within the new Roman Empire despite its support of the opposition.[144] The city's status also was confirmed when it became the capital of the province of Asia, presumably some time in the early Augustan period.

Given that Ephesus was emerging as a political and religious center of the Roman world, it is not surprising that architectural projects and honorific displays were focused in areas that revolved around the needs of a thriving metropolis, namely civic, commercial,

[142] Plutarch *Ant.* 24.3

[143] Rogers 1991, 2-16; Scherrer 2001, 84.

[144] Raja 2012, 58.

social, political, and religious centers. Thus, buildings erected on Ephesus' major streets and in the Tetragonos Agora and State Market fulfilled a variety of purposes, but they all contributed to the urban expansion and development of the city under Roman rule. These areas, in turn, became attractive sites for honorific display because they reflected Ephesus' strong connections to the principate and its new regional identity.

The State Market provides a good example of this idea. In the early imperial period the area had developed into the prevailing civic and religious center of the city. Here new temples and temenoi were constructed, including those to Divus Julius and Dea Roma, Hestia, the Flavian Sebastoi, and perhaps Augustus and Artemis. Government and political buildings included the Prytaneion, Bouleuterion, and Basilike Stoa. The nymphaeum of C. Laecanius Bassus Caecina and the Fountain of Pollio were located nearby. The State Market also was a focal point of imperial dynastic honors. Indeed, the familial groups in the Basilike Stoa, the area (Augusteum?) between the Prytaneion and Bouleuterion, and the Temple of the Flavian Sebastoi give the impression that this area in particular was dominated by images of the ruling family. The attraction for dedicators was due to several reasons, including the impressively monumental backdrops for display and the frequent visitors to the area. But perhaps most importantly, the newly developed State Market reflected the city's new role as a provincial capital within the Roman Empire. By setting up statues of the imperial family in this area, patrons demonstrated their support of and loyalty towards current and successive Roman emperors.

This loyalty was balanced by a strong sense of local pride as well. The juxtaposition of imperial monuments with civic buildings of Greek origin like the Prytaneion and Bouleuterion suggested that the new identity of Ephesus was indebted to its Greek past. This

is exemplified by the bilingual dedicatory inscription of the Basilike Stoa, which includes a large Latin text followed by a smaller one in Greek.[145] The Ephesians therefore did not wish to abandon their local history in favor of a new Roman identity. Rather, they consciously sought through adaptation, reinterpretation, and reinvention to incorporate long-standing traditions into a new political order.[146]

Returning to the focus group of this chapter, the Nymphaeum of Trajan on Curetes Street, one finds the same juxtaposition of old and new as seen in the State Market. Curetes Street was located on a flat plain between two hills, Bülbüldag to the south and Panayirdag to the northeast, which formed grand backdrops for the architectural facades that lined the street and provided natural terracing for building. The street was approximately three hundred meters long and served to connect two large urban spaces at Ephesus, the Tetragonos Agora and State Market. As noted above, the street had been a site of commemorative structures (e.g. heroon of Androklos, tomb of Arsinoe IV, Memmius Monument) since Hellenistic times, but it was not until the imperial period that the street was paved and monumentalized, probably because there had been no urban district east of the Tetragonos Agora previously.[147] The development of the State Market in the early imperial period thus fueled the architectural and honorific projects along Curetes Street.

The Nymphaeum of Trajan was situated on the northern side of Curetes Street, about one hundred meters from the State Market and two hundred meters from the Tetragonos

[145] Raja 2012, 85-86, argues that the size difference between the two texts should not be seen as Ephesus placing its Roman identity above its Greek one since both inscriptions were prominently displayed. Moreover, the size discrepancy may have been simply due to practical considerations since the Greek text was longer than the Latin version and so needed to be printed in smaller letters.

[146] Raja 2012, 86-87. This approach is paralleled in the adaptation of Hellenistic ruler worship into the worship of the imperial cult.

[147] See note 94 above. Also Thür 1990, 1995; Knibbe and Thür 1995, 84-95; Scherrer 2001.

Agora (figure 3.6). The ancient viewer therefore could approach the monument from two directions (figures 3.21-3.22): by walking southeast, uphill and away from the agora, or northwest, downhill and away from the market. At the time of the Nymphaeum's construction, both sides of the street were lined with porticoes. On the south side the columns were punctuated by Hellenistic tombs, which by this time had achieved already a sense of antiquity. Behind these monuments, luxury residences ascended the steep slope of Bülbüldag on terraces. The Nymphaeum of Trajan was the only building to interrupt the porticoes on the north side of Curetes Street and its frontal basin protruded four meters into the roadway. It also was located strategically at the point where Curetes Street begins to incline sharply, which meant that its water supply would have been welcome refreshment for pedestrians. All these factors certainly made the fountain stand out from its surroundings and dominate the visual landscape. Behind the monumental fountain stood the Baths of Varius, which may have been started around the same time as the Nymphaeum and fed by the same water line.[148]

To the west, the road terminated at the Library of Celsus (figure 3.23), which was still in the process of being built at the time of the Nymphaeum's construction.[149] The library honored Tiberius Julius Celsus Polemaeanus, a man of Greek origin who served as a senator, consul, governor of Asia, and as a local benefactor. The library functioned not only as a repository for literature, but as a tomb for Celsus as well. Also at this intersection was the gate dedicated by Mazaeus and Mithridates with the Julio-Claudian dynastic sculptures (described above) and the altar of Artemis that marked the mythical birthplace of the goddess

[148] Quatember 2011, 100-103.

[149] See note 95 above; Scherrer 2001, 77.

and her brother Apollo.[150] While the specific designs of many monuments along Curetes Street remain unclear, it can be concluded that at the beginning of the second century CE Curetes Street had undergone recent, large-scale development.[151] The new buildings and monuments on the road honored both local citizens and Roman rulers, and they stood side by side with Hellenistic structures and sites connected to the city's patron deities. In this way, Curetes Street reflected the same integration of the city's past, present, and future that was discussed above in relation to the State Market.

The experience of viewing the Nymphaeum of Trajan was not only influenced by the monuments and topography surrounding the fountain, but by its architectural and sculptural design as well (figures 3.13-3.17). The architecture of the fountain was described above, but it should be emphasized that the theater-like façade of the nymphaeum was not necessary or practical in regard to its function as a source of water and a transfer point for the distribution of water to other areas of the city. Rather, the patrons probably chose such a design because it was an ideal way to frame statuary; the niches allowed statues to be highlighted individually, but the aedicular façade also presented the sculpture as a comprehensive entity.[152] In addition, it should be noted that the architectural ornamentation of the nymphaeum was minimal and that details of construction reflect attempts at cost efficiency.[153] The only exception was the central niche, which was accentuated by a crowning pediment and two highly decorated spiral columns with reliefs depicting figural and floral representations. The understated architecture could be due to financial restraints

[150] See note 47 above.

[151] Quatember 2011, 100-103.

[152] Quatember 2011, 100-103.

[153] Quatember 2011, 100-103.

since construction of the fountain and water line surely was expensive, but it could also be due to a conscious choice by the patrons to privilege the statuary program.

This all means that as a viewer approached the Nymphaeum, the effect of the architecture was inseparable from its sculpture. One would immediately notice the central niche not only because it pierced through both levels and was the only area with architectural adornment, but also because it framed the colossal statue of Trajan (figure 3.15). Here, too, is where the water poured from the aqueduct into the distribution pool. The side niches were comparatively simpler in terms of architectural sculpture, and this paralleled their display of non-imperial personages and lack of water spouts (figures 3.16-3.17). The design of the nymphaeum thus achieved a harmonious, cohesive aesthetic in which architecture, topography, sculpture, and functionality overlapped.

This consideration of how a viewer experienced the Nymphaeum suggests that the purpose of Tiberius Claudius Aristion's and Julia Lydia Laterane's dedication was manifold. Obviously the monument was a utilitarian structure, but the Nymphaeum's dedicatory inscription and statuary demonstrates that its import extended beyond practical benefits. The dedicatory inscription names the honorands (the goddess Artemis, the emperor Trajan, and the city of Ephesus) followed by the donors' name.[154] After this, the water line for which the Nymphaeum served as a monumental terminus is referenced. The text was paired with numerous statues (see above) arranged in two stories according to size. The second storey featured statues that were under life-size and thematically related to the building's function as a fountain (i.e. nymphs, satyrs) (figure 3.18). The statues of the first storey were over life-size and represented divinities alongside imperial personages, including the current emperor Trajan, the divine emperor Nerva, and probably other members of the ruling household. The

[154] See note 107 above.

two patrons also presumably were represented, and it has even been argued that the statue of the city's founder, Androklos, carried a portrait of Aristion (figure 3.19).[155]

Considering both the dedicatory text and sculptural program of the Nymphaeum of Trajan, it is clear that the married couple wished to honor the city and its patron deity through the establishment of an aqueduct that improved the citizens' water supply and quality of life. The local history of Ephesus also was emphasized through the inclusion of a statue of Androklos, the legendary founder of the city. In addition to articulating local ties, the patrons wished to display their loyalty to the imperial household, thereby acknowledging Ephesus' prominent role in the Roman Empire as a provincial capital. The patrons achieved this by dedicating the monument to the reigning emperor and by placing their self-portraits in the side niches. The sculptural arrangement thereby maintained a separation between the two families, but also ensured that a viewer associated the private citizens with imperial power. Tiberius Claudius Aristion and Julia Lydia Laterane thus emphasized their role as local benefactors within Ephesus and, at the same time, their larger regional influence. In this way, the patrons' attention to architectural, sculptural, and epigraphic details allowed them to design a monument that overtly honored others, but that, in a more nuanced way, honored themselves as well.

It is important to consider patronage at Ephesus beyond the Nymphaeum at Trajan. As at Olympia, patrons of imperial honors, both single and familial, included civic groups and individuals. In the Hellenistic period, single dedicators and civic groups dedicated 20% (2) of individual imperial honors, respectively (figure 3.29). For the early imperial period, 22% (5) of honors were erected by individuals, 9% (2) by civic institutions (figure 3.30). Under the Flavians, individual benefactors set up 10% (2) of single honors, while civic

[155] Quatember 2011, 100-103.

groups can only be associated with 5% (1) (figure 3.31). In the Nervan and Trajanic periods, individuals and civic groups are known to have dedicated 14% (1) of all extant single imperial honors, respectively (figure 3.32). The early imperial period is the only time frame that allows us to consider patronage of dynastic groups quantitatively. Of the preserved familial honors, one (17%) is associated with individual and one (17%) with civic patronage (figure 3.33). One can therefore see that neither individuals nor civic groups dominated the dedication of imperial honors at Ephesus. This balance in patronage, moreover, is consistent from the Hellenistic period through the early second century CE.

Local groups and citizens honored the Julio-Claudian household both with individual dedications and familial groups. We can analyze the twenty-three individual honors quantitatively in regard to honorands: Augustus (5, 22%), Claudius (5, 22%), Tiberius (3, 13%), Nero (3, 13%), Germanicus (2, 9%), Drusus the Younger (1, 4%), Caligula (1, 4%), Messalina (1, 4%), Lucius Caesar (1, 4%), and Nero Germanicus (1, 4%) (figure 3.34). Many of these same honorands appeared in dynastic dedications, including Augustus (4), Tiberius (2), Lucius Caesar (2), Germanicus (2), and Drusus the Younger (1). Yet statuary groups also confirm that other members of the family were honored at Ephesus, such as Livia (3), Julia (1), Agrippa (1), Gaius Caesar (1), Agrippina the Elder (1), Nero Caesar (1), and Drusus III (1).

Within the Julio-Claudian period, most individual honors were erected in the reign of Tiberius (6, 26%), followed by that of Claudius (5, 22%), Augustus (4, 17%), Nero (2, 9%), and Caligula (1, 4%) (figure 3.35). Five (22%) honors cannot be dated or their dating parameters fall over multiple reigns. The majority of the six group honors date to the

Augustan period (4, 67%), one dates to the Tiberian period (1, 17%), and one (17%) is either Tiberian or Caligulan (figure 3.36).

Honorands of individual Flavian honors include Vespasian (1, 5%), Titus (1, 5%), Domitian (17, 85%), and Domitia Longina (1, 5%) (figure 3.37). The majority of these were set up under Domitian (18, 90%), while one (5%) honor dates to the reign of Vespasian and one (5%) to the reign of Titus (figure 3.38). The only Flavian group honor is Domitianic (figure 3.39). Of the seven individual honors to Nerva and Trajan, two (29%) were dedicated to Nerva, three (42%) to Trajan, and two (29%) could be for either emperor (figure 3.40). As expected, the dates of these individual honors follow the same pattern, with two (29%) dating to the time of Nerva, three (42%) to the time of Trajan, and it is unclear if the remaining two (29%) honors are Nervan or Trajanic (figure 3.41). The dynastic group honor from this period, the nymphaeum dedicated by Tiberius Claudius Aristion and Julia Lydia Laterane, is Trajanic (figure 3.42).

In terms of female honorific sculpture at Ephesus, little evidence is preserved. From the early imperial period, only one (4%) individual honor is attested (figure 3.43). More evidence exists for statues of Julio-Claudian women in dynastic contexts, with at least five known statues, three of Livia, one of Julia, and one of Agrippina the Elder. Livia, the first empress and progenitor of the Julio-Claudian line, thus emerges as the most common female honorand within Julio-Claudian dynastic groups. In the Flavian period, only a single honor survives for Domitia Longina, the wife of Domitian. Friesen believes that Domitia may have been included among the colossal cult statues within the Temple of the Flavian Sebastoi, but there is no archaeological support for his speculation.[156] No female honors are confirmed for

[156] See note 89 above.

the reigns of Nerva or Trajan aside from the possible statue of Plotina from the Nymphaeum of Trajan.

The above quantitative analysis shows that at the time of the construction of the Nymphaeum of Trajan, individual honors to the Julio-Claudian and Flavian emperors dominated the landscape of Ephesus. Augustus, Claudius, and Domitian appear most often as honorands, but every Roman emperor was honored at Ephesus with at least one dedication. Other family members were also represented individually, but of the forty-three single honors from these two periods, thirty-six (84%) were to emperors.

The majority of individual and dynastic honors at Ephesus were clearly to the Julio-Claudian household. Moreover, it is interesting to note that ten (43%) of the individual and most, if not all, of the Julio-Claudian group honors date to the reigns of the earliest emperors, namely Augustus and Tiberius. The rise in honorific monuments during the early principate presumably relates to the historical circumstances discussed above. After the civil wars of the late Republican period, the city and citizens of Ephesus were eager to show their support of the new political power. The Flavian period at Ephesus is characterized by a general dearth of evidence, which likely relates to the issues discussed in the preceding chapter regarding Flavian ideology and the family's socio-biographical background. At Ephesus, however, the number of honors for Domitian is relatively large, presumably because the city was granted its first provincial imperial cult during the emperor's reign.

In this context, the Nymphaeum of Trajan emerges as an anomaly within the honorific landscape of Ephesus. It is the only extant Trajanic dynastic group, and one of only two group honors that post-date the reign of Tiberius. Unlike the Augustan and Domitianic periods, however, there was no political instability or major religious development that might

explain why Aristion and his wife chose to build the monument. Indeed, Trajanic Ephesus is characterized by urban expansion, economic growth, and overall prosperity. Moreover, the population was growing due to a substantial influx of foreigners, and Ephesus was second only to Alexandria in terms of its importance and size within the eastern Roman Empire. Under Trajan local aristocrats also were increasingly promoted to public office and the Senate. The wealth of the early second century CE led to a large number of the city's elite sponsoring local benefactions, including building projects and honorific monuments, and these local donations greatly outnumber those associated with the emperor.[157] This suggests, therefore, that the decision to erect the Nymphaeum of Trajan was fueled primarily by the patrons' desire to express their personal influence and civic pride; displays of loyalty or gratitude toward the imperial household were probably secondary concerns.

The patterns among display preferences, patrons, and honorands of dynastic groups at Ephesus are paralleled at other sites throughout Asia Minor. Eighteen other Julio-Claudian dynastic groups are known.[158] Of these, three (17%) were set up by individuals, twelve (66%) by civic groups, two (11%) jointly by individuals and groups, and the patron of one (6%) is unknown (figure 3.44).[159] Multiple members of the Julio-Claudian family were honored, but the individuals with the most statues included Augustus (6, 11%), Tiberius (7, 13%), and Livia (5, 9%) (figure 3.45).[160] Given these honorands, it is not surprising that the

[157] For more on early second century CE Ephesus see White 1995, 27-80; Scherrer 2001.

[158] Rose 1997, nos. 98 (Amisus), 99 (Ancyra), 100 (Andriaca), 101 (Andriaca), 102 (Andriaca), 103 (Aphrodisias), 104 (Aphrodisias), 106 (Apollonia Sozopolis), 108 (Arneae), 109 (Bubon), 110 (Cyzicus), 111 (Elaea), 118 (Halicarnassus), 119 (Ilium), 120 (Ilium), 121 (Sardis), 122 (Sestus), 123 (Smyrna).

[159] Individuals: Rose 1997, nos. 99 (Ancyra), 103 (Aphrodisias), 106 (Apollonia Sozopolis). Civic Groups: Rose 1997, nos. 100 (Andriaca), 101 (Andriaca), 102 (Andriaca), 104 (Aphrodisias), 108 (Arneae), 109 (Bubon), 110 (Cyzicus), 111 (Elaea), 120 (Ilium), 121 (Sardis), 122 (Sestus), 123 (Smyrna). Joint dedication: Rose 1997, nos. 98 (Amisus), 119 (Ilium). Unknown: Rose 1997, no. 118 (Halicarnassus).

majority of these groups date to the Augustan (4, 22%), Tiberian (6, 33%), and Claudian (3, 17%) periods (figure 3.46).[161] Unfortunately, the original contexts of these dynastic honors is largely unknown (7, 39%), but temples (3, 17%) appear to be the most common display site, especially Sebasteia (4, 22%) (figure 3.47).

For the Flavian period, five dynastic groups are confirmed at Ilium, Kestros, Pinara, Side, and Stratonikeia.[162] Individual patrons set up the monument at Stratonikeia (20%), civic groups are associated with the dedications at Kestros and Pinara (40%), and the patrons of the final two groups at Ilium and Side are unknown (40%) (figure 3.48). Titus emerges as the most common honorand with four honors (33%), followed by Vespasian (3, 25%), Domitian (2, 17%), Domitia (2, 17%), and Julia Titi (1, 8%) (figure 3.49).[163] Three of the groups are Domitianic (60%), one is Vespasianic (20%), and one is a multi-phase ensemble (20%) (figure 3.50).[164] The context of two (40%) of these groups is not clear, but one (20%) was set up in a gymnasium, one (20%) was in a temple, and the other (20%) was an independent monument (figure 3.51).[165] Only one other Trajanic group from Asia Minor is

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[160] Augustus: Rose 1997, nos. 100 (Andriaca), 110 (Cyzicus), 111 (Elaea), 118 (Halicarnassus), 119 (Ilium), 121 (Sardis). Tiberius: Rose 1997, nos. 99 (Ancyra), 102 (Andriaca), 106 (Apollonia Sozopolis), 110 (Cyzicus), 118 (Halicarnassus), 119 (Ilium), 123 (Smyrna). Livia: Rose 1997, nos. 99 (Ancyra), 102 (Andriaca), 104 (Aphrodisias), 111 (Elaea), 123 (Smyrna).

[161] Augustan: Rose 1997, nos. 100 (Andriaca), 118 (Halicarnassus), 121 (Sardis), 122 (Sestus). Tiberian: Rose 1997, nos. 99 (Ancyra), 101 (Andriaca), 102 (Andriaca), 106 (Apollonia Sozopolis), 111 (Elaea), 123 (Smyrna). Claudian: Rose 1997, nos. 108 (Arneae), 110 (Cyzicus), 120 (Ilium).

[162] Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 17 (Ilium), 18 (Kestros), 19 (Pinara), 21 (Side), 22 (Stratonikeia).

[163] Titus: Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 17 (Ilium), 18 (Kestros), 21 (Side), 22 (Stratonikeia). Vespasian: Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 17 (Ilium), 18 (Kestros), 21 (Side). Domitian: Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 17 (Ilium), 21 (Side). Domitia: Deppmeyer 2008, nos, 19 (Pinara), 21 (Side). Julia Titi: Deppmeyer 2008, no. 19 (Pinara).

[164] Domitianic: Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 17 (Ilium), 19 (Pinara), 22 (Stratonikeia). Vespasianic: Deppmeyer 2008, no. 21 (Side). Multi-phase: Deppmeyer 2008, no. 18 (Kestros).

[165] Unknown: Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 17 (Ilium), 19 (Pinara). Gymnasium: Deppmeyer 2008, no. 22 (Stratonikeia). Temple: Deppmeyer 2008, no. 18 (Kestros). Independent monument: Deppmeyer 2008, no. 21 (Side).

confirmed by archaeological evidence. Statue bases for Plotina, Marciana, and Matidia are preserved at Apameia.[166] They were set up by the boule and demos in 112 CE. The original location of the group is unknown.

Comparanda from elsewhere in Asia Minor during the early imperial period and second century CE allow one to situate the dynastic material from Ephesus in a larger context. The comparative material demonstrates that group honors to the Julio-Claudians dominated the honorific landscapes of several cities throughout Asia Minor, in addition to Ephesus. Moreover, as with Ephesus, the majority of these honors were set up for the earliest emperors, Augustus and Tiberius, as well as for Livia. The comparanda also confirm that Ephesus was not unusual in having a single Trajanic dynastic group since there was only one other Trajanic monument set up in this part of the empire.

The honorific landscape of Ephesus did differ from that of other sites in Asia Minor, however. Domitian was a prominent honorand at Ephesus, but he was represented in only two groups elsewhere. This strengthens the conclusion argued above that the abundant evidence of honors to Domitian at Ephesus is related to the fact that the city was awarded the special privilege of its first neokorate cult under the emperor. The balance in patronage observed at Ephesus is not paralleled in the evidence from other cities, where instead civic groups predominantly set up dynastic honors. It is also interesting that while the majority of honors at Ephesus were situated in civic centers or on major streets, only one dynastic group from elsewhere in Asia Minor was set up in a similar context (Bouleuterion at Ilium). In addition, there is no evidence of any other dynastic group in Asia Minor from a nymphaeum.

Therefore, based on this larger geographic analysis, the dynastic installation in the Nymphaeum of Trajan is uncommon in terms of its date, honorands, patrons, and settings.

[166] Deppmeyer 2008, no. 53 (Apameia).

Yet, at the same time, the monument reflects patterns and general display preferences evident within the honorific landscape at Ephesus. The Nymphaeum, like many buildings and monuments in second-century CE Ephesus, was dedicated by a prominent, wealthy patron who held important offices and contributed to other architectural projects within the city.[167] Its location on Curetes Street, a major thoroughfare of the city, corresponds with much of the other honorific material discovered either along this road or Marble Street. Curetes Street also had a long tradition of commemorative sculpture, such as the heroon of Androklos, the tomb of Arsinoe IV, and the Memmius monument. As discussed above, this location, along with the architecture and sculptural layout of the Nymphaeum, ultimately allowed Tiberius Claudius Aristion and Julia Lydia Laterne to convey their civic pride, loyalty to the emperor, as well as their wealth, political influence, and social power.

[167] The fact that the patron dedicated such an elaborate fountain to the emperor is still rare at this time. See Longfellow 2011, 77-95. The Fountain of Domitian at Ephesus was the first known civic fountain dedicated to an emperor. Such monuments as these perhaps set the precedent for later installations like the Nymphaeum at Olympia.

The Honorific Landscape of Ephesus: Hadrianic Period through the Third Century CE

Hadrianic Period

Under Hadrian the city of Ephesus received its second provincial cult (ca. 130 CE).[168] The temple associated with this cult, the Olympieion, was the largest building project of the Hadrianic period.[169] The area between the harbor and stadium was drained for the new temenos (350 x 225 m), which included the massive temple (85 x 57 m) as well as four surrounding stoas.[170] The only other Hadrianic building activity included a naos donated by a priest of Demeter Karpophoros in a side room of the Hestia sanctuary in the Prytaneion[171] and the marble paneling of the halls in the Domitianic Harbor Gymnasium.[172]

In contrast to the general halt in building activity under Hadrian, honors to the emperor are known in abundance. Five dedications to Hadrian as Zeus Olympios survive and may be connected to the emperor's visit to Ephesus in 129 CE.[173] Three honors to Hadrian were discovered in the theater, and another came from the Prytaneion.[174] Two additional blocks were found in secondary contexts in the Tetragonos Agora.[175] In fact, many honorific texts for Hadrian were re-used throughout the city as building material or

[168] Friesen 1993, 50-75; Scherrer 1995; 2001; Halfmann 2001, 73-75; Witulski 2007, 98-101; Raja 2012, 82-83.

[169] Pausanias (VII.2.9); Price 1984, 254-257, no. 33; Scherrer 1995; 2001; Wiplinger and Wlach 1996, 114-115, 156-158; Halfmann 2001, 73-75; Süss 2003; Burrell 2004, 59-85. The Church of Mary was built into the southern part of the temple's portico in the fifth century CE. Aside from this, little of the complex is preserved.

[170] Scherrer 1995; 2001; Halfmann 2001, 73-75; Burrell 2004, 59-85.

[171] *IvE* IV.1210. The naos was donated by P. Rutilius Iunianus Bassus in 120 CE.

[172] *IvE* II.430. The paneling was donated by the Asiarch C. Claudius Marcellus Verulanus along with his wife and son in 130/131 CE, perhaps in anticipation of a visit by the emperor.

[173] *IvE* II.267-271a.

[174] *IvE* II.271e; 271i; Højte 2005, 449, Hadrian 314; *IvE* V.1501; Højte 2005, 450-451, Hadrian 325; *IvE* II.271h.

[175] *IvE* II.271c; Højte 2005, 448, Hadrian 312; Højte 2005, 450, Hadrian 320.

have unknown find spots.[176] Despite a lack of context, extant inscriptions demonstrate that a variety of people and groups honored the emperor, including a certain L. Stratonicus, the boule, demos, followers of Dionysus, and the Chrysophoroi.[177]

In addition to the many honors for Hadrian, dedications to the empress Sabina also are preserved.[178] The inscriptions typically have unknown find spots or were re-used in late antiquity, but the existence of so many honors to the empress is noteworthy and contrasts with the Flavian and Trajanic material. Indeed, a significant number of honors to imperial women has not been seen since the Julio-Claudian period. Only one dynastic group from the reign of Hadrian is attested, which included statues of Hadrian and Sabina. The bases confirm that the group was erected 124/125 CE by the boule and demos during the proconsulship of M. Peducaeus Priscinus.[179] Due to the secondary contexts of the bases, the original location of the group is unknown.

Antonine Period

The Antonine period often is considered the high point of Roman Ephesus in terms of architectural and urban development.[180] This acme was driven largely by the building projects of the Vedii family, which originated in Italy but is documented at Ephesus after the

[176] *IvE* II.271b; 271d; Højte 2005, 450, Hadrian 321; 271f; Højte 2005, 450, Hadrian 324; 271g; Højte 2005, 449, Hadrian 313; 272; 273; 278a; Højte 2005, 450, Hadrian 315; *IvE* VII.1.3238; 3410.

[177] *IvE* II.277; Højte 2005, 450, Hadrian 322; 274; Højte 2005, 450, Hadrian 323; 275; Højte 2005, 449, Hadrian 317; 276; Højte 2005, 449-450, Hadrian 318; *IvE* VII.4333; Højte 2005, 449, Hadrian 316.

[178] *IvE* II.278; 279; *IvE* VII.1.3411; *IvE* VII.2.4108; 4334. Also see Hahn 1994, 273-301, 369-370.

[179] *IvE* II.266; Højte 2005, 450, Hadrian 319; 280. Also see Deppmeyer 2008, 127-128, no. 55.

[180] White 1995; Scherrer 1995; 2001, 78-79; Knibbe 1998, 135-162; Halfmann 2001, 75-83. This high point is associated in particular with Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius.

Augustan period.[181] The later descendants of the *gens*, who continued to dominate the social, political, and architectural landscape of Ephesus, can be traced in the city through the middle of the third century CE.[182] For example, in the last third of the second century CE, T. Flavius Damianus, a famous sophist and descendant of the Vedii, added an oikos to the Baths of Varius, financed a stoa that connected the center of Ephesus to the Artemision, and made donations to the sanctuary itself.[183] Yet for this investigation, the most important building project of the family was the adaptation of the Bouleuterion into an Odeion by Publius Vedius Antoninus in the middle of the second century CE. This benefaction is discussed in detail below, along with disputes that arose between the donor and the Ephesians regarding his architectural initiatives. The same donor was responsible for the gymnasium in the north part of the city, and also perhaps the contemporary east gymnasium near the Magnesian Gate.[184]

Other individuals also fueled the architectural development of Ephesus in the second century CE. Projects often were focused on renovations and repairs, such as those to the theater, stadium, and gymnasia.[185] The so-called Serapeion, which was initiated under Domitian but never completed, may have been redesigned.[186] The three major port gates also may date to this period.[187] New constructions included a fifth aqueduct under Antoninus

[181] Halfmann 2001, 75-83.

[182] Halfmann 2001, 80-82.

[183] *IvE* III.672; VII.3080; Scherrer 1995, 15; 2001, 78-79; Wiplinger and Wlach 1996, 151-152; Halfmann 2001, 80-82.

[184] See notes 232 and 233 below.

[185] *IvE* III.661, 938, 938a; IV.1143; V.1500; VII.3066; 2039; Scherrer 1995, 13-14; Halfmann 2001, 75-83.

[186] Preserved capitals suggest that the new design for the temple dates to the 140s CE. See Halfmann 2001, 76-77.

Pius and an unknown construction funded by the Archiereus Asias Aristokrates as agonothete of the Hadrianeen in 139/40 CE.[188] The Parthian Monument was another new structure erected in the Antonine period. Traditionally, the monument is interpreted as an altar-like building with relief imagery commemorating Lucius Verus' adoption by Antoninus Pius, his Parthian victories, and his eventual apotheosis. The monument's precise date and location, however, remain controversial.[189] In any case, the altar marks the end of an upsurge in architectural projects under the Antonine emperors.

Honorific monuments in Ephesus are characterized by a similar increase under the Antonines. Indeed, members of this dynasty are represented more often at Ephesus than any other. In the theater alone six statues of Antoninus Pius were set up by tribes of the city, and the evidence suggests that the original number actually may have been eight.[190] Two other bases for Antoninus Pius not associated with the previous dedication also were found in the theater.[191] Additional inscriptions for honors to Antoninus Pius have been found in the Harbor Gymnasium,[192] Gymnasium of Publius Vedius Antoninus,[193] Tetragonos Agora,[194]

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[187] For a discussion of the evidence and proposed dates see Halfmann 2001, 77.

[188] On the aqueduct see Scherrer 2001, 78, note 114. For the construction of Aristokrates see *IvE* III.618; Halfmann 2001, 76.

[189] *IvE* III.619, 721. The most recent and thorough overview of the monument is given in Oberleitner 2009. Also see the author's earlier 1999 article and Scherrer 1995, 14-15; 2001, 78; Halfmann 2001, 82-83. The traditional date is 169 CE. Hypotheses for the monument's location include the insula north of the Temple of the Flavian Sebastoi or the altar of Artemis at the north end of Curetes Street. Controversy stems from the fact that the relief fragments were re-used in the fourth century CE at various locations throughout the city. Thus, all extant material comes from secondary contexts.

[190] *IvE* VI.2050; Curtius 1870, 184-186, no. 4; Wood 1877, Appendix no. 7; Heberdey 1912, 168-169, no. 50; Højte 2005, 499-500, Antoninus Pius 227-232; Deppmeyer 2008, 243, no. 111.

[191] *IvE* II.282b; Højte 2005, 498, Antoninus Pius 223; *IvE* II.282d; Højte 2005, 498, Antoninus Pius 224.

[192] *IvE* II.280b.

[193] IvE II.280c.

Hestia Hall in the Prytaneion,[195] Baths of Varius,[196] and an aqueduct.[197] Three other texts for dedications to Antoninus Pius have unknown find spots.[198] Marcus Aurelius has at least one confirmed honor at Ephesus,[199] but perhaps two others as well.[200] A base built as spolia into the Harbor Gymnasium attests to an honor for Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus or Commodus.[201] Other honors to Lucius Verus[202] and Commodus also are known.[203] The women of the Antonine dynasty likewise were honored at Ephesus. An inscription from the area of the Artemision honors Matidia the Younger.[204] Two dedications to Faustina survive, but it is unclear if the honorand is Faustina the Elder, the wife of Antoninus Pius, or Faustina the Younger, the daughter of Antoninus Pius and wife of Marcus Aurelius.[205]

As with individual honors, familial statuary groups of the Antonines outnumber those of any other dynasty at Ephesus. In addition to the numerous single honors for Antoninus Pius from the theater noted above, evidence exists for a large Antonine dynastic group in the same structure with statues of Antoninus Pius, Faustina the Elder, Faustina the Younger (?),

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[194] *IvE* II.282a.

[195] *IvE* II.282c.

[196] *IvE* II.282; Højte 2005, 500, Antoninus Pius 233.

[197] *IvE* II.281; Højte 2005, 498, Antoninus Pius 222.

[198] *IvE* II.284b; Højte 2005, 498, Antoninus Pius 225; *IvE* V.1504; Højte 2005, 499, Antoninus Pius 226; Højte 2005, 498, Antoninus Pius 221.

[199] *IvE* II.286a; Højte 2005, 562, Marcus Aurelius 215.

[200] A base built into the Church of Mary (*IvE* II.284) and another from the Harbor Gymnasium (*IvE* II.284a) honor either Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius.

[201] *IvE* II.285.

[202] *IvE* II.280a; Højte 2005, 526, Lucius Verus 116.

[203] *IvE* II.292; Højte 2005, 584, Commodus 84; *IvE* II.293; Højte 2005, 584, Commodus 85.

[204] *IvE* II.283; Wood 1877, Appendix no. 3. Also see Hahn 1994, 266-269, 363.

[205] *IvE* II.284c; *IvE* II.290a.

Marcus Aurelius (?), Annia Galeria Aurelia Faustina, Lucilla, and Domitia Faustina.[206] The installation was dedicated by the boule and demos between 151 and 161 CE. A second, later Antonine dynastic group is attested by eight statue bases built into the cella doorway of the Artemision. The group presumably was set up somewhere within the sanctuary, perhaps in the Augusteum,[207] and included portraits of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, his deified wife, Faustina the Younger, and six of their children, Commodus (inscription erased and later renewed under Septimius Severus), Fadilla, Annia Lucilla (inscription later erased), Annia Galeria Aurelia Faustina (inscription now missing), Cornificia (?), and Vibia Aurelia Sabina (?) (inscription later erased). The boule and demos dedicated the statues between 175/6 and 180 CE.[208]

Other Antonine dynastic groups are attested, but reconstruction is more problematic because context is lacking. For example, bases built into aqueducts throughout Ephesus indicate that there were at least three other Antonine dynastic groups dedicated by the boule and demos.[209] The same two civic groups dedicated another Antonine dynastic monument

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[206] *IvE* VI.2049. The text preserve the names of Antoninus Pius and Annia Galeria Aurelia Faustina. The identities of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina the Younger are inferred since they were the parents of Annia Galeria Aurelia Faustina and the heir and daughter of Antoninus Pius, respectively. The presence of Faustina the Elder is inferred since she was the wife of the reigning emperor and mother of Faustina the Younger. The inclusion of only a single grandchild would be without precedent, which is why the portraits of Lucilla and Domitia Faustina are thought to have been represented in the group as well. The statues were probably slightly larger than life-size and stood side by side. See Heberdey 1912, 167, no. 49; Fittschen 1999, 129, no. 49; Højte 2005, 500, Antoninus Pius 234; Deppmeyer 2008, 244-245, no. 112.

[207] *IvE* II.287, 1-9. Also see Wood 1877, Appendix no. 16; Price 1984, 254-257, no. 28; Ameling 1992, 160; Fittschen 1999, 131, no. 52; Højte 2005, 562, Marcus Aurelius 216; 583, Commodus 82; Deppmeyer 2008, 237-239, no. 107.

[208] The date is based on the fact that inscriptions name the divine Faustina, which gives the *terminus post quem* of 175/6 CE, but do not refer to Commodus as the reigning emperor, which gives the *terminus ante quem* of 180 CE.

[209] (1) *IvE* II.288, 1-5. Also see Ameling 1992, 160; Fittschen 1999, 131, no. 53; Højte 2005, 583, Commodus 83; Deppmeyer 2008, 239-240, no. 108. (2) *IvE* II.289. Also see Ameling 1992, 160; Fittschen 1999, 132, no. 54. (3) *IvE* II.290. Also see Fittschen 1999, 133, no. 55; Deppmeyer 2008, 241-242, no. 109.

for which no provenance exists.[210] Bases for the reigning emperor Antoninus Pius and his granddaughter, Aurelia Faustina, found in the urban area south of the Harbor Gymnasium (Arkadiane) confirm a final familial group, which thus brings the total number of extant Antonine dynastic groups at Ephesus to eight.[211]

Severan Period

Due to its strategic geographical location, Ephesus' importance and architectural development continued under the Severan dynasty. The largest new construction of the period was the so-called macellum (ca. 65 x 65 m), which was located on a hill directly west of the stadium and which may have served as a site of the imperial cult.[212] Urban infrastructure continued to be maintained, including the repavement of the road leading out of the Magnesian Gate.[213] Under Septimius Severus, two local officials and brothers, T. Flavius Menander and T. Flavius Lucius Hierax, established a fountain building, the Hydreion, which faced Curetes Street at the north end of the State Market, opposite the Memmius monument.[214] In 211 CE, the Asiarch and grammateus L. Aufidius Eupheumus funded a major renovation of the east portico of the Tetragonos Agora.[215] In addition, the south stoa of the Olympieion was repaired around this time.[216] Also in 211 CE, Caracalla and Geta granted the Ephesians their third imperial neokorate temple, but Caracalla revoked

[210] Deppmeyer 2008, 242, no. 110.

[211] *IvE* II.284d. Also see Fittschen 1999, 130, no. 51; Deppmeyer 2008, 245, no. 113.

[212] Scherrer 1995, 2001; Halfmann 2001, 87-90.

[213] Halfmann 2001, 89.

[214] *IvE* II.435-436. Also see Scherrer 1995; Halfmann 2001, 88.

[215] *IvE* VII.1.3001. Also see Halfmann, 2001, 89.

[216] Scherrer 1995, 15.

the favor later that year after the murder of his brother.[217] Under Elagabalus, the city again was granted the privilege of a third provincial imperial cult, but only for a short time since after the murder of Elagabalus, the city retained only the two former cults until shortly before 260 CE. As part of Elagabalus' short-lived award, the so-called Serapeion, which was built under Domitian and perhaps redesigned in the second century CE, may have been expanded.[218] During the last two decades of the Severan dynasty, there was recurring maintenance of the urban roadways, including the Plateia and Curetes Street.[219] The former was sponsored by an unknown Asiarch, while city officials funded the latter. Under Severus Alexander, M. Fulvius Publicianus Nicephoros restored the covered hall that connected the city to the Artemision and from his posthumous benefaction, work on the southern port gate was completed.[220]

Honorific monuments to the ruling dynasty continued to be set up at Ephesus under the Severans. Wood found an inscription honoring Septimius Severus during his investigations of the Odeion.[221] Septimius' wife, Julia Domna, was honored at Ephesus with at least two statues.[222] Epigraphic evidence further confirms at least five honors for the eldest son of Septimius and Julia Domna, Caracalla.[223] The final two emperors of the

[217] *IvE* VI.2053-2056; Scherrer 1999; 2001; Halfmann 2001, 87-90; Burrell 2004, 59-85. Carcalla instead granted the award to Pergamon and Smyrna.

[218] Halfmann 2001, 87-90; Burrell 2004, 59-85.

[219] *IvE* III.626; *IvE* VII.1.3071; Halfmann 2001, 89-90.

[220] *IvE* II.444-445; VI.2076-2082; *IvE* VII.1.3086; Halfmann 2001, 90.

[221] *IvE* II.294; Wood 1877, Appendix no. 15.

[222] *IvE* V.1508; VII.2.4335.

[223] *IvE* II.297-299; VII.1.3412; *SEG* 39.1191.

Severan Dynasty, Elagabalus and Alexander Severus, also had dedications erected in their honor at Ephesus.[224]

Numerous dynastic groups of the Severans are confirmed at Ephesus by epigraphic evidence. A statuary group of Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, and their sons, Caracalla and Geta, was erected in the theater between 208 and 209 CE by the procurator Q. Aemilius Aristides.[225] Another group comprised of the same individuals is known from inscribed pedestals built into the wall of a church as spolia.[226] The city of Ephesus dedicated the statues between 198 and 210 CE. The group probably was arranged with Septimius and Julia Domna in the center, flanked by Geta to the left and Caracalla to the right. Due to the secondary context of the pedestals, the original location of the group is unknown. Two blocks from a double statue base for Caracalla and Julia Domna were discovered in an aqueduct and confirm a third Severan familial group at Ephesus that was donated by the demos between 213 and 217.[227] Additional epigraphic evidence attests to two other statuary groups of Septimius Severus and his family.[228]

Third Century CE and Beyond

Unlike some large cities in the East, Ephesus continued to flourish during the third and fourth centuries CE.[229] The city suffered disasters, including an earthquake and fire in

[224] *IvE* VII.1.3144; *IvE* V.1509.

[225] *IvE* VI.2051; Heberdey 1912, 169, no. 51; Deppmeyer 2008, 365, no. 187.

[226] *IvE* VII.2.4109; Deppmeyer 2008. 364, no. 186.

[227] *IvE* II.300; Deppmeyer 2008, 363, no. 185.

[228] *IvE* II.297a; VII.1.3087.

262 CE and plundering by Germanic tribes, which prevented reconstruction for most of the third century. Yet by the time of Diocletian, restoration work was begun.[230] Under Constantius II and Constans baths and the public water supply system were repaired.[231] Additional rebuilding, which often utilized re-used material, occurred under Theodosius I.[232] Later, large-scale architectural projects were influenced by the rise of Christianity and the desire to eliminate pagan monuments. Thus, by the fifth and sixth centuries CE, around twenty churches had been constructed within the city.[233] Evidence exists for habitation at Ephesus into the ninth century CE, but by this time the population had decreased dramatically to the size of a small village.[234]

The continued importance of Ephesus is confirmed by the surprisingly large number of honors for the third and fourth century emperors, many of whom ruled only a short period of time. For example, an honorific inscription from the street south of the State Market names Maximinus Thrax (235 – 238 CE).[235] Four honors are known for Gordian III (238 – 244 CE), and one for his wife, Furia Sabinia Tranquillina.[236] The short-reigned Tacitus (275

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[229] For discussions of Ephesus in late antiquity see White 1995; Scherrer 1995, 15-25; 2001, 79-80; Knibbe 1998, 162-235; Halfmann 2001, 87-90.

[230] Repair work seems to have been focused in the area west of the theater and along the street leading to the harbor (Arkadiane), and also at the upper end of Curetes Street. See Scherrer 2001, 79-80.

[231] Scherrer 2001, 79-80, note 129.

[232] Scherrer 1995, 15-25; 2001, 79-80; Halfmann 2001, 87-90. Renovations were conducted on the Tetragonos Agora, theater, Plateia, and Arkadiane. The quarrying of earlier monuments for building material was facilitated by the imperial edicts of Theodoius I in 391 and 392 that prohibited pagan worship.

[233] Scherrer 2001, 80.

[234] White 1995; Scherrer 1995, 15-25; 2001, 79-80.

[235] *IvE* II.301.

[236] *IvE* II.302-304; *IvE* VII.2.4336; *IvE* II.304a.

– 276 CE) has one attested honor as well.[237] In 298 CE, after the establishment of the tetrarchy, the proconsul L. Artorius Pius Maximus dedicated a statue in honor of Diocletian near the theater.[238] Three other honors to Diocletian are known, two of which were found in the Hydreion on Curetes Street.[239]

Imperial honors continue into the fourth century CE. A statue base for Galerius (305 – 311 CE) was found built into the colonnade of the Varius Baths.[240] A fragment with the name of Maximinus II (308 – 313 CE) was found in the debris to the west of the Tetragonos Agora.[241] Maximinus II's successor, Licinius (308 – 324 CE), also has an attested honor at Ephesus.[242] Two honors for the emperor Constantine are preserved; one has no known find spot, the other was found west of the theater.[243] Similarly, at least two extant honors for Julian II (360 – 363 CE) are known.[244] At the end of the fourth century CE, the wife of Theodosius I (379 – 395 CE) was honored with statues on two roads within Ephesus.[245] A base found in the east gate of Arkadiane honors Theodosius' son and successor, Honorius (393 – 423 CE).[246] Finally, a column of the Doric stoa on the east side of the Tetragonas

[237] *IvE* VII.1.3020.

[238] IvE II.307.

[239] *IvE* II.308-309; *IvE* II.309a.

[240] *IvE* II.310.

[241] *IvE* II.311a.

[242] *IvE* VII.1.3158.

[243] *IvE* II.312-313.

[244] *IvE* II.313a; *IvE* VII.1.3021.

[245] *IvE* II.314; *IvE* II.315.

[246] *IvE* II.316.

Agora carries an inscription in honor of Aelia Eudokia, the wife of Theodosius II (408 – 450 CE).[247]

Group monuments also were set up at Ephesus to honor the emperors of the third and fourth centuries CE. Honorary bases for bronze statues of the Tetrarchy were erected in front of the so-called Temple of Hadrian.[248] The statues of the two Augusti were located in the center, with the portrait of Diocletian to the right and Maximian to the left. At the extreme right was the statue of Caesar Constantius and to the left was his counterpart, Caesar Galerius. At a later time, the statue of Maximian was replaced by a statue of the father of Theodosius I.[249] Another inscription honoring the emperors Maximinus, Constantius, and Licinius was found in a tower of the Byzantine citadel and dates between 311 and 313 CE.[250] Thus, although the dynamics and framework of the Roman imperial system were changing dramatically in the third and fourth centuries CE, the Ephesians continued to pay homage to the current emperor(s) and dedicate monuments in their honor.

[247] *IvE* II.317.

[248] *IvE* II.305. Also see Miltner 1958a; 1958b, 52-54, no. 11 (temple); 85-86, no. 20 (monument); Vermeule 1968, 464; Erdemgil 1986, 72.

[249] *IvE* II.306.

[250] *IvE* II.311.

The Bouleuterion/Odeion

Historical Background

The second focus group at Ephesus comes from a building located on the north side of the State Market (figures 3.2-3.3). Detailed accounts of the form and plan of this structure are presented by R. Meinel and more recently, by L. Bier (figure 3.52).[251] The building is semi-circular in plan (diameter ca. 47 m) with a long rectangular stage complex on its southern side. The outer circular wall is made of local limestone while the front wall and interior are of white marble and have red granite columns.[252] The presence of such features as an auditorium, orchestra, and paradoi led the discoverer and first excavator of the building, J.T. Wood, to identify it as an Odeion.[253] This theory prevailed until the middle of the twentieth century when new excavations in the area led W. Alzinger to propose that in its original form, the building was the Bouleuterion of Ephesus.[254] Detailed analyses by E. Fossel and F. Eichler confirm that the structure was originally the assembly place of the Ephesian boule and in a later phase was converted into a site for musical contests.[255]

Evidence in favor of the building's later conversion comes from the immediate architectural surroundings. The more recent excavations revealed that the Odeion was situated in the middle of a civic agora with many public and religious monuments nearby, including the Prytaneion to the west and the Stoa Basilike to the south. Since many

[251] Meinel 1980, 117-133; Bier 1999 (preliminary report), 2011. Also see Balty 1991, 511-514. Bier's newest plan is based on the first ground plan published by W. Wilberg in 1909 and unpublished drawings in the Österreichischen Archäologischen Institut by the same scholar.

[252] On building materials and techniques see Bier 2011, 75-79.

[253] Wood 1877, 42-51. Excavations were undertaken between 1864 and 1866. For a description of the building and its architectural decoration see Bier 2011, 31-45, 65-73.

[254] Alzinger 1972-1975, 229-300. The structure also was excavated by Heberdey in 1908. For excavation history and state of research see Bier 201, 25-30.

[255] Fossel 1967; Eichler 1965, 9. Also see Meinel 1980, 125-129; Balty 1991, 511-514; Bier 1999.

Bouleuteria throughout the Greek East are found in similar contexts, this was seen as lending support to the identification of the original building as the Bouleuterion.[256] Not only urban context, but also apparent structural changes support the theory that the building was once an assembly hall and only later converted into an Odeion.[257] Five building phases have been confirmed by Bier, with the earliest identifiable phase dating precisely to 11 CE.[258] The phase most relevant to this investigation is phase three, which is when the building was converted into an Odeion and had statues of the imperial family placed inside.[259]

The third phase of the building dates to the middle of the second century CE based on the partially preserved dedicatory inscription from the fragmentary architrave and frieze blocks of the *scaenae frons*.[260] The inscription names Flavia Papiane and another person, presumably her husband Publius Vedius Antoninus, as patrons and confirms that the structure was dedicated to Artemis, the emperor, and the city of Ephesus. Publius Vedius Antoninus was a great benefactor at Ephesus in the mid-second century CE with ties to the Roman Senate and imperial household.[261] He and his family are known from numerous other inscriptions and honorific monuments at Ephesus.[262] In addition to the Bouleuterion/Odeion,

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[256] For discussions of other Bouleuteria see Meinel 1980, 125-129; Balty 1991, 511-514; Bier 1999.

[257] Fossel 1967, 72-81; Meinel 1980, 125-129.

[258] Bier 1999; 2011, 47-56, 81-86. There may be epigraphic evidence for a pre-Augustan Bouleuterion, but as Bier notes, "if a Council House existed in this part of the city in Hellenistic times, it continues to elude us." The final, fifth phase might be more of a gradual accumulation of alterations and probably belongs in a Christian context since the lintels have crosses carved on them. For more on the dating see Meinel 1980, 130-133.

[259] Bier 2011, 57-64. See below for more on the associated sculpture and precise date.

[260] *IvE* II.460; Heberdey 1912, 172-173; Meinel 1980, 125-133; Bier 1999; 2011, 57-64, 87-90.

[261] Halfmann 2001, 75-83; Kalinowski 2002, 110, 117-121. For more on Flavia Papiane see Raepsaet-Charlier 1987, 325-326, no. 373; for more on Publius Vedius Antoninus see Halfmann 1979, 168-170, no. 84.

[262] According to Kalinowski 2002, 109, about fifty-five inscriptions from Ephesus representing six generations of the Vedii family are known and of these, about twenty name Publius Vedius Antoninus. For more on local honors to the Vedii see Halfmann 2001, 75-83; Kalinowski 2002, 128-135.

Publius Vedius Antoninus and his wife dedicated the gymnasium in the north part of the city to Antoninus Pius in 146/8 CE.[263] The couple also may have funded other buildings for which no evidence survives.[264]

R. Meinel argues that this architectural conversion of the Bouleuterion probably was connected to the seventh Hadrianeen (151/152 CE)[265] in order that the city would have a venue for the musical contests of the games to take place.[266] The renovation of the Bouleuterion thereby reflects the growing wealth among individuals in Asia Minor and their role in the modernization and beautification of civic centers. In addition, the fact that prominent Ephesian patrons felt the need to repurpose the building at all demonstrates that citizens were concerned with the quality of civic life in Ephesus and that there was a demand for diverse forms of entertainment and leisure activities within the city.

The most relevant aspect of the Bouleuterion's renovation for this study is the transformation of the *scaenae frons*. The earlier stage wall had five doorways, two leading to the outer ends of the parodoi and three to the orchestra. The *scaenae frons* was two stories tall with uniform, repetitive niches set between piers. It is uncertain whether the niches accommodated sculpture, but evidence confirms that the wall surface was exposed and carried inscriptions. Overall, the facade of this phase was characterized by simple moldings,

[263] The date is based on an inscribed wall plaque found in the gymnasium, *IvE* II.431, 438. The complex also may have had a room for the imperial cult. Kalinowski 2002, 135-138, argues that the inclusion of such a room would have expressed the loyalty of the Vedii to the ruling dynasty.

[264] Halfmann 2001, 73-85, argues that Publius Vedius Antoninus also built the east gymnasium since a portrait of the patron was found inside. Yet Scherrer 1995, 14, describes the east gymnasium as being built by "another group of Ephesian donors." Also see Dillon 1996; Smith 1998, 81-82; Raja 2012, 83.

[265] Meinel 1980, 133. The Hadrianeen began in 123/124 CE and occurred every four years. The celebration included games and competitions in honor of the emperor. Meinel also connects the completion of the north gymnasium with the seventh Hadrianeen and sees both buildings as part of a larger construction program.

[266] Meinel 1980, 129. The connection between the construction and the Hadrianeen is supported by the fact that the son of Publius Vedius Antoninus was an organizer (agonothete) of the games.

flat arches, normal lintels, and square, squat proportions, which has led scholars to describe it as "large," "austere," and "old-fashioned."[267] In contrast, the *scaenae frons* sponsored by Publis Vedius Antoninus utilized a more modern design seen in Roman theaters throughout Asia Minor.[268] The stage wall now featured pairs of columns atop broad pedestals, which formed projecting *aediculae* and receding niches suitable for statuary display. The bases, capitals, and moldings were more ornate, and the wall surfaces were revetted with marble panels. The alternation of *aediculae* and niches in the lower floor presumably was repeated yet shifted in the upper storey, and the second storey *aediculae* featured alternating round and triangular pediments. The total effect of the changes was to create a rhythmic and visually dramatic façade. The motivations behind Publius Vedius Antoninus' decision to utilize this design for the Ephesian *scaenae frons* will be discussed in more detail below.

Associated Sculpture

Inscriptions

In addition to the dedicatory text mentioned above, many other inscriptions associated with the Bouleuterion/Odeion of Ephesus are preserved. During his early excavations, Wood uncovered fragments of a series of monumental marble inscriptions that apparently had fallen from their original location affixed to the *scaenae frons*.[269] One of these texts is a letter from Hadrian (129 CE) to the Ephesians concerning the application of a ship captain, Lucius Erastus, for membership in the Ephesian boule.[270] A second inscription discovered by Wood

[267] Bier 2011, 47-56.

[268] Bier 2011, 47-64, 85-86.

[269] Wood 1877, 42-44, and Appendix 5, nos. 1-5 (=*IvE* V.1487, 1489, 1491, 1492, 1493). For additional inscriptions also see Curtius 1870, 181 (=*IvE* V.1488); Hicks 1890, nos. 487-494.

preserves a letter of Antoninus Pius addressed to the Ephesians from between 140 and 144 CE. It concerns a dispute between Smyrna and Ephesus regarding the former's omission of the latter's civic titles in a sacrificial decree. The official complaint to the emperor most likely was drafted by the father of Publius Vedius Antoninus, who at the time was serving as *grammateus* (public scribe or secretary).[271] The location of these two inscriptions on the *scaenae frons* supports the hypothesis that the structure originally, and probably still in the second century CE, functioned as the Bouleuterion of Ephesus.[272]

Three other inscriptions excavated by Wood belong together and date between 144/5 and 149/50 based on the listed *tribunicia potestas* of the emperor; they deal with an argument between Publius Vedius Antoninus and the Ephesians (figures 3.53).[273] Apparently, the former had promised a building project that the latter wished to reject. Scholars provide different explanations as to why the Ephesians would oppose such a benefaction, with the most probable being that the reaction of the local citizens stemmed from aristocratic competition.[274] Some of the elites in the city believed that Publius Vedius Antoninus' building project would overstep the customary boundaries of euergetism and grant him too

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[270] *IvE* V.1487; Wood 1877, Appendix 5, no. 1; Kalinowski and Taeuber 2001, 353; Galli 2002, 69-73; Bier 2011, 91.

[271] *IvE* V.1489; Wood 1877, Appendix 5, no. 2; Kalinowski and Taeuber 2001, 353; Galli 2002, 69-73. The inscription once had been thought to name Publius Vedius Antoninus himself, but Kalinowski 2002, 142, convincingly has argued that it names the father and that the son put up the inscription to commemorate his father's success in the matter.

[272] Galli 2002, 72-73; Kalinowski 2002, 142. Fragments of another inscription (*IvE* V.1488) were found inside and in front of the Bouleuterion and offer additional support for this interpretation since they, too, preserve a letter from Hadrian to the Ephesians regarding a ship captain, Philokyrios, and his petition for membership in the boule. This other inscription, however, is not thought to have been installed on the *scaenae frons* and has been interpreted variably as a base, a stele, or a wall panel. See Kalinowski 2002, 142, note 141; Bier 2011, 90-91.

[273] *IvE* V.1491, 1492, and 1493. See Kalinowski 2002, 109-117; Bier 2011, 91-96.

[274] A summary of previous interpretations is found in Kalinowski 2002, 109-117.

much power, both within Ephesus and in relation to the emperor. Interestingly, the response of Antoninus Pius also is preserved and demonstrates that the emperor sided in favor of Publius Vedius Antoninus. A. Kalinowski argues that the emperor's support was due both to the irrationality of the Ephesians in refusing a generous gift and to his personal relationship with the Vedii family.[275] The same author further suggests that the three letters, along with the dedicatory inscription, were set up in the building by Publius Vedius Antoninus himself since the content of the texts presented the patron in a positive light.[276]

In addition to the monumental inscriptions, three inscribed statue bases are associated with the Bouleuterion/Odeion and confirm that Publius Vedius Antoninus erected an imperial statue group in the building at the same time that he renovated the structure in the middle of the second century CE. Two of these bases were discovered by Wood during his early excavations of the site.[277] One text was found in front of the middle door of the *scaenae frons;* it names Publius Vedius Antoninus as the dedicator and Lucius Verus as the honorand.[278] The second base unearthed by Wood, which supported a statue of Marcus Aurelius set up by the same dedicator, Publius Vedius Antoninus, is known only through the excavator's letters and sketches.[279] A detailed study of this lost inscription by Kalinowski and H. Taeuber demonstrates that it belongs with the others due to formulaic parallels.[280]

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[275] Kalinowski 2002, 109-121.

[276] Kalinowski 2002, 141.

[277] Wood 1877, 42-51.

[278] *IvE* V.1505. Λουκιον Αίλιον Αυρήλ[ι]ον Κόμμοδον τον υιον τ[ου] / Αυτοκράτορος Ουήδιος 'Αντωνεινος. In his early letters, Wood believed the associated statue was of Commodus, but Curtius 1870, 189, no. 6, recognized that the titles were of Lucius Verus after his adoption in 138 CE and before his accession in 161 CE. Also see Hicks 1890, 168, no. 505; Højte 2005, 526, Lucius Verus 117; Bier 2011, 96.

[279] The letter was addressed from Wood to C.T. Newton on 28 November 1864. It is housed currently in the Greek and Roman Department of the British Museum.

The third inscribed base was discovered during the Austrian excavations of the Bouleuterion/Odeion in the early twentieth century, specifically in the debris of the orchestra. It, too, is now lost and is preserved only in sketches. The text confirms that Publius Vedius Antoninus erected a statue in honor of Faustina, the granddaughter of the emperor.[281] This female statue most likely was of Domitia Faustina, who in recent studies has been confirmed as the eldest child of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina the Younger.[282]

Finally, a marble base with the fragmentary inscription [Δ]ΗΜΟΣ has been associated with the decoration of the *scaenae frons*.[283] The block was discovered in front of the central doorway of the stage; its function as a statue base is confirmed by its form and molding. Scholars therefore hypothesize that a statuary personification of the demos was erected alongside the imperial sculpture. Authors further argue that if a statue of the demos was erected on the *scaenae frons*, then a pendant personification of the boule was probably set up as well. The Bouleuterion at Aphrodisias provides a comparable example since here, too, personifications of the demos and boule were represented.[284]

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[280] Kalinowski and Taeuber 2001. Μαρκον Αυρήλιον Καίσαρα / τον υιον του Αυτοκράτορος / Ουήδιος ’Αντωνεινος. The formula of this base is similar to the other two in that it names the honorand in the accusative case (line 1), identifies the relationship of the honorand to the emperor (line 2), and then names Publius Vedius Antoninus in the nominative case as the dedicator (line 3). Also see Bier 2011, 96.

[281] *IvE* II.285a; Heberdey 1912, 170-174; Bier 2011, 97. Φανα[τειναν] / Θυγατριδ[ην του Αυτοκράτορος] / Ουήδιο[ς ’Αντωνεινος].

[282] Bol 1984, 31-45; Ameling 1992; Fittschen 1999, 130, no. 50; Kalinowski 2002, 144. Balty 1991, 511-514, instead identifies the female statue as Faustina the Younger.

[283] *IvE* V.1903; Bier 2011, 104-105.

[284] Smith 2006, 62-65; 162-164.

Statues

The sculpture of the Bouleuterion/Odeion falls into two groups, mythological and dynastic. The former group includes a life-size, headless marble statue of the Muse Erato and a headless torso of Silenus.[285] Wood found the statue of the muse in 1864 "at the end of the eastern passage [of the stage wall]." The excavator sent the figure to the British Museum, but the ship wrecked on the coast and when the statue was recovered, it was so damaged that "it was not considered worth forwarding to England."[286] In the same month, a partially draped torso was discovered by Wood and identified as a representation of Silenus.[287] The statue came from "one of the small passages near the central doorway [of the stage wall]."

The dynastic sculpture of the building is sparse. Indeed, the only surviving piece is a fragmentary lower half of a statue of Lucius Verus (figure 3.54), which was discovered by Wood in 1864 "near the central doorway [of the stage wall] of the Odeum."[288] Wood later found the upper portion of the statue, but the piece was lost in the same shipwreck as the Muse Erato.[289] The identification of the statue as Lucius Verus is confirmed by the fact that the feet are attached to the inscribed base mentioned above. It shows the young prince in the Ares Borghese type, over life-size and nude, except for a mantle.[290]

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[285] Wood 1877, 49-51; Smith 1900, 189, no. 1257; Meinel 1980, 125-129; Aurenhammer 1990, 75-76, no. 56; Deppmeyer 2008, 245, no. 114; Bier 2011, 107-110. The presence of mythological figures is seen as further evidence of the conversion of the building into an Odeion.

[286] Wood 1877, 50. A drawing appears on page 49.

[287] Wood 1877, 50. A drawing appears on page 51. The statue is currently in the British Museum, no. 1257. It is made of coarse-grained white marble and its preserved height is 0.84 m.

[288] Wood 1877, 47. The statue is currently in the British Museum, no. 1256.

[289] Wood 1877, 50. According to Hicks 1890, 168, no. 505, "The head of the statue had been appropriated by a man at Smyrna, by whom it is said to have been since transferred to the Museum of the Evangelical School."

[290] The fragment is 1.37 m tall (nearly 2 m tall when complete) and of Parian marble. See Smith 1900, 189, no. 1256; Wegner 1939, 232; Muthmann 1951, 45, 222; Inan and Rosenbaum 1966, 49, no. 3; Vermeule 1968, 397,

In addition to this extant statue, lost sculptural material appears in the letters and writings of Wood, including a "fine white marble statue of a seated female," a small female head, a female torso, and a fragmentary, over life-size statue that Wood identified as Antoninus Pius.[291] No museum records exist for any of these statues except the female head, which was transferred to the Istanbul Archaeological Museum in 1870.[292] The head was found "near one of the entrances" of the stage building and was made of a fine white marble. Scholars speculate that the portrait represents a pre-adolescent/early teenage girl, and thereby identify it as the third daughter of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina the Younger, Annia Aurelia Galeria Faustina.[293] Despite a lack of information for the other statues mentioned by Wood, their find spots suggest that they were part of the dynastic installation in the Ephesian Bouleuterion/Odeion and represented members of the Antonine family.[294] Thus, the sculptural evidence associated with the assembly hall in Ephesus allows one to imagine a statue group comprised of the emperor Antoninus Pius, his adopted sons, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, his grandchildren, and at least one other female statue.

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no. 6, 465; Wegner and Unger 1980, 47; Fittschen 1999, 130, no. 50; Deppmeyer 2008, 245, no. 114; Bier 2011, 99-101.

[291] Wood 1877, 46-47; Kalinowski and Taeuber 2001, 352, 355. Kalinowski and Taeuber conjecture that Wood's identification was based on an inscribed base that no longer survives. Bier 2011, 108, speculates that the female seated figure could have been another muse.

[292] Istanbul Archaeological Museum 53; Wood 1877, 47; Kalinowski and Taeuber 2001, 355, note 23; Bier 2011, 102-103, 112.

[293] Bier 2011, 102-103, 112.

[294] Kalinowski and Taeuber 2001, 355. The statues are not mentioned in the catalogue of Fittschen 1999, 130, no. 50.

Date

The extant inscribed base refers to Lucius Verus as the son of the emperor, so Publius Vedius Antoninus' renovation of the Bouleuterion/Odeion and the installation of its associated sculptural decoration must date broadly between 138 and 161 CE. A more precise chronology cannot be obtained from the building inscription, but Kalinowski convincingly has argued that the group of three monumental inscriptions dates to around 150 CE.[295] The author believes that the dispute described in the texts between Publius Vedius Antoninus and the Ephesians involved both the north gymnasium and the Bouleuterion/Odeion. The two buildings were probably roughly contemporary, with the former perhaps dedicated slightly earlier and dated by epigraphic evidence to 146 – 148 CE.[296] Kalinowski thus argues for a date ca. 150 CE for the conversion of the Bouleuterion, which is the date of the latest letter of the group of three inscriptions (*IvE* 1493) affixed to the *scaenae frons*.[297]

The sculptural program also presumably dates to around this time, but a specific timeline is difficult to formulate based on the limited archaeological evidence. The size of the statue of Lucius Verus suggests that its portrait was in the prince's third type, which is associated with his first consulship in 154 CE.[298] Moreover, technical details of the statue indicate that it was re-worked in order to fit into an already existing niche. The base of Domitia Faustina likewise has unfinished moldings and improvised details. Together, the

[295] Kalinowski 2002, 138-144.

[296] Kalinowski 2002, 121-127.

[297] This date is supported by Bier 2011, 97. Meinel 1980, 130-133, also believes the gymnasium and Odeion were contemporary, but wants to see their construction as related to the seventh Hadrianeen, which occurred in 151/152 CE.

[298] Fittschen 1999, 44-45; Bier 2011, 100. Also, the statue of Lucius Verus in the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus at Olympia, which probably dates to 153 CE, shows the prince in his second portrait type and much smaller than the statue from Ephesus.

makeshift appearance of the extant sculpture suggests that it was not planned with much foresight and even may have been added to an already existing display.[299] This is also supported by the fact that evidence confirms the presence of Domitia Faustina, who probably died in 151 CE, and presumably Annia Aurelia Galeria Faustina as well, who was born in 151 or 153 CE.[300] We are then left with dating parameters for the sculpture between 150 CE, which is around the time of the building's renovation and when Domitia Faustina was still alive, and 161 CE, since epigraphic evidence confirms the statues were set up during Antoninus Pius' lifetime. It is possible, and highly likely, that the portraits were installed successively throughout this period and sometimes on short notice.

Arrangement of the Sculpture

As discussed above, the evidence suggests that Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, Domitia Faustina, and Annia Aurelia Galeria Faustina almost certainly were represented as a dynastic group within the Ephesian Bouleuterion/Odeion. Given the identities of these figures, the presence of Faustina the Younger is likely and might be represented by one of the unidentified female statues discovered by Wood. Faustina the Younger was the daughter of Antoninus Pius, wife of Marcus Aurelius, and mother of Domitia Faustina and Annia Aurelia Galeria Faustina. She has thus been described as the "lynch-pin of the Antonine dynasty," and her omission here would be highly suspect given the prominence of her portraits in Antonine sculpture and coins.[301] Faustina the Elder also is

[299] Bier 2011, 97-106.

[300] The chronology of Marcus Aurelius' and Faustina the Younger's children is discussed by Bol 1984, 31-45.

[301] Fittschen 1982; Kalinowski and Taeuber 2001, 355.

assumed to have been included in the group given the other figures represented, as is Lucilla and perhaps other children of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina the Younger.[302]

The roughly worked back of the fragmentary statue of Lucius Verus suggests that it originally was meant to be viewed from the front. This, combined with the find spots of the sculpture and bases, has led scholars to argue that the dynastic statues were displayed in the niches of the two-storied aedicular facade.[303] The stage wall's original appearance is difficult to determine precisely since its blocks have been dispersed, but the most recent and thorough study of the building reconstructs the facade with four niches on each of the two stories in addition to a large niche in the second storey above the central doorway.[304]

The arrangement of the dynastic sculpture is based on the extant statues, find spots, and comparanda from the Bouleuterion at Patara and the Gerontikon at Nysa (figure 3.55).[305] Antonine Pius stood in the large central niche of the second storey, above the main doorway of the lower level, and was framed by statues of Hadrian and Sabina. Personifications of the demos and boule were represented in the two outermost niches of the second floor.[306] On the first storey, to the left of the central doorway, stood Lucius Verus; Marcus Aurelius was shown to the right. The princes were flanked by Faustina the Younger (next to Lucius Verus) and Domitia Faustina (next to Marcus Aurelius). This arrangement leaves unassigned four niches in the upper level of the *scaenae frons,* which presumably held statues of other

[302] Bier 2011, 103-104. The inclusion of other children would depend on the date of the *scaenae frons*, the space available for statuary display, and whether or not the sculptural program was agglutinative.

[303] Wood 1877, 50; Miltner 1958a, 68-69; Meinel 1980, 125-133; Balty 1991, 511-514; Kalinowski and Taeuber 2001, 356.

[304] Meinel 1980, 117-133; Balty 1991, 511-514; Bier 1999; 2011, 104; Kalinowski and Taeuber 2001, 356.

[305] Bier 2011, 99-114, plan 6. See the discussion below for more details on these comparanda.

[306] A fragment of a male bearded head discovered by W. Alzinger in 1970 below the orchestra may represent the head of the demos personification, but this is not certain. See Bier 2011, 110.

Antonine family members such as Faustina the Elder, Lucilla, and/or other children.[307] Four additional niches also may have been located above the doorways of the lower level.[308] All the figures are assumed to have stood on tall bases.

The representations of Hadrian and Sabina are not confirmed by archaeological evidence, but their presence is probable for several reasons. First, portraits of Hadrian and Sabina would have conveyed continuity and visually affirmed Hadrian's adoption of Antoninus Pius. Second, the presence of Hadrian within the dynastic group would have been appropriate given the fact that the emperor's letters were inscribed and erected within the Bouleuterion/Odeion. Third, Vedius and his family had close ties to Hadrian and Sabina and perhaps even met them personally during the emperor's visit to Ephesus in 128/129 CE.[309] Finally, we know of many examples of dynastic ensembles that incorporate images of earlier emperors, including the Metroon and Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus at Olympia as well as the Nymphaeum of Trajan at Ephesus. There are also contemporary Antonine dedications from the eastern part of the Roman Empire in which posthumous images of Hadrian were erected.[310]

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[307] Based on other dynastic ensembles, including the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus at Olympia and the *scaenae frons* of the theater at Leptis Magna. The Gerontikon at Nysa is another instructive parallel. The stage wall of this building had four *naiskoi* with statues of the imperial family, including images of Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, Faustina the Younger, and Antoninus Pius. A base for Domitia Faustina from near the parodos wall also was discovered, as were bases for the patron, Sextus Iulius Maior Antoninus Pythodorus, and his sister, Iulia. See Halfmann 1979, 58, no. 89; Raepsaet-Charlier 1987, no. 442; Fittschen 1999, 133-136; Kalinowski and Taeuber 2001, 355-357; Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 114 and 118. An inscription from the Artemision at Ephesus (*IvE* II.287) also provides evidence of an Antonine statuary group with images of Marcus Aurelius, Faustina the Younger, and many of their children (see section above).

[308] Bier 2011, 105.

[309] Bier 2011, 105.

[310] Galli 2002, 74-75, 230-231; Bier 2011, 105.

Some scholars conjecture that images of the donors were included in the sculptural program of the *scaenae frons*.[311] Bases for Publius Vedius Antoninus and Flavia Papiane do not survive, but as patrons of the building and of the imperial sculpture and as clients of Antoninus Pius, their representation would have been appropriate and further confirmed the close ties of their family with the ruling dynasty. The statues of donors in the Gerontikon at Nysa and the Bouleuterion at Aphrodisias, however, suggest that instead of being located on the *scaenae frons* alongside the imperial family, the images of the Ephesian patrons were set up on the end blocks of the *analemmata*.[312] Even if Publius Vedius Antoninus and Flavia Papiane were not shown in the niches of the *scaenae frons*, their presence within the structure they helped renovate held significance, which will be explored in more detail below.

Bier's recent study of the Ephesian *scaenae frons* places the three monumental inscriptions detailing the argument between Publius Vedius Antoninus and the local citizens in the first storey as marble wall revetments over the central door.[313] The additional imperial letters, one of Hadrian and the other of Antoninus Pius, were inscribed on individual panels and placed over the doors of the stage wall's lower level.[314] The mythological statues are assumed to be later additions to the decoration of the *scaenae frons* given the political emphasis of the Vedius sculptural program.[315]

In summary, Publius Vedius Antoninus, a prominent Ephesian benefactor, and his wife, Flavia Papiane, continued their family's long-standing tradition of local patronage by

[311] Kalinowski and Taeuber 2001, 355-357; Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 114 and 118.

[312] Fittschen 1999, 135; Smith 2006, 61-63; Bier 2011, 105.

[313] Bier 2011, 106, chose the lower rather than the upper floor for better visibility and because he restored a large central niche in the second storey.

[314] Bier 2011, 105-106.

[315] Bier 2011, 107-109.

sponsoring the conversion of the existing Bouleuterion at Ephesus into an Odeion around 150 CE.[316] As part of this building project, the couple set up statues of the Antonine family in the niches of the *scaenae frons*. Nearby, the patrons presumably installed a series of monumental inscriptions that demonstrated Antoninus Pius' support and assistance in a dispute with the local citizens of Ephesus regarding promised architectural benefactions, which may have involved the Bouleuterion/Odeion itself. In this way, the inscriptions were self-referential and visually confirmed the emperor's approval of what may have been a controversial project.

The Bouleuterion/Odeion Group in Context

One must always keep in mind the fact that excavated material reflects locations in late antiquity and not necessarily a statue's original context. Drawing conclusions based on find spots, then, is problematic since it is often uncertain if sculptural material was transported or re-used in secondary settings. Nonetheless, the honorific monuments of second- and third-century CE Ephesus seemingly continue the same display preferences established in the preceding century (figure 3.20). Locations of honors tend to correspond to those areas with new architectural construction or renovation. Monuments therefore continue to be found in the Tetragonos Agora and State Market as well as along the major roads of the city. Two Hadrianic individual honors come from the agora (6%) and market (6%) (figure 3.59), respectively, while one (5%) Antonine individual honor was found in the same two sites, respectively (figure 3.60). The Antonine focus group of this chapter, the Bouleuterion/Odeion ensemble, comes from the area of the State Market (13%) (figure 3.61), as does one (10%) Severan individual honor (figure 3.62). From the third century CE and

[316] For more on the patronage and euergetism of the Vedii at Ephesus see Kalinowski 2002.

beyond, one (5%) individual honor was set up in the State Market, while two (9%) were erected in the Tetragonos Agora and three (14%) on city streets (figure 3.63).

Other popular areas of display include the Artemision, gymnasia, baths, Arkadiane street, and theater. In the Artemision individual honors were erected, including three (10%) Hadrianic dedications, one (5%) Antonine, and one (5%) from the third century CE, as well as one (13%) Antonine dynastic group (figures 3.59, 3.60, 3.64 and 3.61). There is evidence of at least four (18%) Antonine individual honors set up in gymnasia (figure 3.60). Two Antonine (9%), three Severan (30%), and one (5%) third century CE individual honors are associated with baths (figures 3.60, 3.62, 3.64). One (13%) Antonine and one (20%) Severan dynastic group come from Arkadiane (figures 3.61, 3.63), as well as a single (5%) individual honor from the third century CE (figure 3.64). Finally, in the theater were discovered numerous individual honors (four (13%) Hadrianic, four (18%) Antonine, four (18%) third century CE) and two dynastic groups, one (13%) Antonine and one (20%) Severan (figures 3.59, 3.60, 3.64, 3.61, 3.63).

The continued popularity of traditional sites of honorific display like the agora, market, and central streets, likely is due to the same reasons described in the section on the early imperial period, namely that these areas were multi-functional, visited daily, and intricately tied to Ephesus' local and broader regional identities. By the second century CE, the long history of these areas probably also appealed to patrons. Setting up statues at these sites ultimately allowed a donor not only to tie his dedication to present-day Ephesus, but to the city's past as well. The appeal of the sanctuary of Artemis can be discussed in these terms as well, since evidence of honors here dates back to the Hellenistic period.

The new areas of honorific display that emerge, such as gymnasia, baths, Arkadiane, and the theater, presumably relate to the shifting focus of architectural development. In the early imperial period and the first century CE, building activity was centered on establishing and developing civic, administrative, and religious areas associated with Ephesus' new role as a provincial capital. In the second century CE, architectural initiatives prioritized public venues for entertainment and leisure as well as the harbor area.[317] The conversion of the Bouleuterion into an Odeion reflects this shift in focus. It follows, then, that honors would begin to appear in areas that were being constructed, monumentalized, and modernized, and which also enhanced the quality of life in Ephesus.

The appeal of Arkadiane perhaps also was due to its proximity to the sea and location within the city (figure 3.56). The street ran from the southern harbor gate to the theater, which meant that a person entering Ephesus via this road would pass the Harbor Baths and Gymnasium, the Porticoes of Verulanus, and the Theater Gymnasium, all of which were monumentalized after the early imperial period. These grand recreational complexes thereby emphasized the status and prosperity of Ephesus for visitors entering the city by sea in the second century CE. Honors set up on Arkadiane ultimately would be one of the first sights experienced by those sailing into Ephesus, would be seen by a large number of people, residents and foreigners alike, and would become part of the city's impressive seaside façade.

The theater also emerges as one of the most preferred display sites (figure 3.57), with at least four individual honors to Hadrian, four individual honors to Antoninus Pius, and two dynastic groups, one of the Antonines and one of the Severans. I address the general appeal of erecting honorific monuments within theaters in the final chapter of this investigation. At Ephesus, though, the theater was particularly attractive due to its central location between the

[317] Raja 2012, 55-89, especially 89.

harbor and the State Market, which meant that it also was on the processional route to the sanctuary of Artemis. Moreover, while the building was renovated in the Augustan period, it was not until ca. 90 CE that it was enlarged and had additional seating installed, which perhaps explains why we do not find many honors set up here until the second century CE.[318] The aediculated *scaenae frons* also must have been a desirable place for statuary since, as discussed above for the Nymphaeum of Trajan and below for the Bouleuterion/Odeion, such facades provided an ideal way to frame a large amount of sculpture. It should be noted, however, that imperial statues usually were not allowed to be removed, especially if they had cultic functions, so theater facades grew considerably crowded over time. Later statues therefore were set up in other areas of theaters, such as the cavea and orchestra.[319] One can imagine, then, that the theater at Ephesus accommodated a "forest" of honorific monuments similar to larger outdoor settings.

The second focus group of this investigation reflects general second-century CE display patterns in that it comes form a long-established area of honorific display. As already discussed, beginning in the Augustan period the State Market was a major site of architectural and honorific foundations, and it continued to be a popular "node" of display in subsequent periods. At the time of the Bouleuterion's renovation in the middle of the second century CE, the State Market presumably looked much like it did in at the time of its development in the early imperial period and first century CE. The space included a large, enclosed courtyard surrounded by Doric porticoes and with a Temple of Caesar and Roma (after 29 BCE) at the center. The stoas on the south and east sides had marble benches along their rear walls, but no shops, which reflects the fact that the area was devoted to civic and

[318] Scherrer 1995, 116; Scherrer 2001, 84; Raja 2012, 71-72.

[319] Fuchs 1987, 164.

religious, rather than commercial, activities. To the north was the three-aisled Basilike Stoa (Augustan) in the Ionic order, behind which stood a series of civic buildings, including the Prytaneion (Augustan, alterations in second and third centuries CE), temenos of Augustus and Artemis (Augustan), and the Bouleuterion/Odeion (Augustan, alterations in second century CE).

The west side was dominated by Flavian architecture: the octastyle Temple of the Flavian Sebastoi, Hydrekdocheion of the proconsul Gaius Laecanius Bassus, Fountain of Domitian, and the Augustan monument of C. Sextilius Pollio that was converted into a fountain under the proconsulship of P. Calvisius Ruso Julius Frontinus in the Domitianic period. The Flavian temple must have been especially prominent, as it was situated on an artificial terrace that was upraised on a vaulted cryptoporticus. The propylaeum granting access to the terrace was a two-storied portico with Doric columns below and half-columns in the form of men and women above. In the Augustan period, Plateia Street ran parallel to the south side of the State Market, but in the Flavian period it was diverted north, so that it now ran between the Temple of the Flavian Sebastoi and the Temple of Caesar and Roma. This road and the Doric West Gate provided the main point of entry into the central courtyard.

A person visiting the Bouleuterion/Odeion and viewing its dynastic group, then, would have had a rather long, uphill walk. One would have passed through a series of porticoed roads (Curetes and/or Plateia) and perhaps down a 160 meter-long stoa in order to enter the building itself. The walk to the Bouleuterion/Odeion, however, was filled with earlier imperial architecture of the Augustan, Julio-Claudian, and Flavian periods. If a person stopped in any of these buildings or temples, he also would have seen statuary

ensembles of the imperial dynasties. The viewing experience of the Bouleuterion/Odeion ensemble was thus somewhat limited due to its location at the far end of the State Market, but its peripheral placement also meant that once a person finally reached the building, they would see the Antonine rulers as natural successors to past Roman emperors. Essentially, the State Market provided a chronological sequence of buildings, the end of which culminated with the dynastic dedication of Publius Vedius Antoninus.

Presumably the ideal spot to view the imperial group once inside the Bouleuterion/Odeion would be from the central seating area (figure 3.58). From this vantage point, one could see clearly the statues displayed in the individual niches, as well as the relationship between the personages represented. One could also probably make out the monumental inscriptions attached to the *scaenae frons* due to their large size and painted letters. Of course other seating areas, whether further up or closer to the stage, or to one of the sides, would alter the experience and perhaps restrict or hinder one's views. Moreover, a view of the group in its entirety would have been impossible since statues of the patrons, Publius Vedius Antoninus and his wife, stood not in the niches of the *scaenae frons*, but on the *analemmata*. One therefore would not have been able to view the imperial and private sculpture concurrently. Nonetheless, even though the two groups were separated physically, a visual relationship was established between the patrons and honorands through sight lines since the two groups faced each other.

The viewing experience and impact of the statuary, of course, cannot be separated from the activities that took place in the Bouleuterion/Odeion. The *scaenae frons* served as a backdrop for the stage area and thereby influenced all events occurring there. The monumental inscriptions installed on the *scaenae frons* documenting letters of the emperor

regarding civic matters suggests that the building continued to function as the city's Bouleuterion even after its conversion into an Odeion. Thus, Publius Vedius Antoninus' dedication meant that he, his wife, and the imperial family symbolically oversaw meetings of the Ephesian boule and its discussions of public affairs.[320] The private and imperial families also would have been associated with entertainment and leisure at Ephesus through the building's function as a lecture hall, a stage for performances, and a musical venue.

This leads to the question of agency and what motivated the patrons to install the statuary ensemble in the first place. The sculpture surely added a level of grandeur and monumentality to the entire structure, which, in turn, brought attention to the donors' wealth and generosity. With the names of the patrons appearing in the building inscription, on the statue bases, and on the texts set up on the *scaenae frons*, and with two statues of the patrons erected on the *analemmata*, a visitor would have known undoubtedly who the benefactors were for the building's renovation and statuary installation.

The sculptural program also was meant to honor the emperor and concurrently demonstrate the close ties between the Vedii and the ruling household. Publius Vedius Antoninus and his father had shown their loyalty to Hadrian earlier by dedicating a statue of the empress Sabina, and Publius Vedius Antoninus may have met both imperial figures when they visited the city in 128/129 CE.[321] Moreover, Publius Vedius Antoninus possibly owed his advancement to senatorial rank to Hadrian.[322] The Ephesian patron also had a close relationship with Antoninus Pius, which probably began when Antoninus Pius chose Ephesus

[320] The boule was comprised of 450 members from the most influential families of Ephesus. The council discussed issues relating to politics, public finances, construction, elections, scrutiny of officials, and court procedures. See Bier 2011, 98, for more on the role of the building in public life.

[321] *IvE* VII.2.4108 (see note 178 above); Bier 2011, 98, 105.

[322] Bier 2011, 105.

as his residence after he became proconsul of Asia in 135 CE. In addition, epigraphic evidence confirms that Publius Vedius Antoninus attended Lucius Verus when the prince visited Ephesus.[323] The sculptural ensemble in the Bouleuterion/Odeion can then be seen as a way for the patrons to honor the imperial family and visually highlight their close connections to it.

The monumental inscriptions set up on the stage wall of the Bouleuterion/Odeion also confirmed these connections in a concrete, visual manner and expressed Publius Vedius Antoninus' gratitude for the emperor's favor in his dispute with the Ephesians. The epigraphic and sculptural programs of the building thus reaffirmed each other by emphasizing the social and political prominence of the Vedii family. Yet the monumental inscriptions associated with the group also provide a rare example of the competitive aspect of euergetism. Indeed, the letter of Antoninus Pius to the Ephesians shows that the latter opposed Publius Vedius Antoninus' benefaction and the tone further suggests that these local aristocrats even resented Publius Vedius Antoninus for his wealth and status.[324] Nonetheless, the latter erected a monumental panel inscribed with the emperor's letter and situated it prominently at the center of the *scaenae frons* where the city's council would be reminded of the affair and the emperor's support of Publius Vedius Antoninus each time they met. Surely this decision was intentional and was meant to assert the patrons' influence.

Turning to the design of the building's renovation, the patrons' decision to install a two-storied aedicular façade probably was made with an aim to create a venue appropriate for the display of multiple statues. This notion was discussed above in relation to the Nymphaeum of Trajan, but essentially, a columnar façade with projecting *aediculae* focused

[323] *IvE* 728; Bier 2011, 98, 106.

[324] Bier 2011, 98.

viewers' attention on the sculptural program and by extension, on the donors' role in the beautification of the city. In addition, the design was appealing because it both framed statues individually and allowed relationships between portraits to be established as well. This type of façade was not uncommon in the Roman imperial period in Asia Minor. Examples from the late first century BCE/early first century CE include the *scaenae frontes* of the theaters at Aphrodisias and Stratonikeia. The popularity of the design at Ephesus is confirmed by numerous first- and second-century buildings, including the Nymphaeum of Laecanius Bassus, theater, Marmorsaal in the Harbor Gymnasium, Nymphaeum of Trajan, so-called Straßenbrunnen, Vedius Gymnasium, East Gymnasium, and Library of Celsus.[325]

Publius Vedius Antoninus and Flavia Papiane were two prominent benefactors at Ephesus, but it is important to consider larger patterns of patronage at the site for second- and third-century CE imperial honors. Of the thirty-one individual Hadrianic honors, the majority (23, 74%) do not have the name of the dedicator preserved, but four (13%) are associated with individual patrons and four (13%) with civic groups (figure 3.66). The single Hadrianic group honor was set up by the boule and demos (figure 3.67). Two (9%) of the twenty-two individual Antonine donations were dedicated by individuals, five (23%) were erected by civic groups, and fifteen (68%) have unknown patrons (figure 3.68). The majority (6, 75%) of the eight dynastic groups from this period are connected to the boule and demos, while one (13%) was set up by an individual and another (13%) by an unknown dedicator (figure 3.69). All ten Severan individual honors lack a dedicator's name (figure 3.70), as do two (40%) of the five group honors, but at least two (40%) dynastic groups were donated by the demos and one (20%) by a procurator (figure 3.71). Only one (5%) individual dedication from the third century CE and beyond preserves the name of a proconsul; the other twenty-

[325] See Bier 2011, 86, 206, for the relevant bibliography.

one honors have no confirmed dedicator (figure 3.72). Similarly, the two dynastic groups from this time have unknown patrons (figure 3.73).

Second- and third-century CE imperial honors at Ephesus are therefore difficult to analyze in regards to patronage due to the large number of dedications without preserved names. From the extant material, one can suggest tentatively that patronage at Ephesus continued to be shared by individuals and civic groups. It is interesting to note, however, that the Bouleuterion/Odeion group is the only dynastic ensemble of the Antonine period set up by an individual; the majority of group honors instead are associated with the boule and demos. This underlines the singularity of the Bouleuterion/Odeion installation within the honorific landscape of Ephesus and perhaps partly explains why local elites were upset with the benefaction.

It is also important to analyze the honorands of dedications at Ephesus in the second and third centuries CE. Of the eighty-five individual imperial honors from after the reign of Trajan, 36% (31) are Hadrianic, 26% (22) are Antonine, 12% (10) are Severan, and 26% (22) are third century CE or later (figure 3.74). For the sixteen extant dynastic groups from these centuries, one (6%) is Hadrianic, eight (50%) are Antonine, 5 (31%) are Severan, and two (13%) are dated to the third century CE or later (figure 3.75). Thus, the majority of post-Trajanic individual honors were set up in the Hadrianic period while the least number of dedications were erected for the Severans. The Antonines were honored with the most dynastic groups, whereas Hadrian was honored with the least.

Patrons chose to erect monuments at Ephesus in honor of many members of the imperial family. In the Hadrianic period, the majority (26, 84%) of individual dedications were set up for Hadrian, although Sabina was honored as well (5, 16%) (figure 3.76).

Similarly, most of the individual honors in the Antonine period were for the emperor Antoninus Pius (12, 55%). Additional Antonine donations were made to Marcus Aurelius (1, 5%), Lucius Verus (1, 5%), Commodus (2, 9%), Matidia the Younger (1, 5%), Faustina (either Elder or Younger) (2, 9%), and unspecified Antonine emperors (3, 14%) (figure 3.77). In the Severan period, the evidence suggests that Caracalla received the most honors (5, 50%), followed by Julia Domna (2, 20%), Septimius Severus (1, 10%), Elagabalus (1, 10%), and Alexander Severus (1, 10%) (figure 3.78). The twenty-two individual dedications from the third century CE and beyond are rather scattered in terms of their honorand, but there were four honors (18%) set up for Gordian III and Diocletian, respectively (figure 3.79).

The honorands of dynastic groups overlap those of individual honors, but confirm dedications to additional members of the imperial family as well. This is especially true for the Antonine period, when we find statues of several children included as part of dynastic ensembles: Annia Galeria Aurelia Faustina (4), Lucilla (1), Domitia Faustina (1), Fadilla (3), Annia Lucilla (2), Cornificia (1), Vibia Aurelia Sabina (2), and Hadrianus (1). The inclusion of so many children in Antonine dynastic groups certainly created a different effect than groups like the Nymphaeum of Trajan, which were comprised solely of adults. Portraits of children ultimately emphasized the strength of the dynasty in the present and its continuity into the next generation.

Female honorands are relatively well represented in the evidence compared to the early imperial period. Of the eighty-five post-Trajanic individual honors, eleven (13%) represent female honorands (figure 3.80). Sabina was honored with five (16%) statues in the Hadrianic period (figure 3.81). Three dedications (14%) were set up for imperial women of the Antonine family (figure 3.82), and two (20%) for the Severan matriarch Julia Domna

(figure 3.83). Only one (5%) honor for Furia Sabina Tranquillina survives from the third century CE (figure 3.84). Women appear more often in dynastic installations, and this is especially true in the ensembles that feature the children of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina the Younger. The prominence of women in familial contexts emphasized their role as perpetuators of the dynasty and as mothers of future emperors.

The large number of individual honors to Hadrian may be related to the emperor's visits to Ephesus in 123 and 129 CE. Hadrian also presumably received dedications after he granted the city permission to build its second neokoros temple, the Olympieion, in 129/130 CE.[326] The project was a huge undertaking, requiring a large amount of land to be drained and a massive temple and quadriporticus to be built.[327] Moreover, the general prosperity and growth of the Trajanic period continued under Hadrian, which meant that both civic groups and individuals had the resources and motivation to express their loyalty and gratitude to the emperor.

Ephesus continued to be characterized by urban expansion and a thriving economy in the Antonine period, and this is reflected by the fact that Antoninus Pius and his family especially were revered within the city. This could be viewed as somewhat surprising given that there was no recent political conflict, as in the reign of Augustus, or a new neokorate temple, as with Domitian or Hadrian. The emperor also apparently sided with Publius Vedius Antoninus in the benefactor's dispute with the city and the preserved letters indicate that the emperor's response was even somewhat harsh. Yet one must remember that honorific monuments for Roman emperors not only were meant to display one's loyalty and

[326] *IvE* II.278. This theory also could explain why the majority of individual Severan honors are for Caracalla, who permitted Ephesus to build its third imperial neokoros temple, but later revoked the favor.

[327] Only the southern hall of the quadriporticus has been excavated. See Raja 2012, 82.

gratitude to the reigning *princeps*, but also to beautify the city itself and convey the patron's wealth and prestige.

Moreover, as mentioned earlier, Antoninus Pius is known to have made Ephesus his residence when he became proconsul of Asia in 135 CE. When Antoninus Pius assumed the emperorship, the city declared his birthday a five-day public holiday and the eight *phylai* each erected a statue in his honor.[328] Antoninus Pius responded by awarding Ephesus the title "metropolis of Asia."[329] The monumental inscriptions affixed to the *scaenae frons* of the Bouleuterion/Odeion complex attest to Antoninus Pius' close ties with the city's elite. Overall, then, Antoninus Pius had a strong relationship with Ephesus that began even before his ascendancy to the throne. The rapport established between Ephesus and the Antonines, combined with the fact that by the time of the Severans Ephesus' prosperity and architectural activity had begun to decline, probably explains why Antonine familial groups outnumber those of any other dynasty.

It also is important to highlight the many honors after the Antonines, which contrasts with the evidence from Olympia. This perhaps is due to the continual habitation of Ephesus, chances of survival, and the fact that Ephesus was a city and a capital, whereas Olympia was a sanctuary. Yet the fact that honorific traditions continued so strongly at Ephesus is also a testament to the city's strategic location and its ability to flourish, even in the midst of the transitional third and fourth centuries CE. The prominent role Ephesus played within early Christianity and its many Christian churches ensured that the city continued to be a destination for travelers and thus an important location for honorific display.

[328] *IvE* 21 (public holiday); *IvE* VI.2050 (statues).

[329] Bier 2011, 98.

The Ephesian dynastic groups from after the time of Trajan also can be placed in a broader geographical context. Six Hadrianic dynastic groups survive from Kestros, Kremna, Patara, Pergamon, Perge, and Rhodiapolis.[330] Of these six groups, four (67%) were donated by individuals and two (33%) by civic groups (figure 3.85).[331] Hadrian was represented in each of these groups, whereas Sabina was included in four, Trajan in four, Plotina in one, Marciana in one, Matidia in one, and Matidia the Younger in one (figure 3.86).[332] The groups come from a temple in an agora (1, 17%), forum (1, 17%), theater (1, 17%), temple (1, 17%), arch (1, 17%), and a building near the acropolis (1, 17%) (figure 3.87).[333]

Two of these Hadrianic groups, those at Patara and Perge, had later Antonine additions. Antonine statues also were added to the Julio-Claudian group in the Sebasteion at Bubon noted above.[334] Apart from these agglutinative dynastic groups, seven other Antonine familial ensembles come from Asia Minor.[335] Three (30%) date to the reign of Antoninus Pius, three (30%) to that of Marcus Aurelius, and one (10%) to the time of Commodus (figure 3.88).[336] Furthermore, three (30%) of the groups were set up by civic institutions, and

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[330] Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 18 (Kestros), 56 (Kremna), 59 (Patara), 61 (Pergamon), 63 (Perge), 64 (Rhodiapolis).

[331] Individuals: Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 56 (Kremna), 59 (Patara), 61 (Pergamon), 63 (Perge). Civic Groups: Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 18 (Kestros), 64 (Rhodiapolis).

[332] Sabina: Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 18 (Kestros), 59 (Patara), 63 (Perge), 64 (Rhodiapolis). Trajan: Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 18 (Kestros), 56 (Kremna), 61 (Pergamon), 63 (Perge). Plotina, Marciana, Matidia: Deppmeyer 2008, no. 63 (Perge). Matidia the Younger: Deppmeyer 2008, no. 59 (Patara).

[333] Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 18 (Kestros: temple in an agora), 56 (Kremna: forum), 59 (Patara: theater), 61 (Pergamon: temple), 63 (Perge: arch), 64 (Rhodiapolis: building near acropolis).

[334] See note 158 above. Also see Kozloff 1987, on the many peculiarities of the bronze sculptures from Bubon and the possibility that the statues originated from elsewhere.

[335] Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 105 (Alexandria Troas), 115 (Kandilli at Bozhoyuk), 117 (Miletus), 118 (Nysa), 119 (Pergamon), 121 (Sardis), 122 (Yerten-keui).

[336] Antoninus Pius: Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 105 (Alexandria Troas), 117 (Miletus), 118 (Nysa). Marcus Aurelius: Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 115 (Kandilli at Bozhoyuk), 119 (Pergamon), 122 (Yerten-keui). Commodus: Deppmeyer 2008, no. 121 (Sardis).

three (30%) are associated with an individual patron.[337] Four (40%) do not have the name of the dedicator preserved (figure 3.89).[338] In regard to honorands, Marcus Aurelius (9) was represented the most often, followed by Lucius Verus (6), Antoninus Pius (3), Faustina the Younger (4), Faustina the Elder (1), Lucilla (2), Domitia Faustina (1), and Commodus (1) (figure 3.90).[339] Many (3, 30%) of the groups do not have known display contexts, but one (10%) group was found in a theater, arch, market, Sebasteion, Bouleuterion, temple, and garden, respectively (figure 3.91).[340]

The group from Bubon again had statues added to it under the Severan emperors. In addition to this ensemble, six other Severan dynastic groups are known from Asia Minor.[341] Two (29%) were erected during the reign of Septimius Severus and one (14%) the reign of Elagabalus.[342] Another group's (14%) date is unknown and three (43%) ensembles were agglutinative (figure 3.92).[343] Three groups (43%) were set up civic groups, one (14%) by an individual, two (29%) groups' dedicator is unknown, and another (14%) ensemble's

[337] Civic groups: Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 117 (Miletus), 119 (Pergamon), 122 (Yerten-keui). Individuals: Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 59 (Patara), 63 (Perge), 118 (Nysa).

[338] Deppmeyer 2008, nos.105 (Alexandria Troas), 106 (Bubon), 115 (Kandilli at Bozhoyuk), 121 (Sardis).

[339] Marcus Aurelius: Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 59 (Patara), 105 (Alexandria Troas), 106 (Bubon), 115 (Kandilli at Bozhoyuk), 117 (Miletus), 118 (Nysa), 119 (Pergamon), 121 (Sardis), 122 (Yerten-keui). Lucius Verus: Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 59 (Patara), 105 (Alexandria Troas), 106 (Bubon), 118 (Nysa), 119 (Pergamon), 122 (Yerten-keui). Antoninus Pius: Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 117 (Miletus), 118 (Nysa), 121 (Sardis). Faustina the Younger: Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 59 (Patara), 63 (Perge), 115 (Kandilli at Bozhoyuk), 118 (Miletus). Faustina the Elder: Deppmeyer 2008, no. 121 (Sardis). Lucilla: Deppmeyer 2008, no. 63 (Perge), 121 (Sardis). Domitia Faustina: Deppmeyer 2008, no. 118 (Nysa). Commodus: Deppmeyer 2008, no. 121 (Sardis).

[340] Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 59 (Patara: theater), 63 (Perge: arch), 105 (Alexandria Troas: unknown), 106 (Bubon: Sebasteion), 115 (Kandilli at Bozhoyuk: unknown), 117 (Miletus: market), 118 (Nysa: Bouleuterion), 119 (Pergamon: unknown), 121 (Sardis: temple), 122 (Yerten-keui: garden).

[341] Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 183 (Ariassos), 184 (Ariassos), 189 (Laertes), 190 (Kocaaliler), 191 (Perge), 192 (Sia).

[342] Septimius Severus: Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 189 (Laertes), 191 (Perge). Elagablaus: Deppmeyer 2008, no. 190 (Kocaaliler).

[343] Unknown: Deppmeyer 2008, no. 184 (Ariassos). Agglutinative: Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 106 (Bubon), 183 (Ariassos), 192 (Sia).

patronage was shared by individuals and a civic group (figure 3.93).[344] In terms of honorands, Septimius Severus and Caracalla were represented in six groups, respectively, Julia Domna appeared in four, Severus Alexander in two, Julia Maesa in one, Elagabalus in one, and Geta in one (figure 3.94).[345] The contexts of the six dynastic groups include an arch (14%), road (14%), nymphaeum (14%), and two (29%) were set up in agorai and Sebasteia, respectively (figure 3.95).[346]

The comparative material from Asia Minor confirms that the Antonine dynasty was popular throughout the region, although in contrast to Ephesus, other cities honored Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus more often than Antoninus Pius. The evidence from Ephesus was limited in regard to patronage, but elsewhere in Asia Minor it appears that dedications were set up equally by civic groups and individuals, especially in the Antonine period. Moreover, the fact that some groups spanned multiple dynasties demonstrates that patrons maintained these ensembles and later added to them, presumably to convey a sense of continuity during changes in power.

In terms of find spots, the comparanda were discovered in various locations, but all were from areas one would expect to find honorific displays. The two most relevant comparanda for the dynastic group from the Ephesian Bouleuterion/Odeion are the installations at Patara and Nysa. The statuary foundation at Patara honors six members of the

[344] Civic groups: Deppmeyer 2008, nos.189 (Laertes), 190 (Kocaaliler), 192 (Sia). Individual: Deppmeyer 2008, no.183 (Ariassos). Unknown: Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 106 (Bubon), 191 (Perge). Shared patronage: Deppmeyer 2008, no.184 (Ariassps).

[345] Septimius Severus: Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 106 (Bubon), 184 (Ariassos), 189 (Laertes), 190 (Kocaaliler), 191 (Perge), 192 (Sia). Caracalla: Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 106 (Bubon), 183 (Ariassos), 184 (Ariassos), 189 (Laertes), 190 (Kocaaliler), 192 (Sia). Julia Domna: Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 106 (Bubon), 184 (Ariassos), 189 (Laertes), 191 (Perge). Severus Alexander: Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 183 (Ariassos), 184 (Ariassos). Julia Maesa and Elagabalus: Deppmeyer 2008, no. 191 (Perge). Geta: Deppmeyer 2008, no. 192 (Sia).

[346] Sebasteia: Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 106 (Bubon), 183 (Ariassos). Arch: Deppmeyer 2008, no. 184 (Ariassos). Road: Deppmeyer 2008, no. 189 (Laertes). Nymphaeum: Deppmeyer 2008, no. 191 (Perge). Agorai: Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 190 (Kocaaliler), 192 (Sia).

imperial family, including Hadrian, Sabina, another woman (perhaps Matidia the Younger), Marcus Aurelius, Faustina the Younger, and Lucius Verus.[347] The statues of Hadrian and the two women were erected by Velia Procla and her husband Claudius Flavianus before 136 CE. Between 161 and 169 CE Velia Procla, together with her son Tiberius Claudius Flavianus Titianus, dedicated the three other portraits of the Antonine household. Velia Procla also is known to have funded the restoration of the theater, which was finished in 147 CE. While the exact sculptural arrangement is unknown, the imperial images probably stood on the *scaenae frons* of the city's theater. Hadrian would have been flanked by Matidia to the left and Sabina to the right; Marcus Aurelius, in turn, was flanked by Faustina to the left and Lucius Verus to the right.

Around the time the theater was finished at Patara, Sextus Julius Antoninus Pythodorus, according to the will of his mother Julia Antonia Eurdice, dedicated an Antonine dynastic group in the Gerontikon at Nysa.[348] Statues of Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, Faustina the Younger, and Domitia Faustina were installed on high bases in one of the four niches of the *scaenae frons*. A precise arrangement can be determined based on find spots of the sculptural material and the base of Marcus Aurelius, which was found *in situ*. Marcus Aurelius occupied the niche immediately to the west of the central doorway, while Lucius Verus occupied the niche to the east. In the far eastern aedicula stood Faustina the Younger; Domitia Faustina stood in the far western position. A base for Antoninus Pius also is preserved, but it is uncertain where the statue of the reigning emperor was located. The *scaenae frons* does not appear to have had an upper floor, but Fittschen suggests that perhaps

[347] Fittschen 1999, 136 (no. 59); Galli 2002, 65-73; Deppmeyer 2008, no. 59; Bier 2011, 106.

[348] Fittschen 1999, 133-136 (no. 58); Galli 2002, 65-73; Deppmeyer 2008, no. 118; Bier 2011, 106. Also see note 307 above.

there was a niche over the central passageway in which stood the statue of Antoninus Pius.[349] Statues of the donor and his relatives stood on the *analemmata*. The orderly, hierarchical arrangement and lack of space for additional statues suggests that, unlike at Patara, the Antonine dynastic group at Nysa was a single-phase installation.[350]

The similarities between these representations of the Antonine dynasty and the ensemble in the Bouleuterion/Odeion at Ephesus are striking. All the groups were set up by prominent local benefactors around the same time and stood in the aediculated *scaenae frontes* of the city's theater or Bouleuterion. They largely include the same honorands and even the same arrangement in the case of the ensembles from Ephesus and Nysa. The installations at Ephesus and Nysa also both included statues of the founders on the *analemmata*. It appears, then that Publius Vedius Antoninus and Flavia Papiane were not only entering into a local dialog with their Bouleuterion/Odeion dedication, but also a regional one. Nysa was approximately 50 kilometers east of Ephesus, and although Patara was around 350 kilometers south, it was accessible by sea. One can therefore assume that ideas and sculptors travelled easily between these sites, and it becomes apparent that the Bouleuterion/Odeion dynastic group both influenced and was influenced by other honorific landscapes of Asia Minor.

[349] Fittschen 1999, 133-136 (no. 58).

[350] Fittschen 1999, 133-136 (no. 58), suggests a date around 147 CE because only Domitia Faustina, the eldest child of Marcus Aurelius, was included in the group. Cf. Deppmeyer 2008, no. 118, who questions how one would represent a newborn child and thus proposes a date between 147 and 161 CE.

Conclusion

Chapter Two has focused on situating the two focus groups from Ephesus, the Nymphaeum of Trajan and the Antonine group from the Bouleuterion/Odeion, within the larger honorific landscape of the city. Through a chronological analysis, it was shown that the majority of honors at Ephesus, both for the emperor alone and for his family, were set up during the Augustan, Julio-Claudian, and Antonine periods. As at Olympia, Flavian and Nervan evidence is minimal, but unlike Olympia, many honors are attested for the Severan dynasty and the emperors of the third century CE. Imperial honors at Ephesus also were shown to continue into the fourth and fifth centuries CE. The fact that the later material survives in conjunction with earlier evidence indicates that subsequent emperors built upon previous honorific traditions rather than re-making them anew. Continuity was ultimately still an important message to convey, even as the Roman Empire entered a period of transition and change. In addition, this investigation has demonstrated that the periods with the most honorific monuments were those with the greatest building projects. This reflects the fact that the culture of euergetism was focused on the beautification and development of a city both in terms of architecture and public adornment.

Turning to patronage, the boule and demos appear often as dedicators, but the architectural and honorific development of the city largely seems to have been driven by individual donors. This is true for both of the focus groups considered here. The Nymphaeum of Trajan was a dedication of the prominent Ephesian Tiberius Claudius Aristion while the Bouleuterion/Odeion group was set up by Publius Vedius Antoninus in honor of the emperor Antoninus Pius and his family. I discussed numerous other examples where the initiatives of private patrons fueled urban development. As Longfellow states:

> Indeed, from the reign of the Flavians through the Antonines, no building programs sponsored by the city are known, and projects subsidized by emperors were limited to the temenos of the Artemision, the Olympieion, and perhaps the Magnesian Gate. In contrast, local residents and imperial administrators were responsible for numerous projects, including paving the main processional way and building or renovating the Temple of the Flavian Sebastoi, the Prytaneion, the Bouleuterion, the Temple of Hadrian, and the Baths of Varius. Individuals also provided latrines and improved the water supply system with new aqueducts and fountains.[351]

Thus, as with Olympia, Ephesus provides a variety of patrons and no sense of linear progression. Yet overall, in comparison to the Altis, Ephesus appears to have a greater number of honors set up by private individuals. This probably relates to the different contexts of the two sites; the Altis at Olympia was a sacred temenos while Ephesus was a large city center. Competitive displays of wealth and status by individual patrons in honor of the emperor may have been deemed more appropriate for civic contexts than religious sanctuaries. One must remember, however, that the lines between state and religion were blurred in antiquity, so that the State Market contained not only governmental structures like the Bouleuterion and Prytaneion, but temples as well. Indeed, within the Prytaneion itself was the sanctuary of Hestia. Moreover, the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesus did, in fact, contain honorific sculpture. Dynastic groups of the Julio-Claudians and Antonines were discovered there, as were individual honors from the second century CE.

The prevalence of individual patronage at Ephesus also reflects the larger phenomenon of euergetism in Roman Asia Minor in the second century CE, which was facilitated by a growing concentration of wealth and power among the elites. A. Zuiderhoek's study demonstrates that Ephesus was not unusual in having these wealthy individuals provide small and large benefactions for the city.[352] Of the regions considered by

[351] Longfellow 2001, 62-63. Also see Scherrer 1995; 2001; Halfmann 2001.

[352] Zuiderhoek 2009.

Zuiderhoek, Ionia has the highest percentage of benefactions in Roman Asia Minor, but Caria, Lycia, and Pisida follow closely.[353]

The consideration of honorific practice at Ephesus from the Hellenistic period through late antiquity demonstrates that preferred areas of display existed throughout the history of the city. In the Hellenistic period, the majority of extant honors were located along Curetes Street. Under Augustus, honors continued to be erected on this street, but also were set up in the State Market and Tetragonos Agora, both of which were developed considerably at this time with new or renovated buildings. The Flavians continued to be represented in these areas, as did the Antonines and Severans. With the reconstruction of the theater under Domitian, this structure became a popular site for honorific display. Indeed, from the theater archaeological evidence confirms two individual honors to Domitian, several Antonine individual honors, as well as one Antonine and one Severan dynastic group. It is uncertain if all these statues stood concurrently, but the theater at Ephesus undoubtedly held the most imperial honorific sculpture in any one place within the city.[354]

The two focus groups considered in this chapter are representative of these general display preferences and trends at Ephesus in that both were set up by private, wealthy individuals and in long-established areas of honorific display. Moreover, archaeological evidence confirms that both groups remained standing centuries after they were installed, presumably because of their inclusion of multiple generations of the imperial family and, therefore, their emphasis on continuity. Herms and inscriptions confirm later repairs,

[353] Zuiderhoek 2009, 3-22, figures 1.1-1.3. Zuiderhoek's study focuses on Roman Asia Minor from just before the Common Era until the fourth century CE. His research sample consists of a little over 500 epigraphically recorded benefactions gathered randomly from published collections of inscriptions. Figures 1.1-1.3 confirm that Ionia had the highest percentage of benefactions and that the average number of benefactions was highest in the second century CE.

[354] For more on dynastic displays in Roman theaters see the concluding chapter of this study.

renovations, and alterations to the Nymphaeum of Trajan, some of which even date to the sixth century CE.[355] Likewise, the Bouleuterion/Odeion was altered after its second-century CE renovation.[356] The building's sculpture also apparently was amended since Wood found a statue of Septimius Severus during his investigations of the structure.[357] By adding a statue of Septimius to the group, the dedicator was acknowledging the Severan emperor as the legitimate successor to the Antonines.

The two groups differ in important respects as well. While the Bouleuterion/Odeion ensemble is one of many Antonine familial displays from the ancient Mediterranean, the Nymphaeum is a rare example of a Trajanic dynastic group.[358] The installation from the Bouleuterion/Odeion also is distinct in being an interior display that incorporated monumental inscriptions into its overall program.[359] The use of niches and multi-storey façade architecture characterizes both groups, as well as the combination of imperial and private portraits. The Antonine group, however, has more statues overall, including those of women and children, and represents more generations of the dynasty than the Trajanic installation. The Nymphaeum of Trajan's setting also is different in its use of flowing water. Thus, the visual experience of both these extant dynastic groups must have been dramatic, but rather different as well.

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[355] Quatember 2011, 65-76.

[356] Bier 2011, 52-53, states that these changes "are difficult to date and do not readily resolve themselves into distinct phases."

[357] See note 221 above.

[358] The larger number of Antonine family groups in relation to Trajanic groups is supported by the three sites considered here and by the catalogue in Deppmeyer 2008. Also see figure 1.2.

[359] Other theaters such as those at Aphrodisias and Sparta also had "archive walls" since the theater was a place with high visibility. See Sturgeon 2004a, 418-421.

In conclusion, Ephesus provides us with an informative site for the study of honorific practice during the Roman imperial period in the East. Like Olympia, the city attracted travelers in antiquity due to its location as well as its political and religious significance. The city continued to flourish in the late antique period, which has led to problems of scattered material and secondary re-use. Nonetheless, the extant evidence allows us to reconstruct patterns of display beginning with the Hellenistic period and continuing through the third and fourth centuries CE.

CHAPTER FOUR: LEPTIS MAGNA

Introduction

The Phoenicians founded the ancient site of Leptis Magna as a trading post in the seventh century BCE.[1] The city became one of the most important of the Punic emporia, probably due to its many natural resources. The settlement was located along the North African coastline, at the mouth of the Wadi Lebdah (figures 1.1, 4.1, 4.2),[2] which provided both a harbor for ships and a water supply.[3] Leptis Magna also was situated on a major caravan route, which gave access to the resources of the interior. Moreover, the site had geographical advantages, namely nearby mountains, a local supply of building stone (although this was not exploited until the Roman period), and favorable sea and farming conditions.[4] These advantages ensured that Leptis Magna remained an important city of the Roman Empire. I analyze one focus group form the site, but it is an extensive group with three, and potentially five phases. The present chapter ultimately seeks to explore how this

[1] Some have proposed that Leptis Magna served as an occasional trading post in the eighth century BCE, which preceded the establishment of an actual settlement in the area. See Carter 1965 (citing Haynes 1959). On the various names of Leptis Magna throughout history see Reynolds and Ward Perkins 1952, 73-86; Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 15-31; Squarciapino 1966, 5-11; Di Vita, et al. 1999, 46; Kreetallah 2004. Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 15-31; Squarciapino 1966, 1- 11; Di Vita, et al. 1999, 14-27, also provide good overviews of the early history of the site.

[2] The site today is located in modern Libya, about three kilometers east of the town of Al-Khums and about 123 kilometers east of the capital, Tripoli.

[3] Reynolds and Ward Perkins 1952, 73-86; Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 15-31; Carter 1965; Squarciapino 1966, 1-4; Di Vita, et al. 1999, 14; Kreetallah 2004. The Wadi Lebdah served as a periodic water source. The regular water supply for the city came from the Wadi Caam, located to the east.

[4] Reynolds and Ward Perkins 1952, 73-86; Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 15-31; Squarciapino 1966, 1-11; Di Vita, et al. 1999, 14; Kreetallah 2004. Leptis Magna's agricultural economy was based on the production of olive trees.

multi-phase statuary ensemble developed and how it relates to the architecture and honorific monuments at Leptis Magna.

The Honorific Landscape of Leptis Magna: Hellenistic through Early Imperial Periods

Hellenistic Period

Excavations reveal minimal information about the city's Phoenician period.[5] What is known about early Leptis Magna is largely a result of excavations in 1960 and 1961 by the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. Prior to these campaigns, the early remains of the city were limited to the lower levels of the Roman curia,[6] and graves below the stage area of the Roman theater, the earliest of which dates to ca. 500 BCE based on Corinthian pottery fragments.[7] The form and extent of the original Phoenician settlement is not clear, but the excavations of the 1960s uncovered four cultural levels: Level 4 (Phoenician, 650 – ca. 500 BCE), Level 3 (Punic, ca. 500 – 241 BCE), Level 2 (Later Punic, 241 – 118 BCE), Level 1 (Neo-Punic and Roman, 118 – late first century BCE). The campaigns thus produced valuable information about the early periods of Leptis Magna,[8] but the team from the University Museum obtained no information regarding honorific monuments or dedications.

In the third century BCE, Leptis Magna came under the authority of Carthage and sided with this city in the First (264-241 BCE) and Second (218-202 BCE) Punic Wars; Leptis Magna does not appear to have been involved in the events of the Third Punic War (149-146 BCE). After the fall of Carthage in 146 BCE, the city came under Numidian rule.

[5] For a history of excavations at Leptis Magna see Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 61-63; Squarciapino 1966, 31-36; Di Vita, et al. 1999, 7-11.

[6] The current building dates to the early imperial period, but an Italian sondage through the floor showed traces of architectural structures that probably belong to the Punic phase of Leptis Magna's history. See Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 85-90; Carter 1965; Squarciapino 1966, 37-39, 80-89; Ward Perkins 1970, 370-390; Di Vita, et al. 1999, 77-80; De Miro and Polito 2005; Musso 2008, 171. The building's different orientation in relation to the basilica would support earlier phase(s). In its Roman form, the curia was a temple-like building surrounded by colonnades. It was embellished under Commodus (*IRT* no. 615).

[7] Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 15-31; Squarciapino 1966, 37-39, 45-47; Carter 1965; Caputo 1987, Part One.

[8] Carter 1965.

The territory of the Kingdom of Numidia later emerged as the new province of Africa after Caesar's victory at Thapsus in 46 BCE. Eventually, after the Roman defeat of Jugurtha, Leptis Magna became a *civitas foederata* (11 BCE).[9] Under the Flavians the city became a municipium and later, under Trajan, it was made a colony. Leptis Magna retained its autonomy, however, as confirmed by the fact that it continued to mint coins, retain the Punic names for its city magistracies, and produce bilingual texts.[10]

A clear historical chronology for Leptis Magna therefore can be established, but the reconstruction of the site's honorific landscape in the Hellenistic period is impossible given that excavations have been limited almost exclusively to unearthing the Roman city. Moreover, the best available building material before Augustus had been a type of soft sandstone; it was only towards the end of the first century BCE that the quarries of Ras el-Hammam were opened, providing the region access to limestone resembling travertine.[11] Thus, the earliest preserved Latin epigraphy from Leptis Magna dates to the Augustan period.

Early Imperial Period

Leptis Magna was expanded and monumentalized during the Augustan period. The city's growth on the west bank of the Wadi Lebdah followed a regular grid system and included a road network arranged around two main axes, the *decumanus maximus* and *cardo*

[9] Reynolds and Ward Perkins 1952, 73-86; Squarciapino 1966, 5-11; Di Vita, et al. 1999, 18-24. The authors conjecture that Numidian rule of Leptis Magna was not strict. Probably the Numidian kings limited themselves to the tax revenue of the city and left the self-administration in place.

[10] For Leptis Magna in the Hellenistic and Roman periods see Reynolds and Ward Perkins 1952, 73-86; Squarciapino 1966, 5-16; Di Vita, et al. 1999, 18-27; Kreetallah 2004. Also, Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 57-60, provides a chronological list of major events in the city's history.

[11] Reynolds and Ward Perkins 1952, 73-86.

maximus. The *decumanus maximus* ran parallel to the coast and was the main thoroughfare of North Africa that connected Carthage and Alexandria, while the *cardo maximus* led from the coast inland. Slight deviations from this grid plan are detectable due to the existence of an earlier road system, but overall Roman Leptis Magna was very regularized.[12]

Augustan architectural construction was focused in the northwest portion of Leptis Magna; the land closest to the Wadi Lebdah remained undeveloped until the second century CE. The *Forum Vetus*, with its three major Augustan temples and paving of 5 BCE – 2 CE, is discussed below in detail. In addition to this space, a whole new quarter was developed by the end of the Augustus' reign that included the market, theater, and chalcidicum. The earliest of these structures, the market or macellum (figure 4.3), dates to 9 – 8 BCE based on its extant dedicatory inscription, which is also the earliest dated Latin inscription from Leptis Magna.[13] The text confirms that the market was a dedication of a wealthy magistrate and citizen, the sufete Annobal Tapapius Rufus, the son of Himilkon and a member of the same family as Bodmelqart Tabahpi whose name appears in the dedicatory inscription from the Temple of Rome and Augustus in the *Forum Vetus* (see below). It also is interesting to note that this inscription is the Latin version of another Neo-Punic text found within the market.[14]

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[12] On the urban development and topography of Roman Leptis Magna see Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 23-31; Squarciapino 1966, 37-39; Ward Perkins 1970, 370-390; Di Vita, et al. 1999, 50-54; Kreetallah 2004. Also see Musso 2008, who argues that one cannot exclude the possibility that even before the imperial age, Leptis Magna had a regularized grid plan. Musso therefore sees Augustan Leptis Magna as a reorganization of the Punic city layout accompanied by a substantial expansion of its facilities and monuments.

[13] *IRT* no. 319. The inscription is comprised of thirty-one sandstone blocks that originally were stuccoed. The pieces fell from the southwest precinct wall of the market. For the inscription see della Vida 1935; Goodchild 1950. For architectural descriptions of the market see Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 77-80; Squarciapino 1966, 71-75; Ward Perkins 1970, 370-390; Di Vita, et al. 1999, 56-61; Kreetallah 2004; Kreikenbom 2008.

[14] According to Reynolds and Ward Perkins 1952, 97-98, the Latin version is identical to the Neo-Punic (27) except for the omission of "son of Arin" in the first line. Moreover, in the Neo-Punic text the name of the proconsul is lost. Also see della Vida 1935; Goodchild 1950; Kreikenbom 2008.

Much of the market's decoration survives, including statues and monuments in honor of local citizens, religious sculptures, and painted friezes.[15]

A few years later (1 – 2 CE), the same Annobal Tapapius Rufus funded the erection of the Augustan theater, located just to the northwest of the market (figure 4.4).[16] A small Temple of Ceres Augusta was dedicated in the Tiberian period (35 – 36 CE) at the highest point of the cavea, but its integration into the complex suggests that its construction was planned from the beginning. The temple was built at the expense of a woman named Suphunibal, the daughter of Annobal, and was a dedication of the proconsul C. Rubellius Blandus.[17] Another important feature of the complex is a colonnaded courtyard behind the stage area with a small tetrastyle temple dedicated to the *Divi Augusti* in 42 CE.[18] Iddibal Tapapius, the son of Magon and another member of the prominent Tabahpi family, funded the temple's construction during the proconsulship of Quintus Marcius Barea.

The chalcidicum (figure 4.5), another Augustan foundation, was located just to the south of the theater.[19] Inscribed panels of grey limestone survive from the architraves of the

[15] Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 77-80; Squarciapino 1966, 71-75. Epigraphic and sculptural evidence survives for the honorific monuments, including six busts and inscribed pedestals (*IRT* nos. 294, 600, 603). The so-called "Aphrodite of the market" was found here, as were remains of a painted plaster frieze from the colonnades with cupids and garlands.

[16] For architectural descriptions of the theater complex see Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 81-83; Squarciapino 1966, 75-80; Ward Perkins 1970, 370-390; Caputo 1987; Sear 1990; Mierse 1991; Di Vita, et al. 1999, 61-70; Boschung 2002, 21-23; Kreetallah 2004; Sear 2006, 102-105, 281. The dedicatory inscription (*IRT* nos. 321-323) was bilingual (Latin and Neo-Punic) and repeated on the lintels of the entrances leading from the orchestra into the lateral corridors.

[17] *IRT* no. 269. C. Rubellius Blandus was married to Julia, the daughter of Drusus Minor and Livilla. For more on Blandus see Romanelli 1940.

[18] *IRT* no. 273. It is unclear who was included among the *Divi Augusti*. For a discussion of the theories see Boschung 2002, 21-23, who concludes that the term refers to *Divus Augustus* and *Diva Augusta*. Boschung's argument is based on the recent divinization of Livia in 42 CE and the axial relationship between the Temple of Ceres Augusta and the Temple of the *Divi Augusti* within the theater complex at Leptis Magna.

[19] For architectural descriptions see Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 71-76; Squarciapino 1966, 69-71; Ward Perkins 1970, 370-390; Di Vita, et al. 1999, 70-75; Boschung 2002, 21-23.

central and lateral gables of the façade. The three inscriptions confirm that the building was dedicated to the *Numen Augusti* in 11 – 12 CE at the expense of Iddibal Caphada Aemilius, the son of Himil.[20] The purpose of the building is uncertain, but most scholars believe it served as a public market building, perhaps relating to the trade of animals for the amphitheater.[21]

Additional construction projects were undertaken during the reigns of the Julio-Claudian emperors. In 16 – 17 CE, the proconsul L. Aelius Lamia opened a road that led from Leptis Magna to Msellata.[22] It extended nearly forty kilometers and probably was used for military and commercial purposes. Between 27 and 30 CE at the entrance to the city on the *cardo maximus*, the proconsul C. Vibius Marsus dedicated an arch, the *Porta Augusta Salutaris*.[23] Another arch dedicated to Tiberius was erected just to the south of the chalcidicum on the *cardo maximus*. The limestone monument is architecturally simple and lacks any carved decoration. The Latin inscription carved on the architrave blocks of both facades allows the work to be dated 35 – 36 CE.[24] The text further confirms that the arch was set up both as a monument dedicated to the emperor and as a work commemorating the paving of the city streets by the proconsul C. Rubellius Blandus, the same figure who dedicated the temple in the theater, and the legate M. Etrilio Lupercus.[25] Moreover, the

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[20] *IRT* no. 324 a-c.

[21] The original excavator suspected that the building was a fabric market. Yet the discovery of carved marble animals (an elephant, panther, and lion) in front of the structure has led some to theorize that at least at one point, the building was where animals were traded for the amphitheater. See Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 71-76; Squarciapino 1966, 69-71.

[22] *IRT* no. 930 (a milestone from this road found *in situ*). Also see Squarciapino 1966, 11-16.

[23] *IRT* no. 308.

[24] *IRT* no. 330 a-b. Højte 2005, 275, Tiberius 75. For more on the Arch of Tiberius see Romanelli 1940; Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 71-76; Squarciapino 1966, 57-58.

funds for the arch came from the revenue of the fields that had been restored to the citizens of Leptis Magna following the war with Tacfarinas (15 – 24 CE). An identical inscription from an arch found at the north angle of the portico behind the theater indicates that a second, correlated arch stood in this area.[26]

Aside from a later repaving and renovation of the *Forum Vetus* under Claudius, which is discussed below, no other architectural initiatives are known from the Claudian period.[27] Under Nero (61 – 62 CE), a colonnade and perhaps other buildings (including a sacellum) were constructed on the western side of the harbor at the expense of Ithymbal Sabinus Tapapius, the son of Arin and yet another member of the prestigious Tabahpi household.[28] The construction of the amphitheater also dates to the Neronian period (56 CE), during the proconsulship of M. Pompeius Taberius Flavinus.[29]

The epigraphic and sculptural evidence of imperial honors at Leptis Magna during the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods complements the architectural development of the city outlined above. Indeed, every honor (with a known find spot) comes from an Augustan building project. In regard to dedications confirmed by epigraphic evidence, three come from the *Forum Vetus*. One base of grey limestone is mutilated badly, but enough of the inscription is preserved to confirm that the people of Leptis Magna dedicated it to Gaius

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[25] See note 17 above. This is probably the first paving of the city streets, which replaced simpler streets of earth and stone.

[26] *IRT* no. 331.

[27] See note 52 below for the work in the *Forum Vetus*. Squarciapino 1966, 110-115, argues that the first major expansion of the harbor may go back to the Claudian period, but this is speculative.

[28] *IRT* no. 341 (architrave blocks from the port area of two apparently identical monumental inscriptions). The proconsul is named as Servius Cornelius Scipio Salvidienus Orfitus. Also see Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 15-31; Squarciapino 1966, 11-16, 110-115; Di Vita, et al. 1999, 80-83. It is believed that the Neronian constructions were later expansions of preexisting buildings.

[29] Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 119-120; Squarciapino 1966, 11-16, 129-132; Di Vita, et al. 1999, 80-83.

Caesar in 3 BCE.[30] Another marble base found in the Temple of Rome and Augustus honors Drusus Caesar.[31] The third inscription attests to a dedication in honor of Tiberius.[32] Two honors are known from the market; one was set up by Gaius Sossius in honor of Augustus, the other was dedicated to Tiberius in 31 BCE by a proconsul whose name is now lost.[33] Another rectangular limestone base for a dedication to Gaius Caesar by the people of Leptis Magna was found in the vaults of the stage of the theater.[34] It dates to 3 BCE and is uniform with the inscription from the *Forum Vetus* in honor of Gaius.

Other bases come from the chalcidicum. On the east side of the building was a colonnade interrupted in the middle by four columns that extended into the road and served to monumentalize the entrance to an interior shrine. It is from this area that the dedicatory inscription to the *Numen Augusti* comes (see above). In addition, along the back wall of the shrine two symmetrical bases were discovered, presumably for cult statues, although no sculpture was found during excavations. Given the context of the bases, scholars argue that one was for the *Numen* of the emperor and the second was probably for Venus Calchidica.[35] After the death of Augustus, the number of statues was expanded, as is confirmed by extant bases for *Divus Augustus*, Tiberius, and Drusus the Younger found within and in front of the

[30] *IRT* no. 328.

[31] *IRT* no. 335.

[32] *IRT* no. 339.

[33] *IRT* no. 305 (Augustus), no. 332 (Tiberius).

[34] *IRT* no. 320; Højte 2005, 247, Augustus 112.

[35] Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 71-76; Squarciapino 1966, 69-71; Boschung 2002, 21-23. The *Numen* of the emperor also was celebrated with sacrifices and public entertainment in Rome. Similar ceremonies and festivites at Leptis Magna probably were held, but they are not confirmed by any evidence. The possibility of a representation of Venus is based on the goddess' close connection with the Julian family and *IRT* no. 316, an inscribed base from the central gable of the chalcidicum that dates to the time of Antoninus Pius. The text describes a dedication of a statue of Cupid to Venus Calchidica by C. Claudius Septimius Afer.

shrine.[36] The unusual titles of Tiberius lead scholars to date the bases to the early part of Tiberius' reign, when it was unclear who would accept the new title of emperor.[37] The bases provide no dedicator, but it is assumed that the same man involved in the dedication of the building, Iddibal Caphada Aemilius, also was involved in the erection of the statues.[38]

Three Julio-Claudian honors survive for which original contexts are not known. An inscribed limestone panel confirms a dedication to Augustus by the proconsul Cossus Cornelius Lentulus in 6 CE, but its find spot is unrecorded.[39] Another dedication to Augustus is attested by a hexagonal limestone base that was re-used to support an arch in a domestic setting.[40] Finally, inscribed limestone blocks from a Claudian dedication (41 – 43 CE) were re-used in a fourth-century wall.[41] No extant bases for honors to Nero survive at Leptis Magna or elsewhere in Africa Proconsularis.[42]

Sculptural evidence for Julio-Claudian dedications at Leptis Magna also exists, and as with the inscriptions, the statues all are associated with Augustan structures. A colossal marble statue of Livia, nearly twice life-size and represented in the guise of Ceres, stood in the temple at the top of theater.[43] Most scholars associate the statue with the Tiberian

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[36] *IRT* nos. 325, 329, 336; Boschung 2002, 11, nos. 1.24-1.26; Højte 2005, 247, Augustus 113; 275, Tiberius 74.

[37] Reynolds and Ward Perkins 1952, 100. The inscription for Tiberius reads: Imp(eratori) Caesari Aug(u)sti f(ilio) Aug(usto) p(atri) p(atriae) pont(ifici) max(imo). Tiberius never accepted the praenomen Imperator or the title *pater patriae*, which leads the authors to assume that the inscription was cut immediately after the death of Augustus, before his deification and before the proper titles of the new emperor were known.

[38] A *togatus* from the area of the chalcidicum was found and identified as the founder by the associated inscription (Aemilius [Himilis f(ilius) f]lam[i]ni [Aug]usti). See Boschung 2002, 21-23.

[39] *IRT* no. 301. The proconsul is mentioned by Cassius Dio (LV.28.3-4).

[40] *IRT* no. 315a.

[41] *IRT* no. 482; Højte 2005, 305, Claudius 72.

[42] Based on the catalogue in Højte 2005.

dedication of the temple in 35 – 36 CE, yet S. Sande argues for a Claudian date based on a stylistic analysis and historical reasoning.[44] More specifically, Sande sees the statue of Livia as replacing an original figure of Ceres in 42 CE. The statue of Livia therefore was set up concurrently with the dedication of the nearby and axially related temple of the *Divi Augusti*. Sande's date is plausible, but no extant dedicatory inscription for a statue of Livia from the Claudian period survives to confirm it. Another marble image of Livia was discovered at Leptis Magna, but its provenance is unknown. It has been interpreted as possibly a portrait of Augustan or Tiberian date that was reworked after Livia's divinization in 42 CE.[45] Finally, a head of Augustus was found in the vicinity of the chalcidicum.[46] While some scholars identify it as the cult image of *Divus Augustus* erected within the shrine, Boschung argues that it is stylistically much older and more likely to originate from the early Augustan period.[47]

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[43] Squarciapino 1966, 75-80; Kreikenbom 1992, 180-181, III 39; Winkes 1995, 184-185, no. 107; Filges 1997, 84-97, 271, no. 140; Bartman 1999, 179-180, no. 74; Boschung 2002, 10-11, no. 1.22, 21-23. The statue is currently in the Tripoli Archaeological Museum. Livia is shown wearing a mural crown and wreath, which have led scholars to interpret her as a joint Tyche/Ceres figure.

[44] Sande 1985, 155-171, argues that Tiberius refused to divinize Livia and gave her no real attention. Claudius, in contrast, showed great devotion to his grandmother and was responsible for divinizing her in 42 CE.

[45] Bartman 1999, 178, no. 71. The statue is currently in the Tripoli Archaeological Museum.

[46] See Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 71-76; Squarciapino 1966, 69-71; Boschung 1993, 122-123, no. 31; Kreikenbom 2008.

[47] Boschung 2002, 11, no. 1.23, 21-23. Boschung concedes that an older statue of Augustus possibly could have been integrated into the chalcidicum's sculptural display.

The Temple of Rome and Augustus in the *Forum Vetus*

Historical Background

The focus group at Leptis Magna comes from the so-called *Forum Vetus*, located at the end of the *cardo maximus* in the northeast part of the city (figure 4.6).[48] As with all major fora of the Roman world, the space served the town's social, political, administrative, and religious needs and was a major site of honorific display. The forum was excavated systematically beginning in the 1920s and 1930s by the Superintendent of Antiquities, P. Romanelli (1920 – 1923), and his successors, R. Bartoccini (1923 – 1928), G. Guidi (1928 – 1936), and G. Caputo (1936 – 1951).[49] After World War II, the inscriptions from Leptis Magna, including those of the forum, were collected and published by J.M. Reynolds and the director of the British School at Rome, J.B. Ward Perkins.[50] Later excavations of the area, published by E. De Miro and A. Polito, were undertaken in the 1980 and 1990s.[51]

The *Forum Vetus* (ca. 55.40 x 50.00 m) (figure 4.7) was irregularly shaped, with an oblique northeastern side that probably was due to the location of earlier Punic structures.[52] The forum thus had been built up early in the city's history, but it only achieved monumental form in the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods. Between 5 BCE and 2 CE the proconsul

[48] The name of the site is a modern term based on an inscribed marble base (*IRT* no. 467) from the time of Constantine that refers to the *basilica vetus*, which was located in the forum. In contrast, the later Severan forum is referred to in a fourth century inscription (*IRT* No. 566) as the *forum novum severianum*.

[49] For the history of excavations at Leptis Magna see Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 85-90; Squarciapino 1966, 31-36; Di Vita, et al. 1999, 7-11.

[50] Reynolds and Ward Perkins 1952 (abbreviated here as *IRT*).

[51] De Miro and Polito 2005.

[52] Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 85-90; Carter 1965; Squarciapino 1966, 80-89; Ward-Perkins 1970, 370-390; Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 226-230; Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, 223-264. The Punic history of the space is unclear, but a reconnaissance team from the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania in 1960 found architectural remains of a wall at the edge of the forum that ran parallel to the coastline. The team concluded that this wall represents the northeast boundary of the original Phoenician settlement and probably correlates to the ancient shoreline at that time. See especially Carter 1965.

Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso funded the paving of the central area with limestone slabs.[53] In 53 CE this paving was renewed at the expense of a local man, a certain Gaius, son of Anno, who also funded the installation of limestone porticoes on three sides of the forum.[54] On the fourth (northwest) side stood three Augustan temples. The central and largest structure, the Temple of Rome and Augustus, served as a site of the imperial cult.[55] This temple was flanked by two others, one presumably dedicated to Liber Pater,[56] and the other to an unknown deity, perhaps Hercules.[57] The *basilica vetus* stood directly opposite this row of temples,[58] and to the east of the basilica, just outside the area of the forum proper, was the curia of Leptis Magna.[59] Later buildings in the *Forum Vetus* include along the southwest

[53] The limestone slabs had an inlaid inscription with bronze letters. Remains of this inscription come from the northern corner of the forum (*IRT* no. 520).

[54] *IRT* no. 338; Aurigemma 1940, 9; Squarciapino 1966, 80-89; Ward Perkins 1970, 370-390; Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, 241-243. The paving raised the level of the forum ca. 32 cm.

[55] See below for more on this temple.

[56] Squarciapino 1966, 80-89; Ward Perkins 1970, 370-390; Di Vita, et al. 1999, 74-76. This temple is probably the earliest of the three since it is built of soft sandstone faced with stucco whereas the other two are made of limestone. The identification is based on an assumed connection between this temple and a Hadrianic inscription from a votive dedication naming Liber Pater (*IRT* no. 275). See Musso 2008, for a review of the argument. Musso believes the identification of the temple should be reconsidered, and instead argues that the building was the Capitolium of Leptis Magna based on epigraphic and sculptural evidence. Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, 14-21, however, refute this argument based on archaeological, architectural, cultic, and historical grounds. I therefore follow the traditional and majority view that the temple was dedicated to Liber Pater.

[57] Squarciapino 1966, 80-89; Ward Perkins 1970, 370-390; Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 226-230; Di Vita, et al. 1999, 74-76. Hercules often is proposed since the hero, along with Liber Pater, was the patron deity of Leptis Magna. Squarciapino suggests that the establishment of this temple may be, together with the paving of the forum, the work of Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso, but this theory is not confirmed by any archaeological or epigraphic evidence.

[58] The original construction of this building probably belongs in the Julio-Claudian period, but its history is difficult to reconstruct because the structure's present form dates to a reconstruction in the Contantinian period, after the building was destroyed by fire. The reconstruction was completed between 324 and 326 by Laenatius Romulus (*IRT* no. 467), the *rectore* of the province, who also undertook other restorations in the forum itself and in the market. See Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 85-90; Squarciapino 1966, 80-89; Ward Perkins 1970, 370-390; De Miro and Polito 2005; Musso 2008. Musso 2008, 173, dates the building in the Claudian period since this was when other private donors refurbished the forum (e.g. the new paving in 53 CE).

[59] See note 6 above.

side a Temple of Magna Mater/Cybele (71 – 72 CE),[60] a temple of Trajanic date that later was converted into a church,[61] and a three-sided portico with a shrine in honor of Antoninus Pius (153 CE).[62] In the Severan period, a circular exedra was installed in the center of the forum.[63] The *Forum Vetus* suffered damage from a fire in 313 CE and an earthquake in 365 CE, and in the Christian period it served as a burial site.[64] Materials from the buildings of the *Forum Vetus* were re-used later in the Byzantine fortification wall, which cut across the northwest side of the forum, over the back walls of the Temples to Liber Pater and Rome and Augustus.[65]

The dynastic group in the *Forum Vetus* comes from the Temple of Rome and Augustus and its environs. As mentioned, this temple is situated prominently on the northwest side of the forum, between two earlier temples dedicated to the tutelary deities of Leptis Magna. Two investigations by the Department of Antiquities of Lebdah in 2002 revealed the presence of two earlier structures on the site, one of which had approximately the same orientation as the Augustan temple.[66] The precise function and nature of these pre-

[60] *IRT* no. 300. The inscription confirms that the temple was built or embellished under Vespasian, during the proconsulship of Q. Manlius Ancharius Tarquitius Saturninus. It was funded by a local man, Iddibal, son of Balsillec. Also see Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 85-90; Squarciapino 1966, 80-89; Ward Perkins 1970, 370-390.

[61] The Trajanic date is determined by the architectural elements. The Christian church was established before the Byzantine re-conquest of Leptis Magna, probably in the time of Constantine. See Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 85-90; Squarciapino 1966, 80-89; Ward Perkins 1970, 370-390.

[62] *IRT* no. 370. The shrine was dedicated by Calpurnia Honesta and later was restored by Laenatius Romulus (*IRT* no. 467). See Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 85-90; Squarciapino 1966, 80-89; Ward Perkins 1970, 370-390.

[63] *IRT* no. 397; Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 85-90; Squarciapino 1966, 80-89; Ward Perkins 1970, 370-390.

[64] Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 85-90; Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, 252-257. The funerary use of the space is confirmed by ceramic materials dating to the early Christian period and extant inscribed plates that served as epitaphs for the deceased (*IRT* nos. 833-835, 839, 840, 843).

[65] Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 85-90; Squarciapino 1966, 80-89; Boschung 2002, 11-13; Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, 252-257. The walls date to the time of Justinian. Materials from the forum also were re-used in the conversion of the Trajanic temple into a Christian church.

existing structures are difficult to determine since at the time the temple was constructed, deep trenches were dug that partially destroyed the earlier material. Some scholars, however, view the earlier building as a Neo-Punic temple for the worship of Milk'ashtart, who was later "evicted" when the temple was dedicated to Rome and Augustus.[67]

The original excavations of the temple by G. Guidi (1928 – 1936), along with subsequent investigations, have recovered enough fragmentary remains of the building and its architectural ornament to allow for a reconstruction of its plan and elevation.[68] The temple was raised on a five-meter high podium (20 x 30 m) that was connected to the podia of the two adjacent temples by a series of arches.[69] A platform (2.50 m high) immediately in front of the temple and accessed by two flanking flights of stairs served as a rostrum.[70] From this platform another, broader flight of stairs led into the temple itself. The plan of the temple's interior is controversial since the floor is not preserved; some scholars advocate for two narrow cellae and others for a single cella.[71] Undeniable evidence exists, however, of doors leading into the interior room(s).[72] The Temple of Rome and Augustus was constructed originally of a silvery-grey limestone from Ras el-Hammam, which was the

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[66] Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, 258-264.

[67] See Musso 2008, 171, for the relevant arguments.

[68] For architectural descriptions see Aurigemma 1940; Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 85-90; Squarciapino 1966, 80-89; Ward Perkins 1970, 370-390; Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 226-230; Boschung 2002, 11-13; Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, 223-264; Musso 2008.

[69] Squarciapino 1966, 80-89; Boschung 2002, 11-13; Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, 223-264; Musso 2008. Di Vita and Livadiotti discuss in detail the construction phases of this feature.

[70] The evidence suggests that the rostrum was planned from the beginning as a component of the temple complex. Also, a large lime kiln was discovered between the temple and rostrum, which dates to a later period and is probably where many parts of the temple and its sculpture were destroyed. See Aurigemma 1940, 49; Boschung 2002, 11-12; Musso 2008.

[71] The majority argues for two cellae, but Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, 231-235, argue for a single cella (17.25 x 8.70 m).

[72] Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, 223-228.

characteristic building stone of Leptis at this time and remained so for another century. In the second century CE, parts of the temple were rebuilt in Proconnesian and Pentelic marbles.[73] The temple was *peripteros sine postico* and had eight columns across the façade. Originally the columns were of limestone and in the Ionic order, but they were replaced with marble Corinthian columns as part of the second century CE renovations.[74] In terms of the temple's overall plan and design, scholars have noted parallels with the smaller temple to the north and contemporary religious buildings in Rome.[75] Indeed, the dominant setting of the temple within the forum space and the incorporation of a rostrum into a unified façade are features reminiscent of many Roman temples and reflects the social, political, and religious functions of such buildings.[76]

In addition to architectural material, excavators also discovered three inscribed limestone blocks to the south of the temple in June of 1933; additional fragments were unearthed in July and August of the same year. Together, the material represents two inscriptions written in Neo-Punic that comprised the architrave of the cella doorway.[77] While

[73] See especially Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, 245-252. Restoration work focused on the colonnades of the peristyle, the floor, and the entablature of the front elevation.

[74] This was a common practice in antiquity. For additional examples at Leptis Magna see the sections below on the Antonine and Severan periods. A famous example outside of Leptis Magna is the Olympieion at Athens. In the Hellenistic period, the Seleucid King, Antiochus IV Epiphanes (176-165 BCE), employed the Roman architect Cossutius to erect a new temple on the Archaic foundations. The basic plan remained the same, but the Hellenistic monarch changed the building material to marble and the order to Corinthian. See Vitruvius VII.15.17; *I.G.* II^2 4099; Hurwit 1999, 271-276. The practice continued in the Roman period, especially in Augustan Rome. See Stamper 2005, Chapter 7, 105-129.

[75] The temple has been compared to the following temples in Rome: Temple of Venus Genetrix, Temple of Castor, Temple of the Divine Julius Caesar and Rome. Parallels also have been made with the Temple of Augustus at Ostia. See Squarciapino 1966, 80-89; Ward Perkins 1970, 370-390; Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, 165-308; Musso 2008.

[76] For example, the Temple of Venus Genetrix in Rome was part of a new forum dedicated by Julius Caesar in 46 BCE that provided space for law courts, orations, and public ceremonies. See Stamper 2005, 84-129, for more on the temples listed in the note above.

neither inscription is preserved entirely intact, they nonetheless provide valuable information for the interpretation of the building and its sculptural decoration. Rose provides English translations of the texts:[78]

> The temple was built and consecrated with statues of *Divus Augustus*, Roma, Tiberius Augustus, Julia Augusta, Germanicus, Drusus Caesar, Agrippina, wife of Germanicus, Livilla, wife of Drusus, Antonia, mother of Germanicus, and (Vipsania) Agrippina, mother of Drusus, and together with them, the statues of *Divus Augustus* and the throne of the statue of *Divus Augustus*.
>
> …of the statue of *Divus Augustus*, and the recoating of the statues of Germanicus and Drusus Caesar, and the throne for Tiberius Augustus, and the quadriga for Germanicus and for Drusus Caesar, and the gate of bronze and the ceiling of the portico of the courtyard of the temple, and the porticoes (all of these) were continued by the suffect Balyathon, son of Annus G. Saturninus, along with the external parts of the remaining area.
>
> …and Bodmelqart, son of Bodmelqart Tabahpi Greculo…

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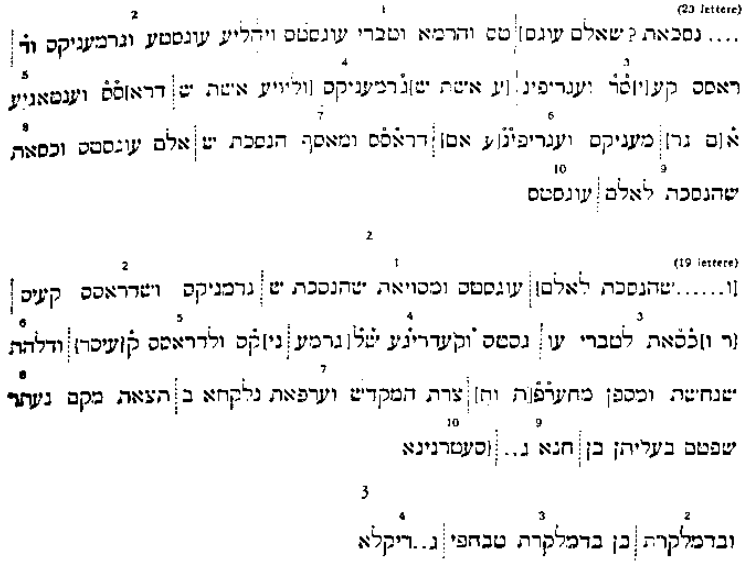
[77] The doorway was 5.74 m high and had a tapering width (3.99 m at the ceiling; 4.14 m at the threshold). The proportions of the doorway were thus rather stocky, with a width to height ratio of 5:7 in comparison to the usual 1:2. See Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, who suggest that the stocky proportions helped to optimize the view of the interior cult statues at the back of the cella when the doors were opened. Two blocks with bronze pins also provide evidence of a locking system.

[78] Rose 1997, 182-184, notes that his translation is two steps removed from the Neo-Punic version since he is translating into English the Italian translation provided by G. della Vida, 1935. For the Italian translation see Rose 277, note 2. For further discussions of the text see Reynolds and Ward Perkins 1952, 12 (Neo-Punic 28); Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 226-230; Boschung 2002, 14-18; Musso 2008.



The importance of the inscriptions for understanding the sculptural program of the temple will be discussed in more detail below. For now, it is important to note that the inscriptions confirm that this building was a site of the imperial cult and a dynastic dedication. The figures honored are listed in hierarchical pairs, with Augustus and Roma first and the more obscure female relatives appearing last and with additional genealogical information to aid in their identifications.[79] These clarifications demonstrate that the dedicators not only wanted a viewer to recognize the individual personages, but also to understand the familial relationships between them. Furthermore, the inscriptions preserve the names of at least two dedicators, the suffetes Balyathon, son of Annus Gaius Saturninus, and Bodmelqart, son of Bodmelqart Tabahpi Greculo, whose offices are the highest in the Punic tradition.[80] The Bodmelqart family is known from other inscriptions as the donors of additional structures at Leptis Magna, including the Augustan market and theater, as well as the Tiberian temple of Ceres Augusta at the top of the theater's cavea.[81] It is also important to point out that the missing portions of the text leave open the possibility of additional patrons.[82] Moreover, the inscriptions indicate that those men responsible for initiating work on the building were unable to finish the project and so completion of the work fell to later officials of Leptis Magna.[83]

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[79] Boschung 2002, 14-18.

[80] Reynolds and Ward Perkins 1952, 79-82; Squarciapino 1966, 52; Boschung 2002, 14-18; Di Vita, et al. 1999, 28. It is only with the elevation of the city to a colony under Trajan that official names and forms become completely Latinized.

[81] *IRT* nos. 269, 273, 319, 321-323, 341, 745; Neo-Punic 12. The name of the family (Tabahpi) was Latinized as Tapapii or Tapafii.

[82] Aurigemma 1940, 21; Rose 1997, 182.

[83] Rose 1997, 182. It would not be unusual if the different patrons were related since euergetism at Leptis Magna and elsewhere often was connected to prominent local families. At Leptis Magna, for example, the Tabahpi family also was responsible for dedications in the theater and macellum. Moreover, the inscription for

The dedicatory inscriptions have further implications for the date of the temple. The text is certainly Tiberian given the identities listed and the reference to *Divus Augustus*, and therefore the construction of the temple must predate 37 CE. A slightly earlier *terminus ante quem* is confirmed by the inclusion of an image of Livilla, the wife of Drusus, whose memory was condemned (*damnatio memoriae*) in 32 CE.[84] Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, was exiled to Pandataria in 29 CE, which may suggest an even earlier *terminus ante quem*. A *terminus post quem* of 8 BCE is assumed based on the fact that the earliest mention of a cult of Augustus at Leptis Magna dates to that year.[85] The chronology suggested by the inscriptions correlates to the archaeological evidence and the temple's relationship with contiguous structures (both the other temples and the paving of the forum).[86]

The construction of the Temple of Rome and Augustus therefore roughly dates between 8 BCE and 29/32 CE. A more precise date for the temple is debated among scholars. Boschung contends that construction began in conjunction with the introduction of the cult of Augustus, namely during the last decade of the first century BCE.[87] The temple thereby filled the empty space between the two earlier Augustan temples on the northwest side of the forum. As part of his argument, Boschung notes that in 3 BCE a statue for Gaius

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the renovation and repaving of the forum (*IRT* No. 338) mentioned above includes three generations of the family. Gaius initiatied the project in honor of his grandson, and an adoptive son, Balitho Commodus, completed the project.

[84] The name of Livilla intentionally was erased from the Neo-Punic inscription, presumably after her *damnatio memoriae*. See Rose 1997, 182-184, note 4; Musso 2008, note 120. On Livilla's *damnatio memoriae* see Tacitus *Annals* VI.2

[85] *IRT* no. 319; Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, 230-231; Musso 2008, 170-171.

[86] Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, 230-231.

[87] Boschung 2002, 11-18.

Caesar, the adopted son of Augustus, was set up in the forum, so that by the end of the first century BCE the area already was a site with honors to Augustus and his family.[88]

Other scholars, however, argue for a later date in the Tiberian period. S. Aurigemma proposes the years 14 – 19 CE, with construction beginning shortly after the death and deification of Augustus and ending in the year of Germanicus' death.[89] The author's argument is based solely on the Neo-Punic inscriptions and the belief that the erection of statues of Germanicus and Drusus along with their wives and mothers would only be appropriate if they were both alive and honored as the designated successors of Augustus. A. Di Vita and M. Livadiotti also support a date in the Tiberian period.[90] The authors concede that an Augustan date for the start of construction cannot be excluded, but they believe a date after 14 CE is more likely given the identities and titles of the inscribed architrave. Moreover, the authors cite an earlier study by W. Trillmich of the inscribed base for the quadriga with Germanicus and Drusus mentioned in the dedicatory inscriptions. According to the titulature on the base, Trillmich dates the monument to 23 CE, after the death of the two *principes*.[91] Thus, the authors contend that the date of the temple's completion must be between 23 CE, the date of Drusus' death, and 29 CE, when Agrippina was exiled.[92]

[88] Boschung 2002, 18; *IRT* no. 328.

[89] Aurigemma 1940. This date is supported by Squarciapino 1966, 80-89.

[90] Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, 230-231.

[91] *IRT* no. 334; Trillmich 1988. The titles of Germanicus were those he held at the time of his death and the titles of Drusus were those granted to him in 23 CE, shortly before he died.

[92] Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, 230-231. They argue that a date closer to 23 CE is more likely since commemorative sentiments for the premature deaths of the two *principes* would have been particularly strong.

A recent study by L. Musso also dates the construction of the temple in the Tiberian period, between 23 and 32 CE based on the prominence of the sculptural program.[93] Musso criticizes those who place the temple in the Augustan period, contending that "il tempio non avrebbemai potuto 'funzionare' senza l'apparato scultoreo."[94] Moreover, the author argues that "non è pensabile che la monumentale iscrizione incisa sulla piattabanda della porta della cella sia stata realizzata quando già il tempio era in funzione."[95] For Musso, then, the dynastic sculptural program of the building was inseparable from the architecture and in fact, it was the underlying reason for the construction of the temple.[96]

The chronology offered by Boschung appears to be the most convincing, with the construction of the temple probably dating to the Augustan period and with later sculptural installations under the Julio-Claudian emperors, based on historical context and ancient architectural practices. An Augustan construction date would parallel other activity in the forum at this time, including the erection of the two other temples on the northern side of the forum, the paving of the square between 5 BCE and 2 CE by the proconsul Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso, and the dedication of a statue of Gaius Caesar in 3 BCE. It also would be appropriate for the citizens of Leptis Magna to begin building a temple dedicated to Augustus at the time of the establishment of the imperial cult (8 BCE). Moreover, many temples in the Roman period had sculptures installed after the construction of the building itself, so it is not necessary to assume that the sculpture and architecture of the temple at Leptis Magna are

[93] Musso 2008, 168-171.

[94] Musso 2008, 170.

[95] Musso 2008, 170.

[96] This parallels Di Vita and Livadiotti's 2005, 231, remark that the sculpture was "la stessa ragion d'essere della realizzazione dell'edificio." This view is shared by Maderna 1988, 136. For problems of this interpretation see the subsequent paragraph.

contemporary. Musso's assumption that the dedication inscribed on the architrave could not have been added after the temple was completed also is flawed since the major renovations undertaken on the Temple of Rome and Augustus in the second century CE demonstrate that architectural elements were altered after their original installation.[97] Also problematic is the argument by Di Vita and Livadiotti that the construction of the temple should be connected with the chariot group of Germanicus and Drusus. It is equally possible that the temple predates the death of the *principes* and that the group was put up only after the city received the *senatus consultum* from Rome with the official commemorative measures. Thus, the reasons scholars offer for dating the temple in the Tiberian period are not sufficient to discount an earlier construction date in the reign of Augustus, probably some time between 8 BCE and 14 CE.

Associated Sculpture

Phase One

In addition to the inscribed blocks of the architrave, excavators also recovered multiple pieces of sculpture associated with the Temple of Rome and Augustus. While the excavation reports are vague in regard to find spots, most pieces apparently came from the area between the Temple of Rome and Augustus and the Temple of Liber Pater, outside the later Byzantine walls.[98] These include the marble heads of Augustus as *divus* (figure 4.8),

[97] Renovations to architectural elements included: architraves, colonnades of the peristyle, pilasters, bases, drums, capitals, and the paneling slabs of the floor. Yet excavations revealed that some material (e.g. limestone capitals and columns) remained *in situ* until the erection of the Byzantine fortification wall. For more on the renovations and contemporary comparisons see Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, 245-251. The Pantheon (29-19 BCE) in Rome may provide another example of a temple's architrave inscription being altered after original construction. Ziolkowski 2009, argues that the description of Agrippa as "consul for the third time" (*consul tertium*) is more characteristic of posthumous inscriptions, and thus must have been carved on the Pantheon later, after Agrippa's death in 12 BCE, thereby replacing the original dedicatory inscription.

Roma, Tiberius, Livia, Germanicus (figure 4.9), Drusus Caesar, Livilla (?), Vipsania Agrippina (?), and full-length standing marble statues of Antonia the Younger (?) and Agrippina the Elder (figure 4.10).[99] A nice correlation therefore emerges between the extant portraits and the personages listed in the dedicatory inscription from the cella doorway.

The portrait heads can be divided into two groups, the first of which includes the portraits of Augustus, Roma, Livia, and Tiberius. These four heads were all of marble and colossal in size, in contrast to the second group of smaller figures.[100] Even within this first group, however, discrepancies exist since the heads of Augustus and Roma were about the same size, whereas those of Livia and Tiberius were slightly smaller (ca. four times life-size for Augustus and Roma, three times life-size for Livia and Tiberius).[101] In addition, the four portraits were acrolithic with their backs unworked and hollowed out to reduce their weight. The inscription confirms that the statues of Augustus and Tiberius were enthroned, and some scholars assume that the images of Roma and Livia were shown in a similar format.[102] Those who support this interpretation further argue on the basis of size, type, and format, that the four portraits represent the cult images of the Temple of Rome and Augustus.

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[98] Aurigemma 1940; Musso 2008, 175-176.

[99] Measurements are those given in Boschung 2002, 8-9. The material is currently in the Archaeological Museum in Tripoli.

[100] For more on the four portraits see Aurigemma 1940, 44-50; Poulsen 1960, 7-15; Kreikenbom 1992, 160-161, III 10; 179, III 36; 186-187, III 47; Boschung 1993, 190-191, no. 200; Winkes 1995, 181, no. 105; Rose 1997, 182-184; Bartman 1999, 179, no. 72; Boschung 2002, 11, nos. 1.1-1.4, 14-18; Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, 231-235.

[101] Rose 1997, 182-184, note 6, points out that the original height of Roma's head would have been closer to a meter since the upper part is missing. He further suggests that she was wearing a helmet, which has not survived.

[102] Squarciapino 1966, 80-89; Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 226-230; Trillmich 1988; Boschung 2002, 14-18. The arrangement of the sculpture will be discussed in more detail below.

The second portrait group includes the marble images of Germanicus and Drusus, which were about two times life-size and also possibly acrolithic.[103] From the architrave inscriptions it is clear that the two statues were placed in a single quadriga and had a coating of some sort that required maintenance.[104] This second group also includes the female portraits of the wives and mothers of the two *principes*. An inserted head found before the Temple of Rome and Augustus presumably represents Vipsania Agrippina,[105] while a second inserted head from the back of the temple has been identified as either Livilla or Antonia the Younger.[106] The two fully preserved female statues are thought to represent Agrippina the Elder and Antonia the Younger.[107] Both are dressed in tunic and stola and have a mantle pulled over the head (*capite velato*). All four female portraits are of marble and slightly over life-size.

Phase One: Date and Arrangement of the Sculpture (figure 4.18)

The date of the sculpture is based primarily on the dedicatory inscription on the architrave of the temple's cella. As noted above, the epigraphic evidence suggests a *terminus*

[103] For more on the portraits see Aurigemma 1940, 56-62; Poulsen 1960, 7-15; Kreikenbom 1992, 206-207, III 76; 207-208, III 77; Rose 1997, 182-184; Boschung 2002, 8, nos. 1.5-1.6, 14-18; Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, 231-235. Kreikenbom and Boschung argue that the statues were acrolithic and probably wore metal armor, which would have protected their perishable wooden cores and complemented the imagery of the quadriga.

[104] No scholar addresses the issue of the sculptural coating in any depth.

[105] Aurigemma 1940, 66; Rose 1997, 182-184; Boschung 2002, 9, no. 1.9, 14-18. Trillmich 1988, 57, argues that this head does not belong to the group because it is made of a different marble than the others. The provenance of the marble has not been determined by isotopic analysis, however, and as Rose, 1997, 182-184, note 3, argues, there is no evidence of Vipsania ever being included in dynastic groups before this, so her portrait likely would have been specially ordered. Trillmich 1988, 53, instead argues that an unpublished, headless female statue should be identified as Vipsania. Trillmich is supported by Musso 2008, 178.

[106] Aurigemma 1940, 88; Rose 1997, 182-184 (Antonia the Younger); Boschung 2002, 9, no. 1.8, 14-18 (Livilla); Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, 231-235 (Livilla).

[107] Aurigemma 1940, 75-80; Boschung 2002, 8-9, nos. 1-7-1.8; Musso 2008.

post quem of 14 CE and a *terminus ante quem* of 32 CE for the statues. The specific chronologies offered by scholars also were discussed above in relation to the date of the Temple of Rome and Augustus, and the problems of assuming that the inscriptions mentioning the statues inform the chronology of the building. Since these arguments are relevant for dating the sculpture as well, they will not be repeated here. The statues of the first phase of the Julio-Claudian dynastic monument therefore date between 23 and 32 CE, after the deaths of Germanicus and Drusus Caesar and before the *damnatio memoriae* of Livilla. This date is supported by the inclusion of Livilla since after her divorce from Tiberius in 12 BCE, she rarely was mentioned in honorific inscriptions from the Augustan or early Tiberian periods.[108] Thus, her inclusion at Leptis Magna suggests that the city had received official notice of her role within the imperial family; the most likely occasion for this was the senatorial decree detailing the posthumous honors for her son Drusus.[109]

Additional support for a date between 23 and 32 CE is provided by the composition of the dynastic group itself, which appears to combine elements of the posthumous honors issued by the Senate of Rome in commemoration of Germanicus after his death in 19 CE and Drusus Caesar after his death in 23 CE.[110] Ensuing their respective deaths, each *principe* was honored with an arch in Rome that supported statues of himself in a triumphal chariot flanked by images of his wife, parents, siblings, and children. Such decrees were distributed

[108] Rose 1997, 183, note 14, points out problems of Trillmich's restoration of the Latin text, such as the placement of religious offices before political ones in the dedication to Germanicus, and the opposite placement of offices in the dedication to Drusus. This peculiarity is unparalleled in joint dedications to the two *principes*, which was noted by Trillmich himself (1988, 59, note 36). Yet, as the authors argue, no other arrangement seems possible.

[109] Rose 1997, 183. Also see Poulsen 1960, 10.

[110] Trillmich 1988; Rose 1997, 182-184; Boschung 2002, 14-18. The *senatus consultum* for Germanicus is preserved fully in the *Tabula Siarensis*, an inscription discovered in Spain with a copy of the senatorial decree. The *senatus consultum* for Drusus survives only in fragments, but it is clear that he was voted the same honors as Germanicus.

to all Roman *municipia* and *coloniae*, which included Carthage, the capital of the Roman colony Africa Proconsularis. A copy of the decree probably would have been sent to Leptis Magna since it was a major city within the province. Scholars therefore see the dynastic monument at Leptis Magna, with its quadriga group prominently displaying the figures of Germanicus and Drusus alongside statues of their wives and mothers, as an attempt by the local citizens to combine the contents of the two senatorial decrees for the deceased *principes*.[111] The installation at Leptis Magna thus reflects a balance between centralized control and local interpretation in the dedication of a dynastic monument. Moreover, it provides an example of a group being set up in reaction to events at Rome, which contrasts with the dynastic ensembles considered in earlier chapters, which were erected at the initiative of local groups or individuals.

The arrangement of the dynastic sculpture is a source of contention among scholars. All agree that the two acrolithic images of Augustus and Roma served as cult statues and occupied the rear wall of the temple's cella(e). Given the narrow dimensions of the interior room(s), however, some scholars argue that there would not have been enough space for the additional acrolithic statues of Livia and Tiberius.[112] Instead, these authors place the two figures in the pronaos on either side of the entrance, where the statues would have been protected by the front portico (figures 4.12, 4.14, and 4.15).[113] In contrast, Boschung places

[111] Trillmich 1988; Rose 1997, 182-184; Boschung 2002, 14-18. Given the short time frame between the two deaths (four years), it is likely that the city of Leptis Magna received the second decree for Drusus before the honors of the first decree had been carried out. The decision to conflate the two decrees was perhaps due to financial and spatial restrictions.

[112] Rose 1997, 182-184; Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, 230-235. The size of Augustus has been estimated at over 3.50 m in width and 5.80 m in height. The interior space was ca. 7.60 H x 25.00 D x 8.70 W m.

[113] Rose 1997, 182-184; Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, 231-235; Musso 2008. The authors describe foundations in the pronaos that perhaps supported the statues of Livia and Tiberius. Neither head shows signs of weathering, so it is assumed they were protected from the elements in their original display positions. Also,

the additional acrolithic images in the cellae, envisioning an arrangement in which the figures all were enthroned and separated into two male/female pairs, with Roma next to Augustus and Livia next to Tiberius.[114] Boschung acknowledges the limitations of space noted by other authors, but he contends that the correlations between the four statues as well as similar depictions on Roman cameos, argue in favor of a common display context.[115]

Boschung's proposed arrangement is attractive since it places the four acrolithic images together, but it fails to address fully the problem of space limitations as well as the size differences between Roma and Augustus, who were shown four times life-size, and Livia and Tiberius, who were three times life-size. An arrangement where Livia and Tiberius occupy the pronaos acknowledges their secondary position in relation to the two major cult deities of the temple since at the time of the dedication, Livia and Tiberius were both still alive; their secondary placement is confirmed further by their lower position in the dedicatory inscription.

Scholars also debate the location of the remaining dynastic sculpture. Several limestone blocks of a statuary base found at the southern edge of the podium of the Temple of Rome and Augustus have been connected with the chariot group of Germanicus and Drusus Caesar. The base is approximately seven meters long and six meters wide, and it has

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since the statues were acrolithic, they would need to be in a sheltered area to protect their perishable wooden core and drapery.

[114] Boschung 2002, 14-18, notes that parallels may have been emphasized further through statuary type, attributes, and drapery. Boschung also suggests that originally, only one cult image was planned for each cella and that these plans were later adapted at the time of Augustus' death to accommodate portraits of Tiberius and Livia. Aurigemma 1940, 25, earlier proposed that all four seated statues were placed along the back wall of the single cella, with Roma and Augustus in the middle flanked by Tiberius and Livia.

[115] Boschung 2002, 14-18. The cameos Boschung cites as comparanda include the Gemma Augustea in Vienna, another cameo fragment in Vienna with Roma sitting next to Caligula, each with their own throne, and the Grand Camée of France.

five cuttings for the hooves of horses preserved on its top.[116] The configuration of these cuttings suggests that the horses, and presumably the chariot as well, were of bronze and about one and a half to two times life-size. In addition, the maximum width of the chariot base has been estimated at 5.30 meters.[117] The front of the base carries a Latin dedicatory inscription for Germanicus and Drusus Caesar.[118] As discussed above, a detailed study by Trillmich has shown that the titles of the *principes* date the monument after 23 CE and that the group is therefore a posthumous commemoration.[119]

The two *principes* thus stood together in a bronze quadriga atop a large base located near the Temple of Rome and Augustus. Since the foundations for the base do not survive, the exact location of the group remains unclear. Originally, S. Aurigemma placed the group within the temple itself, but recent scholars generally agree that the monument was situated in the middle of the rostrum.[120] Such a position means that the quadriga dominated the forum space and could be seen every day from multiple locations, in contrast to the statues within the temple itself.[121] Based on the order of names in the statuary base inscription, scholars place Germanicus to the viewer's left and Drusus to the right.[122] The number of bronze horses is not known since traces survive of five hooves, but some blocks of the base

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[116] Aurigemma 1940, 28; Trillmich 1988; Rose 1997, 182-184; Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, 231-25.

[117] Size estimations for the monument are given in Boschung 2002, 14-18; Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, 231-25.

[118] *IRT* no. 334; Trillmich 1988. Seven damaged blocks were recovered; five form part of a single text while the other two are apparently from a duplicate text.

[119] Trillmich 1988.

[120] Aurigemma 1940, 26; Trillmich 1988; Rose 1997, 182-184; Boschung 2002, 14-18; Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, 231-235.

[121] Boschung 2002, 14-18. The sculpture considered here thus constitutes a single dynastic dedication, but it was not viewed as a cohesive sculptural display.

[122] Rose 1997, 182-184; Boschung 2002, 14-18. Germanicus' name appeared first in the inscription.

are missing and some of the horses' hooves may have been raised.[123] It is certain, however, that the two figures were shown in a single quadriga based on the epigraphic testimony and the fact that there was not enough space for two chariots. This format is uncommon in terms of what is known about Roman triumphal processions, yet the extant heads bear no traces of other triumphal regalia (i.e. wreaths), so that any allusion to triumph within this group was not consistent.[124] The shared quadriga may be seen then as another reflection of the attempt by the citizens of Leptis Magna to conflate the two senatorial decrees for Germanicus and Drusus.[125]

The mixture of different materials was also unusual and certainly made the monument more impressive.[126] The bronze horses and quadriga would have contrasted with the marble heads of the *principes* and their bodies, which were perhaps covered in metal armor.[127] Yet because of this unusual contrast in materials, along with other peculiarities of the group, Di Vita and Livadiotti argue that the extant heads of the *principes* are different images than those mentioned in the Neo-Punic inscriptions.[128] The authors thus believe that Germanicus

[123] Typically Roman chariots are shown with the horses' one front hoof raised, but Boschung 2002, 14-18, believes that the horses at Leptis Magna had both front hooves raised.

[124] Rose 1997, 182-184; Boschung 2002, 14-18. For example, Vespasian and Titus drove in two different chariots in their joint triumph in 70 CE. The victor could let his children ride with him, as Germanicus did in his triumph of 17 CE, but two *triumphators* in a single chariot was rare.

[125] Rose 1997, 182-184.

[126] Boschung 2002, 14-18.

[127] Boschung 2002, 14-18. Rose 1997, 182-184, however, describes the statues as entirely of marble.

[128] Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, 231-235. The peculiarities include the fact that the marble heads are about twice life-size whereas the horses and chariot are at most one and a half times life-size; the head of Germanicus is unfinished in the back, which suggests that it was viewed from the front; and the head of Drusus has a metal tang in the back, which suggests it was attached to some sort of support. The features of the heads thus do not agree with a display context that could be viewed from all sides. Cf. Trillmich, 1988, 53 however, who says that the horses were closer to 1.8 times life-size and that the heads were meant to be viewed from all sides. Also, other examples of Julio-Claudian art with size discrepancies between humans and animals exist. For examples see Kleiner 1992, figure 63 (frieze from Temple of Apollo Sosianus), figure 66 (Mantua Relief),

and Drusus appeared twice in different media (figure 4.15). They argue that the chariot group included bronze portraits, which do not survive, and that the preserved marble heads belong to two freestanding statues of Germanicus and Drusus that would have stood in front of the columns of the temple.

Several problems arise with this interpretation, however. First, the quadriga group clearly is mentioned in the dedicatory inscription and should not be disassociated from the rest of the dynastic sculpture. Second, the "peculiarities" of the two heads are not agreed upon unanimously and some features, like the roughly worked backsides, can be explained in other ways.[129] Finally, Boschung theorizes that the acrolithic statues of the *principes* were dressed in bronze armor.[130] If this were true, then the material of the group would have been more unified than Di Vita and Livadiotti suggest.

The four female statues representing the wives and mothers of Germanicus and Drusus Caesar presumably were displayed near the quadriga group, but their precise location is uncertain. Di Vita and Livadiotti place them to the sides of the two marble statues of the *principes* in front of the temple columns (figure 4.15).[131] Rose situates two on each side of the chariot on the rostrum, with Agrippina the Elder and Livilla (the wives) on the viewer's left and Antonia the Younger and Vipsania Agrippina (the mothers) to the right, based on the

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figure 78 (southwest panel of *Ara Pacis*), figure 80 (southeast panel of *Ara Pacis*), figure 86 (Belvedere altar), figure 117 (Louvre *Suovetaurilia*), figures 119-120 (*Ara Pietatis Augustae*), figure 126 (Grand Camée de France), figure 129 (Boscoreale cup).

[129] See note 128 above. The rough treatment of the back of the heads could be due to later re-use of the portraits. See Boschung 2002, 14-18.

[130] Boschung 2002, 14-18.

[131] Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, 231-235, specifically place these six statues in front of the first and last three columns of the front colonnade. The statues of Germanicus and Drusus occupied the center (in front of the third and sixth columns); the wives (Agrippina the Elder and Livilla) the second and seventh columns; the mothers (Antonia the Younger and Agrippina Vipsania) the corner pillars. The authors note but do not discuss the size differentiation between these figures; Germanicus and Drusus were about two times life-size whereas the women were one and a half times life-size.

order of names in the dedicatory inscription (figures 4.12, 4.13).[132] Boschung, basing his arrangement on the extant sculpture, notes that the statues of Agrippina the Elder and Antonia the Younger look to the right and are in symmetrical poses, which he takes as evidence that the wife and mother of Germanicus were located on the left side of the quadriga (figure 4.11).[133] Correspondingly, the wife and mother of Drusus, who look to the left and are likewise in similar poses, were located to the right. In the end, with no extant statue bases for the four female figures, it is impossible to confirm their original display context. Given that the women were named in the dedicatory inscription by their relationships with Germanicus and Drusus, it seems probable that their statues were near those of the *principes* in order to express these same relationships visually.

The original positioning of the wives and mothers may be unclear, but the inclusion of these four women within the dynastic dedication is significant. This especially is true considering that the traditional formula for groups of this period was to emphasize Tiberius' role as father of Germanicus and Drusus.[134] Instead, the group at Leptis Magna highlights the fact that Germanicus and Drusus were not biologically related. Rose describes the dynastic display at Leptis Magna in relation to the confusing imperial policy regarding Germanicus' father; in some instances Drusus I is named as the father while in others Tiberius is listed. Thus, the designers at Leptis Magna chose to overlook the issue of paternity and instead focus on female relatives.[135] In this way, they highlighted the importance of women for ensuring the continuity of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, but at the

[132] Rose 1997, 182-184.

[133] Boschung 2002, 14-18.

[134] Rose 1997, 30.

[135] Rose 1997, 30.

same time, the designers still maintained a clear hierarchy among the statues. The women were shown slightly smaller than Germanicus and Drusus, were entirely of marble, and probably occupied peripheral positions to either side of the large chariot group. The representation of the wives and mothers of the *principes* in the everyday dress of noble Roman women further contrasted with the god-like depictions of Augustus, Tiberius, and Livia as well as the armored figures of Germanicus and Drusus.[136] The dedication at Leptis Magna therefore acknowledged the important role of women in perpetuating the dynasty but simultaneously gave prominence to the male emperor and his heirs.

Phase Two (?)

Rose proposes that two additional portraits should be associated with the dynastic monument at Leptis Magna and constitute a separate, later phase dated to the reign of Caligula. These include a portrait of Tiberius Gemellus (0.24 m), the only son of Drusus Caesar, and a portrait of Julia Livilla (0.225 m), the youngest daughter of Caligula.[137] Rose also suggests that the other siblings of Caligula were represented, although no evidence of their portraits survives.

Phase Two: Date and Arrangement of the Sculpture

Rose contends that the two portraits represent a Caligulan phase of the dynastic monument. Since Tiberius Gemellus is shown as a young man before his *depositio barbae*, Rose suggests a date in the early part of Caligula's reign, when Gemellus had been adopted

[136] Boschung 2002, 14-18.

[137] Rose 1997, 182-184. Aurigemma 1940, 84-8, 94 identified the male head as Tiberius Claudius Drusus, the son of Claudius. For Rose's identification see Chapter 8, no. 19. Pieces of the breast and mantle also are preserved. All material was discovered outside the area of the temple.

by the emperor at the age of eighteen.[138] Both of Rose's identifications are questioned by Boschung, who argues instead that the female head is a portrait of Livilla, the wife of Drusus Caesar, and therefore part of the first phase of the dedication. Rose, in contrast, does not believe any remains of Livilla's statue survive because of her *damnatio memoriae* in 32 CE.[139]

Boschung further argues that the head of the young boy does not represent Tiberius Gemellus because it cannot be linked to any known portrait of a Julio-Claudian prince.[140] Boschung instead associates the head with a base for a portrait of a local boy, Gaius Phelyssam.[141] The boy's grandfather, also Gaius, repaved and restored the forum in 53 CE in his grandson's name. The four limestone stelae that record this event stood in front of the Temple of Rome and Augustus and carried bilingual (Neo-Punic and Latin) inscriptions.[142] The original location of the young Gaius' statue remains unclear, but given the find spot of the base near the northern Temple of Hercules, Boschung suggests that the statue stood in this area and therefore near the Temple of Rome and Augustus. The portrait's proximity to the Julio-Claudian dynastic cycle was thus a way for a local family to express their power, wealth, and influence.[143]

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[138] Rose 1997, 182-184.

[139] Rose 1997, 182-184.

[140] Boschung 2002, 10, no. 1.21, 20, notes that shared features exist between this portrait and representations of imperial princes, but believes this is due to elite emulation of imperial portraiture. It also should be noted that associating unidentified portraits with imperial portrait types is a notoriously difficult task, a fact of which Boschung is well aware.

[141] *IRT* no. 615; Aurigemma 1940, 40.

[142] *IRT* no. 338; Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, 241-243.

[143] Boschung 2002, 20.

In the end, Rose's proposed second phase of the dynastic dedication at Leptis Magna is hypothetical and not accepted by the majority of scholars. Boschung's argument is followed here since it identifies the female portrait as a person who is named in the dedicatory inscription and is known undoubtedly to have been included in the sculptural group. Moreover, Rose's theory is problematic since it is based on only one, perhaps two, portraits of imperial family members from the reign of Caligula. No extant material exists of Caligula himself or his other four siblings.

Phase Three

Five inscribed limestone bases confirm an early Claudian phase (ca. 45 CE) for the dynastic monument at Leptis Magna. Based on similar size, material, workmanship, letter forms, and profiles, the bases together have been considered as a later addition to the Tiberian sculptural group.[144] The Latin dedications indicate that *Divus Augustus*, *Diva Augusta* (Livia), Tiberius, Claudius, and Messalina (Claudius' third wife) were represented.[145] The texts do not include the dedicator(s) or the reason for the installation, which has led Boschung to argue that there was another inscription (now lost) with this information that would have been set up near the statues.[146]

Scholars have assigned sculptural material from the forum to these bases, but such attributions are speculative. Rose associates a (posthumous) statue of Tiberius with the early Claudian phase, as well as a figure of Livia as *diva*.[147] Tiberius is shown with the *corona*

[144] Boschung 2002, 10, nos. 1.16-1.20; Højte 2005, 247-248, Augustus 114; 275-276, Tiberius 76.

[145] *IRT* nos. 326, 327, 333, 337, 340. Højte 2005, 305, Claudius 73.

[146] Boschung 2002, 18-21.

civica and in a standing Jupiter type, perhaps holding a scepter in his right hand. Livia wears both a diadem and an *infula*, or sacred fillet, to reflect her divine status. She is seated, but Rose argues that the two portions of the statue should not be connected and that the upper half belongs to a standing statue.[148] Boschung further suggests that a portrait of Claudius wearing the *corona civica* may belong to this phase.[149]

Phase Three: Date and Arrangement of the Sculpture (figure 4.19)

The inscription in honor of Claudius can be dated precisely to 45 – 46 CE because it mentions the emperor's fifth *tribunicia potestas*. The other inscribed bases support this date for the entire dedication; the base for Livia honors the empress as *diva*, a title she received in 41 CE, and the base for Tiberius lacks any official titles, which suggests a posthumous dedication.[150] The inscription for Messalina was erased later, most likely after her *damnatio memoriae* in 48 CE. Her statue presumably was destroyed or reworked at this time.[151]

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[147] Niemeyer 1968, 103, no. 77; Kreikenbom 1992, 185, III.45; 189-190, III.50; Winkes 1995, 182-183, no. 106; Rose 1997, 184-185; Bartman 1999, 179, no. 73; Boschung 2002, 9-10, nos. 1.13-1.14, 18-21. Both marble statues are currently in the Tripoli Archaeological Museum. The portrait of Livia originally was identified by Aurigemma 1940, 70-74 as Antonia the Younger. For Rose's identification see Chapter 8, no. 2. The statue of Livia was found in 1931 in front of the Temple of Rome and Augustus; the statue of Tiberius was found in 1934 in the rear of the same temple. See Aurigemma 1940, 80, 94. Rose notes that the dedicators at Leptis did not copy the portrait type of Tiberius from his acrolithic statue in the Temple of Rome and Augustus. Rather, they selected a posthumous type for the portrait of the later group, which Rose sees as suggesting that the head was ordered specially. Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, 243-244, associate both of these statues with the later Claudian phase.

[148] Rose 1997, 184-185, argues that no clear join between the two pieces and no correspondence in the treatment of the drapery exist. As for the portrait, Rose contends that since it is in the "Salus Augusta" type, the dedicators must have ordered a new contemporary model rather than copying the "nodus" type of the statue of Livia in the Temple of Rome and Augustus. Bartman 1999, 179, no. 73, does not agree with Rose's view that the head should be disassociated from the body, but she does not provide reasons for her opinion.

[149] Boschung 2002, 10, no. 1.15, 18-21. The head was found in 1934 behind the Temple of Rome and Augustus, outside the Byzantine wall. See Aurigemma 1940, 94.

[150] Aurigemma 1940, 30-35; Rose 1997, 184-185; Boschung 2002, 18-21; Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, 243-244.

None of the five extant bases were found *in situ*, so the original location of this later installation is unclear.[152] Scholars generally assume, however, that it was positioned near the Temple of Rome and Augustus and in close proximity to the Tiberian dedication as a way to connect the current emperor and imperial household with the earlier members of the Julio-Claudian *gens*.[153] At least one scholar, however, has proposed a location in the basilica at the southern end of the forum, opposite the Temple of Rome and Augustus.[154] The author claims that such a position would have caused the forum to be framed by Julio-Claudian statues, effectively making the public space a monument dedicated to the imperial dynasty. With either display context, though, the dedicators of the Claudian cycle clearly wished to expand upon the Tiberian group in order to associate themselves with the power and wealth of the previous donors as well as with the imperial family.

The arrangement of the individual statues also is unclear given that the original context of the bases is not preserved. Rose suggests that the figures of Claudius and Messalina may have been juxtaposed with those of Augustus and Livia, thereby forming a male/female pairing similar to the Tiberian dedication. Rose further suggests that Augustus and Claudius were shown in a standing Jupiter type like Tiberius.[155] Similar statue types would serve to unify the group and emphasize the strength and continuity of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

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[151] Rose 1997, 184-185; Boschung 2002, 18-21; Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, 243-244. The inscription was erased without receiving a new dedication.

[152] Aurigemma 1940, 30.

[153] Rose 1997, 184-185; Boschung 2002, 18-21. Boschung suggests a location between the two roads that led into the forum on either side of the Temple of Rome and Augustus.

[154] Bullo 2002, 183-184.

[155] Rose 1997, 184-185.

Phase Four

The fourth phase of the dynastic dedication in the *Forum Vetus* has two and possibly four statues associated with it. Scholars agree that two seated marble figures of Augustus as *divus* and Claudius belong to this phase.[156] Both statues are in seated Jupiter types and crowned with the *corona civica*. Augustus' left arm was upraised, presumably with a scepter, and his lowered right arm held a globe. Both of Claudius' arms were lowered, and he may have held a globe in his right hand.[157] No bases survive for the two statues.

While Rose associates only the two figures with this phase, Boschung as well as Di Vita and Livadiotti include two additional seated female statues, which presumably represent Livia and Agrippina the Younger.[158] The statue of Livia is the same seated figure described above, which Rose argues was reconstructed erroneously from two different statues, one standing and one seated.[159] The figure of Agrippina the Younger no longer survives, but its presumed presence in the group is based on excavation reports of the temple that mention "numerosi frammenti di quattro grandi statue sedute in marmo bianco."[160]

The identifications of the two female statues are based on historical probability and genealogical ideology. Livia was the wife of Augustus and grandmother of Claudius, so her presence would legitimize the transfer of power from the Julian to the Claudian line. Moreover, Agrippina the Younger was the biological great-granddaughter of Augustus and

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[156] Stuart 1938, 76, no. 34; Aurigemma 1940, 80; Niemeyer 1968, 206, nos. 89-90; Maderna 1988, 166, JT3; 191-192, JT43; Kreikenbom 1992, 173, III 28; 199-200, III 63; Boschung 1993, 122, no. 30; Rose 1997, 185; Boschung 2002, 9, nos. 1.11-1.12, 18-21. Both statues are now in the Archaeological Museum of Tripoli.

[157] Rose 1997, 185; Boschung 2002, 9. Aurigemma 1940, 82, figure 59, restores a lituus and a globe in the hands of Claudius, but Rose notes that these are modern restorations.

[158] Boschung 2002, 9-10, no. 1.13, 18-21; Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, 243-244.

[159] See note 148 above.

[160] Aurigemma 1940, 80-82, 91; Musso 2008, 179.

wife of Claudius. She therefore held a similar intermediary role in connecting the two lines of the dynasty. As with the figures of Augustus and Claudius, no bases survive for either of these female images.

Phase Four: Date and Arrangement of the Sculpture (figure 4.20)

In associating the female statues with this Claudian phase, recent authors follow the original excavator, G. Guidi, who argued that the four seated statues correspond to the four inscribed stelae mentioned above that record in Latin and Neo-Punic the restoration and renewal of the forum by Gaius, son of Anno. These stelae indicate that something not explicitly mentioned in the text was dedicated on the occasion of the renewal of the forum to the emperor Claudius. Scholars therefore see these statues as relating to the unknown dedication.[161] If this hypothesis is valid, the fourth phase of the monument at Leptis Magna dates to 53 CE based on the imperial titles.

In addition, the Latin versions of the text name the donors for the unknown Claudian dedication as two Roman officials, M. Pompeius Silvanus, proconsul of Africa, and Q. Cassius Gratus, *legatus pro praetor* of Africa.[162] The names and offices of these two men contrast markedly with those of the first Tiberian dedication, the suffetes Balyathon and Bodmelqart. F. Cenerini argues that Roman imperial officials often would undertake such dedications in the provinces out of a concern for establishing and increasing the support of an emperor.[163] Concern for the imperial image would have been especially high following the reign and assassination of Caligula. Thus, the second Claudian phase of the monument at

[161] Rose 1997, 185; Boschung 2002, 18-21. Cf. Musso 2008.

[162] *IRT* no. 338; Rose 1997, 185; Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, 241-243.

[163] Cenerini 2006.

Leptis Magna may be seen as an attempt by Roman officials, who essentially were local representatives of the imperial government, to legitimize visually Claudius' rule and in turn, establish their own authority in the province. This concern on the part of the dedicators for their placement and prominence within the imperial system is underscored by the fact that their names appear only in the Latin versions of the text and not in the Neo-Punic.

These four bilingual stelae also are useful for understanding how the sculpture was arranged. Three stelae were found *in situ* in front of the podium of the Temple of Rome and Augustus, above the slabs of new paving.[164] The fourth stele, which was located at the southeast corner of the temple, is not preserved but its size and location are suggested by marks on the pavement slabs. The four stelae were not spaced equally with respect to the front of the podium, but were arranged symmetrically in two pairs near the corners, leaving a larger space in the center. Scholars therefore see these four stelae as indicating the positions of the four Julio-Claudian statues.[165] Boschung argues that Claudius and Augustus were placed closer to the center, while Livia and Agrippina the Younger were situated as counterparts on the periphery.[166] Rose further suggests that since the head of Claudius is turned to his right, he probably was seated to the right of the rostrum and therefore Augustus was to the left.[167]

The juxtaposition of two sets of enthroned portraits effectively framed the figures and quadriga group of the earlier dynastic dedication and legitimized Claudius' reign by

[164] Aurigemma 1940, 35-40; Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, 241-243.

[165] Maderna 1988, 166, JT3; Rose 1997, 185; Boschung 2002, 18-21; Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, 241-243.

[166] Boschung 2002, 18-21.

[167] Rose 1997, 185, argues that such an arrangement parallels the enthroned statues of Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius in the forum at Rome.

displaying him alongside his Julio-Claudian ancestors.[168] Claudius and *Divus Augustus*, in particular, clearly were intended to serve as pendants since they both are represented in a seated Jupiter type with a nude upper body except for the draped mantle, and both wear the *corona civica*.[169] Correspondences also exist in the positioning of their lower legs and their attributes. Nonetheless, Augustus' divine status was designated by a metal aureole and a scepter. Thus, as Boschung notes, if earlier in the Tiberian period a connection had been drawn between the dynastic founder and reigning emperor in the cellae of the temple, in the second Claudian phase, such an association was exhibited ostentatiously and publicly in the forum.[170]

Phase Five (?)

Rose proposes a potential fifth phase for the Julio-Claudian dynastic monument at Leptis Magna, but as with the third phase, this theory is hypothetical and not based on any firm evidence. As Rose argues, "it seems logical that statues of Agrippina II and Nero were added to the group after A.D. 50, although no evidence of these additions survives, and Messalina's base has not been re-used for Agrippina." Rose further suggests that an additional statue of Claudius (the head that Boschung associates with the first Claudian phase) was added to the group after 54 CE.[171] The present study does not support a Neronian

[168] Claudius was the grandson of Livia, the son of Antonia, and the brother of Germanicus, all of whom were represented in earlier phases of the dynastic monument at Leptis Magna.

[169] Rose 1997, 185; Boschung 2002, 18-21.

[170] Boschung 2002, 18-21. Without going into as much detail, Rose 1997, 185, also argues that the two figures were meant as counterparts.

[171] Rose 1997, Chapter 8; 184-185, no. 2.

phase for the dedication at Leptis Magna, however, due to a lack of epigraphic and archaeological evidence.

In the end, the Julio-Claudian monument at Leptis Magna represents one of the richest and most complete examples of an imperial dynastic group. Indeed, at no other site discussed so far has there been an agglutinative statuary group of this nature. With three, and potentially five phases, the Julio-Claudian installation dominated the forum at Leptis Magna and permanently changed the function and form of the space. In addition to serving the socio-political and religious needs of Leptis Magna, under the Julio-Claudians the forum also became a dynastic monument that honored the imperial household and visually expressed the wealth and continuing influence of local patrons and their families through multiple generations.

The base for the young Gaius Phelyssam suggests that local patrons may have included portraits of themselves and their families in the vicinity of the imperial statues, but extant dedicatory inscriptions confirm that texts had an important role in an ancient viewer's interpretation of the monument. The Neo-Punic inscriptions on the architrave, the Latin dedication on the base of the quadriga monument, and the bilingual stelae demonstrate that local traditions endured at the same time as Roman customs were being adopted.[172] In this way, the dynastic group at Leptis Magna had significance for audiences at the local, imperial, and international levels.[173] The following discussion attempts to explore in more detail the

[172] Kreikenbom 2008, argues that the people of Leptis Magna participated in Roman society and culture through coinage, portraiture, and epigraphy, but they always maintained features of their own local culture.

[173] Boschung 2002, 14-18, is the only scholar to address the issue of audience, and even his discussion is rather brief. Also see Musso 2008, 168, who cautions against overemphasizing the local elements of the inscription and suggests that there may be a lost Latin version of the Neo-Punic text.

local meaning of the Julio-Claudian monument by situating it within the broader honorific landscape of Leptis Magna.

The Sculpture from the Temple of Rome and Augustus in the Forum Vetus *in Context*

Based on the find spots of extant material (figure 4.17), the preferred display sites for honorific monuments at Leptis Magna correspond to areas developed architecturally under Augustus and the Julio-Claudians. The problematic nature of assessing material based on find spots has been noted before, but it must be emphasized that material often was re-used and relocated in late antiquity. For example, at Leptis Magna the high-quality limestone from Ras el-Hammam first was exploited in the Augustan period and then used for all public inscriptions and buildings during the first and into the early second centuries CE. After this time, the limestone was replaced by imported marble and coarser qualities of limestone that were quarried from Ras el-Hammam after the earlier, better stone had been depleted. As a result of the exhaustion of the earlier limestone, building material from the first century BCE was re-used often in secondary contexts. Some of the original limestone columns from the Temple of Rome and Augustus, for instance, were re-used in the passage that connected the amphitheater and the circus. Later, much material would be removed from its original location in order to build the Byzantine wall. What archaeologists today are really looking at, then, are developments and display preferences of later periods.

The re-use and re-purposing of material does not mean general conclusions cannot be drawn, however. The amount of evidence found in the *Forum Vetus*, including the focus group of this chapter, as well as in the chalcidicum, market, and theater suggests that these were major "nodes" of honorific display in the late first century BCE and early first century

CE. Of the twelve imperial individual honors with preserved material, seven (58%) come from these nodes, two (17%) from the *Forum Vetus*, two (17%) from the market, two (17%) from the theater, and one (8%) from the chalcidicum (figure 4.22). For the two known imperial group honors, all (100%) were discovered in one of these locales; one (50%) comes from the chalcidicum and the other (50%) is the multi-phase focus group from the *Forum Vetus* (figure 4.23).

The tendency to erect statuary in the *Forum Vetus* was probably due to several factors. The development of the space dates back to the original Phoenician settlement, so it was a historically important site with ties to Leptis Magna's founding. Moreover, the area housed some of the city's oldest cults, including Liber Pater, Hercules, and Milk'ashtart, whose cult in the central temple was replaced later with that of the Roman emperors. The area was close to the shore, which provided an impressive backdrop. It was also a short distance from the port and located at the end a major road, the *cardo maximus*, which meant that it was one of the first areas encountered by a visitor entering Leptis Magna. The history, religiosity, and centrality of the site thus lent honorific monuments a certain solemnity and civic importance.

The *Forum Vetus* was also a political and administrative center as well as a social place of gathering. Accordingly, the large, open space at the center of the forum was framed by not only temples, but by porticoes and a basilica as well. The facades of these monumental buildings created an impressive backdrop against which statuary could be displayed. The multi-functional nature of the space also meant that there were consistently large numbers of people passing through, which surely fueled the competition to erect

statuary here. Indeed, we can imagine in the central paved space a "forest" of statues developing over time in a fashion similar to the other sites of this investigation.

In addition to the *Forum Vetus*, the chalcidicum, market, and theater also preserve relatively large amounts of honorific material. The three structures stood adjacent to one another on the *cardo maximus* in the northern part of the city, but their enclosed layouts did not allow for visual comparisons among their statuary dedications. As with the forum, these structures likely were preferred areas of display due to the large number of visitors who could regularly view their monuments. These three buildings also were highly decorated, which provided attractive backdrops for statuary. Moreover, honorific displays from the theater and chalcidicum, as well as those from the *Forum Vetus*, suggest a strong correlation between Augustan and Julio-Claudian honorific monuments and sites of the imperial cult and other sacred buildings.[174] A large group of the Julio-Claudian dynasty was set up in front of the Temple of Rome and Augustus. Another family group came from the sacellum of the chalcidicum dedicated to the *Numen Augusti*. Finally, a statue of Livia in the guise of Ceres was erected in a small temple at the top of the cavea of the theater. The physical settings of each of these groups varied considerably, but the common cultic aspect of the dedications suggests that patron(s) selected display sites that would connect their donation(s) with the worship of the emperor and his family.

The focus group of this chapter thus comes from a long-established and popular area of display, which affected the viewing experience of its statuary. As noted, there was probably a "forest" of honorific dedications in the *Forum Vetus*, with statues competing for a viewer's attention. The dynastic statues located outside the Temple of Rome and Augustus

[174] For more on religion and the imperial cult at Leptis Magna see Squarciapino 1966, 52-56; Di Vita, et al. 1999, 32-37; Cenerini 2006; Musso 2008.

would have been a part of this competition, but their elevated, central position and high quality material distinguished them from other honors. The large quadriga of Germanicus and Drusus Caesar (phase one) and divine types of the seated Claudius and Augustus (phase four) also made the dynastic ensemble noteworthy. Thus, the imperial dedication was designed and displayed in such a way that made it preeminent within its surroundings.

Visitors to the *Forum Vetus* would experience the imperial dynastic group differently according to how they entered the space and where they stood. A person could enter the forum from passages located to the sides of the three northern temples, or from a passageway on the southwest side. A visitor using the passages adjacent to the temples initially would see the statues at close range and from the side. I think the standing dynastic images would have been too shallow for a visitor to see them successfully from such a viewpoint. Moreover, the figures would have obscured the quadriga group. As one continued into the forum, his back would be to the group. If the visitor turned too soon, the statues probably would have been too high to view comfortably; the inscriptions of the four stelae and quadriga group would have been closer to eye level. It appears, then, that the optimal view for a visitor entering through the lateral temple passages was from the center of the forum square. From this vantage point, the quadriga group dominated the viewing axis and was balanced by the peripheral statues of seated emperors and imperial women. The massive columns of the three northern temples served as the backdrop for the statuary display, thereby associating the dynasty with the city's tutelary deities and reminding citizens of imperial benefaction. The size and magnitude of the entire ensemble alongside the monumental temples upraised on podiums must have been overwhelming for the ancient viewer.

A visitor using the northern entrances was thereby required to enter the forum, walk half its length, and turn around in order to achieve optimal viewing of the dynastic group. In contrast, visitors using the entrance on the southwest side would enter and only need to walk a few steps to achieve the same view. Clearly, then, the patrons at Leptis Magna arranged the statues for those entering from the southwest side, which makes sense since the city's *cardo maximus* ended at this entrance.

The ensemble in the *Forum Vetus* also included statues in the pronaos of the Temple of Rome and Augustus and inside the temple's cella. A display behind the colonnade would hinder visibility and accessibility, and this parallels the limited viewing of the two cult images in the cella(e). As Boschung describes, the doors of the cella(e) would have been open only for certain rituals and religious celebrations.[175] This meant that, while the majority of the population on any given day could view the exterior sculpture of the dynastic cycle, they could not see regularly the interior statues that had been removed from the competitive "forest" of honorific dedications. Restricting the visibility of and interaction with these four statues, whether with columns or doors, to a small minority of the population ultimately created a hierarchy among the dynastic images, which, in turn, emphasized the prominence of the interior figures as well as the privileges of the city's elite and their close relationship with the imperial household. This hierarchy was not only based on visibility and accessibility, but on cultic function as well. Roma and Augustus, as the cult images of the temple, held greater significance than the figures in the open space of the forum that were not venerated.

[175] Boschung 2002, 14-18. Even when the doors were opened, visibility would have been restricted by the colonnade, the dimness of the narrow, deep cella(e), and the frontal position of the statues.

It remains unclear how the statues associated with the third phase of the dynastic dedication contributed to the overall viewing experience since the original location of this phase's sculpture is not known. Five inscribed statue bases from 45/6 CE confirm that the third phase honored Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta, Tiberius, Claudius, and Messalina. Cuttings on the bases further indicate that each supported a single standing life-size portrait. The rough treatment on the backsides also suggests that the statues originally were displayed against a wall or in a niche. Find spots are vaguely recorded, however, and the inscriptions do not preserve the dedicator(s) names or motivations, so there is little information for reconstructing the original display context.

As discussed earlier, scholars hypothesize that the statues from this phase stood near either the Temple of Rome and Augustus and the Tiberian dedication or the basilica at the southern end of the forum, opposite the Temple of Rome and Augustus. It would seem unlikely that additional statues could have been accommodated near the temple given the number and size of figures already installed there. A position on the southern side of the forum is more probable since the Claudian installation would have balanced that of the Tiberian period and enhanced the Julio-Claudian presence in the forum overall (figure 4.20). This interpretation is supported further by the above consideration of how visitors to the forum entered and experienced the Tiberian installation. It was shown that those entering the *Forum Vetus* from the northern entrances would have had to enter the forum with their backs to the dynastic group and walk half the length of the forum before being able to turn around and successfully view the ensemble. By placing the Claudian statues on the southern side of the forum, then, a new Julio-Claudian dynastic focal point was provided for visitors using the

lateral temple passages. Those visitors entering from the southwest entrance would have had optimal views of both dynastic installations.

Like the other sites considered so far, both single patrons and the city itself set up honors to the imperial family at Leptis Magna in the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods. Of the twelve individual honors, five have the names of the dedicators preserved; two (17%) name the people of Leptis Magna and three (25%) name individuals (figure 4.24). The two group honors from this period both were set up by private benefactors (figure 4.25). The extant inscriptions also demonstrate that individual donors could be either local citizens or Roman magistrates, who, as discussed above, often had different motivations for erecting monuments honoring the imperial household.[176] Roman officials were focused on the immediate goal of establishing their authority within the province and legitimizing the current emperor's right to rule. Citizens of Leptis Magna, on the other hand, were seeking not only to tie themselves to the emperor and his family, but also to advertise and maintain their power at the local level for multiple generations.

This notion is well illustrated by the bilingual dedicatory inscription of the theater. In contrast to the inscription of the market, which was a foundation by the same man, Annobal Tapapius Rufus, the theater inscription does not list the proconsul or representatives of the city.[177] Rather, it names Augustus along with the offices, titles, and family members of Annobal Tapapius. In the center of the inscription's second line, a *dextrarum iunctio* is carved in relief, situated between the words *patre* and *patriae*.[178] In this way, Annobal Tapapius employed Roman elements, both visual and textual, for the dedication of a local

[176] Cenerini 2006.

[177] *IRT* nos. 321-323 (theater); 319 (market).

[178] Kreikenbom 2008.

foundation in order to legitimize his influence within the city and among the local elites. In effect, the patron drew a parallel between the *Concordia* of his family and that of the emperor.

The names of the individual dedicators at Leptis Magna also are noteworthy for the information they provide on the Punic origins of the population in the Roman period. The forms of the names are Roman (i.e. *tria nomina*), but a philological analysis demonstrates that the names have Phoenician roots (e.g. Annobal Tapapius, Bodmelqart Tabahpi, Suphunibal, Iddibal Caphada, Himilkon, etc.).[179] Yet some of these same names have a "Romanized" aspect as well, such as Annobal Tapapius Rufus and Iddibal Caphada Aemilius. The preservation of the city's pre-Roman heritage also is evident in the continued use of Neo-Punic writing, sometimes even for monumental building inscriptions, and in the Punic titles for officials (e.g. sufete). According to M.F. Squarciapino, the Punic and Roman elements of the city blended over time, thereby forming a new community that was no longer strictly Punic or Roman, but rather Leptian.[180] Moreover, the conflation of local and Roman elements is not restricted to inscriptions, names, and titles, but pervades every aspect of life in Leptis Magna, including architecture, religion, and coinage.[181]

The extant individual and group honors also offer information on the honorands of imperial dedications. The majority of the twelve individual honors were for Augustus (4, 33%), followed by Gaius Caesar (2, 17%), Tiberius (2, 17%), Livia (2, 17%), Drusus Caesar (1, 8%), and Claudius (1, 8%) (figure 4.26). Not surprisingly, the majority of individual

[179] Squarciapino 1966, 47-52.

[180] Squarciapino 1966, 47-52. Also see Downey 1968; Kreikenbom 2008; Musso 2008.

[181] Rose 1997, 182-184, note 23; Kreikenbom 2008; Musso 2008. Hercules and Liber Pater were the patron deities of Leptis Magna and were identified with Melkart and Shadrapa of the Phoenician-Punic pantheon. Augustus was associated with both deities on local coinage. See *RPC* nos. 840-844.

honors also date to the Augustan period (7, 58%). One monument dates to the Tiberian and Claudian periods (8% each), respectively, and three honors (25%) can be dated only tentatively or have dating parameters that overlap multiple Julio-Claudian emperors (figure 4.27). The two group honors are both multi-phase ensembles. The group from the chalcidicum honored the *Numen* of Augustus shortly before the emperor's death, and it then had statues added in the early Tiberian period in honor of *Divus Augustus*, Tiberius, and Drusus the Younger. The agglutinative group from the *Forum Vetus*, whose phases and honorands are discussed above in detail, has confirmed Tiberian and Claudian phases. By the end of the Claudian period, statues had been set up as part of this dedication in honor of Augustus (3; 2 as *divus*), Livia (2 possibly 3; 1 possibly 2 as *diva*), Tiberius (2), Germanicus, Drusus Caesar, Livilla, Vipsania Agrippina, Antonia the Younger, Agrippina the Elder, Claudius (2), Messalina, and possibly Agrippina the Younger.

The preserved material therefore suggests that from the beginning of the Augustan through the Claudian periods, Augustus was the imperial figure honored most often at Leptis Magna. In the *Forum Vetus* alone seven dedications to the first emperor are confirmed. Evidence from the Tiberian and Claudian periods also is well represented, but nothing survives from the reigns of Caligula or Nero. Female honors, as at the other sites of this investigation, are proportionally lower than those of the imperial men, but the prominence of Livia in the archaeological record suggests that she was a common honorand at Leptis Magna. Indeed, Livia is the only Julio-Claudian woman for whom individual honors are attested; all other female imperial images from this period were set up in group contexts.

The architectural development and expansion of Leptis Magna under Augustus and the Julio-Claudian emperors parallels the other two sites of this investigation, Olympia and

Ephesus. Moreover, like these other sites, Leptis Magna had sided with the losing party during the civil wars of the first century BCE. It may seem remarkable, then, that so many magnificent buildings were erected at Leptis Magna in an era characterized by economic hardship and military conflict.[182] Yet the buildings, temples, and monuments in honor of the *princeps* likely were intended as visual affirmations of loyalty and gratitude. Indeed, under Augustus Leptis Magna was freed from Caesar's annual fine of three million pounds of olive oil for its support of Pompey and Juba, was restored its legal status as *libera*, and became a *civitas foederata* in 11 BCE.[183] In addition, with Augustus as emperor the city enjoyed greater autonomy, increased traffic and safety on trade routes into the hinterland, and protection from interior tribes by Roman troops.[184] It is perhaps not surprising, then, that the majority of dedications were set up in the Augustan period and that honors for Augustus outnumber those of any other member of the Julio-Claudian family. Augustus' magnanimity also may explain why, in later periods, patrons added to earlier Augustan monuments or included images of Augustus in group dedications. The first *princeps* had played an important role in the city's early Roman history and its successful integration into the imperial administration of Africa.

Julio-Claudian dynastic comparanda from North Africa is minimal, but it appears to support the conclusions outlined above. Only two additional Julio-Claudian dynastic groups survive from the region, one from Arsinoe and another from Alexandria. The group at Arsinoe dates between 4 and 14 CE and included busts of Augustus as emperor, Livia, and

[182] Squarciapino 1966, 11-16.

[183] Reynolds and Ward Perkins 1952, 73-86; Squarciapino 1966, 5-11; Di Vita, et al. 1999, 18-24. The people of Leptis Magna had provided the forces of Juba and Pompey with arms, soldiers, and money.

[184] Di Vita, et al. 1999, 20.

Tiberius.[185] The portraits originally were located in niches in the amphitheater; their dedicator is unknown. Therefore, in terms of date, honorands, and display site, the group parallels material from Leptis Magna.

The Claudian group (42/3 CE) from Alexandria was set up by the city in honor of Claudius as emperor, Antonia the Younger (mother of Claudius), Messalina (wife of Claudius), and Claudius' children, Octavia III, Antonia III, and Britannicus. Its original location within the city is unclear.[186] The Claudian date is not surprising given that several Claudian honors are confirmed at Leptis Magna, but the choice of honorands is noteworthy. At Leptis Magna, the two Claudian phases of the dynastic group in the *Forum Vetus* showed Claudius with his divinized predecessors and current wife. In contrast, the Alexandrian group represented Claudius with his mother, wife, and three children. In 42/3 CE, Britannicus would have been around two years old and Octavia around three. Based on contemporary Alexandrian coinage, scholars hypothesize that the children were held in the arms of one of the adults.[187] The Tiberian group at Leptis Magna reflected a similar emphasis on mothers and wives, but there was no evidence for images of children. The Claudian dedication at Alexandria thus offered a prospective dynastic arrangement whereas the groups at Leptis Magna were retrospective. The difference is likely due to the fact that the people of Leptis Magna were expressing gratitude for past imperial favor while the Alexandrians were seeking Claudius' help in a recent dispute regarding riots between Jews and Greeks in the city.

[185] Rose 1997, no. 129.

[186] Rose 1997, no. 128.

[187] Rose 1997, 188.

If one looks outside of North Africa to Rome, however, strong parallels can be found for the Julio-Claudian dynastic group in the *Forum Vetus*. The location of the acrolithic images of Livia and Tiberius in the pronaos of the Temple of Rome and Augustus compares to the Pantheon, where statues of Agrippa and Augustus occupied niches in the pronaos.[188] And, as already noted, the quadriga group of Germanicus and Drusus Caesar surrounded by images of their wives and mothers is similar to honorific arches erected in Rome.[189] Moreover, a Claudian group near the Arch of Claudius on the Via Lata included statues of Claudius as emperor, Germanicus, Antonia the Younger, Agrippina the Younger, Nero (before accession), Britannicus, Octavia III, and probably Drusus I.[190] It would appear, then, that the patrons of the group in the *Forum Vetus* at Leptis Magna were familiar with dynastic representations in Rome and used these groups as inspiration when designing local dedications. The similarities between the Temple of Rome and Augustus and temples in Rome noted above further strengthen this argument.[191]

In conclusion, the location of the Temple of Rome and Augustus in the ancient core of Leptis Magna, the prominence of the structure in terms of its size and position, the temple's cultic function, and its parallels to temples in the capital, all combined to make it a desirable site for sculptural display. It is no surprise, then, that a dynastic group of the imperial family was set up here at the initiative of local officials. Nor is it surprising that subsequent generations felt it worthwhile to expand the group with additional statues. The dynastic representations in the *Forum Vetus* ultimately became important forms of elite

[188] Rose 1997, 182-184; Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, 231-235; Musso 2008.

[189] See notes 110 and 111 above.

[190] Rose 1997, no. 42.

[191] See note 75 above.

expression both at the local and imperial levels. The strong regional ties of the Julio-Claudian dynastic ensemble and its significance within different groups of society perhaps explain why the statues remained in place until the Byzantine re-conquest of the city.[192] Even after a new forum was established at Leptis Magna, the old political, administrative, and religious center of the city remained an ideal space for honoring the emperor and his family and, in turn, an ideal space for local self-promotion.

[192] Boschung 2002, 11-13. The find spots of the sculpture from the *Forum Vetus* suggest that the statues remained in place until the Byzantine walls were built under Justinian.

The Honorific Landscape of Leptis Magna: Flavian Period through the Third Century CE and Beyond

Flavian Period

In 69 CE the Garamantes waged war with Leptis Magna and the surrounding territories. Valerius Festus and the third Augustan legion drove the tribes from the region thereby improving security and access to the hinterland.[193] The victory is reflected in the growth of the city under the Flavian emperors. The Temple of Magna Mater/Cybele in the *Forum Vetus* was constructed in 71 – 72 CE under the proconsul Q. Manlius Ancharius Tarquitius Saturnius.[194] Iddibal, son of Balsilec, funded the project. In 77 – 78 CE an arch in honor of Vespasian and Titus was erected as a foundation of the proconsul C. Paccius Africanus and his legate Cn. Domitius Ponticus.[195] The extant dedicatory inscription offers no motives for the Flavian arch, and since the inscribed blocks were found either re-used in the Byzantine Gate or scattered nearby, the original location of the arch also is unknown. Yet because the blocks are inscribed on both faces with identical texts, scholars contend that the arch spanned one of the main streets of the city and was located near the Byzantine Gate.[196] The Augustan theater underwent structural alterations during the Flavian period as well. The seats reserved for dignitaries were separated from the stairs for the audience with a limestone balustrade, which was inscribed with the donor's name, Tiberius Claudius Sestius.

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[193] Pliny the Elder, *Nat. Hist.* V.5.38. Also see Squarciapino 1966, 11-16; Di Vita, et al. 1999, 24.

[194] *IRT* no. 300.

[195] *IRT* no. 342; Højte 2005, 336, Vespasian 40; 349, Titus 37. Nothing is known of the legate, but the proconsul is a historical figure and senator whom Tacitus names as the accuser of the Scribonii in 67 CE. See Goodchild 1950, 80.

[196] Goodchild 1950. Goodchild also provides a thorough explanation as to why the blocks must be associated with an arch (size of blocks, spacing of letters, bi-frontal character) and not another type of monument. Moreover, since the blocks were built into the later Byzantine Gate, the arch must have been ruined before or during Justinian's re-conquest of Africa in order to provide material for the new city wall.

The same man paid for the erection of an octagonal altar within the theater near the center of the orchestra in 91 – 92 CE.[197] The Temple of Jupiter Dolichenus near the harbor also may date to this period.[198]

Several extant honorific inscriptions for the Flavian emperors come from Leptis Magna, but their original contexts are unclear due to later re-use or unrecorded find spots.[199] Some of the texts were found in the *Forum Vetus*, however, suggesting that this area remained an important display site for imperial honors.[200] No Flavian freestanding sculpture survives from the city, and no dynastic groups are known.

Nerva and Trajan

No evidence exists of major historical events or architectural projects in Leptis Magna during the reign of Nerva. Under Trajan, the city simultaneously received universal Roman citizenship and colonial status (ca. 109 – 110 CE).[201] In addition to the city's new name (*Colonia Ulpia Traiana Fidelis Lepcis Magna*), Trajan and other members of his family were commemorated in the curial names that organized the population. Eight of the eleven curiae are based on names of the Trajanic household.[202]

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[197] For the inscription on the balustrade see *IRT* no. 347; on the bilingual altar inscription see *IRT* no. 318 and Neo-Punic 32 (page 13 of *IRT*). Also see Squarciapino 1966, 75-80; Sear 1990; Di Vita, et al. 1999, 86.

[198] On the Temple of Jupiter see *IRT* no. 349a (bilingual dedication to Domitian inscribed on architrave block); Reynolds 1951; Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 113-116; Squarciapino 1966, 110-115; Di Vita, et al. 1999, 86.

[199] *IRT* nos. 343, 346, 349, 350, 351.

[200] *IRT* nos. 275, 344, 345, 348.

[201] *IRT* no. 412. Also see Reynolds 1951.

[202] The curial names are preserved in Severan inscriptions: Dacica (*IRT* nos. 413, 541), Germanica (*IRT* nos. 391, 417), Marciana (*IRT* no. 417), Matidia (*IRT* nos. 411, 436), Nervia (*IRT* nos. 411, 414), Plotina (*IRT* no. 411), Traiana (*IRT* no. 413), and Ulpia (*IRT* nos. 416, 421).

The people of Leptis Magna expressed gratitude for their new colony status by erecting an arch in honor of Trajan on the *cardo maximus*, just over forty meters north of the Arch of Tiberius.[203] Like the earlier arch, the Arch of Trajan was simple in form and decoration and was made of limestone. The Arch of Trajan carried three inscriptions, two on the southern (main) façade that faced those coming from outside the city and one on the north. The southern side included the dedication to Trajan in the name of Leptis as *colonia* and the inscription of the proconsul, Q. Pomponius Rufus, who donated the monument.[204] On the northern side a fragmentary inscription preserves the name of a different proconsul, C. Cornelius Rarus Sextius Na[…], who perhaps was responsible for beginning the construction of the arch.[205] The inscription with the dedication to Trajan also mentions *ornamenta*, which presumably refers to figures atop the arch, although no evidence of such decoration survives. There are, however, three preserved panels with inscriptions honoring Nerva,[206] as well as a base and panel in honor of Trajan.[207] No material exists to suggest that a dynastic group from this period was set up at Leptis Magna.

Hadrianic Period

After the expansion of Leptis Magna in the first century CE, the city experienced additional architectural development under Hadrian and it was during Hadrian's reign that marble from Greece, Asia Minor, and Italy began to be imported into Leptis Magna in large

[203] Romanelli 1940; Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 71-76; Squarciapino 1966, 58-61; Di Vita, et al. 1999, 86.

[204] *IRT* nos. 353, 537; Højte 2005, 385, Trajan 86.

[205] *IRT* no. 523. Romanelli 1940, dates the beginning of construction to 107-108 CE.

[206] *IRT* nos. 352 (unrecorded find spot), 355 (from the *Forum Vetus*), 356 (from the *Forum Vetus*).

[207] *IRT* nos. 302 (from the seashore), 354 (from the *Forum Vetus*).

quantities.[208] A monumental Hadrianic bath complex is the first known structure to have its columns and other architectural members in marble.[209] The baths were located in the southeastern part of the city on what appears to have been previously undeveloped land.[210] The preserved dedicatory inscription confirms that the baths were dedicated during the proconsulship of Publius Valerius Priscus in 126 – 127 CE.[211] The water for the bath complex had been routed earlier into the city by a famous citizen, Quintus Servilius Candidus (119 – 120 CE).[212] Other inscriptions presumably mention the contemporary construction of a water line by the same patron to the theater.[213] This line may have serviced the new fountain built in the east corner of the theater's postscaenium by the same man, Quintus Servilius Candidus, in 120 CE.[214]

The inscriptions that mention the water line to the theater and fountain were three duplicate texts on limestone bases that supported dedications to Hadrian.[215] Together, they attest to at least three honors for the emperor erected within the theater complex by Quintus Servilius Candidus around 120 CE. Other dedications to the emperor were set up in the *Forum Vetus*. A rectangular marble base was discovered in the Temple of Liber Pater; it was

[208] Only two first-century CE inscriptions in marble survive (*IRT* nos. 335-336).

[209] Reynolds and Ward Perkins 1952, 73-86; Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 15-31, 99-100; Squarciapino 1966, 89-94; Ward Perkins 1970, 370-390; Di Vita, et al. 1999, 89-98.

[210] This assumption is based on the fact that the baths have a completely different orientation than surrounding streets and buildings.

[211] *IRT* no. 361.

[212] *IRT* no. 357.

[213] *IRT* nos. 358 a-b; 359. For more on the city's water supply see Squarciapino 1966, 43-45.

[214] *IRT* nos. 359, 533. A clepsydra also was erected against the south wall of the quadriporticus behind the stage area, either by Candidus or another man, Lollianus, in the Antonine period. See Caputo 1987; Sear 1990; Tomasello 2005, 37-56, 160-161.

[215] *IRT* nos. 358 a-b; 359; Højte 2005, 424, Hadrian 149-151; Deppmeyer 2008, 155-156, no. 72.

erected by the people of Leptis Magna in 132 – 133 CE.[216] Another inscribed limestone block was built into the outer northeast face of the apse of the Byzantine church (originally a Trajanic building).[217] Additional evidence for honors to Hadrian comes from a building opposite the chalcidicum and the later *Forum Severianum*.[218] No sculptural remains survive from the time of Hadrian, or any evidence of a dynastic group.

Antonine Period

In the Antonine period, the refurbishing of existing structures in marble continued. The market, chalcidicum, theater complex, curia, and porticoes and temples of the *Forum Vetus* (with the exception of the Temple of Liber Pater) all had limestone architectural elements rebuilt in marble.[219] The chalcidicum also had a well and cistern installed, and the fountain of the theater was enlarged and rebuilt in 144 CE by the proconsul L. Hedius Rufus Lollianus Avitus and legate C. Vibius Gallium Claudius Severus.[220] Under the same proconsul, the *scaenae frons* of the theater was enriched with marble columns and statues dedicated at the expense of two citizens, Marcius Vitalis and Junius Galba.[221] Other inscriptions confirm additional renovations of the theater in 156 – 157 CE.[222] Finally, under

[216] *IRT* no. 362; Højte 2005, 424, Hadrian 152.

[217] *IRT* no. 365.

[218] *IRT* no. 363; Højte 2005, 424, Hadrian 148; *IRT* no. 366.

[219] Reynolds and Ward Perkins 1952, 73-86; Squarciapino 1966, 69-89; Ward Perkins 1970, 370-390; Bejor 1979; Di Vita, et al. 1999, 101-102; Musso 2008.

[220] *IRT* no. 533. Also see Caputo and Traversari 1976, 3; Bejor 1979; Sear 1990; Tomasello 2005, 37-56, 114-182.

[221] *IRT* no. 534; Sear 2006, 105.

[222] *IRT* no. 372.

Commodus the Hadrianic baths were expanded and embellished and the city's desert fortifications were strengthened.[223]

New architectural projects also were undertaken in the second century CE. A temple on the *decumanus maximus* may have been built under the Antonine emperors, although its precise function and date remain unclear.[224] The Porta Oea, the gate marking the beginning of the road to Tripoli that subsequently was incorporated into the late-Roman city wall, is thought to have been originally an honorary arch dedicated to Antoninus Pius based on inscriptions found nearby.[225] The monument was built of limestone covered with marble and had rich architectural friezes, which makes it the first known arch at Leptis Magna to use marble and have sculptural decoration. A shrine in honor of Antoninus Pius also was set up on the east side of the *Forum Vetus* in 153 CE by a woman named Calpurnia Honesta.[226]

In 173 – 174 CE a marble-clad arch in honor of Marcus Aurelius was erected on the *decumanus maximus* in the northeast part of the city. The monolithic blocks of the architrave are well preserved and include the dedicatory inscription. The text confirms that C. Avilius Castus and the city itself paid for the construction of the arch and its associated statues. The monument was dedicated by the proconsul, C. Septimius Severus, the uncle of the later emperor Septimius Severus who was born in Leptis Magna in 146 CE.[227] On the same street,

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[223] *IRT* nos. 286, 396; Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 99-100; Squarciapino 1966, 89-94; Ward Perkins 1970, 370-390.

[224] Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 89-90; Squarciapino 1966, 116-122; Di Vita, et al. 1999, 100-101. Many of the inscriptions from the structure date to the Severan period, but the associated statues date from the second century CE. The recent monograph by Tomasello 2011, discusses the temple in depth, including its date, plan, architecture, and cult.

[225] Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 101-104; Squarciapino 1966, 61-62; Di Vita, et al. 1999, 102.

[226] See note 62 above.

[227] *IRT* no. 386; Højte 2005, 552-553, Marcus Aurelius 152; Brendel 1935, 592-593; Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 101-104; Squarciapino 1966, 62-63. The name of C. Avilius Castus reappears in other dedications of a statue (*IRT* no. 560) and a chariot (*IRT* no. 633).

just outside the *Forum Vetus*, two new temples were dedicated to Marcus Aurelius, one between 166 and 169 CE, the other slightly later.[228]

Multiple inscriptions survive for honors to the Antonine emperors, including four texts from the *Forum Vetus* honoring Antoninus Pius. One panel dates to 136 – 139 CE and was erected by the people of Leptis Magna.[229] Other texts were found in the cella of the Temple of Liber Pater along with an elaborate marble console with an inscription honoring Faustina. One of these was probably a dedication of Calpurnia Honesta, the same woman who dedicated the shrine in honor of Antoninus Pius.[230] The people of Leptis Magna set up the other two honors.[231] Two marble fragments of an inscribed panel confirm an additional honor for Antoninus Pius, but while one piece was found in the *Forum Vetus*, the other came from the Hadrianic baths.[232] Furthermore, fragments (now lost) of an inscribed panel for Antoninus Pius were discovered in the *Forum Severianum*, and an inscribed limestone base for the emperor was found beside the central gable of the chalcidicum.[233] Honors for Antoninus Pius also appear to have been erected near the *decumanus*.[234] Finally, multiple dedications to Antoninus Pius are known from the theater; four panels from bases survive as well as a base itself. The dedicators were citizens of Leptis Magna, and in one case, perhaps

[228] Ward Perkins 1970, 370-390.

[229] *IRT* no. 368; Højte 2005, 489, Antoninus Pius 161.

[230] *IRT* no. 371.

[231] *IRT* nos. 369; 380; Højte 2005, 489, Antoninus Pius 163. Also see Musso 2008, who argues that one cannot assume that the inscriptions originally belonged to the cella of the temple, although this is a possibility.

[232] *IRT* no. 374.

[233] *IRT* nos. 367; 316 .

[234] *IRT* nos. 378; 379 . Also see Højte 2005, 489, Antoninus Pius 160.

an augur.[235] A head of Antoninus Pius from the *scaenae frons* of the theater has been associated with the extant base.[236]

The successors of Antoninus Pius likewise were honored at Leptis Magna. A rectangular limestone base discovered beside the *decumanus* confirms a dedication erected by the city for Lucius Verus in January of 161, before the death of Antoninus Pius.[237] A rectangular marble base for Marcus Aurelius also was set up during the reign of Antoninus Pius.[238] A large marble panel from behind the Temple of Rome and Augustus in the *Forum Vetus* carries an inscription in honor of Commodus.[239] Three additional honors to Commodus come from the theater.[240] The only sculptural evidence for individual honors to the Antonine emperors is an armored statue from the Serapeum, which presumably represents Marcus Aurelius.[241]

In addition to the multiple single honors, evidence also survives of an Antonine dynastic group from the *scaenae frons* of the theater. The design of the *scaenae frons* was original to the Augustan theater, but as mentioned above, this area was enriched with marble decoration under the proconsul L. Hedius Rufus Lollianus Avitus at the expense of two

[235] *IRT* nos. 372 ; 373; 375; 377; 376 . Also see Bejor 1987; Højte 2005, 489, Antoninus Pius 159; 489, Antoninus Pius 162; Deppmeyer 2008, 291-292, no. 138.

[236] Tripoli Archaeological Museum (Inv. 33C). Caputo and Traversari 1976, 92, no. 70; Wegner and Unger 1979, 106; Fuchs 1987, 178; Deppmeyer 2008, 291-292, no. 138.

[237] *IRT* no. 381; Højte 2005, 522, Lucius Verus 88.

[238] Højte 2005, 552, Marcus Aurelius 151.

[239] *IRT* no. 384.

[240] *IRT* nos. 382, 383, 385.

[241] Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 89-90; Squarciapino 1966, 116-122.

citizens, Marcius Vitalis and Junius Galba.[242] Slightly later, the *scaenae frons* was embellished further with several statues of the Antonine family, many of which are preserved, including over life-size, acrolithic portraits of Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, Faustina the Elder, Faustina the Younger, Lucilla, and Annia Galeria Aurelia Faustina (?).[243] Given the historical context and identities of the extant heads, the reigning emperor Antoninus Pius is assumed to have been included in the group as well. The date of the cycle is not certain, but the portrait type of Lucilla dates to 164 CE, the year of her marriage to Lucius Verus, thereby providing a *terminus post quem* for the statues.[244] The arrangement of the imperial sculpture also is unclear given the current state of evidence and available publications. Yet one can conclude that by the end of the Antonine period, the theater must have had a rich statuary display comprised of imperial, honorific, divine, and mythological images.[245]

[242] *IRT* no. 534. See Caputo 1987, as well as Sear, 1990; 2006, 105, who discusses the problems of Caputo's chronology and dates the *scaenae frons* to the second century CE.

[243] All the portraits are of Luna marble and currently in the Tripoli Archaeological Museum: Marcus Aurelius (Inv. 482); Lucius Verus (Inv. 481); Faustina the Elder (no details); Faustina the Younger (Inv. 484); Lucilla (Inv. 486); Annia Galeria Aurelia Faustina (Inv. 483). On the portraits see Caputo 1958; De Franciscis 1972; Caputo-Traversari 1976, 92-97, nos. 71-75; Bejor 1979; Wegner and Unger 1980, 35; Fittschen 1982, 45-46, no. 6a; Fuchs 1987, 177-180; Sande 1988; Fittschen 1999, 116, no. 25; Deppmeyer 2008, 287-290, no. 137.

[244] Since the image of Antoninus Pius is not preserved, it is not certain if this was a living or posthumous representation. For the problems of the date see Caputo 1958; Fuchs 1987, 177-180; Sande 1988; Fittschen 1999, 116, no. 25; Deppmeyer 2008, no. 137, 287-290. Fuchs dates the portraits to the early 160s based on portrait types. Caputo dates the cycle to the last decades of the second century CE, and Sande even postulates that the statues may be a Severan installation.

[245] The most thorough study of the theater sculpture is by Caputo and Traversari 1976, who have published more than 120 statues. Also see Squarciapino 1966, 75-80; Bejor 1979, 1987; Fuchs 1987; Fittschen 1999, 116, no. 25, note 570. Bases for deities include *IRT* nos. 270, 276, 277; for private individuals see *IRT* nos. 594, 643.

Severan Period

As mentioned above, Septimius Severus was born in Leptis Magna in 146 CE to an aristocratic family.[246] After Severus became emperor in 193 CE, the city and the province benefitted in many ways. The military defenses of North Africa were strengthened to the south with the erection of a number of new forts and the reinforcement of existing ones. The reorganized *limes* of the city also enhanced the security of the province and its commerce.[247] In 202 CE Leptis Magna received the *ius italicum* so that the inhabitants of the city afterwards were called Lepcitani Septimiani.[248] Around the same time, three and perhaps four curiae added Severan names to their titles in order to honor the new dynasty.[249]

Leptis Magna also benefitted from the patronage of Septimius Severus through the restoration and construction of buildings. Renovations and expansions were undertaken on the theater, market, chalcidicum, amphitheater, and Hadrianic baths.[250] Also, as noted above, a circular exedra was installed in the center of the *Forum Vetus* in the Severan period for statues of the imperial family.[251] As in the first half of the second century CE, marble was

[246] For more on the family of Septimius Severus as well as his early career and rise to power see Ward Perkins 1948; Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 15-31; Squarciapino 1966, 16-21.

[247] Ward Perkins 1948; Reynolds and Ward Perkins 1952, 73-86; Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 15-31; Squarciapino 1966, 16-21.

[248] Two dedications made to Severus and Caracalla in 202 CE (*IRT* nos. 393, 423) and another dedication to Geta in 209 CE (*IRT* no. 441) may refer to this grant. The two inscriptions of 202 CE are also the earliest to use the title of Septimiani. Later texts with the name include *IRT* nos. 400, 404, 410, 415, 429, 435, 442, 450, 452, 453, 457, 459, 460, 620, 621, 283, and 284. See Reynolds and Ward Perkins 1952, 73-86.

[249] *IRT* no. 416 (Severa Augusta, Severa Pia, and Severa Ulpia). See Reynolds and Ward Perkins 1952, 73-86.

[250] *IRT* nos. 396, 601, 603; Reynolds and Ward Perkins 1952, 73-86; Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 77-83, 119-120; Squarciapino 1966, 69-80 129-132; Caputo 1987; Sear 1990; Mierse 1991; Kreetallah 2004.

[251] See note 63 above.

imported into Leptis Magna in large quantities under the Severans and was used to replace the older limestone elements of buildings.[252]

Multiple new building projects were undertaken at Leptis Magna during the Severan period. Utilitarian constructions were completed, such as a large concrete dam that diverted water from the Wadi Lebdah into an artificial channel that emptied about a mile west of the residential area into what is now Wadi Rsaf-er.[253] The port was renewed and expanded with porticoes, warehouses, temples, altars, a lighthouse at the end of the northern pier, and an artificial harbor at the mouth of the Wadi Lebdah.[254] Caracalla was responsible for reorganizing the road network and enhancing the fortifications to the south, as is attested by numerous inscriptions on milestones.[255] The circus of Leptis Magna, located well south of the center of the city on the shore, is also a Severan construction.[256]

Another major monument of the Severan age was a four-way honorary arch located at the intersection of the two main streets of the city. The dedicatory inscription of the arch does not survive, but most scholars associate its erection with Septimius Severus' African

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[252] Ward Perkins 1948; 1951; 1970, 370-390; 1993, 88-103; Squarciapino 1966, 16-21. Also, on the Severan colonnaded street stands a marble block with an inscription (*IRT* no. 530) that mentions marble exports to Leptis Magna made on behalf of Fulvius Plautianus, who was both prefect and a relative of Severus (his daughter was married to Caracalla in 202 CE).

[253] Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 23-31; Squarciapino 1966, 21-23, 42-43. The dam was necessary because of the frequent flooding of the river and silting of the harbor. It is unclear how this problem was dealt with in earlier periods. The dam is dated to the Severan period, probably to the reign of Caracalla, based on material and building techniques.

[254] Ward Perkins 1951; Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 23-48, 113-120; Squarciapino 1966, 110-115; Di Vita, et al. 1999, 112. For the altar see *IRT* no. 292. The altar was a dedication of the centurion T. Flavius Marinus for the return of the emperor *in urbem suam*. Scholars have argued that this provides evidence of a visit by Septimius Severus to Leptis Magna. For more on whether the emperor ever returned to his hometown see Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 31-48; Squarciapino 1966, 16-21.

[255] *IRT* nos. 923-972. Severus Alexander also gave attention to the *limes* of Tripolitania and set up a garrison at Gheriat el-Garbia (*IRT* no. 895).

[256] Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 23-31, 119-120; Squarciapino 1966, 129-132; Di Vita, et al. 1999, 106. The circus was connected to the Neronian amphitheater by two broad passageways.

tour in 203 CE based on its imagery and historical probability.[257] The arch was decorated richly with carved ornamentation, including figured reliefs representing the imperial family in sacrificial and triumphal scenes.[258] One panel also depicts the Severan family in the presence of the patron deities of Leptis Magna, Tyche, Hercules, and Liber Pater. The scene has been interpreted as both symbolizing the *Concordia* of the Severan *gens* and the connection between the imperial family and the city.[259]

Undoubtedly, the grandest Severan project was the monumental quarter located on the northwest bank of the Wadi Lebdah (figure 4.16).[260] The development of this space included a colonnaded street that ran from the harbor, parallel to the wadi, and ended in a monumental piazza with a great nymphaeum.[261] No sculpture or dedicatory inscriptions have been found to confirm a statuary display for the nymphaeum, but scholars suggest that it may have held statues that were intended as pendants to those of the Septizodium in Rome.[262] To the southeast of this street was a bath building, and on the north side was the Severan forum (*Forum Severianum*) and basilica. The forum was a large rectangular space (60 x 100 m)

[257] Ward Perkins 1948; 1951; Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 31-48, 67-70; Squarciapino 1966, 63-69. This date makes the arch at Leptis Magna almost exactly contemporary with the Arch of Septimius Severus in the forum at Rome.

[258] For detailed studies of the iconography of the arch's reliefs see Ward Perkins 1948; 1951; Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 31-48, 67-70; Squarciapino 1966, 63-69; Kleiner 1992, 340-343; Di Vita, et al. 1999, 112-116.

[259] Ward Perkins 1948; 1951; Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 31-48, 67-70; Squarciapino 1966, 63-69.

[260] Ward Perkins 1948; 1951; 1952; 1970, 370-390; 1993, 7-87; Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 23-48; Squarciapino 1966, 95-110; Di Vita, et al. 1999, 116-138. It is uncertain what, if anything, stood in this area before its development by the Severan emperors.

[261] On the nymphaeum see Tomasello 2005, 17-22; Longfellow 2011, 183-185.

[262] Longfellow 2011, 183-185. Longfellow's hypothesis is difficult to prove since the structure is known only through its foundations and later notes and sketches by Renaissance architects. Moreover, the detailed study of the Septizodium and its decorative program by Lusnia 2004, cites comparanda primarily from Greece and Asia Minor, not North Africa.

framed by colonnades.[263] At the southwest end stood an octastyle temple dedicated to the Severan family. The basilica was positioned to the east of the forum and on a slightly different axis. The space between the two sites was filled with a series of tabernae of varying sizes. Epigraphic evidence confirms that this integrated architectural program was begun soon after the accession of Septimius Severus and completed nearly a quarter of a century later.[264]

Numerous individual honors for the Severan household are attested at Leptis Magna. Indeed, the extant evidence demonstrates that the family had more dedications throughout the city than any dynasty of the preceding centuries. Some of these dedications were discussed above in relation to the grant of *ius italicum* and the curial names.[265] The other attested honors typically come from traditional areas of display. Thus, the most Severan monuments were found in the *Forum Vetus*. Here the people of Leptis Magna erected at least four dedications for Septimius Severus.[266] Other inscribed bases confirm that local officials likewise set up honors to the ruler.[267] Furthermore, inscriptions survive that do not name a dedicator, but which nevertheless attest to additional honors for the Severan dynasty.[268] The matriarch of the family, Julia Domna, was honored singly in the forum with a monument set

[263] The name comes from an inscription on the base of a statue for Flavius Petasius (*IRT* no. 566) from the fourth century CE.

[264] The dedicatory inscription for the basilica (*IRT* nos. 427, 428) confirms that the building was dedicated in 216 CE under Caracalla and largely was complete at the time of Severus' death in 211 CE. An inscribed water pipe from the nymphaeum (*IRT* no. 398a) indicates that this feature was well advanced before the death of the emperor. A block of marble from the veneering of the forum (*IRT* no. 530) can be dated as early as 203-205 CE. Due to the unity of design and style, these dates are used for the buildings without epigraphic evidence.

[265] See notes 248 and 249 above.

[266] *IRT* nos. 387; 389; 412; 425.

[267] *IRT* nos. 388; 401.

[268] *IRT* nos. 418; 431.

up by the centurion Messius Atticus and with at least one other base.[269] Geta also was well represented in the forum, although his name appears to have been erased from all extant dedications after his *damnatio memoriae* in 212 CE.[270]

Additional Severan honors come from the market and chalcidicum.[271] The theater, as before, also appears to have been a popular site of honorific display during the Severan period. Bases for Septimius Severus, Geta, and Severus Alexander all have been discovered within the complex.[272] Individual honors to the female members of the dynasty also were erected in the theater, as evidenced by the inscriptions for dedications to Fulvia Plautilla, the wife of Caracalla, and Juliae Mamaea, the mother of Severus Alexander.[273]

New areas of honorific display also developed under the Severans. Part of a marble panel from the frigidarium of the Hadrianic baths carries an inscription in honor of Septimius Severus that was re-cut from a previous text in honor of Commodus.[274] The *Forum Severianum* also became a site for monuments honoring the imperial family, although the evidence is minimal since material from this area was used later in the construction of the Byzantine wall. Only two extant honorific texts come from the Severan forum, one in honor of Caracalla and the other Julia Mamaea.[275] No freestanding sculpture survives to complement the extensive epigraphic evidence for individual imperial honors during the Severan period.

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[269] *IRT* no. 408; 291.

[270] *IRT* nos. 437-440, 443-444. Also *IRT* no. 446.

[271] *IRT* no. 394; 409.

[272] *IRT* nos. 399; 447; 448.

[273] *IRT* nos. 432; 451.

[274] *IRT* no. 396.

[275] *IRT* nos. 426; 449.

Our knowledge of Severan dynastic groups likewise is based solely on inscriptions, yet the evidence nonetheless suggests that the family was honored extensively throughout the cityscape of Leptis Magna. From the *Forum Vetus* come seventeen fragments that probably constituted a single marble panel. The text is minimal, but the restoration offered by Reynolds and Ward Perkins includes the titles of Septimius Severus and probably of Caracalla and Julia Domna, along with the erased name of Geta. Another apparent erasure below the titles of Julia Domna may indicate the inclusion of C. Fulvius Plautianus or Fulvia Plautilla.[276] Bases for Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, Geta, and Caracalla also are associated with the exedra installed in the forum in front of the Temple of Magna Mater/Cybele, mentioned briefly above.[277]

The theater, however, was undoubtedly the main site for honors to the Severan dynasty. Three identical, rectangular limestone bases were discovered in the south portico behind the theater. The procurator Decimus Clodius Galba set up the bases in honor of Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Julia Domna in 203 – 204 CE.[278] Moreover, fragments of a marble panel discovered in the theater preserve an inscription with the titles of Septimius Severus and probably Caracalla, along with the erased name of Geta.[279] Additional fragments of two or more uniform marble panels from the theater have dimensions that correspond to the recesses for the dedicatory inscription of a tetrapylon base in the portico

[276] *IRT* no. 430.

[277] See note 63 above. One inscription (*IRT* no. 397) around the inner face of the limestone exedra survives and names all the family members, with the name of Geta erased after his *damnatio memoriae* in 212 CE. Four rectangular limestone bases (*IRT* nos. 390, 402, 419, 433) from the exedra with uniform texts honor each family member individually. Again, the name of Geta was erased after 212 CE.

[278] *IRT* nos. 395; 424; 407. Also see Deppmeyer 2008, 386-387, no. 201. Geta probably was included in the group, but was removed after his *damnatio memoriae*.

[279] *IRT* no. 445.

behind the theater. The text honors the imperial family, but the form of the dynastic monument is unclear.[280] Four uniform marble statue bases for the Severans were found near the west end of the theater's orchestra and attest to yet another dynastic monument in this complex.[281] The procurator Marcus Iunius Punicus was responsible for setting up this dedication in 200 – 201 CE.[282] Finally, numerous limestone bases were erected for members of the Severan household by different curiae in the cavea of the theater between 195 and 203 CE.[283]

Third Century CE and Beyond

After prosperity and development under the Severan emperors, Leptis Magna experienced a general decline, which is reflected in a dearth of evidence from the period. The desert defenses and protection from the interior tribes continued to be major concerns, however.[284] Restoration work presumably continued as well, but there was little new building. In terms of historical developments, during the rule of Gallienus (253 – 268 CE) the citizens of Leptis Magna adopted the appellative *saloniani*, in honor of Salonina, the wife of the emperor.[285] Possibly in this same period the so-called "palest am meer" was restored or at least given over to the public.[286] Under Diocletian, Tripolitania became an independent

[280] *IRT* no. 398. Also see Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 81-83; Squarciapino 1966, 75-80.

[281] *IRT* nos. 392, 403, 422, 434. Also see Bejor 1979; 1987; Fuchs 1987, 163-164; Heinen 1991, 277-279; Deppmeyer 2008, 385-386, no. 200.

[282] For more on Marcus Iunius Punicus see Caputo 1939, 163-171.

[283] *IRT* nos. 541; 416; 411; 417; 405; 406; 436; 391; 420; 421; 414; 413. Also see Reynolds and Ward Perkins 1952, 73-86; Torelli 1971; Bejor 1987; Fuchs 1987, 163-164; Deppmeyer 2008, 388-391, no. 202.

[284] *IRT* no. 880 refers to a new fortress at Saniet Duib built under Philip the Arab.

[285] *IRT* nos. 456, 457, 459.

province managed by one of the *praeses*. The exact date of the constitution and boundaries of the new province are not certain, but Leptis Magna was its capital.[287]

In the fourth and fifth centuries CE restoration work continued at Leptis Magna. During the reign of Constantine, the *praeses* of Tripolitania, Laenatius Romulus, restored the city walls and the market, and also built a new porticus in the *Forum Vetus*.[288] Restorations of the Serapeum by Lucius Volusius Bassus Caerealis are mentioned in an inscription of the fourth century CE.[289] The conflicts between the coastal cities and the hinterland continued as well. In 363 CE, the Asturians invaded Leptis Magna, plundering the city and ravaging its countryside.[290] The devastation of the land led to encroaching sands and disruption in trade, which further fueled the city's decline. It is perhaps then no surprise that the only new construction in this period was the strengthening of the city walls and the defenses of the frontiers.[291]

In 429 CE the Vandals invaded North Africa and by 455 CE they were in control of Tripolitania. As a result, Leptis Magna's walls were torn down, its harbor was covered with sand, and its inhabitants had to abandon the city.[292] Justinian's forces eventually reoccupied the territory in the middle of the sixth century CE and made Leptis Magna the seat of the *dux*

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[286] This building originally dates from the second century CE, but appears to have had a public function only under Gallienus. See Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 107-110; Squarciapino 1966, 21-23.

[287] Squarciapiano 1966, 21-23.

[288] *IRT* nos. 467, 468. Also see Reynolds and Ward Perkins 1952, 73-86; Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 77-90; Squarciapino 1966, 21-23, 71-89.

[289] *IRT* no. 543.

[290] Squarciapino 1966, 23-26; Downey 1968.

[291] *IRT* no. 565 honors the *praeses* of Tripolitania, Flavius Nepotianus, for his achievements at Leptis Magna, which included strengthening the city's walls and its fortifications.

[292] Reynolds and Ward Perkins 1952, 73-86; Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 15-31; Squarciapino 1966, 26-27; Di Vita, et al. 1999, 26.

limitis Tripolitanae provincinae.[293] At this time, the defensive walls of Leptis Magna were rebuilt at a more modest scale and numerous churches either were built anew or within preexisting structures such as the Trajanic building in the *Forum Vetus*, the basilica in the *Forum Severianum*, and the so-called "palest am meer."[294] Later, in the middle of the seventh century CE, the Arabs invaded Leptis Magna, and although evidence survives from subsequent centuries, the city was probably no more than a simple, modest settlement that served as a military post. The continued neglect of the countryside, the increasing depopulation, and the concentration of the inhabitants in a smaller urban nucleus ultimately allowed the encroaching sands and periodic floods of the Wadi Lebdah to cover the city, preserving it for later exploration.[295]

The limited evidence of architectural developments at Leptis Magna in the third century CE is mirrored in the epigraphy. After the Severans, imperial dedications are few in number and often poorly cut. As Reynolds and Ward Perkins note: "Of 161 imperial dedications found at Leptis, only ten date from the half century following the death of Severus Alexander, and the quality of these is noticeably poor."[296] The majority of extant inscriptions from this period were discovered in the *Forum Severianum*, thereby attesting to the continued importance of this urban center. Two limestone bases in honor of Gordian come from the forum, one from the south portico and another from the north.[297] Gallienus

[293] Reynolds and Ward Perkins 1952, 73-86; Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 15-31; Squarciapino 1966, 27-28; Di Vita, et al. 1999, 26.

[294] Ward Perkins 1952; Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 85-98, 107-110; Squarciapino 1966, 27-28, 39-42, 80-89, 95-110.

[295] On the later history of Leptis Magna see Reynolds and Ward Perkins 1952, 73-86; Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 15-31; Squarciapino 1966, 28-30; Downey 1968; Di Vita, et al. 1999 144-145.

[296] Reynolds and Ward Perkins 1952, 73-86.

was honored with three inscriptions in the forum, and a fourth in the theater.[298] Dedications to the emperors Valerian and Carus also are confirmed at Leptis Magna, although their original contexts are unknown.[299]

More evidence of imperial honors is preserved from fourth-century CE Leptis Magna in comparison to the preceding century, yet as before, these dedications were concentrated in the *Forum Severianum*. Two bases for Maxentius were dedicated in the forum between 306 and 312 CE; one by Valerius Alexander, the praetorian prefect,[300] the other by the *praeses* Volusius Donatianus.[301] An inscription in honor of Severus II was re-worked from the earlier inscription in honor of Gordian from the south portico.[302] Another limestone base from the *Forum Severianum* supported a dedication erected by the people of Leptis Magna in honor of a Caesar, either Constantius I or Constantine I.[303] Signs of re-use are present on a marble base from the north side of the forum that carried an inscription describing a donation of the *praeses* Marcus Nicentius in honor of Constantius II.[304] The Valentinian dynasty also was represented in the *Forum Severianum*, as confirmed by a re-used marble base from the central area that was set up by the people of Leptis Magna between 367 and 383 in honor of

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[297] *IRT* nos. 454; 455.

[298] *IRT* nos. 456; 457; 458; 459.

[299] *IRT* nos. 460; 461.

[300] *IRT* no. 464.

[301] *IRT* no. 465. The text may refer to the defeat of the usurper L. Domitius Alexander in 311 CE.

[302] *IRT* no. 463. For more on the re-use of statue bases at Leptis Magna see Bejor 1987.

[303] *IRT* no. 466.

[304] *IRT* no. 471.

Gratian.[305] The *Forum Severianum* remained the preferred site for individual imperial honors during the Theodosian dynasty and into the fifth century CE.[306]

Single honors were set up elsewhere in the city during the late antique period. The restoration of the *Forum Vetus* by Laenatius Romulus (noted above) is mentioned on an inscribed marble base that honors Constantine the Great and was found re-used in the Trajanic building on the west side of the forum.[307] Other attested honors from this period have no known context.[308]

Inscriptions from Leptis Magna confirm that dynastic dedications continued to be set up within the city during the third and fourth centuries CE. Two uniform limestone statue bases for Maximinus Thrax and Maximus provide evidence of a dynastic group in the *Forum Vetus* erected by the people of Leptis Magna.[309] The same group set up a rectangular limestone base honoring Constantius I Chlorus and Galerius in the east portico of the *Forum Severianum*.[310] The restoration of the market by Laenatius Romulus is confirmed by over fifty fragments of a marble panel that preserve the names of two Augusti and three Caesars.[311] Two sections of a fragmentary panel found in the theater carry an inscription honoring Constantius II and his brother Constans I, who were Augusti together between 340 and 350 CE.[312] Moreover, a base re-used from one of the dedications to Gallienus in the

[305] *IRT* no. 474.

[306] *IRT* no. 477.

[307] *IRT* no. 467.

[308] *IRT* no. 476.

[309] *IRT* nos. 452-453. Also see Bejor 1987; Deppmeyer 2008, 422, no. 223.

[310] *IRT* no. 462.

[311] *IRT* no. 468.

Forum Severianum confirms a dedication to Constantine II and his brother Constantius II.[313] Two uniform marble bases from the north portico of the *Forum Severianum* attest to a dedication in honor of Valentinian I and Valens set up by the praetorian prefect, Antonius Dracontius, between 364 and 367.[314] Finally, an inscription on a re-used base mentions a donation by Virius Nichomachus Flavianus, the vicar of Africa in 376 CE, in honor of Valentinian and his son Gratian.[315]

Evidence of fifth century CE dynastic monuments at Leptis Magna also survives. Two marble bases found in the south portico of the *Forum Severianum* were set up by the people of Leptis Magna in honor of Arcadius and Honorius between 383 and 408 CE.[316] Another limestone base from the forum honored Honorius and Theodosius II and was dedicated by Flavius Ortygius, who is named as *comes et dux* of the province of Tripolitania.[317] Therefore, despite economic and political hardships, the dedication of imperial honors remained an important element of the cityscape of Leptis Magna well into the late antique period.

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[312] *IRT* no. 470.

[313] IRT no. 469.

[314] *IRT* nos. 472, 473.

[315] *IRT* no. 475.

[316] *IRT* nos. 478-479.

[317] *IRT* no. 480.

Honorific Material from the Flavian Period through the Third Century CE and Beyond in Context

Statuary honors for emperors and members of the imperial household continued to be set up in Leptis Magna after the Julio-Claudian period (figure 4.17). At least nine individual honors are confirmed for the Flavians, four (44%) of which were discovered in the *Forum Vetus*. One (12%) dedication has an unrecorded find spot, and the remaining four (44%) honors were found scattered throughout the city in secondary contexts (figure 4.28). Of the five individual dedications to Nerva and Trajan, three (60%) come from the *Forum Vetus*, one (20%) from the seashore, and one (20%) has an unrecorded find spot (figure 4.29). The seven Hadrianic honors were discovered in the theater (3, 43%), *Forum Vetus* (2, 29%), near the chalcidicum (1, 14%), and the *Forum Severianum* (1, 14%) (figure 4.30). Archaeological evidence confirms twenty-one individual honors for members of the Antonine dynasty. The majority of these come from the theater (8, 38%), but others were found in the *Forum Vetus* (6, 29%), *decumanus* (3, 14%), *Forum Severianum* (1, 5%), chalcidicum (1, 5%), seashore (1, 5%), and Serapeum (1, 5%) (figure 4.31). The large number of Severan individual honors (27) likewise are characterized by various find spots: *Forum Vetus* (17, 63%), theater (5, 19%), *Forum Severianum* (2, 7%), market (1, 4%), chalcidicum (1, 4%), and Hadrianic baths (1, 4%) (figure 4.32). Seventeen individual honors are confirmed for the third century CE and beyond; twelve (71%) were found in the *Forum Severianum*, one (6%) in the *Forum Vetus*, one (6%) in the theater, one (6%) in the circus, and two (12%) have unrecorded find spots (figure 4.33).

Much material was transported, re-used, and destroyed in later centuries, but one can infer general display preferences for imperial individual honors from the quantitative analysis

provided above. The *Forum Vetus* continued to be a major "node" of imperial honorific display, especially in the Flavian, Nervan, and Trajanic periods. Under Hadrian and the Antonines, however, the theater emerged as a popular site for imperial dedications. The evidence suggests a shift back to the *Forum Vetus* under the Severans, but this is hard to believe given the newly constructed *Forum Severianum*. The fact that the majority of honors from the third century CE and beyond come from the *Forum Severianum* confirms that this was a common site of imperial dedications. The absence of Severan honorific sculpture from the new forum is probably due to the re-use of its material in the construction of the Byzantine wall. The extant evidence also confirms that in all periods, including Augustan and Julio-Claudian, the market and chalcidicum were used for honorific display. New "nodes" subsequently emerged along the *decumanus* as well as in the Hadrianic baths and the circus.

A similar analysis of group honors for the dynasties after the Julio-Claudians is difficult due to a dearth of evidence. No dynastic material survives from the Flavian, Nervan, Trajanic, or Hadrianic periods. The single confirmed Antonine group comes from the theater. The Severan dynasty provides more evidence, with seven known dynastic ensembles, presumably five (71%) of which came from the theater and two (29%) from the *Forum Vetus* (figure 4.34). With at least nine groups preserved, the later centuries provide the most dynastic material. The majority (6, 67%) was discovered in the *Forum Severianum*, but additional evidence was found in the *Forum Vetus* (1, 11%), market (1, 11%), and theater (1, 11%) (figure 4.35).

I have explained already why patrons favored the *Forum Vetus*, market, and chalcidicum for their dedications, and these same features probably attracted patrons in

subsequent periods as well. Moreover, the continuity and longevity of the site as a "node" of imperial honorific display would have appealed to benefactors. A large amount of honorific material also was found in the theater and the *Forum Severianum*. The Conclusion (Chapter Five) of this investigation offers a general discussion on why these types of sites (i.e. entertainment structures, fora) were preferred for dynastic display, but at Leptis Magna the appeal also was probably due to the specific setting of these structures within the city. The theater was approximately three hundred meters from the intersection of the two main roads, and it was immediately adjacent to the chalcidicum and across the street from the market. The area was therefore one with numerous and frequent visitors, both local and foreign.

The setting of the *Forum Severianum* similarly made it desirable for statuary display. The forum was located along a colonnaded walkway that directed people from the port to an open piazza framed by the grand nymphaeum and large bath building. The forum itself was surrounded by porticoes on all sides and housed a temple to the Severan dynasty. On its northern side were tabernae and a basilica. Thus, in addition to the large amounts of people who must have passed through this area daily, the quickness with which this quarter of the city was built meant that it was comprised of new marble constructions executed in the most recent architectural styles. The *Forum Vetus* had strong connections with the founding of Leptis Magna and the earliest emperors, but the *Forum Severianum* provided patrons with a more modern, updated venue for honorific display.

It is also important to consider how the addition of honors to the *Forum Vetus* in later periods changed the viewer's reception of the Julio-Claudian dynastic group and of the space more generally. The evidence suggests that throughout the first, second, and third centuries CE imperial statues and groups continually were erected in the *Forum Vetus*, which

contributed to the "forest" effect already noted above and fueled competition and comparisons between honors. The height, size, location, material, design, and format of the Julio-Claudian group ensured its prominence, but as time passed and other imperial displays were set up, some of the earlier sculpture must have lost its conspicuity. For example, the only later imperial honor with *in situ* material, the Severan exedra located in front of the Temple of Magna Mater/Cybele and the basilica, suggests that later patrons continued to consider sight lines and how people entered and moved through the *Forum Vetus*, and that they selected their dedicatory sites accordingly. The exedra would have been on an axial view for those visitors using the northern passages into the forum, and it would have been directly in front and to the right of a person using the southwest entrance. Moreover, colonnades served as an impressive backdrop for the Severan group from any vantage point within the forum. Surely this ensemble and others like it competed with the Julio-Claudian installations for viewers' attention.

The Severan exedra faced eastward, however, which meant that its statues were positioned away from those entering via the southwest entrance and could only be viewed in profile by those entering from the north (figure 4.21). If the above hypothesis is correct and the third phase of the Julio-Claudian dynastic group stood in front of the basilica, then the odd positioning of the Severan ensemble makes more sense. Those entering the forum from either entrance would have seen the Severans looking toward the Claudian statuary and visitors on the eastern side of the forum would have viewed the Severan dynasty against the backdrop of a Flavian temple. The patron of the exedra therefore sought not only to honor the Severan family with an impressive honorific display, but also to honor the household through the group's placement within the *Forum Vetus*, a placement that ultimately

established a relationship between the current imperial family and Rome's earliest dynasties. This is the only example of such a relationship between older and newer material for which evidence survives, but one can imagine that other patrons in later periods erected honors that showed similar considerations for viewing and movement through the *Forum Vetus*. Thus, the statues from the Julio-Claudian dynastic group appear to have been left in place for centuries because of their historical and cultic importance, and also because they were still an integral part of how people experienced the honorific landscape of the *Forum Vetus*.

The above discussion speculates on patrons' motivations and display preferences, but it is possible to provide a quantitative analysis of patronage at Leptis Magna in the periods after the Julio-Claudians. For the Flavian period, nine individual honors are preserved, two (22%) of which were set up by individuals and one (11%) by the people of Leptis Magna (figure 4.36). Of the five individual honors from the reigns of Nerva and Trajan, none include the name of the dedicator. Under Hadrian, three (43%) honors were set up by Quintus Servilius Candidus and one (14%) by the people of Leptis Magna (figure 4.37). The twenty-one individual Antonine honors confirm that at least four (19%) were set up by individual patrons and four (19%) by the people of Leptis Magna (figure 4.38). In the Severan period, citizens and officials set up four (15%) individual honors, as did the people of Leptis Magna (15%) (figure 4.39). Severan dynastic groups also preserve the names of dedicators; two (29%) include the names of procurators and one (14%) lists the curiae of Leptis Magna (figure 4.40). Finally, for the third century CE and beyond, the evidence confirms that at least five (29%) individual honors and three (33%) dynastic groups were set up by single patrons, and that the Leptians erected six (35%) individual dedications and three (33%) group honors (figures 4.41, 4.42). In total, then, eighty-six individual honors survive

for the emperor and his family from the periods after the Julio-Claudians; 18 (21%) were set up by individual patrons and 16 (19%) by the people of Leptis Magna (figure 4.43). Seventeen dynastic honors are preserved; five were erected by individuals (29%) and four by civic groups (24%) (figure 4.44). Many honors have no dedicator preserved, but the quantitative analysis suggests that throughout the Roman history of Leptis Magna, patronage was not dominated by individuals or any single civic group. Indeed, when comparing individual and civic benefaction at Leptis Magna for all extant imperial dedications after the Julio-Claudians, the difference is 2% for single honors and 5% for group honors.

A similar quantitative analysis can be completed for the honorands of these dedications. Of the eighty-six preserved individual honors, nine (10%) are Flavian, five (6%) are Nervan/Trajanic, seven (8%) are Hadrianic, twenty-one (24%) are Antonine, twenty-seven (32%) are Severan, and seventeen (20%) come from the third century CE and beyond (figure 4.45). We therefore find that the majority of material dates from the Severan period, followed by the Antonine period and the third century CE. Evidence of dynastic groups reflects a similar pattern. No dynastic honors are known for the Flavian, Nervan, Trajanic, or Hadrianic periods. Of the seventeen dynastic honors confirmed for the periods after the Julio-Claudians, one (6%) is Antonine, seven (41%) are Severan, and nine (53%) date to the third century CE or later (figure 4.46).

It is also informative to consider the breakdown of honors within the dynasties. For the Flavian period: Vespasian (2, 22%), Domitian (3, 33%), Titus (1, 11%), unspecified Flavian emperors (3, 33%) (figure 4.47). For Nerva and Trajan: Nerva (3, 60%), Trajan (2, 40%) (figure 4.48). All seven Hadrianic individual honors were for the emperor (figure 4.49). Antonine percentages are: Antoninus Pius (13, 62%), Faustina the Elder (1, 4%),

Lucius Verus (1, 4%), Marcus Aurelius (2, 10%), Commodus (4, 20%) (figure 4.50). Severan honors are preserved for: Septimius Severus (10, 37%), Julia Domna (3, 11%), Geta (6, 22%), Caracalla (1, 4%), Severus Alexander (1, 4%), Severan emperor (3, 11%), Fulvia Plautilla (1, 4%), Julia Mamaea (2, 7%) (figure 4.51). Emperors in the third century CE and beyond largely have only one (6%) individual dedication erected in their honor. The exceptions are Gordian (2, 12%), Gallienus (4, 24%), and Maxentius (2, 12%) (figure 4.52).

The evidence therefore suggests that Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Septimius Severus were favored honorands at Leptis Magna. Septimius Severus especially is prominent within the archaeological record, both among the individual and the group honors. The popularity of these three emperors, however, must be considered in relation to what survives. It was demonstrated above that the majority of extant material dates from the Severan and Antonine periods, so it is not surprising that the emperors of these dynasties appear to dominate the honorific landscape. Nonetheless, the prevalence of honors to Septimius Severus presumably relates to historical circumstances as well, namely that Leptis Magna was Septimius' birthplace and that the emperor extensively patronized the city upon his accession. As a result of Septimius Severus' emperorship, Leptis Magna was a safer, more secure city with greater autonomy after receiving the *ius italicum*. The water supply and port facilities were improved, and the city benefitted architecturally with the restoration and construction of buildings, especially in the area along the northwest bank of the Wadi Lebdah. It is not surprising, then, that the people of Leptis Magna honored Septimius as emperor and the founder of the Severan dynasty given his relationship to the city and the extent of his patronage.

The above analysis also attests to a lack of preserved honors for imperial women in the periods after the Julio-Claudians. Only seven (8%) of the eighty-six imperial dedications from these periods were monuments to women: Faustina the Elder (1, 1%), Julia Domna (3, 4%), Fulvia Plautilla (1, 1%), and Julia Mamaea (2, 2%) (figures 4.53, 4.54). Again, honors are concentrated in the Antonine and especially the Severan periods. Moreover, women appear in all extant dynastic groups of the Antonine and Severan periods, which presumably relates to their importance for the continuation of the dynasty. Interestingly, no women appear in the dynastic groups from the third century CE or later. The absence of evidence for female honors at Leptis Magna beyond the Severan period may simply be due to the state of preservation, but it also probably relates to the changing nature of the emperorship and overall instability throughout the empire. After the death of Alexander Severus, a series of men, most of them with military associations, assumed imperial power. None were in control long, so none conceivably had time to promote dynastic ambitions the way previous emperors had done. In addition, war, disease, and economic hardship shifted efforts away from promoting *Concordia* and familial values to protecting cities from invasions, securing trade routes, surviving plagues, and ameliorating the devaluation of coinage. Group honors thereby represented male members of the ruling family instead of women and children because imperial priorities had changed.

Comparative material from North Africa allows one to place the dynastic evidence from Leptis Magna in a larger context. A total of thirty-eight dynastic groups survive from North African sites other than Leptis Magna.[318] Of these, one (3%) is Flavian, six (16%) are

[318] Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 25 (Sabratha), 67 (Avitta Bibba), 68 (Cyrene), 69 (Gemellae), 70 (Henchir Ain Asker), 71 (Khanguet – el Kedim), 73 (Thugga), 126 (Belalis Maior), 127 (Bisica Lucana), 128 (Bulla Regia), 129 (Cillium), 130 (Cuicul), 131 (Cyrene), 132 (Cyrene), 133 (Cyrene), 134 (Cyrene), 135 (Diana Veteranorum), 136 (Lambaesis), 139 (Oia), 140 (Sabratha), 141 (Sitifis), 142 (Sufetula), 143 (Thamugadi), 144

Hadrianic, twenty-five (66%) are Antonine, four (10%) are Severan, and two (5%) are from the third century CE or later (figure 4.55). The comparanda thus demonstrates that although Flavian and Hadrianic material is lacking at Leptis Magna, these families were honored elsewhere in North Africa. Moreover, at other sites the Antonine dynastic honors outnumber those of any other period, unlike at Leptis Magna where the Severan dynasty received the most dedications, presumably because of the close ties Septimius Severus had with the city. Comparative material from North Africa therefore suggests that dynastic evidence from Leptis Magna is incomplete, especially for the Antonine period.

For dynastic ensembles in North Africa with known patrons, thirteen (34%) name individuals and nine (24%) name civic institutions (figure 4.56), which again reflects the fact that patronage probably was shared equally among the two groups.[319] In terms of context, groups appear in many different settings, including a private house (1, 3%), curia (1, 3%), exedra (1, 3%), porticoes (2, 5%), theaters (3, 8%), basilicae (3, 8%), temples (4, 11%), fora/agorai (7, 18%) and atop arches (9, 24%) (figure 4.57).[320] Some of the material at Leptis Magna comes from similar contexts, such as theaters, temples, and fora, but other display sites are not represented by the extant Leptian imperial honors. The lack of statues

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(Thamugadi), 145 (Thamugadi), 146 (Thamugadi), 147 (Thubursicum Numidarum), 148 (Thugga), 149 (Thugga), 150 (Thugga), 151 (Verecunda), 152 (Verecunda), 198 (Cuicul), 199 (Cuicul), 203 (Thamugadi), 204 (Theveste), 247 (Arae Philaenorum), 248 (Luxor).

[319] For individuals see Deppmeyer 2008, 69 (Gemellae), 70 (Henchir Ain Asker), 129 (Cillium), 130 (Cuicul), 131 (Cyrene), 135 (Diana Veteranorum), 136 (Lambaesis), 141 (Sitifis), 145 (Thamugadi), 146 (Thamugadi), 148 (Thugga), 150 (Thugga), 204 (Theveste). For civic institutions see Deppmeyer 2008, nos. 126 (Belalis Maior), 127 (Bisica Lucana), 134 (Cyrene), 144 (Thamugadi), 149 (Thugga), 151 (Verecunda), 198 (Cuicul), 199 (Cuicul), 203 (Thamugadi).

[320] Deppmeyer 2008, private house: no 131 (Cyrene); curia: no. 146 (Thamugadi); exedra: no. 150 (Thugga); porticoes: nos. 69 (Gemellae), 136 (Lambaesis); theaters: nos. 128 (Bulla Regia), 143 (Thamugadi), 148 (Thugga); basilicae: nos. 25 (Sabratha), 130 (Cuicul), 144 (Thamugadi); temples: nos. 68 (Cyrene), 132 (Cyrene), 134 (Cyrene), 140 (Sabratha); fora/agorai: nos. 73 (Thugga), 133 (Cyrene), 145 (Thamugadi), 147 (Thubursicum Numidarum), 149 (Thugga), 152 (Verecunda), 203 (Thamugadi)); arches: nos. 67 (Avitta Bibba), 135 (Diana Veteranorum), 139 (Oia), 142 (Sufetula), 151 (Verecunda), 198 (Cuicul), 204 (Theveste), 247 (Arae Philaenorum), 248 (Luxor).

associated with arches is particularly striking given the many dedicatory arches preserved at the site. This once again underscores the difficulty in re-imagining a city's honorific landscape based solely on what survives.

Conclusion

Chapter Three of this investigation has concentrated on one focus group from Leptis Magna, namely the agglutinative Julio-Claudian dynastic ensemble in the *Forum Vetus*. After a review of the setting and multiple phases of this group, consideration was given to its position within the early imperial honorific landscape of the city. This contextualization was followed by a discussion of imperial architectural foundations and honors in subsequent centuries. The chronological analysis has shown that, in terms of architecture, the greatest development of Leptis Magna occurred under Augustus and Septimius Severus, but that buildings were erected or renewed throughout the imperial period. The majority of individual honors also appear to be dedicated to Augustus and Severus as well as to Antoninus Pius. It becomes apparent, then, that with the establishment of each new dynasty, the people of Leptis Magna sought to confirm their loyalty through honorific monuments. These monuments could be set up by the city itself or at the initiative of individuals, whether local citizens or Roman magistrates.

Turning to dynastic groups, most evidence comes from the extensive Julio-Claudian cycle in the *Forum Vetus*, but it appears that the Severans were represented as a familial unit most often at Leptis Magna. At least two groups of this family are attested from the *Forum Vetus* and five from the theater. This is not surprising given that Leptis Magna was the birthplace of the Severan dynasty's founder, Septimius Severus, who is known to have

patronized the city with extensive architectural projects. The lack of evidence for dynastic groups from the Flavian, Nervan, Trajanic, and Hadrianic periods is not unusual since these same dynasties rarely were honored at Olympia and Ephesus. Moreover, comparanda from other North African sites suggest that the material at Leptis Magna for these dynasties may be incomplete, thus making it difficult to reconstruct accurately the city's honorific landscape after the Julio-Claudians. Yet the minimal evidence of honors to the Antonine family is noteworthy given that the household had grandiose dynastic displays both at the other sites of this investigation and at numerous sites in North Africa.

In terms of location, imperial dedications to the Julio-Claudians were concentrated in major areas of architectural development, namely the *Forum Vetus*, market, theater, and chalcidicum. It also was noted above that Julio-Claudian honors correlate to buildings of the imperial cult and sacred worship. A preference for these display sites continues into the late first and second centuries CE. During the Severan and later periods, however, honorific monuments also appear in large numbers in the *Forum Severianum*. This shift is not unexpected since the forum was connected closely with the dynasty and even had a temple dedicated to the Severan *gens*. Thus, just as the *Forum Vetus* was dominated by the Julio-Claudian emperors who helped monumentalize the space, so, too, were the Severan emperors given prominence in a place that they helped patronize. In either context, however, the people of Leptis Magna as well as visitors to the city would have viewed the honorific monuments on a daily basis. It becomes obvious, then, that donors set up dedications in these display areas not only because it tied them to the imperial family, but also because it ensured that a large number of people consistently would view these tangible expressions of

their power and generosity.[321] Fora were the symbolic centers of a community, so it comes as no surprise that they were also the sites where patrons reaffirmed their social identity and status.

In sum, the focus group from Leptis Magna aligns with other dynastic representations within the city in terms of its patrons and setting, but its multi-phase history, extensive size, and good state of preservation make it uncommon. Moreover, the inclusion of women, some of whom were not well known or otherwise honored at Leptis Magna, distinguishes it from other monuments in the city. The Julio-Claudian group from the *Forum Vetus* at Leptis Magna ultimately provides one of the most fully documented examples of a dedication in honor of the dynasty, which, in turn, helps one to understand better the honorific landscape of the city. At the same time, the group offers valuable information for comparing display preferences among ancient sites, which is the aim of this investigation's concluding chapter.

[321] This idea is supported by the fact that uniform inscriptions sometimes were erected in different areas of the city, thereby ensuring maximum visibility of a patron's generosity. An example includes the bases of Gaius set up in the *Forum Vetus* and the theater mentioned above. For more on Roman statues set up in North African fora see Zimmer 1992; Witschel 1995; 2007.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

Sites of Imperial Dynastic Groups

The three chapters of this investigation have examined imperial honors from the sites of Olympia, Ephesus, and Leptis Magna. In each chapter, I discussed where dedications were concentrated, how this changed over time, and possible explanations for these patterns. Analyses were based on where extant material was discovered as well as intelligent speculation. It is important to emphasize, however, the problematic nature of drawing such conclusions since find spots reflect where statues and bases were situated within the late antique site and not necessarily their locations in the imperial period. In addition, sculptural monuments often were re-used in secondary contexts. Nonetheless, interpretation of the material should not be abandoned as long as one keeps these caveats in mind.

The focus groups considered here provide evidence of dynastic groups from four major types of architectural settings: temples, nymphaea, entertainment structures, and fora/agorai. Two early imperial groups, those from the Metroon at Olympia and the Temple of Rome and Augustus at Leptis Magna, are examples of dynastic cycles set up inside or in front of temples of the imperial cult. Other, familial groups from temples are known, including the statues of Trajan and Hadrian erected in the pronaos of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, the group set up by the Neopoioi of Ephesus possibly in the Augusteum, the Flavian cult images in the Sebasteion at Ephesus, and the Antonine familial group dedicated in the Ephesian Artemision. The decision to erect imperial images in sacred contexts,

especially in temples of the imperial cult, is related typically to the public prominence of such buildings as well as their political significance as sites of imperial ideology.[1] The religious aspect of temples also was meaningful and helped define the relationship between the ruler and the gods. Moreover, S.R.F. Price underlines the importance of such images within their local contexts; statues of the emperor and his family set up at sites of imperial worship resulted in the ruling family becoming a part of the ongoing rituals, processions, and celebrations of the community.[2]

A second type of display context, nymphaea, was represented in this study by Herodes Atticus' dedication of Antonine statues at Olympia and the Trajanic group at Ephesus. Other dynastic ensembles may have been installed in nymphaea at Ephesus and Leptis Magna, but no evidence of these groups survives.[3] Studies of monumental fountains throughout the Roman Empire confirm a rich corpus of such structures from a geographically diverse range of civic centers.[4] In addition, dedicatory inscriptions demonstrate that nymphaea could be donations of cities, local officials, or private individuals, and that few were benefactions of imperial officials or the emperor himself. In the Greek East, elite individuals, whether singly or with family members, usually were responsible for erecting nymphaea in honor of the emperor.[5] This conclusion is supported by the two cases considered here. The Nymphaeum at Olympia and its imperial statues were donations of

[1] Price 1984, 170-206; Hänlein-Schäfer 1985; Friesen 1993; Süss 2003.

[2] Price 1984, 170-206. Also see Süss 2003.

[3] For example, the other fountain at Ephesus funded by Aristion on the road to the Magnesian Gate may have held statues (see Chapter Three, note 110) and the nymphaeum of the Severan piazza at Leptis Magna likewise may have displayed imperial images (see Chapter Four, note 261).

[4] Walker 1987; Dorl-Klingenschmid 2001; Tomasello 2005; Aristodemou 2011; Longfellow 2011.

[5] Veyne 1990, 148-149; Longfellow 2011, 1-8. In contrast, the epigraphic evidence from the West suggests that cities and elites were roughly equal in their patronage.

Herodes Atticus and Regilla, although the Eleans were the dedicators of the statues of Herodes' family. Similarly, the Nymphaeum of Trajan at Ephesus was donated by a single prominent citizen, Tiberius Claudius Aristion.

Through their benefactions, the patrons of these and other nymphaea fulfilled both utilitarian and social objectives. Nymphaea improved the health of a city by providing fresh, clean drinking water to a large population. Monumental fountains also beautified a city with an impressive edifice, which was often of marble and filled with sculptural displays. The sounds of running water and the reflective light of nymphaea further heightened the aesthetic appeal for residents and visitors alike.

Through strategic topographical placement, architecture, sculpture, and hydraulic displays, dedicators of nymphaea also expressed their status and political clout. The creation of a monument that was expensive to build and maintain allowed patrons to manifest visibly their wealth and power within a local community. Nymphaea connected donors to imperial power as well, since, as Longfellow's study has shown, the majority of nymphaea were dedicated to the emperor and his family.[6] This is true for the Nymphaeum of Trajan, which was dedicated to the emperor along with Artemis and the city of Ephesus. The Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus is an exception, as a votive offering to Zeus located within a sanctuary, but it still linked the dedicators to the emperor through the monument's imperial associations.[7] These monumental fountains of the eastern provinces probably influenced the later Septizodium in Rome in terms of form, placement, and decoration.[8] Thus, nymphaea

[6] Longfellow 2011, 1-8. Also see Kapossy 1969; Dorl-Klingenschmid 2001, 128-130.

[7] Dorl-Klingenschmid 2001, 128-130; Aristodemou 2011; Longfellow 2011, 1-8.

[8] Lusnia 2004. Nothing of the superstructure of the Septizodium survives today, so Lusnia uses comparative nymphaea from Greece and Asia Minor to speculate on the monument's original appearance.

emerged as desirable settings for dynastic statuary groups since the installation of such sculpture provided the patron with an important way to emphasize his or her relation to imperial power.

The third display context of this investigation includes entertainment structures. The Antonine installation in the newly remodeled Odeion at Ephesus is an example of a group from such a setting. Theaters, however, appear to have been one of the most popular sites for honorific and dynastic display due to their social importance and communal nature. In the Ephesian theater were found a portrait of Nero Germanicus, at least two honors for Domitian, one for Nerva, one for Trajan, three for Hadrian, and six (perhaps even ten) for Antoninus Pius.[9] In addition to these individual honors, the theater of Ephesus housed Antonine (1) and Severan (1) dynastic groups.[10] At Leptis Magna evidence from the theater confirms numerous dedications: Gaius Caesar (1), Livia (1), Hadrian (3), Antoninus Pius (5), Commodus (3), Septimius Severus (1), Geta or Severus Alexander (1), Severus Alexander (1), Fulvia Plautilla (1), Julia Mamaea (1), and Gallienus (1).[11] Statue groups of the Antonine (1), Severan (5), and Constantinian (1) dynasties likewise were set up in the theater at Leptis Magna.[12]

The popularity of the theater as a site of dynastic sculptural display is not surprising. Studies of Roman theaters in both the West and East have demonstrated that theater

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[9] Nero Germanicus: Selçuk Museum, no. 2295; Domitian: *IvE* VI.2047, 2048; Nerva: *IvE* II.264; Trajan: *IvE* II.265a; Hadrian: *IvE* II.271e, 271i; *IvE* V.1501; Antoninus Pius: *IvE* VI.2050; *IvE* II.282b, 282d.

[10] Antonine: *IvE* VI.2049; Severan: *IvE* VI.2051.

[11] Gaius Caesar: *IRT* no. 320; Livia (statue from temple): *IRT* nos. 358 a-b, 359; Antoninus Pius: *IRT* no. 372, 373, 375, 376, 377; Commodus: *IRT* nos. 382, 383, 385; Septimius Severus: *IRT* no. 399; Geta or Severus Alexander: *IRT* no. 447; Severus Alexander: *IRT* no. 448; Fulvia Plautilla: *IRT* no. 432; Julia Mamaea: *IRT* no. 451; Gallienus: *IRT* no. 459.

[12] Antonines: *IRT* no. 534; Severans: *IRT* nos. 395, 424, 407, 445, 398, 392, 403, 422, 434, 541, 416, 411, 417, 405, 406, 436, 391, 420, 421, 414, 413; Constantinian: *IRT* no. 470.

complexes were decorated with a variety of sculpture and ornament, including freestanding statues of private, mythological, and divine personages.[13] Imperial groups also are attested at numerous theaters aside from the ones considered in this study.[14] Moreover, theaters accommodated many types of activities including dramatic performances, religious processions, as well as celebrations and rituals.[15] Theaters in antiquity thus served as meeting places for religious, social, and political events, and as a result, visitors and the local population viewed their sculptural decorations on a regular basis. Theaters were therefore an appropriate and often prized site for a city or wealthy patron to erect honorific displays, including dynastic monuments of the imperial family.

The final architectural setting in which numerous examples of honorific and dynastic statues were set up include fora and agorai. The Julio-Claudian dynastic cycle from Leptis Magna provides an example of a dynastic group within a forum, and other individual honors are attested in this area as well. At Ephesus, the Tetragonos Agora and State Market were two popular sites for honorific display. In the former, at least one honor to Claudius is confirmed, perhaps along with a statue of Messalina, as well as the Julio-Claudian dynastic group dedicated by Mazaeus and Mithridates on the south entrance arch.[16] Later, Antoninus Pius, Maximinus II, and Theodosius II's wife, Aelia Eudokia, were honored in this area.[17] Two portraits of Augustus and one of Lucius Caesar were discovered in the State Market at

[13] Bejor 1979; 1987; Fuchs 1987, 128-193; Clarke 2003, 130-145; Sturgeon 2004a; 2004b; Sear 2006, 15-17.

[14] Bejor 1979; Fuchs 1987, 163-184; Boatwright 2000b; Sturgeon 2004b, 31-33, 57-58.

[15] Mitchell 1990; Boatwright 2000b; Sturgeon 2004a; 2004b, 51-55; Sear 2006, 1-10.

[16] Claudius: *IvE* II.259a; Messalina: *IvE* II.261; Julio-Claudian dynastic group: *IvE* VII.1.3006, 3007.

[17] Antoninus Pius: *IvE* II.282a; Maximinus II: *IvE* II.311a; Aelia Eudokia: *IvE* II.317.

Ephesus; heads of Tiberius and Claudius also were found near this area.[18] Moreover, statues of Augustus and Livia presumably were set up in the Basilike Stoa.[19] At Leptis Magna, the *Forum Vetus* and *Forum Severianum* served as continual sites of honorific display. In the *Forum Vetus*, Gaius Caesar, Drusus Caesar, and Tiberius were honored with dedications in the early imperial period.[20] The Flavian emperors continued to receive honors in this area,[21] as did Hadrian[22] and the Antonines.[23] Even after the establishment of the *Forum Severianum*, the Severan emperors were honored in the *Forum Vetus*, both individually and in dynastic groups, and emperors of the third century CE were as well.[24] Yet the *Forum Severianum* eventually became a prominent site of honorific display for the Severan family and subsequent emperors.[25]

The tendency to erect imperial honors in the fora and agorai of the sites considered here parallels developments in other cities of the empire.[26] Studies by G. Zimmer and C. Witschel demonstrate that the fora of North African cities like Timgad and Cuicul were crowded with honorific sculpture, including statues of the emperor and his family.[27] V.

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[18] See Chapter Three, section on the Early Imperial Period.

[19] Price 1984, 254-257, no. 30; Friesen 1993, 50-75; Rose 1997, 175, no. 115; Scherrer 1995; 1997; 2001; Aurenhammer 2011.

[20] *IRT* nos. 328, 335, 339.

[21] *IRT* nos. 275, 344, 345, 348.

[22] *IRT* nos. 362, 365.

[23] *IRT* no. 384.

[24] See Chapter Four, sections on the Severan Period and the Third Century CE and Beyond.

[25] *IRT* nos. 426; 449; 454-458; 462-466; 469; 471-474; 477-480.

[26] Boschung 2002, 174-179; Eck 1992; Erkelenz 2003; Lahusen 2010.

[27] Zimmer 1992; Witschel 1995. For late antique fora see Bejor 1987; Witschel 2007. Also see Eck 1992.

Kockel and M. Flecker provide the additional example of the forum at Pompeii.[28] Dedicators set up statues in these areas as expressions of loyalty and gratitude and as a means to beautify their city. The decision to erect imperial honors in fora and agorai also was socially and politically motivated since these areas were symbolic centers of a community. Indeed, fora and agorai served as sites of meetings, dissemination of information, elections, ceremonies, festivities, and other daily activities. These areas were therefore where the religious, political, and cultural identity of a community was defined and where its social hierarchy was affirmed. It is no surprise, then, that the agorai of Ephesus and fora of Leptis Magna were major sites of dynastic sculptural display since they advertised patrons' ties to the imperial family along with dedicators' wealth and influence to a large audience.

To sum up, the three sites that comprise this investigation, Olympia, Ephesus, and Leptis Magna, have dynastic groups centered in four architectural settings, namely temples, nymphaea, entertainment structures, and fora/agorai. This pattern agrees with earlier research on honorific and imperial sculpture. In his catalogue of statues of the Roman emperor, H.G. Niemeyer lists temples as the most common find spot, political centers (e.g. forum, basilica, curia) as the second, and theaters as the third.[29] Boschung's study of Julio-Claudian dynastic sculpture similarly focuses on groups from basilicae, fora, theaters, and sanctuaries.[30] The architectural settings for dynastic groups also overlap with J. Süss' study, which identifies the five major sites of imperial cult buildings as agorai (including temples within agorai), main streets, acropoleis, theaters, and harbors.[31] Moreover, Alexandridis

[28] Kockel and Flecker 2008. Also see Eck 1992.

[29] Niemeyer 1968, 28-37.

[30] Boschung 2002.

[31] Süss 2003.

finds that representations of imperial women with known contexts tend to come from public buildings in the agora or forum of a city.[32] Thus, while the patterns regarding the physical contexts of the dynastic groups considered here may not provide new results, they are nonetheless important for furthering our understanding of how imperial sculpture was displayed.

It should be noted that the three sites of this investigation were chosen due to their geographical breadth and extant dynastic material, but Olympia, Ephesus, and Leptis Magna are notably different in terms of culture, history, and setting. Olympia was a sanctuary of Elis and the site of the ancient Olympic Games whereas Ephesus and Leptis Magna were large provincial cities. When considering the honorific landscapes of these three sites, one must remember that Olympia was above all a sacred temenos dedicated to Olympian Zeus and did not have centers like fora or agorai, or other civic buildings like markets, basilicae, and theaters. Nonetheless, comparisons and contrasts between these sites offer important and meaningful insights into patterns of honorific and dynastic display in the Roman world.

Plotting the find spots of individual and group honors from the three sites allows one to visualize clearly these display patterns (figures 2.13, 3.15, 4.13). In addition to exhibiting general trends regarding the major concentrations of honorific dedications at a given site and how display preferences changed throughout time, these maps also demonstrate that areas could contain both individual and dynastic monuments and that no single space was monopolized entirely by dynastic representations. The three maps further suggest that specific areas were not reserved for a particular dynasty. Instead, honors for later emperors and dynasties appear in the same contexts as earlier ones, probably in order to forge associations with predecessors and express continuity in a concrete, visual way. The three

[32] Alexandridis 2004, 31-35.

sites thus exhibit markedly uniform display preferences in terms of honorific dedications, despite being separated geographically. Moreover, the comparative material that was considered at the end of each chapter further suggests that the display patterns evident at Olympia, Ephesus, and Leptis Magna are not anomalous. Indeed, comparanda from Greece, Asia Minor, and North Africa confirm that temples, nymphaea, entertainment structures, and fora/agorai were some of the most common settings for imperial dynastic ensembles.

Honorands and Patrons

The two ensembles at Olympia were set up in the early imperial and Antonine periods, while the two groups from Ephesus were Trajanic and Antonine. The single focus group from Leptis Magna was a multi-phase installation from the first century CE. While admittedly a small sample size, these five statuary ensembles suggest that the Julio-Claudian and Antonine dynasties have the most extant evidence for dynastic honors.[33] Other familial groups also were examined in this study. From Olympia, two additional Julio-Claudian dynastic installations, possibly one Hadrianic/Trajanic group, and another possible Antonine dynastic cycle were discussed. Chapter Three considered numerous dynastic ensembles at Ephesus aside from the groups of the Nymphaeum and Bouleuterion. These included six Julio-Claudian, one Flavian, one Hadrianic, seven Antonine, five Severan, and two third-century CE groups. The other imperial dynastic honors at these two sites therefore confirm the picture that emerges from the focus groups, namely that the Julio-Claudian and Antonine dynasties were honored with the most dedications. Leptis Magna offers a slightly different picture, with no dynastic groups dating before the Antonine period besides the *Forum Vetus*

[33] This parallels the research of Alexandridis 2004, 31-35, which confirms that extant images of imperial women come predominantly from the Julio-Claudian and Antonine periods.

cycle. One Antonine ensemble at Leptis Magna survives from the *scaenae frons* of the theater, as well as six Severan groups, and nine from the third century CE and beyond.

The popularity of the Julio-Claudian and Antonine dynasties at the sites of this investigation is confirmed by a broader analysis. 338 dynastic groups are known from the Augustan through Severan periods. Rose includes 130 (38%) Julio-Claudian ensembles in his catalogue. Deppmeyer's catalogue is comprised of twenty-eight (8%) Flavian/Nervan, forty-eight (14%) Hadrianic/Trajanic, eighty-three (25%) Antonine, and forty-nine (15%) Severan installations (figure 5.1).

The evidence also indicates that many dynastic groups were agglutinative, spanning multiple decades and sometimes centuries. Indeed, every focus group considered as part of this investigation had at least two phases, and sometimes more. This attests to the power of dynastic sculpture to convey visually the continuity of a family and to legitimize the reign of a current emperor. It also demonstrates the continued importance and prominence that these groups maintained within their local contexts; the displays obviously still held enough significance after their original installations that a patron felt it worthwhile to invest in additional statues. These later additions allowed local dedicator(s) to associate themselves both with the imperial family and earlier donors, who may be other family members or prominent officials. The multi-phase histories of the dynastic groups from this study confirm that such ensembles were not static, unchanging displays. Rather, they were organic creations that were adapted and transformed as power relations shifted, both at the imperial and local levels.

The initial phases of these agglutinative monuments appear to correlate to the first emperor of a new dynasty. The earliest phases of the Metroon and *Forum Vetus* groups date

to the time of Augustus, with additions under his successors. The Nymphaeum at Olympia and the Bouleuterion/Odeion group at Ephesus both were set up originally under Antoninus Pius. This phenomenon indicates that dedicators probably wished to honor the new dynasty and demonstrate their loyalty at the beginning of changes in imperial power.

The popularity of the Julio-Claudian and Antonine families may be explained in relation to the architectural development of the sites. Indeed, each of the three cities considered here experienced an increase in building activity and renewal under the Julio-Claudians and Antonines. Moreover, these two dynasties ruled the longest during the high imperial period. Augustus and the Julio-Claudians reigned for nearly a century while the Antonines ruled for over fifty years. In contrast, the Flavian emperors ruled for twenty-seven years and the Severans for forty-two. Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian, who usually are not considered as a cohesive dynasty, governed for a combined total of forty-two years. The large number of dynastic honors for the Julio-Claudian and Antonine families is thus not surprising given that they were in power for such long periods of time.

Installations also presumably relate to major historical events. For example, the erection of Augustan ensembles likely was influenced by the civil wars of the mid-first century BCE. All the cities examined here supported Pompey or Mark Antony in these conflicts, and therefore, all likely felt compelled to honor Augustus to make reparations for their earlier decisions. A.J.S. Spawforth's research has shown that the transition from Republic to monarchic rule also encompassed a program of Roman values communicated to provincial Greeks, which ultimately achieved a "Romanisation of Greece…through a process of 're-hellenisation' for which the impulse came from the west."[34] The transformation of

[34] Spawforth 2012, 28. Also see Ando 2000, Part One, 19-70.

Greek culture at the turn of the millennium was driven largely by the agency of provincial elites:

> It has been argued that Greek provincial elites were inevitably caught up in the new Roman system of patronage marking the shift from oligarchy to autocracy at the end of the republic. This shift encouraged the development of something of a 'courtier mentality' among the topmost Greek grandees, who were now under the political compulsion, when seeking to advance, or merely safeguard, the social standing of themselves and their *oikoi*, to display conspicuous loyalty to the princeps, including service in the imperial cult, and a broad Romanity of cultural outlook.[35]

The erection of dedications in honor of Augustus and the imperial household may be considered as part of this "courtier mentality."[36] In order to express allegiance to Roman values and to promote their individual social and political interests at a time of instability, provincial elites invested in public (and thereby highly visual) displays of munificence. Examples of this phenomenon during the Augustan period were attested at each of the three sites of this investigation, but prominent provincials were involved with public building and dedications at other cities as well.[37]

The majority (51, 39%) of Julio-Claudian dynastic groups were erected in Italy followed by Asia Minor (26, 20%), Greece (16, 12%), Greek Islands (15, 11%), France (7, 5%), Spain (5, 4%), North Africa (5, 4%), Switzerland (1, less than 1%), Croatia (1, less than 1%), Albania (1, less than 1%), Bulgaria (1, less than 1%), and Syria (1, less than 1%) (figure 5.2). The geographical breakdown for representations of the Julio-Claudian family is supported by this study since six groups came from Ephesus, three from Olympia, and two from Leptis Magna. The relatively high number of dynastic groups erected in Asia Minor and Greece in comparison to other areas of the empire probably ties in to the argument

[35] Spawforth 2012, 56. Also see Ando 2000, 12-15, 336-405.

[36] Ando 2000, 303-313.

[37] Spawforth 2012, Chapter 5, 207-232, focuses on evidence from Messene, Athens, Sparta, and Mantinea.

presented above, namely that many sites in Asia Minor and Greece sided with Octavian's opponents in the civil wars and thus felt the need to assert their loyalty and support of the new political power.

The general dearth of Flavian imagery already has been discussed in relation to Alexandridis' study, which demonstrates that this family preferred to promulgate dynastic representations through coinage rather than sculptural displays (see Chapter Two).[38] This preference likely relates to the fact that none of the Flavian emperors had a living wife or sister when they came into power, making it difficult to conceive of large-scale dynastic statements like the Nymphaeum at Olympia or the Julio-Claudian installation at Leptis Magna. Moreover, the Flavians had a less distinguished genealogy in comparison to the Julio-Claudian *gens*, which claimed divine descent, so the Flavian emperors may not have wished to highlight this fact through large-scale, prominent statuary. It is interesting to note, however, that of the twenty-eight Flavian dynastic groups included in Deppmeyer's catalogue, half (fourteen, 50%) come from Greece and the islands.[39] Two (7%) groups from North Africa are attested, along with seven (25%) from Italy, one (4%) from the Danube/Balkan provinces, one (4%) from Arabia, and three (11%) from Spain (figure 5.3). It thus appears that the rare representations of the Flavian dynasty were concentrated in the Greek East, which agrees with the evidence reviewed here since a Flavian focus group came from Olympia.

Modern scholars generally do not consider Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian as a dynasty, and this is reflected in the archaeological record since very few familial groups include these

[38] Alexandridis 2010b. Also see Vermeule's 1968, 236, quotation (Chapter Two, note 66).

[39] Deppmeyer 2008, 7-81, nos. 1-7 (Italy), 8 (Danube/Balkan Provinces), 9-22 (Greece/Islands), 23 (Arabia), 24-25 (North Africa), 26-28 (Spain).

emperors. This is true not only for the three sites of this investigation, but also for other ancient cities throughout the Mediterranean. As noted above, Deppmeyer's catalogue of dynastic groups includes twenty-eight Flavian/Nervan, forty-eight Hadrianic/Trajanic, eighty-three Antonine, and forty-nine Severan ensembles (figure 5.1).[40] Nerva ruled for only two years, so his presence within dynastic installations perhaps is not to be expected, but the few number of Trajanic and Hadrianic groups is surprising. The empire at this time was characterized by general prosperity and growth. Each of the three sites considered here confirms that architectural and honorific monuments continued to be erected under these emperors. Moreover, Trajan is known to have had close ties to North Africa and Hadrian to the Greek East, which is reflected in the geographical spread of Hadrianic/Trajanic groups that do survive: Italy (14, 29%), Asia Minor (13, 27%), Greece/Islands (9, 19%), North Africa (7, 15%), Spain/France (3, 6%), Danube/Balkan provinces (1, 2%), Arabia/Syria-Palestine (1, 2%) (figure 5.4). The situation therefore is difficult to explain, but given the caveats discussed above in relation to the limited and incomplete evidence of dynastic groups, an absence of preserved material should not be taken as proof that no dynastic groups with these emperors ever existed.

The Antonines are second only to the Julio-Claudians in number of extant dynastic groups. Eighty-three ensembles survive, mostly from North Africa (27, 33%), but also from Asia Minor (18, 22%), Italy (17, 20%), Greece/Islands (11, 13%), Spain/France (7, 8%), and Arabia/Syria-Palestine (3, 4%) (figure 5.5). The large number of Antonine installations presumably relates to the duration of Antonine rule and the general prosperity of the second century CE. The relationship during this period between the growing concentration of wealth and power among the elite and civic dedications was discussed in Chapter Three in relation

[40] Deppmeyer 2008.

to Zuiderhoek's study of euergetism within Roman Asia Minor. Yet this wealth existed throughout the Roman Empire and along with relatively few military conflicts, fueled the dedication of dynastic donations within cities. Moreover, as Noreña argues, there was a collective ideology at this time in which the emperor figured as a paradigm of munificence and generosity.[41] Local aristocrats fashioned their behavior on that of the emperor by participating in public life and sponsoring civic benefactions in order to legitimize their own authority and reaffirm their social status. The large number of Antonine dynastic dedications thereby not only reflects the desire of patrons to honor the ruling family, but also how important it was in this period to assert one's place within the social hierarchy.

The Severan emperors have fewer dynastic groups preserved than their immediate predecessors, the Antonines. Noreña describes the decrease in honorific dedications in relation to the changing ideal of the emperor as a civic benefactor to a militaristic, autocratic power: "There could be only one dominus. And in practical terms, because they [local aristocrats] could no longer pattern their own public behavior on the model of the emperor as paradigm of ethical value and material generosity, they found less reason to expend their own resources on civic benefaction in their own communities."[42] The disappearance of the wealth, development, and overall prosperity of the second century CE meant that values and priorities changed both at the imperial and local levels, which in turn, influenced public honorific displays.

Within this investigation, five Severan groups came from Ephesus, seven from Leptis Magna, and none from Olympia. The high number of Severan ensembles at Leptis Magna is related undoubtedly to the fact that Septimius Severus was born in the city and was a great

[41] Noreña 2011, 300-324.

[42] Noreña 2011, 320.

patron of its architectural development. Yet the relatively low number of groups at Ephesus and the absence of any groups at Olympia is somewhat surprising given where other Severan installations were discovered; of the forty-nine Severan ensembles, ten (21%) come from Asia Minor, nine (19%) from Italy, eight (16%) from Greece/Islands, seven (14%) from North Africa, six (12%) from Danube/Balkan provinces, five (10%) from Arabia/Syria-Palestine, and four (8%) from Germany (figure 5.6).

The majority of the focus groups considered here also included women and children of the imperial family. Female statues are associated with the Metroon installation, the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus at Olympia, the Ephesian Bouleuterion/Odeion group, and the Leptis Magna cycle. Young children appeared in the Nymphaeum and Bouleuterion/Odeion installations. Other familial groups included women and children as well, such as the Antonine and Severan groups from the theaters at Ephesus and Leptis Magna. The inclusion of female statues in displays of the Greek East is not necessarily innovative; epigraphic studies confirm a long tradition in this region of female honorific statues in contrast to Rome.[43] Yet this does not mean one should overlook the representations of women or regard them as standard or formulaic. Rather, the incorporation of female images into these dynastic groups was purposeful and carried meaning. As S. Dillon argues, the increasing visibility of women in the honorific landscape is not necessarily a reflection of any rise in female power or influence, but instead relates to the importance of

[43] Kajava 1990; Flory 1993; 1996; Wood 1999; Boatwright 2000b; Fejfer 2008, Part III; Alexandridis 2010a; Dillon 2010. The earliest literary evidence for statues of Roman women in the Greek East dates from 184 BCE in a speech given by Cato the Censor, who opposed honorary statues of women in the provinces. In terms of epigraphic and archaeological evidence, Kajava 1990, analyzes forty-two inscriptions from the Greek East dating to the Late Republican and Early Augustan periods. She finds that out of these forty-two, thirty-seven mention women, the earliest of which dates to the early first century BCE and comes from the agora at Magnesia on the Maeander. In addition, Kajava finds that the sites with the most female honorific monuments include Athens, Thespiae, and Oropus.

these statues for politics, dynastic ambitions, and claims of legitimacy.[44] Indeed, it was the female members of the imperial household that helped forge alliances between powerful families and ensure the continuity of the dynasty.

The inclusion of women and children within numerous dynastic groups both at the three sites of this investigation and throughout the Mediterranean suggests a centralized approach for representations of the imperial family.[45] Rather than erect a statue of the emperor, which would have been the simplest way to honor the ruler, patrons included wives, mothers, sisters, and children in order to create elaborate group monuments. Moreover, some of these personages were rather obscure figures, such as Livilla in the group from the *Forum Vetus* at Leptis Magna. The fact that Livilla was represented at all suggests that the city received an official notice listing her name since after her divorce from Tiberius in 12 BCE, she rarely was mentioned in honorific inscriptions. The relative obscurity of the female figures from the *Forum Vetus* group also is reflected in the dedicatory inscription, which details the relationship of the women to the male family members. Representations of children suggest a centralized approach since their portraits surely posed a challenge to patrons and artists in terms of statuary design (especially for very young children) and arrangement. Such challenges were apparent with the sculptural programs of the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus at Olympia and the Bouleuterion/Odeion at Ephesus. The evidence therefore suggests that municipal elites received directives from Rome regarding whom to include within familial groups, but it is unclear if this centralized system influenced the layouts of dynastic groups as well. The design parallels between the installations at the

[44] Dillon 2010, 164-169. Also see Boatwright 2000b, who discusses how the specific settings of female statues determined their meaning.

[45] For representations of women throughout the empire see Alexandridis 2004.

three sites of this investigation and groups in Rome, however (e.g. as discussed in Chapter Four for the Pantheon and arches in Rome), suggest that at least some patrons used inspiration from the capital in the creation of their dynastic dedications.

In addition, the notion that provincial patrons received information from Rome regarding the representation of the imperial family is supported by typological studies of imperial portraiture. Scholars such as Boschung have demonstrated through detailed copy comparison that centrally designed portraits were distributed and then replicated within a local framework in order to ensure that imperial personages would be recognizable throughout the empire.[46] Modern scholars have criticized this approach because it precludes conscious deviation from official types and directives due to artistic license, local preferences, or other various reasons.[47] Nonetheless, as R.R.R. Smith states, "Any theoretical counter-hypothesis would need to propose a comprehensive model that will account for the beguiling combination of diversity and recognizable typology within this body of well studied material."[48] Thus, patrons likely received, replicated, and adapted imperial directives regarding dynastic representations in the same manner they did for imperial portraits.

A centralized approach does not mean that dynastic groups did not exhibit differences. Indeed, the familial ensembles of this investigation undoubtedly have many distinct elements, but ultimately the honorific act at Olympia, Ephesus, and Leptis Magna was the same. The lack of regional differences in setting up imperial groups guaranteed that

[46] Boschung 1993.

[47] Rose 2003; Alexandridis 2004, especially Chapter 2, 7-12; Riccardi 2007; Fejfer 2008, 407-419.

[48] Smith 1996, 35.

a viewer anywhere in the empire could identify the ruler and his family. This one again underlines Noreña's concept of ideological unification:

> And the collective representation and idealization of the figure of the Roman emperor, both at Rome and throughout the provinces, in official and unofficial media alike – in the same terms, at the same time, but in very different places – indicates that the dispersed aristocracies of the Roman world, both central and local, had indeed achieved a high degree of ideological unification.[49]

Thus, the public representation of the emperor and his family in similar formats throughout the empire confirms a certain level of ideological reciprocity among patrons of dynastic groups despite geographical distance. This collective ideology provided a "symbolic glue" that allowed for the long-term maintenance and survival of the imperial political system.[50]

The analyses of patronage presented in each chapter of this investigation suggest that the dedication of imperial honors was not the prerogative of individuals or civic groups, but was shared by both. Consideration of comparative material supported this conclusion as well. The comparanda were important to consider given that, except for the city of Elis presumably setting up the first-century BCE/CE statues in the Metroon, all other focus groups considered here were erected by prominent individuals. The Nymphaeum at Olympia was a donation of Herodes Atticus and his wife Regilla. The Ephesian Nymphaeum of Trajan likewise was funded by Tiberius Claudius Aristion, a local official associated with several major construction projects within the city. Publius Vedius Antoninus and his wife Flavia Papiane dedicated the sculptures from the Bouleuterion/Odeion complex at Ephesus. The group from the *Forum Vetus* at Leptis Magna can be associated with the suffetes Balyathon, son of Annus Gaius Saturninus, and Bodmelqart, son of Bodmelqart Tabahpi Greculo (phase one), and later (phase four) with two Roman officials, M. Pompeius Silvanus,

[49] Noreña 2011, 312.

[50] Noreña 2011, 302.

proconsul of Africa, and Q. Cassius Gratus, *legatus pro praetor* of Africa. Other dynastic groups at these three sites provide additional evidence of cities and civic bodies donating honorific monuments, but also confirm that individuals played a leading role in shaping the honorific landscape of a city. Thus, setting aside a consideration of the comparative material, it would appear that individual patrons monopolized imperial dynastic dedications. While the municipal elite certainly played an important role in the installation of honorific displays, the larger body of evidence suggests that civic groups were equally significant in the process.

I also speculated on patrons' motivations and the purposes of dynastic dedications within the contextualization sections of each chapter. Obviously, the erection of a lavish benefaction advertised a donor's loyalty to the ruling dynasty as well as his or her personal wealth and influence within a local context. Representations of the ruling family also connected dedicators to imperial power and visualized any personal relationships they had with the household (e.g. Herodes Atticus and Regilla's relationship with Faustina the Elder; Publius Vedius Antoninus' relationship with Hadrian and Antoninus Pius). Additionally, dynastic ensembles could be cultic (e.g. Metroon statues; statues inside the Temple of Rome and Augustus at Leptis Magna) or utilitarian (Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus; Nymphaeum of Trajan), and they certainly added to the grandeur and adornment of a city.

The competitive aspect of euergetism is perhaps a less explicit motivation for the dedication of a dynastic group. For example, Elean participation in the statuary dedications of the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus acknowledged the benefaction of Herodes and Regilla, but simultaneously competed with the two private patrons by requiring them to share any acclaim for such a grandiose monument. Similarly, the decision by Tiberius Claudius Aristion and Julia Lydia Laterane to include statues of themselves within the niches of the

Nymphaeum of Trajan at Ephesus allowed them to erect a monument that seemingly glorified the imperial household, but that also subtly honored their own family as well. The letters of Antoninus Pius affixed to the *scaenae frons* of the Bouleuterion/Odeion at Ephesus likewise can be interpreted as a way for the patrons to compete with local aristocrats. Thus, donors certainly erected imperial dynastic groups with the purpose of honoring members of the ruling household and demonstrating loyalty, yet they also were motivated by local politics and the need to distinguish themselves within the competitive sphere of euergetism.

Imperial Dynastic Groups in Context

The process of euergetism was defined in the introduction of this study as "the spending of private funds on public works projects and amenities in return for status and honor." Euergetism therefore involved elites as patrons and the civic population as beneficiary. Thus far, this study largely has focused on the elites making these dedications and their motivations for doing so. It was shown that by setting up dynastic ensembles, prominent citizens were able to express both their loyalty and gratitude toward the imperial household as well as visually convey their power, wealth, and prestige to the community. Yet how did the local population respond to such gifts? How and when did the ancient viewer see these monuments and what sort of impact did they have on the everyday life of a city and its citizens?[51] Such questions are important to consider since it was this impact that

[51] These types of questions have been the focus of recent studies. For example, Scott 2010, uses spatial analyses of Olympia and Delphi in order to understand how visitors interacted with the sanctuaries in the Archaic and Classical periods. Also see the review by Voyatzis 2011. Stewart 2003, is concerned with Roman responses to statues as a collective entity based upon literary, epigraphic, and artistic sources. Keesling 2003, considers the votive statues from the Athenian Acropolis, and later, in 2007, the early Hellenistic honorific portraiture from the same site. Also see Boschung 2002, 168-171.

was the fundamental reason for a patron to invest in such grand and elaborate sculptural displays.

The above discussion demonstrated that dynastic sculpture was erected in areas of a city that were visited frequently by the majority of the population. These communal areas ensured maximum visibility and interaction with the statues by local citizens and visitors. Indeed, such places as fountains, fora, agorai, and entertainment venues certainly were visited on a daily basis by a large number of people. Moreover, within the individual chapters of this study I have attempted to provide spatial analyses that consider the viewing experience of each focus group within its specific setting. I examine sight lines, patterns of movement, and overall impact of a display site in order to determine the special relationship between a dynastic dedication and its particular context. In the end, I believe that situating these familial groups within their broader surroundings and considering their relation to other architectural and honorific foundations demonstrates that such groups were not merely decorative adornments to a cityscape, but were integral components of the urban fabric and collective experience of a site. Additionally, dynastic dedications were carefully crafted installations that expressed publicly both the ideological unification and specific local identities of their patrons.

The importance of dynastic displays for the identity of a city and its municipal elite is exemplified by the Salutaris foundation at Ephesus. C. Vibius Salutaris was a Roman citizen and a member of a distinguished equestrian family. In 104 CE he founded two civic rituals, namely a series of annual lotteries and cash distributions and a bi-weekly procession of statues and images that passed through the streets of Ephesus.[52] The processional images included thirty-one gold and silver statues of mythological and imperial personages as well

[52] For more on C. Vibius Salutaris and his foundation see Oliver 1941; Rogers 1991.

as personifications of the Roman Senate, the equestrian order, the people of Rome, and the city of Ephesus. A study of Salutaris' foundation by G.M. Rogers attempts to reconstruct the route of the statuary procession, finding that it began and ended at the Temple of Artemis, outside the city walls.[53] In the intervening period, the images were carried throughout the major streets of the city, including the Curetes and Marble Streets, which thereby meant that the procession passed by all major buildings and monuments of the city. In this way, the dynastic sculpture of Ephesus became a part of the experience of civic ritual.

The Ephesian ritual procession of the Salutaris foundation is just one example of a common element of urban life in antiquity.[54] Another procession through Gytheion began at the Temples of Asklepios and Hygieia and culminated at the theater. As with the Ephesian ritual, the procession at Gytheion incorporated images of the imperial family.[55] C. Leypold also explores how statues set up within the Altis at Olympia functioned as silent spectators of the acts of worship that took place there, and as immobile participants in processions leading into and out of the sanctuary.[56]

The link between dynastic display, daily activities, and ceremonial rituals allowed imperial family groups to be seen not only in quotidian circumstances but also as elements of special events that helped define the identity of a city. This link underlines the fact that dynastic ensembles, even static ones, ultimately became an integral part of the urban landscape. Although they may have been set up in reaction to or influenced by imperial directives, the groups were fundamentally local creations that conveyed the ideals of a

[53] Rogers 1991, 80-126.

[54] Price 1984, 101-114; Boschung 2002, 174-179.

[55] Price 1984, 210-211; Rose 1997, 142-144; Boschung 2002, 177-178; Sturgeon 2004b, 32-33.

[56] Leypold [Forthcoming a and b]. Also see Sinn 2004, 233-249.

society and whose meanings were derived from their specific architectural, topographical, and socio-political contexts.

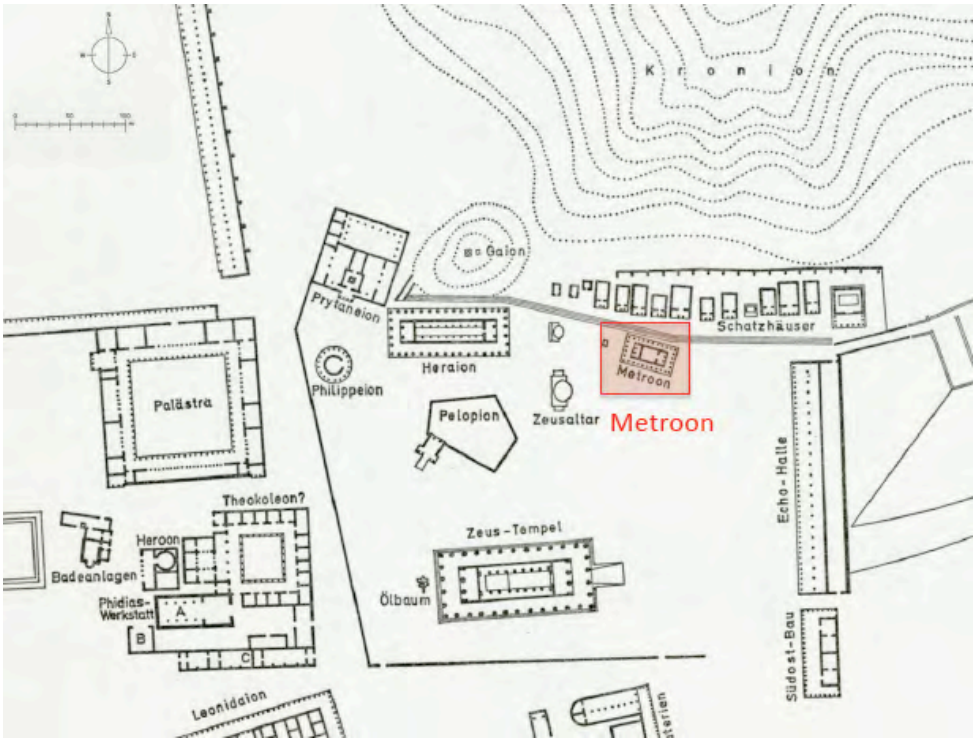
FIGURES

Introduction: Figure 1.1
Map with locations of the study's three primary sites
(Image source: Google Earth)

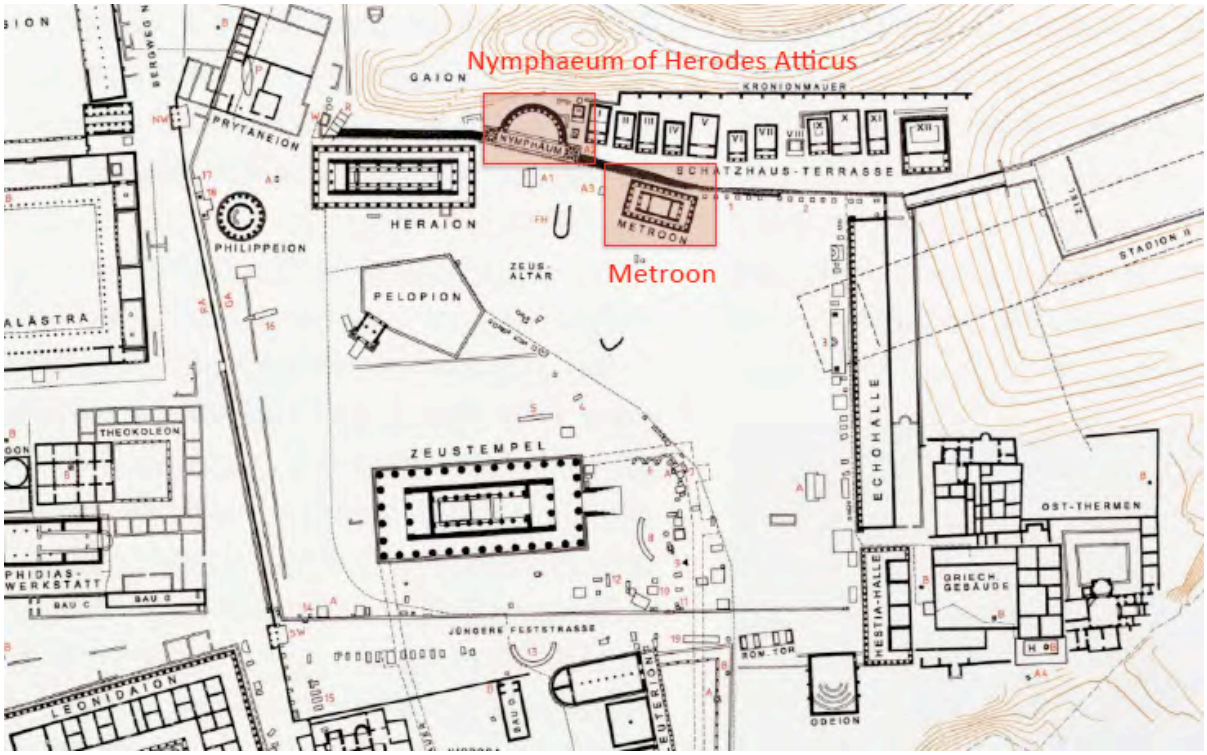
Julio-Claudians	Flavians	Trajan/ Hadrian	Antonines	Severans
Casinum	Gabinum	Ephesus	Ostia	Gabinum
Herculaneum	Herculaneum	Pergamon	Olympia	Sparta
Rusellae	Misenum	Perge	Bubon	Cuicul
Velleia	Velleia		Ephesus	
Olympia	Narona		Nysa	
Thasos	Olympia		Thamugadi	
Leptis Magna	Kestros		Thugga	
Total = 7	Total = 7	Total = 3	Total = 7	Total = 3

Introduction: Figure 1.2
Chart listing ancient sites with dynastic groups that have known statues, patrons, and contexts, organized by dynasty
(Image source: Author)

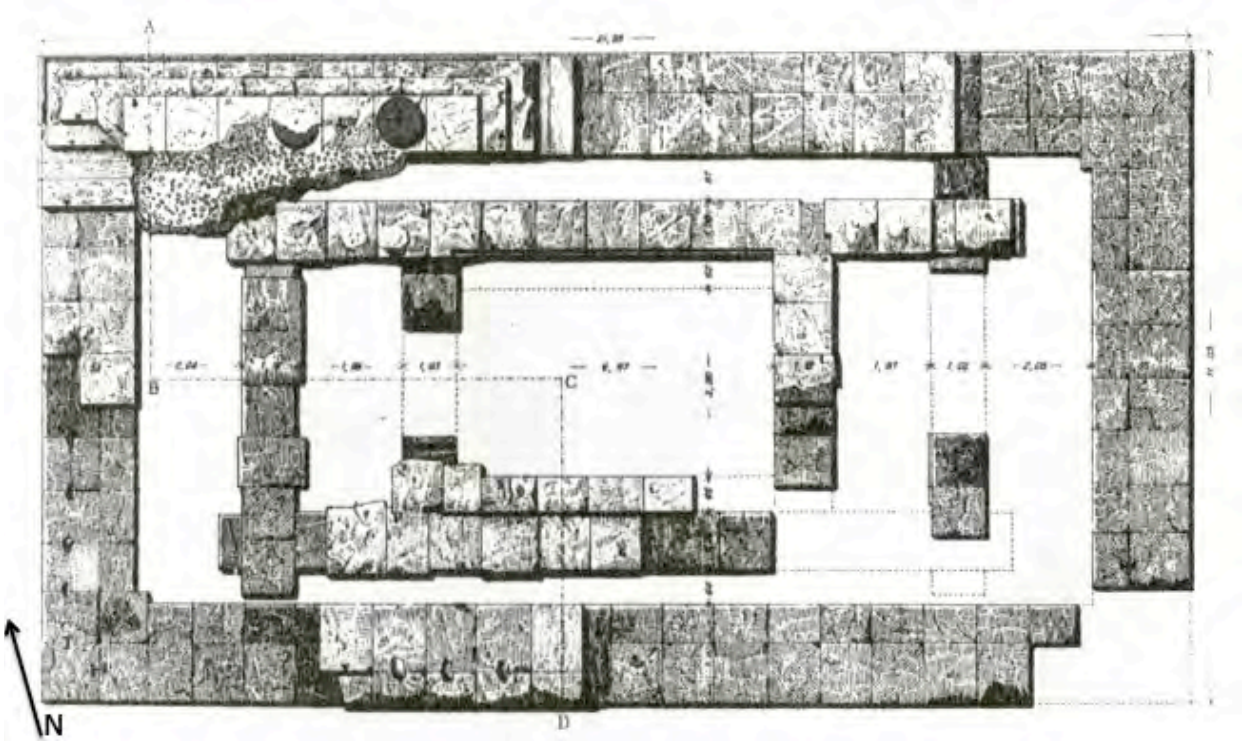
Olympia: Figure 2.1
Map of Olympia
(Image source: Google Earth)



Olympia: Figure 2.2
Olympia in the Hellenistic period (3rd - 1st centuries BCE)
(Image source: Herrmann 1972, Figure 123)



Olympia: Figure 2.3
Olympia in the Roman imperial period (1st - 3rd centuries CE)
(Image source: Kyrieleis 2011, Figure 4)

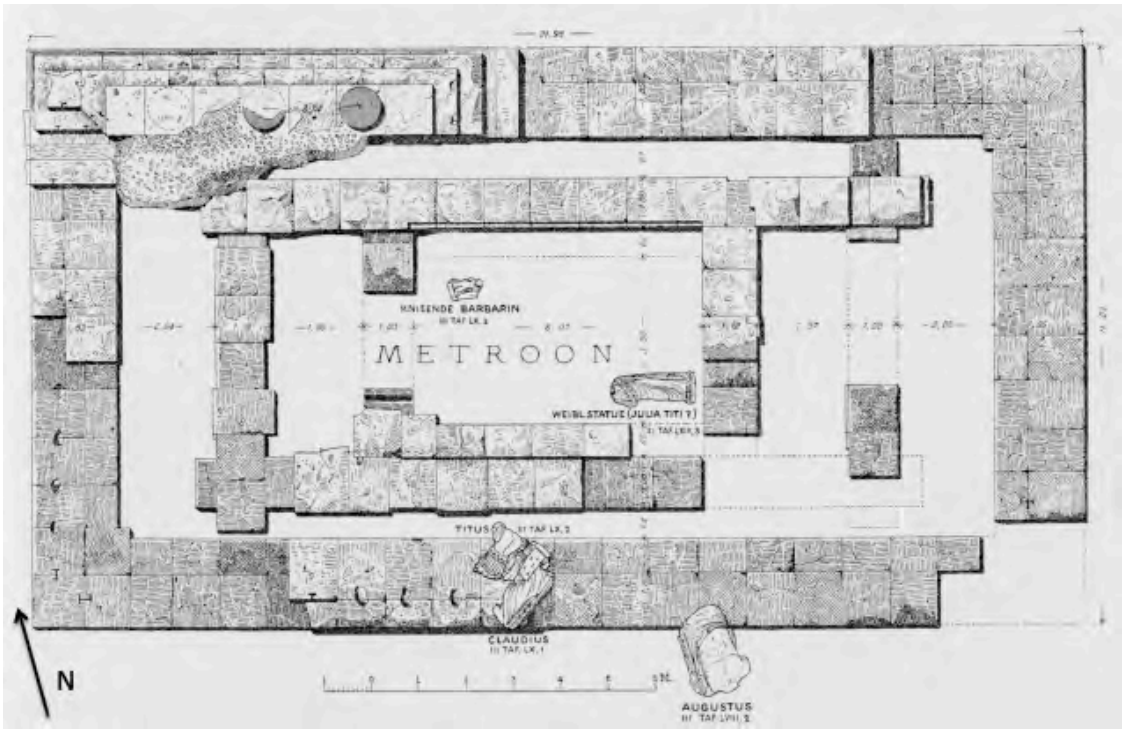


Olympia: Figure 2.4
Metroon, ground plan after 1878 excavation
(Image source: Hitzl 1991, Figure 1)

Olympia: Figure 2.5
Architrave inscription of the Metroon (1.04 L x 0.625 H x 0.25-0.29 W m)
(Image source: Hitzl 1991, Plate 1)

Olympia: Figure 2.6
Sketch of the architrave inscription
(Image source: Hitzl 1991, Figure 3)

Olympia: Figure 2.7
Reconstructed architrave inscription with dotted additions, after Hitzl 1991
(Image source: Hitzl 1991, Figure 4)

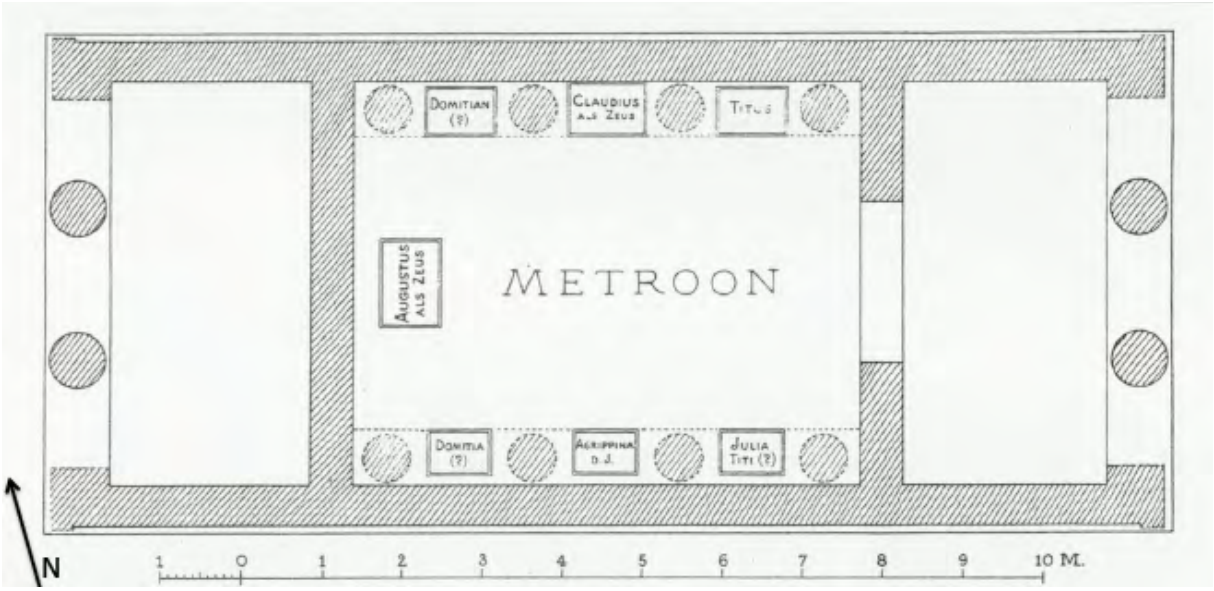


Olympia: Figure 2.8
Metroon, ground plan with the sculptural finds
(Image source: Treu 1896, Figure 281)

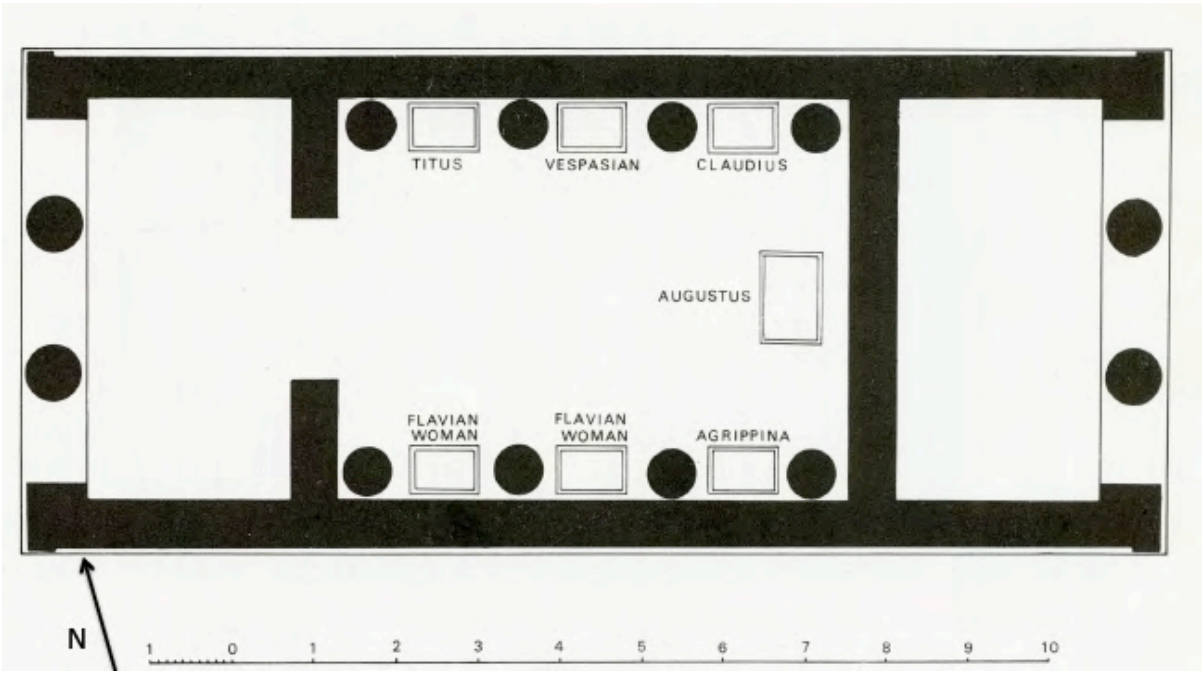
Olympia: Figure 2.9
Olympia Museum Λ 110, torso of the colossal statue of Augustus
(Image source: Hitzl 1991, Plate 2)

Olympia: Figure 2.10
Olympia Museum Λ 126, statue of Nero with portrait of Titus
(Image source: Hitzl 1991, Plate 20)

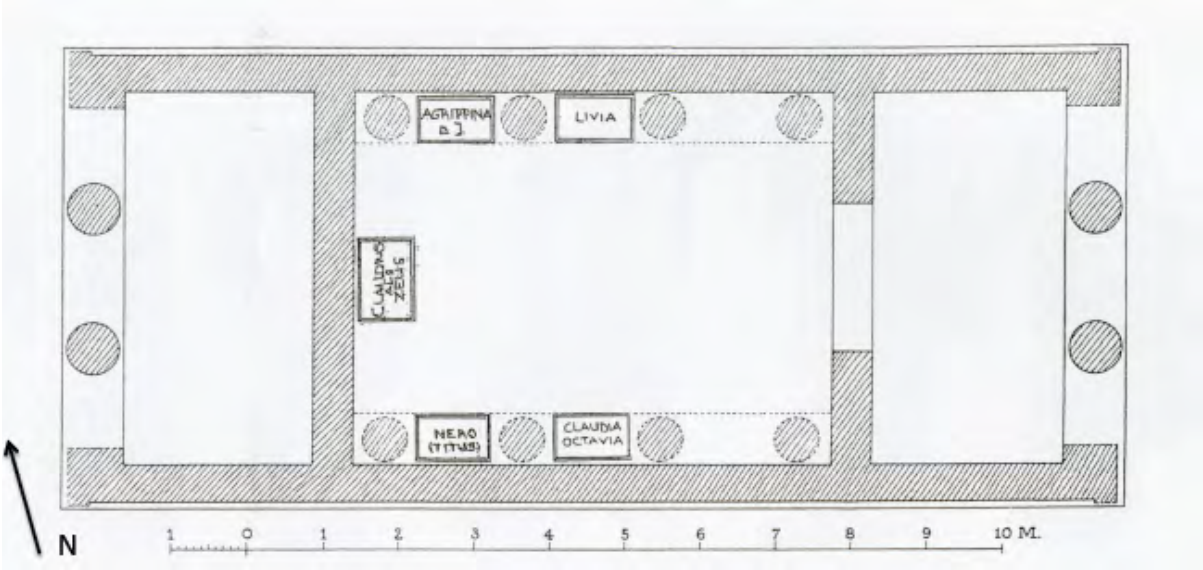
Olympia: Figure 2.11
Olympia Museum Λ 143, statue of Agrippina the Younger (?)
(Image source: Hitzl 1991, Plate 15)



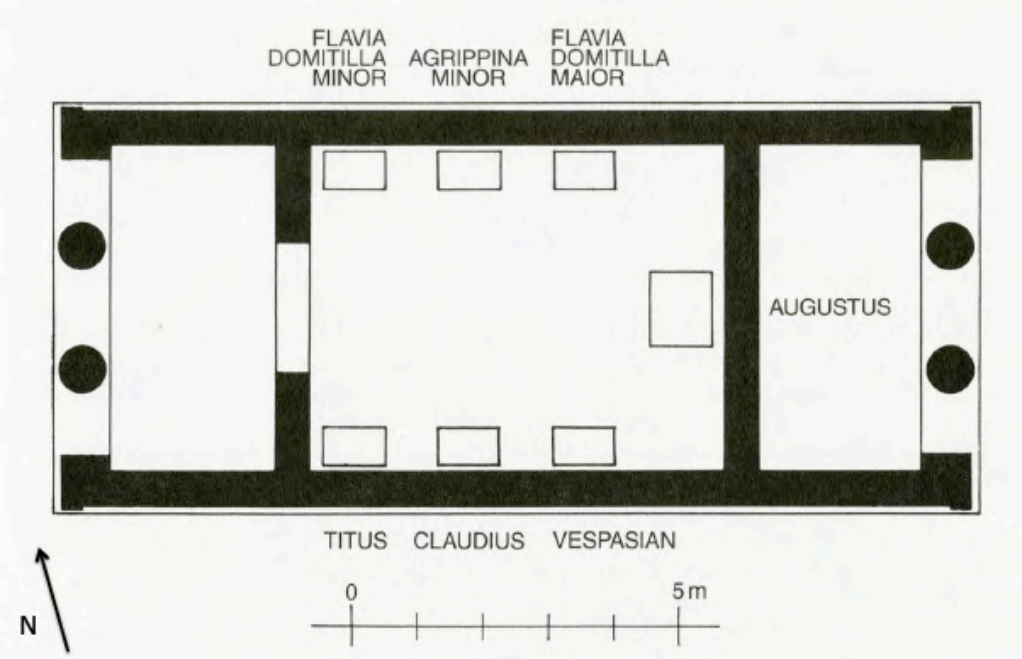
Olympia: Figure 2.12
Arrangement of the imperial statues in the cella of the Metroon, after Treu 1896
(Image source: Treu 1896, Figure 291)



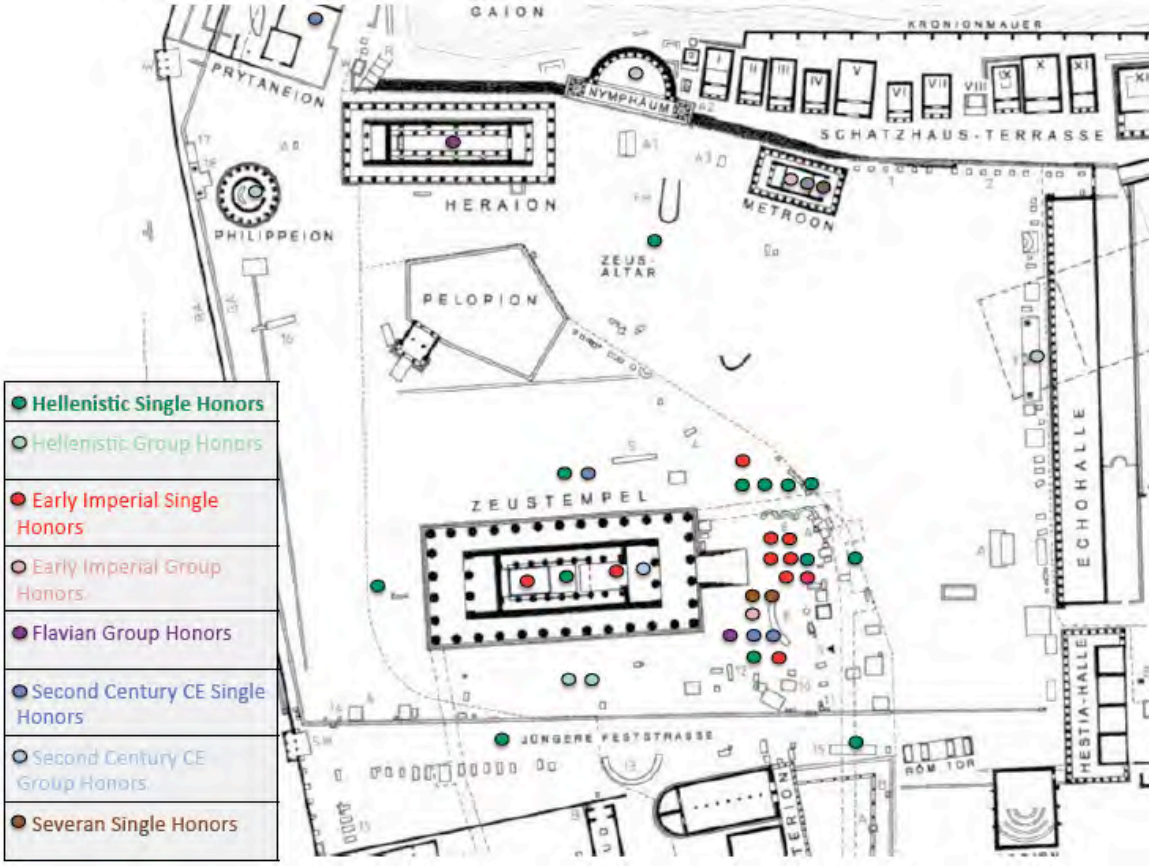
Olympia: Figure 2.13
Arrangement of the imperial statues in the cella of the Metroon, after Stone 1985
(Image source: Stone 1985, Figure III.1)



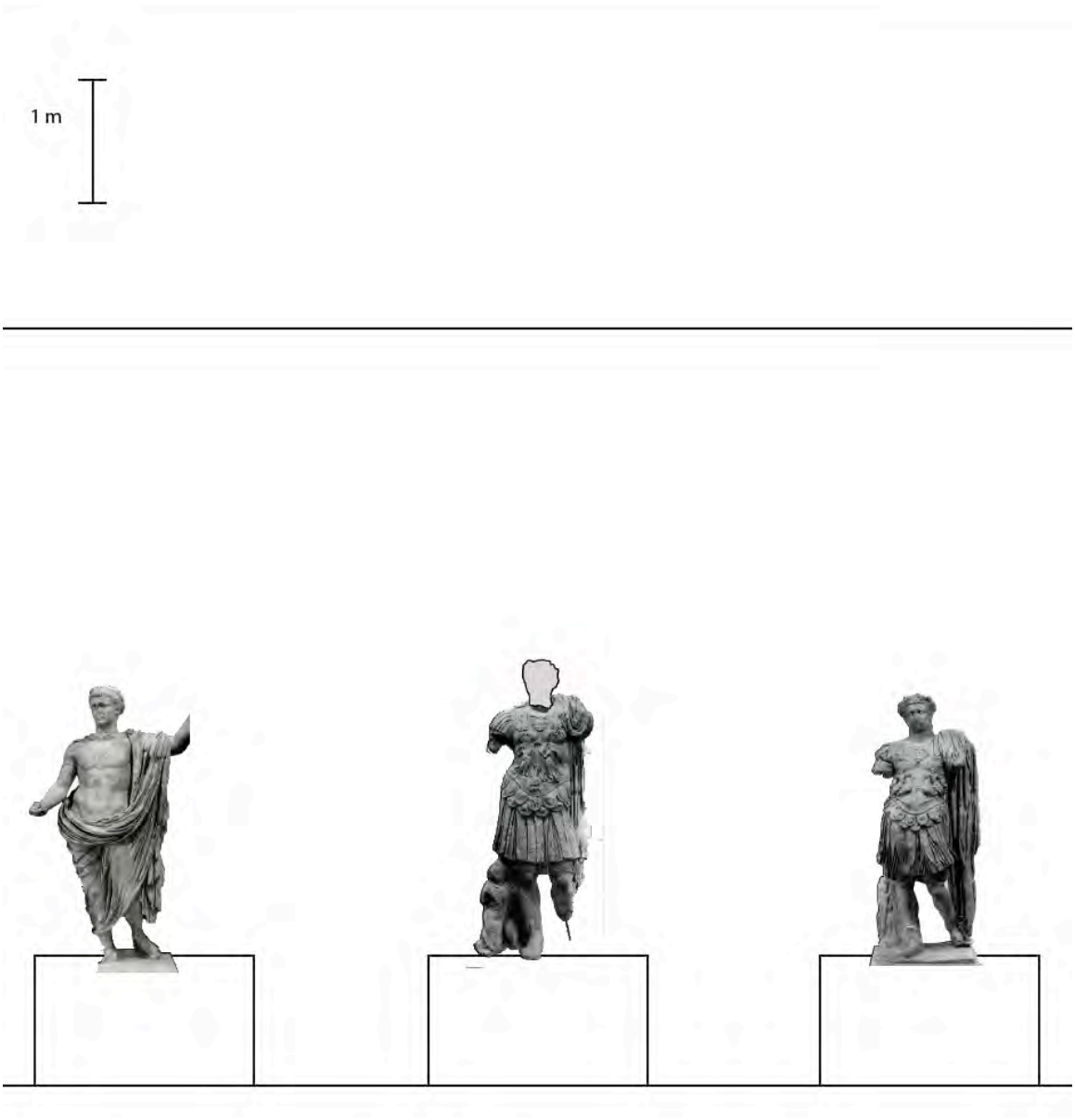
Olympia: Figure 2.14
Arrangement of the imperial statues in the cella of the Metroon, after Bol and Bol 2011
(Image source: Bol and Bol 2011, Figure 10)



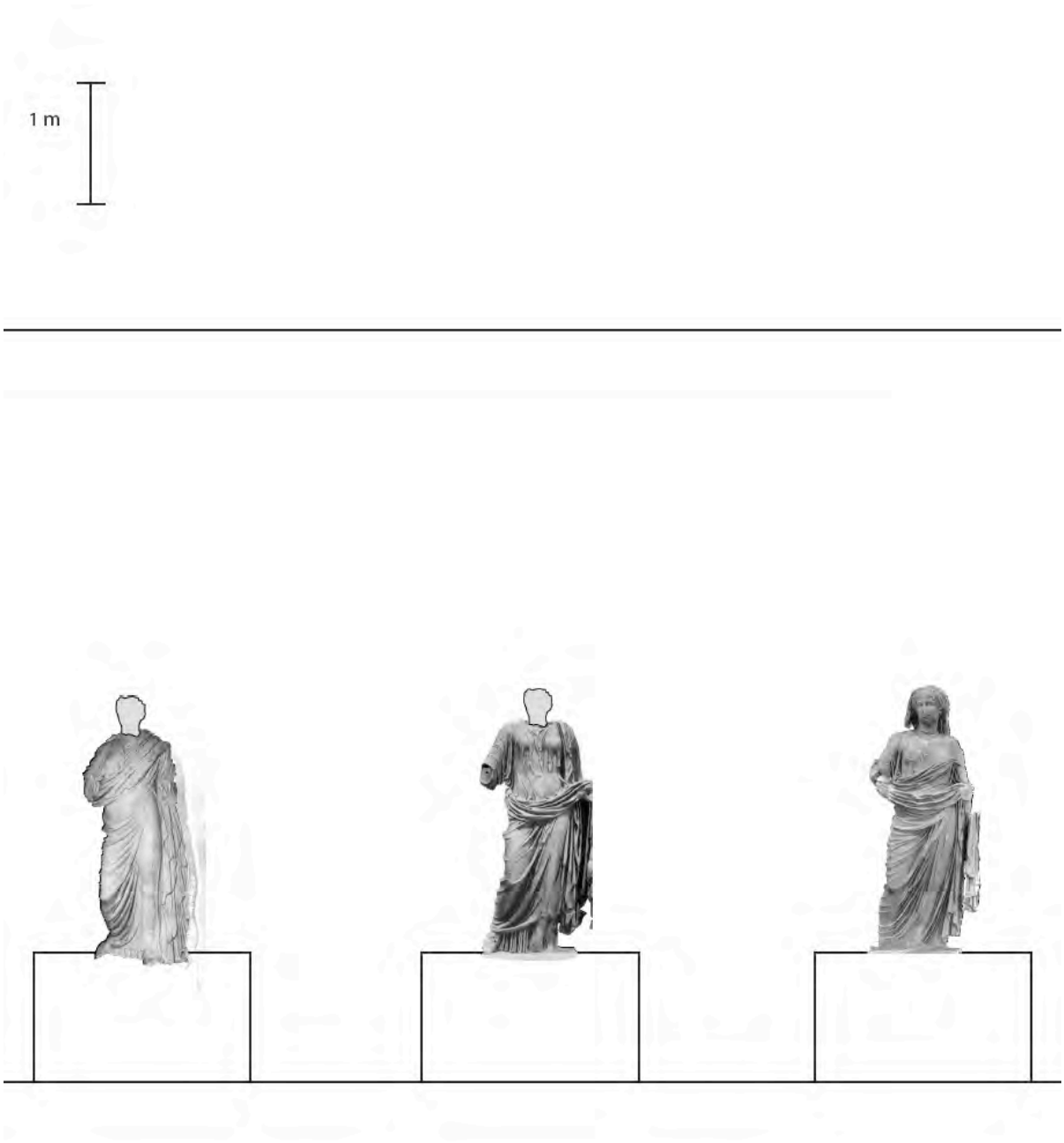
Olympia: Figure 2.15
Arrangement of the imperial statues in the cella of the Metroon, after Hitzl 1991
(Image source: Hitzl 1991, Figure 8)



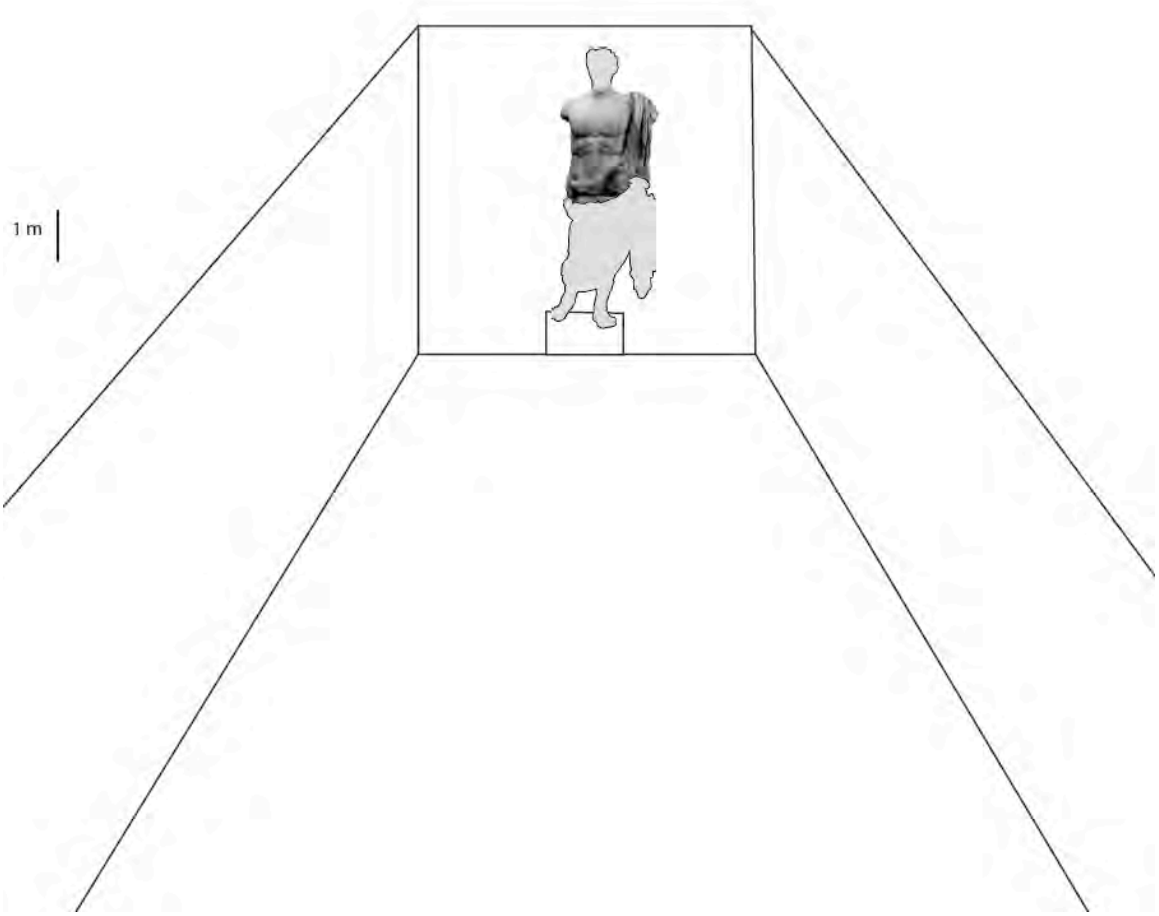
Olympia: Figure 2.16
Find spots of material
(Image source: Author)



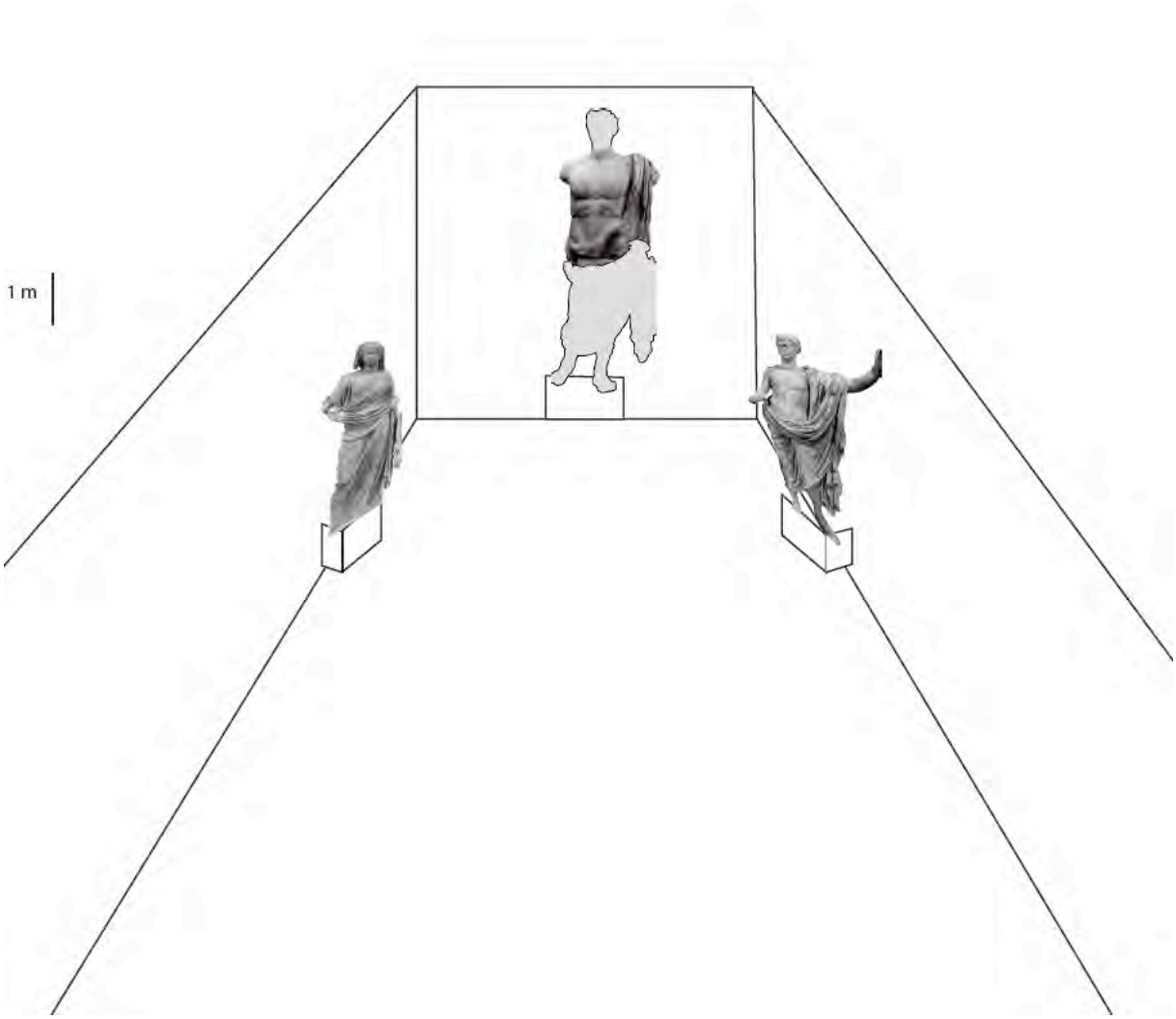
Olympia: Figure 2.17
Hypothetical view of the Metroon cella with statues of Claudius, Vespasian, and Titus, after ca. 70 CE
(Image source: Author)



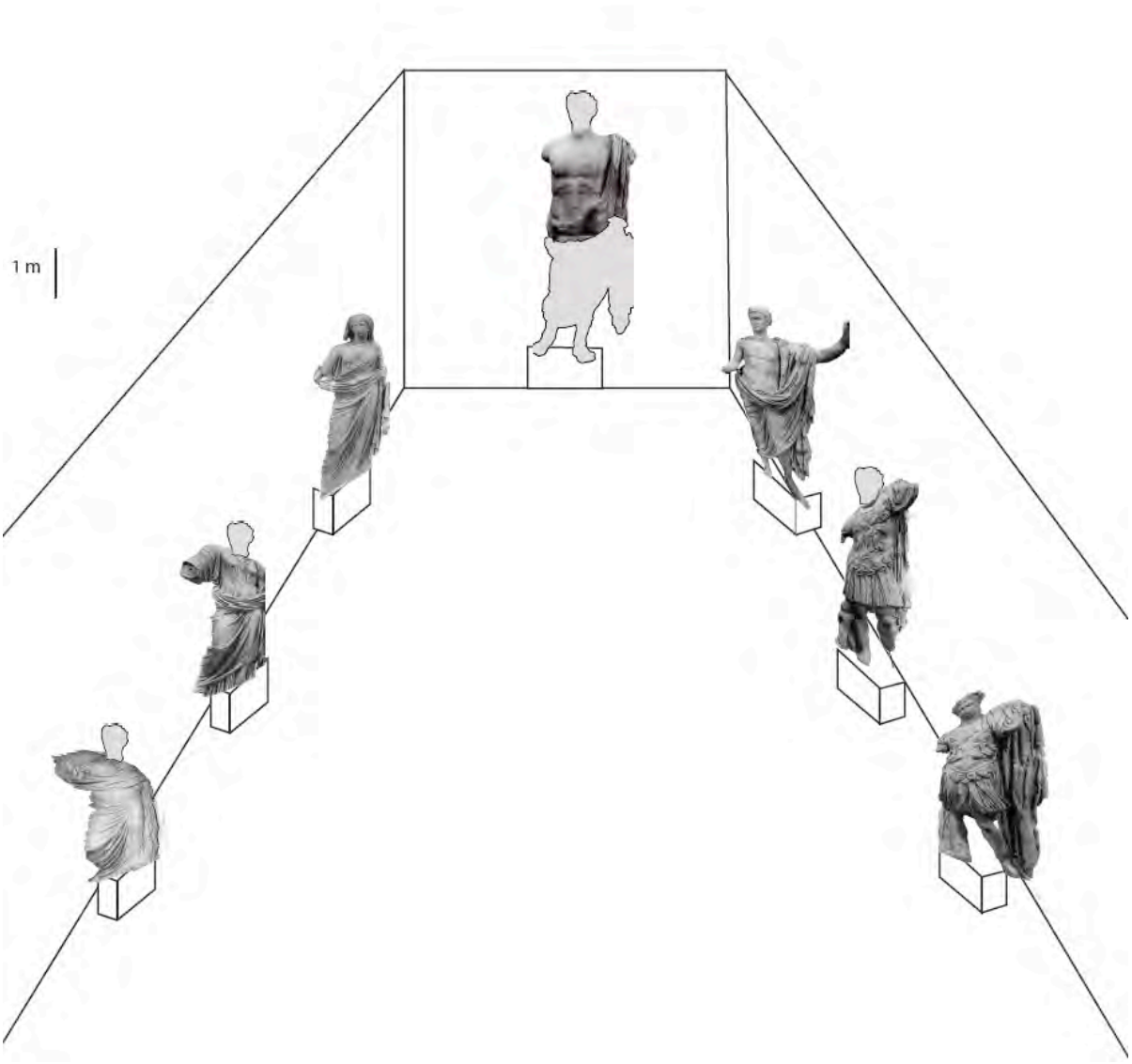
Olympia: Figure 2.18
Hypothetical view of the Metroon cella with statues of the two Flavia Domitillae and Agrippina the Younger, after ca. 70 CE
(Image source: Author)



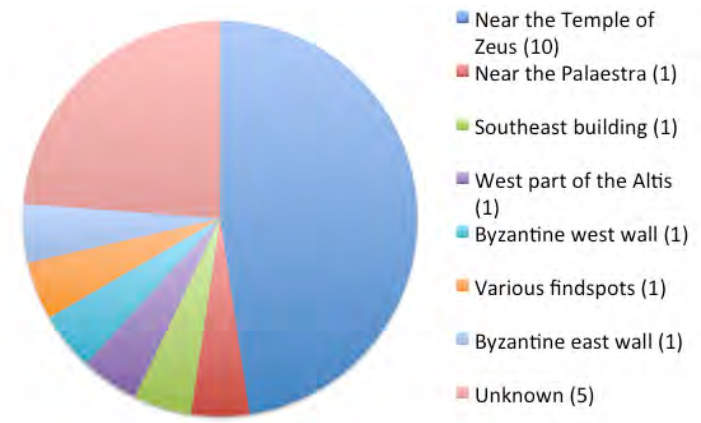
Olympia: Figure 2.19
Hypothetical view of the Metroon cella with the colossal statue of Augustus, after ca. 40 BCE
(Image source: Author)



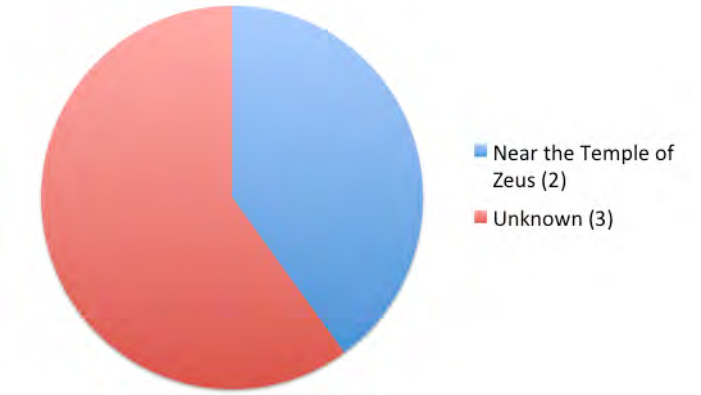
Olympia: Figure 2.20
Hypothetical view of the Metroon cella with statues of Augustus, Agrippina the Younger and Claudius, ca. 42/3 CE
(Image source: Author)



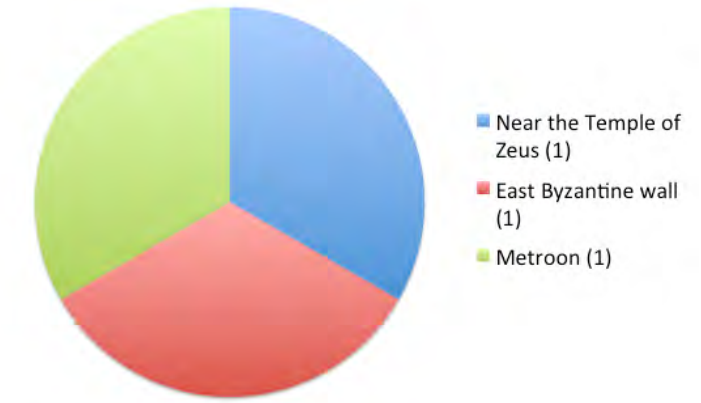
Olympia: Figure 2.21
Hypothetical view of the Metroon cella with statues of the two Flavia Domitillae, Agrippina the Younger, Augustus, Claudius, Vespasian, and Titus, after ca. 70 CE
(Image source: Author)



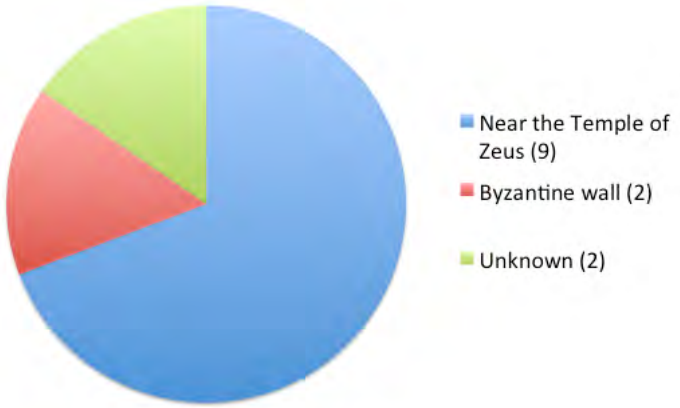
Olympia: Figure 2.22
Find spots of Hellenistic Individual Honors (21)
(Image source: Author)



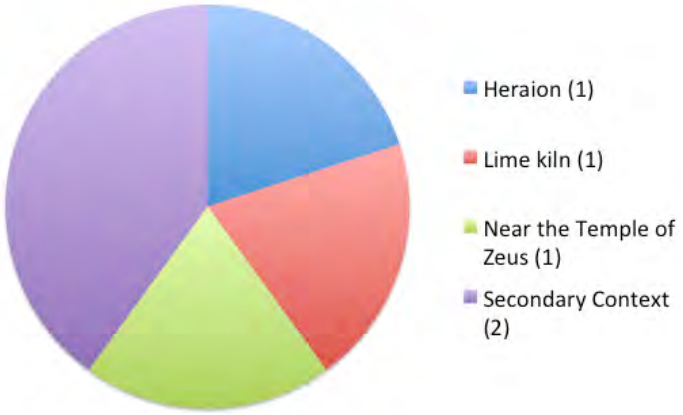
Olympia: Figure 2.23
Find spots of Hellenistic Group Honors (5)
(Image source: Author)



Olympia: Figure 2.24
Find spots of Early Imperial Individual Honors (13)
(Image source: Author)

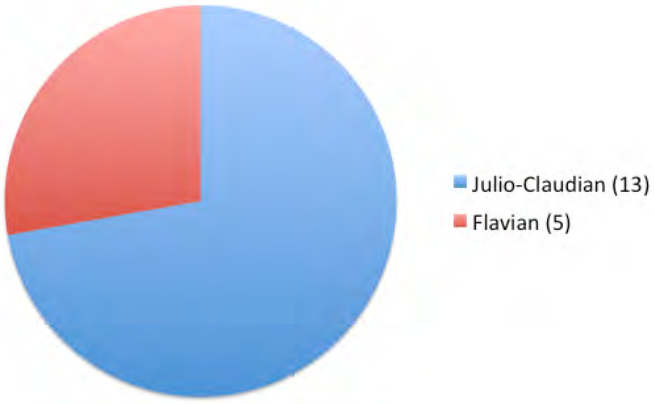


Olympia: Figure 2.25
Find spots of Early Imperial Group Honors (3)
(Image source: Author)

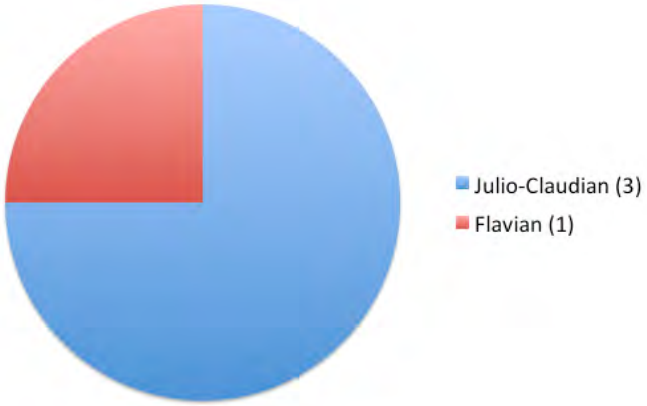


Olympia: Figure 2.26
Find spots of Flavian Individual Honors (5)
(Image source: Author)

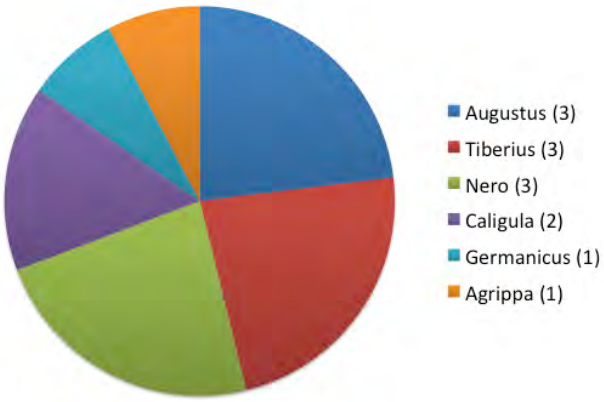
Olympia: Figure 2.27
Find spots of Flavian Group Honors (1)
(Image source: Author)



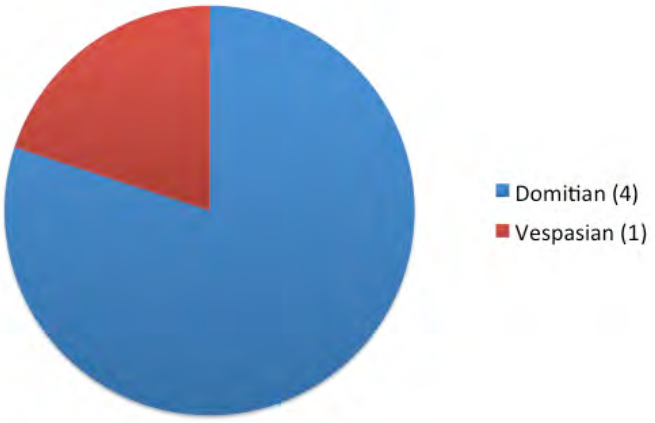
Olympia: Figure 2.28
Honorands of Julio-Claudian and Flavian Individual Honors (18)
(Image source: Author)



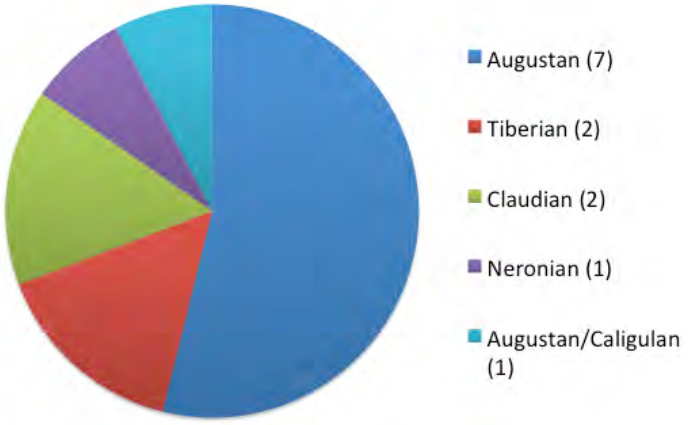
Olympia: Figure 2.29
Honorands of Julio-Claudian and Flavian Group Honors (4)
(Image source: Author)



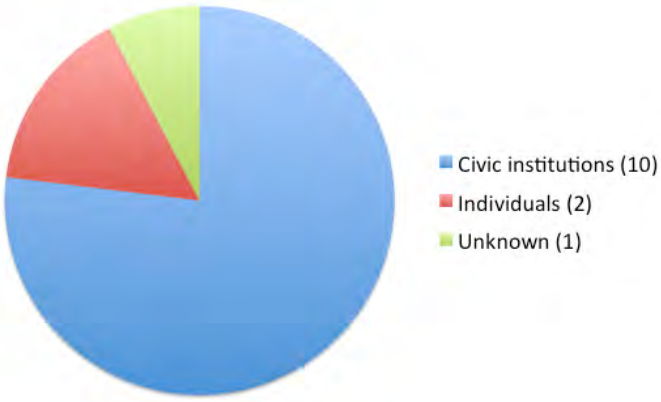
Olympia: Figure 2.30
Honorands of Julio-Claudian Individual Honors (13)
(Image source: Author)



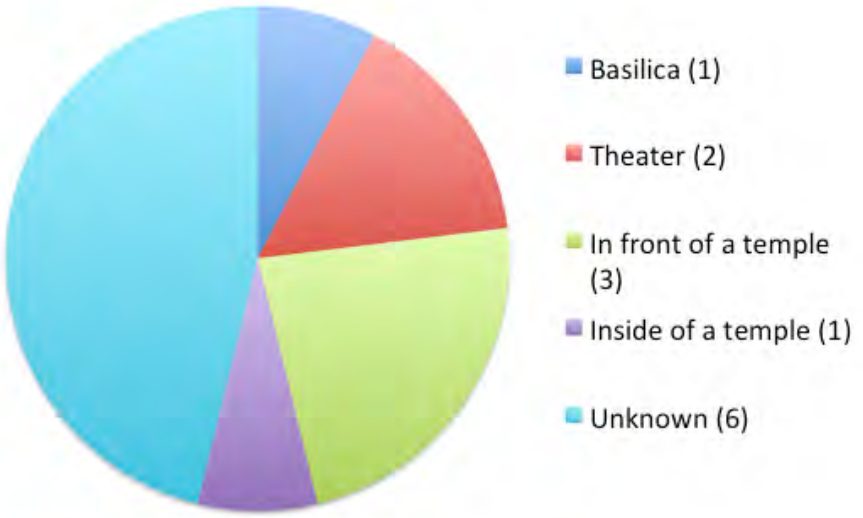
Olympia: Figure 2.31
Honorands of Flavian Individual Honors (5)
(Image source: Author)



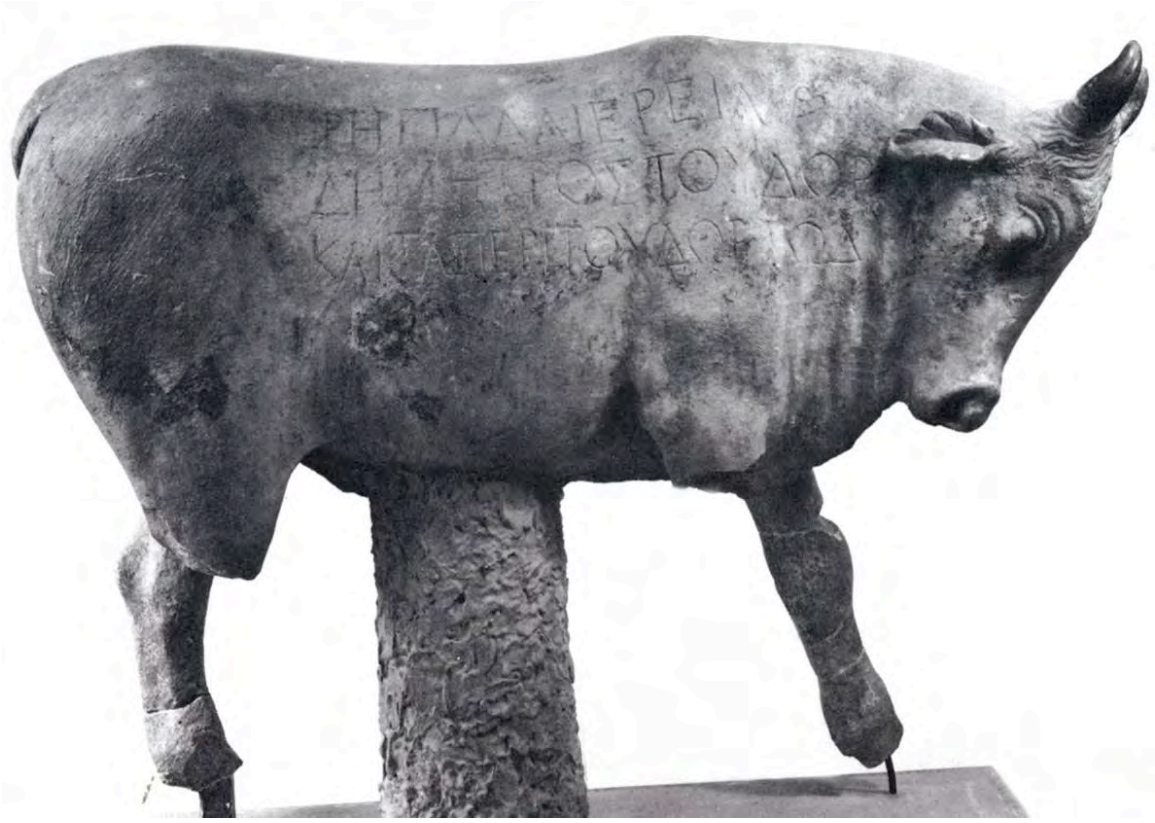
Olympia: Figure 2.32
Date of Julio-Claudian Group Honors from Greece (13)
(Image source: Author)



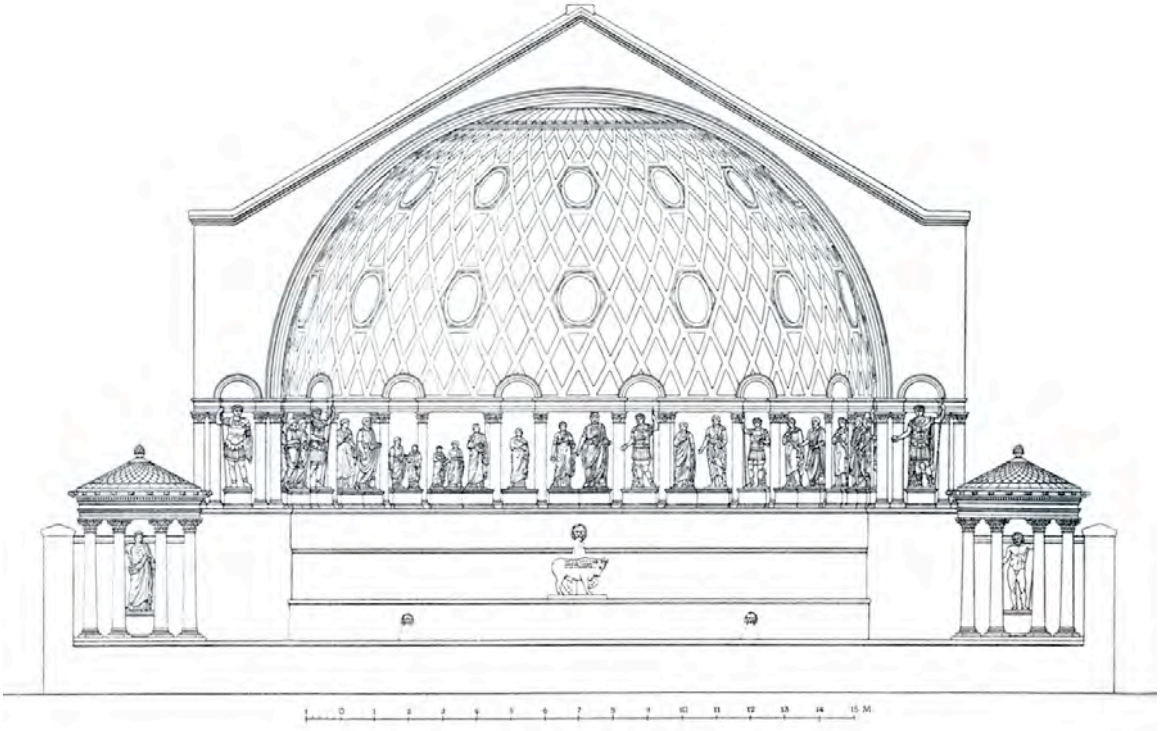
Olympia: Figure 2.33
Patrons of Julio-Claudian Group Honors From Greece (13)
(Image source: Author)



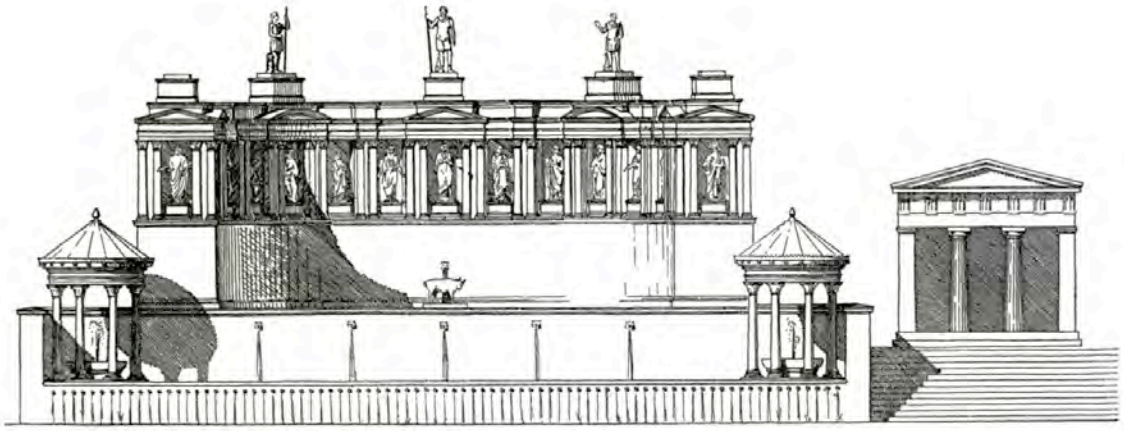
Olympia: Figure 2.34
Find spots of Julio-Claudian Group Honors from Greece (13)
(Image source: Author)



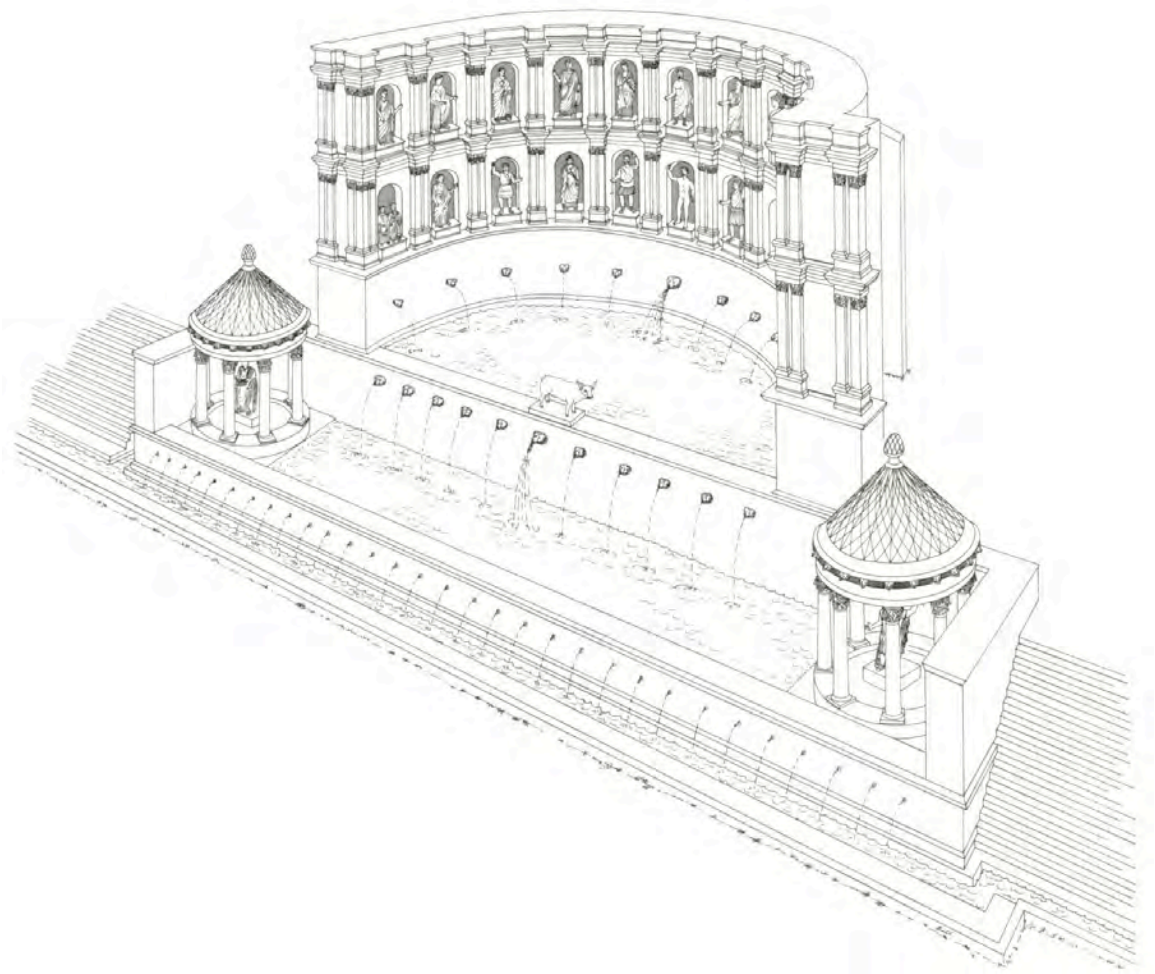
Olympia: Figure 2.35
Bull with dedicatory inscription
(Image source: Bol 1984, Plate 2)



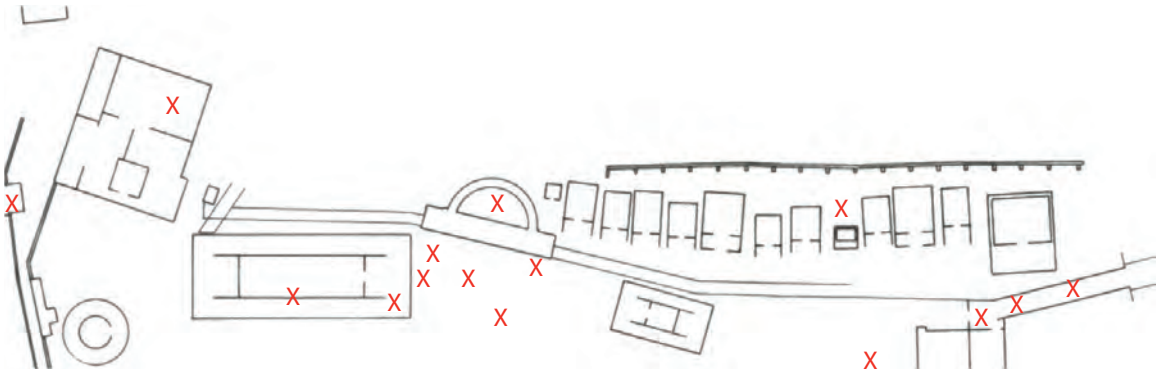
Olympia: Figure 2.36
Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus, reconstruction after Treu 1896
(Image source: Treu 1896, Figure 294)



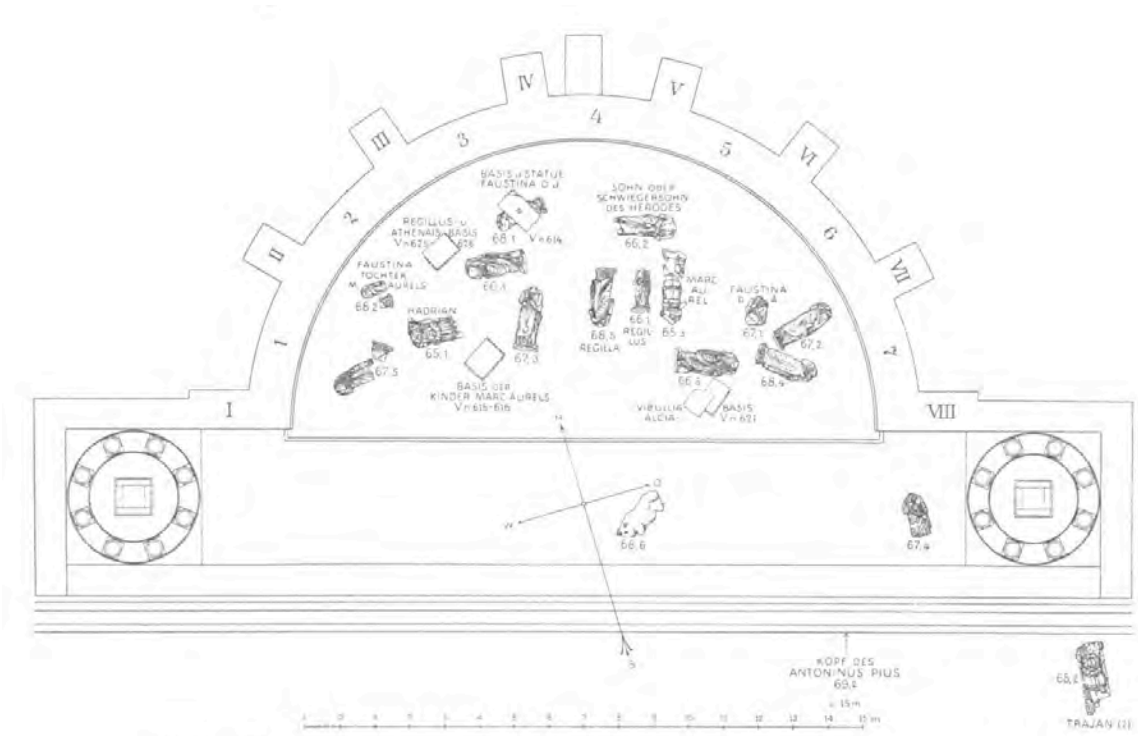
Olympia: Figure 2.37
Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus, reconstruction after Schleif and Weber 1944
(Image source: Schleif and Weber 1944, Plate 36)



Olympia: Figure 2.38
Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus, reconstruction after Bol 1984
(Image source: Bol 1984, Insert 5)



Olympia: Figure 2.39
Map indicating where the Nymphaeum bases, statues, and associated fragments were found
(Image source: partial adapted view from Bol 1984, Insert 6)



Olympia: Figure 2.40
Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus, ground plan with the sculptural finds
(Image source: Bol 1984, Figure 3)

Imperial base

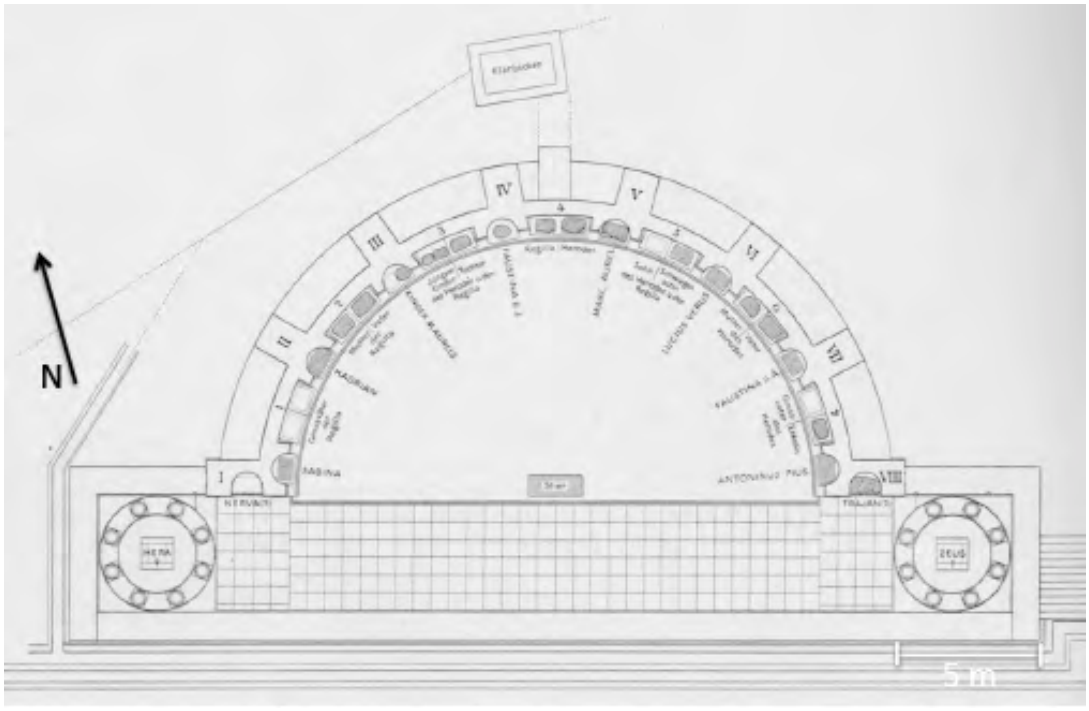
Herodian base

Olympia: Figure 2.41
Nymphaeum bases with different imperial and Herodian profiles
(Image source: Treu 1896, Figure 296a-b)

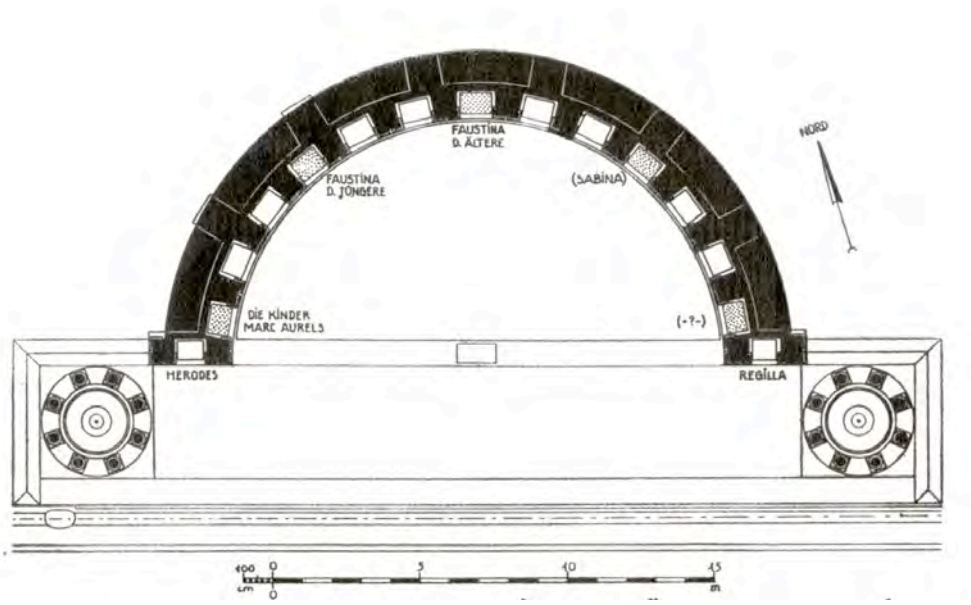
Olympia: Figure 2.42
Olympia Museum Λ 166, portrait of Lucius Verus
(Image source: Bol 1984, Plate 23)

Olympia: Figure 2.43
Olympia Museum Λ 155, statue of Faustina the Elder
(Image source: Bol 1984, Plate 37)

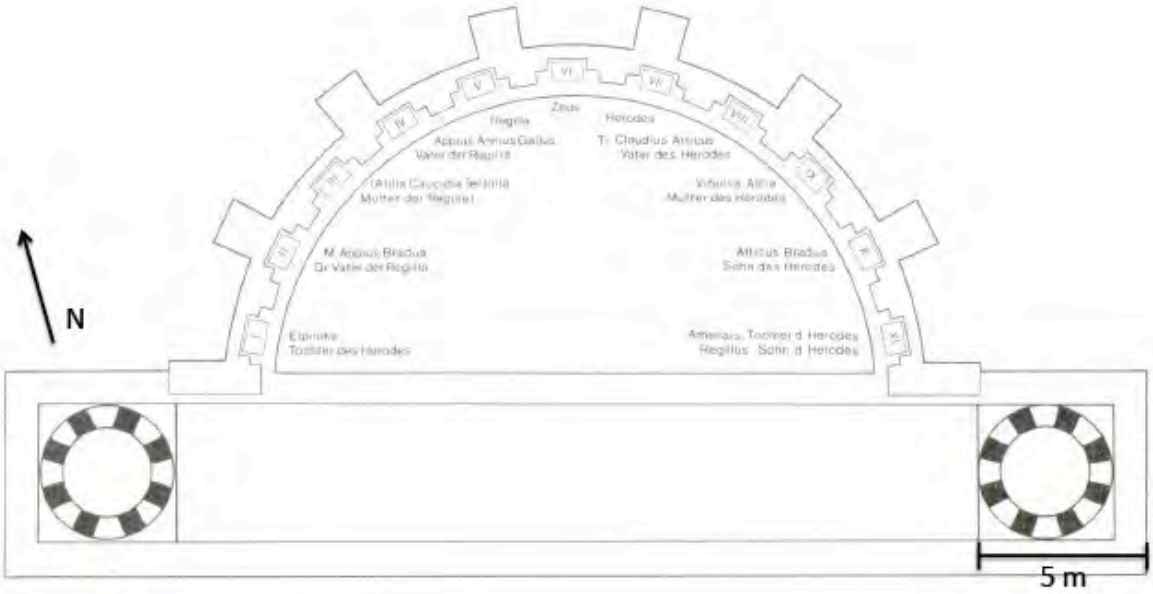
Olympia: Figure 2.44
Olympia Museum Λ 154, togatus
(Image source: Bol 1984, Plate 65)



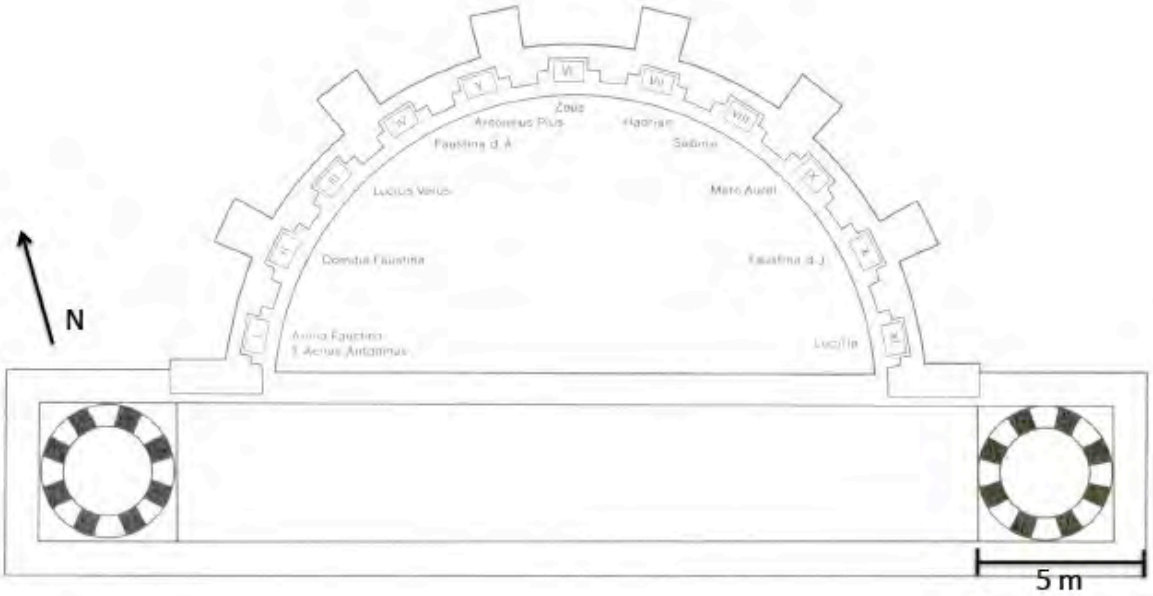
Olympia: Figure 2.45
Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus, ground plan and sculptural arrangement,
after Treu 1896 and Adler 1897
(Image source: Treu 1896, Figure 298)



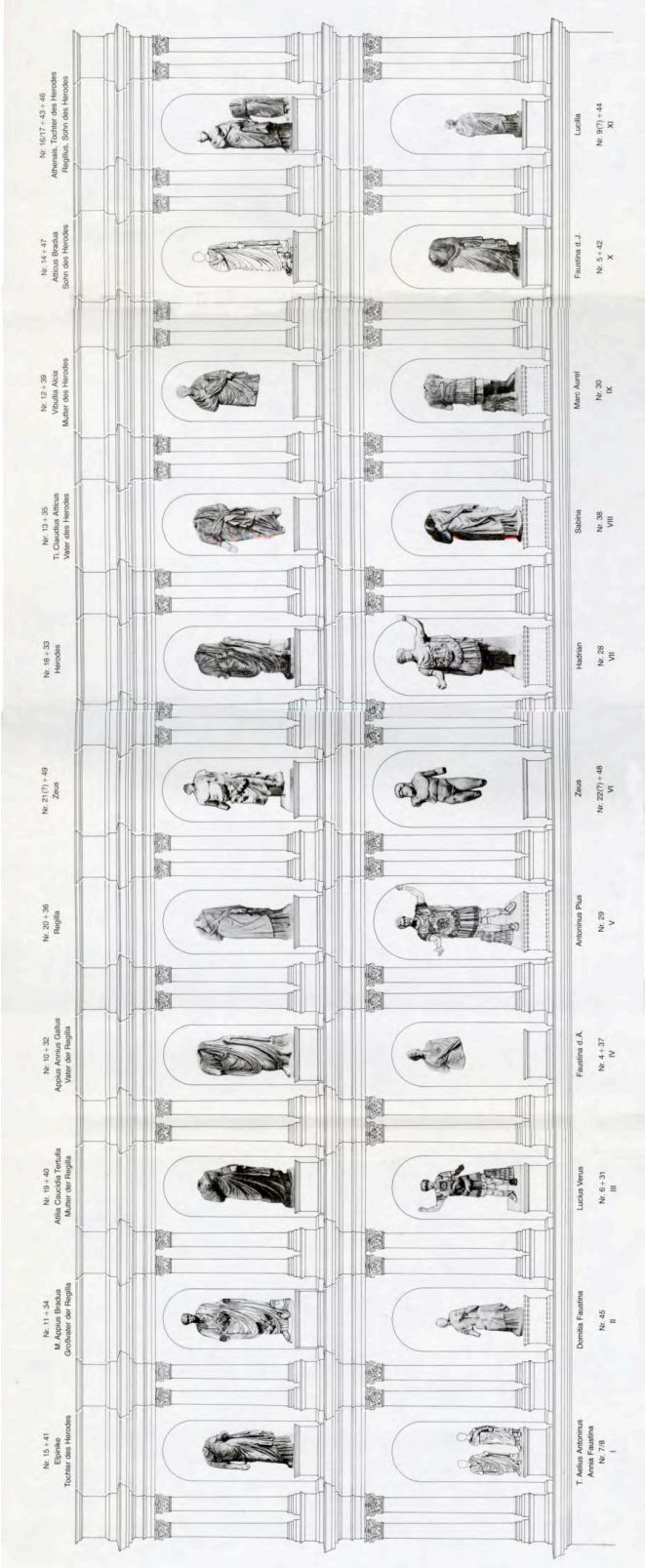
Olympia: Figure 2.46
Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus, ground plan and sculptural arrangement,
after Schleif and Weber 1944
(Image source: Schleif and Weber 1944, Plate 35)



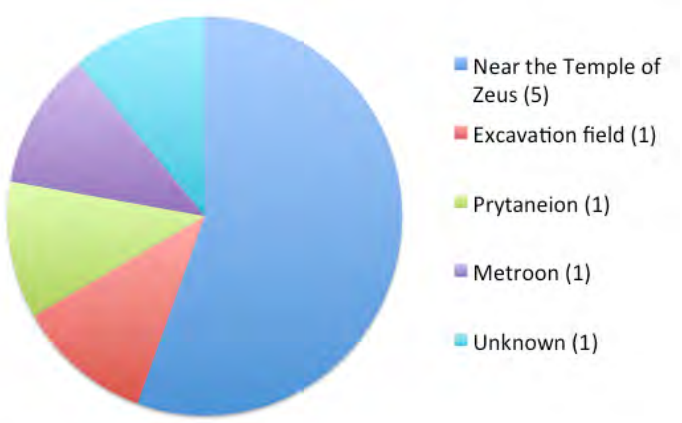
Olympia: Figure 2.47
Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus, ground plan and sculptural arrangement (second storey), after Bol 1984
(Image source: Bol 1984, Figure 29)



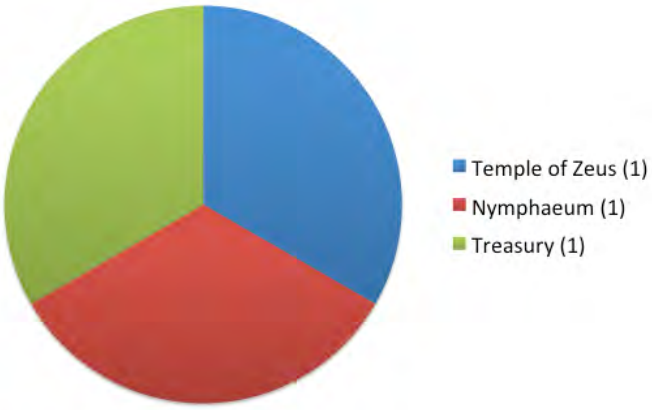
Olympia: Figure 2.48
Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus, ground plan and sculptural arrangement (first storey), after Bol 1984
(Image source: Bol 1984, Figure 30)



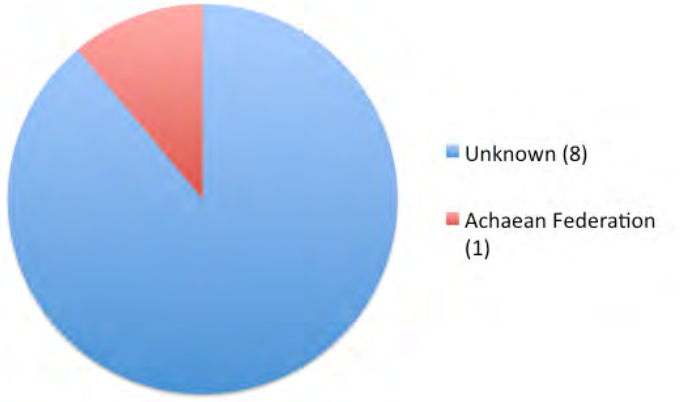
Olympia: Figure 2.49
Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus, elevation and sculptural arrangement, after Bol 1984
(Image source: Bol 1984, Insert 4)



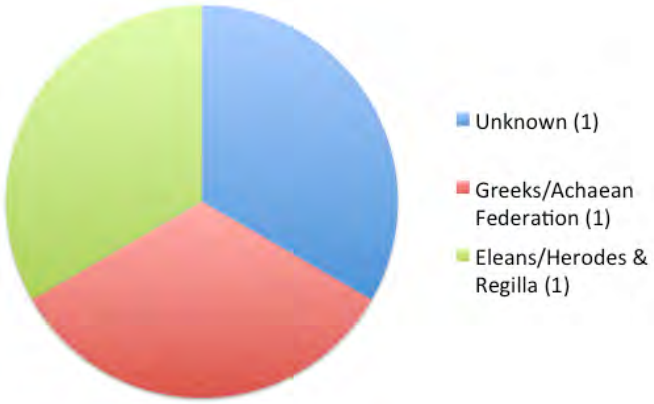
Olympia: Figure 2.50
Find spots of Second and Third Century CE Individual Honors (9)
(Image source: Author)



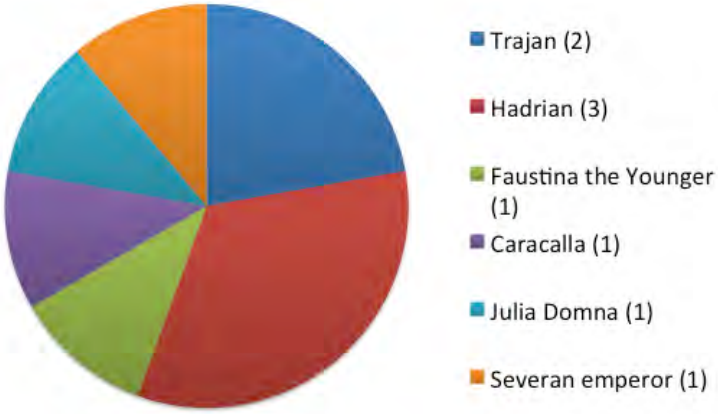
Olympia: Figure 2.51
Find spots of Second and Third Century CE Group Honors (3)
(Image source: Author)



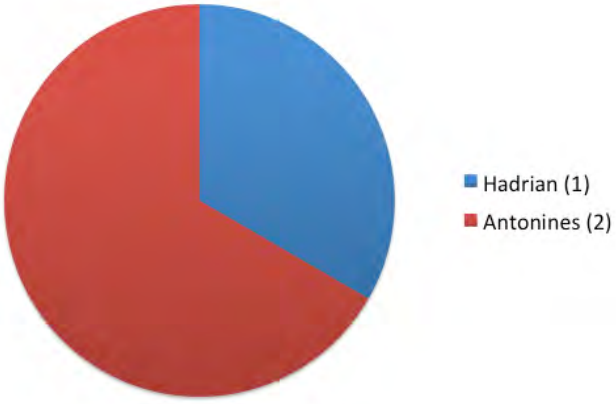
Olympia: Figure 2.52
Patrons of Second and Third Century CE Individual Honors (9)
(Image source: Author)



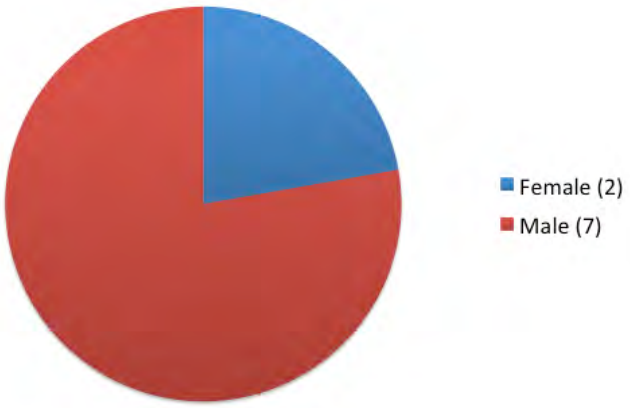
Olympia: Figure 2.53
Patrons of Second and Third Century CE Group Honors (3)
(Image source: Author)



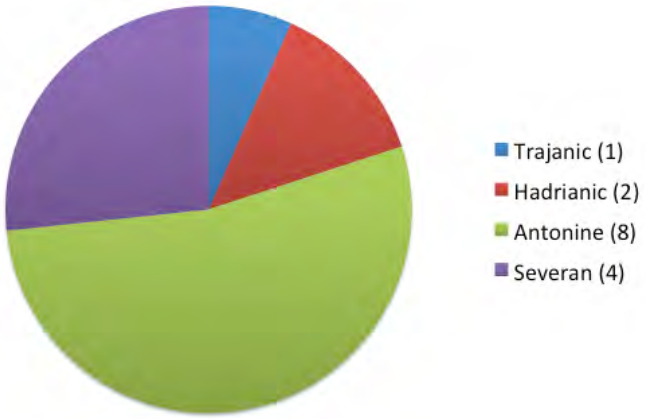
Olympia: Figure 2.54
Honorands of Second and Third Century CE Individual Honors (9)
(Image source: Author)



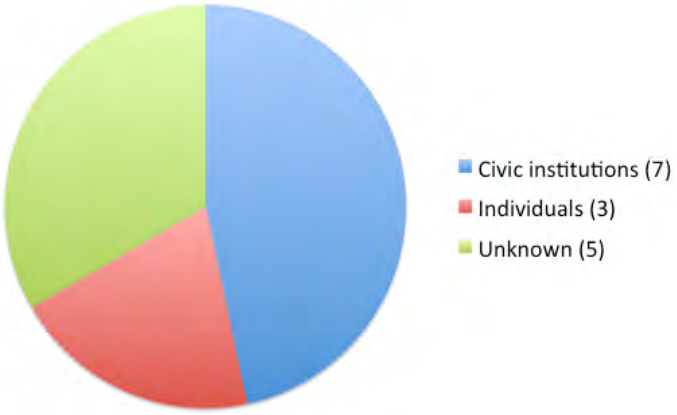
Olympia: Figure 2.55
Honorands of Second and Third Century CE Group Honors (3)
(Image source: Author)



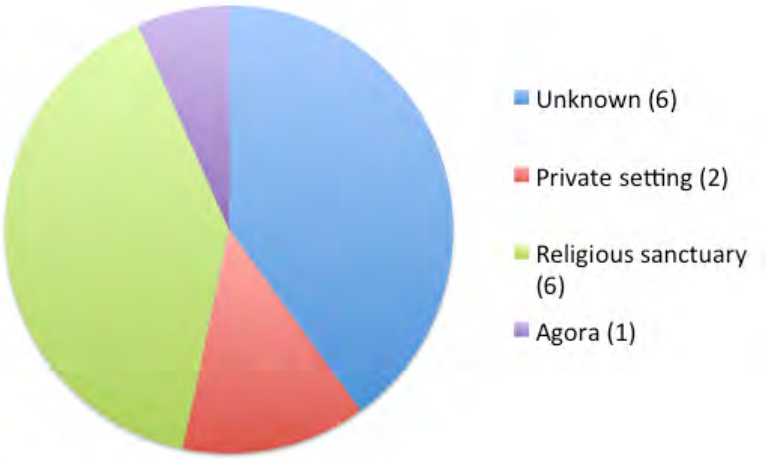
Olympia: Figure 2.56
Gender of Honorands for all Second and Third Century CE Individual Honors (9)
(Image source: Author)



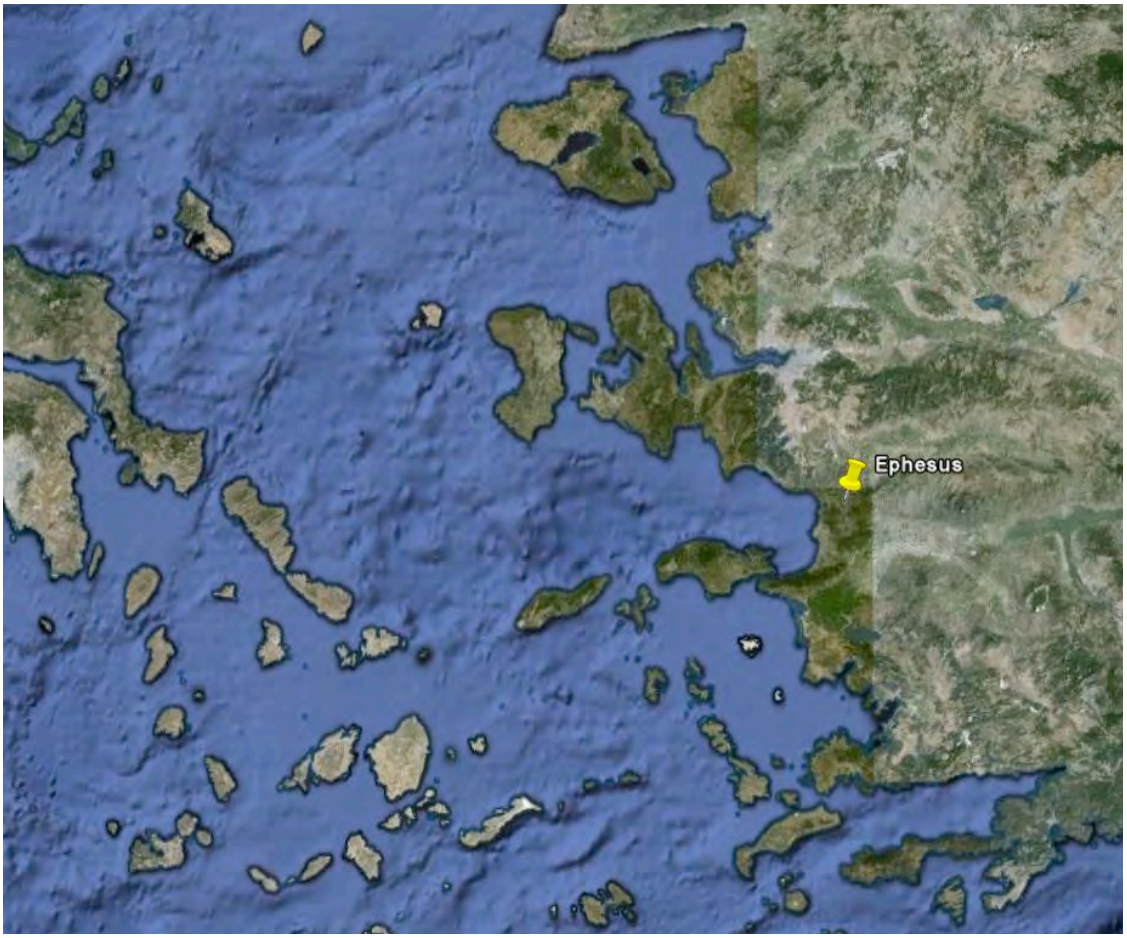
Olympia: Figure 2.57
Date of Second and Third Century CE Group Honors from Greece (15)
(Image source: Author)



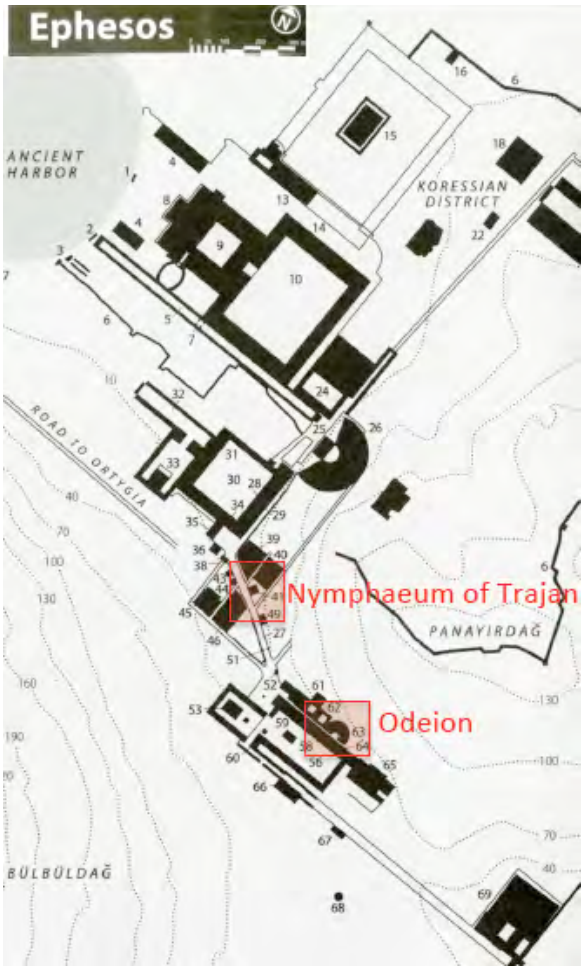
Olympia: Figure 2.58
Patrons of Second and Third Century CE Group Honors from Greece (15)
(Image source: Author)



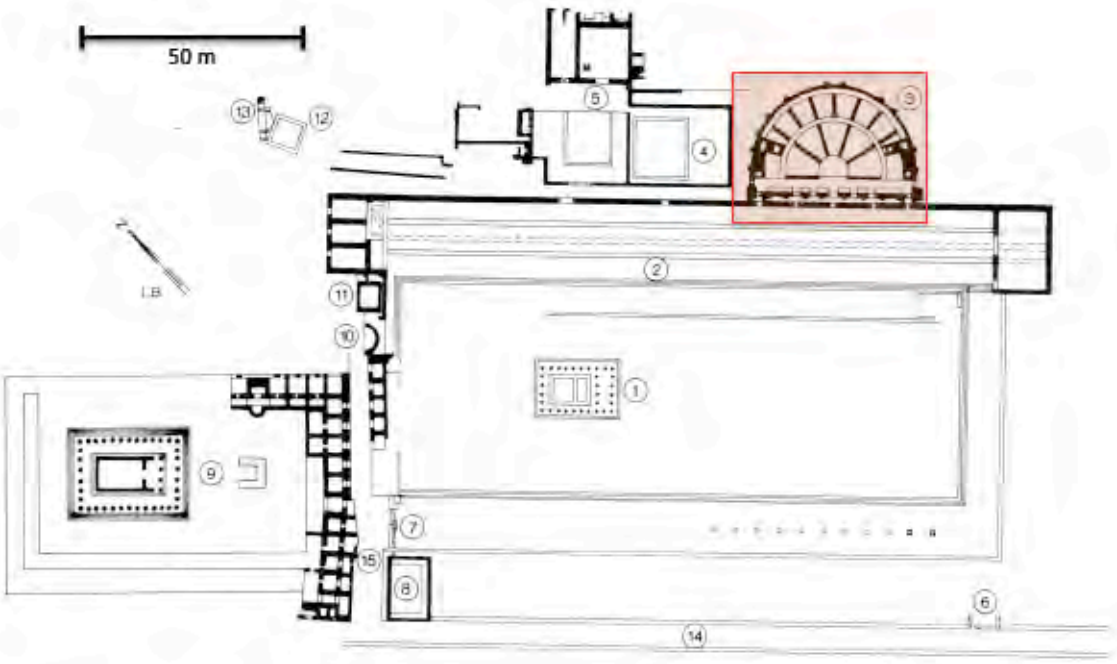
Olympia: Figure 2.59
Find spots of Second and Third Century CE Group Honors from Greece (15)
(Image source: Author)



Ephesus: Figure 3.1
Map of Ephesus
(Image source: Google Earth)



Ephesus: Figure 3.2
Map of Ephesus
(Image source: Koester 1995, Insert)

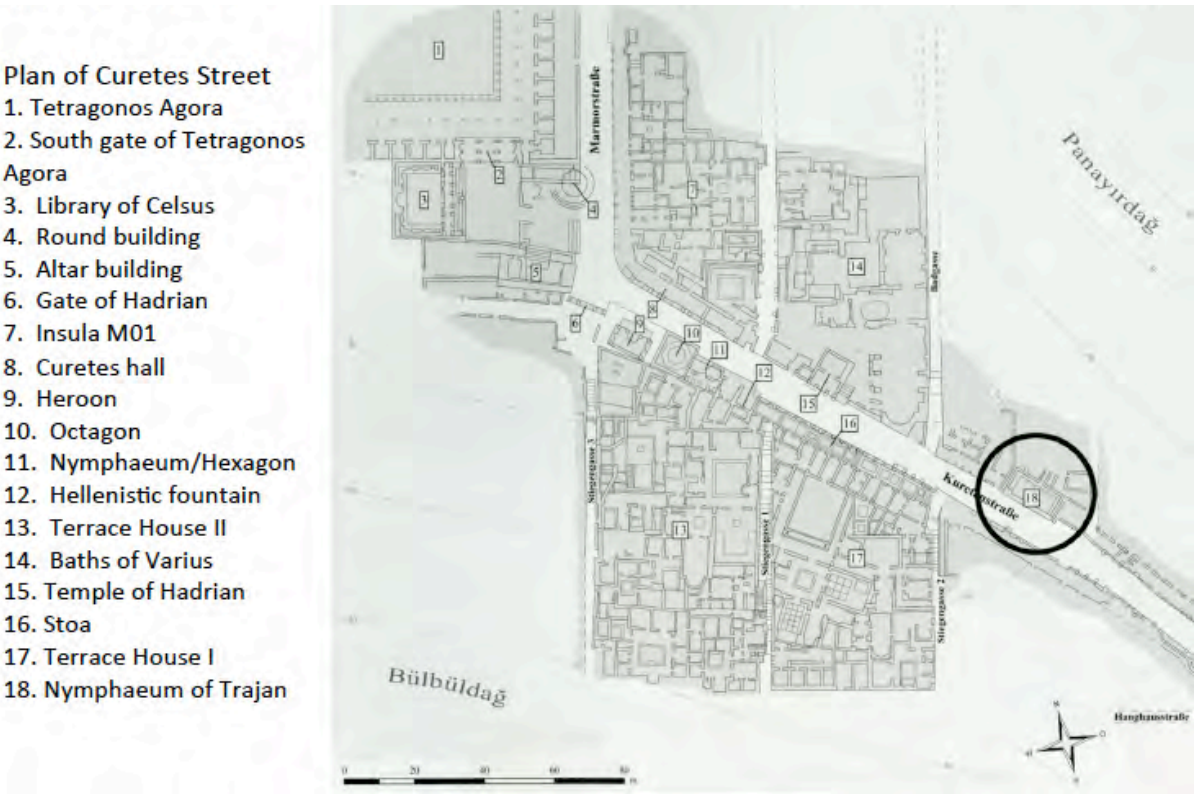


1. Temple of Caesar and Roma
2. Stoa Basilike
3. Bouleuterion/Odeion
4. Temenos of Augustus and Artemis
5. Prytaneion
6. Doric South Gate
7. Doric West Gate
8. Hydrekdocheion of C. Laecanius Bassus
9. Temple of the Flavian Sebastoi
10. Fountain of Domitian
11. Monument of C. Sextilius Pollio
12. Memmius monument
13. Hydreion
14. Plateia (South Street)
15. Plateia (Lane of Domitian)

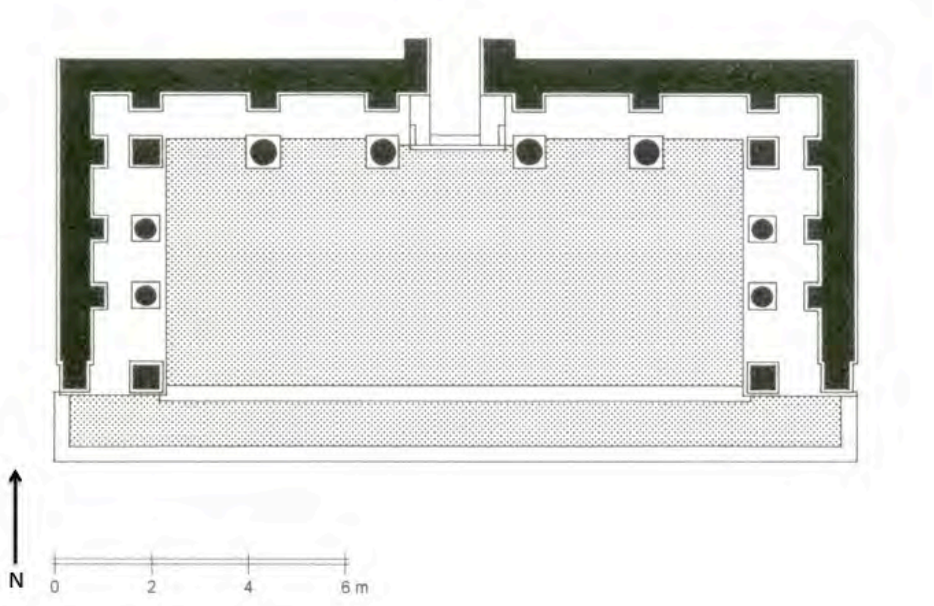
Ephesus: Figure 3.3
Map of the State Market at Ephesus
(Image source: Scherrer 2001, Figure 3.10)

Ephesus: Figure 3.4
South Entrance Gate to the Tetragonos Agora
(Image source: Author)

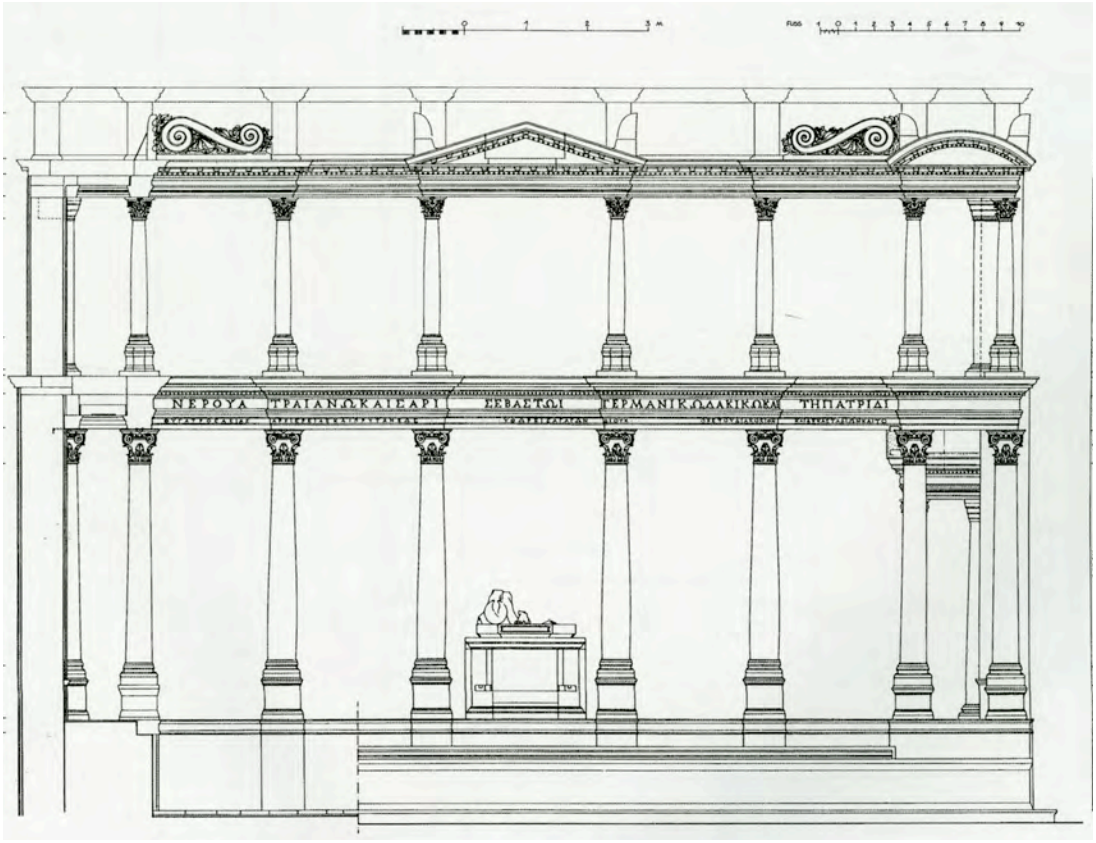
Ephesus: Figure 3.5
Nymphaeum of Trajan
(Image source: Author)



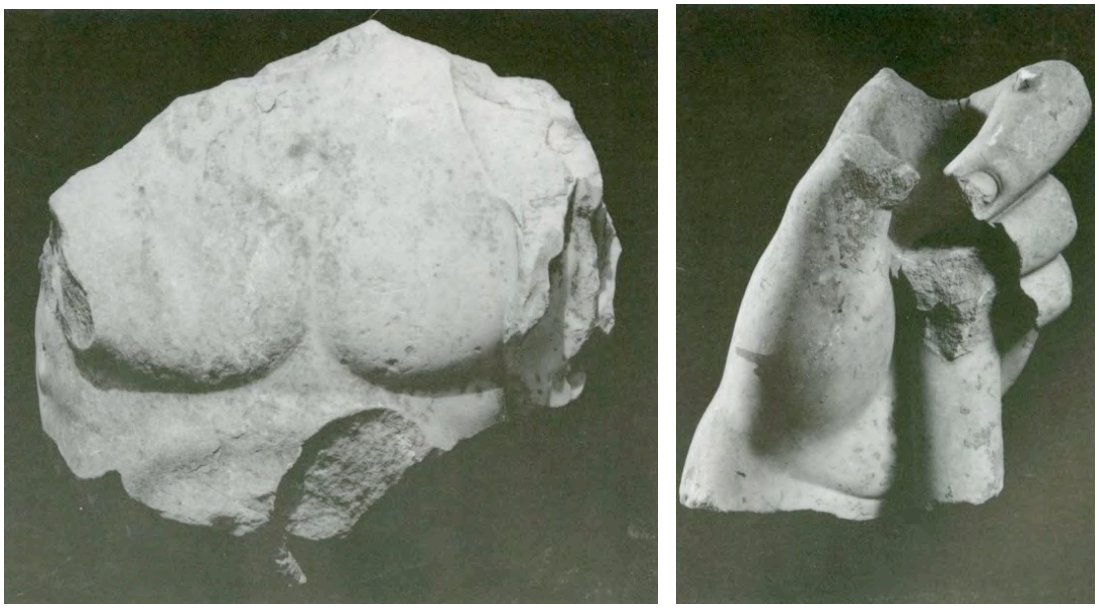
Ephesus: Figure 3.6
Curetes Street with the Nymphaeum of Trajan
(Image source: adaptation of Quatember 2011, Plate 2)



Ephesus: Figure 3.7
Nymphaeum of Trajan, plan
(Image source: Dorl-Klingenschmid 2001, Figure 115)



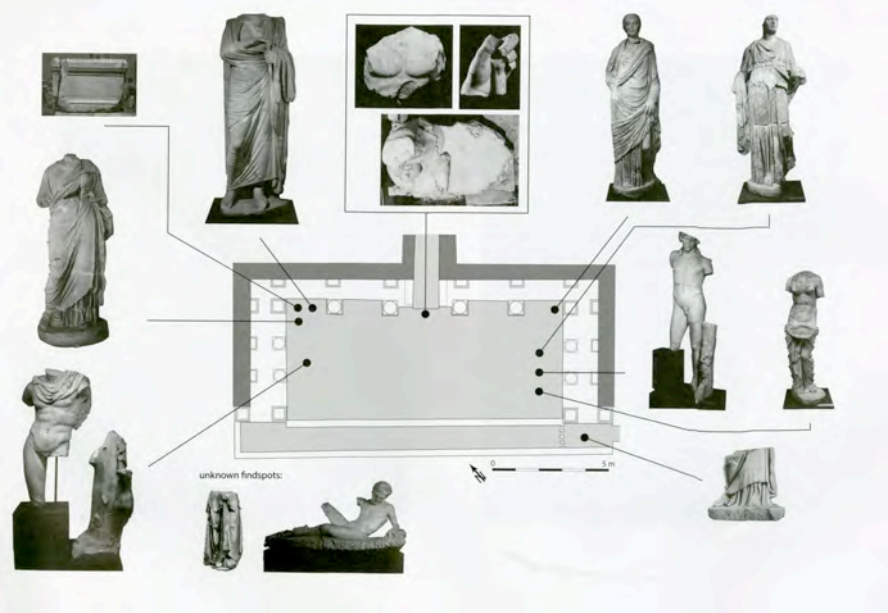
Ephesus: Figure 3.8
Nymphaeum of Trajan, reconstructed elevation
(Image source: Quatember 2011, Plate 7)



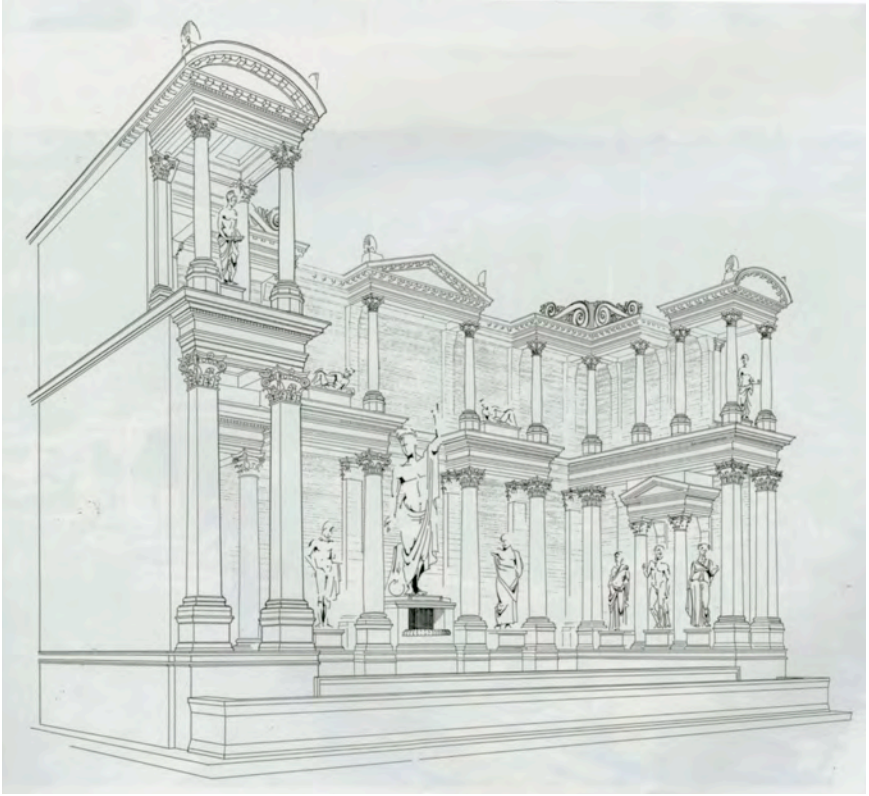
Ephesus: Figure 3.9
Ephesus Museum, fragments of the colossal statue of Trajan
(Image source: Quatember 2011, Plate 117, Figures 2 and 3)

Ephesus: Figure 3.10
Selçuk Museum 1404, female figure from the Nymphaeum's east wing
(Image source: Quatember 2011, Plate 118, Figure 1)

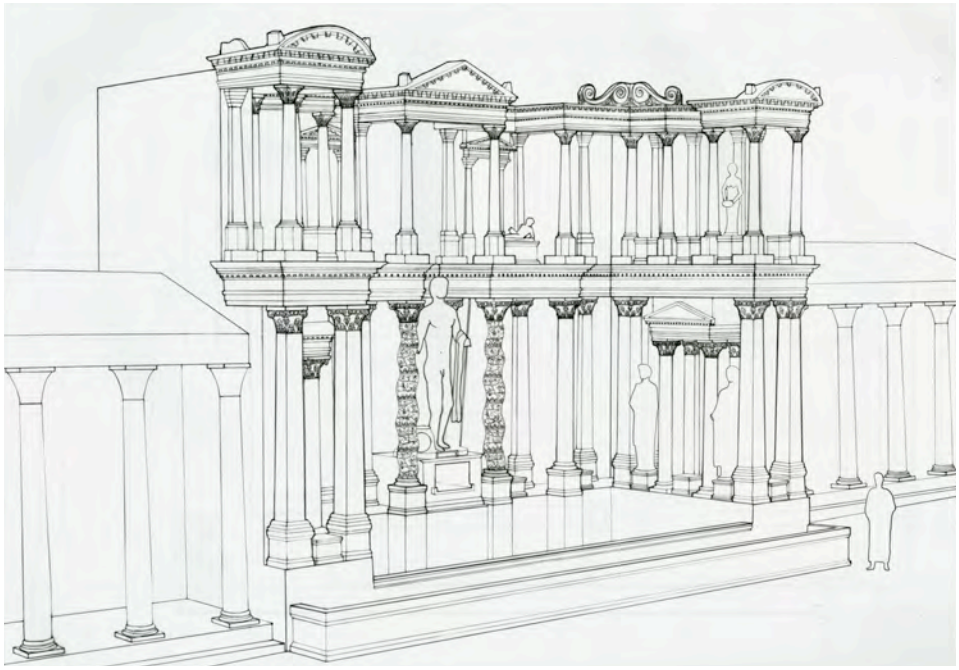
Ephesus: Figure 3.11
Selçuk Museum 773/1-2, so-called statue of Androklos
(Image source: Quatember 2011, Plate 119, Figure 1)



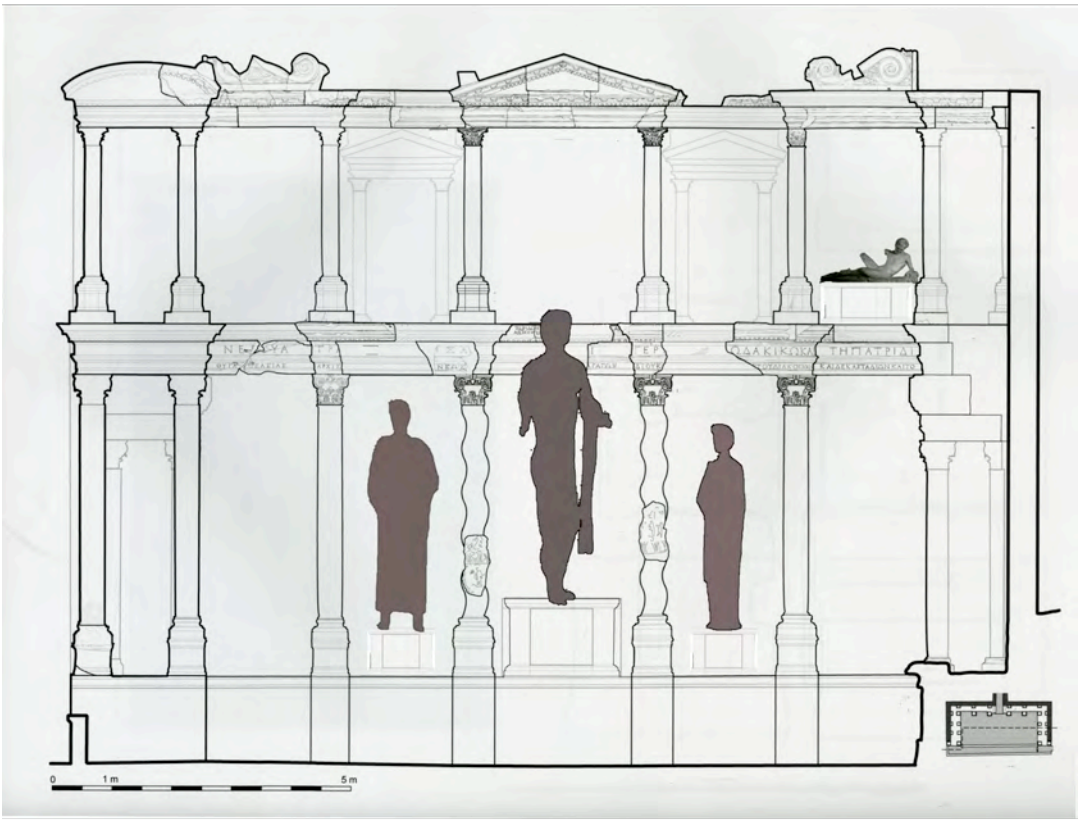
Ephesus: Figure 3.12
Nymphaeum of Trajan, sculptural finds
(Image source: adaptation of Quatember 2011, Plate 123)



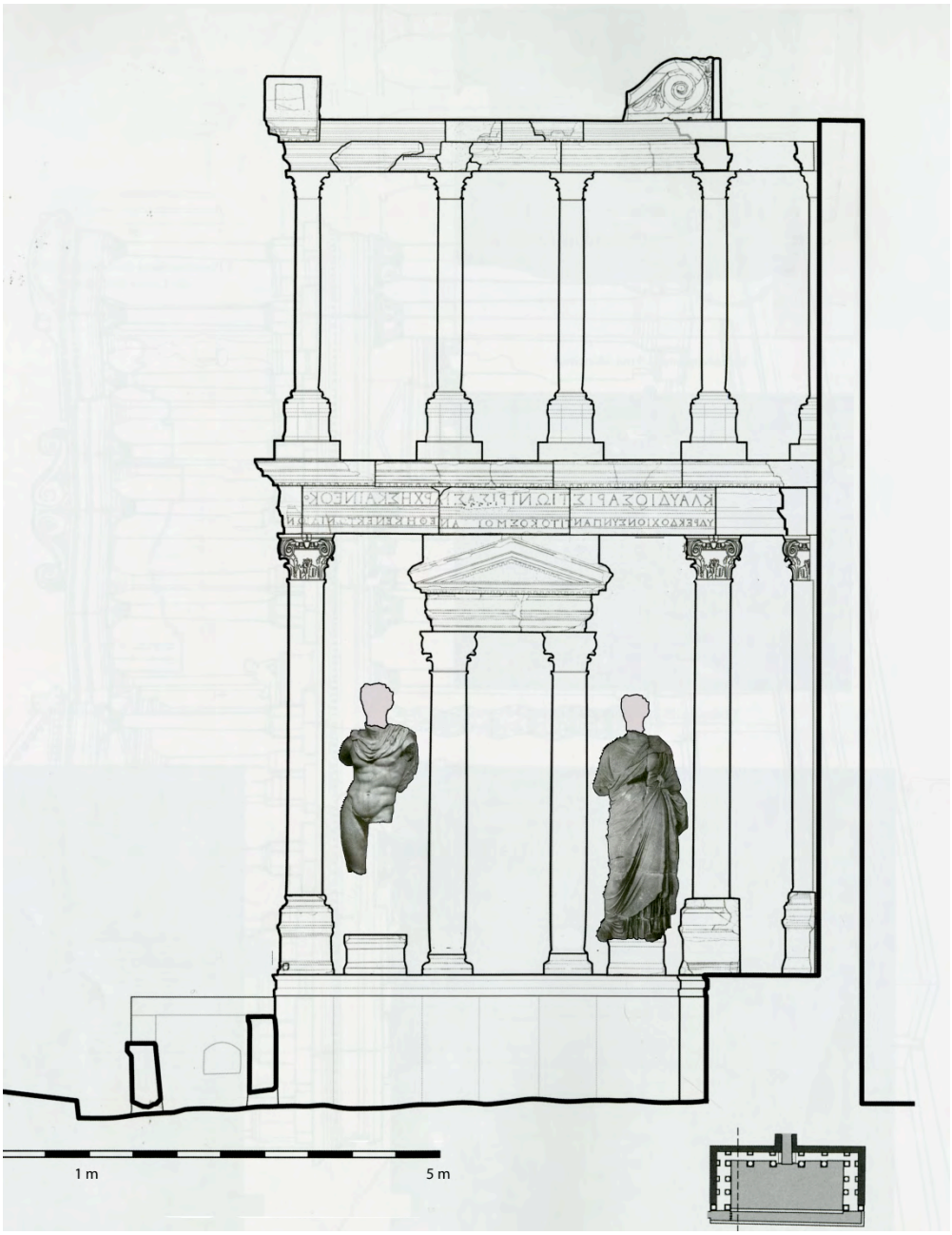
Ephesus: Figure 3.13
Nymphaeum of Trajan, reconstruction after Pellionis
(Image source: Quatember 2011, Plate 5)



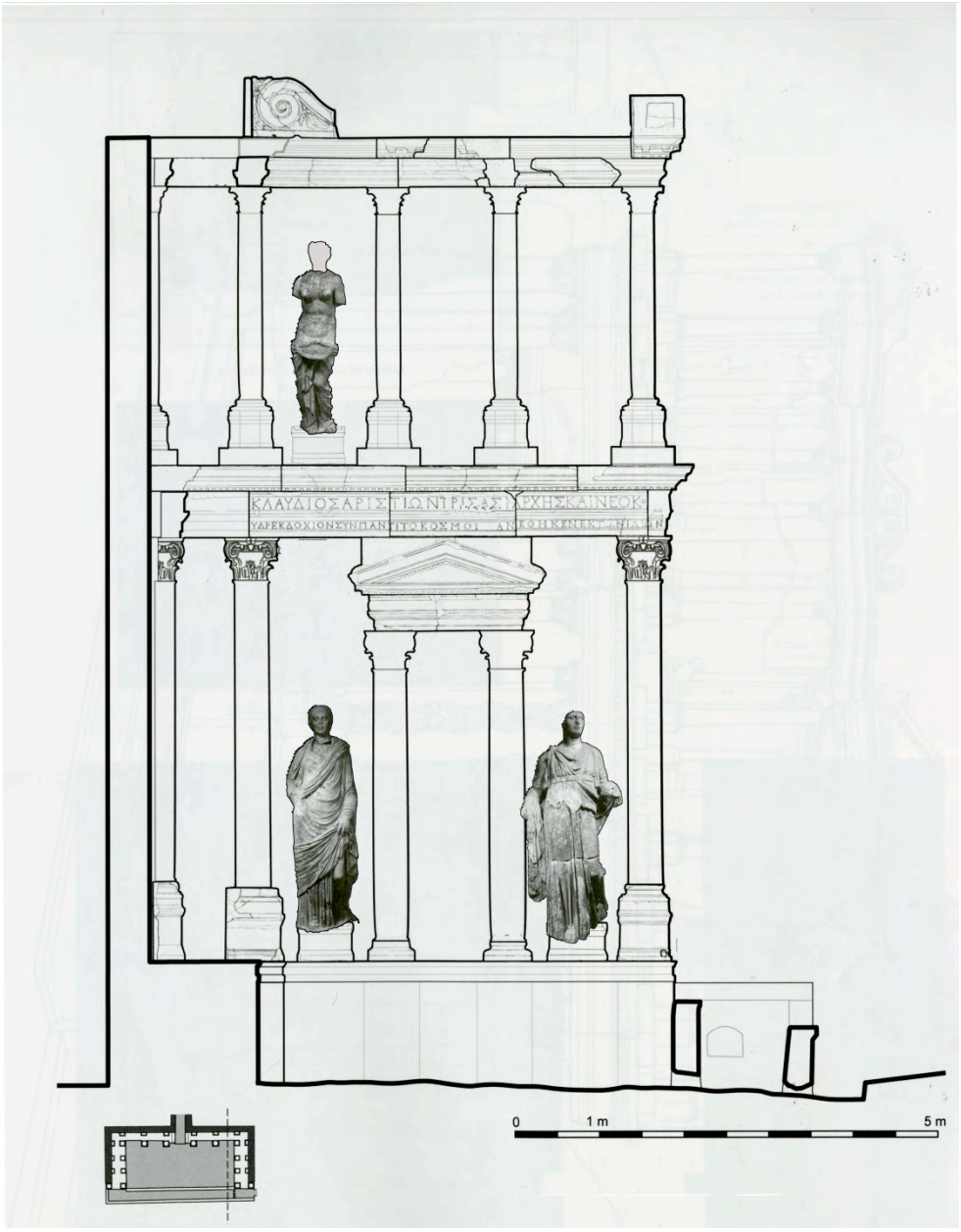
Ephesus: Figure 3.14
Nymphaeum of Trajan, reconstruction after Quatember
(Image source: Quatember 2011, Plate 112)



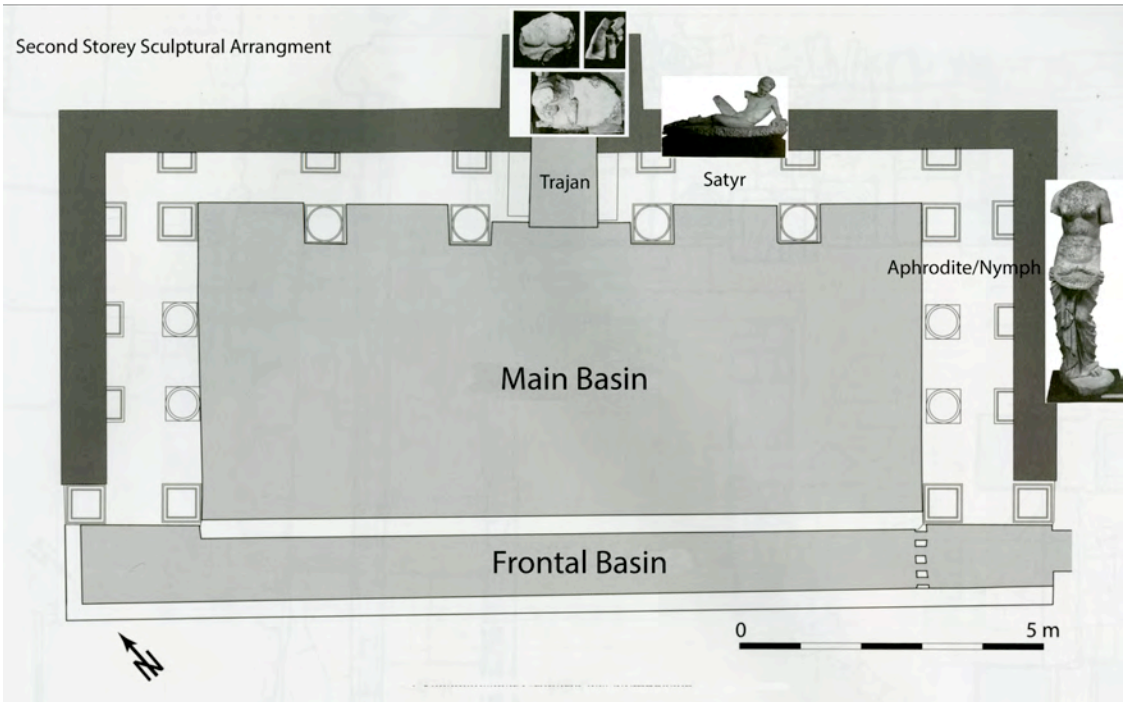
Ephesus: Figure 3.15
Nymphaeum of Trajan, main facade
(Image source: Author)



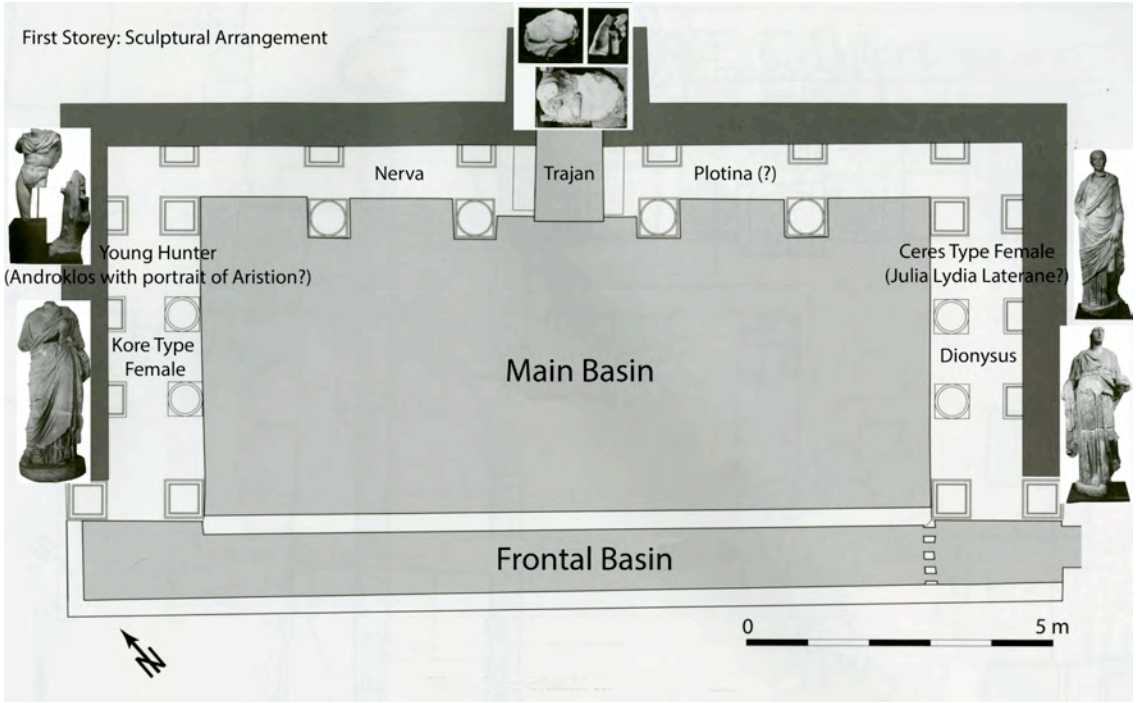
Ephesus: Figure 3.16
Nymphaeum of Trajan, west wing
(Image source: Author)



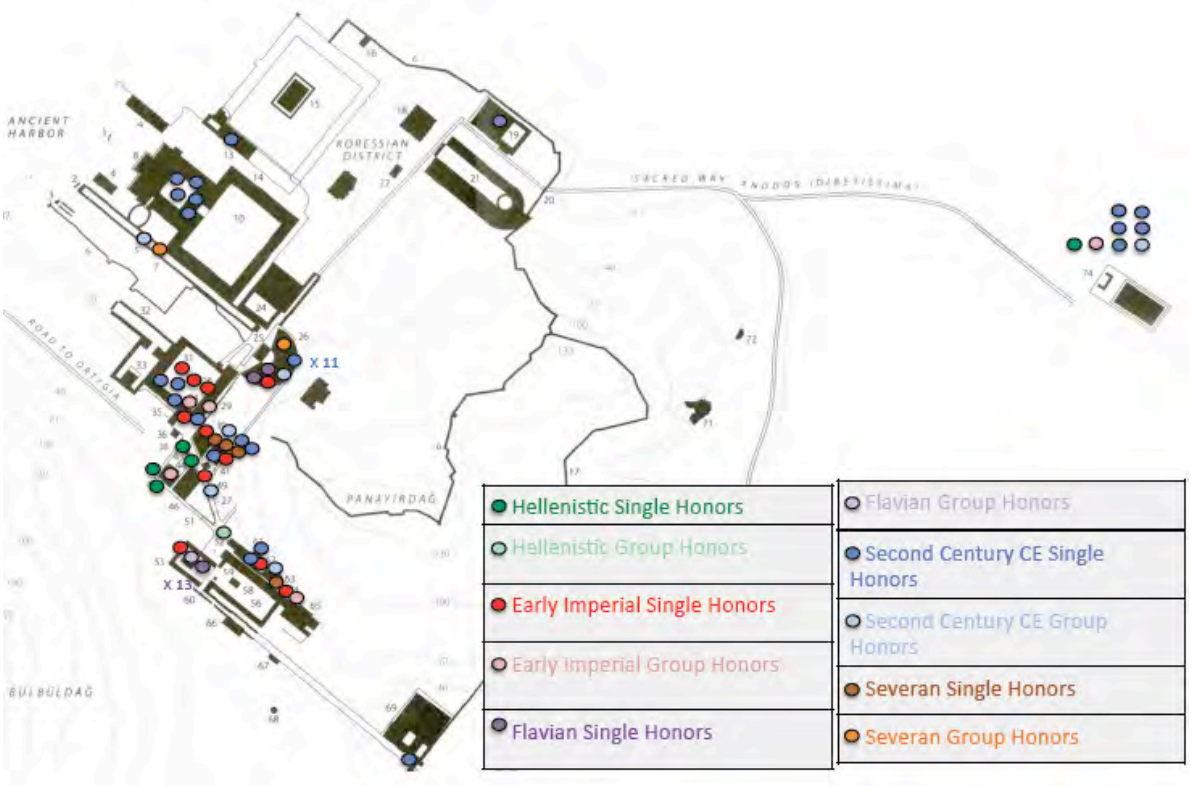
Ephesus: Figure 3.17
Nymphaeum of Trajan, east wing
(Image source: Author)



Ephesus: Figure 3.18
Nymphaeum of Trajan, second storey sculptural arrangement
(Image source: Author)



Ephesus: Figure 3.19
Nymphaeum of Trajan, first storey sculptural arrangement
(Image source: Author)

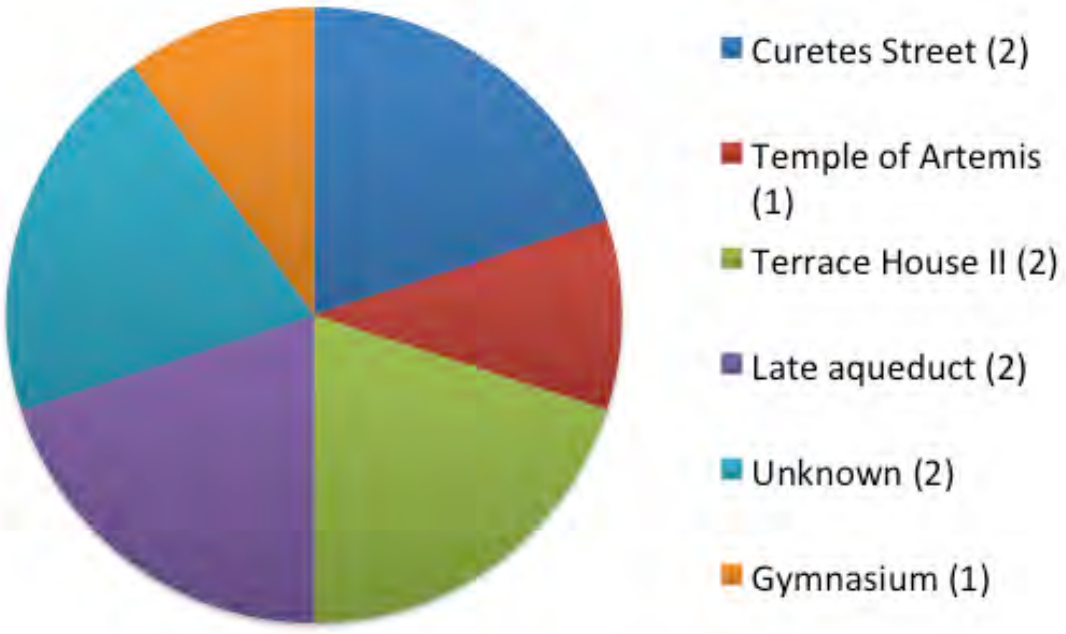


Ephesus: Figure 3.20
Find spots of Material
(Image source: Author)

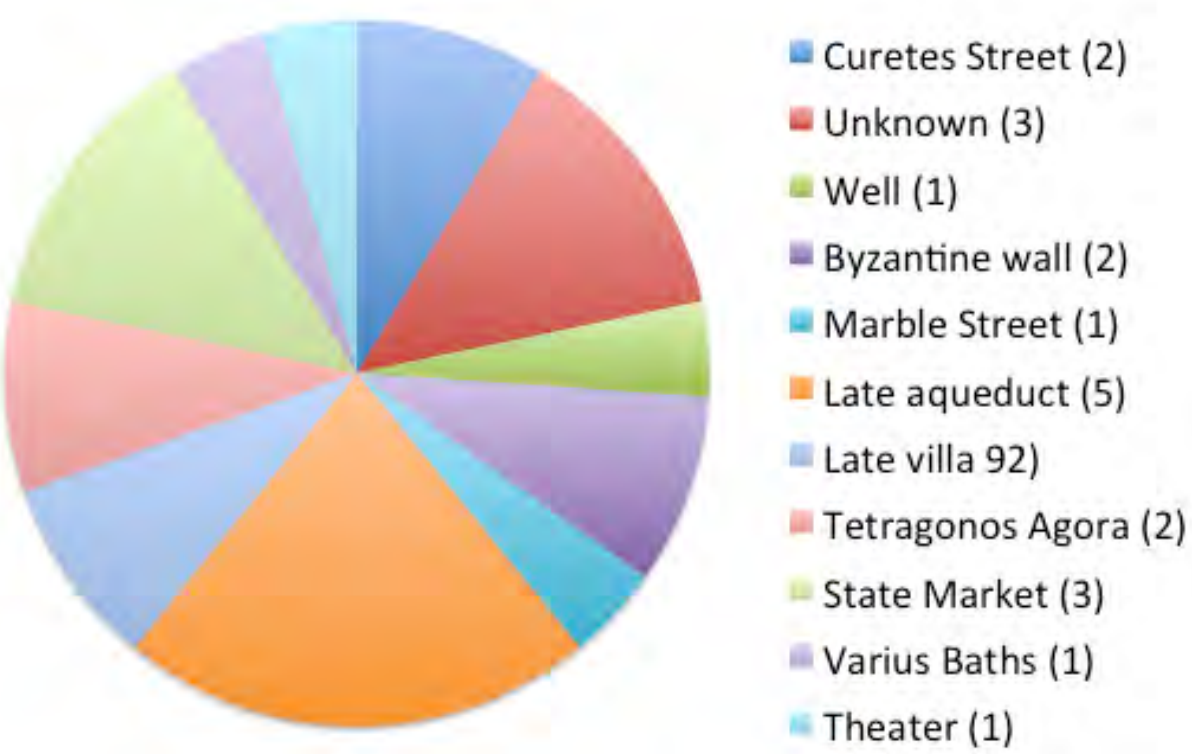
Ephesus: Figure 3.21
Southeast View of the Nymphaeum of Trajan
(Image source: Author)

Ephesus: Figure 3.22
Northwest View of the Nymphaeum of Trajan
(Image source: Author)

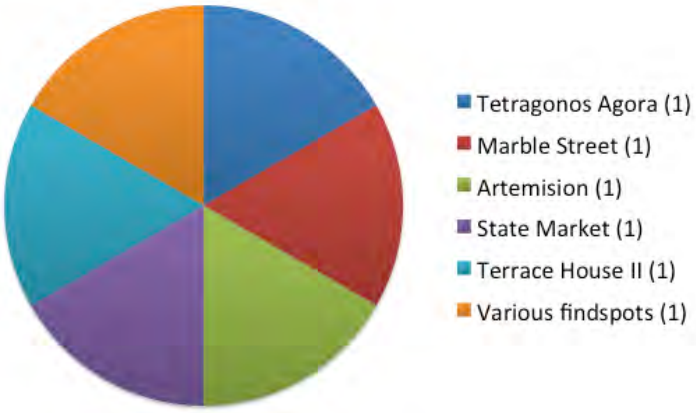
Ephesus: Figure 3.23
Library of Celsus and South Entrance Gate to the Tetragonos Agora
(Image source: Author)



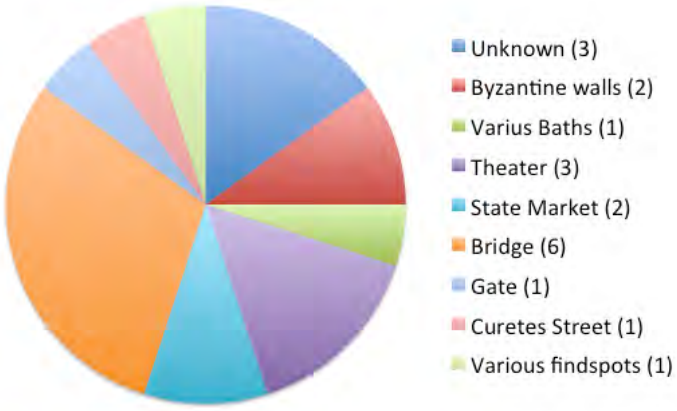
Ephesus: Figure 3.24
Find spots of Hellenistic Individual Honors (10)
(Image source: Author)



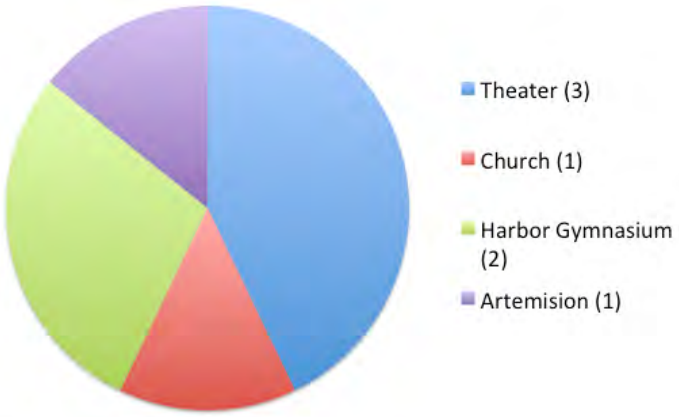
Ephesus: Figure 3.25
Find spots of Early Imperial Individual Honors (23)
(Image source: Author)



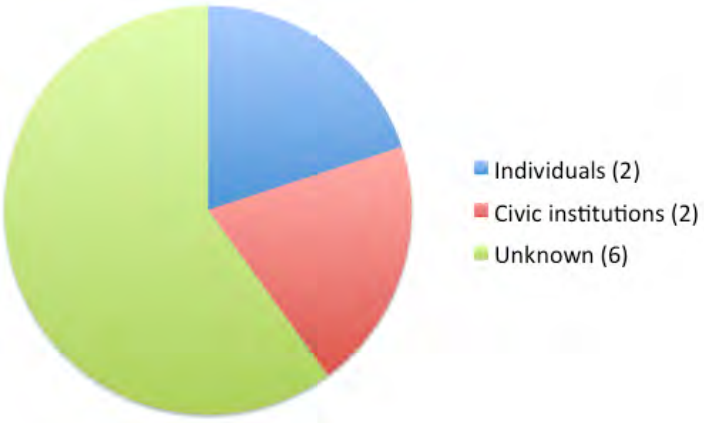
Ephesus: Figure 3.26
Find spots of Early Imperial Group Honors (6)
(Image source: Author)



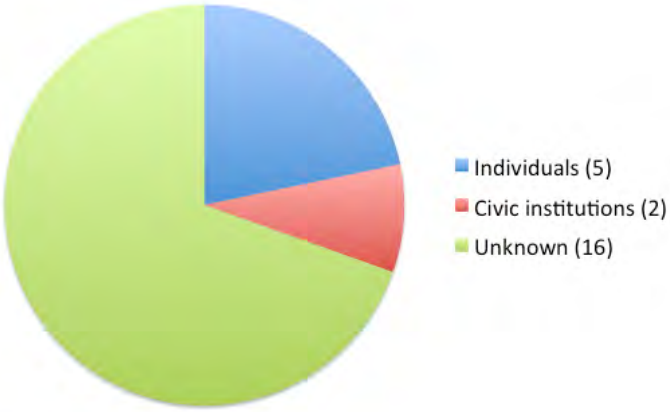
Ephesus: Figure 3.27
Find spots of Flavian Individual Honors (20)
(Image source: Author)



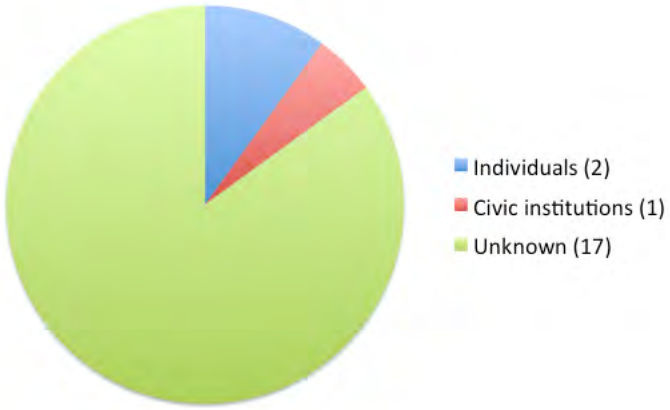
Ephesus: Figure 3.28
Find spots of Nervan/Trajanic Individual Honors (7)
(Image source: Author)



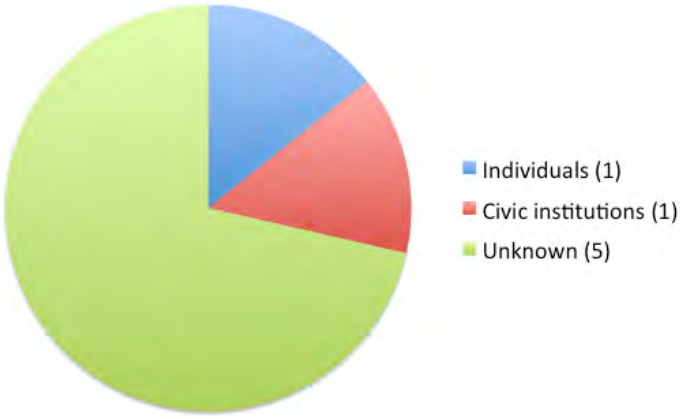
Ephesus: Figure 3.29
Patrons of Hellenistic Individual Honors (10)
(Image source: Author)



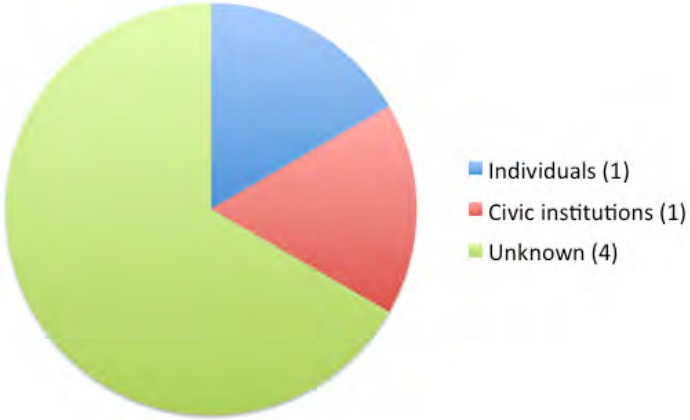
Ephesus: Figure 3.30
Patrons of Early Imperial Individual Honors (23)
(Image source: Author)



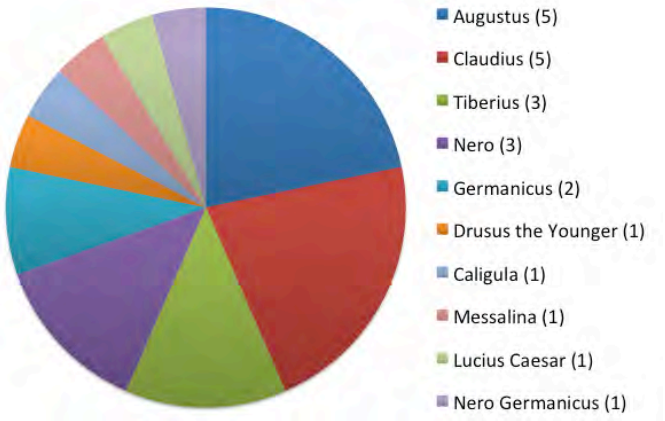
Ephesus: Figure 3.31
Patrons of Flavian Individual Honors (20)
(Image source: Author)



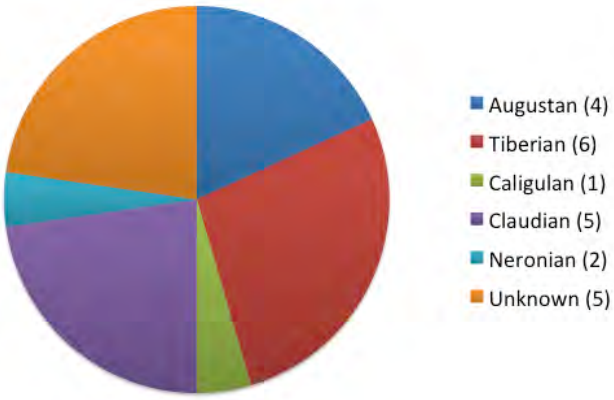
Ephesus: Figure 3.32
Patrons of Nervan/Trajanic Individual Honors (7)
(Image source: Author)



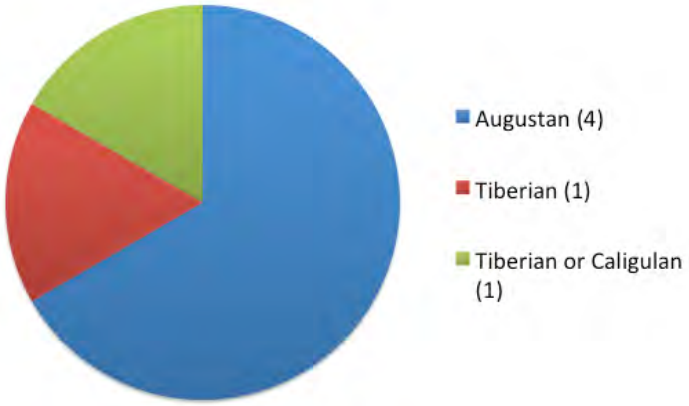
Ephesus: Figure 3.33
Patrons of Early Imperial Group Honors (6)
(Image source: Author)



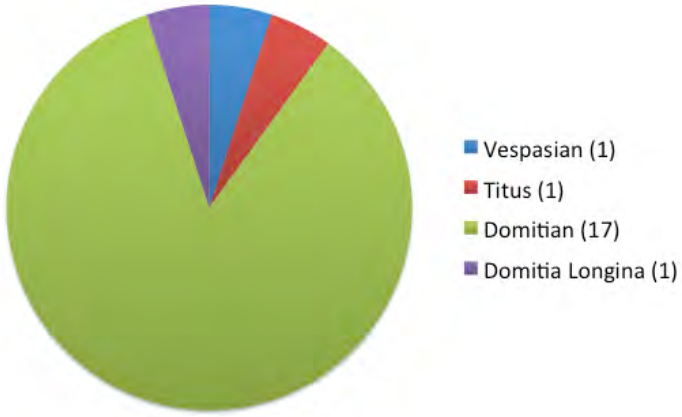
Ephesus: Figure 3.34
Honorands of Early Imperial Individual Honors (23)
(Image source: Author)



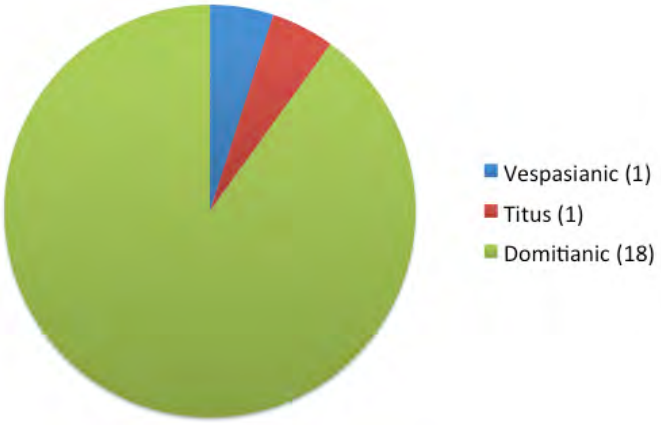
Ephesus: Figure 3.35
Date of Early Imperial Individual Honors (23)
(Image source: Author)



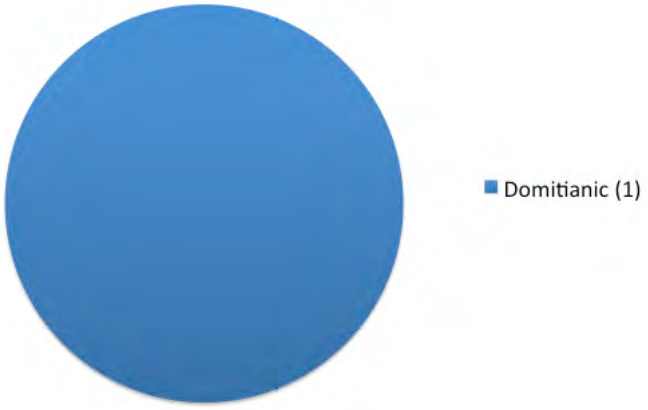
Ephesus: Figure 3.36
Date of Early Imperial Group Honors (6)
(Image source: Author)



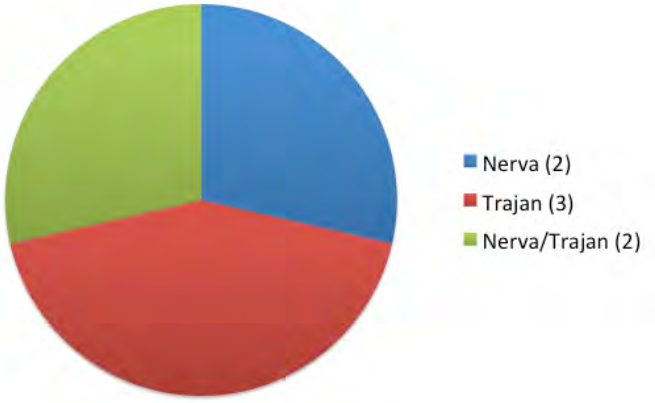
Ephesus: Figure 3.37
Honorands of Flavian Individual Honors (20)
(Image source: Author)



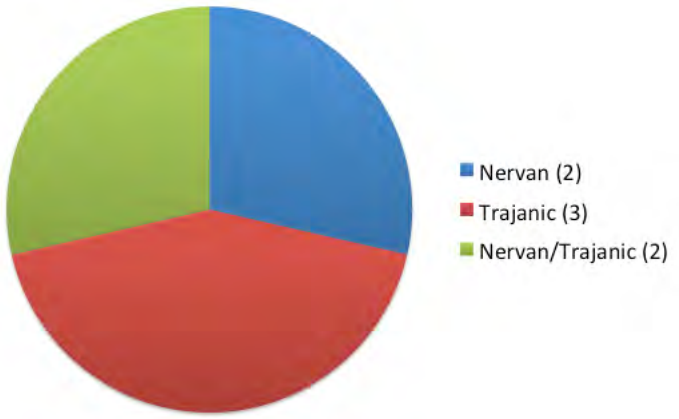
Ephesus: Figure 3.38
Date of Flavian Individual Honors (20)
(Image source: Author)



Ephesus: Figure 3.39
Date of Flavian Group Honors (1)
(Image source: Author)



Ephesus: Figure 3.40
Honorands of Nervan/Trajanic Individual Honors (7)
(Image source: Author)



Ephesus: Figure 3.41
Date of Nervan/Trajanic Individual Honors (7)
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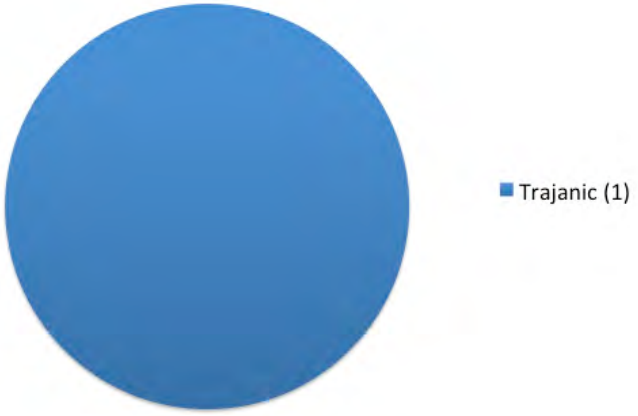
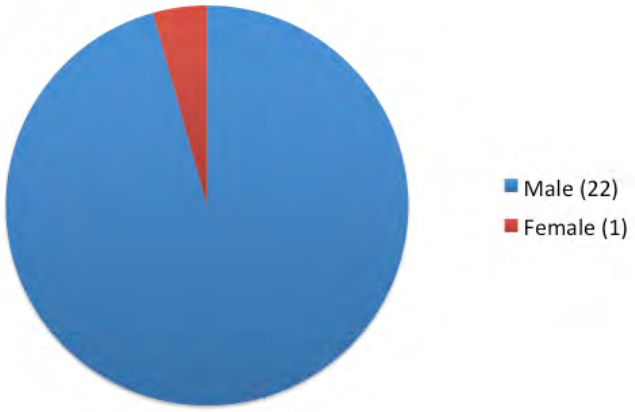
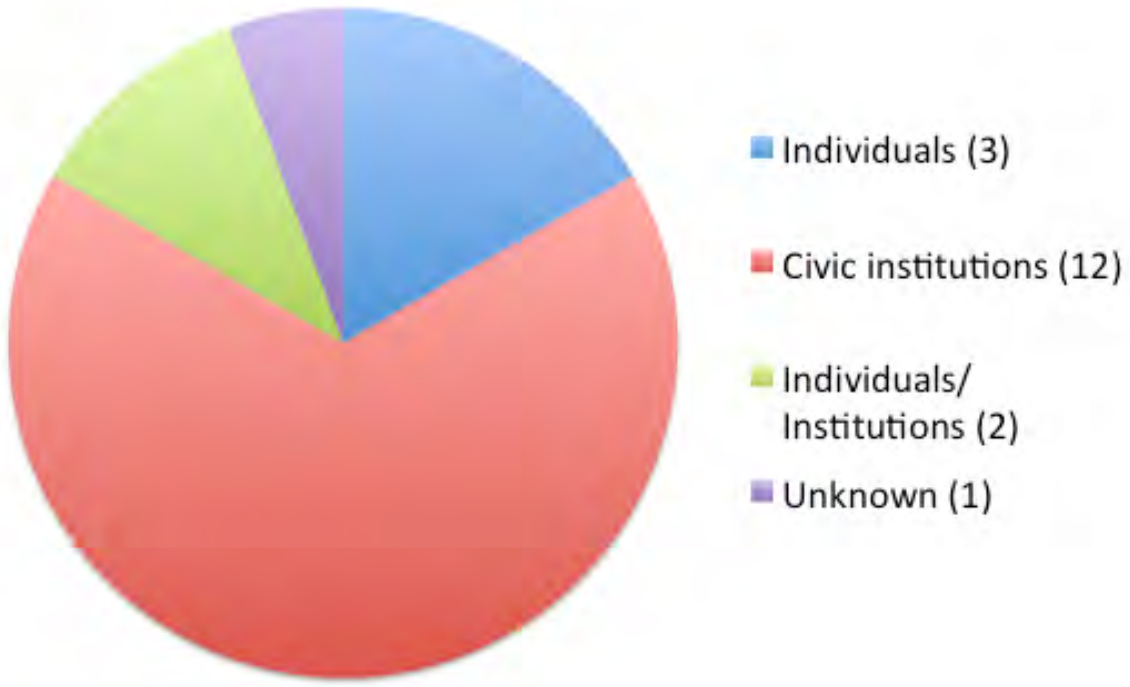


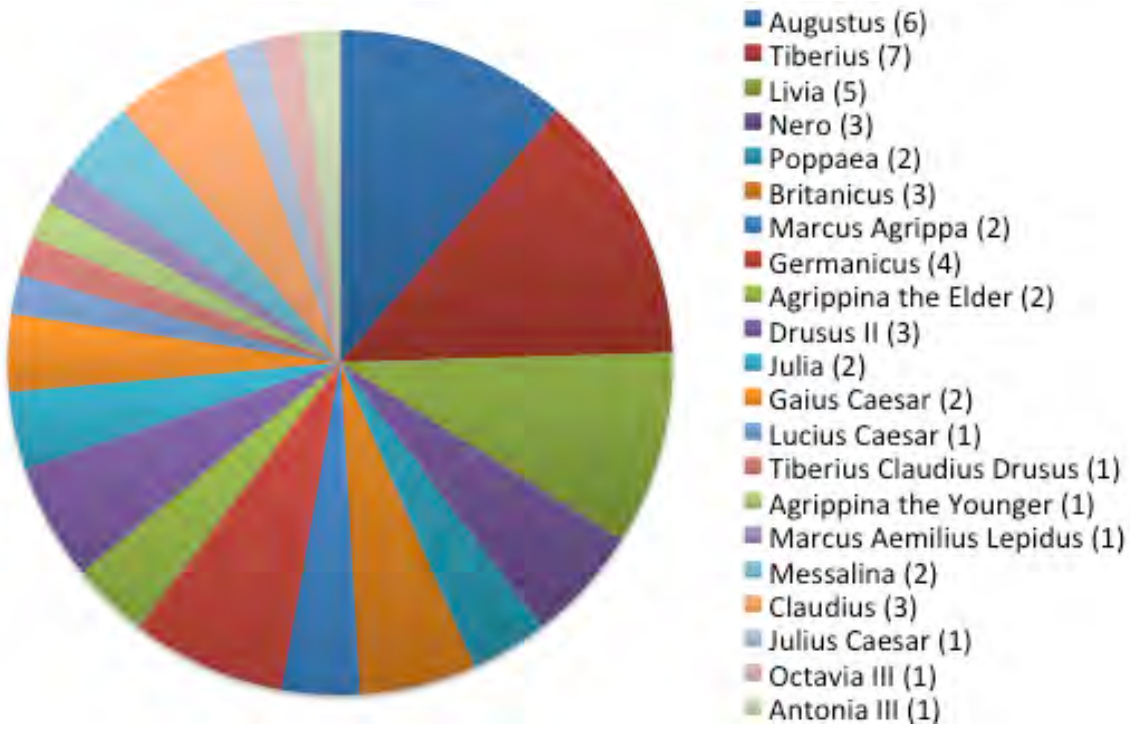
Ephesus: Figure 3.42
Date of Nervan/Trajanic Group Honors (1)
(Image source: Author)



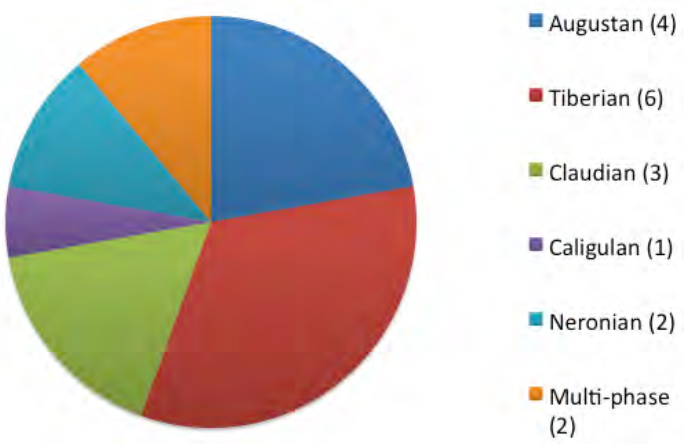
Ephesus: Figure 3.43
Gender of Honorands for All Early Imperial Individual Honors (23)
(Image source: Author)



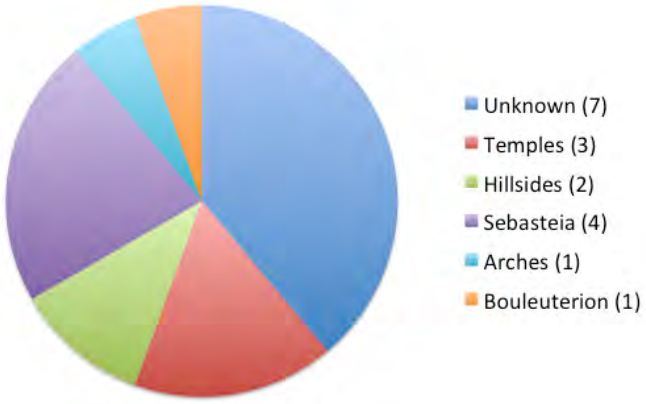
Ephesus: Figure 3.44
Patrons of Early Imperial Group Honors from Asia Minor (18)
(Image source: Author)



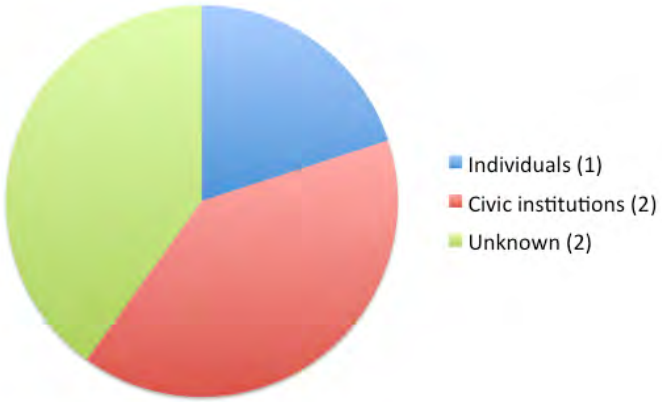
Ephesus: Figure 3.45
Honorands of Early Imperial Group Honors from Asia Minor (53)
(Image source: Author)



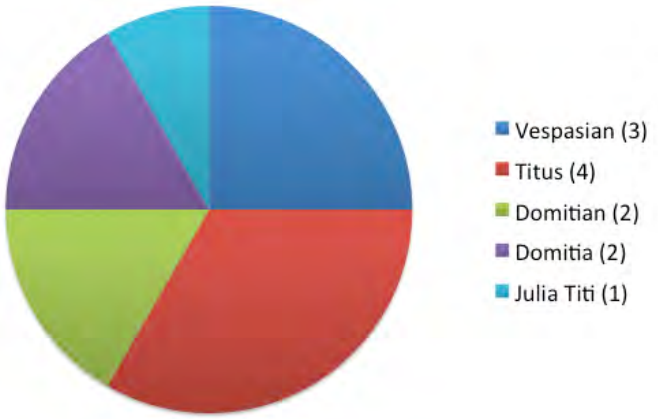
Ephesus: Figure 3.46
Date of Early Imperial Group Honors from Asia Minor (18)
(Image source: Author)



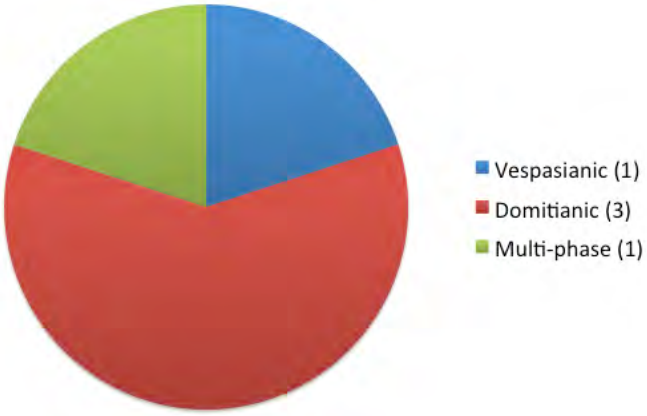
Ephesus: Figure 3.47
Find spots of Early Imperial Group Honors from Asia Minor (18)
(Image source: Author)



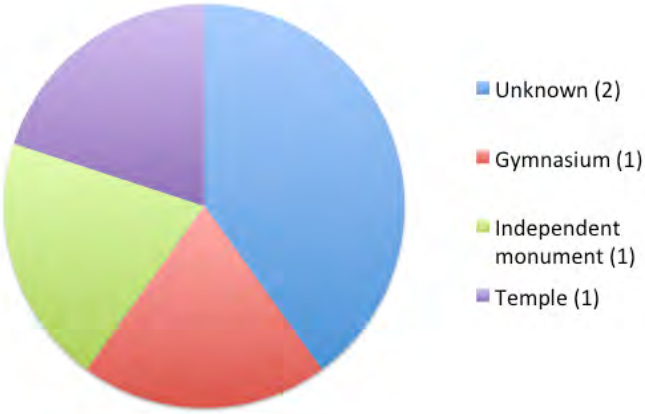
Ephesus: Figure 3.48
Patrons of Flavian Group Honors from Asia Minor (5)
(Image source: Author)



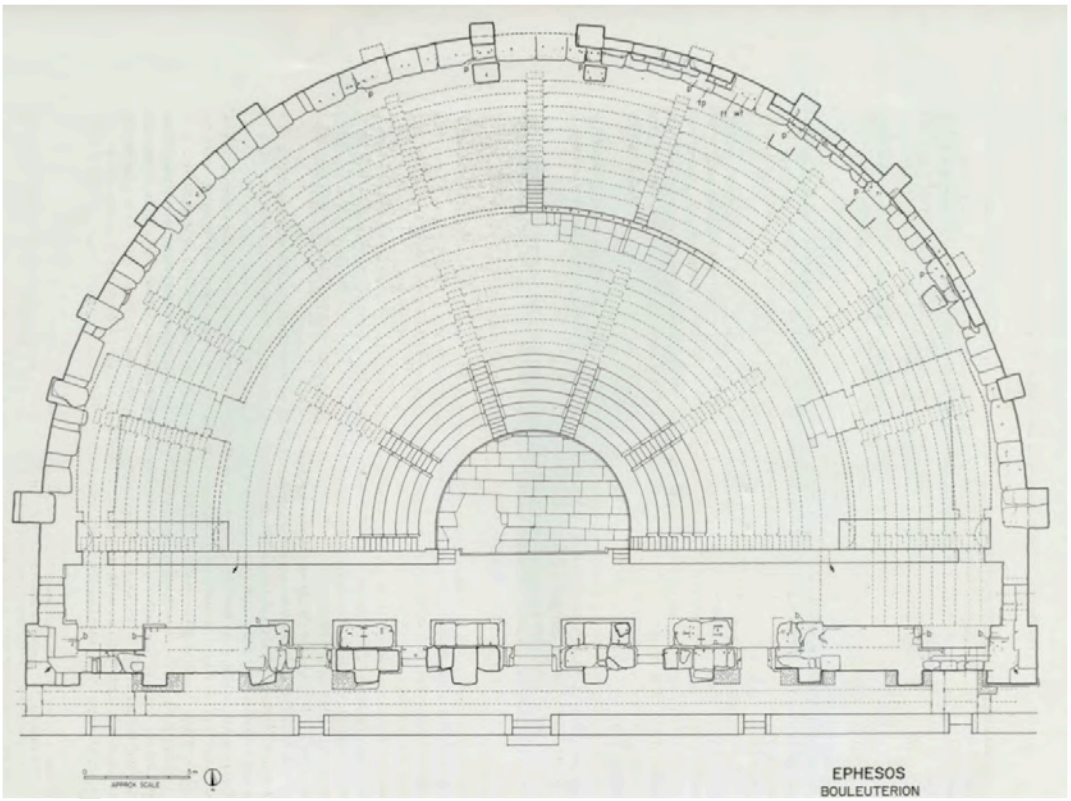
Ephesus: Figure 3.49
Honorands of Flavian Group Honors from Asia Minor (12)
(Image source: Author)



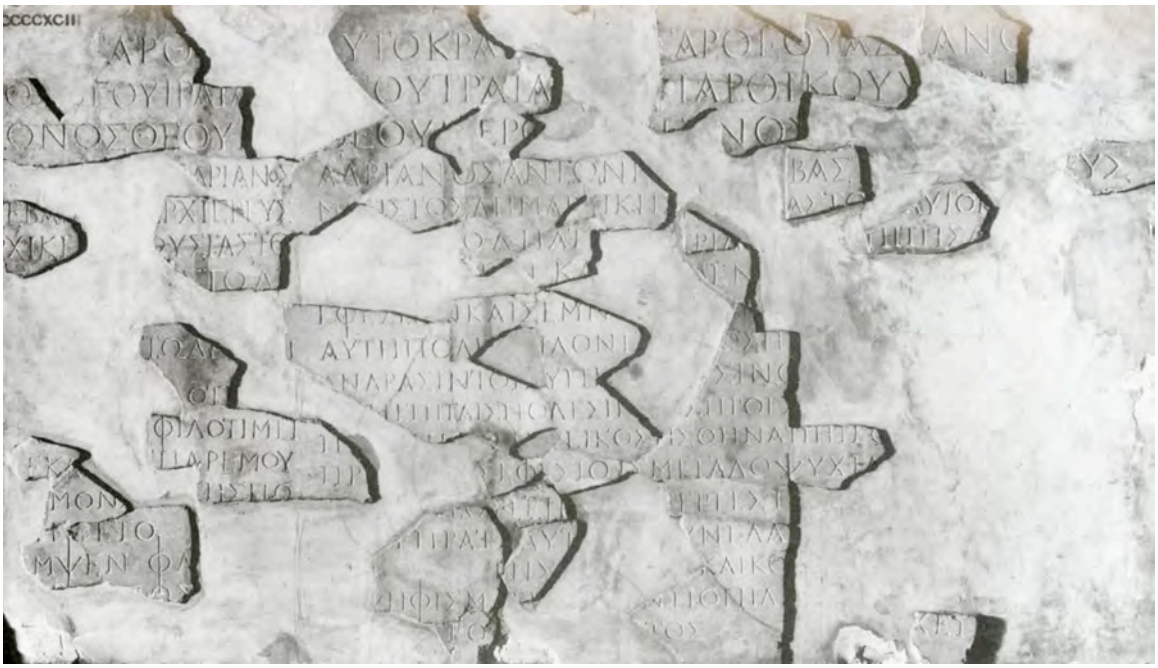
Ephesus: Figure 3.50
Date of Flavian Group Honors from Asia Minor (5)
(Image source: Author)



Ephesus: Figure 3.51
Find spots of Flavian Group Honors from Asia Minor (5)
(Image source: Author)

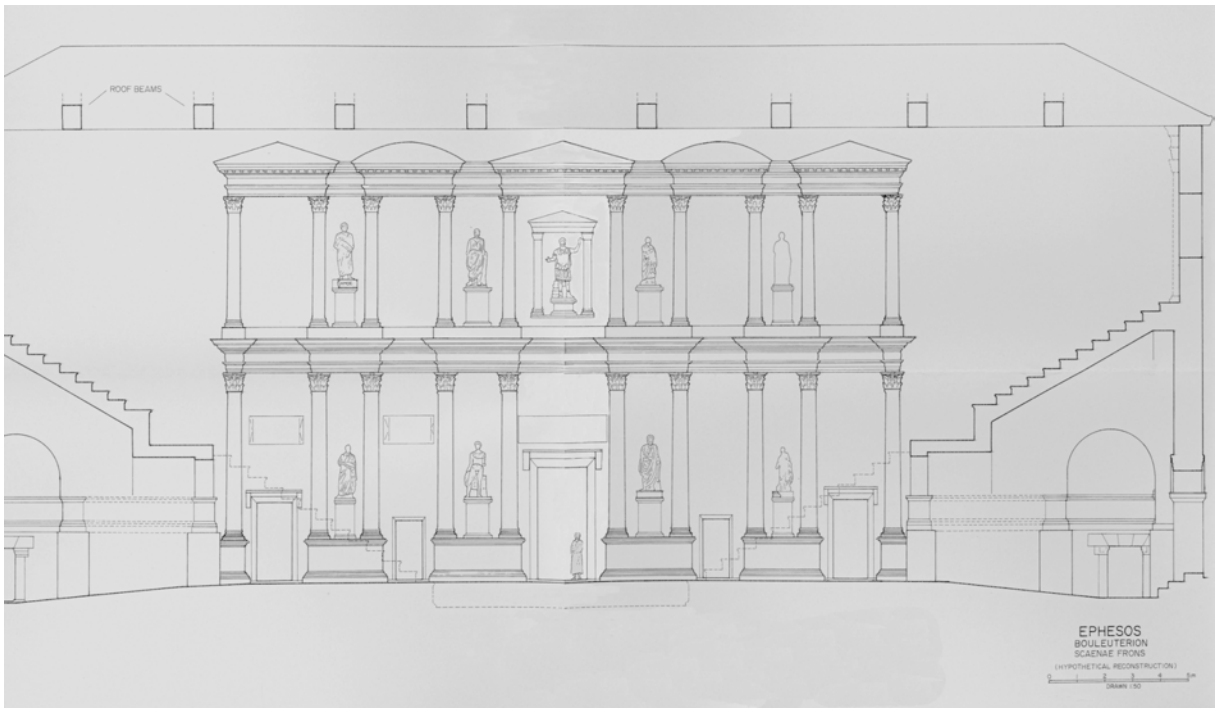


Ephesus: Figure 3.52
Bouleuterion, state plan
(Image source: Bier 1999, Figure 2)



Ephesus: Figure 3.53
IvE 1493, British Museum, monumental inscription from the *proscaenium*
(Image source: Kalinowski 2002, Plate 3)

Ephesus: Figure 3.54
IvE V.1505, British Museum 1256, fragmentary statue of Lucius Aelius Aurelius Commodus
(Image source: Kalinowski and Taeuber 2001, Figure 1)

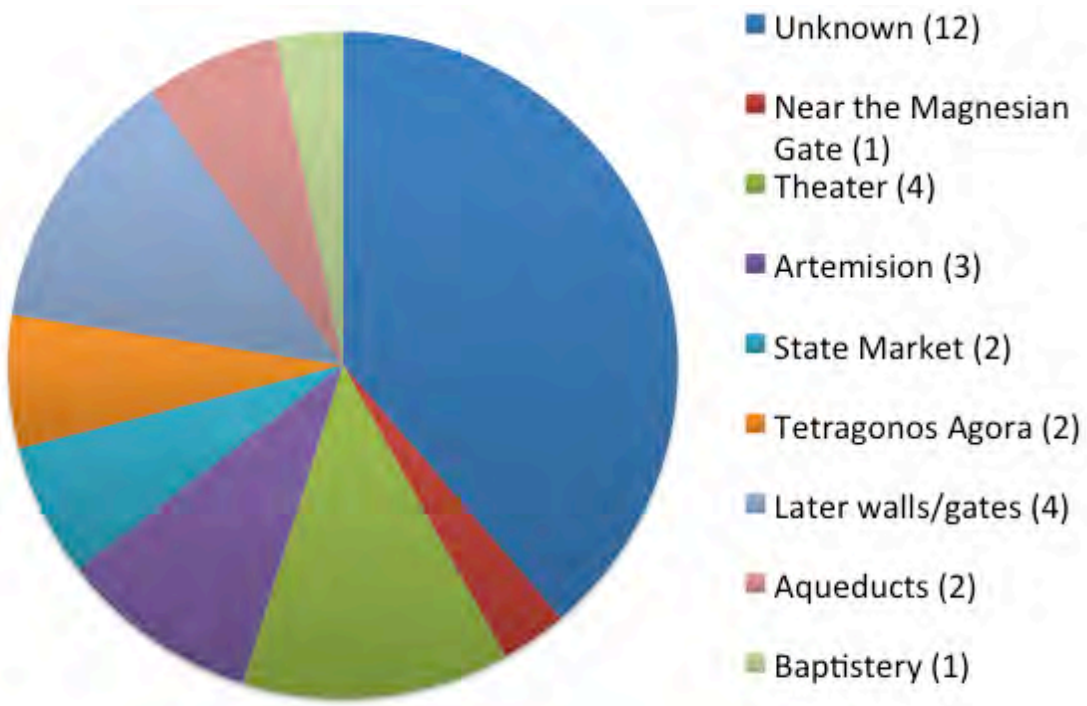


Ephesus: Figure 3.55
Bouleuterion/Odeion, elevation and sculptural arrangement of *scaenae frons*, after Bier 2011
(Image source: Bier 2011, Plan 6)

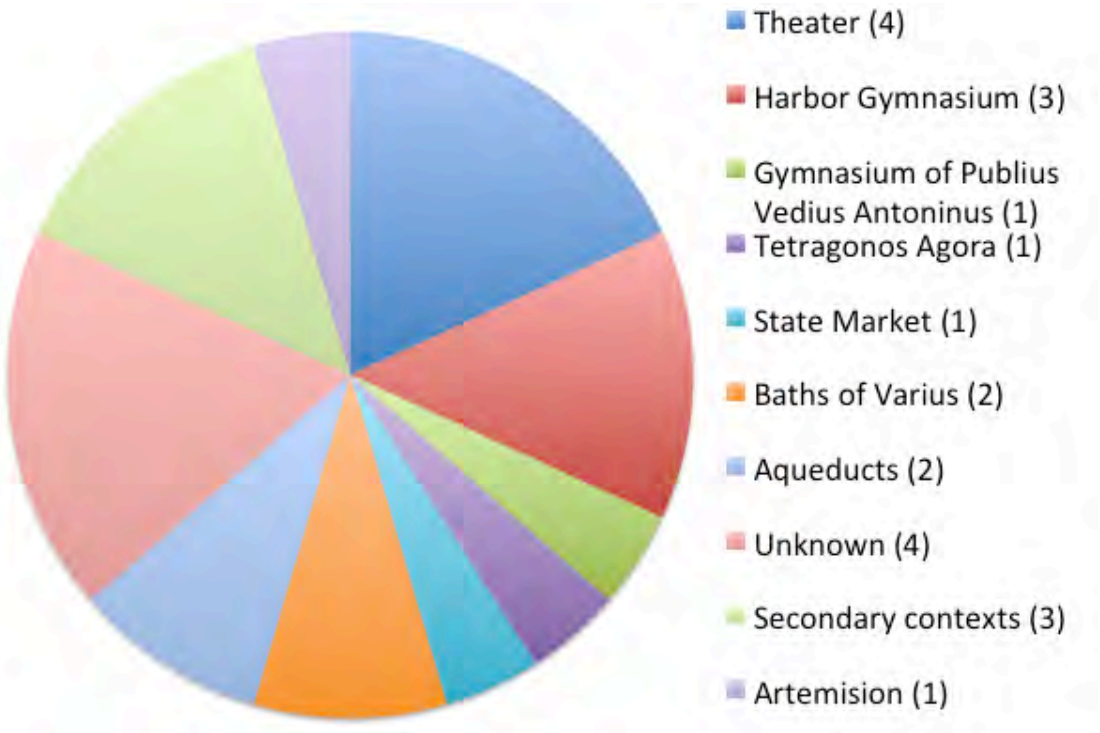
Ephesus: Figure 3.56
Arkadiane
(Image source: Author)

Ephesus: Figure 3.57
Theater
(Image source: Author)

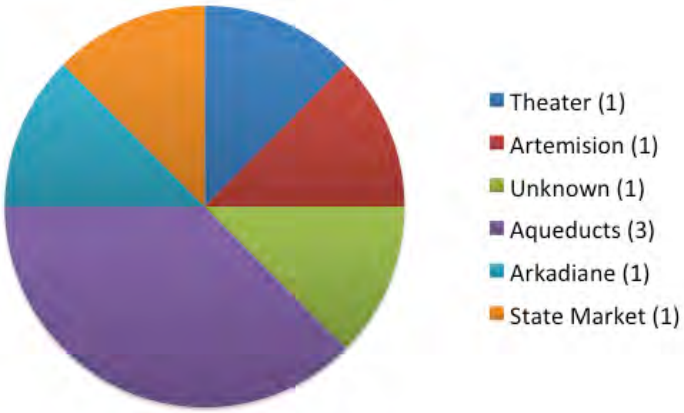
Ephesus: Figure 3.58
Bouleuterion/Odeion
(Image source: Author)



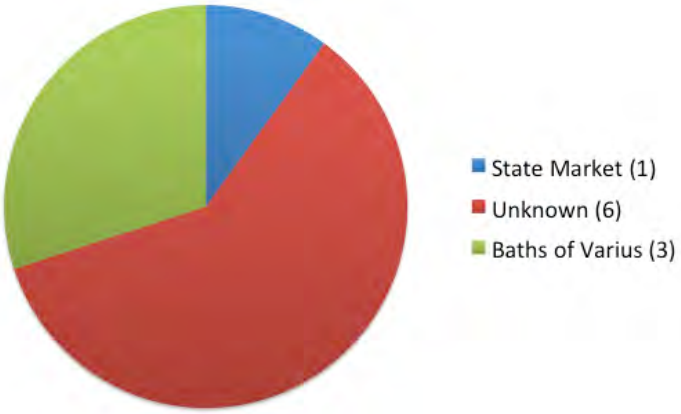
Ephesus: Figure 3.59
Find spots of Hadrianic Individual Honors (31)
(Image source: Author)



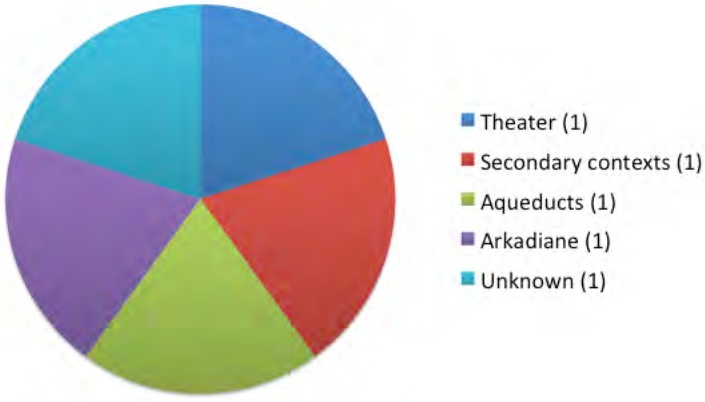
Ephesus: Figure 3.60
Find spots of Antonine Individual Honors (22)
(Image source: Author)



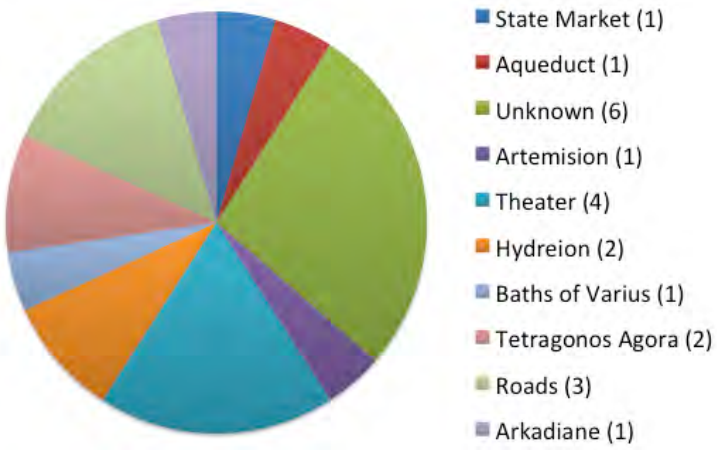
Ephesus: Figure 3.61
Find spots of Antonine Group Honors (8)
(Image source: Author)



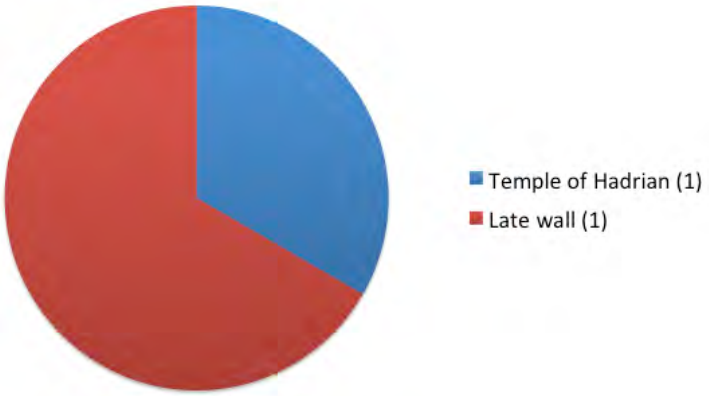
Ephesus: Figure 3.62
Find spots of Severan Individual Honors (10)
(Image source: Author)



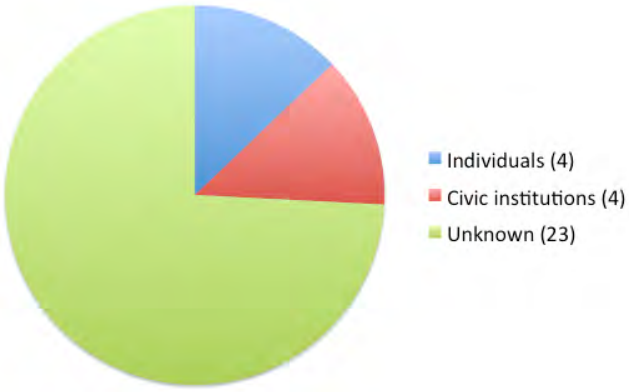
Ephesus: Figure 3.63
Find spots of Severan Group Honors (5)
(Image source: Author)



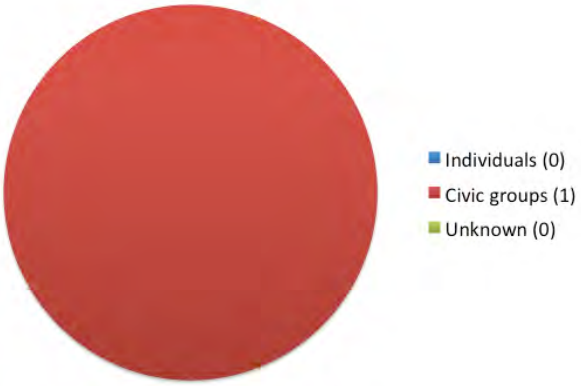
Ephesus: Figure 3.64
Find spots of Third Century CE and Beyond Individual Honors (22)
(Image source: Author)



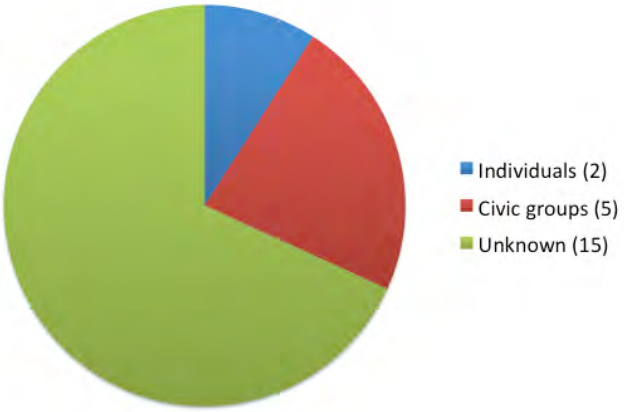
Ephesus: Figure 3.65
Find spots of Third Century CE and Beyond Group Honors (2)
(Image source: Author)



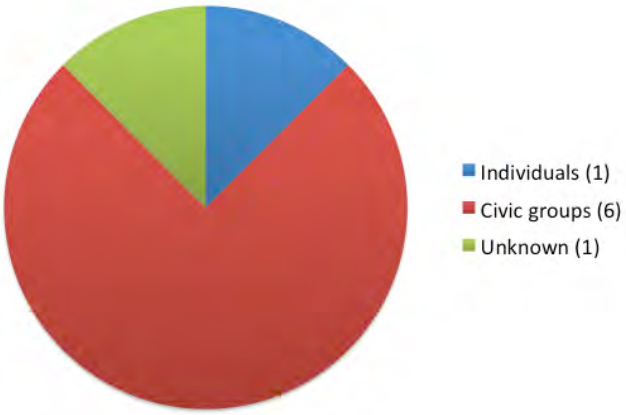
Ephesus: Figure 3.66
Patrons of Hadrianic Individual Honors (31)
(Image source: Author)



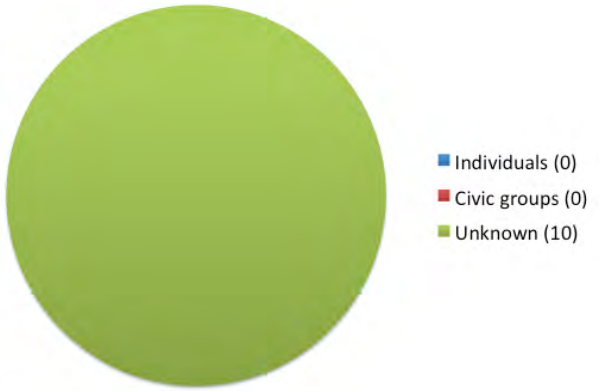
Ephesus: Figure 3.67
Patrons of Hadrianic Group Honors (1)
(Image source: Author)



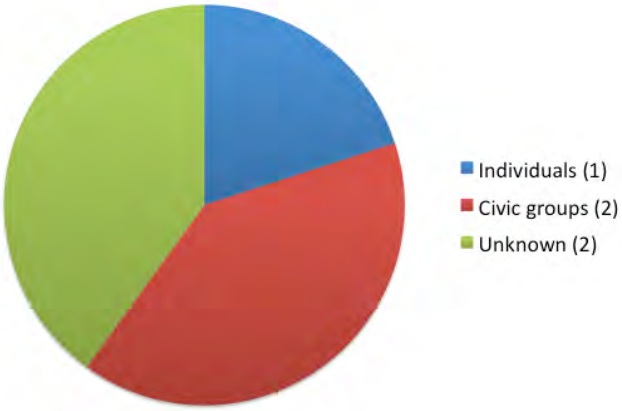
Ephesus: Figure 3.68
Patrons of Antonine Individual Honors (22)
(Image source: Author)



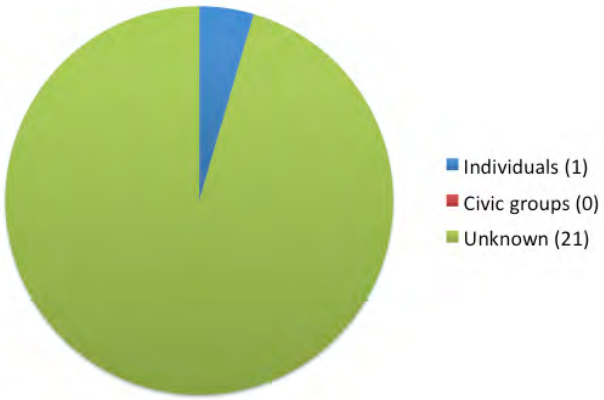
Ephesus: Figure 3.69
Patrons of Antonine Group Honors (8)
(Image source: Author)



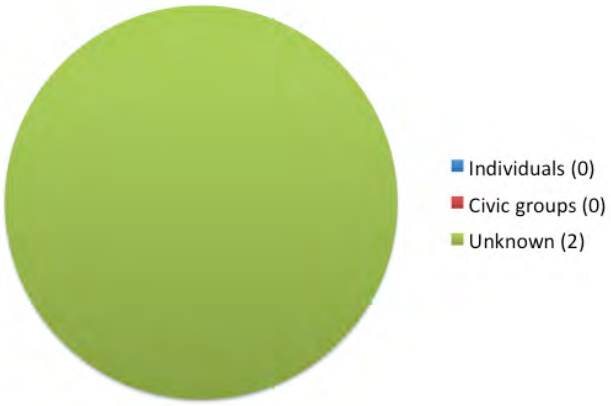
Ephesus: Figure 3.70
Patrons of Severan Individual Honors (10)
(Image source: Author)



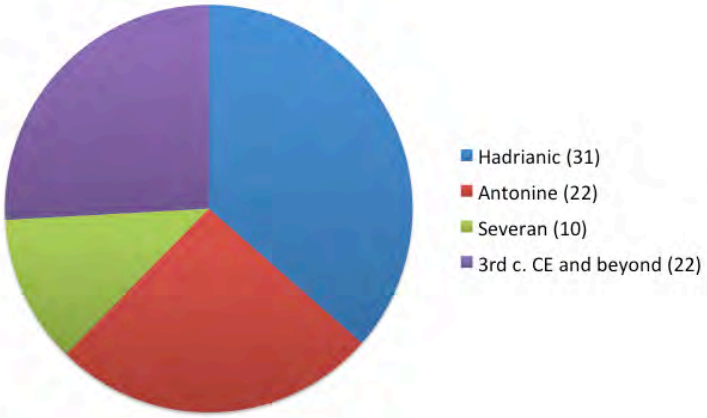
Ephesus: Figure 3.71
Patrons of Severan Group Honors (5)
(Image source: Author)



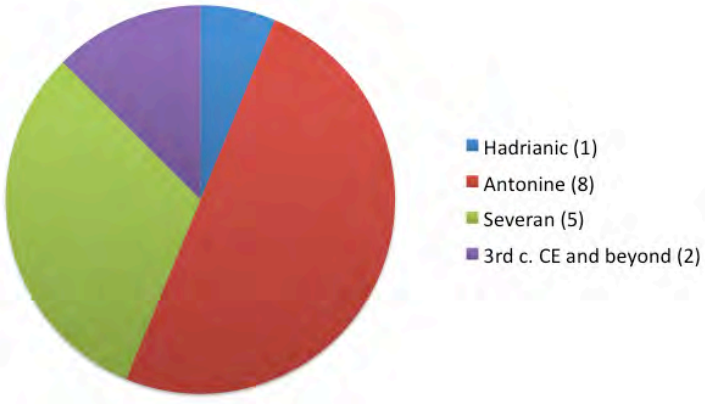
Ephesus: Figure 3.72
Patrons of Third Century CE and Beyond Individual Honors (22)
(Image source: Author)



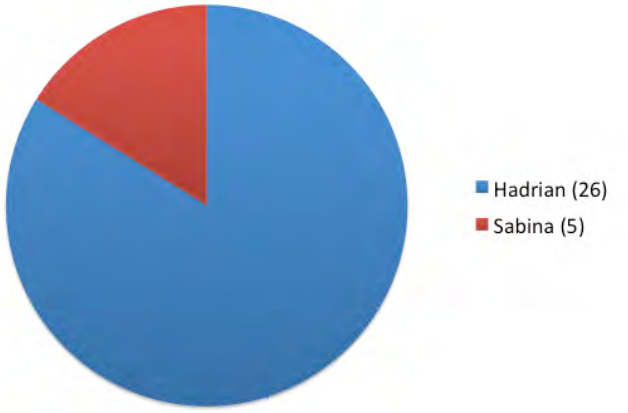
Ephesus: Figure 3.73
Patrons of Third Century CE and Beyond Group Honors (2)
(Image source: Author)



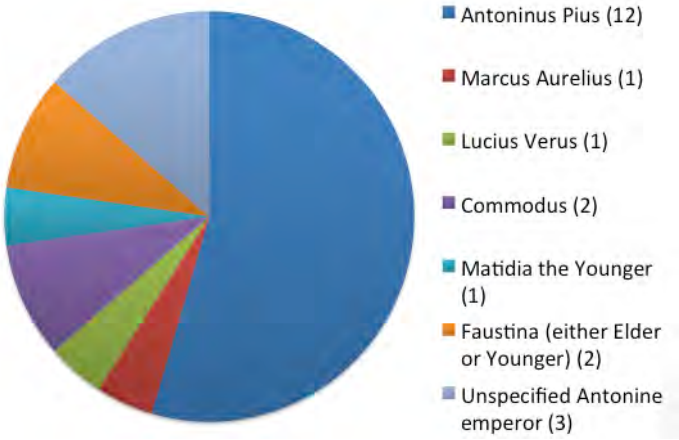
Ephesus: Figure 3.74
Honorands of All Post-Trajanic Individual Honors (85)
(Image source: Author)



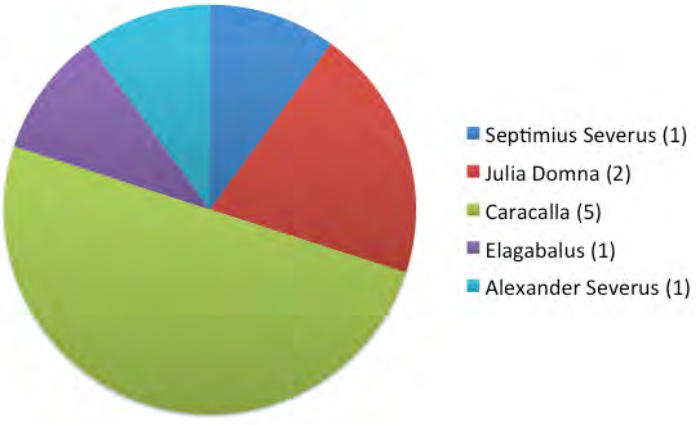
Ephesus: Figure 3.75
Honorands of All Post-Trajanic Group Honors (16)
(Image source: Author)



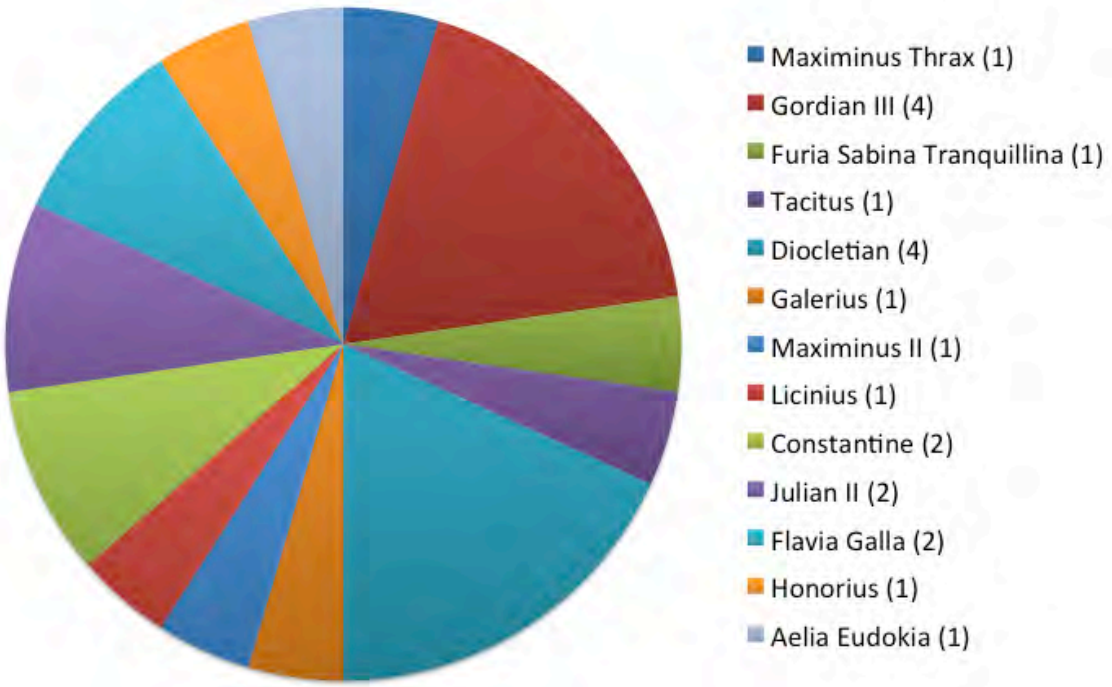
Ephesus: Figure 3.76
Honorands of Hadrianic Individual Honors (31)
(Image source: Author)



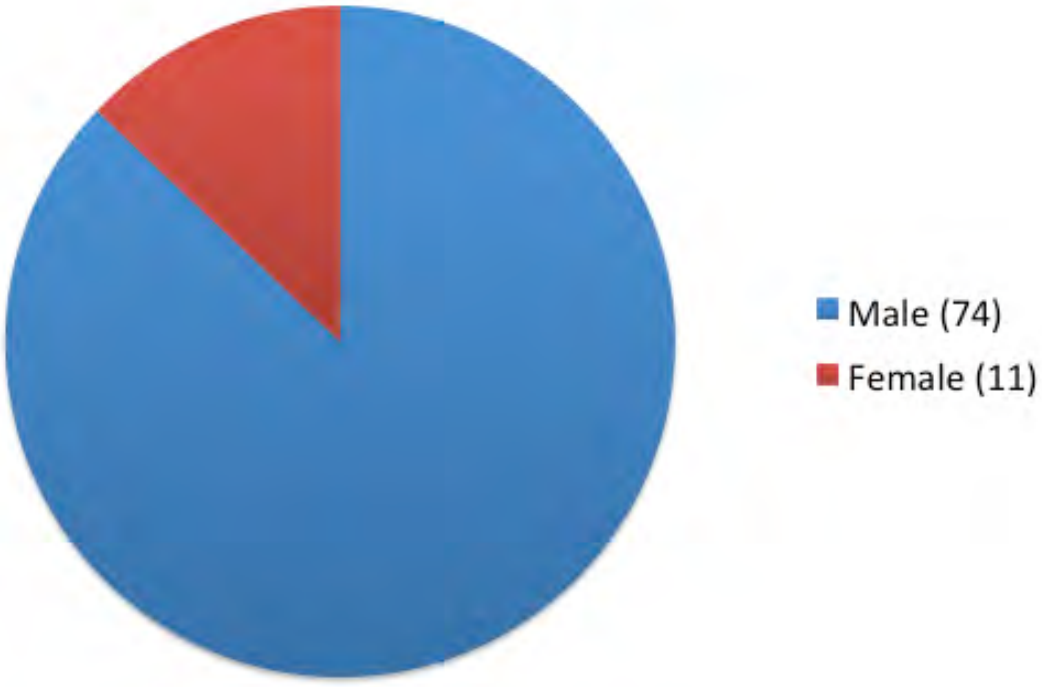
Ephesus: Figure 3.77
Honorands of Antonine Individual Honors (22)
(Image source: Author)



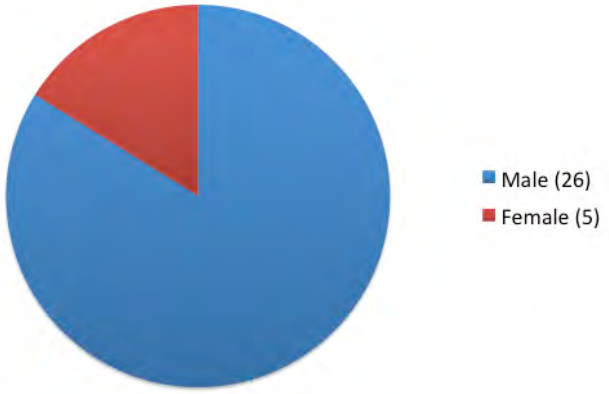
Ephesus: Figure 3.78
Honorands of Severan Individual Honors (10)
(Image source: Author)



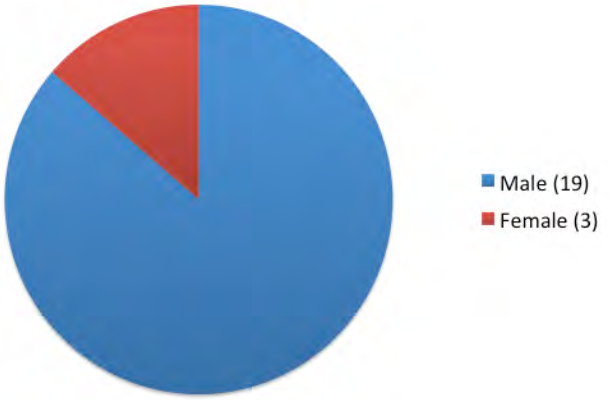
Ephesus: Figure 3.79
Honorands of Third Century CE and Beyond Individual Honors (22)
(Image source: Author)



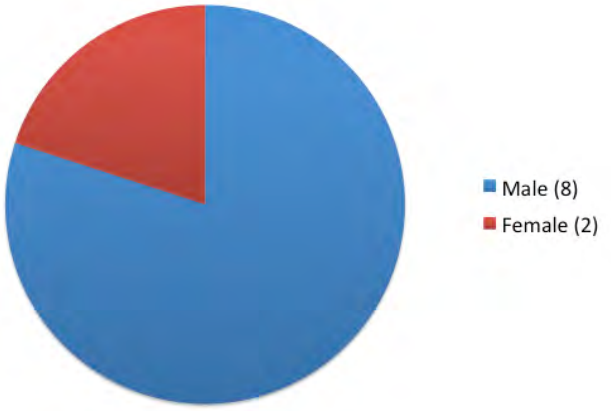
Ephesus: Figure 3.80
Gender of Honorands for All Post-Trajanic Individual Honors (85)
(Image source: Author)



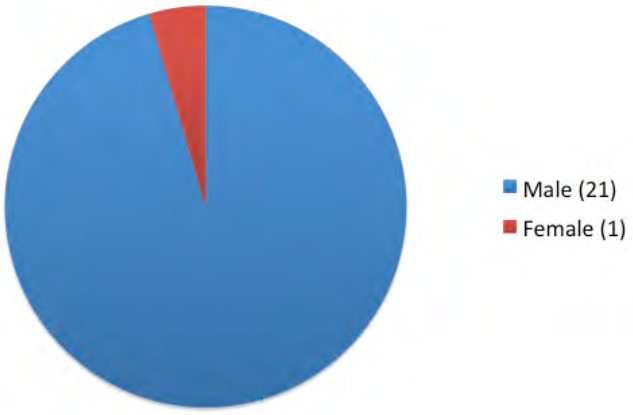
Ephesus: Figure 3.81
Gender of Honorands for Hadrianic Individual Honors (31)
(Image source: Author)



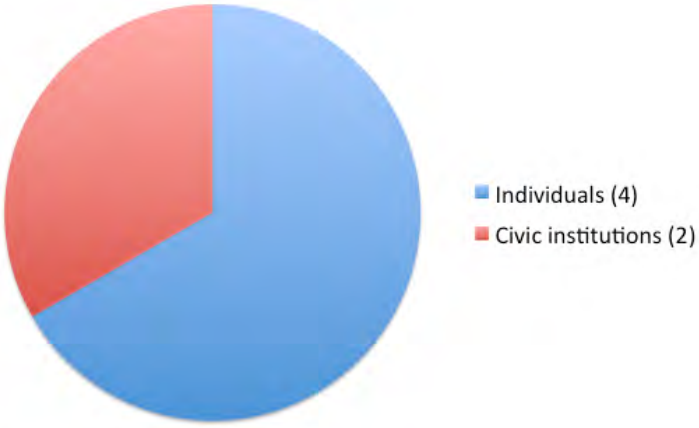
Ephesus: Figure 3.82
Gender of Honorands for Antonine Individual Honors (22)
(Image source: Author)



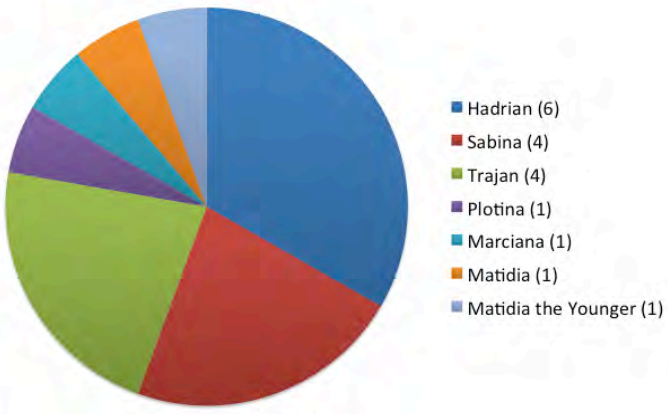
Ephesus: Figure 3.83
Gender of Honorands for Severan Individual Honors (10)
(Image source: Author)



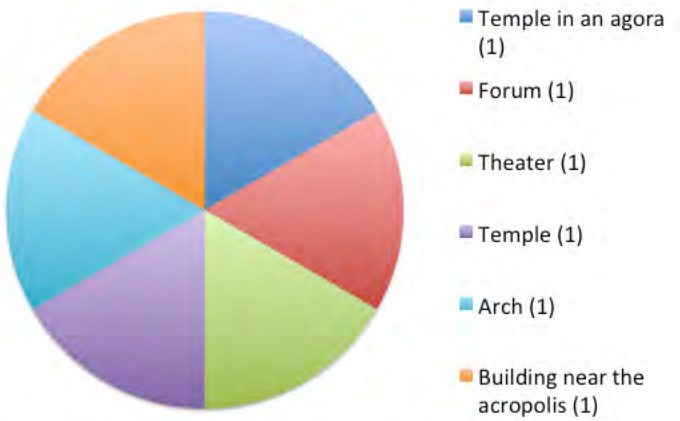
Ephesus: Figure 3.84
Gender of Honorands for Third Century CE and Beyond Individual Honors (22)
(Image source: Author)



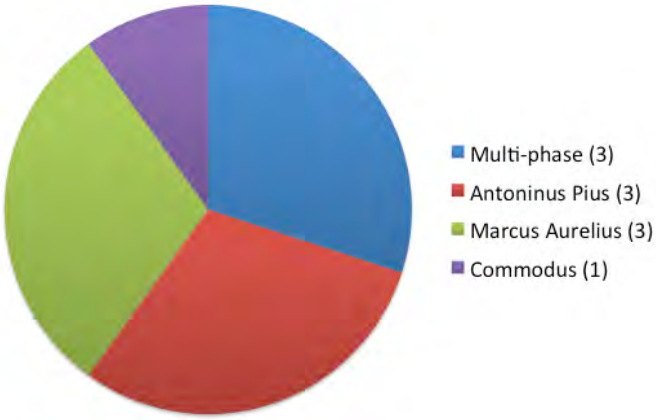
Ephesus: Figure 3.85
Patrons of Hadrianic Group Honors from Asia Minor (6)
(Image source: Author)



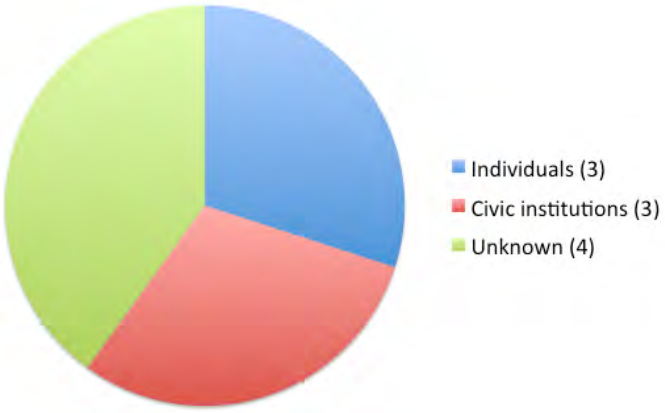
Ephesus: Figure 3.86
Honorands of Hadrianic Group Honors from Asia Minor (18)
(Image source: Author)



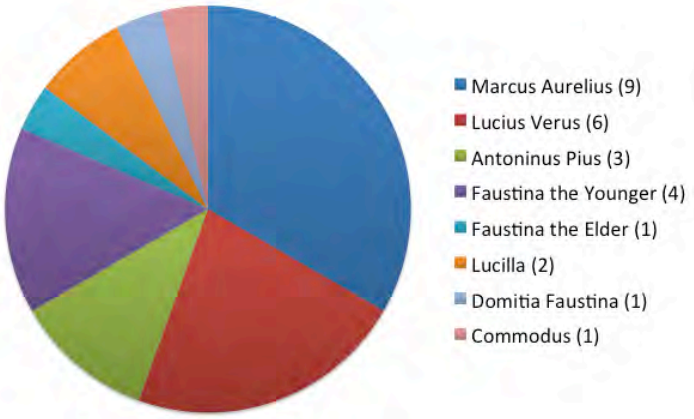
Ephesus: Figure 3.87
Find spots of Hadrianic Group Honors from Asia Minor (6)
(Image source: Author)



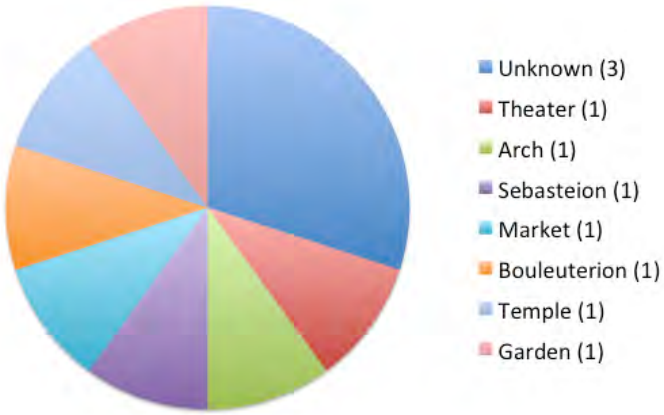
Ephesus: Figure 3.88
Dates of Antonine Group Honors from Asia Minor (10)
(Image source: Author)



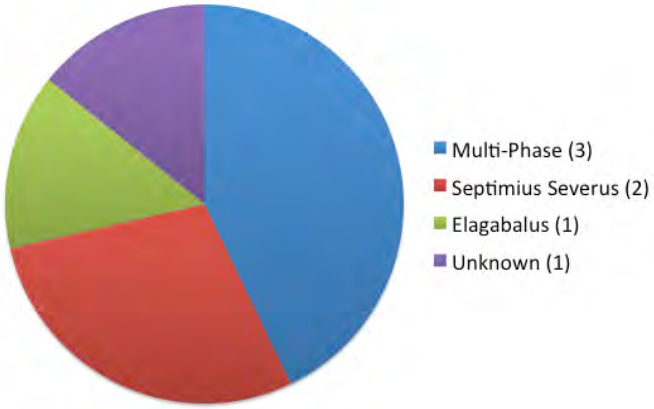
Ephesus: Figure 3.89
Patrons of Antonine Group Honors from Asia Minor (10)
(Image source: Author)



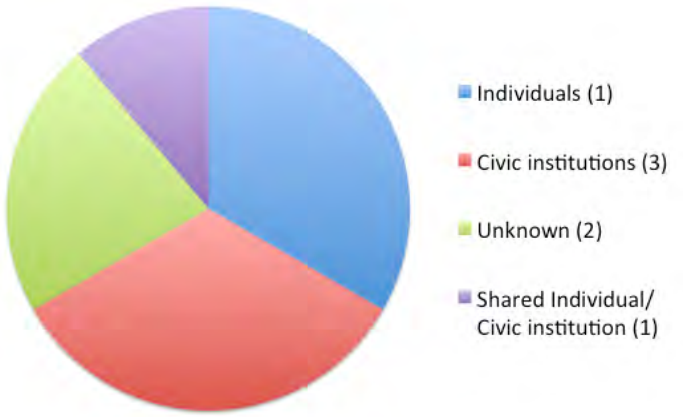
Ephesus: Figure 3.90
Honorands of Antonine Group Honors from Asia Minor (27)
(Image source: Author)



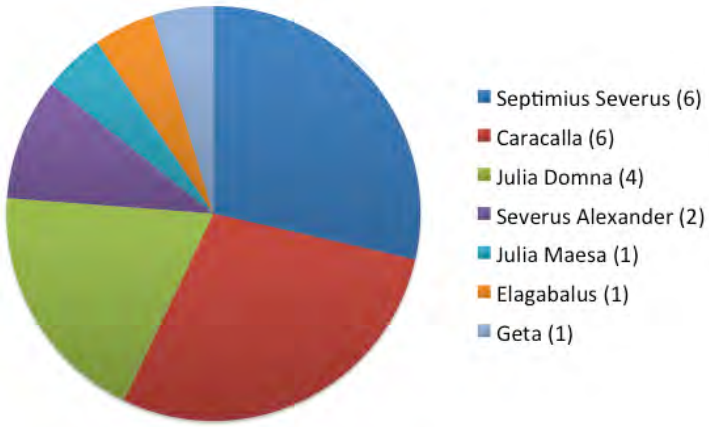
Ephesus: Figure 3.91
Find spots of Antonine Group Honors from Asia Minor (10)
(Image source: Author)



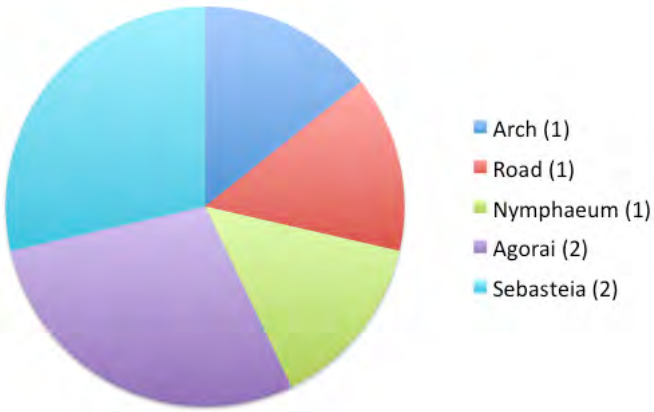
Ephesus: Figure 3.92
Date of Severan Group Honors from Asia Minor (7)
(Image source: Author)



Ephesus: Figure 3.93
Patrons of Severan Group Honors from Asia Minor (7)
(Image source: Author)

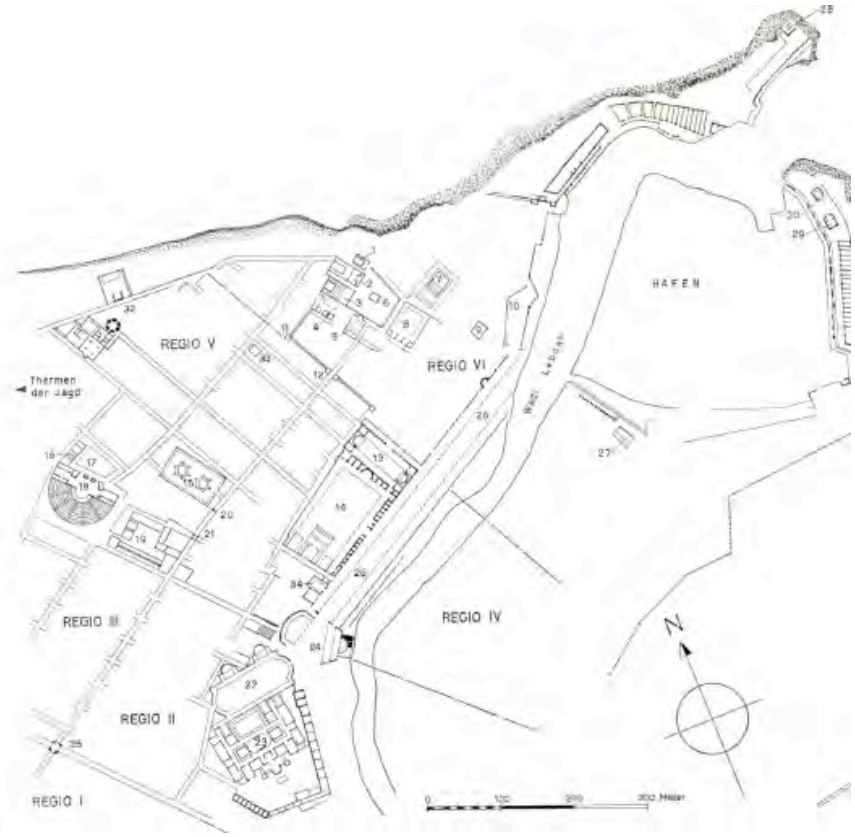


Ephesus: Figure 3.94
Honorands of Severan Group Honors from Asia Minor (21)
(Image source: Author)

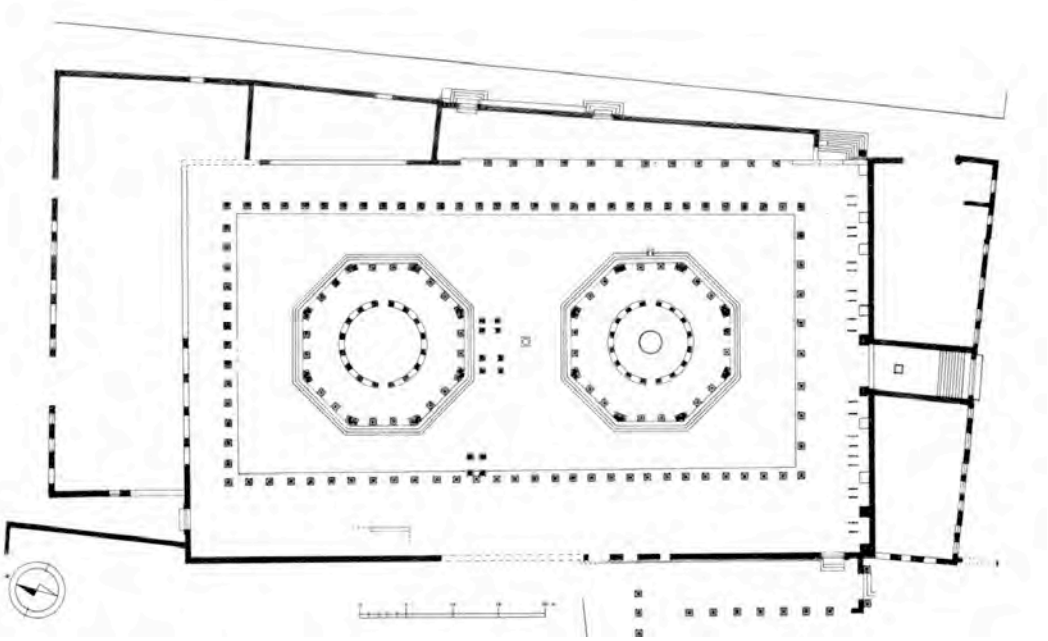


Ephesus: Figure 3.95
Find spots of Severan Group Honors from Asia Minor (7)
(Image source: Author)

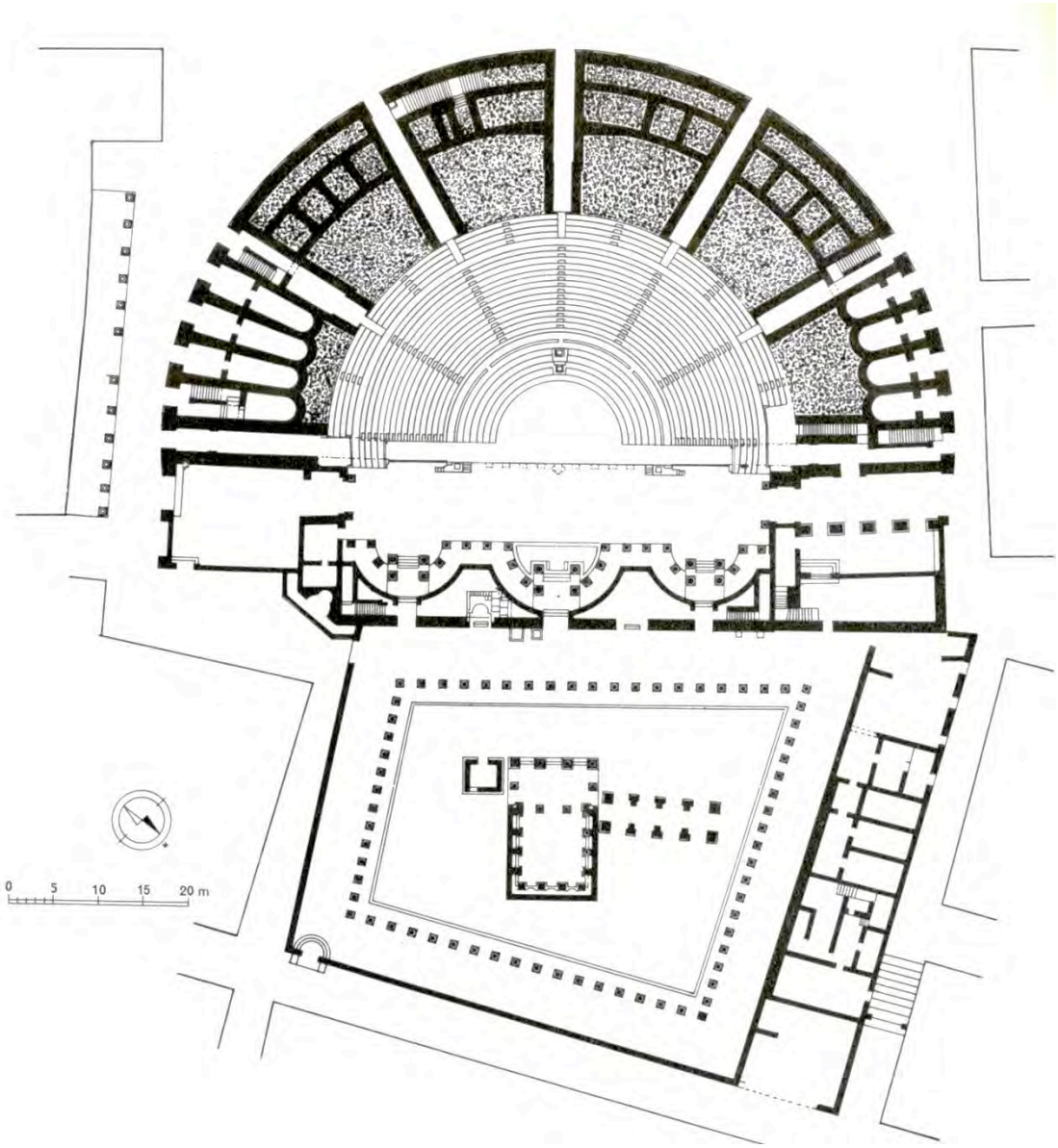
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.1
Map of Leptis Magna
(Image source: Google Earth)



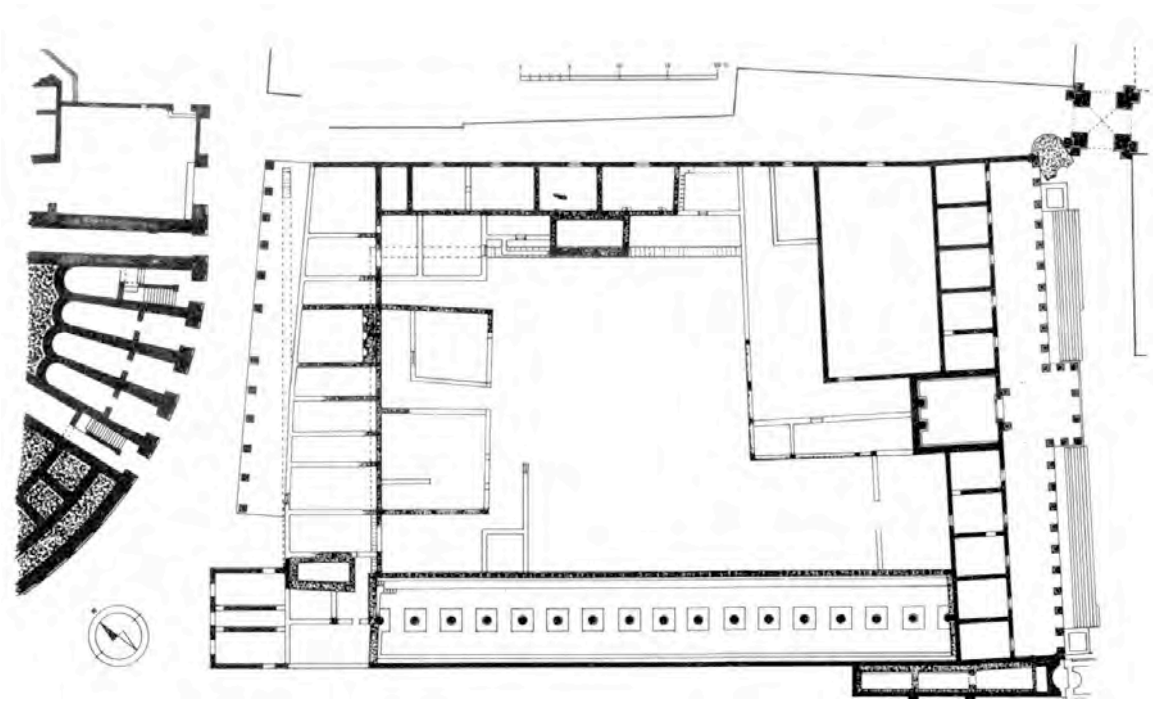
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.2
Map of Leptis Magna
(Image source: Squarciapino 1966)



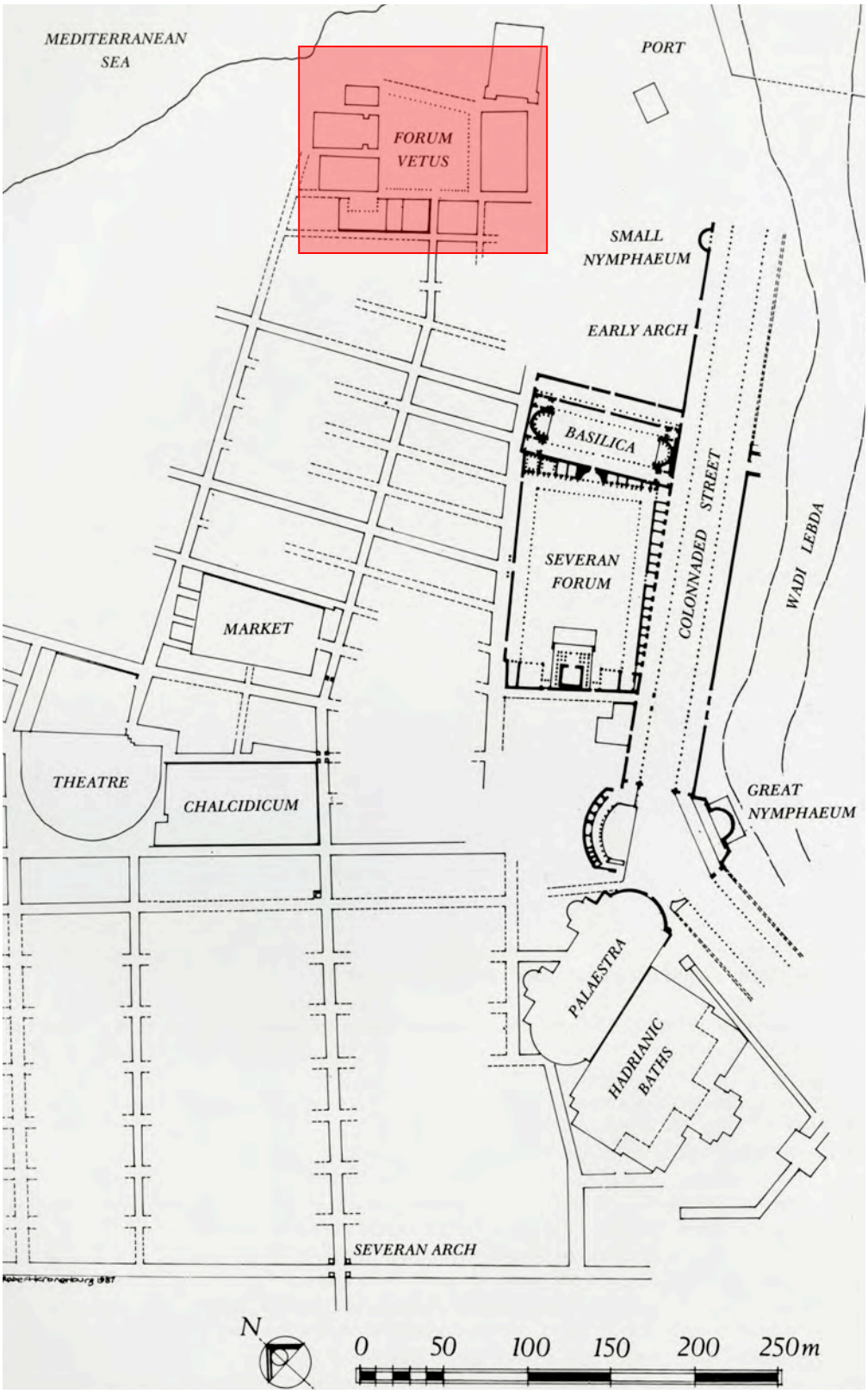
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.3
Market, plan
(Image source: Bandinelli, et al. 1964, Figure 233)



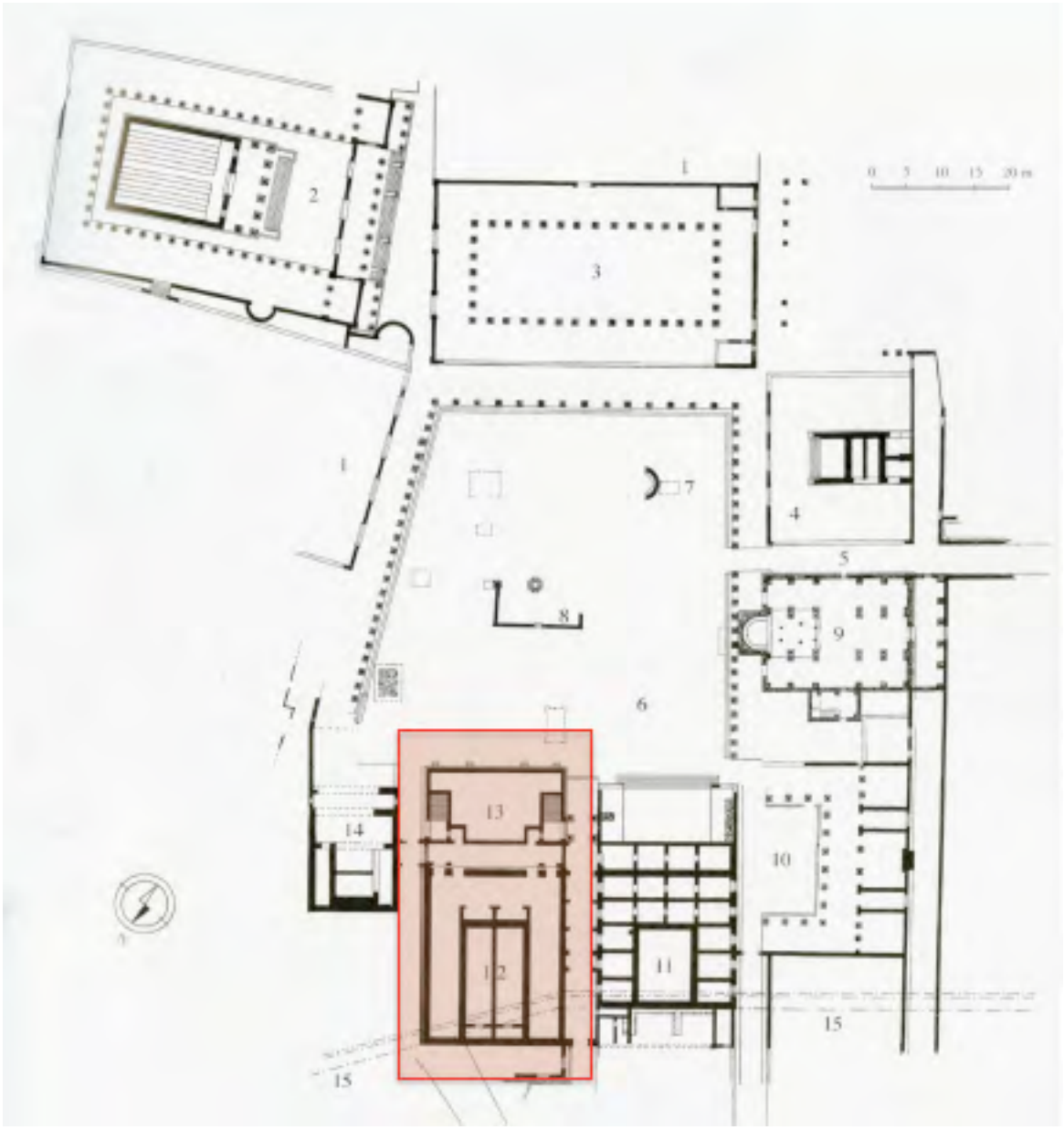
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.4
Theater, plan
(Image source: Bandinelli, et al. 1964, Figure 234)



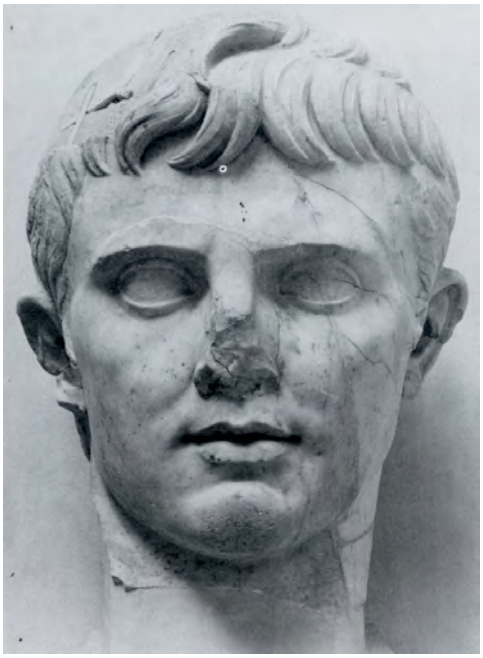
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.5
Chalcidicum, plan
(Image source: Bandinelli, et al. 1964, Figure 231)



Leptis Magna: Figure 4.6
Leptis Magna, map of the central area
(Image source: Ward Perkins 1993, Figure 3)



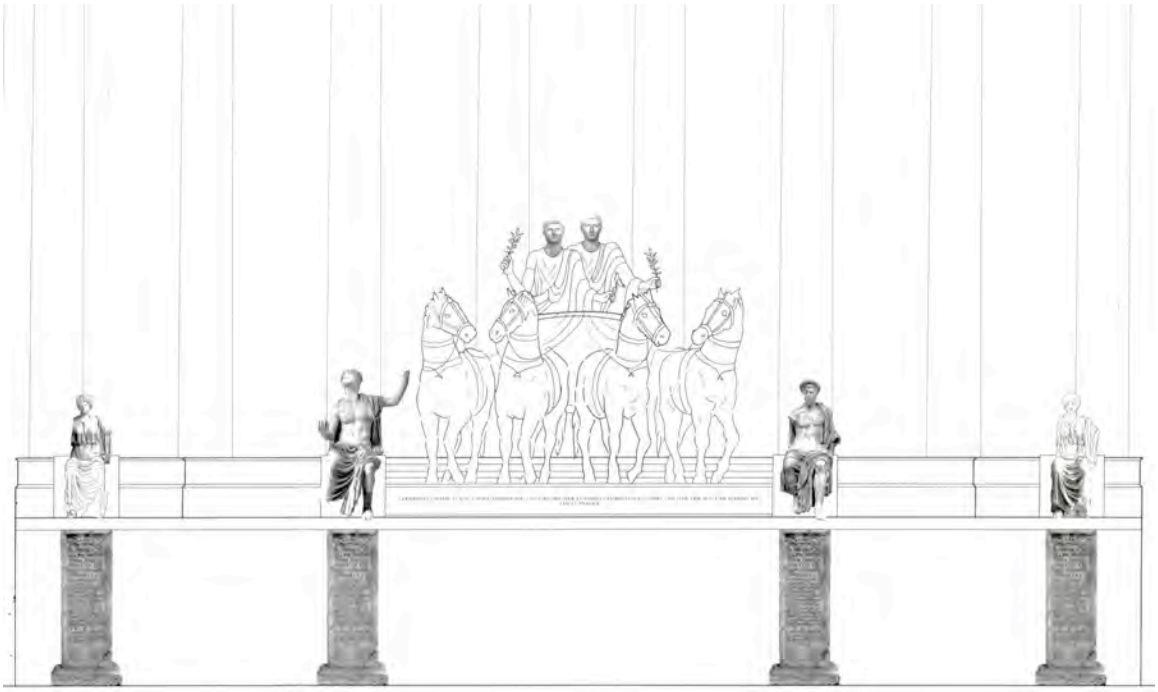
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.7
Forum Vetus, plan
(Image source: Di Vita 1999, Page 77)



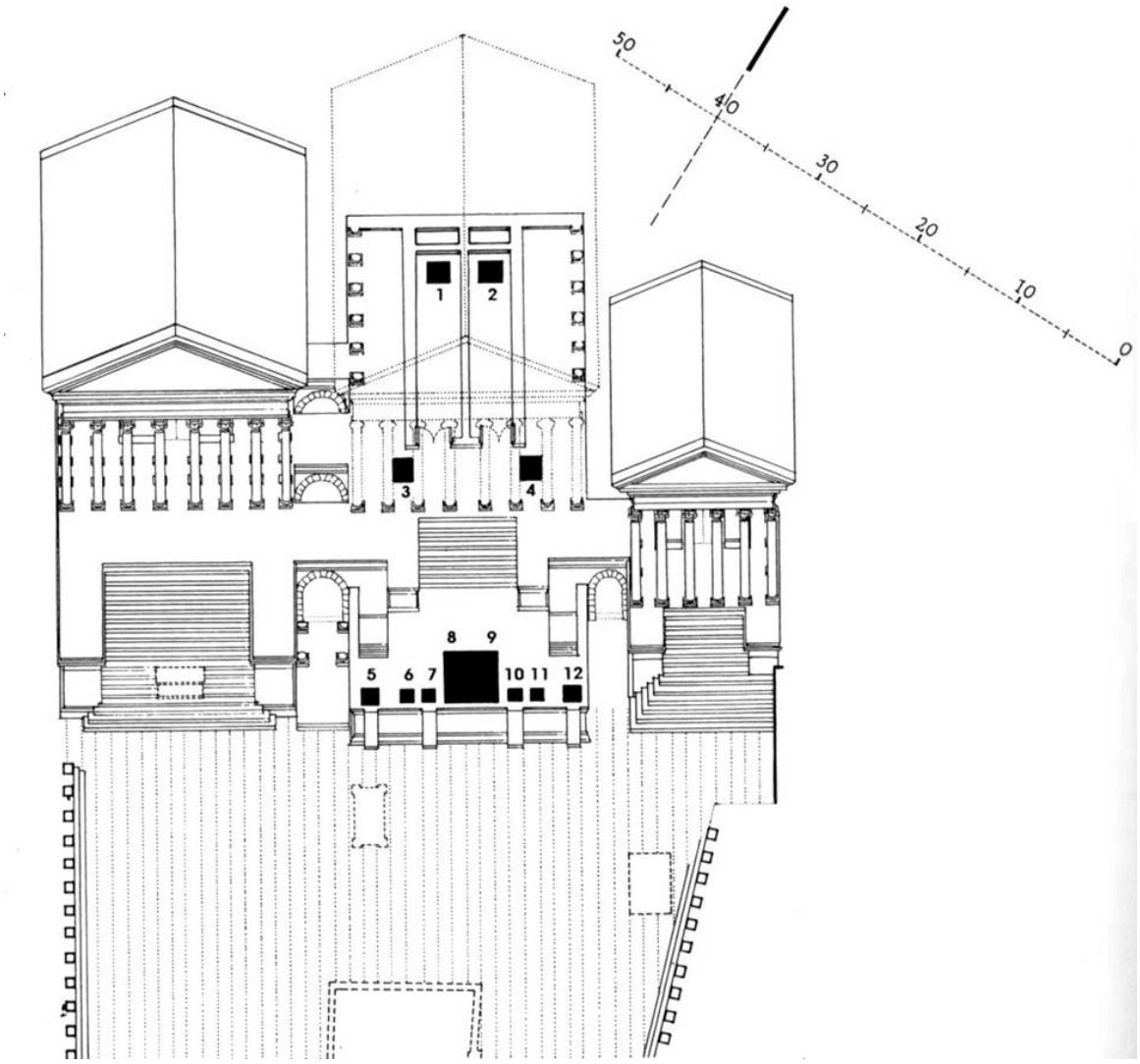
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.8
Archaeological Museum of Tripoli, colossal head of Augustus
(Image source: Boschung 2002, Plate 2.1)

Leptis Magna: Figure 4.9
Archaeological Museum of Tripoli, head of Germanicus
(Image source: Boschung 2002, Plate 5.1)

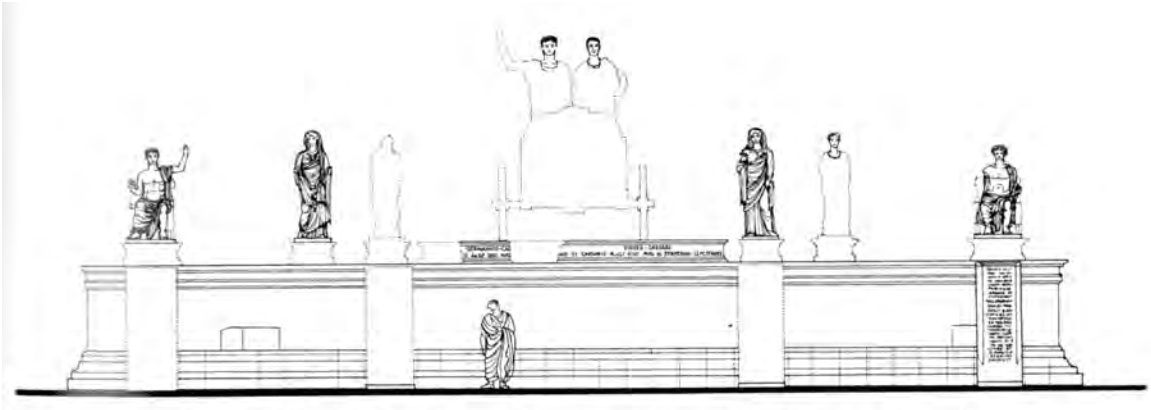
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.10
Archaeological Museum of Tripoli, statue of Agrippina the Elder
(Image source: Boschung 2002, Plate 6.2, 7.2)



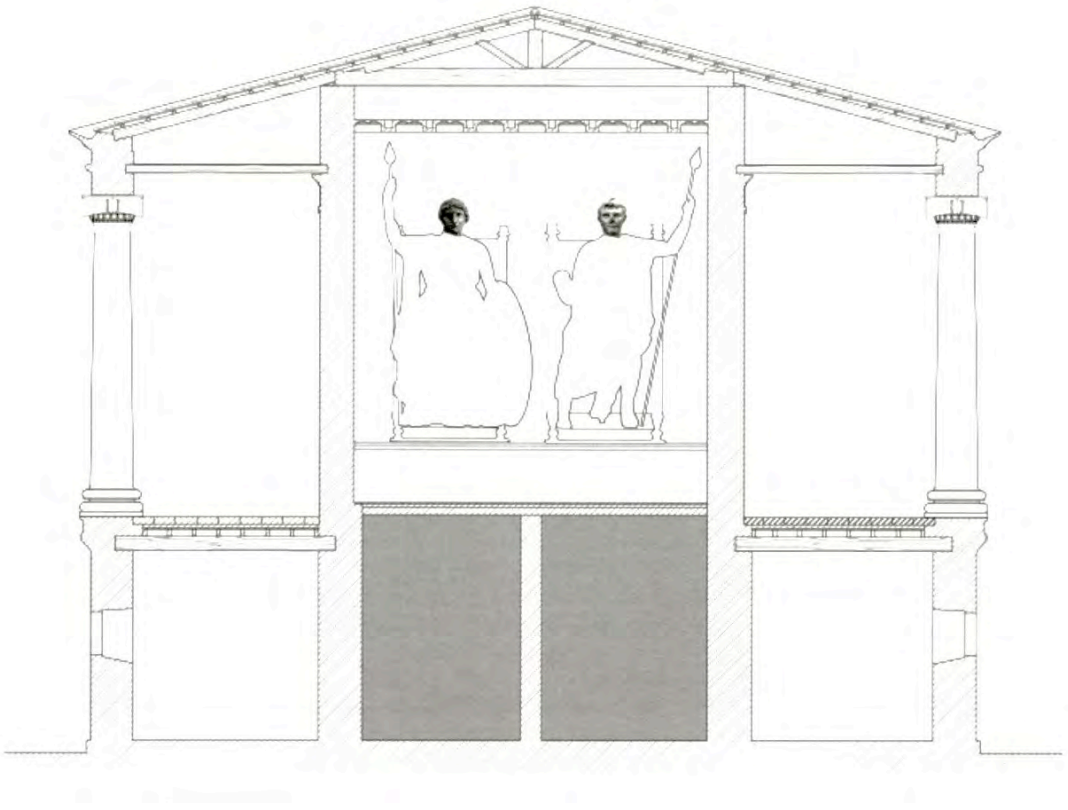
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.11
Sculptural arrangement in front of the rostra and the Temple of Rome
and Augustus in the late Claudian period, after Boschung 2002
(Image source: Boschung 2002, Insert 1)



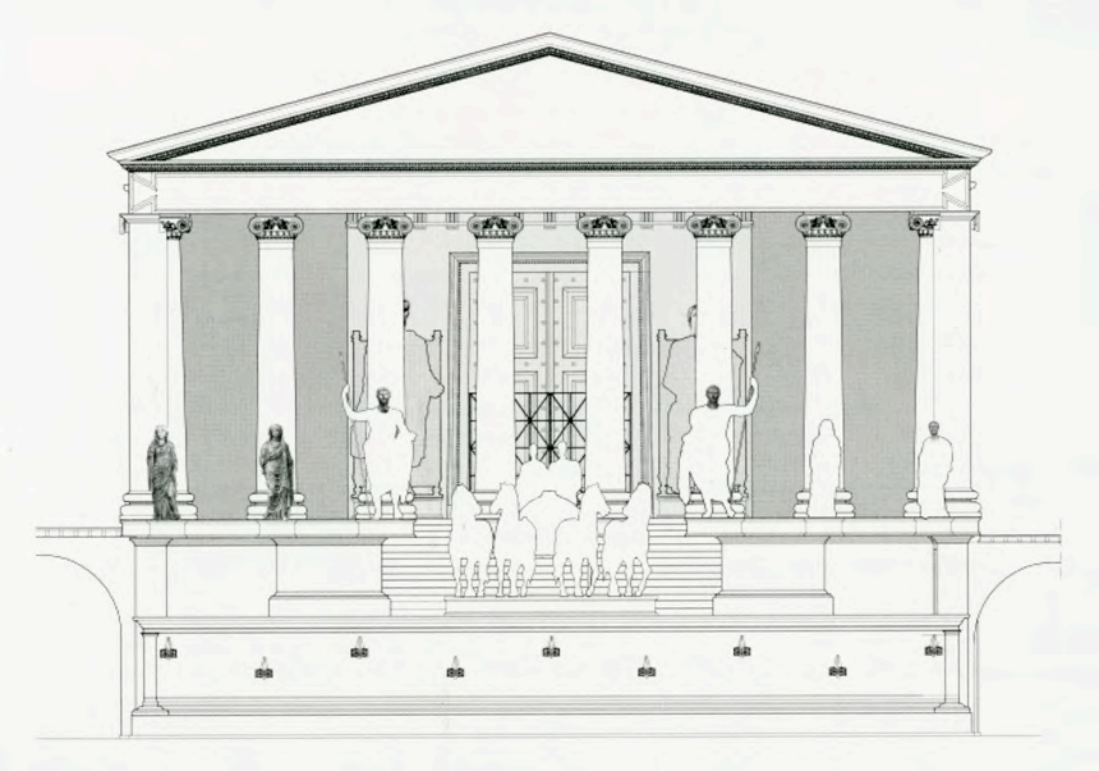
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.12
The *Forum Vetus* with locations of the statues of (1) Augustus, (2) Roma, (3) Tiberius, (4) Livia, (5) Augustus, (6) Agrippina I, (7) Livilla, (8) Germanicus, (9) Drusus II, (10) Antonia II, (11) Vipsania Agrippina, and (12) Claudius, after Rose 1997
(Image source: Rose 1997, Plate 217A)



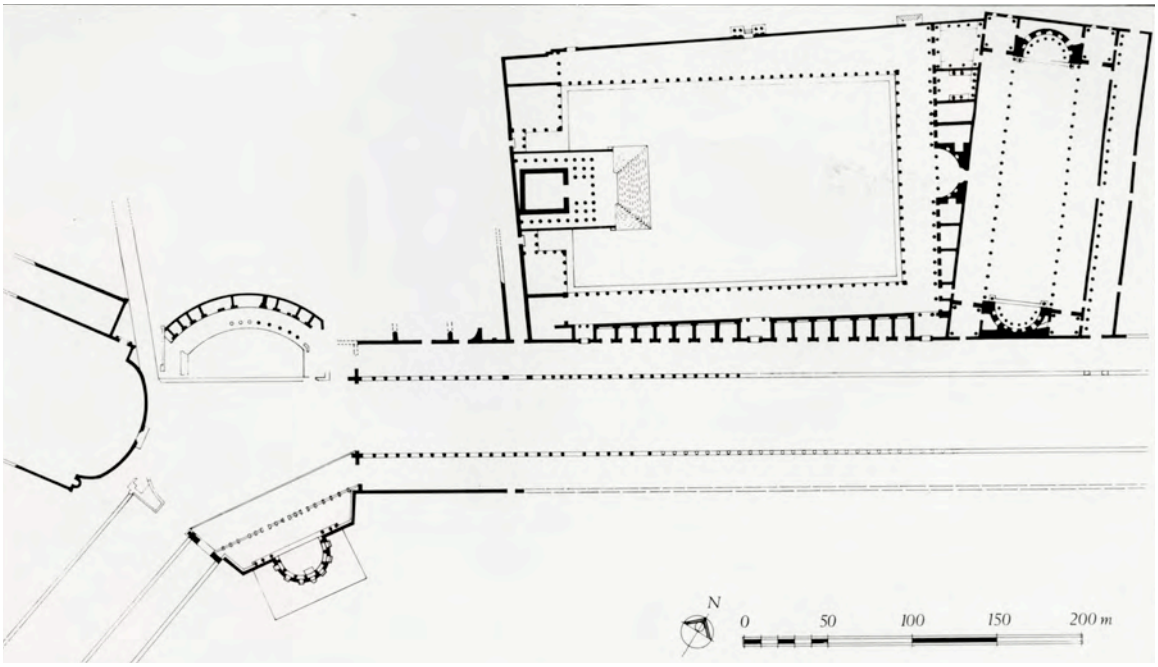
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.13
Sculptural arrangement on the podium in front of the Temple of Rome and Augustus; From left to right: Augustus, Agrippina I, Livilla, Germanicus, Drusus Caesar, Antonia II, Vipsania Agrippina, and Claudius, after Rose 1997
(Image source: Rose 1997, Plate 217B)



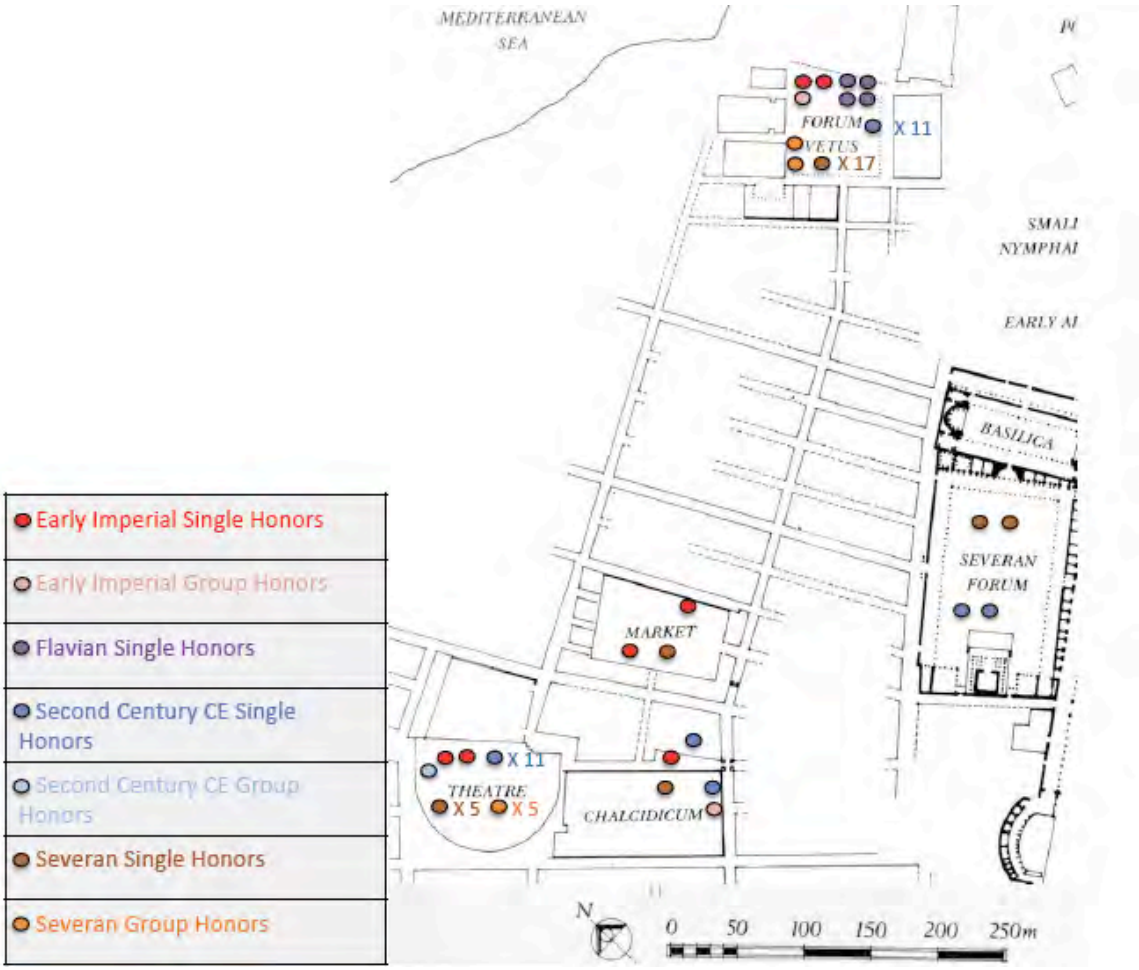
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.14
Temple of Rome and Augustus, transverse section of the cella with hypothetical positioning of the acrolithic statues of Rome and Augustus, after Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005
(Image source: Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, Figure 2.63a)



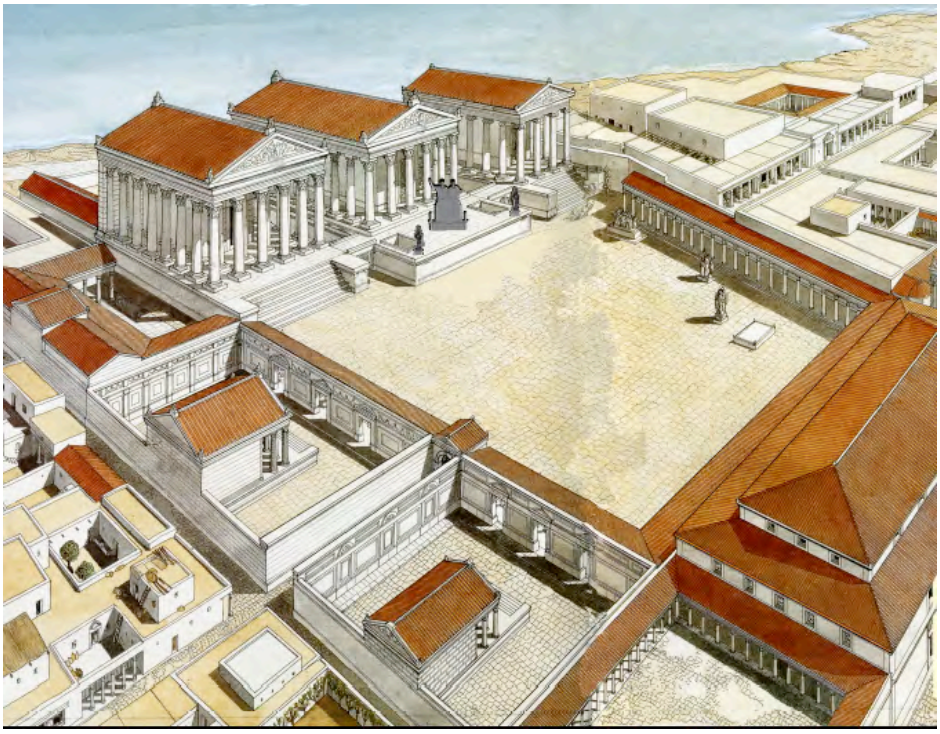
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.15
Arrangement of the dynastic sculpture in front of the Temple of Rome and Augustus, after Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005
(Image source: Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005, Figure 2.63b)



Leptis Magna: Figure 4.16
Plan of the Severan forum, basilica, nymphaeum, and colonnaded street
(Image source: Ward Perkins 1993, Figure 4)

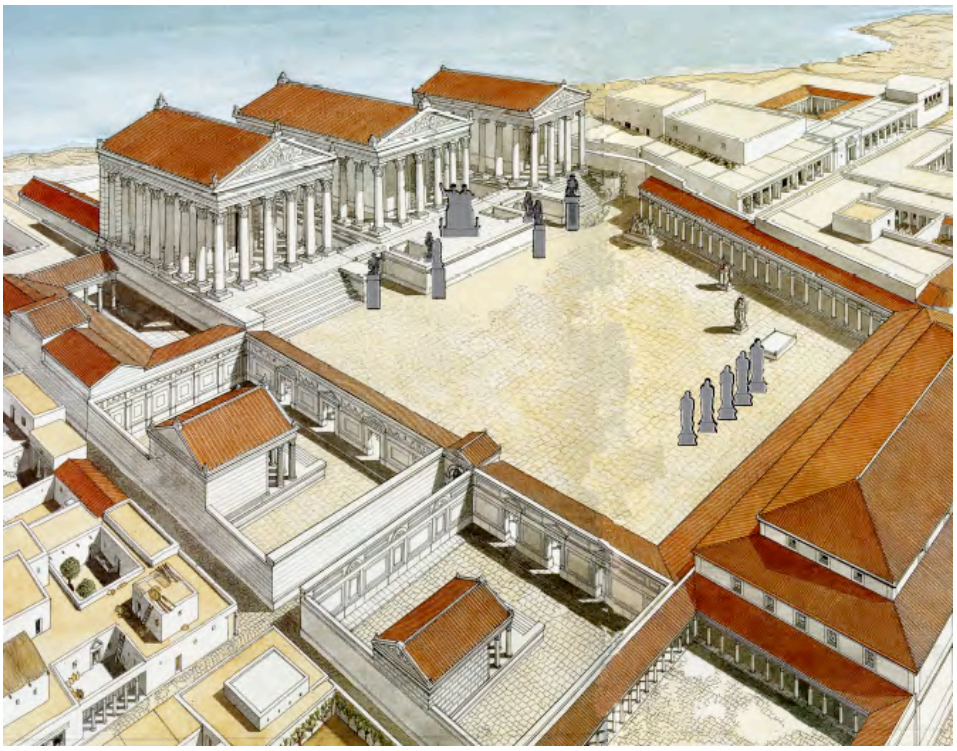


Leptis Magna: Figure 4.17
Find spots of Material
(Image source: Author)



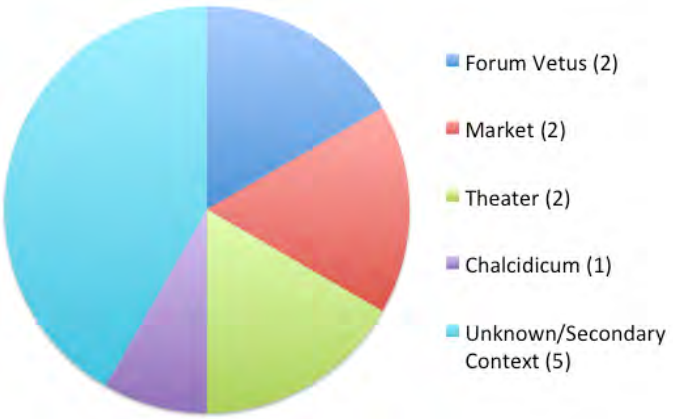
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.18
Forum Vetus with statues of the dynastic group (Tiberian Phase)
(Image source: Author)

Leptis Magna: Figure 4.19
Forum Vetus with statues of the dynastic group (Tiberian and First Claudian Phases)
(Image source: Author)

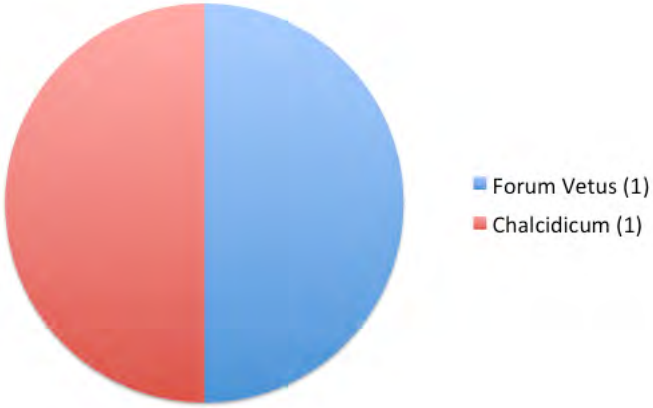


Leptis Magna: Figure 4.20
Forum Vetus with statues of the dynastic group (Tiberian, First and Second Claudian Phases)
(Image source: Author)

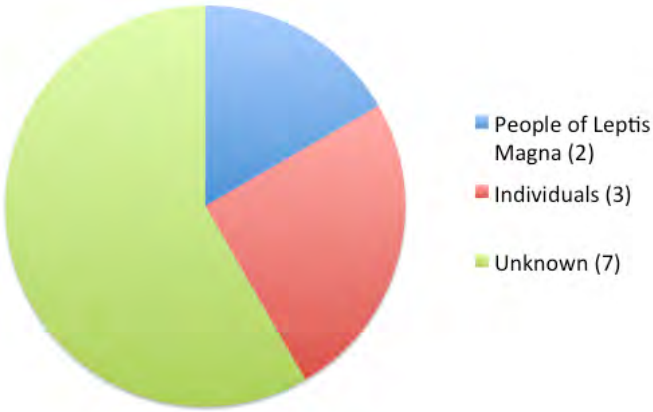
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.21
Forum Vetus in the Third Century CE with Julio-Claudian and Severan Dynastic Groups
(Image source: Author)



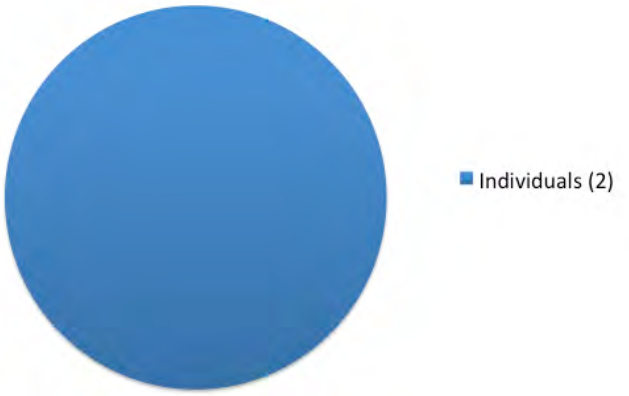
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.22
Find spots of Julio-Claudian Individual Honors (12)
(Image source: Author)



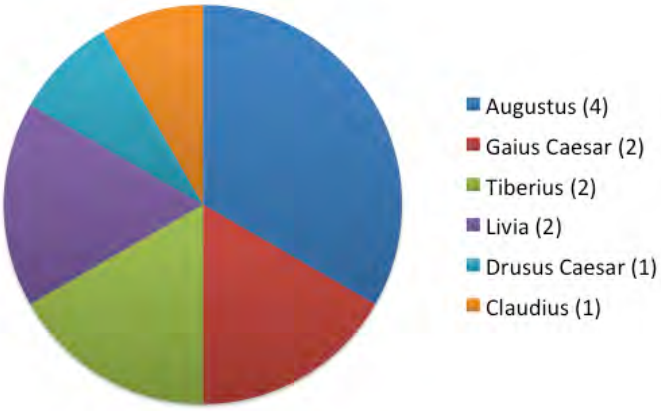
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.23
Find spots of Julio-Claudian Group Honors (2)
(Image source: Author)



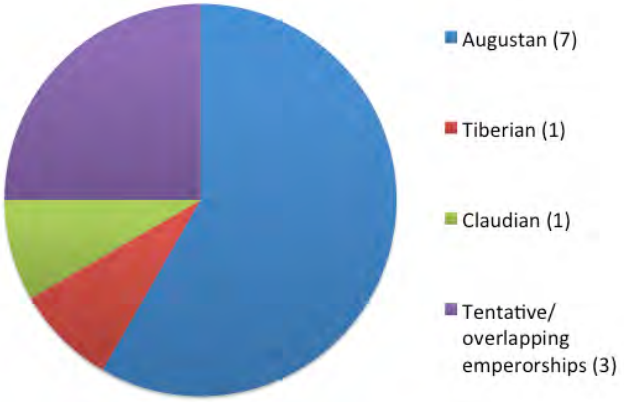
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.24
Patrons of Julio-Claudian Individual Honors (12)
(Image source: Author)



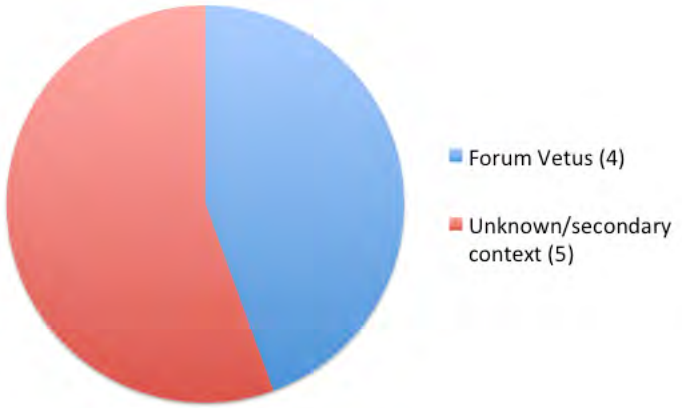
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.25
Patrons of Julio-Claudian Group Honors (2)
(Image source: Author)



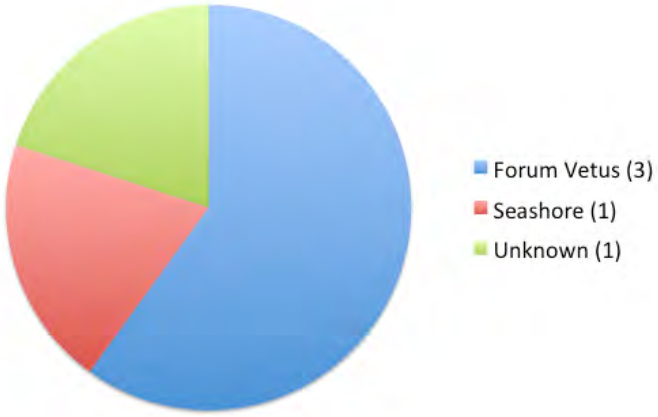
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.26
Honorands of Julio-Claudian Individual Honors (12)
(Image source: Author)



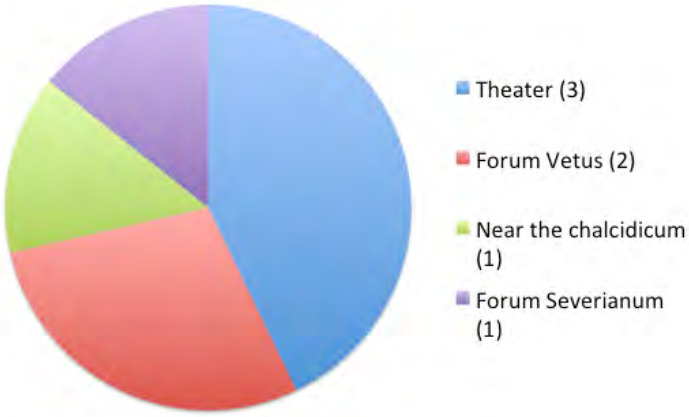
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.27
Date of Julio-Claudian Individual Honors (12)
(Image source: Author)



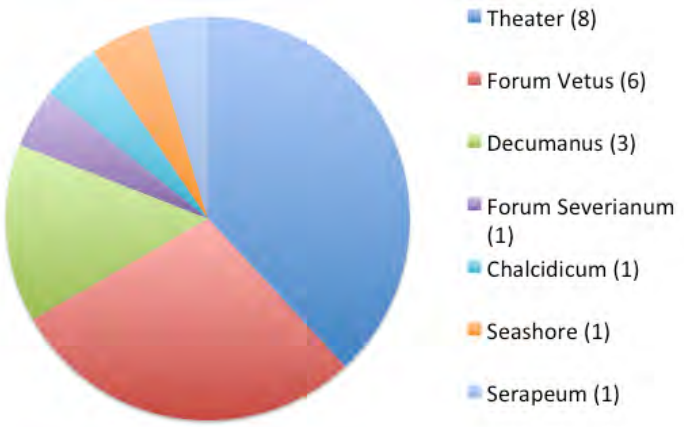
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.28
Find spots of Flavian Individual Honors (9)
(Image source: Author)



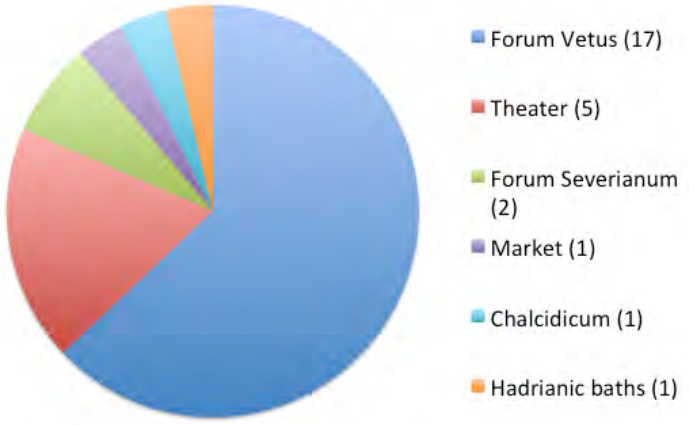
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.29
Find spots of Nervan/Trajanic Individual Honors (5)
(Image source: Author)



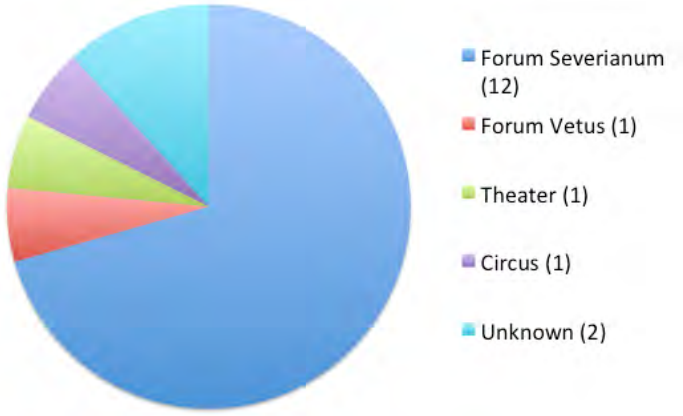
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.30
Find spots of Hadrianic Individual Honors (7)
(Image source: Author)



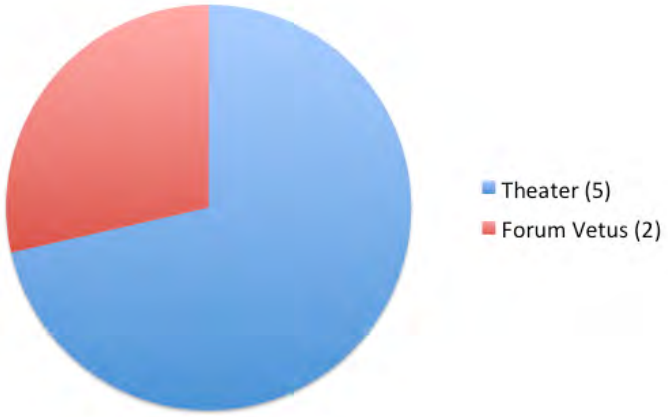
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.31
Find spots of Antonine Individual Honors (21)
(Image source: Author)



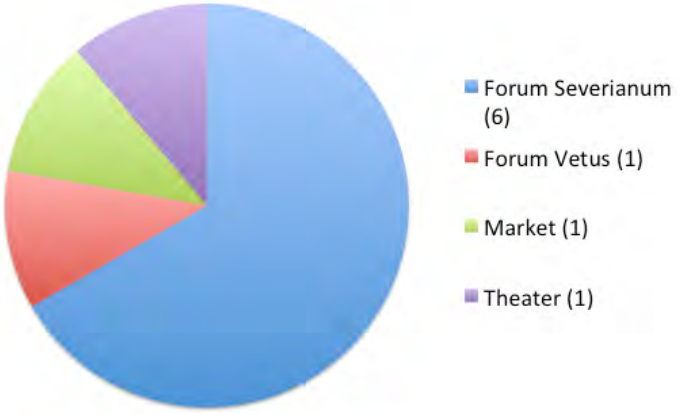
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.32
Find spots of Severan Individual Honors (27)
(Image source: Author)



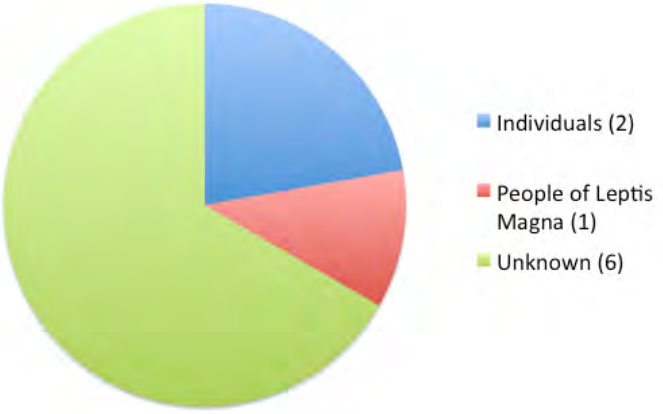
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.33
Find spots of Third Century CE and Beyond Individual Honors (17)
(Image source: Author)



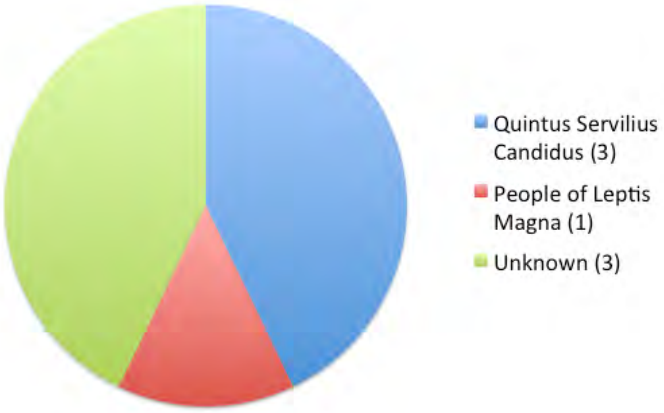
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.34
Find spots of Severan Group Honors (7)
(Image source: Author)



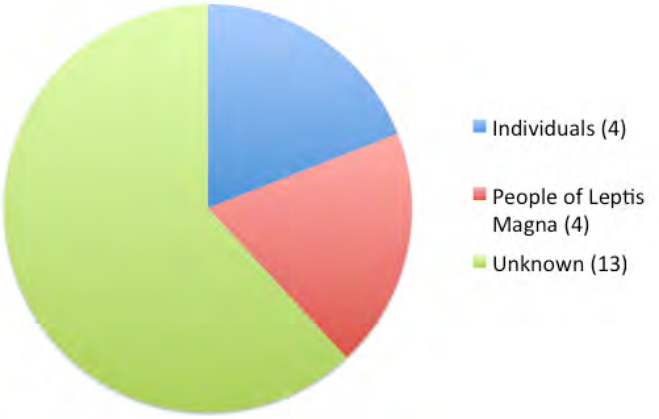
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.35
Find spots of Third Century CE and Beyond Group Honors (9)
(Image source: Author)



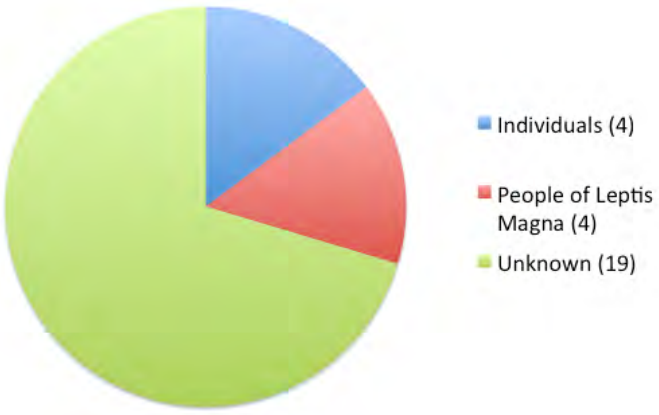
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.36
Patrons of Flavian Individual Honors (9)
(Image source: Author)



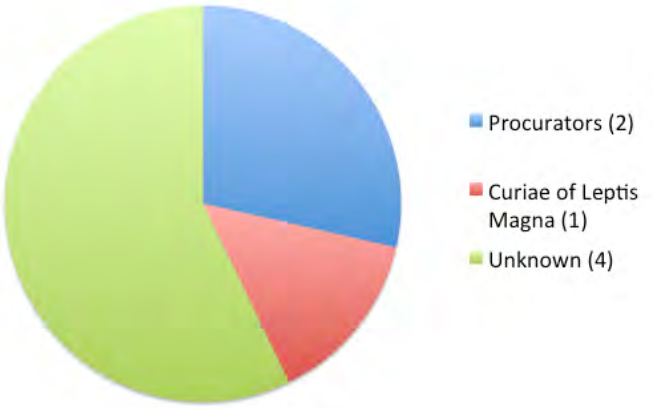
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.37
Patrons of Hadrianic Individual Honors (7)
(Image source: Author)



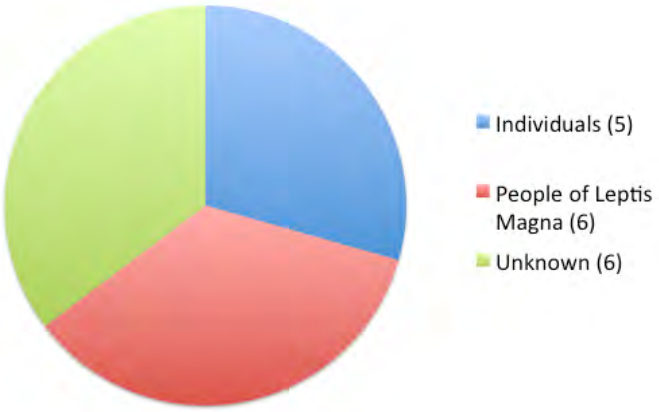
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.38
Patrons of Antonine Individual Honors (21)
(Image source: Author)



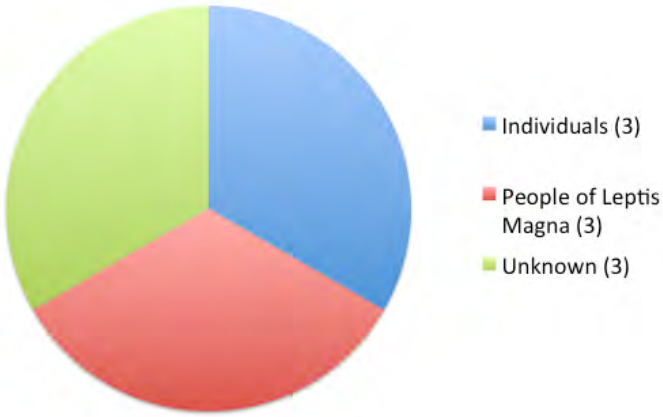
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.39
Patrons of Severan Individual Honors (27)
(Image source: Author)



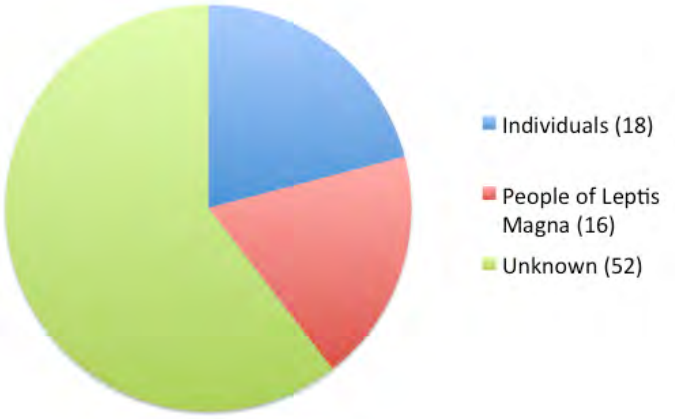
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.40
Patrons of Severan Group Honors (7)
(Image source: Author)



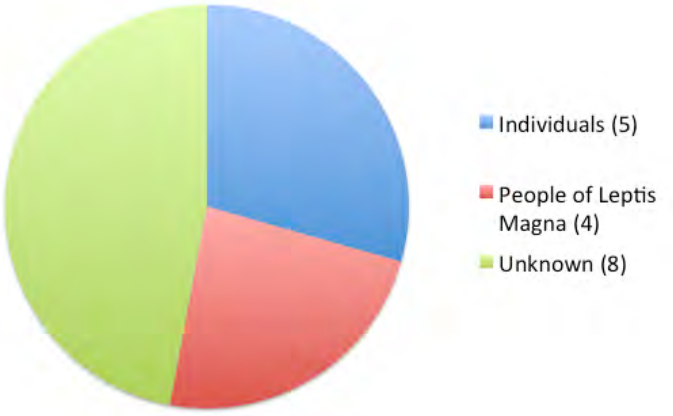
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.41
Patrons of Third Century CE and Beyond Individual Honors (17)
(Image source: Author)



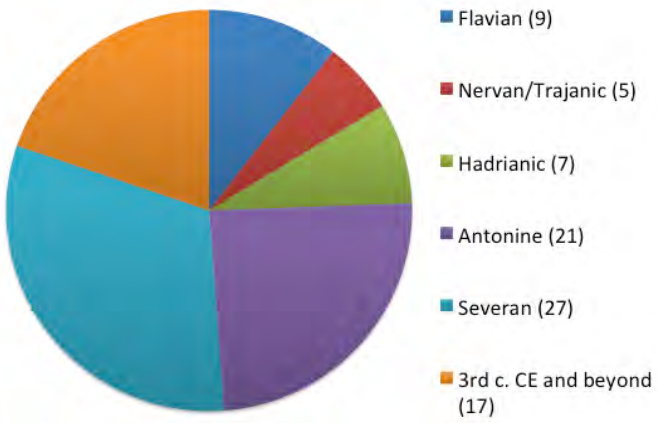
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.42
Patrons of Third Century CE and Beyond Group Honors (9)
(Image source: Author)



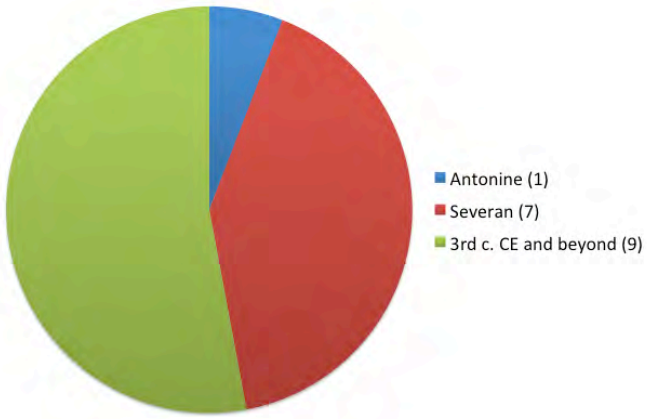
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.43
Patrons for All Individual Honors after the Julio-Claudians (86)
(Image source: Author)



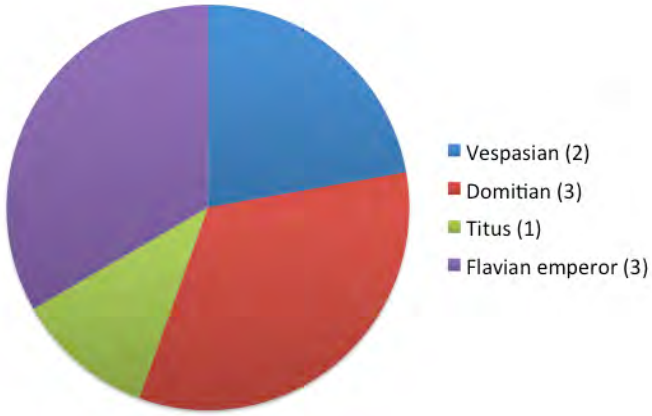
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.44
Patrons for All Group Honors after the Julio-Claudians (17)
(Image source: Author)



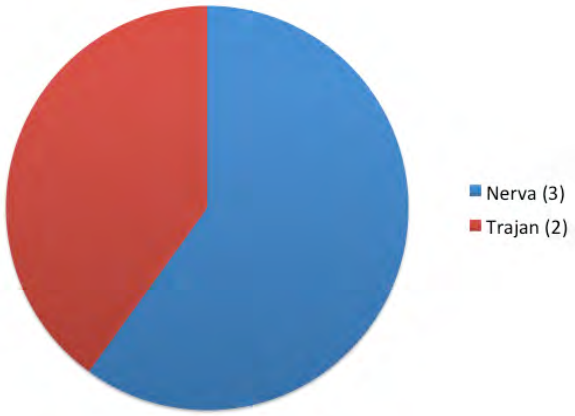
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.45
Honorands for All Individual Honors after the Julio-Claudians (86)
(Image source: Author)



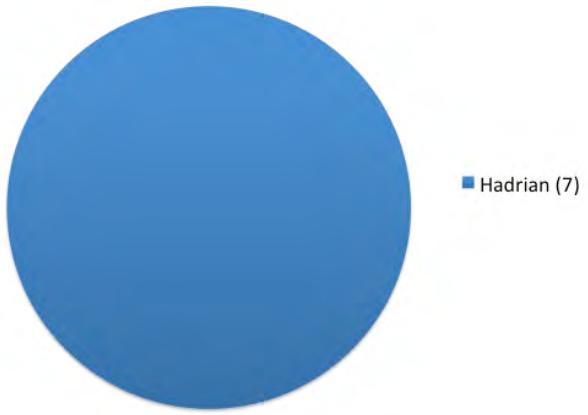
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.46
Honorands of All Group Honors after the Julio-Claudians (17)
(Image source: Author)



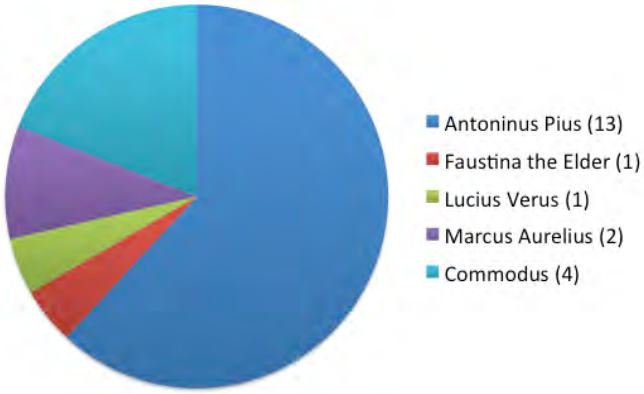
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.47
Honorands of Flavian Individual Honors (9)
(Image source: Author)



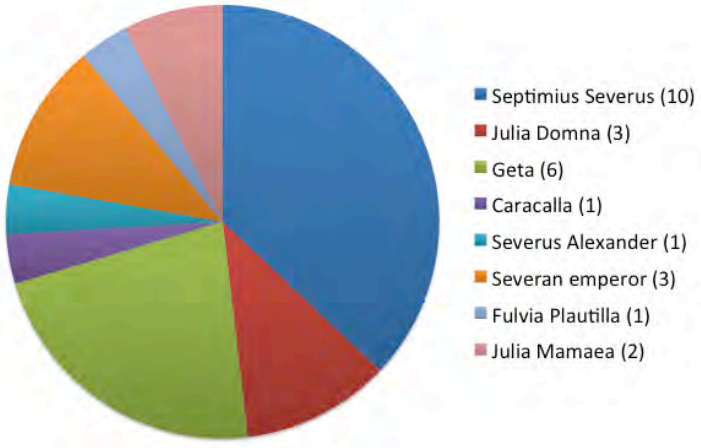
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.48
Honorands of Nervan/Trajanic Individual Honors (5)
(Image source: Author)



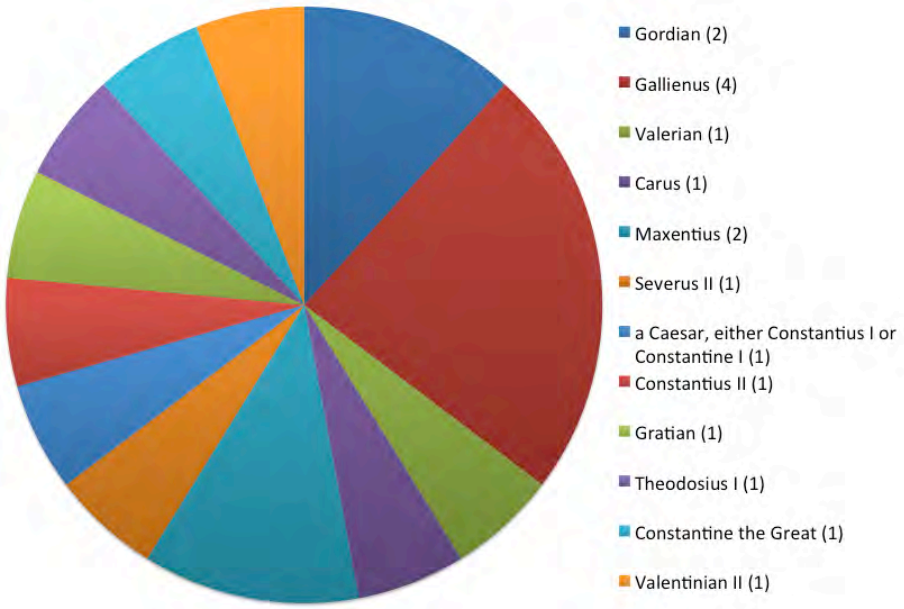
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.49
Honorands for Hadrianic Individual Honors (7)
(Image source: Author)



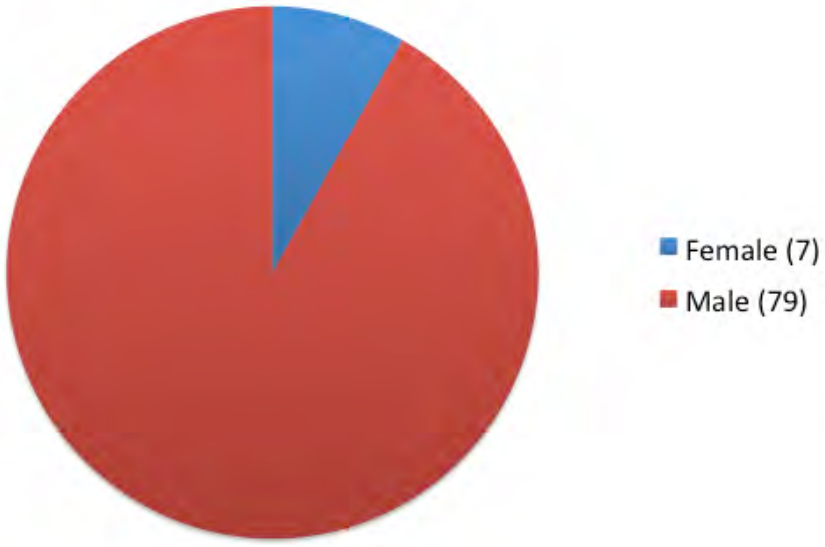
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.50
Honorands for Antonine Individual Honors (21)
(Image source: Author)



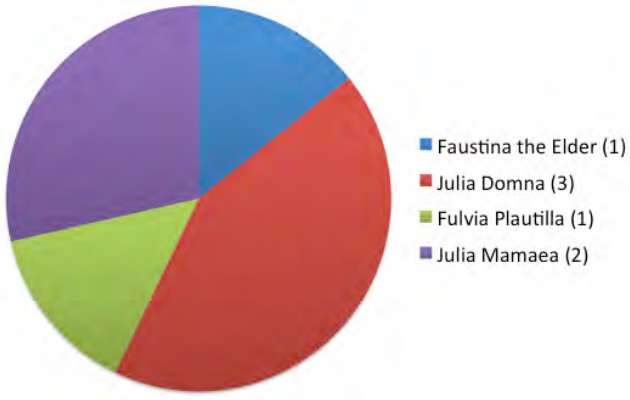
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.51
Honorands for Severan Individual Honors (27)
(Image source: Author)



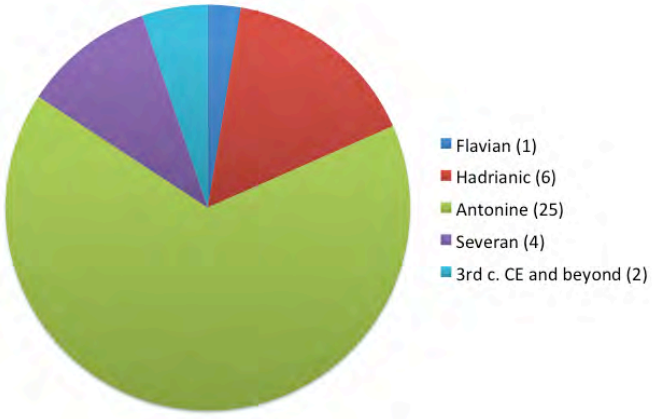
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.52
Honorands for Third Century CE and Beyond Individual Honors (17)
(Image source: Author)



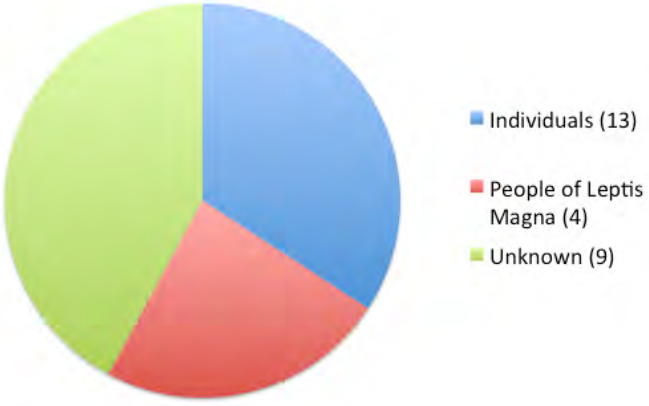
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.53
Gender of Honorands for All Individual Honors after the Julio-Claudians (86)
(Image source: Author)



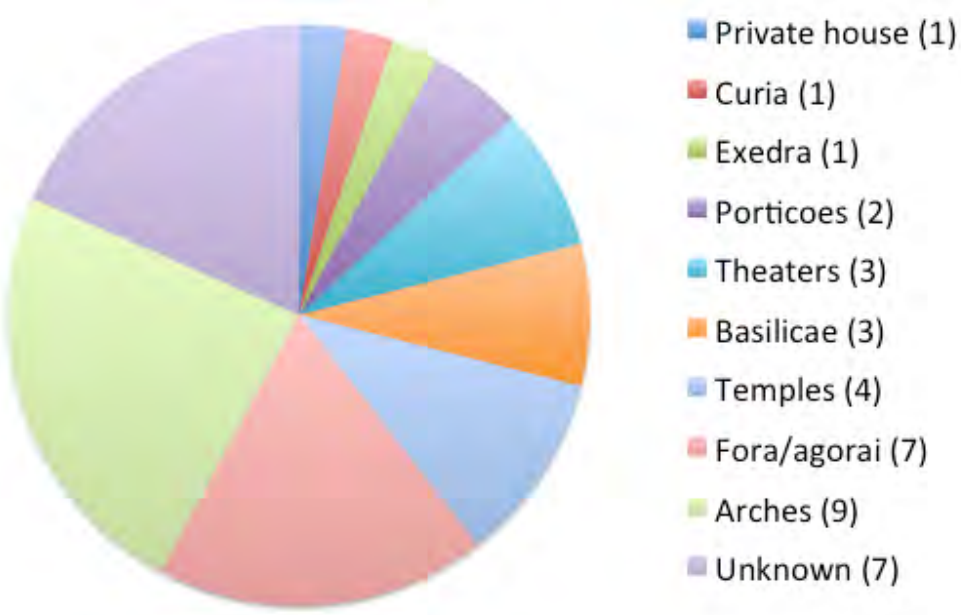
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.54
Honorands of Individual Female Honors after the Julio-Claudians (7)
(Image source: Author)



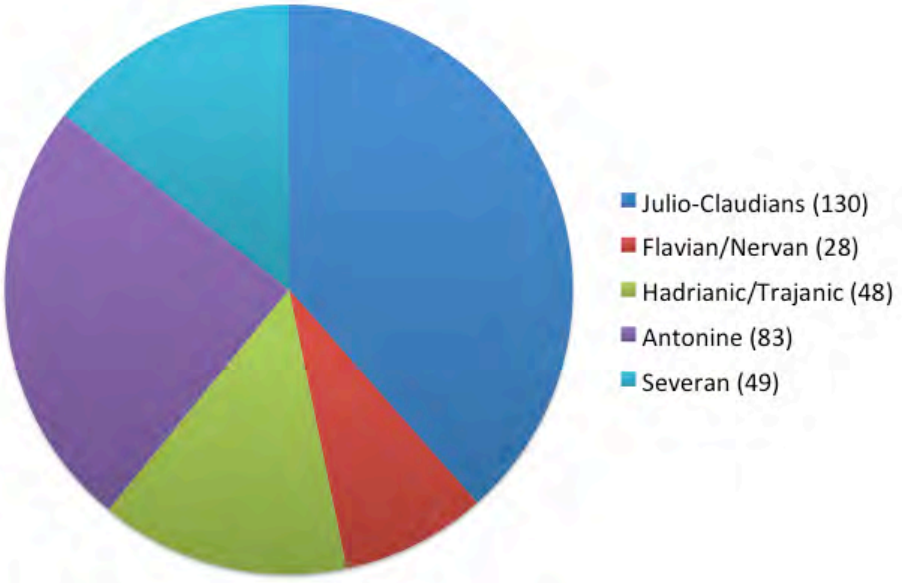
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.55
Date of North African Group Honors after the Julio-Claudians (38)
(Image source: Author)



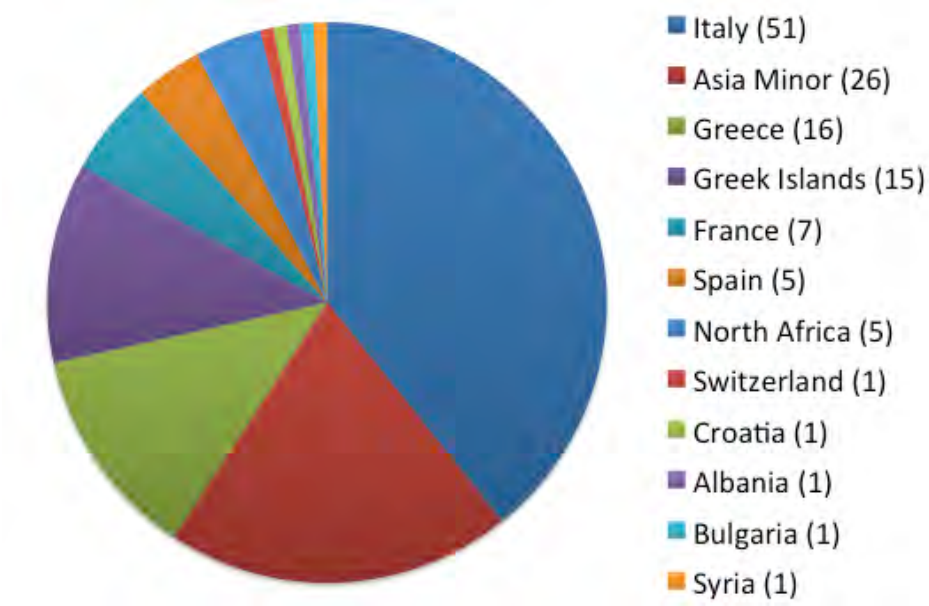
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.56
Patrons of North African Group Honors after the Julio-Claudians (38)
(Image source: Author)



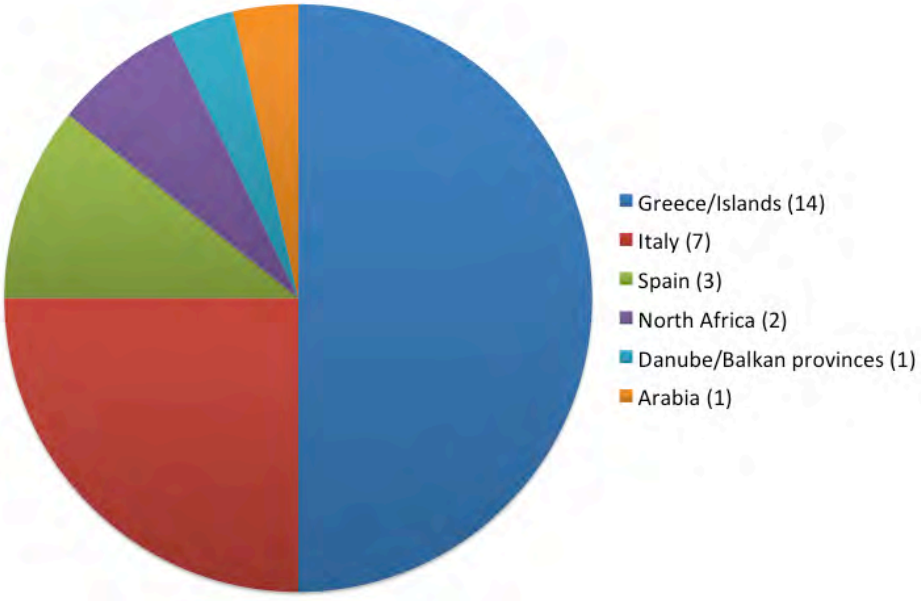
Leptis Magna: Figure 4.57
Find spots of North African Group Honors after the Julio-Claudians (38)
(Image source: Author)



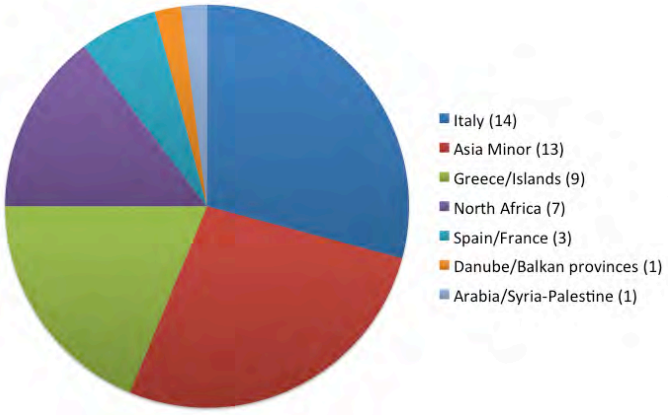
Conclusion: Figure 5.1
Dates of All Group Honors (338)
(Image source: Author)



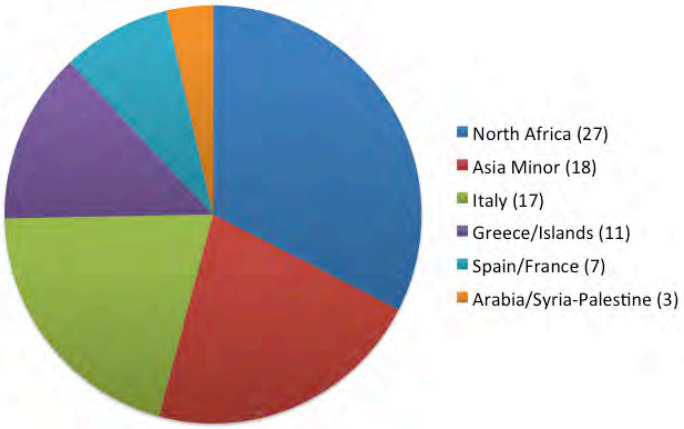
Conclusion: Figure 5.2
Locations of All Julio-Claudian Group Honors (130)
(Image source: Author)



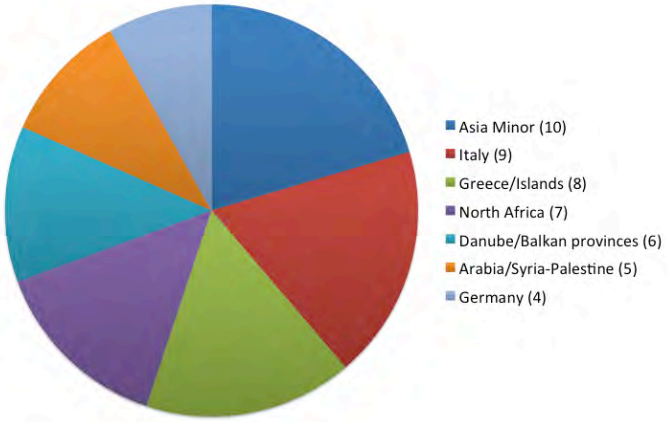
Conclusion: Figure 5.3
Locations of All Flavian Group Honors (28)
(Image source: Author)



Conclusion: Figure 5.4
Locations of All Hadrianic/Trajanic Group Honors (48)
(Image source: Author)



Conclusion: Figure 5.5
Locations of All Antonine Group Honors (83)
(Image source: Author)



Conclusion: Figure 5.6
Locations of All Severan Group Honors (49)
(Image source: Author)

OLYMPIA

HELLENISTIC

INDIVIDUAL HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	Arrangement	OTHER
Olympia V, no. 314; Kotsidu 2000, no. 71	fragment of a top of a statue base; Greek inscription		found to the south of the palaestra	2nd c. BCE	Dim.: 0.11 x 0.15 x 0.24 m	limestone	Cyrenians	a Ptolemy		
Olympia V, no. 312; Kotsidu 2000, no. 73	large block of a statue base; Greek inscription		found to the NE of the Temple of Zeus	after 174 BCE	Dim.: 0.28 x 1.00 x 1.13 m	greyish blue marble (base); bronze (statue)	people of Athens	Philetairos, son of Attalos I		cuttings on the top of the block indicate that it supported a larger than life-size bronze statue; the left foot was flat, only the toes of the right foot touched the ground; cuttings of an attribute also survive; holes in block indicate that it rested on at least one other block underneath
Pausanias VI.15.9; Kotsidu 2000, no. 74	equestrian statue of King Areus	set up before the southern façade of the Temple of Zeus		after 280 BCE (?)			Eleans	Areus from Sparta		
Olympia V, no. 303; Kotsidu 2000, no. 75	base for an equestrian statue; Greek inscription	12 m north of the Temple of Zeus	base found in situ about 12 m north of the Temple of Zeus	279/278 BCE	foundations: 1.73 x 3.05 m; Overall height of base: 1.70 m; Overall length of base: 2.25 m	yellowish sandstone	Koinon of Paionians	Dropion, King of Paionia		
Pausanias V.12.7; Kotsidu 2000, no. 76	ivory statue of Nikomedes I	in the Temple of Zeus		279-255 BCE		ivory	Bithynians	Nikomedes I of Bithynia		
Pausanias V.25.1	statue of Alexander the Great	near the Temple of Zeus					a Corinthian	Alexander the Great		
Pausanias VI.16.2	statues of Antigonus and Seleucus						Tydeus, the Elean	Antigonus, the father of Demetrius, and Seleucus		
Pausanias VI.17.3	statue of Ptolemy	near the great altar					Aristolaus, a Macedonian	Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy Lagus		
Olympia V, no. 318	equestrian statue of Quintus Marcius Philippus; Greek inscription; honorary inscription difficult to read because it was written with small, crowded letters		found built into the floor of the Byzantine apse in the north of the southeast building	169 BCE	Dim.: 0.83 x 0.74 x 0.23-0.24 m	grey limestone	Achaean Federation	Quintus Marcius Philippus		
Olympia V, no. 934; Payne 1984, 156-157	fragment of the upper part of a base; Greek inscription		found southeast of the Temple of Zeus	167 BCE (?)	Dim.: 0.15 x 0.39 x 0.26 m	grey limestone	Eleans	the strategos Gnaeus Octavius general		
Olympia V, no. 319	equestrian statue of Mummius; front block of a large bathron; Greek inscription		Byzantine east wall, 4 m SE of the Nike base	after 146 BCE	Dim.: 0.32 x 0.96 x 0.825 m	grey limestone	Eleans	Mummius		
Olympia V, nos. 320-324	fragments of inscriptions for a statue group of Mummius and Roman legates; from a large bathron; Greek inscription	in the south of the Altis	Byzantine east wall, south of the terrace wall of the Temple of Zeus	Augustan at the earliest	Dim.: 0.32 x 0.93-0.97 m	grey limestone		Mummius and 10 Roman legates		
Olympia V, no. 325	base for a bronze statue; Greek inscription		found in the west part of the Altis	ca. 143 BCE	Dim.: 0.40-0.405 x 0.635 x 0.61 m	grey limestone		consul Quintus Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus	cuttings indicate statue was over life-size; right leg was placed forward, left leg was back with only the toes touching the ground; figure held a long attribute (spear?) in the right hand	
Olympia V, no. 326	fragment of a profiled upper block of a base; Greek inscription		Byzantine north wall, 4 m from the NE corner of the Temple of Zeus	ca. 107-86 BCE	Dim.: 0.30 x 0.49 x 0.82 m	grey limestone		consul Gaius Marius		
Olympia V, no. 329	front block of a great bathron for an equestrian statue; Greek inscription	before the south side of the Temple of Zeus	Byzantine west wall	first half of the 1st c. BCE	Dim.: 0.89 x 0.64-0.66 x 0.11-0.13 m; bathron (2.50 m long)	sandstone	Eleans	C. Servilius Vatia		
Olympia V, no. 327; Payne 1984, 202	four fragments of a great bathron for a statue; Greek inscription		(a) Leonidaion; (b) Northeast of the Byzantine church; (c) in the Prytaneion; (d) southeast of Pelopion	ca. 98-97 or 94-93 BCE	Dim.: (a) 0.40 x 0.18 m; (b): 0.17 x 0.17 x 0.065; (c) and (d) together 0.17 x 0.41 x 0.07	yellow limestone	Demos, friends of Romans [in Asia] and [other Greeks]	governor of Asia, Quintus Mucius Scaevola		
Olympia V, no. 362; Payne 1984, 200	fragment of an upper block of a base; Greek inscription			2nd-1st c. BCE	Dim.: 0.18 x 0.29 x 0.15 m	limestone		Gaius Quintus		
Olympia V, no. 328; Payne 1984, 276	block of a statue base; Greek inscription		found in the Byzantine east wall	73-1 or 65 BCE	Dim.: 0.53 x 0.765-0.785 x 0.32 m	grey limestone	Achaean Federation	Q. Ancharius		
Olympia V, no. 335; Payne 1984, 302	two fragments of a plate that covered a Roman brick pedestal; Greek inscription		(a) found at the small gate of the Byzantine east wall; (b) found northeast of the Temple of Zeus	50 - end of 1st c. BCE	Dim.: 0.69 x 0.63; thickness varies 0.07-0.10 m	grey limestone with veins of whitish-yellow quartz	Eleans and Roman settlers	P. Alfius Primus, legatus propraetore for the proconsul of Achaea		
Olympia V, no. 365; Payne 1984, 310	six fragments of a tile from the roof of the Temple of Zeus; Greek inscription		(a) east ditch; (b) in front of the east façade of the Temple of Zeus; (c) (d) (e) (f) in front of the Echo Hall	46 BCE (?)	Dim.: (a) and (b) together: 0.15 x 0.21 m; (c) (d) (e) (f) together: 0.18 x 0.21 m	Parian marble	Licinius	Julius Caesar		
Olympia V, no. 330; Payne 1984, 314	front block of a great bathron for a statue; Greek inscription carved with wide, monumental characters		found in front of the east façade of the Temple of Zeus, outside the Byzantine east wall, built into a cistern	ca. 48 BCE	Dim.: 0.795 x 1.14 x 0.22-0.24 m	light grey limestone	people of Thebes and Orchomenos	Quintus Fufius Calenus, legatus propraetore of Achaea for Caesar	statue base inscription indicates that two groups of people, the Thebans and the people of Orchomenos, combined resources to erect an equestrian statue; inscription has 3 texts: one commemorates the joint statue erection, then below it and to the right and left, two other separate texts from each group honor Calenus	

HELLENISTIC

GROUP HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	Arrangement	OTHER
Pausanias V.17.4; V.20.9-10	portraits of Philip II and his son Alexander III, his wife Olympias, his mother Eurydike, and his father Amyntas	inside the Philippeion, located in the northwest corner of the Altis to the west of the Temple of Hera and the heroon of Pelops		338-336 BCE	Philippeion: 13.92 m diameter;	gold and ivory statues; marble bases and architecture	Philip II and/or Alexander III	Philip II and his family	Debatable; those who think Alexander was the patron place him in the center of the statue base, but those who believe Philip was the patron see him as dominating the sculptural display	
Löhr 2000, no. 140; Kotsidu 2000, nos. 64, 65, 72; Pausanias VI.11.1	Family group of Philip II and Alexander III on horseback			338-323 BCE			Eleans	Philip and Alexander (originally); Seleucus and Antigonus Monopthalmus (later)	Group stood next to statues of Olympic victors	Statues of Seleucus (on horseback) and Antigonus Monopthalmus (on foot) were added later
Pausanias VI.16.3; Kotsidu 2000, nos. 69-70	Family group of Demetrius, Antigonus, Doson III, Philip V, and Ptolemaeus I Soter along with personifications of Elis and Hellas	south of the Temple of Zeus		2 Phases: Group with Elis put up 312/311 BCE; Group with Hellas was put up 224-179 BCE			First Phase: Achaean Federation; Second Phase: Eleans	Demetrius, Antigonus, Doson III, Philip V, Ptolemaeus I Soter	Elis crowned Demetrius and Ptolemaeus; Hellas crowned Antigonus and Philip	
Pausanias VI.15.7; Olympia V, nos. 45, 304, 305; Kotsidu 2000, nos. 66-68	Six fragments of an honorary decree; two fragmentary statue bases; Greek inscriptions	south of the Temple of Zeus	majority of inscription fragments and two bases found south of the Temple of Zeus	306 BCE	Olympia V.304: 0.23 x 0.68 x 0.65 m; Olympia V.305 (a): 0.18 x 0.15 x 0.11 m; (b): 0.15 x 0.31 x 0.235 m	all fragments and two bases are of grey Peloponnesian marble	Byzantines	Demetrius I and Antigonus Monopthalmus		Five fragments (a-e) fit directly against one another; the sixth fragment (f) has a square dowel hole on its surface for attaching another block; Pausanias IDs one statue as Antigonus Gonatas, but scholars assume he was mistaken
Olympia V, nos. 306-307	three fragments of two very similar column bases that supported two colossal statues of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II; Greek inscription	in front of the Echo Hall	between the east façade of the Temple of Zeus and the Echo Hall	270's BCE	column nearly 9 m tall; base: 20.07 x 4.08 m	statues were probably bronze; gilded (?); base of Parian marble	Kallikrates of Samos, an Egyptian admiral and priest	Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II	statues stood on two separate Ionic columns that shared a common base; statues faced west	

EARLY IMPERIAL

INDIVIDUAL HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	ARRANGEMENT	OTHER
Olympia V, no. 913	7 fragments of a marble pavonazetto inscription commemorating Agrippa for repairs he made to the Temple of Zeus; Latin inscription	gilded bronze letters set into a new pavement of polychrome marble in the pronaos of the Temple of Zeus	NE of the Temple of Zeus	ca. 40 BCE	Dim.: 0.25 x 0.71 x 0.05-0.06 m; l: 0.16 x 0.015 m	polychrome marble; gilded bronze	Eleans (?)	Agrippa		
Olympia V, no. 367; Højte 2005, Augustus 147	base block that seems to have been used as the front plate of a larger bathron; Greek inscription		found in front of the east façade of the Temple of Zeus, west of the Bull of the Eretrians base	40-27 BCE	Dim.: 0.585 x 0.79 x 0.24 m	grey limestone with yellowish veins	Achaean Federation	Augustus		
Olympia V, no. 368; Højte 2005, Augustus 148	fragmentary tabula; Greek inscription		found in front of the east façade of the Temple of Zeus	40 BCE - 14 CE	Dim.: 0.13 x 0.20 x 0.015 m	coarse-grained marble		Augustus		
Pausanias V.12.7	statue of Augustus Elektron	in the Temple of Zeus				amber		Augustus		
Olympia V, no. 220; Højte 2005, Tiberius 99	base for an equestrian statue of Tiberius; Greek inscription		found to the east of the Temple of Zeus, south of the Bull of the Eretrians	before 4 CE; probably 4 BCE or 1 CE	Dim.: 0.84 x 0.82 x 0.36 m	sandstone	Tiberius Claudius Apollonius	Tiberius		cuttings on the top of the base indicate that it supported an equestrian statue
Olympia V, 221	front part of a bathron; Greek inscription		found to the east of the Temple of Zeus and north of the Bull of the Eretrians	after 17 CE	Dim.: 0.585 x 0.78 x 0.185 m	grey limestone with crystalline and quartz veins	Antony Pisanus	Germanicus		
Olympia V, no. 370; Højte 2005, Tiberius 100	front block of a base with traces of clamps for connection to other blocks; shallow Greek inscription		found in the east Byzantine wall, north of the Nike base	before 4 CE	Dim.: 0.865 x 0.87-0.88 x 0.29-0.36 m	limestone with quartz veins	Eleans	Tiberius		
Olympia V, no. 371; Højte 2005, Tiberius 101	front block of the upper crown of a large bathron; two round depressions (0.08-0.09 m diameter) on surface indicate base supported an equestrian statue; Greek inscription		found to the east of the Temple of Zeus	before 4 CE	Dim.: 0.27 x 0.98 x 0.92 m	Pentelic marble	Eleans League of the Achaeans, Boeotians, Locrians, Euboeans, and Phocians	Tiberius		cuttings on the top of the base indicate that it supported an equestrian statue
IG 7.2711	festival and statues in honor of Caligula			Caligulan (37-41 CE)				Caligula		
Suetonius Caligula 22.2, 57.1; Cassius Dio LIX.28.3-4	portrait of Caligula on the cult statue of the Temple of Zeus			Caligulan (37-41 CE)				Caligula		
Olympia V, no. 373; Højte 2005, Nero 33	three matching fragments of a tabula; fragmentary Greek inscription		(a) found to the SE of the Temple of Zeus; (b) in the palaestra; (c) in front of the east façade of the Byzantine wall	50-54 CE	Dim.: 0.675 x 0.50 x 0.105-0.12 m	fine-grained greyish-blue marble	C. Iulius Sostratos	Nero as *princeps iuventutis*		
Olympia V, no. 374; Højte 2005, Nero 34	three fragments of a large base; Greek inscription		found in a late wall and in the Southeast Hall	57 CE	Dim.: (a) 0.135 x 0.13 x 0.05 m; (b) 0.20 x 0.24 x 0.075 m; (c) 0.34 x 0.17 x 0.10 m	Parian marble		Nero		
Olympia V, no. 375; Højte 2005, Nero 35	two fragments of a base; shallow Greek inscription		(a) found in the east; (b) found in the Byzantine tower of the east wall	58/59 CE	Dim.: (a) 0.23 x 0.35 x 0.11 m; (b) 0.25 x 0.25 x 0.135 m	yellowish-grey limestone		Nero		

EARLY IMPERIAL

GROUP HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	ARRANGEMENT	OTHER
Olympia V, no. 369; Højte 2005, Tiberius 102	fragments of an inscribed base; Greek inscriptions; early inscription refers to statues of Tiberius and Drusus I; later inscription refers to Drusus II	probably to the east of the Temple of Zeus	majority of fragments discovered to the east of the Temple of Zeus	some time before 13 BCE (first phase); shortly after 13 BCE (second phase)	Dim.: 0.40 x 1.60 x 0.17-0.185 m	fine-grained grey Peloponnesian marble; no cuttings are preserved to indicate the medium of the statues, but they were probably of bronze since most statues set up in the Altis were of this material	Tiberius Claudius Apollonius	Tiberius and Drusus I (first phase); Drusus II (second phase)	probably Tiberius in the center, Drusus I at the right, and Drusus II to the left	the later date of the inscription for Drusus II is inferred from the positioning and different form of the letters
Olympia V, no. 372	four fragments of a great bathron for statues of Germanicus and Drusus II, possibly in a quadriga; Greek inscription		found in the southern end of the east Byzantine wall	4-19 CE	Dim.:0.275-0.28 x 0.92 x 1.82 m	grey limestone	demos and boule	Germanicus and Drusus II		
Pausanias V.20.9; Olympia V. no. 366; Olympia Museum Λ 110; Olympia Museum Λ 125; Olympia Museum Λ 126; Olympia Museum Λ 127; Olympia Museum Λ 143; Olympia Museum Λ 142; Pergamonmuseum SK1400	architrave block with Greek inscription; seven fragmentary statues	Metroon	architrave block found in the eastern Herulian wall in front of the Temple of Zeus; fragments of 5 statues found in Metroon foundations; 1 female statue found built into a rubble wall in front of the Heraion; 1 female statue found 8 m. from the SE corner of the Metroon; other fragments of statues found in Echo Hall and to the south of the bases of Zanes	Phase 1: 27 BCE - 14 CE; Phase 2: 42/3 CE; Phase 3: ca. 70 CE	Metroon: 10.62 x 20.67 (stylobate); architrave block: 0.625 x 1.40 x 0.25-0.29 m; Augustus: 1.89 m (torso); 4.50-4.60 m (total estimated height); Claudius: 2.10 m (including plinth); Titus: 2.08 m (including plinth); headless female statue from Metroon foundations: 1.82 m (without plinth); headless armored statue: 2.01 m (without head); total estimated height ca. 2.30 m; Agrippina the Younger: 2.14 m (including plinth); headless female statue from 8 m. to the SE of the Metroon: 1.87 m (including plinth)	architrave block: limestone; statues: Pentelic marble	Eleans (?)	Phase 1; Augustus; Phase 2: Claudius and Agrippina the Younger; Phase 3: Vespasian, Titus, and two Flavian women	Augustus placed before rear wall; insufficient evidence for the arrangement of the other statues (no surviving bases)	statue of Titus re-used a torso of Nero

FLAVIAN

INDIVIDUAL HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	ARRANGEMENT	OTHER
Olympia V, no. 376	fragments of a tabula originally affixed to a statue base; Greek inscription		found in the cella of the Heraion	Vespasianic (69-79 CE)	Dim.: (a) 0.16 x 0.18 x 0.02-0.025 m; (b) 0.135 x 0.09 x 0.02-0.025 m	Pentelic marble		Vespasian		
Olympia V, no. 377; Højte 2005, Domitian 31	fragment of a base; Greek inscription		lime kiln	Domitianic (81-96 CE)	Dim.: 0.18 x 0.33 x 0.15 m	Pentelic marble		Domitian		
Olympia Museum inv. Λ 129	two fragments of a portrait of Domitian		near the Temple of Zeus re-used in the walls of the building identified as the clubhouse of the athletic guild	Domitianic (81-96 CE)	Height: 0.325 m	marble		Domitian		the portrait was re-cut after Domitian's *damnatio memoriae* into an image of Trajan
AE 1995, 1406	Greek inscription		re-used in the walls of the building identified as the clubhouse of the athletic guild	Domitianic (81-96 CE)				Domitian		
AE 1995, 1082	two identical Greek inscriptions			84 CE				Domitian		

FLAVIAN

GROUP HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	ARRANGEMENT	OTHER
see above on Metroon group honor										

NERVA AND TRAJAN

INDIVIDUAL HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	ARRANGEMENT	OTHER
Olympia Museum inv. Λ 129	two fragments of a portrait of Domitian later re-cut into a head of Trajan (in a variant *Opferbildtypus*)		near the Temple of Zeus	Trajanic (98-117 CE)	Height: 0.325 m	marble		Trajan		
Olympia V, no. 378; Højte 2005, Trajan 116	four fragments from a marble tabula; Greek inscription		found northeast of the excavation field	102-115 CE	Dim.: (a) 0.010 x 0.012 m; (b) 0.10 x 0.09 m; (c) 0.05 x 0.09 m; (d) 0.08 x 0.05 m	Pentelic marble		Trajan		

HADRIAN

INDIVIDUAL HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	ARRANGEMENT	OTHER
Olympia V, no. 379	three fragments of a tabula; Greek inscription		(a, b) found in the north of the Prytaneion; (c) found in the east trench	Hadrianic (117-138 CE)	Dim.: (a, b) 0.16 x 0.27 x 0.035 m; (c) 0.095 x 0.15 x 0.035 m	Pentelic marble		Hadrian		
Olympia V, no. 380; Højte 2005, Hadrian 261	two fragments of a tabula (only the right edge); back is roughly worked; Greek inscription			Hadrianic (117-138 CE)	Dim.: 0.37 x 0.265 x 0.03 m	fine-crystal grey limestone		Hadrian		
Olympia V, no. 381	two fragments of a tabula; back is roughly worked; Greek inscription		north of the Temple of Zeus	Hadrianic (117-138 CE) or Antonine (138-192 CE)	Dim.: 0.11 x 0.13 x 0.03-0.04 m	Pentelic marble		Hadrian or one of the Antonine emperors		

HADRIAN

GROUP HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	ARRANGEMENT	OTHER
Pausanias V.12.6	statues of Trajan and Hadrian	pronaos of the Temple of Zeus		98-138 CE			Greeks (Trajan); Achaean Federation (Hadrian)	Trajan and Hadrian	author does not indicate if statues were set up simultaneously or separately; does not indicate if statues served a cultic function	

ANTONINE

INDIVIDUAL HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	ARRANGEMENT	OTHER
Olympia V, no. 382	fragments of a statue base; Greek inscription		SE of the southeast corner of the Temple of Zeus	138 CE	Dim.: 1.35 (without profile 1.01) x 0.53-0.54 x 0.45 m	Pentelic marble	Achaean Federation	Faustina the Younger		

ANTONINE

GROUP HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	ARRANGEMENT	OTHER
Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists* (2.551); Lucian, *On the Death of Peregrinus* (19-20); Olympia V, no. 610 (dedicatory inscription); 16 statue bases; 24 statues	Large nymphaeum for the display of private, imperial, and divine statue; Greek inscriptions	Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus	finds were scattered throughout the Altis; majority found in the vicinity of the nymphaeum	ca. 150-160 CE	rectangular basin: 21.9 x 3.76 x 1.20 m; water basin: 16.62 m diameter; monopteroi: 3.80 m diameter; Olympia V.610: 0.70 x 1.60 m	marble	Eleans (for private statues); Herodes and Regilla (for imperial statues); Regilla (for nymphaeum)	Zeus; Family of Herodes and Regilla; Antonines	24 statues placed within 11 niches of two-storey nymphaeum (due to two double bases), imperial statues below, civic statues above; Central niche in each series reserved for a cult image of Zeus; Going outward symmetrically on either side, statues were arranged according to the rank of the person represented; two additional statues in monopteroi	bases have two different types of moldings: one for those dedicated to the imperial family, and another for those dedicated to the private family
Pausanias VI.19.10	statues of Roman emperors inside of the treasury	Treasury of the Libyans of Cyrene		ca. 150 CE				Antonines (?)		Pausanias does not mention which emperors were represented

SEVERAN

INDIVIDUAL HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	ARRANGEMENT	OTHER
Olympia V, no. 386	base; Greek inscription		found in front of the east façade of the Temple of Zeus	211-215 CE	Dim.: 0.90 x 0.50 x 0.66 m	Parian marble		Caracalla		cuttings indicate that the base supported a marble statue; base was also re-used from an older monument
Olympia V, no. 387	3 fragments of a base; Greek inscription		(a, b) found in the south of the Pelopion; (c) found in front of the east façade of the Temple of Zeus	193-211 CE	Dim.: (a, b) 0.10 x 0.40 x 0.075 m; (c) 0.15 x 0.22 x 0.075 m	Pentelic marble		Julia Domna		
Br. 3564	twice life-size bronze foot	pronaos of Metroon (?)	Metroon	Late 2nd or early 3rd c. CE (?)	Dim.: 0.096 x 0.17 x 0.147 m	bronze		Severan emperor (?)		foot may represent another phase of the Metroon sculpture (see above)

EPHESUS

HELLENISTIC

INDIVIDUAL HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	Arrangement	OTHER
Tomb of Androklos	pi-shaped monument	Located on southern side of Curetes Street, north of the Nymphaeum of Trajan		Late 2nd or early 1st century BCE	10.35 x 5.80 m	limestone foundation; upper architecture of marble		Androklos		Pausanias VII.2.9 says a statue of an armed man appeared on the tomb; 6 reliefs survive depicting mythic battles (of Androklos?) (See Thür 1995)
Tomb of Arsinoe IV	octagonal mausoleum built atop a quadratic base	Adjacent to the heroon of Androklos on the southern side of Curetes Street		After 41 BCE, when Arsinoe was assassinated	9 x 9 m; 13 m high	*coementicium base*; upper architecture of marble		Arsinoe IV		tomb's form imitated the Pharos lighthouse at Alexandria
Statue of Philip II in the Temple of Artemis	freestanding statue	Temple of Artemis		359-336 BCE				Philip II		Arrian (Anab. I.17.10-12)
IvE II.199; SEG 39.1232	Dedicatory plaque with Greek inscription		Found in Terrace House II	235/236 BCE		white marble	Δικαι[----]	Ptolemy II Philadelphus and Arsinoe		
SEG 33.942; SEG 39.1234	two fragments of a dedicatory plaque; Greek inscription		Found in Terrace House II	237/238 BCE		white marble	Isidoros, the στρατηγοὶ and ἡγεμόνες	Ptolemy II Philadelphus and Arsinoe		Dedication originally was thought to be for Eumenes II and Stratonike
Kotsidu 2000, no. 247	Greek inscription recording celebrations and wreaths in honor of Demetrius I Poliorketes for his victory in 306 BCE over Ptolemy I at Salamis			after 306 BCE			boule and demos	Demetrius I Poliorketes		
Kotsidu 2000, nos. 248	re-used base describing athletic contests in honor of the Ptolemies; Greek inscription			2nd c. BCE (?)		bluish marble				
Kotsidu 2000, no. 249	Greek inscription recording athletic contests in honor of Eumenes II		from the wall of the gymnasium foundation of Eumenes II	197-159 BCE				Eumenes II (?) Antiochus I		maybe related to the gymnasium foundation of Eumenes II at Ephesus (see Bringmann 1995, no. 266)
Kotsidu 2000, no. 250	stele; Greek inscription		built into an aqueduct	69-38 BCE		marble		Commagene		honor is not specified
IvE II.251	base for a statue of Caesar; Greek inscription		inscription found built into a Byzantine aqueduct	Soon after Caesar's victory at Pharsalus (48 BCE)			koinon of Asia	Julius Caesar		Caesar restored Ephesus' liberty in 48 BCE and twice saved the Temple of Artemis from looting by Pompey's troops

HELLENISTIC

GROUP HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	Arrangement	OTHER
IvE II.403	Monument dedicated to C. Memmius designed as a 4-sided tower with niches set on a square plinth; two identical Latin frieze inscriptions probably attached to the side of the monument	Monument located prominently at the intersection northeast of the State Market	at the intersection of the so-called Domitian square and Curetes Street	50-30 BCE	23 H x 9 W m	marble		C. Memmius, the grandson of Sulla and perhaps consul suffectus in 34 BCE	Four sides were decorated with arches supported by caryatids, above which were reliefs on three sides divided into five zones, with the central zones occupied by representations of Sulla, C. Memmius, and Memmius' son	

EARLY IMPERIAL

INDIVIDUAL HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	ARRANGEMENT	OTHER
Højte 2005, Augustus 165	block with fractured surface on right side; traces of mortar on all sides; Greek inscription		found in the wall of the latrine on Curetes Street	Augustan (27 BCE - 14 CE)	Dim.: 0.27 x 0.53 x 0.57 m; l.: 0.02-0.025 m	bluish-white marble		Augustus		
IvE II.254; Højte 2005, Tiberius 118	architrave fragment with a Greek inscription			Tiberian (14-37 CE)			demos	Tiberius		
Højte 2005, Tiberius 119	probably the upper part of a base with a Greek inscription		found in a well	Tiberian (14-37 CE)	Dim.: 0.20 x 0.56 x 0.52 m; l.: 0.022-0.03 m	bluish marble	Poplius Cornelius	Tiberius		
IvE II.255	Bilingual inscription		found in the Byzantine citadel	14-19 CE				Germanicus		
IvE II.255a	Greek inscription		found built into the east hall of Marble Street	14-19 CE				Germanicus		
IvE II.258	Greek inscription		built into an aqueduct	14-23 CE				Drusus the Younger		
IvE II.259; Højte 2005, Caligula 21	Latin inscription		built into an aqueduct	Caligulan (37-41 CE)				Caligula		
IvE II.259b; Højte 2005, Claudius 118	unknown type; Greek inscription		built into a Byzantine aqueduct	Claudian (41-54 CE)			Tiberius Claudius Damonikos	Claudius		
SEG 39.1178; Højte 2005, Claudius 121	Thick base cover plate with border on all sides, rough back; bilingual inscription		found in the so-called Villa in Pamucak	54-68 CE	Dim.: 0.705 x 0.93 x 0.12 m; l.: 0.055-0.095 m	marble	procurator of Asia	Claudius		name of Claudius deliberately replaced that of his successor, Nero
IvE VII.1.3019; Højte 2005, Claudius 119	low base with Latin inscription on the shortest side; plinth is missing			43 CE	Dim.: 0.50 x 0.75 x 1.44 m; l.: 0.025 m	bluish marble	conventus civium Romanorum	Claudius		base probably carried an equestrian statue of the emperor; a depth of 144 cm is too short for a life-size statue, but another, shorter block probably was appended to the extant block
IvE II.259a; Højte 2005, Claudius 120	Latin inscription	Tetragonos Agora (?)	found in the Tetragonos Agora	48 CE				Claudius		may be associated with IvE II.261 (honor to Messalina)
IvE II.261	Greek inscription		built into an aqueduct	41-48 CE				Messalina		may be associated with IvE II.259a (honor to Claudius)
SEG 39.1178; Højte 2005, Nero 44	Thick base cover plate with border on all sides, rough back; bilingual inscription		found in the so-called Villa in Pamucak	Neronian (54-68 CE)	Dim.: 0.705 x 0.93 x 0.12 m; l.: 0.055-0.095 m	marble		Nero		Name of Nero was removed deliberately and replaced with that of his predecessor, Claudius
IvE II.260	Greek inscription		built into an aqueduct					Nero		
IvE II.260a	Greek inscription	Curetes Street (?)	found on the north side of Curetes Street near the Nymphaeum of Trajan					Nero		
Selçuk Museum, no. 1891, Portrait of Augustus	head of Augustus with the corona civica; *Prima Porta* type	Basilike Stoa (?)	discovered in the eastern part of the Basilike Stoa, beneath a late antique pavement	portrait may have been part of the original dedication of the stoa (11 CE) or a posthumous dedication set up by Tiberius after 14 CE	height: 0.305 m; face: 0.20 m	marble		Augustus		
IvE III.902	Greek inscription	Temenos of Augustus and Artemis (?)	found within the presumed temenos of Augustus and Artemis between the Prytaneion and Bouleuterion	27-25 CE (?)			Apollonius Passalas (?)	Augustus		Apollonius Passalas was the son of Herakleides Passalas (see IvE II.252)
IvE II.252	dedication to Augustus as founder of the city; Greek inscription		found in the Varius Baths	Augustan (27 BCE - 14 CE)			Herakleides Passalas	Augustus		Herakleides Passalas was the father of Apollonius Passalas (see IvE III.902)
Selçuk Museum, no. 1/2/81 (unpublished), Portrait of Augustus	a badly preserved fragment with a simplified version of the Alcudia portrait type		found in the vicinity of Ephesus	dates to the reign of Caligula or Claudius (37-54 CE) but was re-used in late antiquity for the portrait of a different person		marble		Augustus		
Inan and Rosenbaum 1966, 45, no. 2, statue of Lucius Caesar	inscribed imperial statue base	Tetragonos Agora (?)	found in the Tetragonos Agora	17 BCE - 2 CE		marble		Lucius Caesar		
Selçuk Museum, nos. 59/30/77 and 12/54/88, Portrait of Tiberius	fragmentary portrait broken in two		found built into the late antique walls erected in front of the Library of Celsus, south of the Tetragonos Agora	before 14 CE		marble		Tiberius		
Selçuk Museum, no. 2295 (unpublished), Portrait of Nero Germanicus	fragmentary portrait lacking its face and hair above the forehead		theater	6-30 CE		marble		Nero Germanicus		

Selçuk Museum, no. 2293 (unpublished), Portrait of Claudius	over life-size head in Claudius' principal portrait type; head turns slightly to the proper left; back and neck roughly treated with the tooth chisel and two sides of face treated differently according to the visibility (right side elaborately-carved, left side treated schematically)		built into a substructure wall of the Temple of the Flavian Sebastoi at the west end of the State Market	Claudian (41-54 CE)		marble		Claudius		piece was later re-used

EARLY IMPERIAL

GROUP HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	ARRANGEMENT	OTHER
IvE VII.1.3006-3007	Julio-Claudian dynastic group set up by two freedmen of Augustus and Agrippa; bilingual inscription	atop the triple-bayed arch that served as the south entrance to the Tetragonos Agora	south entrance gate to the Tetragonos Agora	4/3 BCE (first phase); 2 CE (second phase)	base of Lucius Verus: 0.49 x 0.99 x 0.26 m; height of statues has been estimated at 2.10 m	probably marble (there are two clamp cuttings on the top of the extant base for the plinth of a marble statue)	Mazaeus (left bay) and Mithridates (right bay)	Augustus, Livia, Julia, Agrippa (first phase); Lucius Caesar (second phase)	Based on formula of bilingual inscription, Augustus, Livia, and Lucius Caesar probably stood over the left bay and Agrippa and Julia over the right	
IvE II.253	Julio-Claudian dynastic group of Augustus and his adoptive grandsons; Greek inscription		found on the so-called Marble Street	17 BCE - 2 CE				Augustus, Lucius Caesar, Gaius Caesar		Group may have included additional statues; Statues may have been associated with the imperial cult
IvE II.257; Højte 2005, Tiberius 117	base of a Julio-Claudian dynastic group with a Greek inscription	Possibly in the Augusteum within the sanctuary of Artemis	group discovered in the vicinity of the Sanctuary of Artemis	4-14 CE (after Tiberius' adoption but before his accession)			Neopoioi of Ephesus	Germanicus, Drusus the Younger, Tiberius, and probably another figure, perhaps Augustus	Inscription's arrangement suggests that Drusus appeared in the center, with Germanicus to the left and Tiberius to the right	The inscription today is lost; it is known only through excavation notes
Selçuk Museum, no. 1957 (Augustus) and no. 1.10.75 (Livia)	Julio-Claudian dynastic group that included at least two statues of Livia and Augustus, who were enthroned and over life-size	eastern annex of Basilike Stoa (?)	Found in the north peristyle of the eastern annex (the so-called chalcidicum) of the Basilike Stoa in the State Market, under a late antique pavement	Probably posthumous images set up after 14 CE	Augustus: preserved height of statue: 1.17 m; head and neck: 0.355 m; head alone: 0.28 m; Livia: preserved height of statue: 1.54 m; head and neck: 0.36 m; head alone: 0.205 m; lower legs and arms of both statues are missing	marble		Augustus and Livia	enthroned; Augustus probably at the left of the group and Livia at the right	Group may have included additional statues; Statues may have been associated with the imperial cult
Selçuk Museum, no. 81.59.80 (Tiberius) and no. 80.59.80 (Livia)	Julio-Claudian dynastic group that included a portrait of Livia (tenon suggests it was originally for a full-length statue) and a portrait and fragment of an armored torso of Tiberius	Terrace House II	found in the south, marble-lined niche of room 38 of residence VII in Terrace House II, located to the south of Curetes Street	4-14 CE	Tiberius: total height with bust: 0.495 m; head and neck: 0.37 m; head alone: 0.255 m; Livia: height with tenon: 0.43 m; head and neck 0.37 m; head alone: 0.23 m	marble		Livia and Tiberius		Group may have included a statue of Augustus; Pose, carving technique, and size suggests two portraits originally were full-length statues and part of the same group; may belong to the family group set up by the Neopoioi (see IvE II.257)
IvE II.256; Højte 2005, Caligula 20	Four statue bases of a Tiberian or Caligulan dynastic group; bilingual inscriptions		bases re-used in the so-called Temple of Hadrian (Germanicus), Byzantine wall between the north gate of the Tetragonos Agora and the theater (Agrippina the Elder and Drusus), and the Baths of Varius (Nero Caesar)	Tiberian or Caligulan (14-41 CE)	Base of Germanicus: Dim.: 0.21 x 0.785 x 0.22 m; l.: 0.03-0.045 m; Base of Nero: 0.21 x 0.52 x 0.54 m.; Base of Drusus III and Agrippina: 0.21 x 1.21 x ? m.; length of entire monument estimated at over 4 m	white marble		Germanicus, Agrippina the Elder, Nero Caesar, Drusus III	group reconstructed with Drusus III at the far left, followed by Agrippina and Germanicus, with the position of Nero Caesar undeterminable	bases grouped together on the basis of height, bilingual format, and the fact that the dedications to Drusus and Agrippina are on the same base; two portraits of Nero Caesar and Drusus III may belong to this group (see Aurenhammer 2011)

FLAVIAN

INDIVIDUAL HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	ARRANGEMENT	OTHER
Inan and Rosenbaum 1966, 46, no. 2, statue of Vespasian	inscribed imperial statue base			69-79 CE		marble		Vespasian		
IvE II.262; Højte 2005, Titus 53	High rectangular block that once formed the centerpiece of a base; bilingual inscription		found re-used between the fishery customs house and the Byzantine city walls	80 CE	Dim.: 1.20 x ? x ? m; l.: ? m	marble	Eutactus, imperial freedman and procurator	Titus		
IvE II.232-243; Højte 2005, Domitian 41-53	bases with Greek inscriptions - exact forms of the donations are unclear, but based on base types, statues of Domitian or other members of the Flavian dynasty are assumed	set up in the area of the Temple of the Flavian Sebastoi	see below	Domitianic (88-91 CE), perhaps in conjunction with the dedication of the provincial imperial temple	see below	white marble	Cities of Asia	Domitian and possibly other members of the Flavian dynasty		all the dedications but one (an unfluted marble column) are carved on rectangular marble blocks; Domitian's name deliberately removed after 96 CE and replaced with a new dedication to the divine Vespasian
	Højte 2005, Domitian 41		doorway of the Baths of Varius		Dim.: 1.205 x 0.595 x 0.59 m; l.: 0.03-0.05 m					
	Højte 2005, Domitian 42		found in debris of the orchestra		Dim.: 0.46 x 0.55 x 0.56 m; l.: 0.025-0.04 m					
	Højte 2005, Domitian 43 (unfluted column shaft)		Fountain of Pollio in the State Market							
	Højte 2005, Domitian 44		re-used as building material in a bridge outside Selçuk							
	Højte 2005, Domitian 45		re-used as building material in a bridge outside Selçuk							
	Højte 2005, Domitian 46		re-used as building material in a gate							
	Højte 2005, Domitian 47		found west of the Nymphaeum of Trajan on Curetes Street		Dim.: 0.90 x 0.58 x 0.59 m; l.: 0.02-0.08 m					
	Højte 2005, Domitian 48		re-used as building material in a bridge outside Selçuk							
	Højte 2005, Domitian 49		found north of the Hydrekdocheion of Laecanius Bassus							
	Højte 2005, Domitian 50		re-used as building material in a bridge outside Selçuk							
	Højte 2005, Domitian 51		citadel							
	Højte 2005, Domitian 52		re-used as building material in a bridge outside Selçuk							
	Højte 2005, Domitian 53		re-used as building material in a bridge outside Selçuk							
IvE II.263	Greek inscription			Domitianic (81-96 CE)				Domitian		
IvE II.263a	three fragments; Greek inscription		scattered find spotss (west of the east gate of Arkadiane, Bouleuterion)	Domitianic (81-96 CE)				Domitian		

IvE VI.2047; Højte 2005, Domitian 40	base for a statue of Domitian; executed on all four sides evenly; Greek inscription	theater (?)	found in the debris of the north parodos of the theater	Domitianic (81-96 CE)	Dim.: 0.47 x 1.30 x 0.49 m; l.: 0.025 m	white marble		Domitian		name of Domitian has been deliberately removed
IvE VI.2048	middle piece of a four-sided base; upper half broken away; Greek inscription	theater (?)	found in the debris of the orchestra of the theater	Domitianic (81-96 CE)		white marble	L. Mestrius Florus, proconsul of Asia in 88/89 CE	Domitian		name of Domitian has been deliberately removed
IvE II.263c	fragment of a marble plate; Greek inscription			Domitianic (81-96 CE)				Domitia Longina	The statue of the empress presumably stood next to an image of her husband	

FLAVIAN

GROUP HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	ARRANGEMENT	OTHER
Colossal cult images of Flavian Sebastoi	Four-times life-size acrolithic portrait of Titus; fragments of at least one other statue	Temple of the Flavian Sebastoi	found in the southwest corner of the State Market, in the cryptoporticus of the temple terrace	Domitianic (81-96 CE)	Colossal head of Titus: 1.18 m; right knee with upper leg: 1.12 m; left knee: 0.60 m; right foot: 0.17 x 0.47 m; left foot: 0.21 x 0.49 m	marble		Titus and at least one other person		Similar colossal images of Vespasian, Domitian, and perhaps Domitia may have been included

NERVA AND TRAJAN

INDIVIDUAL HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	ARRANGEMENT	OTHER
IvE II.264; Højte 2005, Nerva 33	part of a base; Greek inscription		found about fifty meters in front of the theater	Nervan (96-98 CE)	Dim.: 0.60 x 1.02 x 0.22 m; l.: 0.04-0.055 m	white marble		Nerva		
SEG 34.1087; Højte 2005, Nerva 34	probably part of a base; Greek inscription		found in the area of St. John's Church	Nervan (96-98 CE)	Dim.: 0.47 x 0.47 x 0.17 m; l.: 0.018-0.036 m	marble	ʿΑσκλητ[---] / Δημητρίο[υ---]	Nerva		Monument consisted of either metal statuettes referring to the ορεται of Nerva, or a statue of the emperor made from melted-down ἀνδριαντίδια
IvE II.264a	base; Greek inscription	theater (?)	from the south parodos of the theater	Nervan or Trajanic (96-117 CE)				Nerva or Trajan		
IvE II.264b	base; Greek inscription	Harbor Gymnasium (?)	from the Harbor Gymnasium	Nervan or Trajanic (96-117 CE)				Nerva or Trajan		
IvE II.265b	two fragments of a base; bilingual inscription		one has no recorded find spot; the other was found in the area between the Harbor Gymnasium and the so-called Verulanus Hall	Trajanic (98-117 CE)				Trajan		
IvE II.265a	base; Greek inscription	theater (?)	found in the debris of the parodos of the theater	Trajanic (98-117 CE)				Trajan		bilingual inscription; may be part of the group of statues set up in the theater by C. Vibius Salutaris in 104 CE
IvE V.1500; Højte 2005, Trajan 145	Stele (?); broken at the bottom and on the lower portion of the right side; Greek inscription	Sanctuary of Artemis (?)	Sanctuary of Artemis	115/116 CE (proconsulship of Q. Fulvius Gillo Bittius Proculus)	height: 3 ft. 1.5 in.; width 2 ft. 11.5 in.	white marble	boule and demos	Trajan		

NERVA AND TRAJAN

GROUP HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	ARRANGEMENT	OTHER
IvE II.424; IvE II.265; IvE II.420; fragments of colossal statue of Trajan	IvE II.424: architrave frieze of the Nymphaeum of Trajan with Greek inscription; IvE II.265: base of Trajan statue with Greek inscription; IvE II.420: base of Nerva statue with Greek inscription; chest fragment of Trajan statue	north side of Curetes Street	north side of Curetes Street	102-114 CE with later additions and renovations	architrave frieze: 0.53-0.58 m high; base of Nerva statue: 0.45 m high	marble	Tiberius Claudius Aristion and Julia Lydia Laterane	Artemis, Trajan, and the city of Ephesus	Central niche occupied by statue of Trajan; other statues between columns in niches	7 statues associated with the Nymphaeum along with fragments of a statue of Trajan and a base for a statue of Nerva

HADRIAN

INDIVIDUAL HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	ARRANGEMENT	OTHER
IvE II.267	altar; Greek inscription			Hadrianic, ca. 129 CE	Dim.: 0.44 x 0.28 x 0.17 m; l.: 0.018 m	bluish marble		Hadrian as Zeus Olympios		
IvE II.268	two columns; Greek inscription, heavily destroyed		found 150 m SSE of the Magnesian Gate	Hadrianic, ca. 129 CE	0.84 m high (visible); top diameter 0.48 m; l.: 0.025 - 0.03 m	grey-spotted marble		Hadrian as Zeus Olympios		
IvE II.269	altar; dowel hole in the bottom center; shallow depression in the top center; profile executed on the upper left; Greek inscription		built into a house near the Artemision	Hadrianic, ca. 129 CE	Dim.: 0.95 x 0.60 x 0.49 m; l.: 0.03-0.04 m	grey-spotted marble		Hadrian as Zeus Olympios		
IvE II.270	base; Greek inscription	theater (?)	built into a staircase in the theater	Hadrianic, ca. 129 CE	Dim.: 0.72 x 0.36 x 0.41 m; l.: 0.03 m	white marble		Hadrian as Zeus Olympios		
IvE II.271	Greek inscription	Sanctuary of Artemis (?)	found on the east edge of the sanctuary of Artemis	Hadrianic, ca. 129 CE				Hadrian as Zeus Olympios		
IvE II.271a	Greek inscription		found at the west end of the Basilike Stoa	Hadrianic, ca. 129 CE				Hadrian as Zeus Olympios		
IvE II.271e	Greek inscription	theater (?)	found in the south parodos of the theater	Hadrianic (117-138 CE)				Hadrian		
IvE II.271i; Højte 2005, Hadrian 314	5 fragments belonging to an upper cornice of a base; Greek inscription	theater (?)	found in the orchestra of the theater	Hadrianic (117-138 CE)				Hadrian		
IvE V.1501; Højte 2005, Hadrian 325	base; Greek inscription	theater (?)	found in the theater	132-138 CE	Dim.: 0.711 x 0.736 x 0.254 m.; l.: ? m		Claudius Demostratus Caelianus	Hadrian		
IvE II.271h	Greek inscription	Prytaneion (?)	Prytaneion	Hadrianic (117-138 CE)				Hadrian		
IvE II.271c; Højte 2005, Hadrian 312	Greek inscription		Tetragonos Agora; built into a wall	Hadrianic (117-138 CE)				Hadrian		
Højte 2005, Hadrian 320	part of a base; upper left corner cut off so that part of the inscription is lost; Greek inscription		secondary context in Tetragonos Agora	128-138 CE	Dim: 0.74 x 0.41 x 0.41 m.; l.: 0.02 m	white marble		Hadrian		
IvE II.271b	Greek inscription			Hadrianic (117-138 CE)				Hadrian		
IvE II.271d; Højte 2005, Hadrian 321	base; Greek inscription		found in the south wall adjoining the museum, connected to the baths	128-138 CE				Hadrian		
IvE II.271f; Højte 2005, Hadrian 324	Greek inscription			132-138 CE				Hadrian		
IvE II.271g; Højte 2005, Hadrian 313	Greek inscription		built into a wall behind the propylon on the southern end of Marble Street	Hadrianic (117-138 CE)				Hadrian		
IvE II.272	Greek inscription			Hadrianic (117-138 CE)				Hadrian		
IvE II.273	Greek inscription		from the west gate of the Byzantine fortress near St. John's Church	Hadrianic (117-138 CE)				Hadrian		
IvE II.278a; Højte 2005, Hadrian 315	base with Latin inscription			Hadrianic (117-138 CE)			procurator	Hadrian		
IvE VII.1.3238	Greek inscription			Hadrianic (117-138 CE)				Hadrian		
IvE VII.1.3410	base for a statue; Greek inscription			Hadrianic (117-138 CE)	H: 0.40 m; D: 0.20 m			Hadrian		
IvE II.277; Højte 2005, Hadrian 322	block with Greek inscription		built into the Byzantine citadel	128-138 CE			L. Stratonicus	Hadrian		
IvE II.274; Højte 2005, Hadrian 323	base with Greek inscription			129-130 CE		marble	boule and demos	Hadrian		
IvE II.275; Højte 2005, Hadrian 317	In early publications the stone is listed as an altar, but it is more probably a small statue base since the emperor's name is given in the accusative		Found on the eastern edge of the sanctuary of Artemis	119-138 CE	Dim.: 0.40 x 0.31 x 0.31 m.; l.: 0.01-0.015 m	white marble	followers of Dionysus	Hadrian		
IvE II.276; Højte 2005, Hadrian 318	block with Greek inscription		built into an aqueduct	123-124 CE			Chrysophoroi	Hadrian		
IvE VII.4333; Højte 2005, Hadrian 316	part of a base with Greek inscription; slightly worn on the right			118 CE	Dim.: 1.05 x 0.89 x 0.20 m.; l.: 0.022-0.047 m	bluish marble	boule and demos	Hadrian		
IvE II.278	Greek inscription			Hadrianic (117-138 CE)				Sabina		

IvE II.279	Greek inscription		from an aqueduct	Hadrianic (117-138 CE)				Sabina		
IvE VII.1.3411	Greek inscription		Found on the road from Torbali to Trianda	Hadrianic (117-138 CE)	Dim.: 0.60 x 0.28 x 0.28 m			Sabina		
IvE VII.2.4108	middle piece of a base; Greek inscription		found in the NW room of the Baptistery	Hadrianic (117-138 CE)	Dim.: 1.19 x 0.24 x 0.53 m; l.: 0.046-0.042 m	bluish marble	Publius Vedius Antoninus and his father	Sabina		
IvE VII.2.4334	base for a statue; Greek inscription			Hadrianic (117-138 CE)	Dim.: 1.35 x 0.575 x	bluish-gray marble		Sabina		

HADRIAN

GROUP HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	ARRANGEMENT	OTHER
IvE II.266 (Hadrian); Højte 2005, Hadrian 319; IvE II.280 (Sabina)	Bases for a dynastic group of Hadrian and Sabina; Greek inscriptions		Bases found in secondary contexts: base of Hadrian found in the Baths of Varius and the base of Sabina in an aqueduct	124/125 CE (proconsulship of M. Peducaeus Priscinus)	Base of Hadrian: Dim.: 0.845 x 0.53 x 0.52 m; l.: 0.03-0.035 m	white marble	boule and demos	Hadrian and Sabina		

ANTONINE

INDIVIDUAL HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	ARRANGEMENT	OTHER
IvE VI.2050; Højte 2005, Antoninus Pius 227-232	25 fragments of six square bases set up in honor of Antoninus Pius; Greek inscriptions	theater	found scattered throughout the theater area, but the similar texts confirm that the bases were part of the same dedication	138-161 CE	Dim.: 1.20-1.40 x 0.60-0.70 x 0.60-0.70 m.; l.: 0.025-0.04 m	white marble	Tribes of the city	Antoninus Pius		original number of tribes was 8, so an additional 2 states are presumed
IvE II.282b; Højte 2005, Antoninus Pius 223	block with Greek inscription	theater	theater	138-161 CE			[---Τ(ι)ε]ρεωων [---] / [---]το[---]	Antoninus Pius		
IvE II.282d; Højte 2005, Antoninus Pius 224	square base composed of two pieces; Greek inscription	theater	theater	138-161 CE			boule and demos	Antoninus Pius		
IvE II.280b	Greek inscription	Harbor Gymnasium (?)	Harbor Gymnasium	138-161 CE				Antoninus Pius		
IvE II.280c	Greek inscription	Gymnasium of Publius Vedius Antoninus (?)	Gymnasium of Publius Vedius Antoninus	138-161 CE				Antoninus Pius		
IvE II.282a	Latin inscription	Tetragonos Agora (?)	Tetragonos Agora	138-161 CE				Antoninus Pius		
IvE II.282c	Greek inscription	Prytaneion (?)	Hestia Hall in the Prytaneion	138-161 CE				Antoninus Pius		
IvE II.282; Højte 2005, Antoninus Pius 233	Middle piece of a base; edges slightly worn away; Latin inscription	Baths of Varius (?)	Baths of Varius	139 CE	Dim.: 0.98 x 0.58 x 0.56 m.; l.: 0.035-0.055 m		Ti(berius) Iulius Candidus Caeci/lius Simplex leg(atus) dioeceseos / Ephesiacae	Antoninus Pius		
IvE II.281; Højte 2005, Antoninus Pius 222	block with Greek inscription		built into an aqueduct	138-161 CE			boule and demos	Antoninus Pius		
IvE II.284b	Greek inscription			138-161 CE				Antoninus Pius		
IvE V.1504; Højte 2005, Antoninus Pius 226	stele (?) broken at the edges; Greek inscription			138-161 CE	Dim.: 0.46 x 0.23 x ? m.; l. ? m.	white marble	Quintus [---]tius Gaius	Antoninus Pius		
Højte 2005, Antoninus Pius 221	stele (?); Greek inscription			138-161 CE	dim.: 0.76 x 0.58 x ? m.; l.: ? m	white marble	boule and demos	Antoninus Pius		
IvE II.286a; Højte 2005, Marcus Aurelius 215	Greek inscription		built into a house in Selçuk	161-180 CE				Marcus Aurelius		
IvE II.284	base; Greek inscription		built into the Church of Mary	Antonine (138-192 CE)				either Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius		
IvE II.284a	Greek inscription	Harbor Gymnasium (?)	Harbor Gymnasium	Antonine (138-192 CE)				either Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius		
IvE II.285	base; Greek inscription	Harbor Gymnasium (?)	built into the Harbor Gymnasium	Antonine (138-192 CE)				Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus or Commodus		
IvE II.280a; Højte 2005, Lucius Verus 116	Greek inscription; probably part of a base	theater (?)	theater	138 CE				Lucius Verus		
IvE II.292; Højte 2005, Commodus 84	Greek inscription		built into the southwest corner of the Varius Baths	180-191 CE				Commodus		
IvE II.293; Højte 2005, Commodus 85	Greek inscription		found in the apsidal building in the so-called baptistery of John	180-191 CE			Followers of Dionysus	Commodus		either the base originally supported a statue of another emperor, perhaps Lucius Verus, and was re-used for Commodus or the name of Commodus was erased after his death and re-carved later when he was deified by Septimius Severus
IvE II.283	Latin inscription	Sanctuary of Artemis (?)	Artemision	Antonine (138-192 CE)				Matidia the Younger		
IvE II.284c	Greek inscription		from Selçuk Place	Antonine (138-192 CE)				Faustina the Elder or Faustina the Younger		
IvE II.290a	Greek inscription		built into an aqueduct	Antonine (138-192 CE)				Faustina the Elder or Faustina the Younger		

ANTONINE

GROUP HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	ARRANGEMENT	OTHER
IvE VI.2049; Højte 2005, Antoninus Pius 234	two marble fragments of a dedicatory plaque that was originally affixed to a pedestal; Greek inscription	theater (?)	(a) found in the debris of the upper north ramp of the theater; (b) found in the orchestra near the middle steps	151-161 CE	(a) Dim.: 1.00 x 0.74 x 0.31 m; (b) Dim.: 1.05 x 0.30 x 0.31 m; Original overall width was 3.50 m	white marble	boule and demos	Antoninus Pius, Annia Galeria Aurelia Faustina; also probably Marcus Aurelius, Faustina the Elder, Faustina the Younger, Lucilla, and Domitia Faustina		
IvE II.287, 1-9; Højte 2005, Marcus Aurelius 216, Commodus 82	eight statue bases; Greek inscriptions	group presumably set up within the sanctuary, perhaps in the Augusteum	built into the cella doorway of the Artemision	175/6-180 CE			boule and demos	Marcus Aurelius, Faustina the Younger, Commodus, Fadilla, Annia Lucilla, Annia Galeria Aurelia Faustina, Cornificia, Vibia Aurelia Sabina		Names of Lucilla and Commodus removed after their *damnatio memoriae*; *name of Commodus* re-carved again during the reign of Septimius Severus
IvE II.288, 1-5; Højte 2005, Commodus 83	bases (now lost); Greek inscriptions		built into an aqueduct	175-180 CE			boule and demos	Commodus, Fadilla, Annia Lucilla(?), and Hadrianus		
IvE II.289	base; Greek inscription		built into an aqueduct	170-217 CE			boule and demos	Vibia Aurelia Sabina		
IvE II.290	2 bases and a fragment; Greek inscriptions		built into an aqueduct	180-182 CE			boule and demos	Fadilla, Annia Galeria Aurelia Faustina, and two other children whose names cannot be reconstructed conclusively		

Deppmeyer 2008, no. 110	dedicatory plate for a statue base; Greek inscription			after 141 CE	Inscription for Faustina the Elder: 1.05 x 0.77 x 0.30-0.38 m	marble	boule and demos	Faustina the Elder and 3-4 other Antonine family members		
IvE II.284d	two bases; Greek inscriptions		found in the urban area south of the Harbor Gymnasium (Arkadiane)	151-161 CE				Antoninus Pius and Aurelia Faustina		
IvE V.1505; Højte 2005, Lucius Verus 117; IvE II.285a; IvE II.460	statue plinth of Lucius Verus with Greek inscription (IvE V. 1505); Greek inscription for statue of Faustina (IvE II.285a); building inscription (IvE II.460)	Bouleuterion/Odeion	Bouleuterion/Odeion	ca. 150 CE	Plinth: 0.09 m. (H); 0.965 m. (diameter)	white marble	Flavia Papiane and Publius Vedius Antoninus	Lucius Verus, Marcus Aurelius, Faustina	statues were displayed in the niches of the *scaenae frons*; exact arrangement is uncertain	group also probably included statues of Antoninus Pius and at least one other female; statues of donors is also possible

SEVERAN

INDIVIDUAL HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	ARRANGEMENT	OTHER
IvE II.294	Greek inscription	Odeion (?)	Odeion	Severan (193-211 CE)				Septimius Severus		
IvE V.1508	fragment of an Greek imperial inscription			Severan (193-211 CE)				Julia Domna		
IvE VII.2.4335	middle piece of a base; rough back side; Latin inscription			Severan (193-211 CE)	Dim.: 1.22 x 0.54 x 0.48 m; l.: 0.066-0.052 m	bluish marble		Julia Domna		
IvE II.297	Greek inscription	Varius Baths (?)	Varius Baths	Severan (193-211 CE)				Caracalla		
IvE II.298	Greek inscription	Varius Baths (?)	Varius Baths	Severan (193-211 CE)				Caracalla		
IvE II.299	Greek inscription	Varius Baths (?)	Varius Baths	Severan (193-211 CE)				Caracalla		
IvE VII.1.3412	low base with profiled top and bottom on three sides; rear left is unworked; Greek inscription			Severan (193-211 CE)	Dim.: 0.535 x 0.64 x 0.67m; l.: 0.02-0.18 m	bluish marble		Caracalla		
SEG 39.1191	Greek inscription			213-217 CE				Caracalla		
IvE VII.1.3144	piece of a base; Greek inscription		from Anaia	Severan (203-222 CE)	Dim.: 0.58 x 0.57 x 0.425 m; l.: 0.02-0.03 m	marble		Elagabalus		
IvE V.1509	fragment of a marble plate; Greek inscription			Severan (222-235 CE)				Alexander Severus		

SEVERAN

GROUP HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	ARRANGEMENT	OTHER
IvE VI.2051	Latin inscription; two adjacent pieces from a broken dedicatory plate that was affixed to a statue pedestal	theater (?)	theater	208-209 CE	Dim.: 0.83 x 2.06 x 0.32 m; l.: 0.065-0.05 m	white marble	procurator Q. Aemilius Aristides	Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, Caracalla, Geta		
IvE VII.2.4109	pedestals with Greek inscriptions		built into the wall of a church as spolia	198-210 CE	Dim.: 0.80 x 1.61 m; l.: 0.055-0.046 m	bluish marble	demos	Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, Caracalla, Geta		
IvE II.300	two blocks from a double statue base; Greek inscription		built into an aqueduct	213-217 CE			demos	Julia Domna and Caracalla		
IvE II.297a	Latin inscription		From Arkadiane							
IvE VII.1.3087	middle piece of a four-sided statue base; Greek inscription				Dim.: 0.95 x 0.20 x 0.53 m; l.: 0.055 m	marble				

THIRD CENTURY CE AND BEYOND

INDIVIDUAL HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	ARRANGEMENT	OTHER
IvE II.301	Greek inscription		from the street south of the State Market	235-238 CE				Maximinus Thrax		
IvE II.302	two Greek inscriptions on one stone; Sketchbook 1895 III nr. 72 (Benndorf)		built into an aqueduct	238-244 CE				Gordian III		
IvE II.303	Greek inscription		found at the train station	238-244 CE				Gordian III		
IvE II.304	Greek inscription		found in the sanctuary of Artemis	238-244 CE				Gordian III		
IvE VII.2.4336	Profiled plate, top right corner broken; Greek inscription			238-244 CE	Dim.: 0.945 x 1.61 x 0.405 m; l.: 0.03 m	bluish gray marble		Gordian III		
IvE II.304a	Greek inscription		found in a field	238-244 CE				Furia Sabinia Tranquillina		
IvE VII.1.3020	middle piece of a base, top and bottom with rounded profile; Latin inscription			275-276 CE	dim.: 1.065 x 0.518 x 0.43 m; l.: 0.032-0.03 m	bluish marble		Tacitus		
IvE II.307	Latin inscription		found in the debris of the street in front of the theater, near the north corner of the auditorium	298 CE			proconsul L. Artorius Pius Maximus	Diocletian		
IvE II.308	Latin inscription		found in the Hydreion on Curetes Street					Diocletian		
IvE II.309	Latin inscription		found in the Hydreion on Curetes Street					Diocletian		
IvE II.309a	three base fragments; Latin inscription		two fragments found in the so-called Tomb of Luke; third found in the theater					Diocletian		
IvE II.310	statue base; Latin inscription		built into the colonnade of the Varius Baths	305-311 CE				Galerius		
IvE II.311a	Latin inscription		found in the debris west of the Tetragonos Agora	308-313 CE				Maximinus II		
IvE VII.1.3158	Large base, top and bottom profiled, slightly worn; Latin inscription		Found on the road from Ephesus to Magnesia on the Maeander	308-324 CE	Dim.: 1.09 x 0.48 x 0.53 m; l.: 0.05 - 0.04 m	white marble		Licinius	The text replaced an older inscription	
IvE II.312	Latin inscription							Constantine		
IvE II.313	Latin inscription		found west of the theater					Constantine		
IvE II.313a	Latin inscription		found northwest of the theater	360-363 CE				Julian II		
IvE VII.1.3021	two matching broken pieces of a base; Latin inscription			360-363 CE	Dim.: 0.58 x 0.55 x 0.57 m; l.: 0.035-0.04 m	white marble		Julian II		
IvE II.314	statue base; Greek inscription		found on the north side of Curetes Street	387-394 CE				Flavia Galla		
IvE II.315	Greek inscription		found on the road by the stadium	387-394 CE				Flavia Galla		
IvE II.316	base; Latin inscription		found in the east gate of Arkadiane	393-423 CE				Honorius		
IvE II.317	column; Greek inscription		column of the Doric stoa on the east side of the Tetragonos Agora	421-443 CE				Aelia Eudokia		

THIRD CENTURY CE AND BEYOND

GROUP HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	ARRANGEMENT	OTHER
IvE II.305	bases for bronze statues; Latin inscriptions	in front of the so-called Temple of Hadrian	in front of the so-called Temple of Hadrian	293-313 CE		bronze statues		Tetrarchy (Diocletian, Maximian, Caesar Constantius, Caesar Galerius)	statues of the two Augusti located in the center, with the portrait of Diocletian to the right and Maximian to the left; at the extreme right was Caesar Contantius and to the extreme left was Caesar Galerius	Statue of the father of Theodosius I replaced that of Maximian (see IvE II.305)
IvE II.311	Latin inscription		found in a tower of the Byzantine citadel	311-313 CE				Maximinus, Constantius, Licinius		

LEPTIS MAGNA

EARLY IMPERIAL

INDIVIDUAL HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	Arrangement	OTHER
IRT no. 328	base; badly mutilated; Latin inscription		found in the Temple of Rome and Augustus	3 BCE	Dim.: 0.77 x 0.39 x 0.44 m	grey limestone	people of Leptis Magna	Gaius Caesar		
IRT no. 335	rectangular base; Latin inscription		found in the Temple of Rome and Augustus	7-33 CE	Dim.: 0.59 x 0.07 x 0.23 m	marble		Drusus Caesar		
IRT no. 339	mutilated block from a monumental inscription; Latin inscription			14-37 CE	Dim.: 0.94 x 0.35 x 0.26 m	fine-grained grey limestone yellow		Tiberius		
IRT no. 305	left half of a rectangular base; bilingual inscription (Neo-Punic and Latin)		found in the SW portico of the market found re-used in the stylobate of the NE	27 BCE - 14 CE	Dim.: 0.39 x 0.74 x 0.68 m	limestone marked in red	Gaius Sossius	Augustus		
IRT no. 332	eleven blocks from the successive courses of a monumental Latin inscription		colonnade of the portico surrounding the market	31 BCE	total length: 7.64 m	grey limestone	proconsul	Tiberius		
IRT no. 320; Højte 2005, Augustus 112	rectangular base; Latin inscription; four sockets on the upper surface		found in the vaults of the stage of the theater	1 July 3 BCE - 30 June 2 BCE	Dim.: 0.785 x 0.39 x 0.465 m	grey limestone	people of Leptis Magna	Gaius Caesar		uniform with IRT no. 328
IRT no. 301	panel; Latin inscription			6 CE	Dim.: 0.86 x 0.57 x 0.30 m	fine grey limestone	proconsul Cossus Cornelius Lentulus	Augustus		
IRT no. 315a	hexagonal base inscribed on one face within a recessed panel; each of the remaining five faces is ornamented with a recessed panel within which is carved in relief different symbols (a caduceus; a group of three flagella (?), a jug, a folded flagellum (?), and a purse (?); Latin inscription		re-used to support an arch in a house	27 BCE - 14 CE	faces: 0.20 x 0.66 m	grey limestone		Augustus		base re-used to support an arch in a domestic setting
IRT no. 482; Højte 2005, 305, Claudius 72	three blocks; two belong to the same inscription while the third, on which the lettering is smaller, may be from a lower course of the same monument; Latin inscription		re-used in the fourth century wall and now lying loose beside the west gate	41-43 CE	Dim.: (1) 0.52 x 0.51 x 0.35 m and 0.44 x 0.51 x 0.30 m; (2) 0.69 x 0.42 x 0.51 m	hard yellowish-grey limestone		Claudius		blocks re-used in a fourth-century wall
Winkes 1995, 184-185, no. 107; Bartman 1999, 179-180, no. 74; Boschung 2002, 10-11, no. 1.22, 21-23	Colossal statue of Livia in the guise of Ceres	Stood in the temple at the top of the theater	found in the theater	Probably Tiberian (35-36 CE), but perhaps Claudian (42 CE) Augustan (27 BCE - 14 CE) or Tiberian (14-37 CE); re-worked after Livia's divinization in 42 CE	height: 2.98 m; head: 0.70 m; face: 0.29 m	white marble		Livia		Livia wears a sleeved chiton, mantle, sandals, a mural crown, and a wreath; attributes are now lost, but she probably held a cornucopia in her left hand and a scepter in her right
Bartman 1999, 178, no. 71	statue of Livia					white marble		Livia		
Tripoli Archaeological Museum Inv. 477; Boschung 1993, 122-123, no. 31	portrait of Augustus		found near the chalcidicum	Early to Middle Augustan period (?)	height: 0.24 m	marble		Augustus		some scholars identify the portrait as the cult image of Divus Augustus erected within the shrine of the chalcidicum, but Boschung argues that it is stylistically older

EARLY IMPERIAL

GROUP HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	Arrangement	OTHER
IRT nos. 324 a-c; 325; 329; 336; Højte 2005, Augustus 113, Tiberius 74	nos. 342a-c: the greater part of three composite panels; nos. 325, 329, 336: rectangular bases; Latin inscriptions	nos. 324a-c: architraves of the central and lateral gables of the façade of the chalcidicum; nos. 325, 329, 336: inside and in front of the shrine on the east side of the chalcidicum	bases found in front of the central shrine of the chalcidicum	First Phase: 11-12 CE; Second Phase: early Tiberian period (ca. 14 CE)	Nos. 324 (a): 0.51 x 6.76 m; (b): 0.52 x 8.44 m; (c): 0.145 m; No. 325: 0.61 x 0.18 x 0.54 m; No. 329: 0.61 x 0.17 x 0.53 m; No. 336: 0.70 x 0.082-0.065 x 0.42 m quadriga base: 7 x 6 m; Augustus as divus: 0.92 m; Roma: 0.83 m; Tiberius: 0.74 m; Livia: 0.68 m; Germanicus: 0.42 m; Drusus Caesar: 0.45 m; Livilla (?): 0.33 m; Vipsania Agrippina (?): 0.37 m; Antonia the Younger (?): 2.40 m without plinth and with the head; Agrippina the Elder: 2.38 m without plinth and with the head	all of grey limestone except for the base for Drusus the Younger, which was of marble	Iddibal Caphada Aemilius, the son of Himil	First Phase: Numen of Augustus; Second Phase: Divus Augustus, Tiberius, Drusus the Younger	Statues of the Numen of Augustus and Venus set up along the rear wall of the shrine; other statues set up in front of the shrine	there are remains of the feet of the statue on base no. 336 (Drusus the Younger)
IRT Neo-Punic 28; IRT no. 334; sculptural material (PHASE ONE)	inscribed architrave block with Neo-Punic inscription (Neo-Punic 28); low rectangular base for quadriga group with Latin inscription (IRT no. 334); sculptural material includes heads of Augustus as divus, Roma, Tiberius, Livia, Germanicus, Drusus Caesar, Livilla (?), Vipsania Agrippina, and full-length standing statues of Antonia the Younger (?) and Agrippina the Elder	Forum Vetus, inside and in front of the Temple of Rome and Augustus	majority of material came from the area between the Temple of Rome and Augustus and the Temple of Liber Pater, outside the later Byzantine walls	First Phase: 23-32 CE		grey limestone (architrave block, quadriga base); marble (statues); bronze (horses, quadriga)	the suffetes Balyathon, son of Annus Gaius Saturninus, and Bodmelqart, son of Bodmelqart Tabahpi Greculo	Divus Augustus, Roma, Tiberius, Livia, Germanicus, Drusus Caesar, Livilla, Vipsania Agrippina, Antonia the Younger, and Agrippina the Elder Tiberius Gemellus and Julia Livilla, also possibly other siblings of Caligula and the emperor himself	Augustus and Roma in the rear of the temple's cella(e); Livia and Tiberius in the pronaos; Germanicus and Drusus Caesar in a bronze quadriga atop a large base probably located in the middle of the rostrum; statues of wives and mothers displayed near quadriga group	Heads of Augustus, Roma, Tiberius, Livia, and possibly Germanicus and Drusus Caesar were acrolithic; quadriga base (no. 334) has sockets on the upper face for a statue or group of statuary
(PHASE TWO) (?)	two portraits	Forum Vetus	Material discovered outside the area of the Temple of Rome and Augustus	Second Phase (?) Caligulan (37-41 CE)	Tiberius Gemellus: 0.24 m; Julia Livilla: 0.225 m	marble				
(PHASE THREE)	five statue bases (IRT nos. 326, 327, 333, 337, 340; Højte 2005, Augustus 114, Tiberius 76, Claudius 73; Latin inscriptions	Forum Vetus	bases for Augustus, Tiberius, and Messalina were discovered in front of the Temple of Rome and Augustus; bases for Livia and Tiberius were discovered to the west of the temple	Third Phase: ca. 45/6 CE	Dim.: 0.46 x 0.65 x 0.50 m (Augustus); 0.46 x 0.66 x 0.50 m (Livia); 0.46 x 0.67 x 0.51 m (Tiberius); 0.46 x 0.67 x 0.51 m (Claudius); 0.48 x 0.67 x 0.50 m (Messalina)	grey limestone		Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta (Livia), Tiberius, Claudius, and Messalina	probably set up near the Temple of Rome and Augustus and in close proximity to the Tiberian dedication	Scholars have assigned sculptural material from the forum to these bases, but such attributions are speculative; attributions include a (posthumous) statue of Tiberius, a figure of Livia as *diva*, and a portrait of Claudius wearing the *corona civica*
(PHASE FOUR)	seated statues of Augustus as divus and Claudius; possibly also two additional seated statues of Livia and Agrippina the Younger; four bilingual stelae (IRT no. 338) with Latin and Neo-Punic inscriptions	Forum Vetus	statues of Augustus and Claudius found in front of the rostrum; statue of Livia found in front of the Temple of Rome and Augustus; three stelae were found in situ in front of the podium of the Temple of Rome and Augustus; size and location of fourth stele are suggested by marks on the pavement slabs at the southeast corner of the temple	Fourth Phase: 53 CE	Augustus as divus: 2.10 m without head; Claudius: 2.20 m with head; Livia as diva: 2.09 m with plinth, head 0.325 m; stele: 0.855 x 2.36 x 0.36 m (fragments of one of the other stelae with an identical text and two other plinths are preserved)	marble (statues); stelae: fine-grained grey limestone	M. Pompeius Silvanus, proconsul of Africa, and Q. Cassius Gratus, legatus pro praetor of Africa	Augustus as divus, Claudius, and possibly Livia as diva and Agrippina the Younger	four stelae arranged symmetrically in two pairs near the corners of the temple, with a larger space in the center; statues of Claudius and Augustus were probably placed closer to the center (Claudius seated to the right of the rostrum, Augustus to the left), while Livia and Agrippina the Younger were at the periphery	
(PHASE FIVE) (?)				Fifth Phase (?): Neronian (54-68 CE)				Nero and Agrippina the Younger		

FLAVIAN

INDIVIDUAL HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	ARRANGEMENT	OTHER
IRT no. 343	three blocks, two complete and one fragmentary; Latin inscriptions		re-used in the fourth century wall and now lying loose beside the west gate	69-79 CE	two blocks together: 1.19 m long; third block: 0.71 m long	brown limestone		Vespasian		

IRT no. 346	seventeen blocks inscribed with a monumental Latin inscription within a tabella ansasta	probably from a building to the NW of the market	found in the street by insulae 4, 5, and 6	82-83 CE	total length: 15.30 x 0.51 x 0.52 m	fine-grained grey limestone	consul L. Nonius Calpurnius Asprenas	divine Vespasian		
IRT no. 349	broken block, badly weathered; Latin inscription			81-96 CE	Dim.: 0.95 x 0.21 x 0.23 m	grey limestone		Domitian		
IRT no. 350	four blocks probably from the same monumental inscription; Latin inscription		built into the Byzantine gate	81-96 CE	each block approximately 0.53 m high	grey limestone		Domitian		
IRT no. 351	block described in 1873, but not seen; Latin inscription		built into the Byzantine gate	69-96 CE				Flavian emperor		
IRT no. 275	panel reconstructed from fragments, the bottom right-hand corner is missing; Latin inscription		Forum Vetus, near the Temple of Liber Pater	69-96 CE)	Dim.: 0.51 x 0.49 m	marble	Quintus Servilius Candidus	Flavian emperor		
IRT no. 344	two blocks probably from the same inscription; Latin inscription		Forum Vetus, re-used for the steps of the Propylaea of the Curia	72 CE	Dim.: (a): 0.89 x 0.50 x 0.52 m; (b): 0.77 x 0.51 x 0.53 m	grey limestone	people of Leptis Magna	Titus		
IRT no. 345	block; Latin inscription		Forum Vetus, near the Baptistery	69-81 CE	Dim.: 0.67 x 0.50 x 0.50 m	grey limestone		Vespasian or Titus		
IRT no. 348	three blocks inscribed on one face with a monumental inscription; Latin inscriptions	Forum Vetus, architrave of the Flavian Temple, south of the Curia	Forum Vetus, architrave of the Flavian Temple, south of the Curia	93-94 CE	Dim.: (a): 0.82 x 0.52 x 0.55 m; (b): 0.92 x 0.52 x 0.55 m; (c) 1.108 x 0.52 x 0.55 m	grey limestone		Domitian		

NERVA AND TRAJAN

INDIVIDUAL HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	ARRANGEMENT	OTHER
IRT no. 352	fragments of a panel; Latin inscription			101-102 CE	Dim.: 0.37 m high Dim.: 0.60 x 0.83 m; left part and upper edge	white marble		divine Nerva		
IRT no. 355	right-hand side of a panel inscribed within a moulded tabella ansata; Latin inscription		Forum Vetus, Temple of Liber Pater	102 CE	missing	marble		divine Nerva		
IRT no. 356	upper right-hand corner of a panel inscribed within a tabella ansata; Latin inscription		Forum Vetus	after 98 CE	Dim.: 0.73 x 0.095 m	marble		divine Nerva		
IRT no. 302	lower part of a base inscribed on one face within a moulded panel; Latin inscription		on the seashore, west of the Temple of Neptune	98-117 CE	Dim.: 0.50 x 0.75 x 0.46 m			Trajan		
IRT no. 354	four fragments, all probably from the same panel inscribed within a moulded border; Latin inscription		Forum Vetus	112-113 CE	Dim.: (a) 0.20 x 0.11 m; (b) 0.25 x 0.20 m; no edges surviving; (c) 0.12 x 0.12 m, no edges surviving; (d) 0.16 x 0.22 m, lower border	white marble		Trajan		

HADRIAN

INDIVIDUAL HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	ARRANGEMENT	OTHER
IRT no. 358 a; Højte 2005, Hadrian 149	base; Latin inscription		theater, stage	119-120 CE	Dim.: 0.565 x 0.62 x 0.235 m	brown limestone	Quintus Servilius Candidus	Hadrian		duplicate text as IRT nos. 358b; 359
IRT no. 358 b; Højte 2005, Hadrian 150	base; Latin inscription		theater, cavea	119-120 CE	Dim.: 0.565 x 0.62 x 0.235 m	brown limestone	Quintus Servilius Candidus	Hadrian		duplicate text as IRT nos. 358a; 359
IRT no. 359; Højte 2005, Hadrian 151	broken block; Latin inscription	theater, possibly from the fountain behind	theater	119-120 CE	Dim.: 0.33 x 0.20 x 0.15 m	marble	Quintus Servilius Candidus	Hadrian		duplicate text as IRT nos. 358a; 358b
IRT no. 362; Højte 2005, Hadrian 152	rectangular base; Latin inscription		found in the Temple of Liber Pater	132/3 CE	Dim.: 0.85 x 1.15 x 0.75 m	cream marble	people of Leptis Magna	Hadrian		
IRT no. 365	block; Latin inscription		built into the outer NE face of the apse of the Byzantine church (originally a Trajanic building)	before 138 CE	Dim.: 0.57 x 0.52 x ? M	grey limestone		Hadrian		
IRT no. 363; Højte 2005, Hadrian 148	four blocks from a monumental inscription; Latin inscription		from the building on the west corner opposite the chalcidicum	128 CE	Dim.: (a) and (b) together: 2.00 x 0.50 x 0.54 m; (c) 1.07 x 0.50 x 0.54 m; (d): 0.62 x 0.50 x 0.54 m	grey limestone		Hadrian		
IRT no. 366	fragment of a panel; Latin inscription		Forum Severianum	before 138 CE	Dim.: 0.15 x 0.175 x 0.02 m	marble		Hadrian		

ANTONINE

INDIVIDUAL HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	ARRANGEMENT	OTHER
IRT no. 368; Højte 2005, Antoninus Pius 161	five fragments of a panel, one from the upper edge and four with no edges surviving; Latin inscription		Forum Vetus	136-139 CE	Dim.: 0.235 x 0.215 (upper edge fragment); 0.29 x 0.335 (largest fragment with no surviving edge)	white marble	people of Leptis Magna	Antoninus Pius		
IRT no. 371	four fragments of a panel inscribed within a tabella ansata; Latin inscription		Forum Vetus, cella of the Temple of Liber Pater	152-153 CE	Dim.: (1) 0.53 x 0.48; (2) 0.57 x 0.49; (3) 0.88 x 0.22; (4) 0.22 x 0.16 m	white marble	Calpurnia Honesta	Antoninus Pius		
IRT no. 369	base inscribed on the front; on the left-side a jug, and on the right a Medusa-head; Latin inscription		Forum Vetus, cella of the Temple of Liber Pater	151-152 CE	Dim.: 0.86 x 1.63 x 0.90	marble	people of Leptis Magna	Antoninus Pius		
IRT no. 380; Højte 2005, Antoninus Pius 163	elaborate console inscribed on the front upper border; the left-hand margin and left side appear to have been burned; Latin inscription		Forum Vetus, cella of the Temple of Liber Pater	after 140 CE	Dim.: 0.71 x 0.43 x 1.49 m	marble	people of Leptis Magna	Divine Faustina		
IRT no. 374	two fragments of a panel inscribed within a moulded border; Latin inscription		one fragment came found in the Forum Vetus; second fragment from the Hadrianic baths	138-161 CE	Dim.: (a) 0.45 x 0.46 m; (b) 0.14 x 0.13 m	marble		Antoninus Pius		
IRT no. 367	fragments (now lost) from the left side of a panel; Latin inscription		Forum Severianum	before 138 CE	Dim.: 0.18 x 0.32 m	marble		Antoninus Pius		
IRT no. 316	base; Latin inscription		found beside the central gable of the chalcidicum	138-161 CE	Dim.: 0.49 x 1.31 x 0.45 m	brown limestone		Antoninus Pius		
IRT no. 378	upper part of a moulded base with socket for statue; Latin inscription		found near the decumanus	138-161 CE	Dim.: 1.12 x 0.55 x 1.12 m	poor quality grey limestone		Antoninus Pius		
IRT no. 379; Højte 2005, Antoninus Pius 160	part of a panel reconstructed from fragments; Latin inscription		found near the decumanus by the market	138-161 CE	Dim.: 0.45 x 0.45 m	marble		Antoninus Pius		
IRT no. 372	part of a panel; Latin inscription		found in the theater	156-157 CE	Dim.: 0.86 x 0.57 x 0.01 m	cream marble		Antoninus Pius		
IRT no. 373	part of a panel: Latin inscription		found in the theater	140 CE	Dim.: 1.385 x 0.53 x 0.027 m	marble	a citizen of Leptis Magna	Antoninus Pius		
IRT no. 375	part of a panel reconstructed from fragments; Latin inscription		found in the theater	138-161 CE	Dim.: 1.10 x 0.585 x 0.03 m	marble	an augur (?)	Antoninus Pius		
IRT no. 377	fragment of a panel; Latin inscription		found in the theater	138-161 CE	Dim.: 0.35 x 0.31 x 0.02 m	marble		Antoninus Pius		
IRT no. 376; Tripoli Archaeological Museum Inv. 33C	base; Latin inscription; head of Antoninus Pius		found in the theater; base from the center of the orchestra; head from the scaenae frons	138-161 CE	Dim.: 1.00 x 1.42 1 0.80 m	grey limestone (base)	aedile Quintus Pompeius Saturninus	Antoninus Pius		
IRT no. 381; Højte 2005, Lucius Verus 88	rectangular base broken at the right-hand side; Latin inscription		found beside the decumanus	January of 161 CE	Dim.: 0.85 x 0.48 x 0.86 m	coarse grey limestone	people of Leptis Magna	Lucius Verus		
Højte 2005, Marcus Aurelius 151	rectangular base with circular depression on top; Latin inscription		found on the seashore, west of the Temple of Neptune	138-161 CE	Dim.: 0.26 x 0.36 x 0.26 m	marble		Marcus Aurelius		
IRT no. 384	seven fragments all probably from the same large panel; Latin inscription		Forum Vetus, found behind the Temple of Rome and Augustus	180-192 CE	Dim.: all fragments 0.03 m thick; (a) 0.26 x 0.185 m; (b) 0.195 x 0.185 m; (c) 0.11 x 0.25 m; (d) 0.13 x 0.17 m; (e) 0.12 x 0.18 m; (f) 0.15 x O.265 m; (g) 0.19 x 0.175 m	marble		Commodus		
IRT no. 382	two fragments from a panel; Latin inscription		theater	175 CE	Dim.: 0.19 x 0.22 x 0.30 m	cream marble		Commodus		

IRT no. 383	part of a panel; Latin inscription		theater	180-192 CE	Dim.: 0.43 x 0.34 x 0.04 m	marble		Commodus		
IRT no. 385	two fragments from the upper part of a panel; Latin inscription		theater	180-192 CE	Dim.: (a) 0.26 x 0.15 x 0.03 m; (b) 0.20 x 0.11 x 0.03 m	marble		Commodus		
Bandinelli, et al. 1964, 89-90; Squarciapino 1966, 116-122	armored statue		Serapeum	138-180 CE		marble		Marcus Aurelius		

ANTONINE

GROUP HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	ARRANGEMENT	OTHER
Tripoli Archaeological Museum: Marcus Aurelius (Inv. 482); Lucius Verus (Inv. 481); Faustina the Elder (no details); Faustina the Younger (Inv. 484); Lucilla (Inv. 486); Annia Galeria Aurelia Faustina (Inv. 483)	Antonine dynastic group with over life-size, acrolithic portraits	theater, scaenae frons	theater	after 164 CE	Head of Marcus Aurelius: 0.65 m; head of Lucius Verus: 0.65 m; Head of Faustina the Younger: 0.53 m; Head of Lucilla: 0.38 m; Head of Annia Galeria Aurelia Faustina: 0.40 m	Luna marble		Antoninus Pius (assumed); Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, Faustina the Elder, Faustina the Younger, Lucilla, and Annia Galeria Aurelia Faustina (?)		presence of Antoninus Pius is assumed given the historical context and identities of the extant heads

SEVERAN

INDIVIDUAL HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	ARRANGEMENT	OTHER
IRT no. 387	base; Latin inscription		found in the cella of the Temple of Liber Pater	196-197 CE	Dim.: 0.72 x 1.50 x 0.62 m	marble	people of Leptis Magna	Septimius Severus		
IRT no. 389	base; Latin inscription		found in the cella of the Temple of Liber Pater	198-199 CE	Dim.: 0.70 x 1.46 x 0.66 m	grey marble	people of Leptis Magna	Septimius Severus		
IRT no. 412	rectangular base; Latin inscription		found in the passage between the Temple of Rome and Augustus and the Temple of Liber Pater	201-202 CE	Dim.: 0.46 x 0.88 x 0.39 m	marble	people of Leptis Magna	Septimius Severus		
IRT no. 425	four fragments of a panel, inscribed on the back of a fluted pilaster reversed and re-used; Latin inscription		Forum Vetus	198 CE	Dim.: 0.13 x 0.21 (top edge); 0.10 x 0.22 (no edges); 0.27 x 0.27 (right edge); 0.16 x 0.89 (left edge)	white marble	people of Leptis Magna procurator	Septimius Severus		
IRT no. 388	rectangular base; Latin inscription		Forum Vetus, at the SE corner	197-198 CE	Dim.: 0.46 x 0.90 x 0.50 m	grey-brown limestone	Marcus Ulpius Cerealis	Septimius Severus		
IRT no. 401	base; Latin inscription		found built into the east wall of the baptistery in the Forum Vetus	after 211 CE	Dim.: 1.15 x 1.18 x 1.46 m	brown limestone	prefect Quintus Marcius Dioga	divine Septimius Severus		
IRT no. 418	base; Latin inscription		found in the Temple of Liber Pater, Forum Vetus	197 CE	Dim.: 0.65 x 1.42 x 0.64 m	marble		Septimius Severus		
IRT no. 431	fragment of a panel; Latin inscription		found in the Temple of Liber Pater, Forum Vetus	193-235 CE	Dim.: 0.32 x 0.85 m	white marble		Severan emperor		
IRT no. 408	rectangular base; Latin inscription		found in the passage between the Temple of Rome and Augustus and the Temple of Liber Pater	195-217 CE	Dim.: 0.50 x 0.95 x 0.49 m	brown limestone	centurion Messius Atticus	Julia Domna		
IRT no. 291	base; Latin inscription		found beside the Severan exedra in the Forum Vetus	193-217 CE	Dim.: 0.74 x 1.80 x 0.70 m	brown limestone		Julia Domna		
IRT no. 437	rectangular base; Latin inscription		found in the northern temple of the Forum Vetus	198 CE	Dim.: 0.49 x 1.01 x 0.53 m	grey limestone		Geta		name erased after damnatio memoriae in 212 CE
IRT no. 438	rectangular base; badly weathered; Latin inscription		found in the northern temple of the Forum Vetus	198 CE	Dim.: 0.47 x 0.71 x 0.51 m	very coarse grey limestone		Geta		name erased after damnatio memoriae in 212 CE
IRT no. 439	rectangular base; Latin inscription		found in the northern temple of the Forum Vetus	198 CE	Dim.: 0.47 x 0.88 x 0.44 m	fine brown limestone		Geta		name erased after damnatio memoriae in 212 CE
IRT no. 440	rectangular base; Latin inscription		found in the northern temple of the Forum Vetus	198 CE	Dim.: 0.45 x 0.88 x 0.52 m	coarse grey limestone		Geta		name erased after damnatio memoriae in 212 CE
IRT no. 443	rectangular base; Latin inscription		found in the northern temple of the Forum Vetus	209 CE	Dim.: 0.51 x 1.08 x 0.52 m	pitted grey limestone		Geta		name erased after damnatio memoriae in 212 CE
IRT no. 444	rectangular base; Latin inscription		found in the northern temple of the Forum Vetus	209 CE	Dim.: 0.51 x 0.81 x 0.51 m	coarse grey limestone	Quintus Pompeius Cerealis	Geta		name erased after damnatio memoriae in 212 CE
IRT no. 446	three fragments of a panel; Latin inscription		Forum Vetus	209-235 CE	Dim.: (a) 0.12 x 0.18 x 0.037 m; (b) 0.18 x 0.18 x 0.027 m; (c) 0.155 x 0.15 x 0.03 m	white marble		Geta or Severus Alexander		name erased after damnatio memoriae in 212 CE
IRT no. 394	nine fragments of a panel; Latin inscription		all found in the market, except (a) was found in the portico behind the theater	201 or 202 CE	Dim.: all 0.025 thick; (a) 0.215 x 0.255; (b) 0.24 x 0.155; (c) 0.42 x 0.43 m; (d) 0.15 x 0.21 m; (e) 0.25 x 0.34m ; (f) 0.23 x 0.19 m; (g) 0.26 x 0.17 m; (h) 0.25 x 0.24 m; (i) 0.13 x 0.125 m; (j) not measurable; (k) 0.09 x 0.07 m; (l) 0.11 x 0.12 m	marble		Septimius Severus (?)		
IRT no. 409	part of a base supporting a female statue; Latin inscription		chalcidicum	late 2nd or early 3rd century	height of base: 0.05 m	limestone		Julia Domna (?)		
IRT no. 399	base; lower part broken; Latin inscription	theater	theater	198 CE	Dim.: 0.60 x 1.20 x 0.57 m	brown limestone		Septimius Severus		
IRT no. 447	fragment from the upper right-hand corner of a panel; Latin inscription	theater	theater	209-235 CE	Dim.: 0.34 x 0.47 x 0.085 m	marble		Geta or Severus Alexander		
IRT no. 448	narrow panel; Latin inscription	theater	theater	222-235 CE	approximate width: 0.65 m; no edges surviving	marble		Severus Alexander		
IRT no. 432	base; Latin inscription	theater	theater	201 CE	Dim.: 0.50 x 0.70 m	limestone		Fulvia Plautilla		name erased after damnatio memoriae of Fulvia's father in 205 CE
IRT no. 451	four fragments of a panel; Latin inscription	theater	theater	222-235 CE	Dim.: 0.22 x 0.32, no edges surviving	marble		Julia Mamaea		
IRT no. 396	part of a panel recomposed from fragments; Latin inscription		frigidarium of the Hadrianic baths	after 202 CE	Dim.: 3.80 x 0.95 m, left part missing	marble		Septimius Severus		inscription re-cut from a previous text in honor of Commodus
IRT no. 426	base; inscribed on the two end faces; Latin inscription		Forum Severianum	198 CE	Dim.: 0.51 x 0.34 x 1.42 m	marble		Caracalla		
IRT no. 449	fragment of a panel; Latin inscription		Forum Severianum	222-235 CE	Dim.: 0.35 x 0.40 x 0.06 m	marble		Julia Mamaea		

SEVERAN

GROUP HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	ARRANGEMENT	OTHER
IRT no. 430	seventeen fragments that probably formed a single panel; Latin inscription		Forum Vetus	193-211 CE	Dim.: all 0.02-0.023 m thick; largest fragment: 0.18 x 0.13	marble		Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, Caracalla, and Geta		name of Geta erased after damnatio memoriae in 212 CE; Another apparent erasure below the titles of Julia Domna may indicate the inclusion of C. Fulvius Plautianus or Fulvia Plautilla
IRT nos. 397, 390, 402, 419, 433	IRT no. 397:Latin inscription around the inner face of the exedra naming all Severan family members; Four rectangular bases (IRT nos. 390, 402, 419, 433) from the exedra with uniform Latin texts that honor each family member indlividually	exedra in the Forum Vetus	Forum Vetus	IRT no. 397: 198 CE; IRT nos. 390, 402, 419, 433: 199-200 CE	IRT no. 397: 4.80 m long; No. 390: 0.51 x 0.97 m; No. 402: 0.51 x 0.94 x 0.49 m; No. 419: 0.51 x 0.93 x 0.50 m; No. 433: 0.50 x 0.92 x 0.57 m	No. 397: soft yellow limestone; Nos. 390, 402, 419, 433: pitted, friable brown limestone		Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, Caracalla, and Geta		name of Geta erased after damnatio memoriae in 212 CE

IRT nos. 395 (Septimius Severus), 424 (Caracalla), 407 (Julia Domna)	three identical, rectangular bases; Latin inscriptions	in the south portico behind the theater (?)	found in the south portico behind the theater	203-204 CE	No. 395: 0.52 x 0.985 x 0.53 m; No. 424: 0.53 x 0.91 x 0.53 m; No. 407: 0.505 x 0.93 x 0.505 m	brown limestone	procurator Decimus Clodius Galba	Septimius, Julia Domna, and Caracalla		Geta was probably included in the group, but was removed after his damnatio memoriae in 212 CE
IRT no. 445	ten fragments of a panel; Latin inscription	theater	theater	after 210 CE	largest fragment: 0.35 x 0.32 x 0.035 m	marble		Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Geta		name of Geta erased after damnatio memoriae in 212 CE
IRT no. 398	fragments of two or more uniform panels; Latin inscription	portico behind the theater	theater	198 CE	Dim.: ? X 0.405 x 0.041 m	grey marble		Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, Caracalla, and Geta		name of Geta erased after damnatio memoriae in 212 CE
IRT nos. 392, 403, 422, 434	four uniform statue bases; Latin inscriptions	theater	found near the west end of the theater's orchestra	200-201 CE	No. 392: 0.74 x 1.50 x 0.71 m; No. 403: 0.60 x 1.50 x 0.48 m; No. 422: 0.75 x 1.30 x 0.50 m; No. 434: 0.72 x 1.40 x 0.45 m	marble	procurator Marcus Iunius Punicus	Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, Caracalla, and Geta		name of Geta erased after damnatio memoriae in 212 CE
IRT nos. 541, 416, 411, 417, 405, 406, 436, 391, 420, 421, 414, 413	twelve bases; Latin inscriptions	cavea of the theater	theater	195-203 CE	No. 541: 0.67 x 1.22 x 0.62 m; No. 416: 0.68 x 1.30 x 0.68m; No. 411: 0.50 x 0.90 x 0.60 m; No. 417: 0.52 x 0.83 x 0.50 m; No. 405: 0.72 x 1.735 x 0.68 m; No. 406: 0.67 x 1.54 x 0.66 m; No. 391: 0.58 x 1.00 x 0.595 m; No. 420: 0.65 x 1.56 x 0.62 m; No. 421: 0.65 x 1.58 x 0.66m; No. 414: 0.49 x 0.82 x 0.515 m; No. 413: 0.45 x 0.87 x 0.50 m	yellowish limestone (No. 541); brown limestone (Nos. 411, 416, 417, 405, 406, 420, 421, 414, 413); grey limestone (No. 391)	Curiae Dacica, Severa, Ulpia, Augusta, Plotina, Nervia, Matidia, Julia, Germanica, Marciana, Pia Severa, Traiana	Septimius Geta (541, 414, 436); Fulvia Pia (416); Paccia Marciana (411); Septimia Octavilla (417); Julia Domna (405, 406); Septimius Severus (391, 413); Caracalla (420, 421)		

THIRD CENTURY CE AND BEYOND

INDIVIDUAL HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	ARRANGEMENT	OTHER
IRT no. 454	base; Latin inscription		south portico in the Forum Severianum	238 CE	Dim.: 0.62 x 1.44 x 0.60 m	brown limestone	people of Leptis Magna	Gordian		
IRT no. 455	rectangular base; badly weathered; Latin inscription		north portico in the Forum Severianum	238-244 CE	Dim.: 0.56 x 1.16 x 0.62 m	coarse brown limestone		Gordian		
IRT no. 456	panel; Latin inscription		Forum Severianum	264-265 CE	Dim.: 0.99 x 0.37 m	cream marble	people of Leptis Magna	Gallienus		
IRT no. 457	long rectangular base in three pieces; Latin inscription		from the east end of the Forum Severianum	266-267 CE	Dim.: 0.51 x 0.72 x 1.75 m	coarse grey-brown limestone	people of Leptis Magna	Gallienus		later re-used for IRT no. 469
IRT no. 458	two fragments from the upper part of a panel; Latin inscription		Forum Severianum	260-268 CE	Dim.: (a) 0.13 x 0.11 x 0.03 m; (b) 0.13 x 0.08 x 0.03 m	cream marble		Gallienus		
IRT no. 459	rectangular base; Latin inscription		theater, built into one of the piers of the west dressing room	260-268 CE	Dim: 0.48 x 1.14 x 0.52 m	brown limestone	people of Leptis Magna	Gallienus		
IRT no. 460	rectangular base (since lost) ; Latin inscription		found 750 m from the circus on the right bank of the Wadi Lebdah (now lost)	253-255 CE	Dim.: 0.51 x 0.94 x 0.50 m	grey limestone		Valerian		
IRT no. 461	rectangular base; Latin inscription			282-283 CE	Dim: 0.45 x 0.97 x 0.45 m	coarse brown limestone	proconsul Lucius Iulius Paulinus	Carus		
IRT no. 464	rectangular base; Latin inscription		Forum Severianum	306-312 CE	Dim.: 0.50 x 0.95 x 0.53 m	brown limestone	praetorian prefect Valerius Alexander	Maxentius		
IRT no. 465	rectangular base; Latin inscription		Forum Severianum	306-312 CE	Dim.: 0.48 x 1.05 x 0.50 m	brown limestone	praeses Volusius Donatianus	Maxentius		
IRT no. 463	right-hand side of a base; Latin inscription		south portico in the Forum Severianum	305-306 CE	Dim.: 0.48 x 0.83 m	brown limestone		Severus II a Caesar, either		inscription re-worked from earlier inscription in honor of Gordian
IRT no. 466	base; much damaged; Latin inscription		Forum Severianum	293-307 CE	Dim: 0.60 x 1.35 x 0.60 m	brown limestone	people of Leptis Magna	Constantius I or Constantine I		
IRT no. 471	base; Latin inscription		north side of Forum Severianum	337-361 CE	Dim.: 0.90 x 1.10 x 0.55 m	marble	praeses Marcus Nicentius	Constantius II		signs of re-use
IRT no. 474	part of a base; badly mutilated; Latin inscription		central area of Forum Severianum	367-383 CE	Dim.: 0.6 x 0.86 x 0.71 m	marble	people of Leptis Magna	Gratian		signs of re-use
IRT no. 477	base; Latin inscription		Forum Severianum	379-395 CE	Dim.: 0.42 x 0.46 m	marble		Theodosius I		signs of re-use
IRT no. 467	base; Latin inscription		found re-used in the Trajanic building on the west side of the forum	306-337 CE	Dim.: 1.19 x 1.19 x 1.46 m	marble		Constantine the Great		
IRT no. 476	base (now lost); Latin inscription			378 CE	approximately 4 feet high	marble	praeses Flavius Benedictus	Valentinian II		

THIRD CENTURY CE AND BEYOND

GROUP HONOR	DESCRIPTION	ORIGINAL LOCATION	FIND SPOT	DATE	SIZE	MATERIAL	DEDICATOR(S)	HONORAND(S)	ARRANGEMENT	OTHER
IRT nos. 452-453	two uniform statue bases; Latin inscriptions		found in the vaults of the Temple of Rome and Augustus in the Forum Vetus	236 CE	No. 452: 0.60 x 1.58 x 0.58 m; No. 453: 0.65 x 1.58 x 0.58 m	fine-grained grey limestone	people of Leptis Magna	Maximinus Thrax and Maximus Constantius I		bases show signs of erasure after the damnatio memoriae in 238 CE
IRT no. 462	rectangular base; Latin inscription		found in the east portico of the Forum Severianum	305-311 CE	Dim.: 1.70 x 0.74 x 0.50 m	brown limestone	people of Leptis Magna	Chlorus and Galerius		
IRT no. 468	over fifty fragments of a panel; Latin inscription		market	317-323 CE	Dim.: 1.49 x 0.68 x 0.02 m	marble		two Augusti and three Caesars		
IRT no. 470	two sections of a fragmentary panel; Latin inscription		theater	340-350 CE	Dim.: 0.95 x 0.61 x 0.025 m			Constantius II and Constans I		
IRT no. 469	base ; Latin inscription		Forum Severianum	337-340 CE	Dim.: 1.51 x 0.46 m	grey-brown limestone		Constantine II and Constantius II		base re-used from a dedication to Gallienus (IRT no. 457) that was erased after damnatio memoriae in 340 CE
IRT nos. 472-473	two uniform bases; Latin inscriptions		north portico of the Forum Severianum	364-367 CE	No. 472: 1.00 x 1.55 x 1.00 m; No. 473: 0.75 x 1.40 x 0.62 m	marble	praetorian prefect Antonius Dracontius vicar of Africa, Virius Nichomachus Flavianus	Valentinian I and Valens		
IRT no. 475	base; Latin inscription		Forum Severianum	376 CE	Dim.: 0.57 x 0.63 m	marble		Valentinian and Gratian		re-used base
IRT nos. 478-479	two bases; Latin inscriptions		south portico of the Forum Severianum	383-408 CE	No. 478: 0.65 x 1.45 x 0.65 m; No. 479: 0.70 x 1.07 x 0.55 m	marble	people of Leptis Magna comes et dux of the province of	Arcadius and Honorius		base of Honorius shows signs of earlier inscriptions that were later erased
IRT no. 480	base with volutes at the upper corners; Latin inscription		Forum Severianum	408-423 CE	Dim.: 0.56 x 1.20 x 0.56 m	coarse brown limestone	Tripolitania, Flavius Ortygius	Honorius and Theodosius II		

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