

**GREAT GRAND MOTHERS.
THE FEMALE PORTRAIT SCULPTURE OF
APHRODISIAS: ORIGINS AND MEANING**

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Abstract

This thesis sets out to explore the influences on and meaning of early imperial female portrait sculpture and statues of Aphrodisias in Asia Minor. This group is unlike any other. There survives a rich amount of contextual evidence as well as some unique portraits with unusual features. They appeared at a time of social change for women and as the first images of imperial wives and mothers emerged from Rome. Local artists exploited this imagery in the city of Aphrodite, the ultimate mother of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. These portraits have only ever been studied as part of the corpus of statues that includes those of males; as a homogenous group with little new to say. In the home of the most significant mother of the time, I propose that the portraits disproportionately emphasise motherhood and reflect the new-found power enjoyed by some of the earliest empresses.

Emerging theories surrounding gender in the ancient world and an art-historical approach have highlighted inconsistencies and inadequacies in former arguments and methodologies dealing with material of this kind. In response, this thesis applies new theories, considering the role of gender with a close examination of iconography and social and political factors to develop an unbiased and objective approach, free from preconceptions and entirely based on the evidence.

The stripping away of previous assumptions has necessitated a reassessment of ancient portraits of both sexes which is tackled in Chapter One. After an assessment of the special circumstances of early imperial Aphrodisias in Chapter Two, the thesis then interprets material by grouping portraits apparently influenced by Rome in Chapter Three, and those which seemingly do not in Chapter Four. In each case, I show how each individual portrait expresses its own unique message of sometimes unexpected values.

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Last but not least, I thank my own 'Great, Grand Mother', who proves categorically that strong and powerful women are alive and well in the twenty first century. If I commissioned a portrait of her, it would not be unlike the great women immortalised in marble that are at the heart of this work.

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An essential definition

A portrait is a uniquely personal and expressive work of art. The interpretation of the human face and body in the mind of the artist is made manifest through the skill of his hands and rendering of the material, and in the process capturing something so much more than the mere outward appearance of the subject. To Michel de Montaigne writing in Renaissance France, only the words of the person could draw out his essential self, the painted portrait being no more than a fleeting ‘snapshot’ of the physical body captured in a moment and therefore severely limited in its ability to express something of the values and qualities of the subject¹. To Leonardo da Vinci on the other hand, the painted portrait expressed more than words ever could;² the humour and vital life of a person shows through in the face, expression, gestures and included paraphernalia. Throughout history, the patron, artist and the subject have wrestled with the notion of capturing the individual and unique self in art whilst also permitting a glimpse of the prevailing values, qualities and belief systems venerated by that generation. The attempt at creating an inanimate object to replace or represent a human being, alive or dead, that is capable of successfully or otherwise projecting to the viewer something of the essential person via the prism of social convention through appearance alone is worthy of our closest scrutiny. How did they do it; what motivated them, what cultural conditions and constraints affected the work they created, did they succeed?

¹ De Montaigne (1987) *lix*.

² Kemp and Walker (1989) 215.

Introduction

This thesis offers a new reading of Roman portrait sculpture of women from the city of Aphrodisias from the early to mid-imperial period from a predominantly art historical perspective. I will apply new theories surrounding issues of gender, influence and meaning to the portraits that will strip back previous and often restrictive assumptions that have tended to accumulate around material of this kind. At the present time, with notable recent exceptions, the majority of scholarship concerning portrait statues from the city has approached the study of this particular group as one element in a much wider panorama of civic representational images. But there are many reasons why a specialised study of the subject is pertinent and timely, not least because very recent works by academics such as Wood,³ Trimble,⁴ Dillon⁵, Daehner,⁶ de Grazia Vanderpool,⁷ among others, have begun to focus on representations of women in Greek and Roman portraiture, and introduced fresh new approaches to the subject.⁸ These new ideas have been applied to the development of female portraiture in general, or to isolated examples or monuments such as Plancia Magna and the gate at Perge, or to periods of time, specific body types, social groups such as imperial women (for example Susan Wood, 2001), or developed themes, such as repetition and replication, but not exclusively to female portrait groups in a single city such as Aphrodisias⁹.

This will be the first in-depth study to focus on the female honorific statues and reliefs within a single city, one rich in material evidence, context and quality. It will also be the first to apply new ideas that remove the evidence from the constraints of modern theories, hierarchy or assumptions of gender convention that has had the damning

³ Wood (2001).

⁴ Trimble (2011).

⁵ Dillon (2010).

⁶ Daehner(2007).

⁷ De Grazia Vanderpool (2005).

⁸ Reeves (2012) 618.

⁹ Sheila Dillon does focus on examples of this particular group (2010), but it is part of a much broader study on Greek female portrait statues. Lenaghan (2008) also has a brief chapter on the subject as part of a wider catalogue.

effect of writing off such evidence as ‘merely’ a single homogeneous group of limited interest.

Peter Stewart notes that traditional scholarship has most often been firmly biased towards the men of antiquity, with the effect that women have been ‘segregated’, whilst admitting to taking the same approach.¹⁰ As Wood notes, portraits of Roman women were so often ‘literally and metaphorically, [consigned] to the back of the book’.¹¹ Portrait art of mortal, non-imperial women has been a notable victim.¹² Part of the wider aim of this study is not only to place the portraits of women within their proper context in the ancient cityscape alongside their male counterparts, as images equally as powerful in meaning and significance, but also to recognise that portraits of elite local women were not always mere appendages for men, but objects capable of expressing meaning and power, albeit in sometimes different or adapted and surprising formats, in their own right. An equally important aspect of this study will be a re-examination of traditional influences, male and female, alongside unique and contemporary factors, such as the local and Roman aspect of Aphrodite as imperial mother-figure within the city of Aphrodisias, and portraits of some of the earliest imperial wives and mothers.

As portraits representing otherness from what were previously considered superior norms, that is to say images of elite males in the ancient world, they are also subject to new emerging ideas surrounding gender. Such new approaches and developing ideologies will be an integral part of the approach. In recent conferences held by the University of Leiden (Leiden, 2011) and the University of Netherlands (Rome, 2012) which I attended and to which I contributed, the exact definition and role of gender has come under scrutiny. It will become clear that sex, gender and its representation were far more fluid in the ancient world than has been previously taken for granted. It will be seen that men and women, imperial or otherwise, approached gender in their portraits from the point of view of what it could relay to the viewer as a mechanism of visual meaning, rather than merely showing a figure as male or female with implicit associations.

¹⁰ Stewart (2004) 18.

¹¹ Wood (2001) 3.

¹² Reeves (2012) 618.

It will be a recurring theme of this thesis that political, cultural and social shifts in attitudes were the predominant reasons for changes in stylistic approaches to portraiture of both men and women, and styles developed for one gender could be adapted for use by the other. Indeed, overlaps in gender representation, display space and style occurred more frequently than has sometimes been recognised. Therefore I will not be ‘segregating’ male portrait types in this study, but considering them as evidence for gender neutral/ gender overlap issues of stylistic change, and because portraits of women were sometimes required to interact and ‘respond’ to male types (and vice versa). This in itself is a new approach, as portraits of males will only be included where they can assist in the interpretation and understanding of female examples. Although this method may arguably be viewed as an alternative form of segregation, it is not intended to be; where integral to a study, such as the statues of Claudia Tatiana and her uncle from the Bouleuterion in Chapter Three, male portraits will be considered on equal footing. And, as we shall see, later female rulers and empresses adopted masculine aspects in their portraits in order to portray qualities of leadership and power that had no previous equal in the vocabulary of female portraiture because they were qualities not generally associated with concepts of the feminine ideal, and because the first women of power and influence had yet to establish a portrait vocabulary of their own. As I intend to show, the ‘feminisation’ of power in portrait form became a phenomenon in Aphrodisias as a result of interpreting imperial imagery. In the process, I will challenge aspects of gender theory that claims female portraits were created to look more masculine in order to reflect kudos. Modernist concepts such as this, although an attempt to shed new light on previous misconceptions, are themselves subjective and restrictive. In contrast, the same process of gender crossover could also be applied to male portraiture. Varner,¹³ Davies and others show how gender was a looser term than modern definitions permit.¹⁴ We shall see that even emperors could be portrayed with feminine aspects and divine attributes of female gods that were vehicles for qualities not available in male portrait types, such as the cornucopia or ears of wheat associated with Demeter and abundance. But this thesis will also make clear that power and *auctoritas* came to be portrayed by essentially feminine traits in female portraits. For example, as we

¹³ Varner (2008) 185.

¹⁴ Davies (2008) 210.

shall see, the portrait of Agrippina from a relief of the Sebasteion shows the mother of Nero as feminine and beautiful, yet aspects of representation such as her position in the scene and animated pose set her apart from her contrastingly meek and static son, and transferring the focus and power in the scene to her.¹⁵

There are other unique circumstances that make the statues of women from the city of Aphrodisias a special case worthy of close study. A disproportionately high percentage of female statues survive in Aphrodisias, and many are highly unusual and sophisticated. Unlike other cities in the region, there was a much higher proportion of female portrait statues that reflected Roman stylistic trends and iconography.¹⁶ In neighbouring cities, earlier Greek styles of representation continued to be the dominant portrait form of choice into the first and second centuries of the imperial period. Because of the significance of meaning in these types, there must be important cultural reasons and influences at work. We know for instance that portraiture in the region of Caria developed along lines not seen elsewhere in the Greek East, and important monuments such as the nearby Mausoleum at Halicarnassus displayed unusual and ground-breaking portrait statues that continued to influence later monuments in the local area.¹⁷

The choice of marble as a material, and the presence in Aphrodisias of a renowned sculptor's workshop that produced work of the highest quality provide near perfect conditions for such a study.¹⁸ It is also fortunate that many of the statues discovered at the site were found near their original location, sometimes with bases and inscriptions intact, or as part of wider schemes of statues, or of an architectural display. Such extra contextual background is an important part of the study of these statues. As Zanker notes, for the most satisfying and complete interpretation of any example of Roman art, we must enquire how and where it was set up, and ask who commissioned it and how it functioned.¹⁹ However, in the cases where the evidence is

¹⁵ Chapter One. 147.

¹⁶ Dillon (2010) 149.

¹⁷ Walker (1995) 20-21.

¹⁸ Smith (2006) 29, and Raja (2012) 16.

¹⁹ Review of *Mit Mythen Leben*; Hallett (2005) 157-8.

more sporadic, I will interrogate what remains as completely as possible. As this thesis aims to prove, the statues themselves, devoid of all other supportive evidence, have much to tell us. It has sometimes been the case with previous studies of statues and fragments that scholars have shied away from finds that do not neatly correspond with expected norms of chronological development or identification, or have categorised them by gender or type alone without reading clues of deeper meaning. As well as a more fundamental exploration of genre, date (where applicable) and social and historical context, with as much available information as can be applied, we are then in a position to say as much about a portrait statue as is possible, and consider the relationship it shared with its viewers.²⁰ Of course, the nature of the evidence means that we are often denied the complete circumstances pertaining to a statue, and although this frustrates a more holistic study, it does not inhibit an interpretation.

It is also fortunate that the scholarship and records of the female portrait finds is so thorough and detailed. The catalogue of portraits with superb images compiled by Smith *et al* has provided much of the material for this study.²¹ The continuing and in-depth scholarship of all aspects of production, new finds and interpretation by Rockwell, Yildirim, Hallett and many others in publications such as the JRA Aphrodisias Supplements has assured the material has remained at the forefront of cutting-edge scholarship of Greek and Roman early imperial period portraiture.

Methods, Aims and Approaches

There have been many different approaches to dealing with evidence of this kind. Smith notes that former studies have often attempted to name and date portraits, and place them within a neat chronological context of ‘gradual stylistic evolution’.²² This cannot apply to the portrait statues from Aphrodisias. The complex and sophisticated examples that survive often show little adherence to developing styles, although features such as new modes of Roman representation and changing hairstyles do help

²⁰ Zanker (1995) 8.

²¹ Smith (2006).

²² Smith (2006)8.

to locate some statues within a tighter chronological span. Smith does concede that changes to the technical working of marble statues such as drilling and surface finishing does change over time, but does not believe this to be of 'social significance'.²³ Although this may be the case with the drilling of pupils in eyes that occurs in the mid first century across the empire, and represents a technical advancement, other uses of the drill are not merely technical. On the contrary, I will suggest that new techniques were often developed as the demand for a need for different styles in representation developed, instigated by changes in social and cultural attitudes. For example, as we shall see in developments in Hellenistic portrait styles, the texture of the skin became far more realistic in response to the need to create styles and types with a sense of immediacy and real presence. In Aphrodisias, female hairstyles showing an affiliation with the imperial house required the drill in the creation of complex hairstyles.

Dillon argues that when dealing with similar material, the strongest emphasis must be placed on inscribed evidence, material used and display context. In her recent monograph, 'The Female Portrait Statue in the Greek World', arguments are based on such evidence alone, including statistics, even where a portrait statue itself no longer survives.²⁴ Where known, I will include such considerations in this study. However I seek primarily to interrogate the iconography and style of the statues themselves. They are artificial creations, made to look the way they do to serve the very specific purpose of relaying messages about a particular person in the public arena. As Trimble astutely observes, visual associations could be made by portraits that were not backed up in inscriptions.²⁵ Without interrogating the statues, these associations might be lost.

Wherever possible the statue will always be treated as a complete image, sometimes taking a taxonomic approach and concentrating on details such as the head, body or costume, but always returning to the whole sculpture. Greek portraits were without exception an integral head and body, and in the case of women always clothed. The later phenomenon of portraits of nude Roman women in mythological contexts does

²³ Smith (2006) 8.

²⁴ Dillon (2010).

²⁵ Trimble (2011) 195.

not appear to have existed in Aphrodisias, and was primarily used in funerary contexts,²⁶ and will therefore not be discussed in this study which concentrates on the public civic portrait monuments of local elite women.

Chapter One begins by reviewing the development of the ancient Greek portrait. As noted, this will include both men and women, because more frequently than not, although representations of women were required to express different sets of values to those of men, imagery developed for male counterparts often formed the inspiration for female portrait types and crossed the boundaries of gender. For example, many scholars see the portrait of Aischines as directly influencing the iconography of the Large Herculaneum Woman and some sophisticated arm-sling types. Also, gender specific types were developed that complemented each other in display contexts, such as the portrait statues of 'King Mausolos' and 'Queen Artemisia', designed to complement each other by their similar poses and drapery.

In later Roman portraits, veristic physiognomic styles that expressed specifically Roman values of *gravitas* and *austeritas* came to be used in the facial representation of both men and women. Kampen argues that this use of self-representational imagery was generally associated with male values, such as *auctoritas* and prowess, and when applied to portrait faces of women added an elevated level of kudos and 'manliness'.²⁷ I disagree with this view. This, she asserts, was because men were regarded as being superior to women in the social hierarchy. They also occupied different spheres in society; men filled roles of public offices, military posts, political positions, all of which could be honoured by public portrait statues. However, with no previous female portrait face that showed any significant trace of age or disfigurement capable of expressing authoritative traits in their portraits, Roman women in the late republic had no choice but to adopt portrait types used by males, and as such, made them their own. If viewed this way, it is logical to argue that both sexes adopted a new style of cultural portrait more relevant to their social values rather than women choosing to be portrayed as 'manly'. It is also worth considering that socially at least, in terms of wealth and status, elite Roman women had far more in common with men than 'ordinary' women in the ancient world. In some respects, this skews our perception of

²⁶ D'Ambra (2000) 101.

²⁷ Kampen (1996) 18.

portraits. We cannot assume that the public female portrait statue represented anything but the highest echelons of the social hierarchy and is a distortion of how women were actually viewed in cities such as Aphrodisias.

With the notable exceptions of priesthoods, women did not hold public office and instead existed in an ambivalent and homogenous world as wives, sisters, mothers with the social status of slaves and foreigners. Early Greek women fared worst of all, remaining in the *oikos* and only venturing out for funerals and religious ceremonies, although this view is challenged by the archaeological record.²⁸ Later Roman women of the upper classes, although remaining in the same legal group, began to accrue some status and influence. As a result of marriage laws, some widows owned property; other women could be benefactors and engage in public acts of munificence, or amass wealth and authority in their own right.²⁹ Susan Wood warns against assuming that women possessed power equal to their male relatives,³⁰ but makes the point that they did have some channels available to them, and had access to positions of authority, directly or otherwise. Priestesses as agents of cult were important public figures. In the early imperial period, the definitions of public office altered to include gender neutral roles of status and influence, and also the recognition of mothers as guarantors of the future welfare of the state. We will see that the earliest imperial women are the most obvious and apparent example of this social change, and women in the distant city of Aphrodisias reflected this new sense of female perception in their portraits. Also, some values such as *dignitas* and *gravitas* were more gender neutral and smoothly traversed traditional boundaries. In later Roman portraits, women such as Matidia adopted more masculine-oriented styles of iconography in order to reflect values of dynastic continuity and imperial power.

I will then move to the study of Greek portraiture in the East, and consider the development of styles of representation that were specific to the region of Caria in Asia Minor, such as the ‘individualisation’ of portraits from the Mausoleum of King Mausolos. As we shall see, they were instrumental in the localised direction that

²⁸ Nevett (2007) 213.

²⁹ Meyers (2012) 461.

³⁰ Wood (2001) 7-11.

portrait statuary from Aphrodisias followed.³¹ Women also came to be represented in portraits in Greek cities relatively early. As such, Greek artists and patrons began much earlier to develop female imagery than was the case in the west where female portraits were a much later phenomenon for reasons of dedication, as we shall see below.

A close examination of costume, body, body type and posture will follow. After this, the next dramatic development of portraiture occurs further west where Greece meets Rome, and I will discuss the physiognomic changes that resulted from a changing political and social need to express different sets of values that were more concerned with the individual than the demos or state, or a reflection of ethos.³² Later, women were largely absent from the public statue displays of Roman towns, but this changed dramatically during the early empire, when portraits of imperial female family members began to infiltrate this male domain. Once again, politics was a driving factor, and the need to express dynastic aspiration and continuity paves the way for the public female portrait statue. I will also take into consideration far reaching important social, political and legal changes in attitudes towards elite women that affect how they were regarded as worthy subjects of commemoration and esteem in their own right rather than ‘merely’ as family members or possessions capable of reflecting status onto men. I then move on to study how the elite female portrait develops under Rome, including changes to hair, face and costume that add layers of meaning to former body representations.

Chapter Two turns its attention more closely to Aphrodisias, building on the points made in Chapter One and beginning with a study of the special circumstances of the city under Rome, including a brief overview of its history, the popularity of marble, and a study of the sculptor’s workshop to consider what the evidence found there can reveal about attitudes and approaches to sculpture specific to Aphrodisias. It will be made clear that the artists of the city were exponents of creative and original design, with a clear understanding of Roman ideas of innovation and semantics. They were not afraid to make bold interpretations of imperial patterns emanating from Rome.

³¹ Walker (1995) 10.

³² Reeves (2012) 620, Smith (1981) 37.

There is tenable evidence to prove that sculptors travelled widely where work took them, including between Aphrodisias and Rome.³³

Next, attention moves to the Sebasteion, and in particular the panels that contain images of imperial women and their husbands and sons. These works, unlike anything else to be found across the empire, have much to tell about how the local populace received and interpreted the image and message of imperial women. Of special interest are reliefs containing Agrippina and Livia respectively, and they will be analysed to demonstrate how these powerful images inspired the portraiture of elite local women. We will also observe for the first time the use of Aphrodite as a complex mother-figure to the Julio-Claudian house and convenient link with the people of the city that inspires a uniquely strong and confident promotion of the mother-aspect in portraits of women in the city.

In Chapter Three, case studies of sophisticated and Roman-influenced portraits come under scrutiny. These include family related groups that reveal complex messages of feminine authority, association with other figures, both locally and in distant Rome, and interaction. Earlier examples do not show such individuality but help to chart the progress of emerging powerful images that reflect not only cultural affiliation but the aforementioned increase in stature and status.

Chapter Four turns its attention to examples that do not appear to follow expectations, but instead deals with portraits that seemingly lack confidence, sexual presence, power or Roman influence. However, another strain of female representation that emerges is that of the female intellectual or thinker. Supported by evidence from the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus and the emergence of the rise of the Greek intellectual in Rome, it will be seen that women could indeed occupy this role. In Aphrodisias, the examples used are fragmentary and lacking context, but they can be associated confidently with a gate complex and other male figures who also demonstrate degrees of philosopher/ thinker status. Their unusual iconography hints at an intended focus on an alternative view of the female, and the use of body type will confirm this.

³³ Chapter 2.5.

Chapter One: The Development of the Ancient Portrait

1.1: A Definition of Portraiture

Before moving on to examine the development of Greek and Roman portraiture and the female portraits of Aphrodisias in particular, it is pertinent to reflect on the exact meaning of portraiture as it applied to its ancient audience.

A theme that we shall frequently encounter is the problem of what constitutes the exact nature of a portrait, to question what it was designed to do, what need it fulfilled. To the modern viewer, a portrait must first and foremost reproduce the facial and bodily features of the person, sometimes in a flattering light, sometimes not, and highlight aspects of the sitter's personality and interests. As an example, images of Winston Churchill often showed him with a grumpy face and furrowed brow, accompanied by his trademark cigar; a memorable and striking but unflattering image that underline his gravitas and statesman-like qualities, and deliberately created to have this effect (*Figure 1.1*). The cigar acts as an attribute imbuing the image with an instant recognisability, feelings of class, reassurance and status associated with the establishment and contemporary elite males. Whether in a photograph or other media, the image of the sitter will inevitably pass through the lens of the creator of the image, and what is produced is a highly individualised yet constructed image capturing a moment and the agenda of the creator or the commissioning individual. The image might be intended for the personal viewing of intimate friends, or for public perusal, to celebrate or commemorate the individual or individuals, living or deceased. The sitter might be seen with the latest hairstyle and fashion, looking healthy and happy accompanied by attributes that may range from a Dior handbag or a football shirt to a crown of state, all included to give off meanings of affiliation, status or office. A politician might be snapped off-guard by the paparazzi looking haggard and dishevelled, an image that might then be used to underscore the known failure of an individual and portray him or her in a negative or subjective light. But whatever the nature or style of the image, it is consciously created to be viewed by the self and others in order to confirm or challenge the viewer's attitudes of the subject, good bad

or both, which are in turn created by cultural and social expectations which change over time. And of course portraits might be commissioned by an individual for self-promotion and social advancement.



Figure 1.1 Portrait of Winston Churchill by Arthur Pan (fl.1920-1960).

Image: Cranston Fine Arts.

In some of these ways, the ancient Greek portrait was not dissimilar to modern expectations. It fulfilled a personal and social need of the commissioning patron to honour or celebrate an individual in a public, religious or funerary capacity. Later under Rome portraiture was also used as decoration in the home of the discerning elite such as Cicero to display one's intellectual credentials, or as commemoration and a public form of self-advancement. It was an artificially created image designed to portray specific messages to the viewer, and create a dialogue that was easily understood based on mutual cultural, social and political expectations. It frequently said as much about the owner or commissioner as about the subject. Without this two-way process, it was meaningless. Choices of clothing, pose and gesture or the inclusion of items were all intended to convey independent and multiple meanings. But here we must depart with comparisons between modern and ancient Greek portraiture, and consider its origins and meanings as it applied to the ancient world.

As von den Hoff and Schultz make clear in their monograph on early Hellenistic portraits, modern scholars have struggled with defining the ancient portrait. In their introduction, they settle on three broadly enveloping factors of *intention* by the artist or patron to create a ‘recognizable image’ of the individual, that is, an image that ‘resembled, replaced, or duplicated the represented subject’, with the addition of ‘psychological depth’ and, when available, the accompaniment of epigraphic evidence.³⁴ This useful yet broad definition allows for the shifts in emphasis that we will observe in the following chapters, from problems of expressing a uniform civic identity to individualism and realism, the creation of moral, physical or intellectual idealism or otherness, to characterization and standardization, and identifying how ‘true likeness’ is really achieved, if at all. However, these terms must be unpicked and defined in more detail.

‘Psychological depth’ implies that a portrait has the capacity to express something of the personality of the sitter, or at least behaviours associated with a type. It was common for people to be grouped into ‘types’ in the ancient world in an attempt to establish what kind of people they were or identify what qualities they possessed. These might be the wit, intellect or deep thinking associated with philosophers and represented by furrows in the brow. ‘Idealism’, or the ideal face was a construct associated with classical Greek ideals of physical and moral perfection and membership in the *demos*, often expressionless, ageless, and of bland beauty. Such a face could be worn by gods, or men and women of youth or maturity. If, as with the discus-thrower, below, the accompanying inscription identified a named individual, then the face was worn much like a mask reflecting cultural and political ideals in the subject, but was nevertheless meant to represent the person named in portrait form. As was the case for women, the ideal face also marked the subject as part of a specific social group.

‘Individualism’ was the addition of small changes to the face (or body) such as the shape of lips, eyes or jowls that introduced elements of difference. These alterations implied in part that the subject was somehow extra to the perfect equals around him or her. Changes were not intended to create mere aesthetic variety or even to look like

³⁴ Von den Hoff and Schultz (2007) 3.

the subject, but in fact conveyed a need to express recognisable differences or aspects of personality above and beyond the norm. As will be seen below, the closed eyes of the poet Homer made his portrait instantly recognisable. The portrait of Mausolos used signs of age and plumpness to express dignity and authority in a kingly figure. Individualism might also be expressed by the addition of attributes such as changes to the hair or body, wearing an imperial hairstyle, or objects held, for example a scroll, flowers or a wand, that were further indications of affiliation, status or traits of the subject.

‘Realism’ means that a face was made to appear as an authentic human visage rather than an artistic construct. Elements of skin-texture, signs of age or non-perfect features all provided a face with a sense of realistic immediacy and humanity. This did not mean that a face looked like its real-life subject, but could pass as a real human being to a viewer. In the case of the portrait of Demosthenes, p.46 below, such realism in portrait form made him appear very approachable in direct contrast to the god-like and unattainable beauty of his enemy Alexander’s portraits. Realism could also be interpreted as ‘life-like’.

Von den Hoff and Schultz’s definition is also loose enough to include all portraits, even those that exhibit only one or more facets of the intention of the artist, such as the classical female ‘not portrait’ portrait style face identified by Dillon,³⁵ that represents rather than looks like the subject, but was categorically intended as a portrait. But we might expand the definition to include the added factor of the social and cultural expectations or aspirations of the society in which the portrait was created. For instance, portraits in mid fifth century Classical Athens were more generic in style than those of later Roman republican examples, and strongly motivated by a sense of shared civic identity and display of virtue rather than the later images that reflected concepts of political or personal difference yet were, as before, unequivocally meant as portraits, and were viewed as such by people accustomed to such expectations in portrait styles. With this additional aspect taken into consideration, the definition of the ancient portrait is also capable of being applied to later Greek and Roman period portraits equally, and is therefore the most satisfactory

³⁵ Dillon (2010) 104.

and encompassing definition of the ancient portrait yet offered. As such, it will be used throughout this thesis as the standard by which portraits will be identified.

As we shall see below, the conundrum of producing an actual likeness is indeed a thorny one as it applies to the study of ancient portraiture. In the Greek portraits of both men and women, Bergemann notes that the quality of a ‘realistic physiognomy’ (that is, a face that looked approachably human and like the subject), was not necessarily required.³⁶ Ideal faces could include distinguishing features that functioned as a means of creating a recognisable, distinct visage. Making a ‘realistic’ image, or using a generic facial type and layering over individualising features allowed one portrait to be differentiated from one another, without having to conjure a photographic-style likeness of the sitter, yet allowed the viewer to recognise whose portrait he was perusing and read the implied meaning without having to know what the subject actually looked like. Indeed, real appearance was inconsequential. For modern scholars this has the useful bonus of being able to identify some portraits that have been separated from their identifying inscriptions or bodies. Terms such as ‘individual’ and ‘identifiable’ are useful, but loaded with modern perceptions of likeness that we must slough off if we are to negotiate our way around ancient portraits. Such issues are largely redundant, because anyway we have no way of knowing if likeness and ‘visual correspondence’ was ever actually achieved.³⁷ As we shall see, in the case of portraits created of those already long deceased such as Homer, there can have been no way of knowing what he looked like.

Later, original portraits created under Rome were also significantly altered over time to exploit changes in perception of the subject. For example, facial features of the republican portrait of Caesar created in his lifetime (*Figure 1.14*) were altered in copies of portraits made after his death. In the original, the hairline is quite far back, the small piercing eyes and tight smile express great humour, wit and intellect. These facial features were not flattering to the subject, but they highlighted the qualities of a successful and ambitious elder statesman. In later versions of his portrait (the “Divus

³⁶ Bergemann (2007) 36.

³⁷ Schultz and von den Hoff (2007) 37.

Iulius" type),³⁸ the jaw-line becomes squarer, the mouth harder and set in a grimace. The brows are much more furrowed and the overall expression seems to lose its humour and liveliness in favour of a much more stern and determined gaze. Even the trademark receding hairline creeps forward. These physiognomic changes were made to reflect Caesar's new posthumous role as the deified father of the first emperor,³⁹ and his metamorphosis into the ideal Roman General and ancestor and descendant of Venus. Clearly the Roman viewer had no problem with such a manipulation of features, and emphasises the relative unimportance of actual likeness in favour of meaning. Facial similarity is sacrificed for the 'idealized depiction of character or status-enhancing associations'.⁴⁰

1.2: The Ancient Portrait Statue: Function and Purpose

A vital element of this study is the phenomenon of the portrait statue, and it is important to consider how and why it was created, and how it functioned differently from other portrait forms. The portrait statue was formed from three components, the base, the inscription and the figure itself.⁴¹ Wall paintings, vase paintings and carved reliefs that contained figures were designed to portray specific messages and meanings, but the scenes tend to be focused in on themselves; the figures interact with each other, and the viewer is forced only to look into the scene. Only very rarely did a figure gaze out at the viewer, and this was a device added to direct the gaze, shock the viewer or invite empathy. The portrait statue, in contrast, was a three dimensional figure thrust into the same dimensional space, becoming more tangible and immediate, confronting him or her and demanding a response.⁴² The means of display aided the viewer in engagement. The base might be so low that one could inspect the figure and read the inscription up close.⁴³ In this way, the viewer might be invited to feel as though they were engaging in a two-way process of communication on an almost equal level as of two human beings corresponding and interacting. A high

³⁸ Pollini (2005) 98, figure 8.20-21. Portrait of Caesar, Sala di Busti, Vatican Museum (formerly Museo Chiaramonti 107).

³⁹ Pollini (2005) 98.

⁴⁰ Kampen (1996) 18.

⁴¹ Dillon (2010) 26.

⁴² Boardman (1996) 264.

⁴³ Dillon (2010) 35.

pedestal elevated the figure above the level of the ordinary viewer, literally and figuratively, creating a more impressive monument. As Dillon points out, the vast array of portrait statues that occupied the ancient public spaces of Greek and later Roman cities created an ‘other population’, albeit an idealised and artificial one of the wealthy and the powerful.⁴⁴

Portrait statues were set up for different reasons. The earliest were primarily public commissions set up by the demos. As Smith notes, aesthetic quality was important, but they first and foremost functioned as objects with ‘religious, political or social’ significance.⁴⁵ Votive statues were dedicated in sanctuaries and temples to deities in the anticipation of a favour, or in grateful fulfilment of a prayer or vow, and the most common took the form of the dedicator themselves or the deity to which they were offered.⁴⁶ Honorific statues were commissioned by the state or individuals to honour those who had committed worthy acts or performed a benefaction on behalf of the state. Athletes and military victors or wealthy individuals who engaged in acts of euergetism, benefactions to the community, were rewarded with portrait statues placed in the agora and other public spaces. Not only were they the highest honour that a city might bestow on an individual and to which one might aspire, they also stood as paradigms of model behaviour to edify the population.⁴⁷ Portrait statues of women served a similar purpose although, as we see below, they were subject to different modes of conduct that affected how they were represented in portraits. They stood as examples of moral virtue and good behaviour, though contemporary attitudes towards their gender dictated that they were required to project more abstract values of beauty and domesticity. In contrast to statues of men, women were more likely to be represented in portraits in order to reflect honour back on to their families and male relations,⁴⁸ especially during the Classical and Hellenistic periods, although there were exceptional instances that will be discussed below.

Portraits were also erected to commemorate the dead and act as markers of burial. Relief stelai dating from fourth-century Athens were among the earliest images to

⁴⁴ Stewart (2003) 8.

⁴⁵ Smith (1991) 9.

⁴⁶ Smith (1991) 10.

⁴⁷ Osborne (1998) 222.

⁴⁸ Dillon (2010) 41.

show personal and intimate familial relationships, and portraits of women present ‘in their own right’,⁴⁹ without reference to roles of wife or mother. Under Rome, monumental tombs were the reserve of the aristocracy until the republican period heralded a major change that saw freedmen and lower class citizens constructing elaborate funerary structures in imitation of elite versions,⁵⁰ and also designing original structures complete with relief and statue portraits. Motivated in part by social competition and denial of monuments within the city, portraits erected in this context were as much to do with personal promotion and status as religious observance or rites of the dead.

In contrast to the Greek states and the East, until the imperial period women featured very rarely in the statue panorama of Roman cities.⁵¹ As shall be seen in more detail in Chapter Two, this situation changed radically as portrait statues of imperial woman become a vehicle for imperial propaganda,⁵² dynastic politics and an affirmation of exemplary behaviour and conduct, acting as a visible ‘Handbook of behaviour’ for women of the empire. In the lower social orders, attitudes towards women underwent changes at this time and legislation allowed them a greater degree of autonomy and wealth than had previously been the case, and effected how they came to be regarded and thus represented in portrait sculpture. Although the power of elite and wealthy women was often gained through association with their husbands and male relatives, they began to accumulate power and influence in their own right.⁵³ This point has not always been given sufficient attention. Power in the hands of women may have taken an alternative form to that enjoyed by men in what was ultimately a patriarchal society,⁵⁴ in that they were restricted to what they could do. But in many ways, they found their own channels to power; whether through influencing husbands, sons or brothers, by acting as patrons, benefactors, property owners or as mothers, or in deliberate defiance of men, or through behaviour. They could also be priestesses, in positions that commanded respect and status. Imperial women in particular enjoyed some prominence as figures with power in their own right, as was the case with

⁴⁹ Smith (1991) 188.

⁵⁰ Carroll (2006) 15-17.

⁵¹ Flory (1993) 298.

⁵² Wood (2001) 7. As Wood notes, not propaganda in any ‘sinister’ sense, but as the spreading of political messages and ideology.

⁵³ Kleiner (1996) 28, and Trimble (2011) 2.

⁵⁴ Wood (2001) 7.

Agrippina the Younger. Plotina, the wife of Trajan, may not have exercised the same degree of power as her predecessor, but through displaying exemplary behaviour and *concordia* in the imperial house, she enjoyed significant influence and respect, as did her relations, Marciana and Matidia.⁵⁵ In a more indirect way, their portraits were just as important as cult objects across the empire, which themselves provoked reactions of allegiance and votive offerings and worship. These were real women or recently deceased, and we shall observe how their imagery was viewed on a daily basis by other non-imperial women and affected how their own portraits looked. This, too, was a form of power.

Roman portrait statues functioned in very similar ways to those of earlier Greek examples, but they also came to reflect more homogenous ideals of power and ambition that were the product of political and cultural confidence gained through the security and perceived superiority of a vast empire. Portraits were also used to express ancestral connections in a domestic and funerary capacity, and in public, politically and socially ambitious individuals honoured themselves and each other with public portrait monuments that were more concerned with the expression of wealth and social advancement than any moral edification.⁵⁶ They also became ornaments in the villas of wealthy connoisseurs. Roman portrait statues were also regarded by the ancient viewer as more than the mere physical representation of an individual. Statues and images were often employed in ceremonial contexts such as funerals or festivals, and would have been considered as '[embodiments] of the portrayed'.⁵⁷ This is illustrated by the use of the *damnatio memoriae*, when the image of a disgraced individual was eradicated from the public arena by the destruction of his or her image through the deliberate defacement of their portrait statues.

The emperors permitted portrait statues of themselves to be used as symbols of imperial authority and power. Their images became standardised through the use of repeated devices such as the Augustan fringe, and distributed across all the regions of the empire. From Augustus onwards, the emperors allowed communities in the east and west to create their own versions of his image. This free hand gave loyal cities the

⁵⁵ Wood (2001) 21.

⁵⁶ Walker (1995) 81.

⁵⁷ Elsner (2005) 264.

opportunity to develop imperial imagery that suited local contexts, and in doing so, made the emperor accessible and relevant to all. This fluid interpretation included the translation of female imperial figures. As we shall see in the reliefs of the Sebasteion, versions of empresses exist that are specific to Aphrodisias and reflect their own unique understanding of these women. Dedicated by local communities as acts of allegiance and loyalty, or as votive images of the imperial cult, statues of the emperor and his family inhabited public spaces alongside those of the local elite to create a panorama of political hierarchy. The image of the emperor came to symbolise his virtual physical presence. It became the focus of religious ceremony and offerings, and the imperial statue might even be used for ‘sanctuary or asylum’.⁵⁸

In Rome itself, however, the earliest emperors were required to be more conservative with their image as ‘first-citizen’, choosing to appear in civic costume to avoid allusions of monarchy and emphasize instead the political aspects of office. Further afield, he might be portrayed as more heroic and god-like in regions that had no qualms about representing their rulers as more than mortal. This was certainly the case in Aphrodisias, where the Julio-Claudian emperors appear in the reliefs of the Sebasteion heroically nude and dynamically posturing, surrounded by the attributes of victory, conquest and divine authority. In Rome itself, the emperor was more directly in control of his portrait image,⁵⁹ but it clearly suited him to turn a blind eye to the use of royal imagery across his empire, showing a clear and astute understanding of the importance of suiting his image to meet the needs and expectations of particular communities. Imperial wives and mothers, as we shall see, came to bolster the imperial image, adding layers of meaning concerned with dynastic continuity and stability and, in the Greek East, power and quasi-divinity. In Aphrodisias, we will observe that this phenomenon was a particularly strong aspect of the imperial female. Images of Livia and Agrippina the Younger express power and authority not only in their roles as wife and mother, but as individual holders of power on their own merit. They also take on divine associations. This is achieved through the inclusion of attributes, the position occupied within a scene containing more than one figure, the

⁵⁸ Elsner (2005) 264.

⁵⁹ *Res gestae*: 24 (tr) Brunt and Moore (1967) 31.

interaction with other characters and the pose of the women, and will be examined in greater detail in Chapter Two.

In cities such as Aphrodisias, the portrait statue of elites, including women, assimilated the functions of public portrait statuary as defined by the Greek and Roman precursors to create images that reflected both self-advancement and an allegiance to local culture, using styles of representation that were often gender neutral. Also, as will be discussed below, Aphrodisias was subject to very special conditions and influences, both local and absorbed from Rome that inspired unique responses in its own portrait panorama.

1.3: Female Portraiture

In some respects, the case of female portraits is slightly different to males because their portrait faces and hairstyles showed far less changes than those of men in Classical and Hellenistic examples, though this changed under Rome.⁶⁰ In both later Hellenistic and Roman periods, earlier and contemporary portrait types continued to be used simultaneously. This was in part due to changes in the political and cultural environment of Rome and the role of women, but with the important distinction that local characteristics and choice continued to play a part.⁶¹ The classical female portrait also had to behave differently to those of males. They needed to reflect the different roles in society that women occupied, as well as retain the modesty and respectability of women in ways that were not relevant to men who lived such contrastingly public lives and held public office. They also had to portray abstract and ideal values of female beauty that did not apply to their fathers, husbands and sons. Furthermore, female portraits of the period were more often than not required to shower dignity and honour onto their male family members, whereas the portraits of men stood in their own right without necessarily requiring any reference to relationships or family. This was particularly the case in the Greek world, where the portraits of females first appeared as dedications noting their family relationships and exemplary qualities.

⁶⁰ Dillon (2010) 104.

⁶¹ Trimble (2011) 2.

Clearly the meaning of a portrait was not contained in facial similarity to the sitter, but in the meaning that it conveyed, and how it corresponded with the body, and such significant issues will underscore the study that follows. Finally, as mentioned above, Dillon notes that the study of ancient portraiture would be severely lacking if it overlooked inscriptions and bases that accompanied the statues,⁶² and this thesis wholly reflects the view that they are vital pieces of evidence when they can be applied and where they survive, but it must be emphasised that my approach will concentrate primarily on the physical objects of the portrait statues themselves in an attempt to analyse the meanings that they conveyed. Statues that do not have inscription evidence or display context will be just as central to this work as those that do.

1.4: The Development of Classical Greek Portraiture: Body and Face

The first known statues set up to named individuals in the Greek world date from the seventh century B.C. and were placed in religious sanctuaries and temples.⁶³ They were personal votive statues, some of which have been identified as representing an image of the donor,⁶⁴ but these tended to be stiff and idealised figures more concerned with the representation of moral virtues rather than representing the outward appearance of an individual. As noted above, any individual identity tended to be inscribed on the base of a statue,⁶⁵ which for Dillon, at this early stage, was enough to constitute a portrait.⁶⁶

However, by the beginning of the sixth century BC, early hard body forms of statues gave way to much more fluid, soft and natural figures, as can be seen in the Kritios boy (*Figure 1.2*), which mimics the pose of earlier *kouros* types, but with the softer treatment of flesh, musculature and shift in the hips that creates a distinctively new and more naturalistic body shape and realistic sense of physical movement. Yet at the same time, the body remains stiff and upright. Unearthed on the Acropolis in Athens,

⁶² Dillon (2010) 166.

⁶³ Walker (1995) 31.

⁶⁴ Smith (1991) 10.

⁶⁵ Walker (1995) 28.

⁶⁶ Dillon (2010) 11.

the head and face is idealised, with the typically bland and serene expression. But it also shows emerging signs of realism in the pouting lips.⁶⁷ The development of the Kritios boy coincided with a shift in the political landscape at Athens. The Athenians had come through a period of major warfare and were undergoing political upheaval and the emergence of democracy. Put rather simplistically, this figure is the result of artistic experimentation and seeking of new forms of self-representation that reflected their new changing political sense of self. It also heralds the beginning of a more public and large scale portrait statue than the earlier, smaller images dedicated by individuals.



Figure 1.2 The Kritios boy (Cat no.1).

⁶⁷ Jenkins and Turner (2009) 12.

Portrait statues of the later fifth century were similarly idealised. However, the reason for the commission and erection of such statues changed. Even though the votive statue persisted, the celebration of the individual rather than the honouring of a deity became the reason for the commissioning and dedication of such statues. Honorific portrait statues, as we saw above, were set up to honour individuals who had performed some notable deed, or to winners of athletic competitions, as was the case with the Diskobolus, below.

This famous statue (*Figure 1.3*) is generally accepted as being the portrait of a real athlete caught in the coiled tension just before throwing his discus, and signed by the artist Myron. It is of a perfectly serene and idealised head on the top of an ‘artificially assembled’ body of perfect and ideal proportions, more intent on the emphasis of masculine beauty and virtue than creating a true likeness of the athlete himself.⁶⁸ The figure is a dramatic departure from the Kritios boy in the pose, which abandons completely the stiff uprightness of the earlier kouros type. Although an artificially constructed image, it demonstrates a more natural and fluid handling of the body. The public display context of the sculpture ensured that the Diskobolus stood as an edifying paradigm of civic and moral virtue, both a celebration of an individual and an affirmation of social values to the viewer.

⁶⁸ Jenkins and Turner (2009) 14.



Figure 1.3 The Diskobolus. Roman copy (Cat no.2).

The Doryphorus (*Figure 1.4*), created around the same time as the Diskobolus, must be addressed at this point. Indeed, Jenkins and Turner believe that its creation may have been inspired by the Diskobolus.⁶⁹ It was created not as a portrait but as the construction of ideal male physical beauty and moral virtue or *Kalos kagathos*,⁷⁰ with a military emphasis. But it came to be used later as an ideal body type in portraits because of the meaning deeply imbued in the proportions and pose.⁷¹ The contraposta pose creates harmony and contrast in the weight bearing, weight free, muscles tensed, muscles relaxed stance of the body.⁷² The figure's gaze does not engage with the viewer, but looks away as though inviting his audience to scrutinize the body beautiful. The head and face are ideally rendered, with the recognisable suppression of features and bland expression. The hair is finished in a systemised coiffure of curled locks. The figure has the air of self-confidence and assurance of a youthful fearless warrior captured in a moment of poised calmness.

⁶⁹ Jenkins and Turner (2009) 14.

⁷⁰ Walker (1995) 39.

⁷¹ Zanker (1990) 98.

⁷² Jenkins and Turner (2009) 14.

In many ways, the development of the Doryphorus epitomized attitudes concerning portraiture of the period. The Athenians were not so much concerned with the creation of a physical likeness as with images that reflected desirable moral and physical perfection as they regarded it.⁷³ As with the Diskobolus, identity and other individualising elements could be included in the inscription at the base of the statue.



Figure 1.4 The Doryphorus. Roman copy. 212cm 450-40 BC.

Museo Archaeologico, Naples. Image: Museum.

⁷³ Walker (1995) 39, and Dillon (2010) 42 and 47.

Just as important as the changes that were occurring in representations of the body were the reasons for dedication. Created in approximately 500 BC and dedicated in 475 BC in Athens, and known through Roman copies and vase paintings, the so-called Tyrannicides group were the first known 'secular commemorative [portrait] sculpture'.⁷⁴ As such, this important group indicates a major change in the reason that portrait statues were erected. No longer were they solely commissioned and dedicated to a deity, whether the statues themselves were portrait images or representations of the gods themselves or not, but now 'ordinary' men and women might be honoured for their own accomplishments and for their own sake rather than simply acting in honour of the gods. This early act in the rise of the importance of the individual and the emergence of interest in the physical qualities of the body as a vehicle of meaning in statue form reflected a deepening sense of the exploration of the self, political activism and confidence in Athens. Also of interest in this group is the way in which each of the two figures is shaped. The elder of the two men, Aristogeiton, is bearded and with well-developed musculature of the torso and legs. The younger male, Harmodios, is beardless with softer bodily features. They have each been sculpted as individuals rather than specimens of homogeneous perfection.

It is pertinent to note at this point that early portraits were mainly dedicated by men. Women might be included in the dedication as part of a family group, but lone female dedicants were very rare.⁷⁵ However, there is a small but important exception to this. Ajootian notes that by the mid fifth century, priestesses of Demeter and Kore had amassed enough wealth and status to enable them to commission and dedicate their own monuments.⁷⁶ She asserts that this displayed their piety as well as prestige, power, family connections and elevated status. We are also provided with the anecdotal evidence of Phryne, lover of Praxiteles, who commissioned many works in her own right, including a portrait statue in Delphi that stood between two Spartan kings. She even offered to pay for the rebuilding of the walls of Thebes following their destruction by Alexander's forces.⁷⁷ Although these examples account for a tiny fraction of the overall dedication and commission of portraits and other works at this

⁷⁴ Walker (1995) 35.

⁷⁵ Ajootian (2007) 20.

⁷⁶ Ajootian (2007) 26.

⁷⁷ Ajootian (2007) 14.

time, they nevertheless highlight that the social phenomenon of female patrons who commissioned portraits did exist, and identifies that we can see the hand of women in shaping portraiture even at this early time in the Greek world.

1.5: Hellenistic portrait types and the expression of non-idealism

Portraits were eventually called upon to do more than reflect desirable social and civic qualities. Moral virtue and physical perfection aside, a portrait might be required to emphasise character, intellectualism, or political or cultural roles and affiliation. As Zanker notes, by the third century BC, Hellenistic portrait statues began to appear that were specifically intended to represent intellectuals, poets and philosophers.⁷⁸ The example of Homer's portrait is a good illustration of how the Athenians dealt with the issue of realising character and the status of the intellectual. Walker notes that the portrait of Homer was created around 460 BC (*Figure 1.5*), many centuries after his death.⁷⁹ This did not pose a problem for the Greek artists who created the image. It was not their intention to reproduce his physical likeness; it was more important to capture the character of the man as an intellectual and a poet. Indeed, in her book on Greek portraits that deals predominantly with male subjects, Dillon notes that such a portrait was even likely to have been unaccompanied by an inscription of identification; being instead instantly recognisable because of distinctive features.⁸⁰ Homer is shown with his eyes closed, representing his blindness. At the front of the head is a knot in the hair that was often worn by old men. He has the flowing hair and full beard that he himself had described as a characteristic of the Greeks.⁸¹ The face shows signs of advanced age in the sagging cheeks and gently lined brow, yet overall the face is beautiful if not ideal. The lips are parted as though he is thinking allowed or reciting. His expression is designed to show that he is a deep thinker but with an important subtle twist. Philosophers were portrayed with deeply furrowed, contorted expressions, designed to convey the agonies of the tortured thinker,⁸² whereas the poet

⁷⁸ Zanker (1995) 92.

⁷⁹ Walker (1995) 34.

⁸⁰ Dillon (2006) 4.

⁸¹ Walker (1995) 88.

⁸² Zanker (1995) 143.

is shown 'dependent on inspiration rather than grim perseverance'.⁸³ This subtly nuanced difference demonstrates how sophisticated the portraits of intellectuals were intended to be. As von den Hoff points out, 'faithful likeness'⁸⁴ of the face and head was subordinated to the inclusion of recognisable motifs that added meaning, such as the blind eyes and flowing beard or furrowed expression. The creator of this image was more intent on constructing a portrait that could effectively reproduce the character and spiritual nature of the poet. Yet it was also important to create an image that looked like a real person; to add 'authenticity and credibility',⁸⁵ that the viewer could accept and engage with. A portrait that evoked a real human face through the skill of surface skin-texturing and expert handling of facial features created a far more plausible and forceful image regardless of physiognomic correspondence. In these ways, Greek artists grappled with the notion of representing ideals that differed from uniform moral and physical perfection or civic similitude, which instead simultaneously expressed internal, intellectual qualities in a recognisable outward way that assumed a high degree of educated understanding on the part of the viewer.⁸⁶

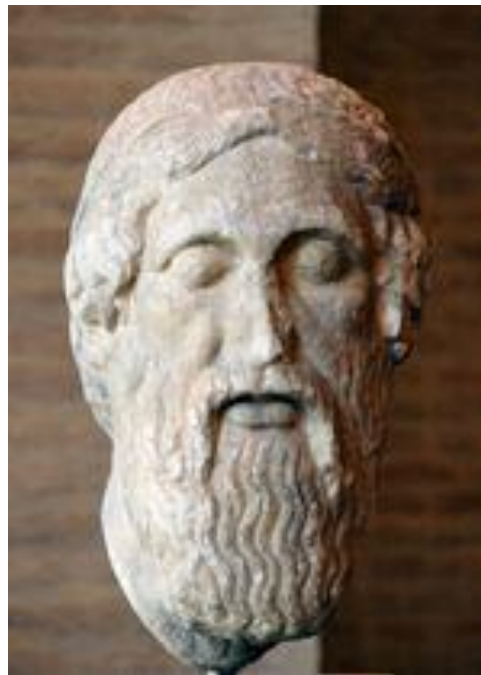


Figure 1.5 Homer 460's BC (Cat no.3).

⁸³ Zanker (1995) 143.

⁸⁴ Von den Hoff (2007) 52.

⁸⁵ Von den Hoff (2007) 52.

⁸⁶ Zanker (1995) 156.

Yet we are faced with the problem of types. How can we truly call an image a portrait if it employs motifs that do not provide a physical likeness? As already noted above, Hertel and others warn against searching for likenesses because they are unprovable, which seems a wholly reasonable argument,⁸⁷ and advise that we should instead concentrate on issues of individuality and type. Many portraits of this period adopted formulaic hair or beards that spoke of affiliation with a particular group or role, but also included individualising elements, such as Homer's closed eyes, to portray an image that allowed the viewer to both recognise and identify the subject.⁸⁸ In this way, the use of created types acted as a signal to the viewer of what *type* of person they were looking at, for example poet, orator or philosopher, whilst the individual elements set the subject apart and made him recognisable as a specific person. Perhaps we should not be surprised on this apparent reliance on types. De Grazia Vanderpool notes that the 'Greek mind always saw the individual as typed',⁸⁹ and rather than observing a cultural revolution of self-perception and awareness, we are in fact witnessing an artistic evolution in the repertoire or 'expansion of the vocabulary' of types.⁹⁰ The same might be said of women who were, as we have seen, already viewed as being a social group of their own. Anyway, the vast majority of viewers would not even know if the portrait did look like its subject. The seemingly realistic physiognomy of contemporary portraits was an artificially created illusion. They had the effect of appearing very realistic, but were not concerned with reproducing true physical likeness.

The youthful and idealised body of the Classical period was abandoned for the representation of the intellectual as it was clearly inappropriate for portrait types that Zanker notes stood 'intentionally apart',⁹¹ indicating that they carried very different meanings. Often these men were of advanced age and a lithe and athletic physique was unsuitable for use, although this is by no means the only reason that the ideal body was not used. As we shall see, the aged and imperfect body was capable of

⁸⁷ Bergemann (2007) 34.

⁸⁸ Bergemann (2007) 37.

⁸⁹ De Grazia Vanderpool (2005) 20.

⁹⁰ De Grazia Vanderpool (2005) 20.

⁹¹ Zanker (1995) 156.

carrying its own meaning. Unfortunately, few ancient heads remain attached to their bodies, which is problematic. But due to the reproduction of types and the survival of copies, particularly through Roman sources, we can make scholarly assumptions of the bodies on which the venerable heads of intellectuals were displayed.

The body of the intellectual had to express the act of thinking or philosophising, and resourceful Greek artists solved this problem by developing noble and animated aged bodies. Philosophers were often portrayed seated and deep in thought, their bodies twisted and hunched. Bergemann notes that this was the first time that mortal men were portrayed seated, perhaps referring to their old age and residence in the *oikos*,⁹² yet conjured images of cosy domesticity do not seem to sit well with these challenging, powerful portraits. The portrait of the philosopher Chrysippus is far removed from such convivial imagery (*Figure 1.6*). He sits on a hard chair, hunched yet animated. He holds out his hand as though he is making an assertive statement in a debate with the viewer. The furrowed brow and open mouth, as if speaking, reflect the assertive, almost combative and deeply serious pose. The seated position would seem to represent their other-worldliness and engagement with subjects more elevated than the everyday world. As can be seen on the Parthenon frieze, deities were often shown seated. The philosophers' hands might be clenched or held beneath the chin, all gestures indicating that the subject is captured in intense and agonised debate and thought. The sagging chests and arms were the antithesis of the classical forms that set them apart from the notion of the ideal body and indicated very different meanings.⁹³ The older body gave the impression of authority and gravitas in contrast to youthful vigour, yet simultaneously created the impression of challenge, otherness or even danger and a rejection of acceptable ideal civic virtue. It also signified that the intellectual was more concerned with internal matters than attaining physical perfection. This is not to say that the bodies were weak. They could be well developed and muscular, implying inward strength.

Even the seat in which he sat conveyed a layer of meaning. For example, Zanker points out that the poet was usually seated in a comfortable chair with a cushion.⁹⁴

⁹² Bergemann (2007) 42.

⁹³ Zanker (1995) 147.

⁹⁴ Zanker (1995) 143.

This again expressed the idea that the poet reposed in luxury composing his great works. It might also indicate the chairs reserved for notable men in the theatre. Perhaps then we might imagine that the body of Homer would have been seated resplendent in this way, his aged yet powerful body attesting to the noble and intellectual gravitas of the poet.

We must also again infer that the viewer had the sophistication to understand the complexity of the messages and meaning intended by the subtleties of pose and gesture. Indeed, were this not the case, these forceful statues would in effect have stood mute, unable to engage with their audience, and it seems highly unlikely that such thoughtfully created images would have been made if the contemporary viewer did not understand the complexity of the image. They attest to the argument that every facet and feature of a portrait statue carried deep meaning.



Figure 1.6 The philosopher Chrysippus 280-210 BC (Cat no.4).

As we have seen, creating an imagined face such as Homer's was not a great challenge if recognisable features such as the unseeing eyes could be included, but contemporary philosophers and intellectuals required some individualising feature in their own portraits if they were to be distinguished from one another, and not simply blend into a standardised type. This was achieved by including elements of individuality, but not necessarily likeness, within standardised and recognisable types, and a revolutionary new realism.

1.6: The Political expediency of types

The evolution of Greek portraiture did not follow a neat chronological order. Classical types continued to be popular in the Greek world long after other styles had developed, including and especially amongst those of females. Political agenda became a driving factor in the choice of portrait type, and the impetus for new styles with the capacity to reflect ideological differences. As Smith notes, the Greeks did not enjoy the political unity of the later Romans, and the need to express allegiance or political interests was an important aspect of Greek portraiture.⁹⁵ Alexander the Great and his successors had returned to the inspiration of the idealised body as the basis of their ruler portraits that were designed to reflect the ideology of the new monarchy.⁹⁶ They were portrayed youthful, beautiful and naked, with exaggerated musculature, often holding a spear or staff,⁹⁷ a symbol of authority, power and victory, in reference to 'spear-won land' of Alexander, and never in local or civic dress that would connect them with the world of ordinary citizens and the real world. They were like gods, but, importantly, not gods.⁹⁸ In some examples, their heads were blandly Classical and beardless, tilted and abruptly turned, a sign of (sometimes inappropriate) youth and association with Alexander,⁹⁹ often wearing the diadem that signified royalty. Smith notes that the head turned in this manner is never found in portraits of mortals of the

⁹⁵ Smith (1988: Hellenistic Royal Portraits) 15.

⁹⁶ Smith (1991) 19.

⁹⁷ Smith (1991) 21.

⁹⁸ Smith (1988) 33.

⁹⁹ Walker (1995) 54.

Classical period.¹⁰⁰ In other examples, individual character and signs of age denoted a ruler of vitality and maturity (rather than old-age). The eyes often gaze upwards, a symbol that the ruler is more concerned with his relationship with the gods than earthly matters.¹⁰¹ The overall impression is of aloof distance, unworldliness and remote, untouchable monarchy. Although there were variants of this type, Smith notes that it remained fundamentally unchanged over a very wide geographical area and time span, becoming more vigorous after the late second century BC.¹⁰² Later examples bear the leonine hair and heavy brow associated with Alexander. Yet in Athens, at approximately the same time as the ruler portrait had been introduced, civic styles were becoming more naturalistic.

Although there are very few remaining examples of this style, the posthumous portrait of Demosthenes survives through copies (*Figure 1.7*). The orator and politician is shown in a very naturalistic stance, slightly slouching, as though he does not care for mere fripperies such as outward appearance. The overall effect is very ‘un-posed’, as though Demosthenes is unaware that he is being looked at, such is his contemplation on other matters. He rings his hands together in a gesture of angst. He wears only the himation that identifies him with the philosophers. The chest and muscles are sagging, he is slightly hunched over, and not at all muscular or heroic. The forward gaze is troubled, the brows drawn in a pensive frown. In contrast to the impervious ruler portraits, he is very much concerned with affairs of the real world. The skin shows signs of advanced maturity. The naturalistic and realistic feel of this portrait is achieved by the attention to the textured surfaces of the flesh and material of the clothing,¹⁰³ as well as the realistic portrayal of the figure and head and seemingly careless pose. This has the effect of creating a sense of immediacy and vibrancy, as though the figure were a living, tangible presence. It stands in stark and deliberate contrast to the ruler portrait, which is intentionally remote and elusive. This comes as no surprise, as Demosthenes stood opposed to Alexander, and the image was created at a time of uncertainty and instability in the East. Such portraits came about as a response to the new political order. Rather than the former desire to promote the

¹⁰⁰ Smith (1988) 47.

¹⁰¹ Smith (1988) 47.

¹⁰² Smith (2005) 24.

¹⁰³ Von den Hoff (2007) 56.

homogenous equality of the *polis*, as in former times of certainty and political self-confidence, the portraits of this period reflected the need to turn to individuals of authority and leadership.¹⁰⁴ Demosthenes is represented as a real, approachable human being, if a little contemplative, engaged and involved in worldly affairs.



Figure 1.7 Demosthenes. 280 BC (Cat no.5).

The portrait of Demosthenes is an example of how male portraits of the period began to develop in different directions, depending on the message they were required to portray, and with which political or social group the subject wished to be associated. Created around the same time, in 280 BC, was the portrait of Aischines (*Figure 1.21*), shown below alongside the Large Herculaneum Woman). This daring new statue type was unlike anything seen before. The first to wear the tunic and himation, it must be considered alongside the portrait of Demosthenes, his great political rival. The mantle

¹⁰⁴ Von den Hoff (2007) 60.

is carved in careful detail, as can be seen by the stitched border of the garment just above the ankles. The orator was a proponent of Alexander and well known as a formidable public speaker. The figure stands as though he were making an address, in a pose he claimed was actually used by Solon, and which he himself adopted whilst speaking.¹⁰⁵ He stands in a contrapposto pose with sandaled feet planted firmly on the ground. The left hand is held at the hip behind the back folded in drapery, and the right hand in an arm-sling at the chest mirror perfect poise and restraint of the speaker keeping his emotions in check. The bearded head and individualised face stare out as though deep in thought or interrupted between debates. Behind his leg, acting as a literal and visual support indicating intellectual status, is a scroll box, placed behind him on the speakers platform. He is a busy man, and may at any moment pick up the box and walk away to conduct important public affairs elsewhere.

The effect of this portrait is revolutionary. It draws the subject into the real world. Unlike the Demosthenes statue who is dressed in the costume of the philosopher, those most dangerous of public figures, he wears civic every-day dress and the sense of immediacy is striking. It is well known that Demosthenes and Aischines were bitter rivals. They are even known to have argued about this portrait; an exchange that reveals some of the impact made by statues in the public spaces of the city at that time.¹⁰⁶

In the examples cited above, portraits of men were all concerned with the roles that their subjects fulfilled in the public domain and they reflected the political and cultural vicissitudes and upheavals that occurred in Classical and Hellenistic Greece. Women did not participate in the same public domain as men during this period, nor were they subject to the political nuances that affected their male counterparts, and we shall see that their portraits developed in different ways as a direct result of this contrast. But we will also observe that the important advances made in male portraiture had a major bearing on those of women. The Aischines portrait in particular defined how some later female portraits would stand and interact. Once a portrait style was established for women during the third and second centuries BC, as

¹⁰⁵ Dillon (2006) 61.

¹⁰⁶ Dillon (2006) 61.

a general rule it remained fundamentally unchanged until the republican period,¹⁰⁷ and these changes will be examined below in detail. The same serene oval face and almond eyes, and the small, full lips and crease free, flawless skin topped by a standardised hairstyle continued to look out over sacred precincts and civic spaces for centuries.¹⁰⁸ However, the stylistic changes that shaped the portraits of men are important and relevant, because the developments that they underwent will in time come to be used and applied to images of women. As we shall see, in cases such as the Pudicitia body type and the Large Herculaneum Woman, gestures invented for males could be adapted for use in female formats thus expressing the same messages and meanings. Female portraits may not have conveyed the same overt political factors of males, but, just as with their male counterparts, they were nonetheless vehicles of social values and principles relevant to their gender. Especially from the republican period onwards, they also began to reflect the same social, cultural and political changes prevalent at the time, and invading male territory of public renown and authority. Former exclusively male gestures become neutral or feminised.

1.7: The origins of portraiture in Asia Minor

The origins of portraiture in the region of Caria in Asia Minor, in which the city was located, are an important factor in the development of portrait sculpture in Aphrodisias. Walker points out that some of the earliest known portraits appeared in the Greek East on coins showing local rulers. Mausolos, King of Caria, was represented after his death on the colossal tomb monument the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus as early as 353 BC, which bore free standing portrait statues of him, his consort Artemisia and members of his court,¹⁰⁹ and which are amongst the earliest portrait statues of their kind to survive. Huge structures like this and their portrait statues were deeply influential on building and portraits in the wider region and created a heritage from which subsequent nearby communities drew their inspiration.

¹⁰⁷ Dillon (2010) 132.

¹⁰⁸ Dillon (2010) 3.

¹⁰⁹ Walker (1995)10.



Figure 1.8 Detail of the head of 'King Mausolos' 353 BC.



Figure 1.9 Portrait of 'Mausolos' from the Mausoleum (Cat no.6).

Earlier portrait statues of rulers or their entourage did not reproduce any aspects of individual or physical likeness; that is to say an attempt at a representation of a distinctly individualised person, but instead portrayed highly idealised and forever youthful features,¹¹⁰ such as those seen in the west. However, as can be seen in Figures 1.8 and 1.9, the face of the ‘king’ has individualising features (the statue is referred to as King Mausolos, but this is not conclusive). Mausolos was, according to ancient sources, handsome and proud.¹¹¹ These features are evident in his portrait. It is fuller and plumper of body than one might expect in an ideal portrait. He sports a slight double chin and beard with very full lips and has fleshy cheeks and deep creases around the mouth, showing signs of age. The eyebrow arches are pronounced and angled, the eyes large and heavily lidded. The mane-like hair is quite distinct, being full, long and swept back, falling down the back of the neck. The waves are deeply carved in contrast to the closely carved separate locks of ideal types such as the Doryphorus or the unruly ‘disarray’ of Alexander-type hair.¹¹²

His was also the first known ruler portrait to wear the everyday local civic dress of tunic and himation, representing him as a mortal man rather than divine, and a clear reference to his affiliation with the Greek culture of the region. He wears sandals with socks beneath, a very cosmopolitan style of footwear, setting him apart from the divine naked feet of gods and traditional ruler portraits, yet still identify him as elite. His full face and large body speak of a successful life lived indulgently and in the ‘real world’. He is physically imposing, and looks to be a man of prowess and manly qualities. His beard is also distinct, and does not attempt to affiliate him with any flowing-bearded philosophers. Former ruler portraits had of course depicted the subject as nude or clad in military attire to emphasise their heroic or divine nature. That the statue of King Mausolos was intended as a dynastic portrait is only indicated by the sword scabbard that remains in the left hand.¹¹³ Whether we are looking into the face of a king who lived so long ago is academic. As Smith notes, it is the realistic nature of the face that matters, and the ‘attitude’ adopted by the sculptor.¹¹⁴ What is of

¹¹⁰ Walker (1995)21.

¹¹¹ Jenkins (2006) 210.

¹¹² Smith (1988) 46.

¹¹³ Waywell (1978) 41.

¹¹⁴ Smith (1981) 4.

vital importance is the fact that the physiognomy attempts to present a unique, sympathetic and distinctly real head and face.

The portrait of the so-called Artemisia (*Figure 1.10*) that stands beside the king presents a striking figure. She is similar in scale to the man, being only 10cm shorter.¹¹⁵ The carving is of the highest quality, the drapery stretching and falling to reveal the very full figure beneath. Like the male, she also wears contemporary dress consisting of a fine fabric chiton or tunic dress under an expansive himation or mantle, which Waywell notes is very similar to that of the male figure.¹¹⁶ Her feet are bare apart from thick sandal soles. She stands with the right knee bent and the heel raised, the large left hip pushing outwards in contrast to the pose of the king. The himation is wrapped in a fat bundle around the waist, bunching underneath the arms and hanging in drapes over the left forearm. The drapery below the waist is shaped to create a distinctive V-shape that emphasises the pubic area beneath. The upper arms are lowered and held slightly away from the body, and the lower arms are extended in an open gesture that could be of prayer or grief, in the *femina orans* statue type,¹¹⁷ also known as the Artemisia-Delphi type,¹¹⁸ that Waywell notes was fairly common in fourth-century BC female sculpture, particularly in Caria.

Like the male statue, her large full figure shows signs of indulgence, yet she is also sexually alluring and distinctly feminine. The breasts push through the fine drapery of the chiton. But perhaps more remarkable than anything is her direct correlation to the imposing presence of the male figure. Rather than simply mirroring his pose to create visual balance, she also creates a forceful image in her own right, confident, direct and not demure, whilst utterly retaining her female respectability.

¹¹⁵ Waywell (1978) 41.

¹¹⁶ Waywell (1978) 41.

¹¹⁷ Waywell (1978) 42.

¹¹⁸ Dillon (2010) 70.



Figure 1.10 'Artemisia' (Cat no.7).

The head is veiled and the face is badly damaged, but as we shall see, it can be compared to others of the monument or slightly further afield (such as *Figure 1.11*). The hair is worn in three rows of tight snail shell curls that frame the face. Waywell and Dillon disagree as to whether the hairstyle is redolent of Persian styles.¹¹⁹ I am inclined to conclude that, because the statue of Mausolos was so definitively affiliated with Greek cultural styles through his dress and portrait style, the hairstyle is of archaic Greek origin, perhaps even referring back to her namesake, the earlier great queen Artemisia who fought against Persian forces.¹²⁰ If so, this example might herald

¹¹⁹ Waywell (1978) 41. He states that some have wanted to see Persian influence in the hairstyle, but it in fact reflects the archaic Greek style of the Caria region. Male herms survive of Greek origin that share the tight layered curls. Dillon (2010) 123, thinks that the style is influenced from earlier Persian styles.

¹²⁰ Waywell (1978) 41.

the emergence of a later fashion, beloved of Roman women including those of Aphrodisias, of adopting a similar hairstyle worn by female elite women.¹²¹ The hair of Artemisia is also covered by the archaic *sakkos* or head-dress that is easier to see in an unveiled head from the Mausoleum.



Figure 1.11 Hekatomnid Head (Cat no.8).

The face of Artemisia, in contrast to her male counterpart, is likely to have been idealised and without any individualising features. This conclusion is based on another head from the Mausoleum, and other female heads of a similar genre from the surrounding area. As Dillon makes clear, faces of female portrait statues remained largely unchanged from earlier Classical times.¹²² She argues that the conventions for the portrayal of the female head may have first developed through Attic funerary sculpture, without any apparent paradigm example,¹²³ retaining the same generalised

¹²¹ Dillon (2010) 124.

¹²² Dillon (2010) 120.

¹²³ Dillon (2010) 104.

proportions and appearance. Some faces of the Classical and later Hellenistic period exist that show some signs of individualisation, such as that of Aristonoe from Rhamnous in Attica, with her Venus rings on the neck and slight creases around the mouth, but the very great majority show no distinguishing features. Indeed, with the exemption of old women on fourth century Attic gravestones, as identified by Dillon, signs of aging or ‘mental concentration’ are not seen until the late republican period.¹²⁴ She offers several arguments as to why this was the case for Greek female portraiture. The logistical fact that artists were not able to access the women themselves is one reason considered, as well as the fact that they did not fulfil public roles in the same manner as men, with the exception of taking part in public religious rituals,¹²⁵ and therefore their portraits had to reflect a different set of values and roles. De Grazia Vanderpool offers the explanation that women might exercise a degree of power through wealth and status, an argument we have already encountered, but their portrait faces had to express ‘vulnerability and powerlessness’,¹²⁶ and submission to the men who protected and controlled her.¹²⁷ This latter explanation provokes thought, but must be rejected on the grounds that the ideology of the serene Classical face of women in many ways reflected that used for earlier male portraits that reflected virtue and moral perfection, and could not be interpreted as ‘powerless and vulnerable’. Also, it would seem incongruous to create powerful female imagery of priestesses or elite individuals only to subdue them with a ‘vulnerable and powerless’ looking face.

Women occupied a very different space within society to men, both physically and metaphorically, and this was reflected in their portrait statues and was in my view the real reason for the continuing use of the ‘not portrait’ style face. In Greek society, respectable women were not meant to be seen in the public domain, yet they had very prominent and visible portrait statues erected in temple sanctuaries and civic spaces in their honour. It is my proposal that the idealised female face created a juxtaposition of a public presence that permitted a degree of anonymity. In this way, women’s portrait statues could be highly visible, even sexual and powerful, yet also allow the woman

¹²⁴ Dillon (2010) 120.

¹²⁵ Dillon (2010) 104.

¹²⁶ De Grazia Vanderpool (2005) 25.

¹²⁷ De Grazia Vanderpool (2005) 25.

herself to remain respectably hidden from view and avoid dangers of exposure or inappropriate voyeurism. It allowed them to make public expressions of status and prestige in an environment that frowned on their physical presence in everyday life. Artemisia herself fitted this description. By using the 'not portrait' style of self-representation, she could be presented in public in a powerfully flamboyant and expressive format, and yet at the same time remain respectably inaccessible and remote. Of course, such restrictions did not apply to men who continued to develop different and 'realistic' forms of self-representation. It was clearly unacceptable for a woman to show a 'real' face in public. As we shall see, the restriction on being seen in public was not such an issue for later women of Rome, and this was just one reason why their portrait types changed, and we shall return to this subject in depth later.

In summary, the Greek communities of the region were already familiar with new and evolving forms of portrait statues, and their associated meanings, emanating from Athens and other Greek city states. In the Greek East, it is clear that new styles were also emerging. For men, individualising features began to appear that were not so dependent on types, and it is clear that more thoughtful and personal aspects were being included, such as the choice of clothing, body size and distinctive hair. The portraits of women remained relatively unchanged at least in the rendering of the face, yet the body of Artemisia is full figured, open gestured and animated. She remains respectfully anonymous whilst presenting a very forceful and powerful image. Though the statue of Mausolos is grounded in the image of the 'real world', Artemisia stands equally as impressive and prominent, yet metaphorically veiled from view. Centuries later, in Aphrodisias as we will see, portraits will reflect and build on these new local styles, and those arriving later from Rome, to create unique personal and regional styles of their own.

1.8: Developments in portraiture under Rome: The manipulation of the body

The Romans were heavily influenced by Hellenistic and Greek portraits, especially in the handling of the body. They imported portrait statuary and adapted it to reflect their own personal tastes and cultural and political requirements. The choices and selections of art reflected very eclectic and sophisticated taste, and they began to

experiment and alter meanings, becoming adroit at shifting the semantics in monumental statuary, especially where portrait sculpture was concerned. The earliest emperors employed Classical and Hellenistic devices in their official portraits to create striking new images, as was the case with Augustus who borrowed heavily from the iconography of the Doryphorus in the Prima Porta statue (*Figure 1.12*). Yet he subdued elements of it that might have connected his image with earlier ruler portraits, who also copied its technique, and in so-doing, added an overt allusion to monarchy.¹²⁸ It might be just as successfully argued that the Prima Porta portrait bypasses the ruler portrait imagery altogether, returning to the original ideals intended by the body, of physical and moral perfection. Here, the heroic body pose and elegant physique of the spear bearer were employed to lend grace, ageless youth and a touch of the divine through the unworldly gaze to the image of the princeps, and act as a clothes-horse to a ‘pick and mix’ of thoughtfully selected props that successfully collaborate to portray sophisticated nuanced meanings of authority and leadership. For example, the bare feet of the Doryphorus are retained, but the addition of military dress and cuirass has the multi-layered effect of adding the clothing necessary to remove allusions to divine status, and conveniently provides a frame for the image of the returned Parthian standards. The military dress juxtaposes the allusion of heroic status that is redolent of earlier Hellenistic ruler portraits, such as the statue of Alexander created by Lysippos. As the first emperor experimented with acceptable ways of expressing a new imperial image, the use of a body type associated with the perfect idealised body and later the Hellenistic ruler portrait is interesting, contradictory and strikingly elusive. Zanker claims that the ideal figure of Polyklitos was used because of the associated meanings of dignity and gravitas,¹²⁹ and rejected any association with images of monarchy, yet it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Doryphorus body and added features was also closely associated with ruler portraits.

¹²⁸ Walker (1995) 66.

¹²⁹ Zanker (1990) 99.



Figure 1.12 The Prima Porta statue of Augustus (Cat no.9).

To complicate matters further, by the time of Augustus the Polyclitan ideal body type already had a further layer of significance and heritage particular to Rome, transmitted through other Roman portrait statuary. Local dignitaries and aristocrats during the later republican period had used Hellenistic style ruler portrait statues based on the Doryphorus figure and images of Alexander as templates for their own portrait statues that they placed in public spaces, and which expressed a localised desire for self-advancement and importance in a highly competitive civic environment.¹³⁰ Zanker notes that the adoption of the type was fuelled by notions of inflated self-importance, and was at first a dramatic reference to ‘superhuman’ qualities that, by a process of repetition, became no more than the pose of ‘generalized distinction’.¹³¹ In this way, the original meaning of the body type became engulfed by very non-divine men promoting their civic, political and

¹³⁰ Zanker (1990) 9.

¹³¹ Zanker (1990) 9.

individual importance, and although Zanker puts this down to a ‘naiveté’ in aspiring to the ‘very highest foreign standards of dignity’, it also signals a sophisticated and conscious understanding of portrait styles by Roman patrons, and the ability to subtly (or not so subtly) adapt their meaning to suit the environment. As Susan Wood notes, both male and female viewers who lived amongst public portrait statues and regarded them every day were capable of deciphering the messages they expressed.¹³²

Hybrid portrait statues began to emerge that placed republican style heads on idealised Greek bodies. Rather than being merely influenced by former types, they blended unaltered and contrasting styles in bold fusions. An example is the so-called Tivoli General, a late republican marble portrait statue of a prominent individual found in Rome and which employs the noble ideal body and pose beneath a realistically rendered head (*Figure 1.13*). These curious new styles reflected the use of idealised portrait statue bodies as props by Roman patrons, as objects of self-aggrandizement and commemoration, amalgamating different styles to create wholly new images. In the case of the Tivoli General, the generic and muscular physique of a heroically draped athletic figure is juxtaposed with the head of an aged and individualised male. The wrinkled and furrowed brow, lined cheeks and sagging, crinkled neck speak of mature authority and confidence. The piercing eyes add to the effect. The head, combined with the body and armour that act as a support, portray a message of pragmatic virtue, military success and prowess,¹³³ and more generally of authority and leadership,¹³⁴ by an individual rather than as a civic exemplar. More widely, by fusing the perfect body created in the east with a Roman-style realistic head, it is as though the general has stamped his mark on Greek culture. These hybrids reflected the confidence and self-belief of the Romans and showed them adroit at expressing these values in their own forms of representation. In abandoning the beauty of Greek prototypes, they may not be aesthetically pleasing to modern eyes, but that is to miss the point of their revolutionary style, and the confidence with which patrons across the Roman provinces felt free to select and blend existing forms.

¹³² Wood (2001) 17-19.

¹³³ Kleiner (1992) 36.

¹³⁴ Hallett (2000) 120-121.



Figure 1.13 The Tivoli-General (Cat no.10).

Of the Tivoli General portrait and its style, Brilliant notes the following:

‘[The] Formulized type reduced the Greek heroic nude with a few modest draperies around the midriff and in so doing assimilated the hero to the solid Roman of accomplishments. In the process that Greek radiance of the body was lost in favour of the clear, broad, frontal form one finds in the heroic statue of a Sullan General of Tivoli’.¹³⁵

Although Brilliant’s statement seemingly laments the apparent corruption of the purity of the original Greek ideal and fails to give credit to the Roman penchant for re-interpretation and eclecticism, it does highlight how the original meanings implied

¹³⁵ Brilliant (1963) 47.

by certain bodies and types might be lost or significantly altered or overlaid with new meaning over time. This principle applied equally to portrait statues of women as well as men. For example, as will be seen with the Large Herculaneum Woman body type, it became extensively used by female members of the imperial household because of its original meanings of respectability and suitable feminine qualities, and was then used by non-elite women wishing to align themselves with empresses. We will see many examples of repeated versions of the body with portrait heads on top. In just the same way as the Tivoli General, the body itself relays important messages to the viewer that reflect on the individual intended by the head.

Hybrid forms became a common characteristic of Roman portrait statues of both genders. The immense flexibility that this provided the Roman patrons and artists realised unique and meaningful images across the empire. In Aphrodisias, as we shall see in the next chapters, this facet of portrait creation inspired some truly remarkable examples. An interesting result of eclectic portraits was the multiple and ambiguous meanings that could be attributed to them, especially in examples of female portraits, and this deliberate ambiguity was fully utilised and exploited. As we see with the Tivoli General, male portraits tended to be more straightforward to interpret. Female portraits, as a result of their rather unclear origins, ambivalent features and abstract roles, were not subject to straight forward interpretation. This new development under Rome of semantic shifts and fusing of styles and features only adds to the challenges of interpretation.

1.9: The Roman Face

The modelling of the portrait head and face underwent dramatic changes in Rome towards the end of the republic. As Zanker points out, at ‘no other time in the ancient world did portraiture capture so much of the personality of the subject’.¹³⁶ He attributes these changes to an emerging need amongst the elite for new ways of expressing themselves at a time of great political and social competition, through the representation of specific ‘physiognomic traits’. Hallett further notes that the Roman

¹³⁶ Zanker (1990) 9.

patron placed more emphasis on the face rather than the body,¹³⁷ in direct contrast to the Greeks who viewed the body as containing the true significance of the portrait. The face and head was where the Roman viewer was able to read the inner qualities and personality of the subject, and this was a notion that came to be clearly embraced in Aphrodisias.¹³⁸ Simultaneously, the shift in importance away from the democratic ideals typified by earlier Greek states towards a society that saw the emergence of such ruthlessly competitive individual personalities as Sulla and Julius Caesar (*Figure 1.14*) provided the ideal circumstances for the emergence of a new form of ‘physical likeness’ in portraiture that attempted to capture and reflect the nature and psychological depth of the person in a radical new way. Unlike earlier Greek portrait types, the Romans of this period sought to portray a new individualism that did not rely on a typology, although it could be argued that the emerging *veristic* style was itself a type. Smith calls this new type of representation ‘very realistic,’¹³⁹ rather than just realistic. He notes that this exaggerated and somewhat cruel manner of representation was objective and factual, and some scholars have sought to argue that it opposed Greek ideals of portraiture that portrayed inner qualities of the subject and ethos, because it was concerned only with ‘true likeness’ and a faithful recreation of actual facial features. These portraits typically showed every crease and wrinkle, sagging cheeks and necks, big noses, jug ears and receding hairlines. Republican style portraits, scholars have argued, were more concerned with the naked truth of appearance. I am inclined to contend with this argument,¹⁴⁰ as it is clear that such stark and detailed faces, full of character and experience, are working hard to express inner qualities important to Roman men and women of the upper classes (and later Freedmen classes), such as *severitas* and *auctoritas*. Qualities such as these were expressed by showing the face as ravaged by time and life; a young inexperienced pretender would not be able to boast such venerable, if unappealing, marks of life. It is Walker who pinpoints the crucial and subtle point that republican portraits portrayed their message primarily through the features of the face and head, rather than by attaching individual or realistic qualities to a recognised and established

¹³⁷ Hallett (2005) 289.

¹³⁸ Smith (2008) 17.

¹³⁹ Smith (1981) 15.

¹⁴⁰ Smith (1981) 6.

type,¹⁴¹ or through use of a body type, though we shall see that heads and body types were often interchanged to create striking portrait images.

An example that successfully conveys meaning through these traits is the ‘dictator’ portrait of Julius Caesar, accepted as being created in his lifetime and found in the villa of Cicero at Tusculum.¹⁴² It shows him with receding hair and a small chin and mouth with thin, asymmetric lips. The dome of the head is also asymmetrical. The staring eyes are beady, the brows furrowed and lined, and the skin around the eyes and cheeks sag slightly. Yet it has great character. The small wide open eyes and slight uneven smirk of the mouth speak of alertness, humour and intelligence and a sense of immediacy. The furrowed brow expresses his seriousness clearly, the piercing gaze direct and focussed, all of which are appropriate qualities for a powerful and ambitious general and statesman.

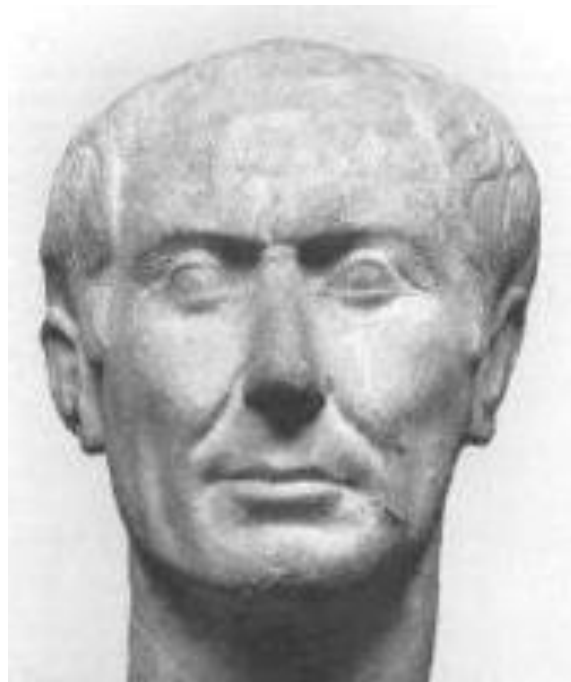


Figure 1.14 The Tusculum portrait of Julius Caesar (Cat no.11).

¹⁴¹ Walker (1995) 77.

¹⁴² Pollini (2005) 96.

It is important to point out that the Republican or ‘Late Hellenistic’ portraiture style was developed by Greek artists,¹⁴³ the earliest examples having originated on Delos in the second century BC.¹⁴⁴ Here, members of the Roman elite and mercantile classes rubbed shoulders with Greek artists and were exposed to Greek portrait styles. Smith argues that the new style of representation developed as a result of Greek sculptors attempting to find new ways of portraying ‘others’ different from themselves,¹⁴⁵ but it does not seem entirely acceptable that such discerning patrons as the Romans would have accepted such unflattering portrait styles if there was not some deeper explanation for their development. Seeking new ways to portray ‘other’ groups of people also implies that the motivation was the creation of anything pointedly un-Greek, rather than finding new methods of portraying and representing a new group of people with their own set of values and interests. Much more acceptable is Smith’s suggestion that Roman patrons preferred this type of image because it was far removed from what they considered to be the god-like and lasciviously corrupt modes of portraiture that were so distinctly Greek, at least to Romans, and appealed to their more pragmatic and austere values. This infers that it was Roman patrons rather than Greek artists who had a hand in shaping their image. Furthermore, the Romans did not share the Greek view of representing facets of the *polis* in their portraits, being motivated at this time by personal ambition and the need to progress politically (whilst also wishing to subscribe to a distinctly ‘Roman’ look that contrasted with that of Greeks, who did not enjoy such a universal or overarching identity). Whilst being ambivalent towards most things Greek, the Romans had great respect and passion for Greek forms of art including portraiture,¹⁴⁶ whilst simultaneously distrusting elements of a culture that they considered luxurious and indulgent.

¹⁴³ Smith (1981) 12. Smith notes that by referring to Republican portraits as ‘Late Hellenistic’, the term suggests a smooth development of portrait style rather than an abrupt change, and reflects the fact that it emerged in the Greek world.

¹⁴⁴ Dillon (2010) 135.

¹⁴⁵ Smith (1981) 12.

¹⁴⁶ Walker (1995) 49.

1.10: Women and the Roman face

The emerging republican portraiture was also used in the representation of women,¹⁴⁷ and came to have a significant bearing on the future direction of their portrait styles. An example is Figure 1.15. In this portrait of a *matrona* from the late first century BC, there are clear indications of individuality and age. The nose is large and ridged, the cheeks are hollow and sunken, the mouth small and pointing downward at the edges. The neckline and chin are not well defined and appear soft. Facial proportions are long; the overall effect is of a serious and dour demeanour in a woman of middle to old age. The hair is styled in the fashion of contemporary well-known women such as Octavia, Fulvia and, perhaps more famously, Livia, with a nodus at the forehead and the sides tightly pulled back into a plaited bun and tucked behind the large ears. Kampen would no doubt argue that such imagery was intended to add male kudos to a face of wisdom and *gravitas*. But instead, it highlights the dignity and authority of any person of wealth, power and elevated status (within the household, socially or otherwise).



Figure 1.15. Portrait of a Roman matron. (Cat no.12).

¹⁴⁷ Walker (1995) 73.

For the first time, a style of portraiture commonly used by men to express a sense of the self and individuality through the head and face crossed genders and came to be used widely for female portraiture. It was of great significance that the same style of facial representation was being used for both sexes. Crucially, it showed a willingness on the part of men and women to be portrayed as socially, if not legally, equal, and also that women were beginning to operate in the same social and public spheres traditionally dominated by men, and thus were choosing to be represented in formats expressing values that were, until this time, the exclusive preserves of men. This is not to declare that women had achieved parity with men; far from it. But it does express an important change in social attitudes and the circumstances of women, who began under Rome to amass a degree of local power through wealth and influence, and even autonomous independence and ownership of property.¹⁴⁸ Goodman notes that in all other respects, it is extremely difficult to reconstruct the circumstances of elite women in the city of Rome (or indeed elsewhere), but ‘something can be said about the legal restrictions which controlled them in theory and the virtues to which in public they were expected to aspire’.¹⁴⁹ The latter is certainly true of public honorific portraits across the empire, and this, combined with shifts in social attitude that saw something of a revision in the way in which wives and female relatives were perceived and the autonomous confidence some came to enjoy, is the breakthrough witnessed in portraits. Such valuable evidence of women is seen in no other media and contrasts with what we know ‘in theory,’ as Goodman observes, to what can be seen in portrait forms. We may not be seeing ‘real life’ circumstances for women in their portraits, but we can perhaps glimpse their own values and attitudes in the portraits they commissioned of themselves and each other, despite the restricted iconography available and also despite males being heavily involved in the commissioning and artistic process of creating them. Portrait statues clearly reflected more of an ideal than reality; but they may on occasion show more than any other source available what women themselves regarded as ideal. We also know from literary sources that women did not always behave in ways expected of them.¹⁵⁰ Wood notes that even Augustus himself could not control his daughter, and that of the few surviving portraits of her, she is shown as a typically severe matron with the

¹⁴⁸ Treggiari (1991) 324.

¹⁴⁹ Goodman (1997) 176.

¹⁵⁰ Wood (2001) 11.

nodus hairstyle worn by the elder stateswomen of his family. But in their physiognomic self-representation, rather than relying on the age-old expressionless exemplars of controlled feminine virtue, women now had access to a portrait form that, although less flattering, expressed a set of values that in part included ‘realism’ and lifelike features. Goodman bases arguments of power and authority on legal and literary sources that rather overlook the everyday experiences of real wives, mothers and daughters and the portraits that they had a hand in shaping.

Women had until now been represented in ways that expressed values specific to their sex, such as domestic virtue, fecundity and beauty, but during this period it became acceptable for their portraits to convey values that could easily apply to both genders. As a result, the same methods of portrayal could be used in the execution of portrait statues. Fraschetti notes that in Rome and across the empire from the republican period onwards, the situation for women was changing. Laws concerning guardianship, and therefore the woman’s personal management of wealth, property and autonomous status, were becoming more lenient. She notes that social attitudes were also changing in the domestic sphere. Men began to view wives as partners, as social equals with their friends, and ‘worthy of esteem’.¹⁵¹ As we shall see below, this contrast with former strict patriarchal views, and the social values that governed the nature of Classical and Hellenistic female portraits came in time to change the way that women were portrayed in portraits. The recurring theme of political and social change motivating changes in portrait styles heralded a new way of portraying women in public monuments.

In a sense, we begin to glimpse the ‘real’ faces of women emerging from behind the Classical mask, as they became more involved in the public world. As with men, we do not necessarily observe physiognomic likeness, but we can detect choices of portrait style capable of conveying individual characteristics interwoven with ‘real’ facial features. In particular, the republican style was ideal for the portraits of Roman matrons. Austere and serious women, including those of advanced years, were shown with all the creases and signs of age to highlight their own *gravitas* and matriarchal

¹⁵¹ Fraschetti (1994) 10.

authority. This was the first time that age was included in female portraits as a mark of status.

Just as we saw with the portraits of elite late republican males such as Caesar, those of women could also undergo changes to reflect status and roles, demonstrating that reflecting vicissitudes of status in portrait form were important to elites of both sexes. For example, Kleiner observes that, just as Augustus waged his own war on Marc Antony, so his wife, through visual imagery, created an image in total opposition to the ‘ostentation’ of Cleopatra.¹⁵² This is an important point. We have no literature penned by the hand of Livia that expresses her views, but all imperial portraits were officially approved,¹⁵³ and so we can be confident that she sanctioned some of her own imagery and the message it conveyed. Thus we can conclude that we see her opinion towards the war and Cleopatra in particular clearly demonstrated in her choice of public portrait. The earliest portraits of Livia show her with a mix of Classical and individual features, such as the ‘Type II’ portrait as identified by Pollini (*Figure 1.16*).¹⁵⁴ Although she appears at first glance as the epitome of the traditional beauty, closer examination reveals large flat eyes, a small round mouth, plump, fleshy cheeks and pronounced chin. She wears the nodus hairstyle with curled back waves, plaited bun and wisps of hair in front of the ears that make her early portraits recognisable. Livia is presented as the perfectly disciplined Roman wife, but with the youthful Classical beauty adopted by Augustus in his imagery. Just like her husband, she is portrayed as no more than first among equals (of women), and not quite regal.¹⁵⁵ Much of the literature concerned with her portraiture makes much of how she was represented reflecting her husband’s ideals.¹⁵⁶ What is not mentioned is how those ideals and virtues were also very much her own; she had much to gain from her self-promotion as the perfect Roman wife and mother.

¹⁵² Kleiner (2000) 49.

¹⁵³ Winkes (2000) 29.

¹⁵⁴ Pollini (2005) 110.

¹⁵⁵ Bartman (2012) 416. Bartman argues that, even in Rome during her lifetime, there are ‘hints of the divine’ in portraits of Livia. But importantly, in the ‘nodus’ style hair and face, there is also an assertion of the mortal, almost ‘every-woman’ aspect. Hinting at the divine was by no means the same as the direct references we see in the East.

¹⁵⁶ Bartman (2012) 416.



Figure 1.16. Portrait of Livia (Cat no.13).

Later in Chapter 2.15, we will see that her portrait underwent many changes according to situation and time of life (or afterlife). On the reliefs of the Sebasteion, her face is remodelled to show a family resemblance to emphasise her role as mother of Tiberius. She is also given a new hairstyle after the death of her husband to reflect her new role as priestess of Augustus.¹⁵⁷

The portraiture of females began to infiltrate all strata of society rich enough to commemorate themselves with portraits. Freed slaves were able to marry, and it was a symbol of social advancement and partnership to have a wife represented on works of art, including in funerary reliefs, those very public displays of social status.¹⁵⁸ Walker states that the republican style of portraiture was eventually abandoned by the elite of

¹⁵⁷ Winkes (2000) 37, and Pollini (2005) 104.

¹⁵⁸ Walker (1995) 73.

Rome partly because it became the adopted style of Freedmen classes. Yet the style persisted through the patronage of elite individuals such as Vespasian, who used it as a vehicle to emphasise his comparatively humble background and in direct contrast to the former super-elite regime. Clearly in certain cases, it continued to be consciously selected as a mode of self-representation because of the associated meanings and also because it linked the subject with a distinctly Roman style of self-representation. Although later portraiture never returns quite so faithfully to the harsh realism of the republican style, the legacy of applying age, physiognomic individuality and likeness continues to influence portraiture well into the late imperial period.

1.11: Portraits of Women in the East

Returning to Aphrodisias, an important consideration that makes the case of the city special is the presence of a high percentage of portrait statues of women. Smith notes that a large proportion of the surviving portraits of real people at the site are female, twenty percent.¹⁵⁹ This is unusually high. Fejfer points out that on average, usually only ten percent of honorific statues in many Roman municipal towns are of women.¹⁶⁰ Although Aphrodisias was in the Greek East, as we shall see, it was a city that very much developed from the beginning by absorbing and imitating Roman influences and designs. Smith states that representations of women were already more popular in the Greek world prior to the coming of Rome, but he does not expand on why this should be the case. Dillon, however, notes that it was already accepted culture in many Greek communities to honour women with statues due to their religious or family roles,¹⁶¹ and Aphrodisian citizens were also influenced by traditional regional practices and were more prepared than Roman and Italian counterparts to display portrait statues of women in their public spaces.

Fejfer notes that the first portrait of a living Roman woman to appear was that of Fulvia on a coin in 40 BC, and, significantly, that it was struck in the Greek East.¹⁶² Clearly cultural conventions in the region meant that honorific portrait representations

¹⁵⁹ Smith (2006) 6.

¹⁶⁰ Fejfer (2008) 331.

¹⁶¹ Dillon (2010) 57.

¹⁶² Fejfer (2008) 332.

of real women were accepted and established much earlier than in the Roman West, where the erection of honorific portrait statues of women was still frowned upon during the republic and early empire, although as we observed, this situation was poised to change. Also, we cannot ignore the fact that of the surviving statues from the Mausoleum in Caria, half are of women.¹⁶³ Admittedly, the element of chance might mean that a higher proportion of statues that survive are of females, nevertheless there is every reason to believe that we are still dealing with a figure higher than the ten percent expected in Roman municipal centres or the twenty percent seen in some Greek cities. If we further accept Walker's argument that the arrangement and artistic style of the Mausoleum was highly influential on the monumental art of later generations of the inhabitants of the Greek East,¹⁶⁴ it is worth considering as an example the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus at Olympia, built circa AD 150, and which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.1. Of the twenty three portrait statues displayed in its niches, two are of gods, ten are men and eleven are women, and include members of the imperial family and Atticus' own family; an astonishingly higher number of women than one might expect in a Roman monument; more than fifty percent of the real people displayed, and more in line with what we might expect in Greek cities. And of course one of the central portrait figures from the Mausoleum itself was the figure of Artemisia. Whether this identification is correct or not is not the issue here. What matters is the gender and prominent central position, displayed as she was alongside the male. As Zanker points out, in most cases what matters is not who was represented, but how he (or she) was represented.¹⁶⁵ Clearly, public monumental statuary of women was already an established convention in the region prior to the arrival of Rome, and they were proportionally more common than those in the west. Therefore we should not be surprised that we see such a high proportion of them in Aphrodisias.

¹⁶³ Waywell (1978) 41.

¹⁶⁴ Walker (1995) 52.

¹⁶⁵ Zanker (1995) 9.

1.12: The Importance of the Body

As we have seen, the body was of central importance to Greek portrait statues. Personal and individualised features were secondary. As Boardman notes, Greek portraiture was preoccupied with capturing ‘ethos’, rather than physical likeness,¹⁶⁶ and idealising heads and faces had the effect of focusing the attention on the body. Busts were a later Roman invention,¹⁶⁷ partly motivated by the shift in focus to the importance of the head, and partly attributable to the Roman fashion of art collecting, and the display in one’s home of famous portraits for pleasure and intellectual kudos. To the Greeks, the true meaning of a portrait figure was contained in the body.¹⁶⁸ The social or political values, message and meaning that the statue was required to portray were expressed through its different aspects. The posture and pose of the figure,¹⁶⁹ the gesture of the arms, choice of dress and mannerisms and the inclusion of attributes were all used to express deep meaning to the viewer. The physicality of the body itself also contained and conveyed meaning. Clothing and drapery, or the lack of it, revealed or hid features. In this way, the sexual maturity of a male or female body might be displayed or suppressed to express qualities particularly associated with gender. A fuller female body moulded by drapery with rounded hips, breasts and belly conveyed values of fertility, motherhood and wifely qualities; a more boyish, slender figure spoke of youthfulness, virginity or chastity. In men, a well-developed muscular body denoted virility, manly prowess and dominance. In this way, the physical body itself became a vehicle capable of expressing meaning before clothing or posture was added. Such possibilities for display and interpretation were appreciated and exploited by Roman connoisseurs. Opportunities for the deliberate and ambiguous blurring of stereotypical boundaries, whether of gender, public role or expectation of behaviour, were also regularly pressed into service. An example of this is the Sebasteion relief of Livia being crowned by Roma, Chapter 2.15. The princeps’ wife occupies the space

¹⁶⁶ Boardman (2006)164.

¹⁶⁷ Walker (1995) 42.

¹⁶⁸ Zanker (1995) 10.

¹⁶⁹ Squire (2011) 8.

usually reserved for males being honoured by a personification, as seen in the early imperial Gaius Julius Zoilos relief from Aphrodisias.¹⁷⁰

1.13: The Significance of Gesture: Invitation or Rejection

The portrait statue, by its very presence as a three dimensional object, occupying a space in the public realm, was designed to engage and interact with the passing viewer. The base on which it stood ensured that it was elevated in literal terms above its audience and also made the overall effect more impressive as well as carrying an inscription displaying important information of identity and dedication.¹⁷¹ Yet the basic nature of the gesture of the statue could alter the whole interaction of the figure with the viewer and change the way that the image was intended to be interpreted. Open or closed arms could render the figure as reaching out to engage with an audience,¹⁷² or being withdrawn and private. Such gestures, rather than engaging with the viewer and inviting a dialogue, might impose feelings of remoteness, disengagement or even voyeurism. The tilt of the head might mirror the gesture of the body, demurely looking away to create the effect of subservience or modesty or even aloofness, yet simultaneously titillating by seeming not to notice that the body is being scrutinized, allowing the viewer to gaze at leisure. Such lack of engagement is unchallenging to the onlooker. The unreturned gaze is non-confrontational and in its own way, inviting. The Menodotus figure discussed in detail in Chapter 4.2 exemplifies this technique. She stands with the head lowered, the gaze demure and distant. The gestures enclose the heavily wrapped body. The viewer is invited to look at her, but the interaction is almost awkward, voyeuristic and obscure.

A combination of both gestures, open arms and turned, un-tilted head, as seen in the Doryphorus, invokes a sense of remoteness and awe. Yet it is paradoxically inviting (and simultaneously being aloof from) the attentions of the viewer, seeming to indicate that the subject of the portrait is too elevated to engage with mere mortals and is distracted by more unearthly matters. Yet the very physical presence of a portrait statue as a three dimensional object shunted the image into a public viewing space and

¹⁷⁰ Smith (2006) 43.

¹⁷¹ Dillon (2010) 26.

¹⁷² Osborne (1998) 228.

could not avoid entering into a relationship with the viewer. By contrast, in sculpted reliefs, friezes and paintings the figures generally only interact with each other, and the audience can only look into the scene; it does not occupy the same physical space in time as a statue. No matter how open or closed the gesture of a portrait statue, it was designed to demand a response from the spectator looking on.

1.14: Costume

Clothing literally added another layer to the figure, both physically and symbolically. Smith points out the importance of costume in real life; it reflected status, wealth, public office and rank. He also notes that contemporary commentators such as Dio Chrysostom used the same word, *schēma*,¹⁷³ to describe the posture, appearance and stance of statues as well as real people. However, Smith's discussion of costume when defined thus seems to be concerned with the male domain. There was a significant difference between the straightforward iconography of the male statue costume as it appeared in public, and the female statue which was subject to a different type of value system based on behaviour, beauty and (sometimes reflected) status, usually, but not exclusively, as part of the family group.

For Bartman, female clothing acted as a 'significant cultural marker'.¹⁷⁴ Clearly the choice of clothing for a statue was not made lightly, and was chosen to indicate meaning, values and other related factors of significance. The choices of clothing for men were more straightforward because they could employ the outfits of public office and rank to attire their bodies, and portrait statues of men were therefore restricted to a much narrower range of costumes.¹⁷⁵ Statues of men created very clear and understandable statements based on limited and recognisable costume types.¹⁷⁶ Yet males were just as capable of making more subtle gestures of meaning by their clothing that might otherwise be associated with the imagery of women.¹⁷⁷ A priest of Aphrodite from Aphrodisias lifts his himation so that the viewer might be rewarded

¹⁷³ Smith (2006) 35. (Dio, *The 31st Discourse: The Rhodian Oration*, 31.162-164).

¹⁷⁴ Bartman (2001) 17.

¹⁷⁵ Smith (2006) 194.

¹⁷⁶ Fejfer (2008) 338.

¹⁷⁷ Trimble (2011) 165.

with a glimpse of his unusually laced boots or *calcei*, a symbol of his socially elevated status.¹⁷⁸ A statue of a woman in the Ceres type (Statue 89, Chapter 3.5), also from Aphrodisias, lifts her mantle to draw attention to her own very cosmopolitan closed shoes. This seemingly innocuous gesture illustrates the importance of clothing as cultural indicator. The lifted skirt, according to Blundell, reveals that women walked with small steps in public,¹⁷⁹ and that they were not intended to operate in the (male) public world. Yet clearly, the lifted skirt is also ambiguous. In the case of the Ceres type, it indicates powerfully that the figure is very much actually operating in the public sphere. Gender-ambiguous gestures might also be seen in formats such as the Large Herculaneum Woman (Chapter 1.18). Well controlled drapery referred in part to the male characteristic of restraint and self-discipline not always associated with women.¹⁸⁰ Although we shall see that correct management of drapery did refer to aspects of desirable and correct female behaviour and activities.

Unlike men, women were not able to draw from public roles or rank for their choice of costume, although we shall see below that in early imperial Aphrodisias, women copy drapery from local and remote elite female portraits to confer status in their own portraits. Priestesses wore the same costume as other women, but a crown might be worn (as by Claudia Tatiana, Chapter 3.12), or the head veiled to signify a religious act. But even here there is uncertainty. We shall also see that the veil is a most ambiguous item of headgear not always clear in its intended function or meaning.

Irrespective of wealth or birth, women ranked technically below freedmen on the social scale.¹⁸¹ Regardless of this, the use of costume in the portrait statues of women is remarkable. Although they had less costume choices to call upon,¹⁸² there is a striking, one might even suggest baffling, array of variations.¹⁸³ But this creates a problem. If women in their portraits are not referring to any specific social role, rank or status with their variety of costumes, what are they trying so hard to express? As Fejfer correctly identifies, while the statues of men were able to make clear unambiguous statements through use of costume, those of women were much less

¹⁷⁸ Hallett (1998) 93.

¹⁷⁹ Blundell (2002) 153, also Bremmer and Roodenburg (1991) 21.

¹⁸⁰ Davies (2002) 234, and Trimble (2011) 165.

¹⁸¹ Fejfer (2008) 345.

¹⁸² Lenaghan (2008) 92.

¹⁸³ Dillon (2010) 65, and Llewellyn-Jones (2002) 80.

clear.¹⁸⁴ However, she then claims that this is because the costumes and use of drapery used in the representations of women were based on the traits of goddesses, and we cannot know why such choices were made.¹⁸⁵ But this theory is not entirely convincing. For example, the Large Herculaneum Woman type is generally agreed to represent a very civic portrait based on and related to the Aischines type. As such, we can deduce that the choice was based on the same sense of discipline and correct public deportment. Drapery might make allusions to behaviour rather than rank in the way in which it is layered or managed.

If we consider the use of costume when examining a monumental portrait statue in a holistic way, the reasons for the choice will become clearer, and will contribute to the overall meaning. And yet, although it appears a contradictory assertion, it is clear that clothing was also occasionally intended to be ambiguous. Portraits ultimately represented real women, albeit in an idealised format to a greater or lesser degree.¹⁸⁶ They were exemplary wives and daughters, priestesses and benefactors, but also sexually active and aware, or unmarried, chaste and sexually desirable.¹⁸⁷ Such blatant sexuality was never indicated in inscriptions, but was an undeniably strong aspect of the physicality of many female portraits. Their bodies were rarely represented as other than perfect but hard to control; shapely hips and knees cannot help but push through cloth, neat breasts cannot be restrained or covered by garments, despite the (apparent) best efforts of the subject; pubic areas and navels all had a way of forcing their way through to the surface. The results could appear voyeuristic or daringly risqué, but always sexually contained and, particularly in Aphrodisian examples, conservative and respectable.¹⁸⁸ Whilst the portraits of men were able to unashamedly express virility, those of women were governed by social convention that demanded a sense of decorum and *aidos*, and therefore more oblique references to sexuality.

Nudity was not an option for statues of real women in a public setting, and so we must consider the basic point that some form of clothing was arbitrary, even if it was required to do no more than sculpt the body or create a covering. This also accounts

¹⁸⁴ Fejfer (2008) 344.

¹⁸⁵ Fejfer (2008) 344.

¹⁸⁶ Llewellyn-Jones (2002) 176-177.

¹⁸⁷ Llewellyn-Jones (2002) 176.

¹⁸⁸ Lenaghan (2008) 91.

for a further reason behind the myriad designs and layering of clothing. Drapery was required to shape the naked womanly body beneath, often highlighting as we noted female body parts such as the breasts, hips and pubic area. A gathering of cloth could either shape features directly or discreetly refer to these aspects of a body; indeed Llewelyn-Jones notes that in many respects, the naked female body becomes inseparable from clothing.¹⁸⁹ This would suggest an entirely different use of clothing for men and women, and also explain the very different handling of drapery; male portraits rely on it as a signifier of office and status, for women it alludes to homogeneous feminine values and also the fertile (or otherwise) status of the body.

Smith,¹⁹⁰ and Fejfer,¹⁹¹ disagree as to whether women's clothing in statues represented real costumes or not. Certainly, as we discussed above, in statue bodies from Aphrodisias, one function of clothing was to represent the body beneath in such a way as to suggest nudity. The inspiration of portrait statue costumes was more likely to be a combination of both existing contemporary and archaic, traditional costume portrayed through artistic stylisation and 'enhanced reality'.¹⁹² Real costumes were used and adapted for the sake of modelling and simultaneously adding meaning. Archaic items, such as the *peplos*, as worn by 'Statue 90' from Aphrodisias (Chapter 3.5), were added to refer to a religious context or earlier tradition, or to denote the chastity of Athena.¹⁹³ Some open bodied formats like Artemisia or Claudia Tatiana wear belts around the chiton or tunica in a manner that helps to shape the breasts and control the costume whilst the figure performs an activity, perhaps a religious ritual. Finally, the richness of the clothing itself made its own statement. Delicate, crinkled chitons, floor-length dress-like tunics, visible through gossamer-thin mantles with carefully applied horizontal press-folds, stitched borders and fabric weights were expensive garments worn by rich, elite women of leisure. A finely made costume of quality expressed wealth and status in its own right, and also alluded to the ideal

¹⁸⁹ Llewelyn-Jones (2002) 180.

¹⁹⁰ Smith (2006) 35. Smith argues that statues of the Greek East wore 'costumes that presumably reflect real clothes of the period', although he notes that Statue 90 wears the *peplos*, a probable reference to archaic costume, perhaps used as an attribute to refer to Athena and her chastity since the subject is a younger, less mature woman, and therefore not contemporary.

¹⁹¹ Fejfer (2008) 335. She argues that, other than items such as the *stola*, public statues of women wore 'unreal' costumes. 'Real life', heavy items of drapery were incapable of creating the almost nude modelling of statue drapery. However, she also argues that the drape of cloth is influenced by images of deities.

¹⁹² Llewelyn-Jones (2002) 179.

¹⁹³ Dillon (2010) 81.

domestic virtues of the wearer as a woman capable of weaving, a skill closely identified with educated and accomplished women,¹⁹⁴ and the competent running of a household:¹⁹⁵ desirable qualities for the ideal wife, mother and marriageable daughter.

Because of the limitations of costume and the different roles and values that were attributed to women, their portrait statues tended to express more abstract qualities such as chastity, fertility and domestic virtues. But I propose that there is so much more to monumental public female portrait statues, particularly in Aphrodisias in the imperial period. As we shall see many times in the following chapters, women cleverly used costume to find their own innovative ways to express different kinds of rank and affiliation. Women such as Claudia Tatiana (*Figure 1.17*) found power as local benefactresses and adopted elements of the costume associated with regional elite women such as Artemisia and others to express very specific messages of meaning. Particular elements of drapery from well-known regionally famous portrait statues came to be used much like attributes to signify status by association, and hint at a change of meaning. As the roles of women evolve, so they required traditional costume motifs to make more complex and suggestive statements in their portraits. As we have already seen, ‘Statue 89’ (*Figure 1.18 and Chapter 3.5*) adopts the Ceres body type, and lifts her himation to show the viewer her cosmopolitan closed-toe shoes, an unusual choice of footwear for such a pastoral costume normally associated with nature and fertility.

To complicate matters yet further, as mentioned briefly above, we must also consider that the intended meaning involved in choices of costume changed over time, adding yet further layers of interpretative significance to a portrait statue. For example, empresses may have chosen outfits that linked them back to Hellenistic prototypes and their associations, yet further down the line this costume choice may have been made by a patron seeking to align themselves politically with the empress, and in the process altering the significance of the costume.

¹⁹⁴ Dillon (2010) 60.

¹⁹⁵ Der Grazia Vanderpool (2005) 19.



Figure 1.17 Claudia Tatiana (Cat no.14). Figure 1.18 'Statue 89' (Cat no.15).

1.15: Body Types

Having established that the body and costume of a portrait statue were imbued with meaning, we must investigate more deeply the language expressed through the convention of the 'body type'. Over and over again in Greek and Roman portrait statues, we find recurring identical or similar bodies. Greek artists never produced exact facsimiles of types, making each known image slightly different and individual from the next, but the Romans were avid makers of exact copies. Again, we can attribute this in some respects to the Roman art collector, but also because types became so closely associated with their meaning that they became standardised (either completely, or particular elements from which the Roman artist might pick and choose according to the portrait's requirements), and used as a 'prop' to the head

which, to the Romans of course, portrayed the ‘individual’ characteristics of the portrait. And as we have already established, the Greek examples emphasised the body rather than the head to express the ‘ethos’ rather than the individuality of the subject. Different types of bodies were employed because each carried specific layers of meaning that added to the overall values expressed in the portrait, and made associations that the viewer would understand from other well-known former versions of a type. Smith regards the occasional repetition of body types in certain public monumental displays as little more than ‘achieving and creating difference’,¹⁹⁶ but this approach disregards the value of any meaningful use of body types, and instead implies the choice of representation as no more than aesthetic.

As we have seen, male body types of elite Roman males were more straight-forward than those employed by women. They dressed in the real costume of the day, reflecting the public role for which they had been honoured. This might include military armour or the contemporary toga. The republican toga, for example, was less voluminous than that introduced by Augustus, with the increased folds of material and looped fold at the breast. Variations included the material drawn over the head as a veil denoting observance of a sacrifice. The choice of footwear alluded to the exact layer of society that a man occupied. Body stance was more often than not easy to interpret. The Adlocutio gesture of the Prima Porta statue reaching out to address a crowd, the wringing hands of Demosthenes deep in thought, the urbane and disciplined arm sling gesture of Aischines all allude to a clearly defined public action. The often ambiguous blend of gesture and costume in female portraits was, in contrast, problematic. But by looking closely at body types, we might understand what they intended to convey.

1.16: Female body types

Fejfer points out that there are six major body types for women, of which there are many variations.¹⁹⁷ It is worth at this point examining the six main types and their main variants to identify meanings that will aid in the following case studies of the

¹⁹⁶ Smith (2006) 36.

¹⁹⁷ Fejfer (2008) 335.

women of Aphrodisias. Although female Greek body types evolved from a few examples that later became formulaic and standardised, as we have seen, with very few exceptions portrait statues were almost never identical, varying in details to a greater or lesser extent. Under Rome, copies of body types were on occasion repeated as exact facsimiles with portrait heads on top, such as the portrait statues of Sabina and Regilla from the Nymphaeum at Delphi, Chapter 4.1.

The heads and hair may take the form of Greek or Roman types, and the blend of styles made dramatic statements that changed the meaning of the overall portrait. Local choice and tastes, contemporary political climate and changes over time were significant factors. In the west, as female portraits emerged, they followed Greek traditions closely. Gradually, during the first and second centuries, in many cases the bodies became more formulaic and repetitive; the head becoming the individualised or portrait statement. This level of sameness, never seen before,¹⁹⁸ carried its own meaning. Suddenly, a body was no longer specifically adapted to portray cultural and personal qualities. Rather, it became subsumed into a wider dialogue of local and wider imperial significance. This is an important point. Trimble notes that in cases of replication, to identify meaning, one must look to local context, display and interaction with surroundings.¹⁹⁹ That is not to say that the portrait itself becomes a mere appendage to its location. Despite the fact of repetition or replication, the choice of body and the meaning it carried was still immensely significant. Other groups of female portrait statues, particularly in parts of the east, continued to display individuality through the head or body. The trends emanating from Rome influenced local choices. Dillon notes that whilst many cities apparently chose to overlook Roman portrait fashions, others such as Aphrodisias positively embraced them.²⁰⁰ The picture was a complicated one; as we shall see with the Menodotus portrait statue in Chapter 4.2, apparent disregard of Roman influence and tastes still represented a conscious dialogue with the hub of power; a concept we shall explore later. Once again, local context plays a major role.

¹⁹⁸ Trimble (2011) 106.

¹⁹⁹ Trimble (2011) 164.

²⁰⁰ Dillon (2010) 149.

1.17: Pudicitia type

The Pudicitia type (*Figure 1.19*) was used most commonly in the second and first centuries BC in Hellenistic cities.²⁰¹ She stands with the weight on the right foot, the left knee slightly bent with the left foot protruding from beneath the chiton. Most often, the feet wear sandals which were traditional Greek female attire. She wears a tightly wrapped mantle that covers the whole body and arms, revealing the floor length chiton beneath. The left arm crosses the body in a closed, almost defensive gesture. The right arm is held against the body with the hand held under the chin in a very pensive gesture. The tight wrapping of the thin mantle moulds the body beneath, including the breasts, which creates what Smith describes as a ‘sexually charged’ image.²⁰² This conflicts somewhat with the name as meaning ‘sexual restraint’. The shoulders tend to be narrow, with the shape widening to a triangular-shaped substantial body, which Dillon notes was considered a sign of beauty.²⁰³ In the majority of surviving examples, the head is covered with the mantle. Fejfer points out that the type was often used in a funerary context and was most popular in the late republic,²⁰⁴ managing a brief revival in the Trajanic era. It was not generally used by the empresses as a body type. Smith argues that she came to be replaced with less sexual, more sedate body formats, such as the Ceres type, but it is not an entirely convincing argument that restrained sexuality was the cause of her replacement. Smith’s assertion that she was replaced by other types appears to base the choice on aesthetic preference rather than implied meaning. There must be other reasons for her replacement, such as a body capable of expressing certain meanings in a clearer way, or perhaps she was not replaced at all, merely abandoned in favour of a body capable of acting as a vehicle for a new set of contemporary meanings. She was, after all, centuries old. Although ancient forms of representation persisted, the social position of women was becoming more public and complex and called for a fresh body type.

Furthermore, if the bodies of the Pudicitia and Ceres types are compared, the more active posture and open stance of the Ceres figure is strikingly more confident and dynamic than the very static and pensive Pudicitia. Indeed, the smouldering sexuality

²⁰¹ Smith (2006) 48.

²⁰² Smith (2008) 48.

²⁰³ Dillon (2010) 88.

²⁰⁴ Fejfer (2008) 335.

of the closed Pudicitia type and the bold, open Ceres type seem very different. The latter certainly seems an incongruous replacement for the former. Also, as we shall see, other types could be just as sexually overt as the Pudicitia type that continued to be widely used. It must be concluded that the Pudicitia format may have shared another meaning. Even though Zanker is referring to images of male intellectuals, and in particular poets, he notes that the image of the hand held pensively under the chin is the gesture of the thinker.²⁰⁵ The open fingers imply that the subject is witnessed mulling over some intellectual conundrum, the viewer being invited to wonder over the nature of the woman's thoughts. Although it might be somewhat daring to state that we are regarding the image of the woman as intellectual, nevertheless we might at least be viewing an image of the contemplative woman in the act of thinking, and a more secure example of which will be seen in Chapter 4.2. Alternatively, she might be mourning or grieving. The hand might be held to the face in a gesture of sad reflection or involved in the act of revealing/ concealing the face. As we shall see, the Large Herculaneum Woman is also identified with intellectualism, but more frequently in a more public setting. The funerary context might also provide a forum for a slightly more daring and personal representation of the female portrait. The closed body signifies that she is not engaging with the viewer, but stands aloof in her own quiet thoughts.

Overall, the Pudicitia type is an introverted and contemplative image of a female. She is seen thinking or mourning, with no interest in the viewer. She creates tension through inadvertently displaying her beauty and sexuality, expressing her fertility and marital qualities, and her education and domestic virtues through the luxuriance of the material and expert draping of her clothing.

²⁰⁵ Zanker (1995) 141.



Figure 1.19 The Pudicitia body type (Cat no.16).

1.18: The Large and Small Herculaneum Women

The Herculaneum Women body types are stylistically similar in some respects to the Pudicitia type. Vorster claims that they were only ever used for portraits, and we can therefore dismiss former claims that they represented Demeter and Persephone, although it is generally accepted that they were often but not exclusively displayed together, signifying that they were sometimes intended to show mother and daughter. They share the iconography of the closed body. The Large Herculaneum Woman (*Figure 1.20*) stands with the weight on the right foot, the left leg very slightly bent with the foot protruding from beneath the heavy chiton.²⁰⁶ The dropped left hip

²⁰⁶ Vorster (2008) 113.

creates a fluid sense of sway to the figure. The right arm is drawn in to the body, the hand clasping the mantle drawn across the chest that forms the epitomizing V shape drape. The gesture is a complex one. It is as though the woman is attempting to cover herself in a demure way, yet the tautness of the mantle drawn across the breast highlights rather than conceals it, creating a sexual tension that Trimble refers to as ‘concealed pleasure’.²⁰⁷ The mantle is thrown over the left shoulder, and hangs down the back. The left arm hangs by the side, wrapped in one end of the V shaped drape. The mantle winds around it, hanging in rich curves down to the lower leg. It is voluminous, and the vertical and horizontal drapes shape the round hipped, full figure. The V shape over the lower abdomen may also continue Trimble’s theme of ‘concealed pleasure’ by alluding to the woman’s sexual organs hidden beneath. Above the neckline of the mantle can be seen the ruched fabric of the chiton, and the head is usually veiled and inclined. The withdrawn nature of the body means that, like the Pudicitia type, she does not engage with her audience, but in contrast her gesture draws the attention to the body itself.²⁰⁸ She creates an image of calm and sedate contemplation,²⁰⁹ which ironically suggests the pose of the viewer.

The origin of the type dates back to between 330 BC and 310 BC and corresponds in style to portraits of Sophocles and Aischines (*Figure 1.21*).²¹⁰ This observation links the Large Herculaneum Woman with types used for intellectual males. Although the figure of Aischines has a more provocative and active stance, and an absence of the sexualised undertones, the similarities are striking. His arm is enclosed in the arm-sling format, a symbol of reserve and self-discipline used in portraits of both men and women,²¹¹ and the nature of the pose is very similar in its construction of calm, casual confidence. The original and true meaning of the body type does not at first glance seem to convey any overt intellectual references, but this level of meaning must not be dismissed. Vorster argues convincingly that the ‘citizen’ nature of both portrait types, and the well documented use of the type for statues of women poets, means that

²⁰⁷ Trimble (2000) 64.

²⁰⁸ Trimble (2000) 65.

²⁰⁹ Vorster (2008) 114.

²¹⁰ Vorster (2008) 115, and Dillon (2010) 92.

²¹¹ Dillon (2010) 92.

the intellectual nature of the Large Herculaneum Woman type and the similarity with examples of Aischines are intentional.²¹²

For Vorster at least, the mantle is the key to her original significance, which should be considered in the same way as an attribute; that is, lending significance to the overall figure. The lavish and rich nature of the drapery highlighted the wealth and status of the wearer. But just as important was the way in which it was handled. It was a sign of a good female education and manners that a Greek woman knew how to drape herself correctly. In the Large Herculaneum Woman type, the sophisticated draping of the voluminous mantle is expertly handled.²¹³ She grips the cloth properly in contrast to the Small Herculaneum Woman type who seems to fumble with hers. The head veiled by the mantle was an allusion to decent female humility as well as a proper respect for the gods. Vorster also shows how contemporary votive examples showing the type have her facing a deity in a 'gesture of veneration'.²¹⁴ All this somewhat contradicts Fejfer's argument that we cannot truly understand the choice of some costume types because they originated from example of goddesses,²¹⁵ although she does acknowledge costume as being of vital importance. Vorster successfully counter-argues that the iconography of the Large Herculaneum Woman originates from clear examples of real women in real contemporary clothing. As to the meaning, Trimble concludes that, 'These momentary interactions of gesture and drapery are self-contained and have no particular symbolic or iconographic force. Rather, their role is to provide visual clarity and interest'.²¹⁶ This seems to dismiss the importance of education and correct public behaviour and status that Vorster notes.

The original meaning of the Large Herculaneum Woman type was clearly wrapped up with good breeding and education, and a dutiful deference to the gods. Her desirable skills as a well behaved wife with the capacity to run the household were expressed through her dress and its handling, and her more specifically gendered aspects of fertility and motherhood through the rendering of the sexual nature of the figure. One can also detect a sense of self-assured calm and comfort in her own body. The

²¹² Vorster (2008)136.

²¹³ Vorster (2008)120.

²¹⁴ Vorster (2008) 122.

²¹⁵ Fejfer (2008) 344.

²¹⁶ Trimble (2011) 165.

similarity of the type to examples of male intellectuals and, as we shall see, the frequently seen original context of many statues of this kind in theatres, suggests a degree of intellectualism attributed to the type.

These layers of recognisable meaning secured the transmission of the body type through to the imperial period. As Trimble notes, she was considered an ideal vehicle for the expression of Julio-Claudian social values and political ideology, particularly those applying to women.²¹⁷ Under the empire, it was necessary to promote and spread the cultural and political messages of the central regime, and the adoption and repetition of recognisable types, widely distributed, was a way in which to do this. The Large Herculaneum Woman thus becomes absorbed into the arsenal of propagandist art emanating from Rome.²¹⁸ Smith notes that variations of the type tended to become more standardised under the empire,²¹⁹ and we will observe that it becomes a popular choice in closely-related copies in the far reaches of the empire, in cities such as Olympia (see for instance Chapter 4.1), and even in Aphrodisias. Clearly under Rome, the body type essentially retained its original meanings of values and virtues, but with the added sanction that it was endorsed as respectable enough even for the ultimate women of the empire, the female relatives of the princeps himself. As shall be discussed below, this added layer of meaning came to be an important use of the type in Aphrodisias.

²¹⁷ Trimble (2000) 65.

²¹⁸ Trimble (2000) 64.

²¹⁹ Smith (2006)195.



Figures 1.20 and 1.21 The Large Herculaneum Woman (Cat no.17) and the Portrait Statue of Aischines (Cat no.18).

Originating from the Hellenistic period,²²⁰ the Small Herculaneum Woman (*Figure 1.22*), is closely associated with the Large Herculaneum Woman, but notably different. She stands with the weight on the left foot, with the right leg bent and the foot protruding beneath the chiton. The image is quite animated and appears to be stepping forward, as though in contrast to the controlled poise of the Large Herculaneum Woman, she is caught in a moment of (perhaps unintended) movement.²²¹ She conjures the image of someone blinking or moving whilst a photograph is being taken, struggling to maintain her composure, and the effect is endearing. Even the slight lean to the left formed by the diagonal line up the body following the line from the protruding right foot, through the drapery and finishing with the hand held to the left shoulder, creates a feel of instability and motion. The body is quite boyish and slender with few discernible sexual overtones, and is the

²²⁰ Fejfer (2008) 335.

²²¹ Vorster (2007) 67.

only repeated body format to be so completely non-sensual. The triangle formed by the folds in front of the sexual organs is the only apparent reference to her budding womanhood. The left hand crosses the body in a defensively shy gesture that also grasps at the mantle falling from the left shoulder. It covers the arm in the 'sling effect'. The gesture also ensures that the breasts are entirely concealed from view. The right hand is by the side with the mantle wound around it. The cloth is luxurious and fine, with press folds carved delicately into the surface, but she seems to be struggling to control it. The head remains uncovered, and in our example exposes the Brauron or 'little bear' hairstyle, similar to the melon-type associated with younger girls.²²² The head is demurely lowered.

In contrast to the 'conceal and reveal' effect of the body types discussed so far, the Small Herculaneum Woman struggles to keep herself covered, creating an intensely private and enclosed body type. De Grazia Vanderpool notes that she is taking the first steps into womanhood, attempting to handle the clothing of a mature woman whilst not yet physically ready or confident enough to be presented as a sexually mature female. Therefore the overriding message here is of modesty or *aidos*.²²³ Unlike her counterpart, she does not appear to concern herself with any obvious deference to the gods, the head is not veiled. We must also note that examples of the type were often found in theatre settings. Maybe she too is also in possession of the qualities of the poet or intellectual.

The Small Herculaneum Woman, then, is the representation of a younger, sexually immature woman. The image is charming, almost playful, lacking the gravitas of other types. But she is also the embodiment of pre-marriage modesty and female training and restraint and intended to be taken seriously. She seems entirely devoid of religious connotations, and her find context would indicate that she too is linked with intellectual qualities.

²²² De Grazia Vanderpool (2005) 16.

²²³ De Grazia Vanderpool (2005) 20.



Figure 1.22 The Small Herculaneum Woman (Cat no.19).

1.19: The Ceres Body type

The Ceres body type was a relatively late addition to the body type repertoire. She reached the height of her popularity in the second century AD (see Chapter 3.5-3.7).²²⁴ Again, she wears the chiton and mantle. The weight is on the right leg; the left knee is bent and moulded by the fabric of drapery. The foot is slightly back, as though the figure were dynamically stepping forward. The mantle is often wrapped tightly around a voluptuous full figure with rounded hips. It tumbles over the shoulder and wraps the right arm. The head is often covered as in Figure 1.23, referring to the role of priestess or religious deference. The left arm grasps bunches of drapery which reveals the full length chiton beneath, and the hand clasps ears of wheat or

²²⁴ Fejfer (2008)335, and Alexandridis (2010) 167.

pomegranates,²²⁵ attributes of the goddess Ceres, hence the name of the body type. She also holds up her mantle that has the unexpected effect of revealing the leg and foot. As noted earlier, Hallett points out that the portrait statue of a priest of Aphrodite from Aphrodisias lifts his mantle to reveal his exotic footwear, but it is unclear why the Ceres body type performs the same gesture, although it could be a practical gesture of holding up the garment to allow her to take a step without treading on the floor length shift. The act of stepping or striding was a gesture associated with the public sphere, and brings the body type out from the confines of the domestic realm. The inclusion of attributes does not mean that the figure is intended to be Ceres herself; rather she is alluding to the qualities of motherhood, fertility and abundance. The right arm is raised in a gesture of action or greeting or religious observance. As we shall see, there are variations to the action of the arm. In the example below, the wife of Septimius Severus raises her hand to her face in a manner similar to that of the Pudicitia type, in a gesture of thought or contemplation. The open, dynamic nature of the type means that she engages with her viewer in a confident and assured pose.

She was often used as a body type for later empresses, as can be seen in Figure 1.23, which shows Julia Domna in the Ceres type. On the first century Sebasteion relief, Agrippina can also be seen alongside her husband clasping ears of wheat (Chapter 2.14 and *Figure 1.24*) in reference to Ceres or Abundance, and Livia was also on occasion represented in this manner. In Aphrodisias, the type was also used for the portrait of a mature lady displayed alongside what was assumed to be her daughter (Statue 89, Figure 1.18 above). As we observed, the type reflected motherly and wifely qualities, fecundity and nature as well as showing the subject in a religious context, perhaps performing a sacrifice. This became a common form of representation, as can be seen in a frieze from the Arch of the Argentarii in Rome, which depicts Julia Domna performing a sacrifice alongside her husband (*Figure 1.25*) in her role as guardian of the dynasty and guarantor of stability. Yet it also alludes to a greater confidence, directness and readiness to engage with the viewer than earlier Classical and Hellenistic body types, unless we consider the statue of Artemisia from Asia Minor with her full body and open, animated gesture. The arms are held away from the body in a stance that permits an unobscured view of the

²²⁵ Smith (2006) 209.

figure, as though inviting the viewer to closely scrutinise the body. As we shall see in examples from Aphrodisias, they are often accompanied by a strikingly direct gaze. The Ceres type sheds the demureness of earlier types and has a more Roman flavour of matronly values, confidence and pastoral harmony, depicting the subject as an individual of social status and rank as well as a mother and wife.



Figure 1.23 Julia Domna in the Ceres body type (Cat no.20).



Figure 1.24 Agrippina with Ceres attributes from the Sebasteion. 1st c. AD (Cat no.34).



Figure 1.25 Julia Domna, The Arch of the Argentarii, Rome (Cat no.21).

1.20: The Shoulder Bundle

Particular to Roman styles of female portraiture is the shoulder bundle and hip bundle type,²²⁶ in which bundles of drapery from the edge of a mantle either drape across the shoulders or the hip, over an often-belted chiton. These types are sophisticated and complex. The shoulder bundle format was ushered in during the reigns of Caligula and Claudius and was a sharp contrast to earlier Hellenistic types such as the Large Herculaneum Woman. This was due to its assertive, animated posture and engagement with an audience and because of the sense of imperial authority that this type created. This was a period when women exercised more direct imperial power than at any other period until arguably the time of Julia Domna. The sisters of Caligula, as we will see below in Chapter 2.12, were highly honoured and, in the case of Agrippina as wife of Claudius, directly involved in the administration of the emperor's office. Even if power was never to be so directly in the hands of imperial females again, the overt sense of confidence and attitude expressed through portraits such as our example, below, continued to be influential on female portraiture for some time.

As we observed, public statues of Roman women were very rare in the late republic,²²⁷ but they became increasingly common because of the emerging desire to honour elite female family members in portraits for a variety of reasons. Gathering momentum was a wish to honour women in public monuments in response to the shifting social attitudes that began during the early principate, and the by now established practice of dedicating female portraits in the public arena. We must not forget that the honorific, public statues of a city were a 'second population' that reflected how society viewed itself, albeit from an ideal perspective,²²⁸ and this notably included the increasingly common portrayal of women of the imperial household in public honorific monuments. Under Augustus, such images were restricted, but under later emperors they become more prolific.²²⁹ The portrait of Livia

²²⁶ Vorster (2007) 78.

²²⁷ Boatwright (2000) 62.

²²⁸ Stewart (2003) 8.

²²⁹ Boatwright (2000) 62.

and the way that it was used is instructive, and will be considered below (Chapter 2.15 and 4.5). Although these powerful women often chose established Classical and Hellenistic body types as vehicles for self-representation, new types began to develop unique to the Roman world. The Trajanic portrait statue of Matidia (*Figure 1.26*) is a virtuoso example of the Shoulder Bundle type. It was found with other images from the imperial family in Trajan's Forum. She stands with the weight on the left leg, the right knee bent as though the figure is stepping forward, the leg pushing through the floor length chiton. She wears the mantle in a new and unusual way. It covers the front of the body, going from the left hip to the right shoulder, and coming over the right shoulder in gathering folds that give the type its name. The garment does not resemble the stola, the very matronly and distinctly Roman attire denoting wifely obedience and moral perfection and usually identifiable as an extra garment worn between the chiton and mantle, clipped together at the shoulder (For example in Chapter 2.15). In her left hand she holds a gathered bunch of the fabric, expertly held as we have come to expect from mature, composed women, but moulded as though to resemble the scroll that might be held by a male denoting authority and public office. Boatwright argues that the unusual drapery links this and other similar imperial portraits with the vestal virgins, as though the women assume the responsibility as symbolic guardians of the eternal flame that ensured the continuing success and might of Rome.²³⁰ The women who wear this costume in portraits are thus represented as the guarantors of succession for the ruler of the prevailing dynasty, in this case the Emperor Trajan. The full body is concealed by the drapery, but the mantle is drawn across the chest in a gesture that has the effect of highlighting the breasts.

Yet we cannot ignore the fact that the mantle appears for all intents and purposes to be draped in a fashion resembling a toga. Women shared an ambivalent relationship with this distinctly male item of clothing. D'Ambra notes that they were probably worn by prostitutes, and the costume was most likely used as a deliberate subversion of the norm; to place their bodies firmly within the public arena,²³¹ making them available to men. Therefore it might seem an indecent and inappropriate costume for the highest echelons of elite women to wear in their portraits, women who might be publicly

²³⁰ Boatwright (2000) 62.

²³¹ D'Ambra (2007) 4.

visible but were utterly inaccessible. Instead, Matidia appears to be wearing a version of the toga to place her firmly in the public arena, whilst avoiding any inappropriate allusions to prostitutes. It confers the more masculine, positive associations of control, discipline and oratory.²³² Any danger of making a public address by a woman is removed by the outright adoption of this costume, as it places her 'safely' in the male realm. Although seemingly confusing, it must be remembered that gender was a more fluid concept than modern understanding, and Matidia smoothly makes the transition into the masculine arena through the use of a feminine-layered costume resembling a toga. Clearly for the ultra-elite women of Trajan's court, such a direct assertion of power and cross into the male domain was not only acceptable but considered entirely appropriate. The choice of costume also highlights the important point made above, that ultra-elite women were more closely associated with men than ordinary women, so she in fact transcends arguments surrounding the appropriateness of the toga in this example. She adopts the arm and hand gesture of the orator in a confident and almost-but not quite- masculine pose, even to the detail of the pseudo-scroll, reaching out to appeal the viewer, but the feminine pose of the body, redolent of the Ceres type, and the drapery drawn across the chest revealing the womanly shape and breast remind the viewer that she is female, and softens the masculine references.

The head is uncovered, which indicates that she is not participating in a religious ceremony, but rather she appears to be in the process of address. The head and hair are remarkable in our example for their severity. No remnant is visible of the demure Hellenistic female predecessor, subservient and respectably hidden, and paragon of beauty. Instead, Matidia's face is typically Roman in the unsmiling, somewhat stern expression. The face speaks of Roman austerity and *gravitas*; this is no ideal housewife but an exemplar of imperial authority and seriousness, irrespective of gender. Kampen notes that, in order for portraits of women to express *auctoritas*, it was necessary for them to take on a decidedly masculine appearance.²³³ Yet this type, especially in our example, successfully imbues a seriousness and authority without relying exclusively on male representation. True, she lacks a feminine softness that is associated with the womanly ideal, but she retains a female, if matronly beauty. The

²³² Petersen (2009) 207.

²³³ Kampen (1996) 18.

hair is another indicator of power and authority which will be discussed below. This body type was not seen in the provinces, but expresses a strong sense of confidence, imperial identity and power in female form that was observed and translated into female portraits across the empire, including Aphrodisias. More than any physical feature, the forceful attitude and directness was widely replicated in portraits, such as Statue 89 (Chapter 3.5).



Figure 1.26 Matidia (Cat no.22).

The meanings contained within this body type are complex and multi-layered. The forward, open and direct gestures and the animated pose present an assertive,

confident and forthright figure. The costume links the wearer with both female and male paradigms of virtue in a feminised form, with the emperor and the vestal virgins. They present the women who wear it as sexual and important in terms of their ability to protect the imperial line by producing children and reinforcing the importance of the institution of the Roman family. They are also lavishly draped, harking back to good education and domestic skills, but these qualities are subordinated to a more strikingly powerful and gender transcendent image of imperial Roman power in its own right. She stands in a softened pose of *adlocutio*, as though seeking to address the viewer and preach the authority and greatness of Rome. As we shall see, the fact that the arm raised in address extends only from the elbow is itself significant. The overt masculine appeal to an audience made by a full extension from the shoulder, is here neatly constrained and subdued. However, it is still made by the right arm, the side of action and public activity, a topic we will discuss in Chapter 3.11 In such a way, her portrait is an exercise in imperial power with reference to both genders. It is not subversive by using male prototypes and costumes, or completely female by the softened use of gesture or body, but in fact freely blends aspects of both in a successful and prominent image.

1.21: The Artemisia-Delphi type

Waywell refers to this pose as the *femina orans* type because of its religious aspect. The style is typified by the statue of Artemisia described in detail above. Originating in early Hellenistic types, the body wears the chiton and himation that conceals and reveals the voluptuous figure. The body opens the arms in a gesture of mourning, grief, religious observance, or even greeting (see Chapter 3.12), both allowing and inviting the perusal of body by the viewer. As we observed, the type conveys the message of the exemplary woman as reproductive, expressing a religious deference, domestic and moral virtue, yet is unusually ‘open’ for such an early type. It is an exceptionally powerful, confident and expressive body that allowed for a great deal of interpretation amongst later users of the type.

Dillon argues that specific examples of body types did not necessarily influence the choice of body format by later patrons.²³⁴ This does not seem entirely plausible. On the contrary, it seems likely that famous regional examples such as Artemisia from the Mausoleum were very likely to have been adopted by local women such as those from across Caria. There must have been a first, original use for each statue type at some point, and, even if Artemisia was not the first, a popular and well-known use of the type could have increased its popularity and encouraged its use by others. As noted earlier by Walker, this was an important monument that influenced regional monumental art. I will argue below that it was because of the local association with Artemisia that made it a popular choice in later Aphrodisias. The example of Claudia Tatiana (Chapter 3.12), centuries later, is likely to have been aware of the famous use of the format and its associations when she used it for the basis of her own contemporary version. As will be seen, portraits looked back as well as to the present and the future in the references they made.

1.22: The Arm Sling format

Finally, the arm-sling format was a closed body type characterised by the right arm being restrained across the chest by drapery. Like the Large Herculaneum woman type, it was a direct descendant of the fourth century Aischines portrait. Just as with the Large Herculaneum woman type, the use of the format expressed notions of the ideal citizen.²³⁵ It emphasised the controlled discipline and reserve of the subject in a way that translated into female versions. However, there are distinct differences in the way the type was transferred between genders. For women, the chiton or under-dress always reached the floor. The left hand was more likely to be held down at the side. In this way, the forthright thrust of the male version is lost in favour of a calmer, more static pose. This might reflect the fact that the original statue of Aischines was posed in the act of speaking in public, as Solon had done before him.²³⁶ For non-imperial and most elite women, this was not appropriate. Instead, it was the restraint and controlled discipline that mattered. In Aphrodisias, this was a popular body type for

²³⁴ Dillon (2010) 69.

²³⁵ Dillon (2006) 61-2.

²³⁶ Dillon (2006) 61.

urbane and sophisticated males, especially under the Second Sophistic. Both on sarcophagi and in portrait statue form, as shall be seen in Chapter 3.12, a distinctly reserved local version of the format is replicated often in association with a version of the Large Herculaneum woman type. The accompanying scroll box or scrolls held in the hand added emphasis to the role.

1.23: Variations on a theme

There are endless variations to these major types that have the effect of altering the overall meaning, and I will address them as we meet them. As Dillon points out, early examples of Greek female portrait statues were never exact replicas. This was a particularly Roman phenomenon instigated by the very different needs of an imperial and largely homogenous society that required uniformity and a more sophisticated and universal visual language in its portraiture. Earlier Greek versions tended only to follow basic body posture and drapery configurations, and statue body formats were subject to ‘creative variation’ to a lesser or greater degree.²³⁷ The inclusion of types of drapery-folds link images with specific deities such as the muses, or the *peplos* with Athena which may (or indeed, may not) denote chastity amongst younger women and religious devotion,²³⁸ and can change general meanings into more specific messages. Small and sometimes overlooked alterations to major types can subtly add layers of meaning, such as the already mentioned closed shoes of Statue 89 (*Figure 1.18*) that add a very cosmopolitan feel to a style more associated with agriculture, fecundity and nature. The fact is that any alteration from the expected norm of a commonly seen body, type or dress was a deliberately contrived addition intended to alter the meaning of the original format. Especially in Roman contexts, any deliberate alteration from an established standard was added to draw attention to that difference. As will be seen in Chapter 4.2, understanding alterations is an essential part of interpreting the overall meaning of a portrait sculpture.²³⁹

²³⁷ Dillon (2010) 68.

²³⁸ Dillon (2010) 79.

²³⁹ Trimble (2011) 143.

Traditional and unaltered types persisted into the imperial period alongside newer developments, as was the case with Plancia Magna from Perge²⁴⁰. Local elite women across the empire were just as likely to refer back to types that were popular within their specific region, showing affiliation and allegiance to their own community as well as reflecting the prestige of types adopted and disseminated by imperial women of Rome.

1.24: Attributes and Accessories

For women, rather than holding objects such as scrolls (although they were very occasionally held), the drapery might be grasped at waist level in the manner suggestive of a scroll, such as the late first/ second century portrait statue signed by Menodotus that will be the focus of attention in Chapter four, and the Matidia portrait, above. The addition of an attribute had the capacity to dramatically alter a portrait. Only in the early imperial period did attributes begin to appear on portrait statues, and it was an aspect of Roman portrait development that was embraced in Aphrodisias as elsewhere. Prior to this, male Greek portraits had held spears or other objects such as scrolls or the discus that alluded to their role or status, or props such as scroll boxes, as in the Aischines portrait, performed the same task. Under Rome, Hallett notes that the objects held or included in portraits came to add a significant layer of meaning.²⁴¹ Specific objects included in portraits will not be discussed here, as the effect in their respective portraits shall be considered as they are met. However, it must be noted in this discussion of body types that, as a general rule in public portrait statues, attributes were only gender specific as they referred to certain gods. This means that women held objects associated with female deities and men those of male deities. The wheat and poppy seed heads of Demeter or Ceres held as a bouquet in the hand, or the overflowing cornucopia of Fortuna were more likely to be included in portraits of women as they made statements regarding traditional abstract female qualities of fertility and abundance. In other portrait forms such as intimate cameos, objects such as the cornucopia would appear alongside emperors (see Chapter 2.15-2.16 and

²⁴⁰ De Grazia Vanderpool (2005) 12.

²⁴¹ Hallett (2005) 79.

Figure 2.15). The exposed shoulder of Venus Genetrix as seen in a relief from the Sebasteion (*Figure 2.8*), referred to beauty and motherhood and made an ancestral link, especially when made in an imperial context. However, there were exceptions to this rule, and ways could be found to associate males with attributes most usually connected with female figures. In the example of the Ara Pacis, images of fecundity and abundance are made on the Tellus relief, but the emperor appears elsewhere on the processional frieze; yet the link is clearly made. An imperial relief from Aphrodisias plays with this imagery in typically creative local style, and drops the emperor directly into the scene, usurping the figure of Tellus (Chapter 2.9).

The caduceus or helmet and sword associated with Mercury or Mars made statements of business activity, peace, power and strength relevant to males. References to Jupiter such as the thunderbolt or eagle were specific to the emperor, holder of the highest office. For non-imperial elite women, the associations of attributes made statements more appropriate to their virtues. But there were exceptions. The figure of Livia from a relief in Aphrodisias that will be discussed in the next chapter shows the empress extending her hand which is now broken off. As the image is exceptionally unusual in terms of status conferred on her, and as the configuration of figures is schematically similar to the North wall panel of Agrippina crowning Nero in a similar pose with arm held out, there is every reason to suppose that a Victory or even an orb may have once been held in the palm (Chapter 2.15).

Religious but not divinely-inspired and secular attributes could be used by both genders. A Claudian portrait statue of Agrippina the Younger from Rome holds aloft a scroll in the right hand, and proffers a patera in the left.²⁴² A contemporary statue in the Vatican museum dated to AD 50 of Claudius in the costume of Jupiter also holds out the patera. This gesture and attribute makes a gender neutral act of religious significance. Claudius, however, is also accompanied by the eagle of Jupiter and holds the spear of supreme rule. Such blatant and raw male power is denied the Agrippina portrait, but it nevertheless stresses an unusual degree of authority and activity in the public domain. The contrast between the types of attributes also suggests links to the real or divine realms. The scroll of the public speaker linking the

²⁴² Alexandridis (2004) 164, Cat. No. 117, Taf. 22,4.

subject to the here-and-now was clearly intended to make a very different point to the elevated iconography of the divine realm, or the religious domain of priests, priestesses or observance of *pietas*.

Where attributes were concerned, public honorific portrait statues of elite women acted in a very different way to female portraits in other media and contexts. The public or private setting clearly dictated the appropriateness of certain items that might be included or omitted. An example to illustrate this is the use of the kithara. In Chapter 4.2, we shall observe the example of a portrait that follows closely a variant known as the 'Muse with kithara'. It is a full sized statue in a variation of the arm-sling type that is an almost exact replica of a muse carrying a kithara, as seen in the first century Achelaos relief (*figure 1.27*). She is the third figure from the left on the second row gazing up at Zeus, kithara in hand at her side. In the Menodotus portrait, the reference is indisputably to this body figure; the drapery and pose are identical, but in the full sized statue, the instrument is left out. Such an obvious omission, as will be seen, was made for a reason.

A red figure vase from Luca shows a bride with a kithara on her lap. In a wall painting from Boscoreale, a woman sits staring out at the viewer, plucking the kithara whilst appearing richly-dressed, respectable and beautiful (*figure 1.28*). The domestic and private context of both genres made the image completely acceptable. Playing music within the relative intimacy of the household by the wife or mother was not troublesome, and might even have highlighted the delights of home life and celebrated the desirable talents and education of a gifted spouse or daughter. But women playing music and singing in public in portrait form, subjected as they were to the voyeuristic gaze of the anonymous passer-by, might have been more associated with courtesans or prostitutes than elite wives and mothers, and was inappropriate, indecorous and dangerous behaviour. Therefore we must be alert to the use or even the deliberate withholding of attributes.



Figure 1.27 The Archelaos Relief. (Cat no.23).



Figure 1.28 Woman with Kithara, Boscoreale, House 7, Room H. Villa of Fannius Synistor. 50-40 BC. 186.7 x 186.7cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image: Museum.

1.25: Hair in Female Portraits

For both men and women, hair was a complex and sophisticated addition to the ancient portrait statue, and deeply imbued with meaning. It is debatable that a portrait hairstyle was, if ever, included as a genuine reflection of real-looking hair. This is evident in the sculpted, often lustrous and repetitive nature of the restricted corpus of styles that survive in portraits, but contrasts with how ‘real’ hair must have been worn. Certainly, there is plentiful evidence of wigs and hairpieces,²⁴³ and the dressing of hair, and it may be that in fact what we see is an ‘idealisation’ of real hair or aspiration of a style. Of real-life women, Ovid makes reference to hair as being flattering and fashionable and adding to their beauty, and it certainly provided erotic potential,²⁴⁴ but in the portrait statue it takes on much greater meaning and significance, and as such must be examined in its own right. In reality, only wealthy elite women could afford to have their hair styled in the perfect form in which they appeared in portrait form.

Hair was also an indicator of meaning for male portrait statues, and especially in the Greek world, length and style was more likely to denote age. Dillon notes that as a general rule, two types of style persisted. Longer hair and beards represented advanced age; short hair and a beardless face represented youth.²⁴⁵ Bartman further points out that, for later Roman portraits, hair indicated an ‘active’ role in males.²⁴⁶ Under Rome, men were much more likely to adopt styles that reflected their aspirations, social status and political affiliations in their portraits. From the receding hairlines of the veristic, republican styles that spoke of *gravitas* and the required advanced age of office, to the forked fringe of Augustus and the deep curls of Hadrian that associated individuals with the ruling regime, men put on these styles in their portraits as they might don a toga to make unambiguous statements of affiliation.

In the earliest Greek portraits of women, where homogenous ideals of beauty were the most important factors, a few select hairstyles were used in the majority of cases.

²⁴³ Frapiccini (2011) 15.

²⁴⁴ Micheli (2011) 49.

²⁴⁵ Dillon (2006) 67. Although this assertion is made in relation to grave reliefs, Dillon identifies that it follows through to the portrait statues of males.

²⁴⁶ Bartman (2001) 3.

These persisted, remaining relatively unchanged, for centuries.²⁴⁷ Such styles evolved from the harsh braids of the *kore* to more ‘natural’, flattering representations. Hair tended to be carved in the form of soft, swept back waved coiffures, varying from top-piles, such as the peak or top knot,²⁴⁸ to the curled back waves associated with images of Aphrodite,²⁴⁹ and a clear visual link to her beauty. Ancient styles such as the melon type also remained popular on civic portraits such as that seen in the Small Herculaneum woman, above. Less frequently in the East, the tightly curled triple layer of snail shells was worn, usually beneath a veil or *sakkos*. This style will be seen in Chapter 2.12 on a relief from the Sebasteion of Aphrodite, and alludes to a more regional choice of hairstyle.

Under Rome, from the late republican period onwards, the style of female hair in portraits changed frequently, becoming deeply imbued with messages charged with political significance, and ‘symbolising the relationship between individuals and society in which they belonged’.²⁵⁰ At the same time, traditional Greek styles continued to be popular, and the choices available to female patrons reflected a more sophisticated and complex availability of meaning. Hair was developed into a valuable asset in the arsenal of power display by women from the emperor’s wife downwards. On a basic level, it helped with the recognisability of elite women in public portrait statues.²⁵¹ Whether an imperial woman really wore a style or not is inconsequential, although scholars generally agree that the hair worn on portraits represented the real styles worn by wealthy women of the day. What matters is that once a style was given to her portrait and widely circulated, it became associated with her and had the capacity to be copied by admirers for a variety of reasons. In this way, hairstyles evolved as markers of status, association, affiliation and authority, even being worn like a ‘uniform’,²⁵² and women entered in to a dialogue of acculturation,²⁵³ identity and belonging across the whole of the empire.

²⁴⁷ Dillon (2012) 267.

²⁴⁸ Dillon (2010) 120, 123.

²⁴⁹ Dillon (2010) 155.

²⁵⁰ Bartman (2001) 5.

²⁵¹ Meyers (2012) 454-455.

²⁵² D’Ambra (2007) 105.

²⁵³ Micheli (2011) 65.

The more intricate styles took time to create, and this indicated that the wearer had the leisure time to sit and be worked on by slaves skilled in the art of hairdressing,²⁵⁴ and complex coiffures included the use of hairpieces, jewels, pins, and dyes.²⁵⁵ This signalled to the viewer a woman of wealth with the time to indulge in high fashion. Under the Flavians, hair reached huge proportions of peaks and piled curls. The elegant head in the Capitoline museum (*Figure 3.5*, below), typifies the great height and sophistication of the style. In portrait heads, the drill was employed for the first time to add depth to hair.²⁵⁶ Styles were changed frequently, particularly by imperial women such as Matidia, and they were copied in the portraits of elite and non-elite women across the empire. These may or may not have been developed by the imperial women themselves,²⁵⁷ but they were certainly widely embraced and copied mainly as a result of imperial usage. The architectural complexity of these styles spoke of authority and power, discipline and empire. Bartman argues that female hair made ‘few external references, largely because of a lack of suitable iconographic references that can be made’,²⁵⁸ but this argument does not take into consideration the political and powerful significance of some of the prominent women who adopted such styles, and acted as role models and figureheads, and sparked their popularity; they themselves were the iconographic point of reference. Nor does it take into account the changing styles of important women such as Livia, whose hair was altered after death to a more divine style redolent of those worn by female deities (as seen in the ‘Bochum portrait’, *Figure 2.22*) . In this example at least, ancient and established iconographic references were a motivating factor for use.

Rather than being mere markers of beauty that flattered the subject, which frequently to modern eyes they did not, a chosen style reflected correct Roman matronly values of discipline and seriousness, both in the public and domestic realm. Sophisticated styles required restraint and control, and such connotations would have been understood by spectators of the real women or portrait statues who wore them.²⁵⁹ They could resemble tiaras, crowns or turbans, and may even have been created as

²⁵⁴ D’Ambra (2007) 119.

²⁵⁵ Frapiccini (2011) 16.

²⁵⁶ Meyers (2012) 455.

²⁵⁷ Fittschen (1996) 44.

²⁵⁸ Bartman (2001) 5.

²⁵⁹ Micheli (2011) 70.

alternatives to veils. Such a use of hairstyles as markers of status and correct behaviour rather than beauty alone helped to neutralise and negate any danger of the erotic potential and anxieties about appropriate public female display.

As the climate of Roman affiliation and acculturation spread across the empire, women took the opportunity to reflect these hairstyles in their own portraits to express an association with the ruling regime and the political and cultural climate. As will be seen in statues 89 and 90, above and Chapter 3.5-3.7, the adoption of an instantly recognisable hairstyle aided in adding a layer of meaning, and grounded a portrait in the present time and place. In these particular examples, the Trajanic hair builds an identity for these women that removes them from the abstract and homogenous domain of female identity to one of being a 'specific person' or at least, a member of an elite club or group. Beauty alone was no longer the overriding factor of importance, and social standing and status become equally important.

This use of contemporary hair as marker persisted. The portrait statue of Claudia Tatiana, above and Chapter 3.12 and *Figure 3.17*, adopted the hair closely associated with the imperial house, in this instance Julia Domna, in exactly the same way as her Trajanic predecessors before her. Only in this case it is adapted by the use of the bust crown to highlight the public role of imperial priestess.

At the same time, especially in parts of the Greek East, centuries old traditional hairstyles continued to be popular in cities that both did and did not adopt Roman portrait styles. Trimble, Dillon and others note the use of traditional hair by Plancia Magna, benefactor of Perge,²⁶⁰ although the carving is somewhat stylised. Despite the clear references to the ruling regime by the wearing of the bust crown, a local choice of representation means that the priestess has opted to wear a traditional swept back style alluding to her own local Greek tradition of representation. As seen by this example, and as shall be seen frequently in the examples from Aphrodisias that follow, hair should and must be regarded as a carefully thought-through addition to a portrait that should not be taken on face value, and must be interrogated for choice and meaning.

²⁶⁰ Trimble (2011) 166, and Dillon (2010) 158.

Summary

In this chapter, the groundwork has been laid for the detailed case studies that follow. It would not be possible to consider the female portraits of Aphrodisias without first examining the exceptionally rich artistic and monumental portrait heritage of Greece, Asia Minor and Rome to which they owe so much. Here, this heritage converges as nowhere else in the empire.

The earliest portraits were developed to represent, replicate or replace the image of the subject, and this basic definition was sufficient to identify an intended work as a portrait, despite issues of appearance or a lack of human-ness. In the Greek world during the Classical and Hellenistic periods, matters of recognisability were never important for portraits of men or women. Instead, factors of ethos (social ideal), individualism (that is, the addition of details that set one portrait apart from another), realism (creating a portrait that looked credibly life-like), and even identification and typology (the use of details that became associated with a 'type' of person, such as the philosopher's beard, or with an individual, such as the blind and closed eyes of Homer), came to sufficiently represent different people. In regions of the Greek world and the East, a need to reflect political and cultural changes in portrait form became just as important as a continuation of traditional concepts of representations of men and women. The portrait of Demosthenes, opponent of Alexander, is testament to such changes. Sophisticated portrait types originally developed for men, such as that of Aischines, were also adapted for use by women.

As Greece met Rome, portraits needed to adapt to a new climate of personal prestige, social competitiveness and imperial confidence that permeated the west and spread eastwards. Important changes that reflected a new sense of the individual became adopted across the empire, as well as being merged or fused into new designs capable of portraying specific values and association, such as advanced age, or individualised heads on idealised bodies. This was a period of great creativity and experimentation that grappled with a heightened awareness of the self and aspiration. Other new features instigated by the need to control a vast empire, such as the expediency of widespread recognisability of an individual such as the emperor and his family,

introduced a new need to communicate to a wider audience a standardised and much repeated image. Repetition and recognisability became important factors that then influenced private portraits of men and women across the contemporary world.

As portrait statues began to fill the religious, civic and private spaces of the empire, complex messages developed. Meaning was expressed through the clothing, gesture and pose of the body, the format or body-type, face, hair, attribute, or even association with former portraits through varying degrees of similitude and copying. Change occurred to meaning over time, and had the capacity to express cultural and social inclusion or deliberate difference. Resulting portraits were complex and packed with meaning. Artistic skill and a selective choice of material kept pace with changes, and tools such as the drill were extensively employed in the sculpture of hair and drapery.

Female honorific portrait statues had been present for centuries in the Greek world to an increasing degree. They generally focused on women as members of a homogenous social group, as ideal wives, mothers or status symbols reflecting prestige on to male family relatives. There were rare exceptions, such as elite ruler-wives in the Greek East. The emergence of Rome, and specifically during the early principate, conditions of female portraiture began to change. As a result of the shifting social climate and changes as to what exactly constituted a public role, portraits of women began to appear in Roman city spaces in increasing numbers for the first time. The role of the imperial mothers as guarantors of the future state, and the patronage and authority of women such as Livia and Agrippina the younger, as well as heightened public prominence as seen in Livia and Julia's inclusion in the reliefs of the Ara Pacis, ensure that elite women came to be viewed as almost social equals to their husbands and sons. As they did so, the effect they have on the portraits of women across the empire was revolutionary. Social change was perceived in cities as far away as Aphrodisias, where the response was to create adapted versions of recognised imperial models of emperors accompanied by their wives and mothers. These cutting-edge compositions and images influenced how women came to be represented in their own portraits. A more diverse, changing and complex choice of female portrait styles was available than at any time previously. It came at a time of huge social and cultural change for women, and we shall move on to see how these came to be realised in early imperial Aphrodisias.

Chapter Two: Aphrodisias

2.1: Aphrodisias: Past and Present

So many unique circumstances converge on the city in Asia Minor that allow for a wide ranging and in-depth contextual analysis is rare in the world of Roman portrait statues. Not least is the factor that this geographically remote site remained relatively undisturbed until the beginning of the twentieth century, and did not suffer from the archaeological pillage that occurred in more famous sites such as Pompeii. This means that many of the statues and artefacts were found still in their original contexts, and scholars have been able to reconstruct how many of the finds were originally used and displayed, and even reunite statues with inscriptions. In some cases, it has been possible to prove that older existing portrait statues were moved from their original site of display and integrated into later building programs. After several aborted attempts at full scale archaeological surveys, one was commenced in earnest by Kenan T. Erim with the University of New York in 1961,²⁶¹ whose passion and painstaking dedication to the site and its finds provides us with much of the carefully documented evidence and detailed scholarship that exists today. His work was continued and built upon by Professor R. R. R. Smith.

Aphrodisias provides a fascinating glimpse of how a staunchly pro-Roman Greek city chose to negotiate its relationship with its rulers,²⁶² both male and female, so far away in terms of public display and art at the beginning of the imperial period. The Roman-style buildings of the city complexes are testament to and visual expression of the patriotism shared by its inhabitants.²⁶³ The portrait statues and art that were displayed in the public spaces also reflected this close affiliation. Dillon notes the unusually high proportion of Roman style portraits, especially of women, in comparison with other Greek cities of the region who continued to choose more traditional local styles of representation.²⁶⁴ We shall see that this was in part inspired by, and in response to,

²⁶¹Erim (1986) 22, and (1995) 7, and Ratté (2008) 11.

²⁶² Smith (1988) 50.

²⁶³ Smith (1988) 50.

²⁶⁴ Dillon (2010) 149, and Smith (2008) 12. Smith notes 15% of the portraits were of women.

the evocative and original imagery of imperial women presented within the city in forceful settings for the first time in new and unique contexts, such as in the reliefs of the Sebasteion. This sophisticated building complex employed typically Roman styles of architectural order in innovative ways not seen anywhere else in the empire to promote its support of the new regime.

2.2: The Special Relationship

The city of Aphrodisias flourished under the Roman Empire for a number of fortuitous reasons. At best, many major cities of Greece and the East shared an ambivalent relationship with Rome. For example, having tolerated the yoke of Roman rule for many years, Athens defied Rome and was eventually defeated by Sulla in 86 BC,²⁶⁵ and the city of Corinth was ravaged by Roman forces. Pompey and later Antony fought campaigns in the East, as did Octavian himself. Remarkably, Aphrodisias did not share in this ambivalence but thrived under the coming of Rome. As Raja succinctly points out, had Octavian not been victorious, the situation for Aphrodisias would have been very different.²⁶⁶ Evidence shows that building and urban development certainly began in earnest at the end of the first century BC.²⁶⁷ The settlement eventually took its name from Aphrodite,²⁶⁸ its patron goddess, and the town grew up around her sanctuary and temple. Both Sulla and then Caesar, who claimed descent from the goddess, are known to have sent gifts to her sanctuary there.²⁶⁹

Following the Battle of Actium and the ascension to power of the first emperor, the association of Augustus with his divine ancestor Aphrodite proved pivotal and providential for the city. Because of this association with the goddess and the loyalty its residents had displayed to Caesar and his faction, especially through the arduous

²⁶⁵ Nevett and Emlyn-Jones (2002) 13.

²⁶⁶ Raja (2012) 50.

²⁶⁷ Smith (2012) 284, and Yildirim (2008) 35.

²⁶⁸ Yildirim (2004) 26, and Raja (2012) 43.

²⁶⁹ Erim (1995) 11. Sulla was advised by the oracle at Delphi to 'honour the Carian Aphrodite' and sent a golden crown and double axe. An inscription found at the Theater describes how Caesar dedicated a golden Eros and later visited the sanctuary.

years of civil war following his assassination,²⁷⁰ it was granted privileges that included autonomous status,²⁷¹ exemption from taxes,²⁷² freedom and increased asylum rights, and it enjoyed the envious favour of the continued regard of Augustus and his heirs.²⁷³ Indeed, Octavian, as he was then, singled the city out for special favour, declaring, ‘Aphrodisias is the one city from all of Asia I have selected to be my own.’²⁷⁴ A freedman of the first princeps named Gaius Julius Zoilos settled in Aphrodisias and became an important link between the emperor and the Aphrodisians, and a benefactor to the city.²⁷⁵ Buildings such as the Sebasteion, begun in the reign of Tiberius, are testament to the special relationship, gratitude and esteem felt by the elite populace towards the Julio-Claudian dynasty.²⁷⁶ The erection of monumental buildings dedicated to the emperor and his family was a mutually beneficial transaction.²⁷⁷ They were built in the hope of favours and benefactions, as well as reflecting political affiliation that advertised support for Rome within the region. But they were not anchored in a specific moment in time; Rose notes that civic honours and dedicated monuments were hereditary, and looked to the future just as surely as they represented past events or individuals.²⁷⁸ Smith further notes with reference to the content of the Sebasteion reliefs, that ‘the distant past and the immediate present were collapsed into a single frame’.²⁷⁹ In this way, they could be regarded as investments in a thriving and political on-going relationship with the ruling regime.

The building programs and spectacular monuments, such as the first century BC theatre and agora complex,²⁸⁰ and the later Sebasteion and plethora of other civic and religious buildings continued to develop and enhance the public areas of Aphrodisias until the later third century, when monumental building, and in particular the production and erection of public portrait statues declined rapidly.²⁸¹ This coincided

²⁷⁰ Kokkinia (2008) 53.

²⁷¹ Smith (2012) 284.

²⁷² Kokkinia (2008) 57.

²⁷³ Erim (1995) 11, and Yildirim (2004) 26.

²⁷⁴ Erim (1986) 1. Preserved on the Archive Wall of the Theater.

²⁷⁵ Raja (2012) 19, 24-26.

²⁷⁶ Smith (2012) 284-285.

²⁷⁷ Rose (1997) 3.

²⁷⁸ Rose (1997) 3.

²⁷⁹ Smith (2012) 285.

²⁸⁰ Erim (1995) 39, and Raja (2012) 18.

²⁸¹ Smith (2006) 5, and Raja (2012) 22.

with the loss of autonomous status of the city, and the stripping of tax exemption and other privileges, and Aphrodisias gradually diminished in terms of its importance as an independent regional city. The site also suffered from flooding and earthquakes, some of which were so severe that damaged buildings were not restored.²⁸² Even the building of the Sebasteion was interrupted by earthquakes, but at this time at the zenith of the city's flourishing, the building work continued.²⁸³ However, after the political and regional decline of Aphrodisias, the centuries of political and religious turmoil that followed and the natural disasters that beleaguered the city, it appears to have been finally abandoned by the thirteenth century. The short but dramatic flourishing of this important site was thus buried like a time capsule, largely overlooked by looters and preserving its treasures and portrait statues for posterity.

2.3: The Use of Marble as a Material of Choice in the Region

It is in part due to the geological conditions in the surrounding area that much of the statuary at the site was sculpted from marble.²⁸⁴ It is a durable and hardwearing material and difficult to recycle, therefore statues made from it tended not to be destroyed when of no further use, and so they have survived to this day. Statues created from the more precious materials of silver or bronze were often melted down and reused when the statue was no longer required or the bronze was needed elsewhere.²⁸⁵ The unusual prevalence of marble as a material of choice was partly driven by the close proximity to Aphrodisias of the marble quarries in the Salbakos Mountains,²⁸⁶ which produced high quality marble,²⁸⁷ the textural and compound characteristics of which made it ideal for sculptural carving.²⁸⁸ Dillon notes that the material was also more popular as a choice for votive portrait statues,²⁸⁹ and particularly of women in general in the Greek world, not least because of the surface

²⁸² Erim (1995) 15.

²⁸³ Smith (1988) 51.

²⁸⁴ Rockwell (1991) 127, and Stinson (2008) 55.

²⁸⁵ Walker (1995) 56.

²⁸⁶ Erim (1995) 14.

²⁸⁷ Smith (2006) 4.

²⁸⁸ Rockwell (2008) 115.

²⁸⁹ Dillon (2010) 22.

texture that was capable of resembling skin, flesh,²⁹⁰ and delicate fabrics, and had the ability to be coloured.²⁹¹ Also, evidence suggests that from the third century onwards across the Greek world, marble was more generally becoming an increasingly popular choice of material for female portrait statues.²⁹²

But this enduring stone also carried an important meaning in its own right. Marble was already a popular architectural and sculptural material in the Greek world prior to the coming of Rome; and to the Romans who adopted it, it came to symbolise luxury, permanence and, more ambivalently perhaps, decadence and hubris.²⁹³ It became a favourite building medium of the emperors. As such, its meaning as a material choice based on religious or textural qualities became fused with political ideology under the empire. Aphrodisias was able to exploit its own marble quarries not only for its own glorification, but to promote its connection with Rome, and this might also account for the unusually higher proportion of marble statuary within the city. It is surely no coincidence that just as their greatest benefactor Augustus opened up the quarries at Carrara in order to embellish the centre of Rome, the Aphrodisians were beginning to glorify their own city in marble.²⁹⁴

Marble was also a more popular regional choice as a direct result of local monumental building heritage in Caria. For example, the figures of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus were themselves carved from it.²⁹⁵ Dillon suggests that the portrait statues from the tomb monument may have been carved from it precisely because of the accessibility of quality marble in the region.²⁹⁶ Rockwell further notes that Aphrodisian marble was the softest of the white sculptural marbles.²⁹⁷ As we established earlier, the Halicarnassus monument was highly influential on later regional art and architecture. Jenkins points out it had a ‘powerful and sustained influence over monument tomb-building across the Mediterranean world’,²⁹⁸ into the Roman period, and as such, architectural methods and styles seeped into building

²⁹⁰ Dillon (2010) 23.

²⁹¹ Bradley (2009) 439.

²⁹² Dillon (2010) 62.

²⁹³ Davies (2007) 323.

²⁹⁴ Davies (2007) 323.

²⁹⁵ Walker and Matthews (1997) 50.

²⁹⁶ Dillon (2010) 26.

²⁹⁷ Rockwell (2008) 111.

²⁹⁸ Jenkins (2006) 227

programs that had civic, political as well as religious significance, frequently intertwining as was the case in the Sebasteion. Its influence can be traced through buildings such as the later Lion Tomb at Knidos, the Scylla Monument at Bargylia, and the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene. The first two of these buildings are generally accepted as having been smaller but very similar in terms of construction to the Mausoleum.²⁹⁹ Carved figures that survive from these monuments are sculpted from local marble and also reflect similar stylistic traits. In particular, the lion from the Knidos monument is remarkably similar in appearance to a lion from the monument at Halicarnassus. The mane is carved in the same systemised locks, and the round faces and turned heads bear more than a passing resemblance and expression. Although the figures are animals and not people, they nevertheless emphasize the suitability of marble as a material of choice in figurative sculpture in monumental decoration and the stylistic influence of the Mausoleum spread throughout the region.

In the temple at Priene, there is a more direct link with the Mausoleum. Even though the temple is built in Ionian style and echoes columned Greek temples such as the Artemisian at Ephesus, it is believed to have been built by the same architect that constructed the Mausoleum.³⁰⁰ Many of the architectural elements and proportions are directly inspired from the monument at Halicarnassus such as the capitals and coffers.³⁰¹ Although the temple was not decorated with the same architectural display of portrait statues, a carved marble portrait head of a woman found at the site³⁰² has the same snail shell hairstyle as Artemisia and *sakkos* covering the head, and is identified as belonging to the Hekatomnid royal dynasty of Halicarnassus (*Figure 1.11*).³⁰³ Its location supports the argument that elements of the Mausoleum inspired and influenced buildings and monumental sculpture across Asia Minor, and also highlights the itinerant nature of artists across the region.

Despite the much later date, the influence of the Mausoleum and its style can also be detected in Aphrodisias itself. In a panel from the Sebasteion containing Aphrodite

²⁹⁹ Jenkins (2006) 230.

³⁰⁰ Jenkins (2006) 239. Jenkins states that Vitruvius mentions one Pytheos as the architect responsible for the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, then later the temple at Priene. Also Jeppesen (1997) 46.

³⁰¹ Jenkins (2006) 242.

³⁰² Jenkins (2006) 248. The site was a popular place for the dedication of votive portrait statues.

³⁰³ Dillon (2010) 125.

accompanied by Aeneas and an attendant,³⁰⁴ the goddess wears her hair in a similar tight curl arrangement redolent of Artemisia and the Priene portrait head, and the *sakkos* head covering (*Figure 2.1*). The relief is an unusual portrayal of Aphrodite and will be discussed in more detail in section 2.12, below. The fact that she is seated and draped as she is with the breast revealed securely identify the figure and place her in the Greek tradition of the portrayal of deities, yet the unusual use of a localised and archaic headdress and hairstyle set it apart from other images of the goddess within the city or elsewhere. She is shown in her aspect of divine mother and progenitor of the dynasty to whom the monument is dedicated, but with the additional feature of the headdress that links her closely to the region through traditional costume and the influence of the Mausoleum.



Figure 2.1 Aphrodite wearing the sakkos. South Wall (Cat no.24).

³⁰⁴ Smith (1987) 94 and 97. Smith believes this panel to represent a nymph with the baby Dionysus. However, I believe it shows Aphrodite and the child Augustus.

2.4: The Sculptor's Workshop and 'Creative Adaptation'

A fourth century sculptor's workshop was found at Aphrodisias that produced exceptionally high quality work from locally sourced marble. The workshop worked exclusively in this medium. Evidence of no other material was found at the site.³⁰⁵ The statues and fragments that were recovered are informative, revealing that the sculptors who worked there were highly innovative and inventive. Evidence shows they worked on restorations that proved them capable of perfectly imitating second century styles of carving whilst simultaneously producing fourth century style full sized figures,³⁰⁶ and in so doing, demonstrating a sophisticated skill and understanding of different artistic styles.

Evidence of the use of tools with which they worked is also of interest, revealing a preference that was not reflected in contemporary Roman sculpture, and proving that artists working in the sculptor's studio had developed their own methods and techniques of carving.³⁰⁷ In particular, Rockwell notes that the use of the tooth chisel, still popular in Rome for architectural carving, was not commonly used in Aphrodisias after the first and second centuries, and this is useful information for dating, as evidence of its use can be seen on some panels of the Sebasteion.³⁰⁸ He also observes the lack of evidence for the use of drills, at least in this workshop, concluding that the artists of Aphrodisias were 'supremely confident' of achieving their desired results by the use of the point chisel alone.³⁰⁹ Indeed, evidence of drilling is rare in any portrait sculpture of the city.

Later in Chapter Three, below, we will observe several examples of late first/ early second century female portraits that relied heavily on the use of the drill to achieve hairstyle effects prevalent in Rome at the time of their creation, and only truly achievable through use of the drill. But, importantly, in other examples that were originally designed and conceived within Aphrodisias itself, the drill was not heavily

³⁰⁵ Rockwell (2008) 92.

³⁰⁶ Rockwell (2008) 102, and 107.

³⁰⁷ Rockwell (2008) 111.

³⁰⁸ Rockwell (2008) 98.

³⁰⁹ Rockwell (2008) 110

used at all. Conversely, in portraits created by Aphrodisian sculptors found in Rome, discussed further on, we shall see that exquisite effects of hair and other features have been created without resorting to the drill. It may be that only certain workshops relied on its use to achieve particularly Roman traits, such as heavily drilled Flavian-style hair. All of this indicates that the artists themselves were sympathetic towards their material, and concerned with the creation of superior hand crafted sculpture, and took pride in their work to the degree that they disregarded quicker and more efficient methods of carving wherever they could in favour of bespoke, artisan skills honed over generations.

Most significantly, Rockwell notes that the artists were experts at what he calls ‘creative adaptation,’³¹⁰ by which he means the ability to take an existing established motif or sculptural element and apply it, unaltered, to another setting; in the process transferring and adapting the original meaning and use. Erim had earlier identified that local artists had a great deal of sympathy and understanding of ‘great sculptors of the past’, and for forming a ‘stylistic blend that was all their own’.³¹¹ This is an important point. Squarciapino was among the first to identify that there was what she termed a ‘School of Aphrodisias’.³¹² Her work was instrumental in overturning the belief that Aphrodisian sculptors were no more than gifted copyists, and instead were adept and skilled artists who developed their own distinctive style.³¹³ For example, evidence of a carved pair of crossed legs found in the workshop, undoubtedly belonging to Aphrodite, had been adapted from an earlier seated figure and used in a new and creative way. This use of ‘creatively adapting’ earlier ideas to form a new composition fits well with Roman ideas of semantics, and highlights the creativity and artistic ingenuity of the artists as well as an ability to replicate and reinterpret existing designs. This is a development of the ‘creative variation’ mentioned by Dillon in relation to the classical Greek female body format, whereby a motif was never slavishly replicated, but was instead altered or varied even if only in some minor detail in order to avoid repetition.³¹⁴ In the case of the evidence from the sculptor’s studio, the artists had evidently learned the Roman technique of employing an

³¹⁰ Rockwell (2008) 104.

³¹¹ Erim (1986) 143.

³¹² Squarciapino (1991) 123.

³¹³ Erim (1986) 134-5.

³¹⁴ Dillon (2010) 68.

unaltered element in a new design. For example, another cross legged Aphrodite on a panel from the Sebasteion shows how the motif could be repeatedly used and adapted again and again. The goddess is carved in relief seated on a shell with her legs crossed, holding out her long hair to dry (*Figure 2.2*). As we saw above, repetition was a widely used and acceptable artistic device, often included to refer directly to earlier uses and versions of the motif. Rockwell further notes that this use of cross legged Aphrodite was unique to Aphrodisias,³¹⁵ demonstrating that original, locally conceived and developed motifs could be invented and then reused, and did not need to be imported from anywhere else, including Rome.



Figure 2.2 The Aphrodisian cross-legged Aphrodite (Cat no.25).

³¹⁵ Rockwell (2008) 102.

‘Creative adaptation’ and ‘creative variation’ were also applied by the artists of Aphrodisias to new ideas of architectural display developed in distant Rome. This ability was of particular significance because, as we shall see below, the earlier sculptors of the Sebasteion demonstrated virtuoso skill at creating both their own local and original versions of motifs and imagery that emanated from Rome, as well as creating totally new designs. For example, not only did the reliefs of the Sebasteion (this Chapter 2.7, below) contain striking images of imperial family members unlike any others to be found across the empire, but they also displayed panels of personifications of Roman provinces. Smith notes that these reliefs of *ethne*, were all unique and ‘careful composition[s]’, only one of which refers back to any known type.³¹⁶ The concept of a series of provinces personified and portrayed in art was directly lifted from a similar structure in Rome but new to the Aphrodisians, yet they were clearly able to understand and adapt the basic idea and convert it into a localised and ‘coherent’ context.³¹⁷

2.5: Contact with Rome

All the assertions made throughout this and the following chapters assume that the artists were always aware of what was happening culturally, politically and artistically in Rome. We can be confident that there was constant communication between the two cities. Smith notes that in the second century, Greek city leaders travelled frequently to and from Rome,³¹⁸ and these all-important patrons would have seen for themselves the portraits and architectural structures that adorned the city, as well as being fully aware of the circumstances that motivated their erection. Prior to that in the late first century BC, Octavian’s freedman and benefactor of Aphrodisias Gaius Julius Zoilos had also remained in contact with Rome,³¹⁹ and was a patron of many building projects in the city. There is every reason to believe that artists and craftsmen also made the journey to the capital. Certainly, evidence of finds indicates that Aphrodisian sculptors were active there.³²⁰ Figure 2.3 shows two accomplished

³¹⁶ Smith (1988) 60.

³¹⁷ Smith (1988) 51.

³¹⁸ Smith (1998) 61.

³¹⁹ Smith (1996) 46, Raja (2012) 49.

³²⁰ Smith (2008) 28.

portrait busts of Hadranic/ Trajanic date now housed in the Capitoline museum, both signed by an artist named Zenas, although it is speculated that they were not the same man but possibly father and son. They are widely accepted to have been carved in Rome. Turner notes that they were carved from locally available Carrara marble,³²¹ which indicates that they were made nearby and not transported from Aphrodisias. They show the skilful use of the chisel noted by Rockwell, above. Beautifully curled-hair effects have been created without the use of the drill, which was commonly used in elite Roman portraits by this time, but as we observed was shunned by artists from Aphrodisias. They are noteworthy for the unusually expressive faces, emphasising the empathy Aphrodisian artists had for their material and the capacity to create portraits of the highest quality. The portraits are busts, a form that was not widely adopted in the Greek East at this time, once again highlighting the adaptability and skill of Aphrodisian portrait sculptors and a sophisticated understanding of contemporary tastes. Sculpture signed by Aphrodisian artists was also found at the villa of Hadrian at Tivoli, further indicating their fame and renown.³²²

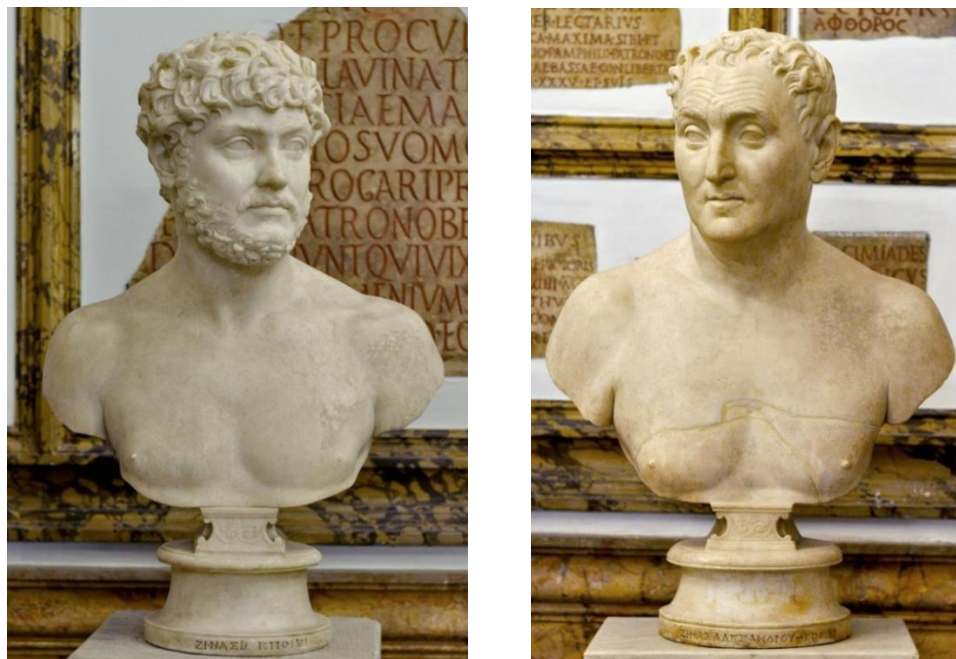


Figure 2.3 Busts created by Zenas of Aphrodisias. (Cat no.26).

³²¹ Turner (1912) 49, and 66. 202 and 245. Also Attanasio, Bruno, Yavuz, Elçi, (2008) 221.

³²² Smith (2008) 28.



Detail of Figure 2.3 (right) showing the signature on the base.

2.6: The Artists

Having established the unique circumstances of the Carian city for high quality sculpture, namely the dynamic surge of building programs and public monuments in the early imperial period coupled with the availability of quality building materials and the burgeoning creative environment, it is pertinent to enquire at this point who the artists were, what attracted them here and ask where they came from? Artists and craftsmen must have converged on the city at a time of exciting development and opportunity for employment.

It is clear from evidence studied so far that artists could have permanent workshops established over generations. But they might also be itinerant and travelled where work could be found and building projects required skilled craftsmen. Surviving examples of signatures, copied styles and motifs, portraits and architectural decoration across the empire and the region itself attest to workers moving and either taking their skills with them or reviving styles seen and learned in former places of work,³²³ or developing original styles in a new environment. As we saw above in Chapter 1.9, Greek sculptors were rated most highly, and many of the few signatures that survive are of Greek origin. Stinson concludes that Aphrodisian artists and craftsmen were certainly involved in what he calls a ‘network of relations among prestigious Asiatic

³²³ Erim (1986) 136.

sculptors and craftsmen',³²⁴ and this would certainly explain the presence of their influence and work across a vast area. However, other than the names and their work, we are no nearer to understanding exactly who they were.

It is no coincidence that motifs seen in Aphrodisias can be traced to other archaeological sites in the Greek East where artists had travelled, observed existing sculpture and worked. As well as the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, we will see below that the iconography and layout from the temple of Roma and Augustus in Perge are discernible in the reliefs of the Sebasteion. The late first century BC Monument of Zoilos, below, shares the square base design of the much earlier Mausoleum of Halicarnassus.³²⁵ Baroque facial expressions in Aphrodisian images can also be traced to Pergamon, home of the Great Altar, and there exists a theory that artists migrated across Caria following the fall of the Attalid dynasty, some of whom may have taken their techniques to Aphrodisias and handed them down.³²⁶ Sculptural evidence from the Sebasteion certainly supports this view. The relief of Prometheus being released by Herakles shows the Titan's brow contorted in agony. This compares with the face of a giant from the second century BC Great Altar also in anguish (*Figure 2.4*). The exaggerated, furrowed arches between the eyebrows, oversized deeply-carved round eyes and lined forehead are virtually indistinguishable in their expressive pathos. Each has distinctive bulging folds of upper-eyelid that droops over the furthest corner of the eyes and emphasises the illusion of drama in the face. Both heads are turned with open, imploring mouths with the upper teeth visible, carved as a single unmarked row. The main differences are in the rendering of hair. The giant's hair is longer and carved in coiled waves to denote his savagery. Texture is created by serpentine lines that extend down its length. The Prometheus figure's hair is more layered in curved locks that echo the arched eyebrows, though it is also marked with lines, and he is bearded to highlight his maturity. The youth of the giant is indicated by his beardless chin. Although they are chronologically far apart, they demonstrate that artists who created Aphrodisian sculpture were familiar with the details of execution of the Pergamon reliefs.

³²⁴ Stinson (2008) 59.

³²⁵ Smith (1993) 21.

³²⁶ Erism (1986) 136.



Figure 2.4 Prometheus relief from the Sebasteion, first century, left, and a giant from the Great Altar of Pergamon, right, second century BC. (Cat no.27).

2.7: The Sebasteion

The Sebasteion was a unique architectural structure constructed c. AD 20-60,³²⁷ and was dedicated by two families to honour the Julio-Claudian house. The individuals named include two brothers, a sister and her daughter and grand-children,³²⁸ who dedicated the propylon and north portico, and a brother and sister-in-law of the south portico and temple.³²⁹ The inscription highlights the early activity of women as civic benefactors within the city, a fact not usually noted and a subject we will return to in Chapter 3.8 and 3.12 in more detail. At the inception of the project, Tiberius had confirmed the privileged status of the city, and the Sebasteion was an architectural response that encapsulated and proclaimed the political allegiance of the elite inhabitants of Aphrodisias.

It took the form of a massive temple complex in the distinctly Roman Corinthian style in collaboration with ‘innovative features’.³³⁰ The approach leading from the propylon to the temple at the far end took the form of two columned three-storey walls that faced each other with rooms set behind, each wall containing a series of carved marble high relief panels that displayed mythological scenes and imperial portraits

³²⁷ Smith (2006) 44, and Raja (2012) 47.

³²⁸ Erim (1986) 12.

³²⁹ Raja (2012) 47.

³³⁰ Smith (1987) 93 and Raja (2012) 47.

honouring the imperial family, its victories and conquests,³³¹ and its link with Aphrodite, the divine ‘matriarch’³³² of the dynasty, and goddess of the city, the cause and basis of the ‘special relationship’.³³³ There were two hundred marble reliefs in total.³³⁴ They were grouped in threes, the central larger image being bordered by two related ones; as a result, reconstruction can be confidently attempted.³³⁵ On the upper third storey, ‘Roman emperors [were] juxtaposed with Olympian deities and Victories’; the second with heroic myths.³³⁶ The mythological and divine origins of communities celebrated in sculptural form was an established Hellenistic-inspired tradition. The Sebasteion reflected the thread of the myth that connected Rome securely with Aphrodisias, of Aphrodite and Aeneas. A separate founding myth involving the hero Bellerophon was the basis for friezes displayed in the first century AD Basilica.³³⁷ Although these reliefs may have been intended as an alternative assertion of cultural and political supremacy on a more local level, it was installed in a Roman-style building,³³⁸ that just like the Sebasteion, also featured Hellenistic elements,³³⁹ thus underscoring the precious link with Rome. As Yildirim notes, in the shifting political and cultural climate, local communities competed with whatever means they could to win favour and privilege from Rome.³⁴⁰ In the aspect of Aphrodite and its history of unswerving allegiance to the imperial family, Aphrodisias held a winning hand and exploited it at every opportunity; and in visual form this was exquisitely realised in architectural display and visual elements expressing complex relationships.

The south wall or portico of the Sebasteion carried images of emperors and gods in the top storey with scenes from Greek mythology below, and the north wall contained allegories (‘and probably emperors’) in the upper storey, with a series of *ethne* beneath.³⁴¹ As we noted, these were a series of panel reliefs, again inspired from a

³³¹ Erim (1982) 165.

³³² Rose (1997) 21.

³³³ Smith (1987) 90.

³³⁴ Smith (2012) 285.

³³⁵ Smith (2012) 285.

³³⁶ Smith (2012) 285.

³³⁷ Yildirim (2004) 23.

³³⁸ Yildirim (2004) 31.

³³⁹ Yildirim (2008) 123. Yildirim notes that the Basilica and Sebasteion were connected by more than just architectural similarity; technical detail such as finish and depth of relief carving also visually united them.

³⁴⁰ Yildirim (2004) 33.

³⁴¹ Smith (1988) 51.

Roman prototype, of personifications of provinces from across the empire. Each female figure was a unique representation and highlighted the astute political knowledge of the Aphrodisians. Even little known provinces were included; the exotic land of Britannia was depicted in the panels. The combined architectural grandeur and allegorical, mythological and imperial imagery of the Sebasteion reliefs produced an overarching narrative that connected the eastern Greek city under Roman rule with the geographically colossal and culturally diverse empire. All this was shown through the prism of the political present and mythological past that conveniently coincided with the Julio-Claudian emperors and their families. The visitor walking through the high and physically imposing walls of the Sebasteion towards the temple at the far end could not have failed to read the message that Aphrodisias owed its special status to the emperor and his family through its link with the goddess.

2.8: The Style of the Panels and Superimposing of Divinities

The imperial panels, many of which were destroyed as a result of earthquakes or were removed for later building programs,³⁴² portrayed members of the imperial family in various poses of conquest and power. Of those that survive, many are instructive of attitudes not only to the imperial family and specific members of it, but also of the emerging influence of the empresses. Each panel contains its own message and meaning that contributes to the overall theme, and demands to be studied separately.

In one panel, a Julio-Claudian emperor is shown as the master of land and sea (*Figure 2.5*), bestriding a landscape with mythological creatures of land and water at his feet. He is heroically nude, and is seen receiving a rudder in his left hand symbolising sovereignty over the seas,³⁴³ and a cornucopia in the right representing the bounties of the earth; divine endorsements of his *imperium*. Behind him, drapery billows out in the *se velificans* motif,³⁴⁴ framing the scene and adding vigorous movement. The composition is creative and dynamic but not original. The emperor himself is portrayed with facial features that connect him with the dynasty, but with what Smith

³⁴² Erim (1989) 56.

³⁴³ Erim (1982) 166.

³⁴⁴ Smith (1988) 53.

refers to as ‘mistakes’ and ‘errors’ that make his identification less than certain.³⁴⁵ The fringe does not contain the famous central parted lock motif of Augustus, and proportions of the body are not quite correct, the legs in particular appear to be carved disproportionately short and thin. Erim identifies the figure as Augustus,³⁴⁶ though elsewhere he expresses doubt over this identification.³⁴⁷ Smith believes him to be an ‘Augustan’ Claudius.³⁴⁸ It is also arguable that the figure is intended as a generic Julio-Claudian emperor. After all, the monument was built in honour of the *sebastos*,³⁴⁹ and it is conceivable that the panel was designed as a reference to all ruling members of the dynasty and their role as rulers of a vast empire that engulfed land and sea. In this way, as one emperor died, the Sebasteion remained relevant and contemporary, as the identity of the figure could just as easily represent the new one. Smith would doubtless disagree with this argument, believing instead that in every case, no matter how generic a portrait appeared to be, it was always intended to be a particular prince.³⁵⁰ It is certain that in all other panels this is likely to be the case as they appear grounded in historical context. But this panel is exceptional in its overarching theme of leadership and raw imperial power without reference to a specific encounter, such as that showing Claudius conquering Britannia, or Nero subduing Armenia.

If the relief was intended as a general reference to the Julio-Claudian emperors, it would not be unique. Brilliant points out that in Mainz during the reign of Nero, a statue on top of a column was erected to the *Virtus Augusti*, and to the ‘Divine Imperial Protectors, in particular to Jupiter’.³⁵¹ Although we cannot be sure what form the statue itself took, the statue column itself and the accompanying inscription, erected at the same period as the Sebasteion, and therefore an exact artistic contemporary, albeit in another far flung region of the empire, proves that generic imperial honorific monuments existed at this time, and the Aphrodisian panel could be interpreted as a locally conceived version of this idea. However, like Smith I

³⁴⁵ Smith (2006) 47.

³⁴⁶ Erim (1987) 58, fig.82.

³⁴⁷ Erim (1982) 166.

³⁴⁸ Smith (2006) 47.

³⁴⁹ Erim (1982) 165. Erim translates the surviving dedication as ‘aux divins Augustes’ in the plural, and therefore intended to honour more than one emperor.

³⁵⁰ Smith (2006) 47.

³⁵¹ Brilliant (1963) 65.

believe that the subject in this case is identifiable but disagree that the figure is Claudius. Other iconographic associations make the identification of the figure more securely grounded.

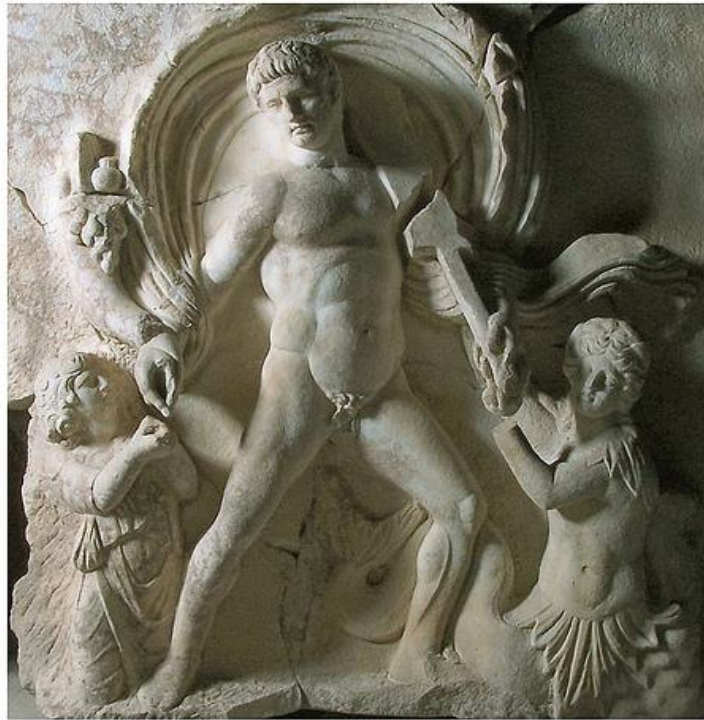


Figure 2.5 A Julio-Claudian emperor as master of land and sea (Cat no.28).



Figure 2.6 Tellus from the Ara Pacis (Cat no.29).

The identification of the figure becomes clear if the iconography is compared with that of the Ara Pacis, the design of which was clearly familiar to the Aphrodisians. The panel of the goddess Tellus (*Figure 2.6*) contains almost identical iconographic composition and motifs.³⁵²

The goddess occupies the centre of the relief. To her right, a spirit of land holds a billowing *se velificans* style drape over her head, to her left a water spirit mirroring the gesture of the other, both included as personifications representing the power that Augustus holds over the empire and the association of abundance. This panel symbolises Augustan peace and fecundity, with the image of the emperor absent but implicit. Instead, he is portrayed in the South frieze as ‘merely’ first citizen, and the reference to power and ultimate authority is omnipresent yet muted. In the Sebasteion relief, however, the similar iconographical format suggests that the central figure is Augustus himself. The veiled reference to power in the Ara Pacis is lifted to place him in the position associated with the goddess,³⁵³ significantly increasing the status of the emperor to the unequivocal and absolute source of power, wealth and bounty enjoyed by the empire. We shall see that the device of superimposing the emperor or his family over the position usually reserved for personifications or gods and goddesses is one that the artists of the Sebasteion exploited regularly to create unexpected and striking effects. The action of the emperor is also a far cry from the more sedate figures of the Ara Pacis. But the use of the Hellenistic-influenced dynamism and heroic nudity, characteristic of monumental art in the region, places him in a much more localised context.

2.9: Augustus as Tellus?

The very fact of the switch of characters in the scene might seem incongruous if it is considered from a gender viewpoint. The goddess Tellus is supremely female, her imagery relying on a fully mature feminine body with full breasts for which the twin

³⁵² Wood (2001) 100. Wood observes the identity of this figure is less than certain, and refers to her as ‘Pax’. But this does not alter the significance of the iconography.

³⁵³ Rose (1997) 16.

on her right reaches. The iconography concerns Augustan peace, abundance, continuity and fertility, and that is the key to its use in the context of the Sebasteion relief. Only the female form is capable in the Greek and Roman context of transmitting these abstract meanings. As we have established, the male figure relies on messages of masculine virtues of prowess and virility, not fertility and abundance. Here, in the relief of the first emperor, the artists have cleverly overlaid the message of supreme ruler with the iconography of the Tellus relief, unambiguously placing the princeps as the central figure.

Other important characters could also be used in ‘creative adaptations’ of this composition in Aphrodisias. As we saw, the cross-legged Aphrodite assumes exactly the same position, seated centrally with two supporting figures placed either-side and proffering symbolic objects. In this case, they are a rudder and anchor as she emerges from the sea on her shell. But the veneration of the main figure is the same message intended by the iconography.

It is also apparent on the Augustan relief that the message the artists sought to convey was reliant on a divine female format, and they clearly had no compunction in placing Augustus in such a context. He appears neither emasculated nor feminised. Admittedly, they have made the emperor more dynamic and heroic, the Tellus scene is distinctly serene and bucolic in comparison, yet the superimposed imagery unavoidably connects the two figures and fuses their characteristics. It is as though the attributes of Tellus have been handed to Augustus. Importantly, the female form in the scene is divine, not mortal, and thus free from any of the ‘negative’ connotations that might otherwise be associated with it, such as softness, subordination or frivolity usually attributed to ‘real’ women,³⁵⁴ and of course the blending of divine with imperial imagery transcends any pejorative use of the assimilation of gender.³⁵⁵ Varner has proved that the image of Augustus has been superimposed in other gender-shifting contexts with Diana and Virtus,³⁵⁶ yet these are figures that, amongst other things, had the capacity to represent distinctly masculine virtues of prowess. Tellus, on the other hand, does not. The relief, then, is a highly unusual layering of a

³⁵⁴ Davies (2008) 210.

³⁵⁵ Varner (2008) 185.

³⁵⁶ Davies (2008) 186.

‘feminine’ goddess and emperor in an unexpected and surprising setting. A probably unintended consequence of the scene is that those who looked to it as a source of inspiration for their own portrait imagery, as was common with images of the emperor, would have observed the loosened boundaries of conventional representation and gender.

The overt message of divine rule present in the panel is unlike anything created in Rome during this period. As we have already observed, artists of the east imbued kings and rulers with divine characteristics that would be far less acceptable in the west. Certainly the heroic nudity and dynamic movement of the emperor would not be palatable in imagery in Rome itself where the earliest emperors took pains to mask their power behind more republican or subdued imagery.³⁵⁷ Even Augustus himself, whose early statues before he secured supreme power had been distinctly heroic in nature, tells us that he removed many of them from the city.³⁵⁸ No state reliefs showed the emperor in poses of heroic nudity, preferring instead to portray him in military or civic dress, addressing troops or taking part in acts of benefaction or prowess, and personifications and gods could be expected to abide by convention and appear ‘as themselves’ in their allotted position. Here in the east, no such politically charged nuances or restrictions applied. Artists of Aphrodisias were at liberty to represent their imperial masters as heroic, godlike and in possession of unmasked supreme power.

2.10: The Issue of ‘Mistakes’

There is the matter of ‘mistakes’ to consider. Smith asserts that the artists of the panel clearly had access to official imperial portraits, but chose to make changes or redesign their features in order to fit in with ‘local conception’ or to adapt them to the religious and mythological scenes of the Sebasteion, while some chose to ignore types altogether, and others simply made ‘errors’³⁵⁹ in their interpretation of imperial types. He also argues that some of the relief carvers were simply less well skilled than statue

³⁵⁷ Zanker (1990) 42.

³⁵⁸ *Res gestae*: 24. Tr. Blunt and Moore (1967).

³⁵⁹ Smith (2006) 47.

sculptors.³⁶⁰ Wood concurs with this view, noting that, as with any frequently copied design, unintentional mistakes or less rigid copying is inevitable.³⁶¹ She also suggests that, particularly in Asia Minor, artists chose to ‘depart and embellish on the more austere official typology’.³⁶² Where the Sebasteion is concerned, this argument does not seem completely satisfactory. It is unlikely that the commission of an architectural program of such huge importance to the city would be given to a workshop of poorly skilled carvers, although we cannot dismiss the possibility that they were in short supply. Poor workmanship would not reflect well on the families who had invested huge sums of money and personal prestige in the building. As we have seen above, local artists, at least those who conceived and designed the reliefs, and those working in sculpture in the round, were highly accomplished at ‘creative adaptation and variation’, and interpretation. We have no reason to believe that the creators of these reliefs were any less skilled than other carvers or were less able to interpret individual imperial portrait motifs. The ‘School of Aphrodisias’ was renowned for producing work of the highest quality, and the patrons certainly had the resources to secure the services of the most skilled artists. Indeed, Smith counters his own argument when he suggests in an earlier article that evidence of the standard of carving from reconstructions of the display of the panels would imply that the artists who created them intentionally used different standards of carving depending on where the reliefs were intended to be displayed. He argues that panels displayed on the lower storeys were generally more finely carved because they were closer to the viewer,³⁶³ demonstrating a competent awareness by the craftsmen of aesthetics and viewer experience, rather than a lack of ability. The facts that the hair is not as expected, and that the legs are not quite in proportion to the rest of the body cannot alone support the view that the sculptors made mistakes or were poorly skilled. Less well-proportioned features does not necessarily imply erroneous conception and adaptation of typologies. Kleiner suggests that the carvers of these early reliefs were still grappling at ways to fuse local and Roman subject matter,³⁶⁴ but evidence from other works in the city does not suggest that adaptation or absorption of styles was ever a

³⁶⁰ Smith (2006) 47.

³⁶¹ Wood (2001) 92.

³⁶² Wood (2001) 100. Here Wood is referring to coin portraits of Livia.

³⁶³ Smith (1988) 60.

³⁶⁴ Kleiner (1992) 161.

problem for local artists. Bartman provides the most acceptable solution when she notes that, ‘few people outside of Rome [were] likely to be concerned with ‘typological nuances’’.³⁶⁵ As we shall observe, the carvers of the reliefs could interpret imperial types with impressive flexibility, whether typologically or in other ways, such as gender or position, and they did not subscribe to slavish facsimile replication as practiced by artists in Rome. Therefore rather than dismissing elements of the reliefs that do not fit neatly with modern interpretation as misconceived or simply wrong or poor, we should instead attempt to read them as if they were intentionally created that way.

2.11: Nude Men, Clothed Women: Exposed and Veiled Power

It is also important to note that the nudity of the figure in this relief and the animated pose are specific to representations of heroic males in the context of the Sebasteion, and in statue portraiture elsewhere in Aphrodisias. As we noted earlier, it was deemed inappropriate for ‘real’ women to appear nude in public portrait art in the Greek world, and the Sebasteion was no exception, for despite its innovative design, it retained conservative modes of female gender representational formats. As we shall go on to discuss, women were portrayed in divine and semi-divine aspects and in positions of power, never as ‘heroic’, but always clothed. References to Aphrodite or other goddesses in portraits of mortal women were not made by the bared breast or in any way that revealed the body, although sexuality was expressed through moulded drapery that did reveal breasts, hips and voluptuous figures, but always ‘hidden’ beneath layers of cloth, and divine attributes and comparative position of figures sufficed to lend divine meaning and significance to the figures.

The active nude heroism and dynamic movement of their male relatives is one of the few visual aspects of power that is denied to imperial women in the reliefs, who remain always static and perfectly dressed, but this is no more than we should expect. The sometimes-seen bent leg might indicate slight forward motion of women, but only in the context of a small step in a ceremonial gesture, such as Agrippina

³⁶⁵ Bartman (1999) 22.

crowning Nero (*figure 2.9*), but implied movement is most usually employed in the context of the replication of a recognised body type used to overlay meaning, and animated dynamic movement never appears. Still calmness, decorum and expert dress were aspects of female portraits that, as we have seen, referred to paradigm traditional feminine domestic virtues and behaviour, just as heroic military prowess was the ultimate male virtue. It was through the slight but important alterations in these accepted modes of gendered representation that the revolution of power in women is relayed in the reliefs. In other words, women and men are portrayed in conservative and accepted modes appropriate to their gender, but reconfigured into unusual scenes that radically bend and challenge conventions and roles and make such a strong visual impact; yet another example of creative adaptation. The exception to this general rule is the panel of Agrippina and Nero from the North Wall. As we shall see, the figure of Agrippina is fused with the traditional goddess or personification, sometimes Virtus, who stands to the left of the emperor, crowning him. By this simple action, the right arm is raised high and the figure is surprisingly animated for a mortal woman, yet we shall observe that this is because she is not depicted as herself alone, but in a divine capacity that transcends conventions of female imperial representation. As ever with Aphrodisian artistic flexibility, we should not be especially surprised at the amalgamation of types for visual impact.

The relief of Claudius subduing Britannia perfectly illustrates the theme of male prowess portrayed through dynamic nudity (*Figure 2.7*).³⁶⁶ The figures are identified by an inscription that accompanies the panel, and this is the first known representation of the personification of that province. The badly fragmented panel shows the emperor standing over the prostrated figure. Britannia lies with the top leg bent backwards as though she has just fallen, dressed as an Amazon with the tunic over the left shoulder, the right side of the garment falling forward leaving her bare breasted and exposed. Her right hand reaches behind her head to where the emperor grasps her hair. The combination of bared breast and grabbed hair in this context implies threatening undertones of rape and humiliation.³⁶⁷ Her fragmented left arm reaches up in a gesture of entreaty to Claudius' chest, the palm facing outward in an appeal to the

³⁶⁶ Erim (1982) 164.

³⁶⁷ Mattingly (2011) 100.

onlooker. Her idealised face gazes out beseechingly, the expression contorted in anguish. She has the wild curly shoulder length hair of the Amazonian figure or other personifications on the Sebasteion.

The animated and energetic figure of the emperor kneels over the figure triumphantly, his body leans to the left in an energetic sense of movement emphasised by the flowing chlamys.³⁶⁸ He wears the balteus and scabbard across his chest, and sports the shield and ancient helmet reminiscent of a Greek hero.³⁶⁹ The face is carved in the typical Julio-Claudian type, the fringe of the hair finished in Augustan style locks without the centre parting commonly associated with Claudius. This is a clearly identified emperor located in a specific context with individualised features. He looks down at his subdued victim as he prepares to deal the conquering blow, his expression, in contrast to Britannia's, is calm, resolute and expressionless.

The nudity and costume juxtaposes the image of the emperor with statue types used by Hellenistic kings and later by male 'republican dynasts'³⁷⁰ in a scene of undisguised triumphalism and domination. The relief glorifies Claudius and his victory over Britain and, more broadly, of Roman imperial provincial conquest and the treatment of those in opposition to Rome, in stark contrast to the situation of Aphrodisias that chose to willingly ally itself with the city. In the next section, we will see that the Aphrodisian sculptors represented the coming of imperial rule as the inevitable conclusion of Greek myth.

³⁶⁸ Smith (2006) 132.

³⁶⁹ Smith (2006) 120.

³⁷⁰ Smith (2006) 132.



Figure 2.7 Claudius subduing Britannia (Cat no.30).

2.12: Mothers and Sons and the Balance of Power

Some of the imperial panels of the Sebasteion also show men and women of the imperial house together, most notably mothers and sons, but also wives and husbands. One important but overlooked reason for this is the allegorical link between the goddess and the empresses in their role as dynastic mothers. Just as Aphrodite was a divine female that gave birth to Aeneas, the ancestor of Augustus and his heirs, so Livia (herself a posthumous diva), and her successors gave birth to or were married to Aphrodite's descendants; a neat parallel exploited in Aphrodisias to great effect, and witnessed in the relief highlighting this aspect of the patron goddess, above (*Figure 2.1, also Figure 2.8, below*). As I shall discuss, the mother/ wife link was a unique and expedient connection that celebrated powerful female figures on the panels, and showed a clear political astuteness on the part of the Aphrodisians in understanding this vein of imperial influence.

One of the most astonishing links between Aphrodite and her descendant Augustus is displayed in the design and layout of panels on the south portico, and in my opinion, previously misinterpreted. As a result, the significance has not been properly recognised until now. In Figure 2.8, the first and last reliefs of the south wall are collapsed and placed side by side to compare them. Smith himself notes that the sequence of reliefs on the south wall shows a series of Greek myths not necessarily in an expected order, or in unexpected and surprising formats, alluding to the Greek aspect of the city's 'civilized' mythological heritage, whilst the more Roman content is shown elsewhere.³⁷¹ Yet as I will argue below, a deeper reading of subject matter explains the selection of subject matter and sequence of display.



Figure 2.8 First and last reliefs from the South Portico of the Sebasteion, showing, left, Aphrodite with the baby Aeneas, whilst Anchises looks on. On the right, a localised version of Aphrodite with her eventual descendant Augustus, accompanied by a hero, possibly Aeneas, and an attendant.

³⁷¹ Smith (1990) 100.



Detail of Figure 2.8 showing the heads of the central figures.

The first relief visually connects Aphrodite with the image of Tellus from the Ara Pacis in Rome.³⁷² The goddess is seated with a swirling drapery behind her, the shoulder of her gown dropped as appropriate to her guise as Venus Genetrix, mother of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Just like Tellus, who is also placed in three-quarter profile,³⁷³ she gazes lovingly at the baby, who is Aeneas, whilst a nude clean-shaven hero in a cloak looks on.³⁷⁴ He could be Anchises, the father. The iconography is unmistakable, as is the clear intention to associate the figure with the Roman version of Tellus (*Figure 2.6, above*). The breasts are symbolically covered to also associate her with the Aphrodite type known from the Augustan forum, who has been made more respectable in her new role as exemplary dynastic matron. The breasts of Tellus are also demurely covered. It seems entirely appropriate to the context of the Sebasteion that the set of Greek myths as represented here and dedicated to the Julio-Claudian regime begins with the conjoined myth of Aphrodite and the story of the birth of the imperial ancestor. What follows is a series of panels of Greek mythology, some with related themes, such as the flight from Troy of Aeneas, and in another the three graces, present as attendants of the goddess. Atalante and Meleager also

³⁷² Smith (1990) 97.

³⁷³ Wood (2001) 100.

³⁷⁴ Smith (1990) 97-98, and Erim (1989) 56-57. Both believe this is a scene of Aphrodite with the baby Eros.

appear,³⁷⁵ perhaps as mythological lovers, as Anchises and Aphrodite once were. The concept and importance of the goddess placed here as Venus Genetrix and ‘ancestral mother of the divine Augusti (*prometor ton theon Sebaston*)’ has already been observed not least by Erim,³⁷⁶ but, like Smith, he did not identify the subtle visual connection in the mythology of the panels.

The first panel shows a distinctly Roman Aphrodite, identified as such because of her dress and symbolic iconography, as we saw above. In the last panel, she is converted into a localised version of the goddess, complete with the sakkos over her hair, bared breast, and seated, as befits an important deity, thus associating her strongly with the city and the region.³⁷⁷ In her arms is not Dionysus as others have previously claimed, but a baby Caesar or, as I believe most likely, and certainly most strikingly, Augustus. Smith’s confidence in identifying the relief as of a nymph and the baby Dionysus is based on iconography from a well-known composition of the god in the arms of a nymph,³⁷⁸ but this is far more complex an image than first appears. Whilst there are clear similarities between the image and others showing the infant Dionysus being cared for by the nymphs on Mount Nysa, perhaps represented by the rock upon which the female sits, they invariably depict the young god as a baby, as does the fourth century BC portrait of Hermes supporting him on his shoulder by Praxiteles, and not as a small and upright adult as he appears here; an important distinction.³⁷⁹ However, I believe the design has merely been borrowed as it could easily be adapted as a template to suit the needs of this scene, a device we have seen many times already in the art of the city. It is also just as conceivable that the panel is deliberately intended to be read in two ways; as a Greek myth of nurturing the young god juxtaposed with the imagined rearing of the first emperor by his divine ancestor. As the composition is of a female deity holding a child god, the iconography lends itself well to the new meaning. The child stares directly back at the goddess. In contrast to the first image, she gazes not down but up at her progeny, proudly and lovingly, symbolising his importance. Augustus himself was deified by the time this panel was designed and

³⁷⁵ Smith (1990) 97.

³⁷⁶ Erim (1986) 123.

³⁷⁷ Aphrodite wearing a sakkos in a Greek context. For example, on red-figure vase paintings, see LIMC II.2, plates 1100, 1158, 1159.

³⁷⁸ Smith (1990) 97.

³⁷⁹ See also LIMC III .2. Greek sculptural representations of Dionysus as a baby and with hair like that of the figure in the Aphrodisias relief, plates 668, 675-676.

carved. He appears as a small man rather than a recumbent helpless babe, wearing a toga-like garment or drapery, and standing on her lap, as one would expect of a figure represented as the foretold conclusion of the preceding myth of Aeneas. Between his head and that of the goddess are two carved square sockets that appear to have been part of the original design. These may well have supported ornaments of precious metal or stone, perhaps even the star associated with imagery of Julius Caesar following his death and deification, and indicative of the link between the two figures and their divinity. Behind Aphrodite stands a nude bearded hero. Could this be Aeneas gazing on? He is shown bearded as he does on the Ara Pacis, and also in a clearly identifiable scene earlier in the sequence where he appears fleeing from Troy with his father on his shoulder in the well-known motif, except he is here shown heroically nude. It is less likely that the figure is Silenus or Herakles. In the relief of him freeing Prometheus, he is clean-shaven and wears his lion-skin headdress.

This might all seem rather speculative, but the interpretation is confirmed if the position of the panel is considered. It is the last in the sequence. It brings the meaning of the reliefs full circle. In the first his great ancestor is born of the patron goddess; in the last, his descendant, the victorious first emperor. And in this way he is deeply interwoven into Aphrodisian history as the triumphant conclusion. All Greek mythology and the civilisation and history of the region has culminated in this moment, the birth of Augustus. Of the reliefs in the south wall, Smith notes the 'localised visual myth in which the distant past and the immediate present were collapsed into a single frame'.³⁸⁰ That is certainly the case with the activity combined in this relief, but it is also the wider meaning alluded to throughout the wall; that all Greek myth was inevitably leading from the birth of Aeneas to this moment, the birth of Augustus.

Smith observes that the south portico represents a more Greek perception of history. True, but it is from a decidedly Roman angle. Yet we should not be surprised at this fusion of imagery. In literature as well as in art, the distinctions of myths were blurred, and contemporary commentators were busy weaving the founding myth of

³⁸⁰ Smith (2012) 285.

the Julio-Claudians into historical narrative and poetry.³⁸¹ Smith further points out that the portrayal of Greek culture in these panels is presented as the ‘forerunner and the natural background of imperial rule’,³⁸² but does not recognise how precisely this is the case.

The link between the goddess, the founding myth and imperial mothers was a profound and unique connection. But this important aspect of the emperors’ wives and mothers that came to be so publicly celebrated in Aphrodisias had taken time to evolve, and was largely the result of shifting political attitudes grounded in dynastic ambition and political necessity. Livia’s image, and that of later imperial women, only began to gain momentum in Rome after 9 BC, as a result of her subsequently enhanced importance as blood relation to the imperial heir, when Tiberius finally became the appointed successor of Augustus. She was the first woman honoured in Rome with a statue in 35 BC (along with Octavia), after which there are no such recorded honours until 9 BC. Prior to this date, she was not related by blood to the imperial heirs Marcellus and Agrippa, and was therefore ‘only’ the consort to the princeps and stepmother to Julia.³⁸³ However, even if she held no official title recognising her role, she was still the *materfamilias* to the imperial family (in the same position as a modern day ‘first lady’³⁸⁴), and stepmother to the heirs of her husband.³⁸⁵ She then ‘newly emerges into public life- as a mother’, following the death of Drusus, and the marriage of Tiberius to Julia in 11 BC, and became linked by blood to the succession, and the living bond between the Julii and Claudii; in effect becoming the co-founder of that strand of the dynasty alongside her husband.³⁸⁶ No less a monument than the Ara Pacis was dedicated on the occasion of her birthday on January 30th, 9 BC.³⁸⁷ Clearly, she had become a more elevated individual worthy of inclusion in honorific public imperial art because she was a mother. To the patrons and artists of Aphrodisias, the wife of the emperor and dynastic mother and founder

³⁸¹ Smith (1990) 100.

³⁸² Smith (1990) 100.

³⁸³ Watson (1995) 176. The distinction between mothers and stepmothers in the Roman world should not be underestimated. The literary sources are highly critical of the behaviour of stepmothers, especially Livia, as a result of jealous ambition on behalf of their own children and greed for their husband’s possessions (eg. Dio 55.32.2 and 55.33.4).

³⁸⁴ Wood (2001) 77.

³⁸⁵ Wood (2001) 103.

³⁸⁶ Wood (2001) 75.

³⁸⁷ Flory (1993) 298.

was a brand new role, ripe for political interpretation and visual representation in a region that already embraced the elite woman in honorific portrait art.

A more expedient reason for the representation of imperial women stems from the political position of Tiberius, in whose reign the *Sebasteion* was started, and his relationship with his mother, the vital familial connection between the second emperor and his predecessor.³⁸⁸ As stated earlier, restrictions of portraits of women fell away after the reign of Augustus. He did not need female political endorsement to support his position,³⁸⁹ and women had appeared in Augustan imagery mainly as symbols of moral paradigms and dynastic continuity, and even political power-play.³⁹⁰ In Rome, their honours were restricted to associations with family and domestic life,³⁹¹ even though Livia was known to be an important advisor to her husband, and he consulted her often.³⁹² His successors could not say the same and they called upon the images of women to support their reigns. In particular, Tiberius required the political and dynastic sanction of his mother as wife of his adoptive father to both legitimize and affirm his right to succeed, and this political expediency encouraged the promotion and adoption of imperial images of mother and son. In short, through her pivotal new role as mother of the emperor, Livia acquired a major political significance that built upon her already considerable personal wealth and power. Under Claudius, she became a *diva*, taking her place in the pantheon alongside her husband and by doing so, gaining in both political and religious stature. Therefore we should never underestimate the religious and political clout of the image of the first empress. Winkes notes that Livia's image had a 'profound effect' on those of later empresses,³⁹³ and it provided a template for the portrayal of imperial wives and mothers in politically motivated portrait art. As an adopted son like his predecessor Tiberius, through his direct maternal link with the Julian line, Nero also called upon the image of his mother to legitimize his reign.

³⁸⁸ Flory (1993) 298.

³⁸⁹ Winkes (2000) 38.

³⁹⁰ Flory (1993) 295.

³⁹¹ Flory (1993) 304.

³⁹² Wood (2001) 80.

³⁹³ Winkes (2000) 39.

It is also important to restate at this juncture that the portrayal of elite women was already an accepted convention in Greek Eastern dynastic portraiture. Hellenistic queens were frequently represented in portrait statuary here because as well as being powerful individuals in their own right, they were regarded as the important ‘cords that bound kingdoms together’.³⁹⁴ The Aphrodisians therefore naturally included the wives of Roman rulers in their portrait groups. In this way, they honoured the wives and mothers in the same manner as Hellenistic queens and included all the trappings of their royal power. So perhaps not surprisingly, the convention of imperial wife and mother in dynastic portraits began to develop in the east much earlier than in the west where it was still frowned upon,³⁹⁵ but not just because of pre-existing cultural practice.

The region was amongst the first to be presented with the brand-new concept of the Roman imperial mother, ‘in the flesh’. The campaign of Agrippa in the East, accompanied by his frequently pregnant wife Julia and their children, promoted the image of the imperial Roman mother first-hand, and Julia was honoured in portraits as the producer of imperial heirs.³⁹⁶ Indeed, she was one of the earliest women publicly seen in this role in this part of the empire (although Octavia was arguably the earliest woman to be regarded as an ‘imperial mother’ of Marcellus, but Julia certainly preceded Livia in this role, who only assumed it some years later). This was in contrast with the situation in Rome where elite women featured rarely in dynastic portraiture that instead celebrated more masculine political and military roles.³⁹⁷ Only under Tiberius onwards did women begin to feature frequently in Roman public portraits, infiltrating predominantly male domains.³⁹⁸

The definition of public service began to evolve and include roles that only women could fulfil. Accomplishments and deeds undertaken on behalf of the state deemed worthy of an honorific portrait statue, formerly the sole domain of men in public roles

³⁹⁴ Rose (1997) 7.

³⁹⁵ Flory (1993) 296.

³⁹⁶ Rose (1997) 13.

³⁹⁷ Rose (1997) 7.

³⁹⁸ Rose (1997) 30. Rose notes that imperial women feature on a triumphal arch in Lepcis Magna, that most masculine of monuments. In order to resolve political conundrums of parentage and avoid any potential and damaging diplomatic *faux pas*, mothers rather than fathers are honoured with their sons. Whatever the reason for their inclusion, the prominence enhances their position and role.

performing acts of civic benefaction or military campaigns, eventually came to include the production of imperial heirs, that uniquely female preserve, and were extended to women such as Livia.³⁹⁹ Under Caligula, female imperial family members began to accumulate unprecedented honours. His sister Drusilla becomes the first woman to be deified, and the emperor's female siblings and relations became the recipients of honours usually only reserved for Julio-Claudian princes.⁴⁰⁰ Agrippina the Younger not only held titles,⁴⁰¹ she wielded very real power. Rose notes that she undertook various tasks of imperial business, usually the sole preserve of the emperor himself.⁴⁰² She had provincial clients and even sat on a dais alongside her husband to receive the surrender of Caractacus.⁴⁰³ Under such extraordinary circumstances, the Aphrodisians, as observant as ever to political changes and attitudes emanating from Rome, were quick to reflect these important changes in their reliefs of the imperial family. It should come as no surprise, then, that they imbued portraits of imperial women in the Sebasteion with such flagrant overtones of power. We shall move on to consider some of the most significant.

2.13: Agrippina and Nero

The relief of Agrippina and Nero is the only imperial relief to survive from the North building,⁴⁰⁴ and was commissioned by a different family and executed by different sculptors than the south building.⁴⁰⁵ Smith speculates that this panel survives intact as it may have been removed from display following the disgrace of Nero and stored safely away, but this does not fit with Rose's suggestion that even disgraced imperial family members continued to be included in dynastic portraits. It may be that the presence of Agrippina saved the relief from a fate of destruction as she remained popular following her son's downfall, but this cannot be known for certain. Smith describes the carving as being more refined than on other panels from the building. It

³⁹⁹ Flory (1993) 300.

⁴⁰⁰ Rose (1997) 35.

⁴⁰¹ Wood (2001) 254. Claudius refused the title of *Augusta* for her predecessor, but it was granted to Agrippina, the first woman since Livia to hold the title during her lifetime.

⁴⁰² Rose (1997) 47.

⁴⁰³ Wood (2001) 250-251

⁴⁰⁴ Smith (1988) 53.

⁴⁰⁵ Smith (1988) 51, and Smith (2006) 47.

is evidently the case that textures in drapery and the delicate execution of Agrippina's hair and face are more sensitively realised in this panel than elsewhere (see for example *Figure 2.12*, below), yet that is not to dismiss the skill evident in other reliefs from the south building.⁴⁰⁶ Certainly the subject matter and figurative design is the same, and it is this continuity of theme that is of prime importance.

This is a highly unusual relief and exceptionally rare. In crowning scenes, the emperor or crowned figure is more often crowned by a god or personification.⁴⁰⁷ For a member of the imperial family to be the one bestowing the honour is rare enough,⁴⁰⁸ but for a mother to be doing it reveals a great deal about her status as it was perceived by the patrons and artists who commissioned the panel. As we shall see, as well as her presence in the scene, other stylistic elements emphasise her political importance.

In the image, Agrippina the Younger, in her role as mother of Nero, stands crowning her son with a laurel wreath (*Figure 2.8*). He stands still in a frontal pose, dressed in the military attire of an imperator, with *calcei* on his feet, beside which lies an ancient helmet denoting victory.⁴⁰⁹ He wears a muscle cuirass tied with a sash in a 'Herakles' knot at the front,⁴¹⁰ worn over the traditional leather tunic. Over this is a mantle fastened at the right shoulder with a large clasp. The garment continues down his back and winds around the left arm, falling in drapes extending to his thighs. The broken-off left hand may have supported a globe, and carved remains on the right arm suggest that he once gripped a spear. The scene is all the more striking because cuirassed figures were rare in Aphrodisias,⁴¹¹ and the costume identifies Nero as a ruler of supreme power rather than simply a military victor. The sculptors of the fifth emperor have merged individual features with an ideal male beauty and an unmistakable Julio-Claudian hairstyle, and then applied Nero's own distinctive sideburns. He turns his head towards his mother compliantly, acknowledging her presence and receiving the accolade she offers. Both figures share the same amount of space in the relief and are virtually the same height. This device has the effect of giving equal importance to mother and son, although Nero occupies the left hand

⁴⁰⁶ Smith (1988) 60.

⁴⁰⁷ Kropp (2013) 6.

⁴⁰⁸ Kropp (2013) 6-7.

⁴⁰⁹ Smith (2006) 118.

⁴¹⁰ Smith (2006) 118.

⁴¹¹ Smith (2006) 117.

space, the more important position suggesting the more elevated position.⁴¹² However, the more conventional iconography in crowning scenes is for the crowned figure to be taller of the two figures; here, the equal height is further evidence of a perceived parity of status.⁴¹³

Yet it is indisputably Agrippina who is in control of the action here. She is the protagonist with a sense of movement, her son the patient recipient of her gesture. At the time that the Sebasteion was completed, Nero was still alive,⁴¹⁴ and he is therefore shown as mortal. Elsewhere, in a panel showing his conquest of Armenia, he is portrayed nude in a more heroic stance.⁴¹⁵ In this panel with his mother, his military aspect is subdued by her presence. She holds a cornucopia, overflowing with fruit, symbolising abundance, fertility and peace, the gifts of Roman rule. She is thus seen as endorsing his military role, but softening any aggressive overtones by overlaying it with the fruits of Rome; the peace and fecundity that follows on from victory. She appears his equal in terms of political positioning,⁴¹⁶ she is the peaceful counterpoint of military victory, the link of continuity through past and future power. Being on the right hand side is not necessarily the subservient position for Agrippina, who adopts the space usually reserved for goddesses and personifications such as *Virtus*, who represents masculine ideals of prowess and virtue. As Bartman and Kropp both note, in Hellenistic and Roman scenes such as this, mortal men were most frequently accompanied by deities. But now an empress assume the role. This striking new aspect propelled the image of imperial women into a whole new unprecedented sphere, and ‘paved the way for mortal women who first joined similar scenes in the...early imperial period’.⁴¹⁷ As I shall argue below, such powerful imagery was highly influential on how local elite women of Aphrodisias.

⁴¹² Rose (1997) 24.

⁴¹³ Kropp (2013) 5.

⁴¹⁴ Erim (1982) 165. Later, Nero’s image was subject to the *damnatio memoriae*.

⁴¹⁵ Brilliant (1963) 42. Brilliant notes that the ‘potency’ of the *Imperator* depended on his role as military victor, and indeed the aftermath of victory, so that images of conquest were more powerful when supported by those of submission by the defeated.

⁴¹⁶ Kropp (2013) 7.

⁴¹⁷ Bartman (1999) 26, and Kropp (2013) 4.



Figure 2.9 Agrippina and Nero from the North Wall of the Sebasteion (Cat no.31).

Kleiner notes only that Agrippina holds a cornucopia,⁴¹⁸ and Ginsburg argues that she is represented as *Securitas*,⁴¹⁹ and she is seen in this guise on coin images from other parts of the empire. But in the relief, there is an important distinction. She is shown as an individual in her own right, rather than as part of a narrative or as a complement to another figure. Figure 2.10 shows her in such a pose on the obverse of a coin minted in the reign of Caligula accompanied by her sisters. As we saw, Agrippina and her sisters received unprecedented honours bestowed on imperial women for the first

⁴¹⁸ Kleiner (1992) 158.

⁴¹⁹ Ginsburg (2006) 66.

time, and the Aphrodisian creators of this relief had clearly noted and understood this.⁴²⁰ Not least because of such a unique set of circumstances, it is my hypothesis that Agrippina herself is the attribute in this context that lends meaning to the goddess figure, occupying the space reserved for deities or personifications. It seems conceivable that, due to the role that Agrippina assumes of crowning the emperor, the figure could be interpreted as Fortuna or Roma with the attributes of Agrippina, as a mortal imperial mother with the capacity to confer power, whilst also being the instrument through which the transfer of power occurred. The link with Roma is suggested by the iconography of figures 2.11 and 2.13, which we will explore below. Nowhere else in the Roman world does such a blatant display of power as a mother appear at this time. This radical yet subtle change in the balance of divine allusion in a portrait such as this creates an imposing effect. The fusion of mortal and god-figure more usually occurs as a lending of divine qualities appropriate to the portraits of mortal individuals, without intimating immortality or making direct divine associations, such as references to Hermes in portraits of businessmen, or Venus in female imagery, or by the thunderbolt of Jupiter to an emperor to allude to ultimate authority. However, thus transformed and the role reversed, imbuing the goddess with the features of Agrippina and blending the two personas into one, the figure of Agrippina in this relief becomes an ‘imperial incarnation’ of the goddess Fortuna,⁴²¹ or, as we shall see, Aphrodite or even Roma, and substantially increasing her status and perceived authority.

⁴²⁰ Rose (1997) 33.

⁴²¹ Varner (2008) 185.



Figure 2.10 Coin of Gaius. Agrippina (on the left) with her sisters. They each hold the cornucopia (Cat no.32).

Agrippina wears a delicately fine chiton belted beneath the chest. Her navel is shaped by the crinkled fabric. The dress becomes much thicker and layered around her legs, and the right foot peeps out beneath. The thick mantle is draped over the shoulder and around the hips alluding to the Artemisia-Delphi body type, and its religious and sacred traditional connotations. Her hair is styled in the unmistakable coiffure of Agrippina, with the rows of snail shell curls and falling ringlets. On her head she wears a *stephane* that points to religious aspects or Aphrodite.⁴²² This association is enhanced if the image is compared with the semi-naked personification crowning the imperial freedman on the Zoilos relief (*Figure 2.14*). The figure appears with the body, pose and drapery redolent of the Capua Aphrodite. In her right arm rests a cornucopia. Although Agrippina, in the same pose, is clothed as befits an imperial mother, the use of the body pose, function and similar attributes certainly makes a close comparison. Despite an inscription above the head identifying the Zoilos figure

⁴²² Bartman (2012) 30. Here, Bartman describes the scene as demonstrating ‘womb as kingmaker’. Although a very apt description, it is rather brutal and overlooks the presence of the woman herself. Agrippina is glorified in this depiction in her own right. Motherhood is one aspect of it, albeit of crucial importance.

as Timē,⁴²³ it is likely that the image is intended to evoke the patron goddess herself, and this earlier relief may well have been influential for this reason on the body of Agrippina, and for the purpose of creating a visual link. Timē appears nowhere else in this format.⁴²⁴ Indeed, each of the female personifications on the monument of Zoilos closely follows a well-known Aphrodite type.⁴²⁵ The carving of the monument was highly influential in many ways; the high to low relief became one of the ‘leading technical characteristics of Roman imperial reliefs’.⁴²⁶ And before the advent of imperial mother-figures in the city, Aphrodite body-types were becoming established as a means of portraying powerful and significant female forms that would go on to influence portraits of empresses and ‘real’ women in the city. Smith concludes that the use of the Aphrodite types is explained as a convenient device because of the gender of the figures.⁴²⁷ This is not an adequate explanation for their presence. I argue that they are here precisely because they are all versions of the patron goddess, of whose cult Gaius Julius Zoilos was a priest.

The face of Agrippina is idealised and ageless, linking her with earlier traditional Classical imagery. The shaping of the breasts and navel indicate Agrippina’s fertility and status as mother of Nero; the image is one of traditional virtue and female beauty powerfully over-layered with religious and political significance. The fusion with abstract divine qualities interspersed with her role as imperial mother, the characteristically Roman fusion of ‘actual’ with ‘symbolic’,⁴²⁸ elevates her to a higher level of power and influence.⁴²⁹ The contrast with her son is pronounced. He is depicted here as a mortal yet powerful ruler, an overt image of victory grounded in the ‘real world’; she is portrayed with a more religious, even divine aspect, or even as divine with an imperial aspect. The dropped hip and open body format is confident and was more usually adopted by women performing a religious rite. The act is further transformed by this additional layer of meaning. By crowning her son with the wreath in this way, Roma/ Agrippina is seen to endorse and affirm the succession of her son and his right to rule in a quasi-religious act. This also has the effect of making

⁴²³ Smith (2006) 43.

⁴²⁴ Smith (1993) 29.

⁴²⁵ Smith (1993) 41.

⁴²⁶ Smith (1993) 11.

⁴²⁷ Smith (1993) 31.

⁴²⁸ Brilliant (1963) 66.

⁴²⁹ Bartman (1999) 26.

it appear that Agrippina is the dominant figure of the scene, that it is she who has the power to confer legitimate imperial power to her son.⁴³⁰

The configuration of the scene, to Rose at least, is inspired by the cult statues of Augustus and Roma at Pergamon,⁴³¹ whose iconography and pose they share (*Figure 2.11*). Not only does this have the satisfying visual effect of reinforcing the link between Augustus, his great- granddaughter and her son, but lifts the whole scene into the realm of the Roman pantheon of deities. Agrippina's role replacing a deity (standing in place of Roma and fusing elements associated with Fortuna), is confirmed by the association. Such a position might seem surprising until we consider that in parts of the empire Nero was referred to as the son of the goddess Agrippina,⁴³² and through her was regarded as the legitimate successor of the first princeps. If we are to accept Rose's argument that the relief is indeed inspired by the cult statues of Pergamon, it is instructive to compare the iconography. The main difference is that Augustus is turned away from the goddess in a gesture of aloofness in the manner of the Doryphorus or Hellenistic rulers; Nero's head turned towards his mother is strikingly meek and yielding in contrast. Like Nero, the deified princeps also wears armour and boots, both are fully frontal, yet Augustus' gesture is more dynamic. His cloak billows out, and he appears to have his hand on his hip. The figure of Roma is highly unusual yet almost identical to the figure of Agrippina. She does not wear her helmet, and she unexpectedly carries the cornucopia. She is also more active than other representations of Roma that tend to show her seated or simply present and inactive in a scene. Were it not for the inscription, ROM ET AVG, on the coin, we might dismiss the deity as not being Roma at all. But we will see below that Roma was often presented not wearing her helmet in the region. Stevenson notes that this particular manifestation seems to be specific to the *Communitas Asiae*,⁴³³ and we will return to this localised rendering of the goddess below in Chapter 2.16.

⁴³⁰ Kropp (2013) 5.

⁴³¹ Rose (1997) 47.

⁴³² Rose (1997) 47.

⁴³³ Stevenson (1967) 237.



Figure 2.11 Coin of the Temple of Augustus at Pergamon, showing the cult statues of Augustus and Roma (Cat no.33).⁴³⁴

We might be surprised at the degree of importance awarded to a woman in such an image, albeit an imperial daughter, sister, wife and mother. Yet in the east, it was not unknown for ruler-women to be portrayed in such abjectly powerful terms, but with a subtle yet significant difference. Varner notes that coins minted in Ephesus containing portraits of Cleopatra show her as more masculine and assimilated to portraits of Antony in an attempt to convey marriage and also ‘union’.⁴³⁵ In other images, Cleopatra wears the flat diadem more commonly associated with males, in order to assert authority and leadership.⁴³⁶ Yet the image of Agrippina is fundamentally different. Though she is created in the imagery of a goddess, and in a position of power, she is not made to rely on masculine or gender-ambiguous devices, but is essentially feminine, because, unlike Cleopatra, the basis of her power (in this instance) is grounded in her sex. Later we shall see that assimilation was a device adopted by empresses, Agrippina included, but the context of use is different. Here, the allusion to her role as mother and link by blood to Augustus is all-important.⁴³⁷ The image provides a striking juxtaposition with portraits that preceded it, relying as it does on very traditional conventions of Greek female representation, but instead of

⁴³⁴ Stevenson (1964) 237.

⁴³⁵ Varner (2008) 190.

⁴³⁶ Varner (2008) 190.

⁴³⁷ Rose (1997) 47.

portraying an empress as the supreme purveyor of ideal womanly qualities or as subordinate to her male counterpart,⁴³⁸ it uses the same motifs to represent a position of ultimate power in the imperial female figure. Indeed, Rose notes that Agrippina was frequently portrayed in equal and more than equal terms with her son, at least in the early years of his reign.⁴³⁹

The Sebasteion was completed in AD 60 during the early part of Nero's reign.⁴⁴⁰ Agrippina had fallen from favour with her son and died or was murdered at his behest in AD 59.⁴⁴¹ The allusions to divinity and the *stephane* that she wears in the relief could be interpreted as signs that she is already acknowledged as deceased. However, the point cannot be proven and, as we saw, she was honoured as a goddess during her lifetime. Although Agrippina fell from favour with her son prior to her death, she remained popular in the provinces. There is no reason to believe that her disgrace with Nero was reflected in political art in regions that continued to honour her.⁴⁴² Rose notes that even disgraced individuals continued to occupy dynastic group portraits, acting as 'genealogical charts' of the imperial family.⁴⁴³ The panel might also have been completed in her lifetime, in which case the religious attributes have even more impact in the portrait of a living woman. Ginsburg asserts that she was portrayed on coins in her lifetime as the goddess Demeter,⁴⁴⁴ in which case we should not consider it unusual to find her with such a divine aspect here.

2.14: Husband and Wife: Agrippina and Claudius

The relief of Agrippina with her husband Claudius from the south wall continues the theme of women in the imperial family, once again fusing mortal and divine allusions (*Figure 2.12*). It is just as rare as the previous panel, showing as it does the imperial couple clasping hands. Agrippina stands to the left of her husband, this time in her capacity as wife. The weight is on the left foot, the right leg slightly bent. This gives

⁴³⁸ Davies (2008) 215.

⁴³⁹ Rose (1997) 47.

⁴⁴⁰ Smith (1990) 89.

⁴⁴¹ Bartman (2012) 420.

⁴⁴² Rose (1997) 48.

⁴⁴³ Rose (1997) 10.

⁴⁴⁴ Ginsburg (2006) 78.

the impression that she is leaning towards her husband. She wears a floor length chiton overlaid with a mantle that is draped over the left shoulder, falling behind the arm in regular folds. It reaches the lower arms, and the chiton and mantle shape the breasts and mature figure beneath. The execution of the drapery is accomplished yet lacks the delicate texture evident in the panel from of Agrippina with her son. Her face is turned towards the emperor and the gaze is directed firmly at him, though his face is slightly lower than hers, forcing her to look down on him. She has the classically plain expression associated with Agrippina, yet it is more stylised here. Smith refers to it as 'grossly simplified',⁴⁴⁵ although we must bear in mind that emperor-scenes occupied the upper storey and were therefore not necessarily required to be so finely carved as those below that were more visible to the viewer.⁴⁴⁶ Her hair is styled in the trademark triple snail shell curls, parted fringe and ringlets to the shoulder. In her left hand she holds up ears of wheat associated with Ceres/ Demeter. The right arm crosses the body and holds her husband's hand in the gesture of *dexiosis*⁴⁴⁷ or *dextrarum iunctio*, the earliest surviving occasion in which an imperial couple were represented in this pose.⁴⁴⁸ Before the discovery of this relief, Davies notes that scholars believed the first known representation of an emperor and his wife in this pose were Hadrian and Sabina, illustrating how innovative and exceptional this image is.⁴⁴⁹

To the right stands her husband Claudius, portrayed heroically nude. He mirrors Agrippina's pose, the left leg being bent and the foot slightly raised, giving the body a sense of fluidity and movement. The body is unusually front facing and muscular. Over the shoulder is a *chlamys*, the 'Greek garment of action',⁴⁵⁰ secured at the right shoulder with a large brooch. It drapes behind him, winding around the left arm that hangs down by the figure's side. The hand is broken off, and it is unclear if it held any attribute. The head and face of Claudius follows the Julio-Claudian model, with the parted fringe. The face is unusually downward facing. It might be argued that his face is intended to meet the gaze of viewers who would be forced to look up at the image,

⁴⁴⁵ Smith (2006) 47.

⁴⁴⁶ Smith (1988) 60.

⁴⁴⁷ Davies (1985) 629.

⁴⁴⁸ Rose (1997) 44.

⁴⁴⁹ Davies (1985) 638.

⁴⁵⁰ Smith (2006) 132.

but this is not certain and is not a device noted elsewhere in the imperial panels. Behind him to his left is the fragment of a draped figure, possibly a personification of the *polis*, who crowns him with a wreath.



Figure 2.12 Agrippina and Claudius (Cat no.34).

It is notable that Agrippina is taller than Claudius in the scene, even with his wreath. Brilliant points out that the height of people in portrait images was linked to social status, and the higher the position of the subject, the higher their inferred status.⁴⁵¹ And because the personification occupies the traditional space on the right, Agrippina is thrust into the more important left hand position. We must conclude therefore that Agrippina is represented as more important, or as more politically significant, than her

⁴⁵¹ Brilliant (1963) 12.

husband, even though he occupies the centre space; the allusion being enhanced by her having to lower her gaze to look at him. A controversial conclusion perhaps, but we have already noted the importance of relative height in the north wall relief, and it seems unlikely to be a device included without relevance. She does not appear to be wearing a crown. The only allusion to a divine attribute in this manifestation of Agrippina is the posy of wheat to signify fertility, continuity and nature as opposed to the more complex divine aspect intended in the north panel, a subtle yet important distinction. As Claudius is nude beside her, it is possible to conclude that he is shown as heroically divine and she is not; as we have seen, divinity for Agrippina in the context of the Greek East would not be represented through nudity but through clothing, body type and attributes. It is certainly true that his gaze appears unearthly and distant, whereas she is once again the protagonist of the scene, steering the action through her direct gaze and body that are both directed towards her husband. His unusual frontal position accompanied by Agrippina's attentive pose give the impression that she is presenting him to the viewer, that she is bringing the sanction of Julian blood to their union.

We can conclude that Agrippina does not appear as divine in this panel because her role is intentionally different here. She is present as the wife of the emperor, not his mother. She did not confer power on him although she shared it.⁴⁵² His reign did not come about as a result of her role as his wife or even niece. Indeed, she was not his wife when he came to power. In this way, she could be construed as subordinate to her husband were it not for the imagery present in her body and the inclusion of the powerful gesture of *dextrarum iunctio* that means the scene is not merely one of husband and wife portrayed side by side,⁴⁵³ and she herself remains of great dynastic importance irrespective of the fact of her marriage, through her son the future emperor.⁴⁵⁴

What Agrippina does bring to the union is the glamour of direct descent from Augustus himself, and her presence reinforces the bonding and continuity of the Julian and Claudian bloodlines, and of course through Augustus, the ancestral link

⁴⁵² Rose (1997) 46.

⁴⁵³ Davies (1985) 637.

⁴⁵⁴ Rose (1997) 44.

with Aphrodite and Aeneas. As such, Agrippina is of unique importance to the meaning and significance of the Sebasteion, as a thriving embodiment and unbroken link between the later generations of the imperial dynasty and Aphrodite herself. More than any other human being represented on its reliefs, she is the most symbolically important. Through her great-grandfather, she was a direct descendant of Aphrodite, and a living, productive imperial female and mother and therefore the ultimate living manifestation of all the religious and political bonds with Rome and the special relationship of the city and the patron goddess. Even Livia could not make such an impressive claim. Schade notes that any association made between Aphrodite and a Roman woman was made purely to highlight beauty and eroticism.⁴⁵⁵ This may be the case in other parts of the empire, but it dismisses the mother-aspect of the goddess so essential a part of her role in Aphrodisias, especially when linked with the Julio-Claudian women.

This relief, then, is a very early example of the concept of ‘imperial *concordia*’ that unites emperor and empress in a visual expression of virtually equal footing and union.⁴⁵⁶ The *dextrarum iunctio* itself was so much more than a representation of marriage, especially in this instance. The handclasp gesture was a device common in Greek imagery denoting ‘agreement, unity and concord,’⁴⁵⁷ and was common in representations of gods and mortals. It also visually expressed friendship, loyalty and conciliation and was adopted by Roman artists under the empire to express these qualities as well as marriage.⁴⁵⁸ Its meaning was enhanced by the relative size and height of those engaged in the gesture.⁴⁵⁹ In the context of this relief, it signifies the union and collaboration between husband and wife, *princeps* and empress at the very highest level, not only as the ruling imperial couple but in the wider context of their quasi-divine status. The size and positioning of Agrippina emphasizes her importance in the partnership, and her direction towards her heroically conceived husband stresses his nominal seniority and ultimate position within the relationship. This powerful image confirms his wife as being of very great importance as his consort and virtual equal in power, rather than as mere wife and stepmother to his children. Once

⁴⁵⁵ Schade (2009) 225.

⁴⁵⁶ Varner (2008) 192.

⁴⁵⁷ Davies (1985) 628.

⁴⁵⁸ Davies (1985) 637.

⁴⁵⁹ Brilliant (1963) 21.

again her position of power is not reliant on masculine paradigms, or even portrayed in gender neutral terms (except through devices such as height and positioning in the scene and arguably the hand-clasp), but through ways that positively reinforce her feminine aspect; yet the viewer is left in no doubt of the power she represents. The panel is a melding of traditional established Greek and Roman motifs adapted to a new purpose of expressing female authority within the imperial partnership, seen here for the first time. The traditional heroic nude is placed beside his wife with aspects of the ultimate mother deity, joined by the ancient symbol of various types of union, and yet knowledge of their respective public roles propels this image into a new reading of equally shared imperial power and authority.

2.15: Livia and Roma

Of equal significance and possibly greater importance because of its ground-breaking design is a badly damaged panel of two female figures (*Figure 2.13*), whose identification is a matter of academic debate. On the right is an Amazonian-style deity. She stands with the right leg slightly bent and wears high leg elaborately laced footwear in the manner of a deity. The feet and ankles are roughly carved, presumably because they would not be seen when the panel was displayed at height, so the exact style of her footwear cannot be exactly identified. Her clothing is unusual. She wears a knee length Amazonian style peplos belted at the waist with the characteristic over-fold. The right shoulder of the garment is not attached and falls forward ending in a weight, revealing the right breast. Over the chest is a strap that might be a balteus or attached to a quiver. In the left hand, the figure grasps a long staff that may have been the shaft of a spear, the top of which is now missing. Over her left shoulder is a bundle of drapery. A further fold winds around the body from the right hip to the left shoulder and over the left arm, falling in a sweeping curve. Between her left calf and the spear shaft the side of a shield can be seen. The face of the figure is ideally rendered and beautiful. The lips part as if to speak, and the head is turned towards the other figure. The hair is unusual and slightly wild. Over the forehead are two distinct curls, the rest is swept back in waves as though it is pinned up or tied at the back of the head. Large, deeply chiselled waves tumble down, resting the shoulders. She is

slightly taller than the woman to her right, whom she crowns with a laurel wreath with her right hand, the symbol of '*fides* or oath making'.⁴⁶⁰ It is clear from the appearance and height of the figure that she is a goddess or personification.



Figure 2.13 Livia (Julia Augusta) being crowned by Roma (Cat no.35).

Smith believes the scene to be a goddess being crowned by a personification of the polis,⁴⁶¹ or Roma or Andreia,⁴⁶² but this identification is disputed. Other representations of the polis in Aphrodisias are very different. On the late first century

⁴⁶⁰ Brilliant (1963) 38.

⁴⁶¹ Smith (1987) 97.

⁴⁶² Smith (2010) (unpublished email).

BC relief showing Augustus' freedman Caius Julius Zoilos being crowned by a personification of the polis, it takes on a very different form (*Figure 2.14, far right*). There, the figure is portrayed in a more conventional way. She wears a floor length chiton and peplos secured over the right shoulder. She steps forward and the fluid drapery around her lower body both shapes the legs and creates movement. Around her head and upper body she is framed by a billowing Roman-style swag of drapery. Her face is classical in style, the features idealised and serene, and the hair is curled with ringlets that fall to the shoulder. She faces Zoilos, her body leans towards him and she reaches up to crown him. The figure occupies the traditional space of personifications and goddesses. As might be expected of a divinity, she is taller than the man she honours.



Figure 2.14 C. Julius Zoilos being honoured by Timē (third from left) and a personification of the Polis (far right) (Cat no.36).

The personification on our relief is very different. Erim identifies her as Roma-Virtus crowning either a personification or a Julio-Claudian princess,⁴⁶³ but he admits that the identification of some members of the imperial family in the Sebasteion is less

⁴⁶³ Erim (1982) 165.

certain than others, and Virtus was not a figure commonly seen in Aphrodisias. Smith notes that Andreia and Timē were the Greek equivalent of Virtus and Honos.⁴⁶⁴ It is Bartman who points out that Smith and Erim did not realise the true meaning of the panel.⁴⁶⁵ It would be easy to dismiss the figure as not being Roma on the grounds that she is not wearing her customary helmet or armour, and the image of a mortal woman being crowned by a military-style figure would be highly unusual. But we must remember that Aphrodisian artists were immensely flexible with their use of imagery in their portrait repertoire and created their own localised and unique images of the gods as we saw above with the crossed-leg Aphrodite. It is also important to note that images of Roma exist elsewhere without her helmet in a Julio-Claudian context.⁴⁶⁶ In a cameo of Augustus and Roma (some have identified the emperor as Caligula, but for the purpose of this discussion, the exact identification is only relevant in so far as the emperor is unmistakably Julio-Claudian), the emperor reclines beside the goddess (*Figure 2.15*). He is heroically nude except for drapery that covers his lower body, legs and left shoulder. Beside him is a cornucopia that sweeps up the side of the elaborate throne carved in the shape of a sphinx. The imperial feet rest upon a stool, naked as befitting a god. He wears the laurel wreath and his left arm supports a spear, the symbol of royal authority, and he turns his head to gaze at the deity as though to converse with her. She mirrors his body language, the legs in an identical pose, the only difference being that she wears her divine sandals. She turns to him, her hand resting on the shield on her lap. Unlike the Sebasteion relief, her drapery is more restrained. The breasts are covered, the overall appearance is less dishevelled, yet the use of the shield and the context force the conclusion that this is also Roma. The head is uncovered, there is no helmet, only a gauzy veil hovering behind the head. The emperor and the goddess are portrayed as intimate and relaxed in each other's company, as one might expect when gods of equal stature meet. The scene is one of mutual love, the emperor supported by the regalia of authority and the fruits of peace, with Roma present to signify her endorsement of rule and power.

⁴⁶⁴ Smith (1993) 29.

⁴⁶⁵ Bartman (1999) 140.

⁴⁶⁶ See especially images in LIMC VIII 2, such as 33, 60, 61.



Figure 2.15 A Julio-Claudian emperor and Roma (Cat no.37).

It may be that Roma has removed her helmet to signify the peaceful nature of this scene and, as we have seen, Roma without her helmet appears to have been a regional manifestation of the goddess. In the coin depicting the cult statues from the temple of Augustus and Roma from Pergamon (*Figure 2.11, above*), we observed that she is portrayed without her helmet or armour. In our relief, perhaps it is also possible that Roma has removed her helmet and put her shield down not only because of the local or peaceful associations of the goddess in a part of the world that surrendered itself to the empire, but because as an equal of the first divine emperor, her military aspect is temporarily put aside. The cult statues from Pergamon also inspired the imagery in the relief of Agrippina with her son.⁴⁶⁷ It clearly provided the template for this panel of Livia and Roma as well, as it shares very similar iconography in terms of figure positioning, in which case the argument for the identification of Roma is substantiated.

In other images, Roma is hard to distinguish from other personifications such as Virtus, and context is most often the best guide to identification. The scene on the Sebasteion relief appears at first glance to offer little guidance, but it is unmistakably

⁴⁶⁷ Rose (1997) 47.

Roma not only because of the Julio-Claudian connection, but because the context demands that it is Roma. It could be argued that Virtus would be inappropriate in this scene if the figure on the left is Livia (as discussed below), but as we shall see, the offering of a laurel wreath was the ultimate accolade, deriving from the Triumph, a male preserve, and would be just as unexpected if the figure were identified as the first empress, but we cannot dismiss the possibility.

It is important to point out that the figure identified as Livia on the Ara Pacis also wears a wreath and veil, a feature that links the two female figures.⁴⁶⁸ On the Ara Pacis, the only figures to wear wreaths combined with veiled heads are Augustus and his wife,⁴⁶⁹ a device used to link emperor and empress. But there is one point we have not yet considered. The laurel wreath was awarded as the highest honour to men because women had not traditionally been in a position to earn such a form of recognition, as they had not undertaken military duty or had the opportunity to perform acts of great public benefaction or civic duty. Even Roman women of the highest regard had until now not been voted honours on this scale. How, then, were the citizens of Aphrodisias able to recognise the unique position achieved by Livia, and honour her as first amongst women, imperial wife, mother and goddess? Their answer was to feminise the wreath-giving ceremony and adapt the theme of Livia simply wearing a wreath to an image where she is actively crowned with one. Here, on the Sebasteion, devoted as it was partly to the relationship between divine and imperial mothers and sons and husbands and wives, perhaps we should not be surprised to see the ultimate imperial wife and mother, now a diva, crowned in this way.

2.16: The ‘Aphrodisian Roma’

All this does not necessarily explain the reasons behind the use of the unusual representation of Roma. But there is a contemporary precedent that satisfactorily explains the inclusion of the design in the relief. On medals dating from the time of

⁴⁶⁸ Bartman (1999) 134, and Wood (2001) 100. Also Pollini (2005) 104.

⁴⁶⁹ Bartman (1999) 134.

Nero, Roma appears in Amazonian costume, complete with exposed breast. She is not represented with her customary helmet, shield or Victory, but is shown instead with a short sword and sometimes a spear. Stevenson notes that it was a version of Roma popular in 'Asia'. He also notes that she was often seen in regional versions in this manner, head uncovered.⁴⁷⁰ In a brass coin minted under Vespasian, we see this 'Neronian Roma' securely identified with an accompanying inscription (*Figure 2.16*). The goddess reclines on the seven hills of Rome in Amazonian costume with Romulus and Remus at her feet suckling from the she-wolf of Rome, a personification of the Tiber before her. Underneath is the inscription ROMA. She gazes forward in a remarkably pensive pose with her head resting on her right hand, her hair pinned up in rolls away from the face. Her left foot rests on a raised surface. Either side of the scene are the letters 'S and C', identifying that the coin was commissioned by the senate. Her right hand leans on a short staff or spear



Figure 2.16 Flavian coin of the 'Neronian Roma' (Cat no.38).⁴⁷¹

It may be that this version of Roma originated in the Greek East because there is a similarly attired Roma more geographically close at hand and earlier in date than the

⁴⁷⁰ Stevenson (1964) 694.

⁴⁷¹ Stevenson (1964) 694.

Sebasteion. Located on the Zoilos relief and therefore much older than the Neronian conception of Roma, but specific to Aphrodisias, is the rare and unusual representation of the goddess.⁴⁷² In many respects she is quite traditional, but in others she displays localised adaptation (*Figure 2.17*). The badly damaged seated figure is partly obscured by the huge shield on which she rests her left arm. She faces left and is draped in a garment that, just as on the Sebasteion Roma, falls forward to expose the right breast with a balteus across the chest. Drapery also gathers over the left shoulder. There is fragmentary evidence of a spear leaning over the right shoulder, and also possibly a long lock of slightly wavy hair that extends from behind the hidden ear down the shoulder that also matches the relief. The face has been badly damaged, but the hair is swept up in a similar rolled style that extends down to the shoulders, but is not as unruly as in the relief with Livia. Perhaps because she is earlier, or because her presence is in a more traditional setting, she appears to wear her helmet, although it too has suffered much damage. By now we have seen many goddesses adapted to local context; this is one of the earliest versions of it in a very early imperial example. As we have seen, the Zoilos relief was rife with goddesses in new formats. The personifications, many of which are well-known versions of Aphrodite, are a brilliant innovation. Even in this early imperial period, the adaptation of types was already under way. Goddesses were taking the place of personifications, but their iconography had yet to be radically adapted.

⁴⁷² Erim (1986) 139.



Figure 2.17 Roma from the Zoilos relief (Cat no.39).

In our relief of Livia and Roma, we are clearly presented with a design that alludes to the Roma associated with the region that would have been recognised as such by local viewers from coins and other contexts, such as cult statues. She is not a slavish copy as she has her shield by her side, is standing and active, and wears her sword belt and heroically divine boots. Instead, she is a unique version of the Neronian/ local Roma specific to the context of the Sebasteion, where the gods interact and mingle with members of the imperial family so freely,⁴⁷³ and therefore suitably qualified to her task in the relief; the crowning of the first empress. Just as local artists created the cross legged Aphrodite unique to the city, so they created their own version of Roma, and here she is.

⁴⁷³ Smith (2012) 285.

The use of broader masculine aspects in the relief should also be addressed. The portrayal of direct imperial power in images of women was a very alien concept from the earlier Greek and Hellenistic forerunners that emphasized more decorous and ideal virtues of women within society. Women who sometimes adopted more overt male imagery to assert positions of power such as Cleopatra were not only finding new ways of expressing authority and virtues that were considered predominantly male,⁴⁷⁴ but were themselves outright rulers. Livia was in a unique position of imperial authority and power, but she was not the direct ruler, an important difference, and no matter how much influence she or later empresses wielded, she would always need to rely on an imperial male relative, and so the allusions to power were not as overwhelmingly masculine as those of ruler queens. Yet it is undeniable that she is surrounded by symbols of power that derive from male imagery. She occupies the space traditionally occupied by the male ruler, and the crowning deity with the laurel wreath completes the traditional and masculine feel of the scene.⁴⁷⁵ But if the relief of Agrippina, as a mortal- and a woman- crowning Nero, is exceptional in its rarity, then this scene is unique. A woman is being crowned, and all the glorification of imperial power is being heaped on her.⁴⁷⁶ More significantly still, if we refer back to the Pergamon relief of Augustus and Roma, we must deduce that she is standing *in Augustus' place*, and draw the conclusion that she is regarded here as his equal in renown and honour. But just like Agrippina in her imagery, the fundamental basis of Livia's power is based on her sexuality, both as producer of heirs and guarantor of dynastic continuance, and as such (unlike Cleopatra), it could not be left out of the scene. The one major difference between the panels is that Agrippina occupies the space of the goddess conferring power, whilst Livia occupies the position reserved for the recipient, catapulting her image to the most elevated role.

The figure of Livia on the left stands in a frontal pose. The right knee pushes through the fabric, and the chiton falls in deep drapes over the left leg. An overdress resembling a Roman stola hangs down to the knee, although this item is usually longer, and it is belted and gathered at the waist. The knot is not dissimilar to the 'Herakles knot' worn over the cuirass in the panel containing Nero and Agrippina.

⁴⁷⁴ Varner (2008) 190.

⁴⁷⁵ Kropp (2013) 5-6.

⁴⁷⁶ Kropp (2013) 4.

The stola is distinguishable by the layer of clothing that it adds between the tunic and mantle.⁴⁷⁷ It is pinned at the shoulders and sleeveless and was worn by virtuous and respectable matrons married to Roman citizens, just as Livia was as the wife of Augustus.⁴⁷⁸ Present in portraits for only a limited period before it became outdated at the end of the first century, as well as identifying Roman matronae, it is useful for dating purposes. It appears on two other securely identified portraits of Livia from the city. On a relief of the first empress also from the Sebasteion making a sacrifice on which the head is missing,⁴⁷⁹ the stola can clearly be seen over the chiton, clipped at the shoulder (*Figure 2.18*), and fastened beneath the breast with the Herakles knot, as it is here. On the huge portrait statue of Julia Sebaste Hera (Livia), discussed in Chapter section 4.5, below, the same item of clothing can also be seen,⁴⁸⁰ but in a more traditional format, without the Herakles knot. On the Livia and Roma relief, the material between the shoulders at the front falls in such a way as to emphasize the breasts. It is this garment above all that identifies the figure as a Roman woman rather than a personification or goddess such as Aphrodite. Over the stola is a mantle that winds around the body, forming a triangular apron shape topped with a roll of drapery that continues over the left arm, winding around and hanging in folds by the side. The garment is luxurious, as can be seen by the little weight at the end of the drapery on the left, and is expertly controlled by the wearer. A veil extends from behind the shoulders to the back of the head. The left arm is held up, and the broken hand would have held an important attribute but it is missing. The right hand hangs by the side, the fingers curved but broken so it is unclear what they may have clasped.

⁴⁷⁷ Bartman (1999) 41-42.

⁴⁷⁸ Fejfer (2008) 335. The stola tended to be worn by elite women and was out of fashion by the end of the first century.

⁴⁴⁰ Smith (2012) 306.

⁴⁴¹ Smith (2006) 199.



Figure 2.18 Livia sacrificing at an altar with an attendant (*Cat no.40*).

The head of the figure provides secure clues as to the identity of the first empress. I propose that it is Livia as Julia Augusta, in her aspect as deified wife of the first princeps. The face is unlike other portraits of Livia in Rome, with which local artists would have been familiar, with the distinctive small mouth and large flat almond eyes and small chin. Instead, the features are a feminised version of the generic Julio-Claudian face type that can be compared satisfactorily with the portrait faces of Claudius and Augustus on other panels of the Sebasteion,⁴⁸¹ and with Tiberius. In Rome, this similarity between emperor and empress would have been unacceptable at this time, at least in a public setting, as it alluded to Hellenistic kings and their queens, who often looked alike as a result of inter-marrying,⁴⁸² and the corruption and debauchery with which Romans associated them. Yet here in the east, attitudes were different. The rule of monarchs was not regarded with the hostility prevalent in Rome,⁴⁸³ and the physiognomic similarity of Livia with men of the Julio-Claudian house had the effect of visually associating husband and wife and successive rulers

⁴⁸¹ Smith (1987) 97.

⁴⁸² Bartman (1999) 25.

⁴⁸³ Winkes (2000) 34. Winkes notes that attitudes in the east were in fact the antithesis of those held in Rome. 'Sebastoi' referred to both the *princeps* and his wife. Livia was regarded in the same way as a Hellenistic queen.

and family members. After all, Augustus' relationship with Livia was a complex one, as he adopted her after his death and, like him, she was eventually deified.⁴⁸⁴ The political subtleties that the first emperor and his wife had to observe in Rome in the creation of their image did not apply in a region that worshipped its rulers as gods,⁴⁸⁵ especially after their deaths, when they could be universally and freely acknowledged in art as more than mortal. Also, in the context of the Sebasteion, Livia is celebrated as the female founder of the Julio-Claudian dynasty,⁴⁸⁶ and it is appropriate therefore that she should appear to look like them. This is a further example of the creative flexibility with which the local artists interpreted patterns arriving from Rome and how they applied them according to context, adapting them to their own distinct concepts and attitudes. If one compares the face of Livia with princes from other reliefs, a physiognomic similarity is undeniable. For example, the relief of Augustus as master of land and sea and Claudius subduing Britannia share many of the facial features as the first empress (*Figures 2.5 and 2.7 and 2.13. See comparison in figure 2.19, below*), though they are softened and feminized for the face of Livia. They all have the same distant expression, small mouth with thin lips, face-shape and small almond eyes. The only distinguishing features are the furrowed brow and forehead bangs of the males, a sign of maturity not appropriate for a deified woman.

⁴⁸⁴ Rose (1997) 22. Rose observes that a statue base found in the portico of the theater, and possibly once displayed in the Sebasteion, is dedicated to 'Livia? As daughter of Augustus', demonstrating that Livia was portrayed in this role in the city. He further points out that the reference to Livia as the daughter of Augustus was unique to Aphrodisias and the town of Velleia (1997, 37). Also Lenaghan, (2008) 49.

⁴⁸⁵ Smith (1988) 31.

⁴⁸⁶ Rose (1997) 40. Under Claudius, by whom Livia was deified, her role of 'genetrix' is emphasised to promote his ancestral link with Augustus and Drusus I, who was not adopted into the Julio-Claudian *gens*.

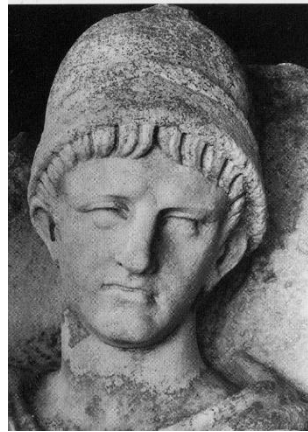


Figure 2.19 Comparison of facial features. Detail of Figures 2.5, 2.13 and 2.7. The Julio-Claudian face from the Sebasteion, top left Augustus, top right, Livia/ Julia Augusta, and below, Claudius.

In the very private and intimate context of the cameo, even in Rome the similitude of the emperors and their female relatives could be celebrated rather than concealed or subdued. In the *Gemma Claudia* and the *Grand Camée de France*, imperial men and women are presented side by side with unmistakable facial similitudes (*Figures 2.20 and 2.21*). On the *Gemma Claudia*, the profiles of Claudius and Agrippina gaze across at Tiberius and Livia. They share the small chin, mouth and nose profile. Each has small almond eyes and aquiline nose, and all the figures wear their own recognisable hairstyle in order to differentiate and identify them. They are all crowned with laurel wreaths except for Claudius who wears the oak wreath signifying that he has been responsible for saving the lives of Roman citizens. Once more, the cornucopia

occupies the same space as the imperial group, their heads emerging from the top as though they too are the abundant and fertile fruits of Rome. In this example, the use of the double cornucopia is a device formerly used by the Ptolemies, and was used for images of Augustus and Livia in Alexandria.⁴⁸⁷ It is a clear reference to imagery employed by Hellenistic rulers that is appropriate for the gaze of a few intimate supporters rather than use in the public arena. This may be a reason why the cornucopia was so popular a motif in Julio-Claudian imagery. As a conceit known only to the intimate inner few, the cornucopia, so long a device used to display abundance and fertility, might be used in private in the double-cornucopia form to allude to monarchy, the antithesis of republican sentiment that dare not speak its name. The eagle, symbol of Jupiter, gazes up at Claudius, undoubtedly the current emperor, who is also singled out from the others by his wreath. But this cameo is not a symbol of pure peace. Tucked away behind the cornucopias are cuirasses, shields and trophies alluding to the military conquest and victory of imperial rule.



Figure 2.20 The Gemma Claudia (Cat no.41).

⁴⁸⁷ Rose (1997) 41.



Figure 2.21 The Grand Camée de France (Cat no.42).

In the *Grand Camée de France*, the physiognomic similarities continue. Livia and Tiberius, enthroned side by side, share almost exact profiles. They also share the same relaxed seated posture, her left arm passively resting on the chair, Tiberius in a more overtly masculine and heroic pose of nudity and authority, wielding the spear. Their right arms are lifted in a gesture of consent or approval, mirroring each other. The central earthly figures each wear laurel wreaths. The figure of Augustus being transported to the heavens is not in profile, his face in this instance does not continue the similitude (although the small imperial child to the bottom left of the scene does echo his frontal gaze and shares facial similarities. This could be Caligula or a later Julio-Claudian prince), and he wears a veil and crown. The first emperor is clearly more divine than the others. He is crowned and holds the sceptre of Jupiter in his hand. But the different aspect of Augustus, now a *divus*, shown here does not disassociate him from his earthly relatives; rather it sheds divine authority on their rule. As before, the glorious image of imperial rule is bolstered by the presence of a subdued barbarian, crouching beside Livia's chair.

The same method of deliberate facial similitude appears on other, more widely dispersed formats, but in the east where they were not so subversive. On a coin of Aphrodisias of early imperial date, the faces of Livia and Augustus appear side by side,⁴⁸⁸ their profiles bearing the same lines, the intention clearly being to identify them as husband and wife as well as the first imperial couple.

Returning to the Sebasteion relief, the identification of Livia is supported by her hair. In the panel, it is styled in the ‘Bochum’ (or ‘Type III’) coiffure that was more often used in portraits following the death of her husband (*figure 2.22*),⁴⁸⁹ when she became the priestess of the cult of Augustus. The hair is parted in the centre and is brushed in soft waves off the face to the back of the head revealing the earlobes. There is also hair falling to the shoulders in ringlets redolent of the Ara Pacis portrait and Tellus from that monument.⁴⁹⁰ It is evocative of hairstyles worn by goddesses, and originating from Greek prototypes. It imbues Livia’s image with a more religious aspect that coincided with her elevated role as mother of the emperor and later as *diva*.⁴⁹¹ The usual *stephane* seen in this type is replaced in the panel with a laurel wreath with which she is crowned. She also wears a veil that denotes her status as priestess of Augustus, and adds a tone of piety to the image. But it may also be that this hair type is considered more appropriate for Livia in this instance as it was the style that she wore for the processional scene on the south frieze of the Ara Pacis,⁴⁹² the other notable occasion when Livia appears wearing a laurel wreath and veil in association with Roma, who is portrayed in the East Frieze on the building. Being crowned with a laurel wreath, the supreme male award signifying victory, and its use in this context, to Bartman, is indicative of the enhanced importance and renown of Livia that, ‘underscores her transcendence of the conventional female realm’.⁴⁹³ It is certainly the case that in this strangely configured scene of Roma and empress that Livia/ Julia Augusta assumes a role traditionally associated with males. However, Bartman goes on to state that such a position ‘neutralizes her sex’,⁴⁹⁴ but I am compelled to disagree with this aspect of her argument on the grounds that, although

⁴⁸⁸ McDonald (1976) 23. Catalogue no. 220.

⁴⁸⁹ Pollini (2005) 104.

⁴⁹⁰ Pollini (2005) 104-106.

⁴⁹¹ Winkes (2000) 37.

⁴⁹² Kleiner (1996) 38.

⁴⁹³ Bartman (1999) 134.

⁴⁹⁴ Bartman (1999) 135.

Livia has indeed broken through traditional female social and political boundaries in terms of relative power and status in her portrait, her gender-specific roles as *genetrix* (and therefore link with Aphrodite), supreme wife, mother (and also adopted daughter), dynastic guarantor and female paragon are the very key to her glorification in this context.



Figure 2.22 The 'Bochum Livia' (Cat no.43).

This panel is therefore of huge significance in terms of meaning and influence. Its subject matter is unprecedented and innovative, and demonstrates how the local inhabitants and artists of Aphrodisias were able to visually represent their view of the most elevated woman of the Julio-Claudian house, who continued to gather status and relevance after her death. Only Agrippina as imperial sister, wife and mother, and carrier of the direct bloodline of Augustus, could challenge her unique position. In contrast to the Romans themselves, the Aphrodisians were already familiar and comfortable with the positive visual representation of elite and royal woman such as Artemisia and others, and therefore did not share in the political restraints and aversions that ensured public portraits of Livia remained understated and modest, in

Rome at least. The first empress stands impassively whilst Roma confers upon her the greatest of honours, presenting Livia as supremely powerful and important, equal in stature to emperors in other panels such as Nero being crowned by Agrippina, and Augustus from Pergamon, who stands in an almost identical pose and setting. Most significantly, Livia receives the honour in her own right. No other figures, neither her husband nor her son, are included as supports. Although her body and clothing emphasize her sexuality and thus the importance of her role as dynastic co-founder,⁴⁹⁵ her gender does not subdue her into a secondary or supportive role as wife or mother; on the contrary, and crucially, it is the very source of her importance. The presence of Roma and goddess-influenced hairstyle refer to her new divine status. Just as on other designs, Roma and Julio-Claudian emperors share an equal and loving proximity; here it is Livia who enjoys the direct and unprecedented association with the goddess. Although mere conjecture, as the panel shows such close parallels with that of Agrippina crowning Nero, the extended hand may even have held a globe or Nike in the manner of the emperor that would have emphasized the divine allusions to power and rule. The overtones of honour, divine endorsement and power make this a very imposing image that transcends and celebrates the female aspect.

Finally, the panel is original in its conception and understanding of the role of the Augusta and therefore shows a sophisticated level of reception and innovation by the artists. Despite her significance as wife of Augustus and mother of Tiberius, Livia is not portrayed as a Hellenistic queen as one might expect by a community more familiar with royal women portraits than ‘first citizens’, but instead as the superlative Roman matrona. She may feature the Julio-Claudian face type, but this is to underscore her place within the dynasty. Her clothing is suitably Roman and modest. She is not bedecked in jewels. Rather than making ‘mistakes’ or misinterpretations in the relief, the artists have ‘creatively adapted’ an existing repertoire to deal with the new role of empress in her aspects as deified wife, mother and individual of power and authority.

⁴⁹⁵ I am tempted to call her ‘Livia or Julia Augusta Genetrix’ in this relief. Just as the images in the Sebasteion are concerned with representations of Aphrodite that are mythologically bound up with the origins of the Julian dynasty, so Livia is represented as a metaphorical equal to the goddess, as the progenitor and founder-mother of the Julio-Claudian imperial line. The implications are manifold; Livia became divine, Augustus is cast as the imperial Aeneas of a new *gens*.

Clearly, as the above examples demonstrate, portraits of imperial women featured very prominently on the carved panels of the Sebasteion. In the panels that survive, and especially in the examples discussed above, the women are portrayed in conceptually innovative and original designs that emphasise the power and elevated status of their subjects, not just in terms of their relationship with male family members but as powerful individuals and emphasises their relationship to Aphrodite herself, literally and figuratively, as supreme matriarchs and mothers. The artists' impressively flexible use of imported portrait motifs has been combined with locally conceived designs to make forceful statements about their status, unlike anything seen before across the empire; namely elevated status and imperial authority combined with femininity in a uniquely Roman context and setting. Previous restraints have been completely abandoned. As we saw above, without a public role to refer to, women's portraiture had been constrained by abstract roles of good behaviour and domestic virtue that corresponded to their importance as wives, mothers and daughters that reflected back on to male family members. These panels of imperial women represent a successful visual negotiation of the new role of empress, and were produced at a time when social attitudes and the conditions of elite women in the empire were undergoing drastic social and political change.

Summary

Aphrodisias was unusual in its unreserved support for Rome, and the feeling was requited. This mutually warm and politically advantageous relationship was rewarded by Rome and most notably Augustus himself and his heirs. It was visually expressed in Aphrodisias with lavish buildings and public art, often Roman in influence and inspiration, but with locally conceived designs negotiated by local artists adroit at manipulating existing imagery and creating striking original designs. Even the mythological past was reconfigured in its imagery to build around the suggestion that the coming of Augustus was its inevitable and triumphant conclusion.

Into this melting pot of political and cultural union was cast the new imagery of imperial females, and the patrons and artists who conceived the designs for the reliefs of the Sebasteion displayed a remarkably astute understanding of the political

vicissitudes unfolding in Rome over the years that it was constructed. The regional artists, already familiar with monumental portrait statues of divine, royal and 'ordinary' women, interpreted the new role of empress through the prism of Hellenistic monarchy, imperial and female prototypes from Rome and nearer to home, and were not subject to the constraints of political nuance present in the capital.

The striking images realised in the panels of the Sebasteion, the early imperial religious expression of the sacred trinity between the city, its goddess and the Julio-Claudians, generated powerful images of imperial wives and daughters. For the first time, non-royal women in portrait form transcended the social and political role restraints of their gender and were portrayed as independent individuals of power and authority, without having to rely predominantly on masculine portrait conventions, instead bending them to positively accentuate female values and virtues. The feminine aspects of motherhood, familial and independent influence, dynastic security and continuity, even the sanctioning of succession and unique connection with the patron goddess, were recognised as sources of power and influence in their own right and credible alternatives to traditional masculine sources of power, public office or military prowess, and 'masculine' imagery becomes gender neutral and even feminised when placed in a female context.

As we have observed repeatedly, throughout the Greek and Roman world, new types of portrait representation provided the inspiration for local elites who sought new ways to express their own political and social aspirations in portrait form. Women throughout the empire turned to the empress for inspiration and copied her style, and those of Aphrodisias were no exception. What was different, however, was that they had the unique reliefs of the Sebasteion to inspire them, and they could not fail to observe that women could be represented in their own right as creatures of power and authority rather than as appendages to males. Elite women in the Roman world not only had access to wealth, property, influence and power, as well as a degree of social (if not political or legal) equality with their husbands and sons, and were regarded with very great respect,⁴⁹⁶ but they now had the means to express it in appropriate public portrait forms without having to rely on male typology or subdued and

⁴⁹⁶ Hallett (1984) 211.

submissive prototypes and precursors. They had access to formats that also celebrated and stressed their feminine qualities. Some were traditional types that could be overlaid with new meanings, others were wholly original new designs or creative adaptations. As we shall see in the case studies that follow in the next chapter, elite women of Aphrodisias embraced the examples set by the empresses in the reliefs of the Sebasteion and fused them with distinctive local styles to create bold and original portraits.

Chapter Three: Roman Matrons

3.1: The Unique Nature of the Portraits

In this chapter, I shall examine examples of female portrait statues from Aphrodisias that display Roman-influenced iconography in depth. Those that survive are amongst the most eclectic and unique in Asia Minor or anywhere else in the Roman Empire from the early to middle imperial period.

Smith describes the large amount of male and female portrait statue heads and bodies that do not correspond to expectations as ‘non normative’, and possibly being ‘modified receptions’ of central [Roman] portrait ideas,⁴⁹⁷ but this does not do justice to the originality of the evidence or recognise the different layers of meaning intended by intricate details in some of the more sophisticated portraits. For example, some of the more unusual statues adhere closely to Hellenistic iconographic elements with very little or no apparent reference to Roman types, and Smith himself notes in an earlier article that local elites expressed in their portrait choices an awareness of the rich heritage of local portrait repertoire available to them without necessarily choosing features filtered through Rome.⁴⁹⁸ Perhaps, but this argument will be challenged in Chapter Four. Here it is sufficient to note that, even if Roman influence seems overlooked, there is still a complex dialogue taking place with Rome.

Some second century examples complicate the picture yet further. Greek-inspired elements such as beards on male portraits, made popular by being worn in portraits by the philhellenic Antonine emperors, became popular in Rome (see for instance *Figure 2.3*, Chapter Two). This then encouraged an adoption of their use in portrait statues of Aphrodisias as a means of expressing Roman affiliation, thus the transaction cannot always be described as one way. With respect to female portraits, Dillon notes that those of empresses were ‘refashioned’ in some Greek Eastern communities to fit into local contexts that followed trends set by local elites such as Plancia Magna.⁴⁹⁹ This

⁴⁹⁷ Smith (2006) 7.

⁴⁹⁸ Smith (1998) 61.

⁴⁹⁹ Dillon (2010) 162.

argument implies the opposite of Smith, that in some cases influences were utterly regional and Greek oriented, and Roman elite women were in fact represented in local portrait statue formats accordingly. This stands in polarised contrast to the situation in Rome and other provinces, where imperial women were the setters of metropolitan fashion trends in portraits that were then dispersed across the empire. We will see that this highlights a degree of artistic and cultural confidence inspired by a ‘renaissance’ of Greek culture in Rome and the emergence of powerful Greek aristocrats within the Roman political system. It also points to an acceptance of powerful women in the east at a time when local elite women were accumulating their own power and influence as benefactors, priestesses or in other ways. There was a climate of political stability and, for the Aphrodisians, the continuity of much-prized privileged status in a cultural environment already familiar with public representations of women.

In Aphrodisias, we are presented with portraits that show a more diverse range of influences; Roman, Greek, regional and local, with motifs that are clearly inspired by unique designs originating in the city itself. In this instance, Smith more satisfactorily describes the process as a ‘dialogue’ with Rome rather than a mere absorption of stylistic elements,⁵⁰⁰ and it is the manner in which this dialogue progresses that creates some very striking images. Moreover, as I shall go on to argue, the women of Aphrodisias in particular engaged in their own dialogue with imperial women in a very forceful and expressive way.

Choices of self-representation were not made according to chronological or stylistic developments, but through selections that reflected social, cultural and political affiliations and aspirations through recognised existing or adapted models, whether they originated in Athens, Rome, Halicarnassus or other nearby places. Ultimately, they were intended for a local audience and visitors, and it was essential that references they contained were understandable to people who would recognise the associations they made. Without this vital element of recognisability, these monuments to the elite, invested with so much money and thought, were essentially pointless wastes of space.

⁵⁰⁰ Smith (1998) 57.

Other aspects such as artistic quality and conception point to the uniqueness of the evidence. Greek, Roman and regional portrait ideas are fused and reinvented with virtuoso complexity and competent levels of understanding. Typically, earlier Greek portrait types were as focused on the representation of the body as later Roman examples became with the head and face. Put rather simplistically, the ethos and civic identity of early Greek examples contrasted with the individual and self-aggrandising philosophy that helped prompt the emergence of Roman physiognomically distinctive types. In some of the examples that follow below, these basic rules have been subverted, and an equal and meaningful emphasis has been placed on both head and body together. Unique portrait features are as apparent in bodies reliant on types as they are in heads, overlaying the original, inherent meaning with others specific to the subject. I will not go so far as to say that they create a whole new language of portrait representation; on the contrary, they rely on clearly recognisable precedents, but I will claim that they put a new accent on an already existing and diverse vocabulary. This approach therefore demands a taxonomic as well as a complete reading of the portrait statues within the local context of the city.

Lastly, there exists within these portraits a dynamic of self-assured confidence and authority that has, until now, not been explored in sufficient depth. The women portrayed in some of these portraits have chosen to exploit a new seam of feminine power developed in Rome and exported here for the first time; the significant elevation in importance of imperial mothers and wives as guarantors and guardians of dynastic continuity, the sometime kingmakers and even imperial co-rulers. As we have seen, ruler-wives such as Artemisia were an existing phenomenon in the Greek East, so the Aphrodisians were able to absorb the influence of the new imperial role into an existing palette of powerful women, and subject it to their unique style of creative variation.

3.2: Approaching the Evidence

In each case, I will begin with extra contextual information where available, such as display site, inscription and architectural setting. Each statue will be described

individually or as part of a group, the iconography addressed in conjunction with localised and wider influential elements, and then an interpretation made.

Tackling the evidence in any strict chronological order is not possible, as the dates of some examples that rely on traditional precursors are disputed,⁵⁰¹ and this thesis is not predominantly concerned with the stylistic development of female portraits. Others, because of distinctive fashion features such as the hairstyle of Statue 89, are more readily located in time, and this certainly aids in the establishment of contemporary and previous influences. In rare cases, such as the statue of Claudia Tatiana, the complete information of statue, base, inscription, context and display site is known. In order to deal with the images equally, I will group the statues wherever possible in their known display and find sites. In this way, peripheral evidence can be brought in to the interpretation as available, but will not hamper the study of those for whom it is lacking. This approach is not without drawbacks. Statue 89, along with others, is believed to have been moved to a different site in the mid to later imperial period.⁵⁰² For other examples, the original context cannot be satisfactorily located.⁵⁰³ Later building programs within the city saw statuary, its bases and inscriptions, dismantled and used as building material, as was the case with the city wall in the fourth century.⁵⁰⁴ But whatever the disadvantages of my approach, it allows the study of the statues to be the central focus with all other factors in a supportive role.

I will not be studying all the surviving statuary; that would be exhaustive and unnecessary. On occasion, standardised body types are repeated and, especially in the cases of portrait statues without heads or in a poor fragmentary state, have a limited amount of fresh evidence to add to the overall corpus of female portrait sculpture. Rather, I shall concentrate on a cross section of the evidence that is unique to Aphrodisias and represents styles unique to the city. However, to contrast with this and provide a more complete view of the panorama of public female portrait statuary of the period, some reference to standard and traditional types must be made in order

⁵⁰¹ Dillon (2010) 150.

⁵⁰² Dillon (2010) 149.

⁵⁰³ Smith (2006) 8.

⁵⁰⁴ Smith (2006) 10, and Erim (1986) 52.

to answer the question of why traditional Greek formats continued to be a common choice of representation.⁵⁰⁵

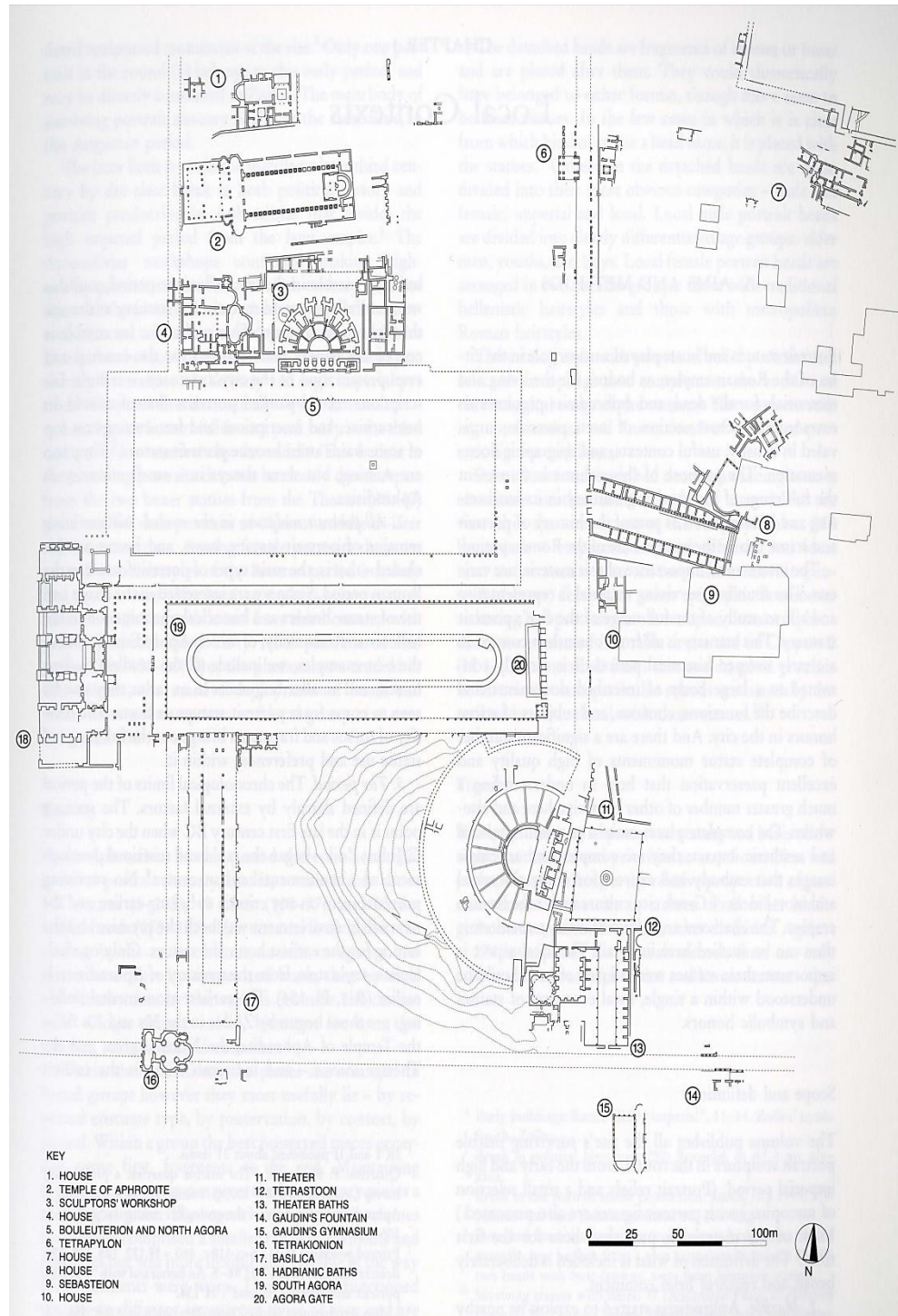


Figure 3.1 Map of Aphrodisias. (Smith 2006).

⁵⁰⁵ Smith (1998) 89.

The statues were found grouped in five main areas of the city, which reflects both the ‘intense statue use and areas of major excavation’.⁵⁰⁶ These are the Bouleuterion area, the Theater, the Agora Gate, the Hadrianic Baths and the Sebasteion (*figure 3.1*).⁵⁰⁷ Clearly further excavation may produce yet more sites of portrait statuary.

3.4: The Statue Group from the West Stoa of the South Agora

A group of four female statues was discovered in the west stoa of the South Agora, and for this sake alone they will be considered together. They make a fascinating group, not least because they are all female, are all considered to be from different time periods, and because their styles are so very different. Although they were all found in close proximity, their relationship to each other is unclear. Two, statues 89 and 90, because of stylistic and technical similarities, have been identified as belonging together.⁵⁰⁸ The other two, statues 91 and 92 are contrastingly different in type, technique and finish.

Context and inscription evidence are lacking in each case. They were excavated between two colonnades, so it is not known how they were originally displayed. There are no known inscriptions or bases that accompany them.⁵⁰⁹ As we shall see, the issue of dating through the use of styles and body types is also problematic.

⁵⁰⁶ Smith (2006) 13.

⁵⁰⁷ Smith (2006) 15.

⁵⁰⁸ Smith (2006) 209.

⁵⁰⁹ Smith (2006) 58.

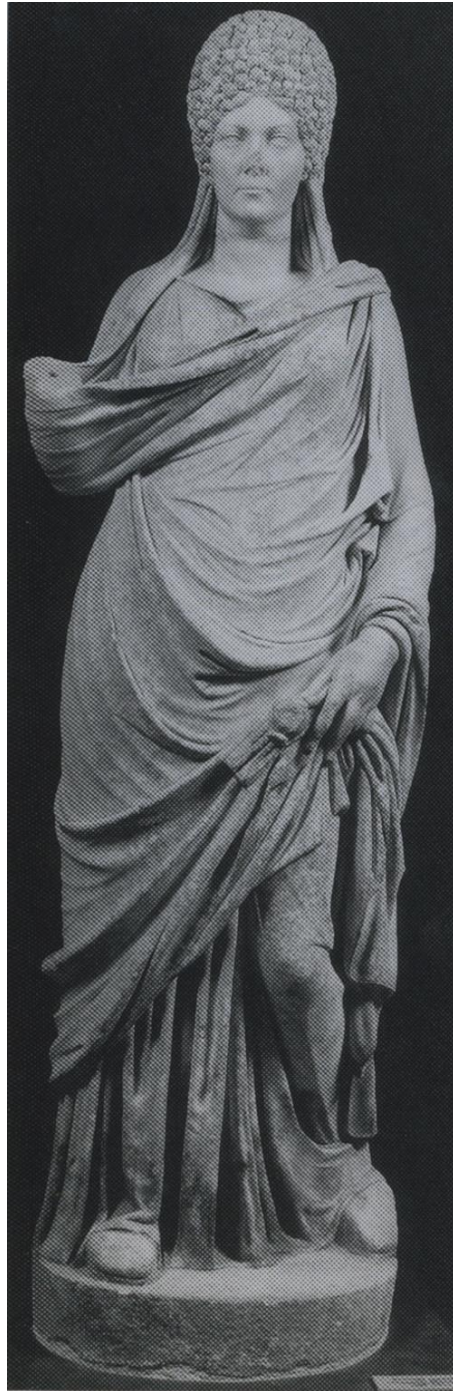


Figure 3.2 Statue 89 (Cat no.15).

3.5: Mother and Daughter?

Statue 89 (*Figure 3.2*) is the over life size statue of a mature woman in the Ceres body type,⁵¹⁰ carved from a single block with the exception of the right hand, now lost, which was carved separately and attached with a dowel. She stands with the weight on the right leg, the left leg bent inwards at the knee, the left heel raised as though the figure is stepping forward. As a result, the left hip drops, adding graceful movement and causing the right hip to push through the drapery, a pose that emphasises the voluptuous, full womanly figure beneath. The step is small and dainty, and the legs do not part, which is enough movement to suggest stepping whilst retaining feminine decorum.⁵¹¹ She wears closed shoes with pronounced soles.

The chiton is of a substantial and thick material in contrast to sometimes seen delicate, crinkle-effect garments. The himation draped over this is just as substantial, the chiton beneath is not suggested through the thick folds. The carving of these folds is accomplished but stylised, with contrasting deep folds and shallow, raised lines that both cling and fall away from the body in a series of curving horizontal arcs. The tightly wrapped garment swathes the entire body, being thrown over the left shoulder and falling over the back. It both exposes and conceals the substantial and fully mature body beneath. The stylisation means that the body somewhat loses its integrity around the lower torso, abdomen and hips; the drapery does not follow the lines of the 'real' body beneath, but this compositional feature helps to establish a satisfying triangular shape to the overall statue that Dillon identifies was considered a 'mark of beauty' for both men and women.⁵¹² This is a common feature in statues of the Ceres type.

In other places, such as the bunching of the material next to the left elbow, the drapery is skilfully handled and textured.⁵¹³ The himation is gathered up by the left hand that grasps bunches of material, allowing the figure to step forward and drawing attention to the moving leg and shoes. This motif of clasping drapery in this way above the ankles, whilst permitting movement, creates an ambiguous image. Blundell notes that lifting the skirts denotes femininity and also highlights the sense that women were not

⁵¹⁰ Kruse (1975) 3, and Atalay (1989) 98.

⁵¹¹ Bremmer (1991) 20.

⁵¹² Dillon (2010) 88.

⁵¹³ Erism (1986) 147.

‘designed to move around in the outside world’.⁵¹⁴ Therefore it is reasonable to conclude that when a figure is performing such a gesture in as bold a fashion as in this instance, and in other examples of the Ceres type, it is intended to signify that we are dealing with a woman very clearly operating in the public sphere.

The hand is delicately carved with a surprising degree of detail down to the fingernails which contrasts with the big and loosely handled body. The two smallest fingers curl around the material in an elegant gesture. The remaining fingers hold the typical Ceres-type attributes of poppies and wheat, the symbols of nature and fertility. The surface of the hand is finished in a soft matte polish, giving a realistic sense of soft skin texture. Below the left shoulder, material falls loosely between the body and arm, ending in folds at the wrist. The drapery leads from the shoulder to the right arm in the sling-effect, drawing the material tautly across the breast, in a gesture of inadvertent revelation. It would be inappropriate to deliberately reveal the breast in this portrait context, yet it is of importance that it is highlighted as part of the social construction of this image. The right arm is raised and the missing hand would perhaps have been performing a religious act or holding other items of significance. The chiton at the neckline is straight but falls forward in a V shape to follow the contours of the body.

There is a break through the neck. The head of the figure is veiled by the himation drawn up over the back of the head. The neck is unusually long and thin and elegantly framed by the drapery of the veil. The face is an exquisitely modelled individualised portrait that faces forward without any tilt. It shows distinct signs of ageing without resorting to caricature or stylisation. The neck shows the soft, fleshy edges of age, as do the jowls (*Figure 3.3*). The jaw-line is square, above the slightly protruding chin is a prim, small unsmiling mouth framed by soft, slightly sagging lines and cheeks. The nose is badly damaged at the end, the eyes are almond shaped and average sized, surrounded by heavily carved lids. The pupils themselves are not incised and the eyebrows are full and delicately picked out. The surface is only lightly polished and finished and retains a realistic and immediate appearance of soft skin. The expression is serious and determined, even a little severe, and yet is also that of a mature and feminine matronly beauty.

⁵¹⁴ Blundell (2002) 153.

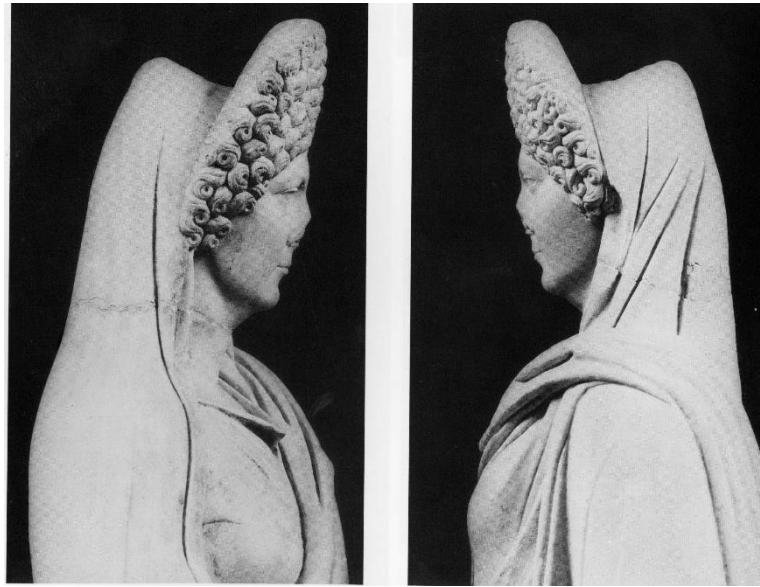


Figure 3.3 Profile of Statue 89 highlighting the slight sagging of jowls.

The hair is an immense architectural construction of tight curls piled high, some of which are drilled to add depth and texture. The carving is fine and delicate. Curls softly frame the face, ending in tiny ringlets over the ears. The drill has been thoughtfully and expertly employed, and picks out the centre of coils particularly around the face. Behind this elaborate coiffure, the veil conceals a shape suggesting tightly curled braids beneath.



Figure 3.4 Statue 90 (Cat no.44).

Statue 90 (*Figure 3.4*) is almost exactly the same height as Statue 89, 1.96 metres, just over life size. It is an unusual, open bodied portrait of a young woman.⁵¹⁵ The pose is not a standard body type, but a fusion of a Julio-Claudian princess portrait and the

⁵¹⁵ Smith (2006) 210.

‘Hera of Ephesos’ type which is ‘well attested in Asia Minor’.⁵¹⁶ The figure stands with the weight on the left leg, the right leg bent at the knee, causing it to push through the drapery but with the foot flat on the ground. Like Statue 89, she wears closed shoes that are carefully modelled to shape the feet beneath the material. The floor length chiton is deeply carved in thick but not finely shaped folds. The himation is worn in an unusual manner. It is attached at the shoulder by a brooch covered in material, falling to either side of the shoulders at the back, being brought round the front of the body in a hip mantle formation with bunched folds draping from the right hip to the left elbow. Beneath this, a length of material reaches down to the ankles covering the bottom half of the figure, gathering at the left elbow and falling in elegant folds. Across the fabric are press folds suggesting an expensive and luxurious fabric. The upper body is covered by an unusual third layer over a peplos, which Smith notes might be considered as looking back to ancient precedents and is associated with Athena,⁵¹⁷ or very early korai types. This peplos has a typical over-fold, but the third garment, worn like a cropped stola has a press fold and hem at the bottom. Although intended to cover the body in a modest and restrained way, the breasts beneath are prominently moulded. The chiton over the left arm hangs down and folds over at the elbow, and the lower arm, now missing, was held out, away from the body in an open gesture possibly of religious significance. Over the right upper arm, the chiton is open and buttoned up by four raised little buttons creating three realistic, creased little openings revealing the skin beneath. Once again the arm is missing, the remains of a strut against the body suggesting that it was held away from the body.

The head of the figure is of a young woman. The neck, carved with a Venus ring, is broken through and is not as elongated as that of Statue 89. The face looks down demurely to the right. This has suffered much damage, but enough remains to see a classically formed portrait, not as individual and characteristic as her fellow. The chin is small and prominent, the mouth is small, pouting and unsmiling. The eyes are small, almond shaped and heavily lidded, the pupils not incised. The badly damaged eyebrows were delicately picked out. Nothing remains of the nose. Skin surface is as sympathetically handled as Statue 89, only softly polished, so that a realistic texture is

⁵¹⁶ Smith (2006) 210, and Atalay (1989) 69.

⁵¹⁷ Smith (2006) 210.

created. Despite these individualising aspects, the face owes much to the traditional ‘not portrait’ Hellenistic model,⁵¹⁸ in that it betrays no features that express any sense of difference from the ideal portrait mask of traditional beauty. The hair is an architectural construction of piled curls, more loosely handled and not as high as that of Statue 89, but tapering to a peak, the tip of which is broken. Evidence of drilling to create depth is more random, deeper and not as expertly handled as Statue 89. Behind this, the hair is uncovered and braided in the melon style before finishing at the back of the neck in a loosely tied ponytail.

Many factors point to these two statues as belonging together. The similar height, size and technical skill in the carving all suggest this, even though the quality of the head and hair of the older figure is of a different and higher standard. The fact that the only two yet known women sporting this particular hairstyle in Aphrodisias were found together also seems to further suggest their intended connection. The similarities and, as we shall see below, deliberately contrasting points of difference, all point to them being a pair.

3.6: The Issue of Dating

As we saw in Chapter 1.19, the Ceres body type is associated with female portrait statues from the early second century onwards,⁵¹⁹ and most usually in a Roman context. The lack of incision on the eyeballs and softly textured skin of Statue 89 all attest to an earlier rather than later date.⁵²⁰ Softer, more realistic matte finished skin and non-incised eyes date to before AD 150. We must look to the head and hair for clues to seek a more precise date for these statues. Smith notes that they should probably be attributed to the early second century on account of the choice of hair and other fashion factors,⁵²¹ as do Atalay,⁵²² D’Ambra,⁵²³ and Alexandridis.⁵²⁴

⁵¹⁸ Dillon (2010) 153.

⁵¹⁹ Fejfer (2008) 335.

⁵²⁰ Smith (2006) 38.

⁵²¹ Smith (2006) 210.

⁵²² Atalay (1989) 69.

⁵²³ D’Ambra (2007) 19.

⁵²⁴ Alexandridis (2010) 270.

Certainly the hair was inspired by high fashion imperial styles common in the Flavian and Trajanic era. This coiffure, when accompanied by the disproportionately long and slender neck, is redolent of the finest aristocratic Flavian portraits (*Figure 3.5*). Kleiner notes that earlier Flavian hair tended to form a much rounder shape, but later it became more structured and peaked in the Domitianic period,⁵²⁵ and in this form remained popular with aristocratic women of Trajan's court.⁵²⁶ If so, and the inclusion of the swan-like neck and peaked hair in Statue 89 is intended as a reference to such imperial models, it would make this one of the earliest known uses of the Ceres body type in a portrait context. In her recent article partly concerned with the distribution of female body types, Alexandridis notes the earliest use of this type in the Flavian period, and also notes its rarity in the Greek East⁵²⁷ (*Figures 3.6*). She also highlights the unusual and contemporary feel of this portrait. Combined with the late Flavian/Trajanic hair, the rendering of the pupils of the eyes and realistic, soft matte skin polishing would indicate a date of late first century/ early second century.

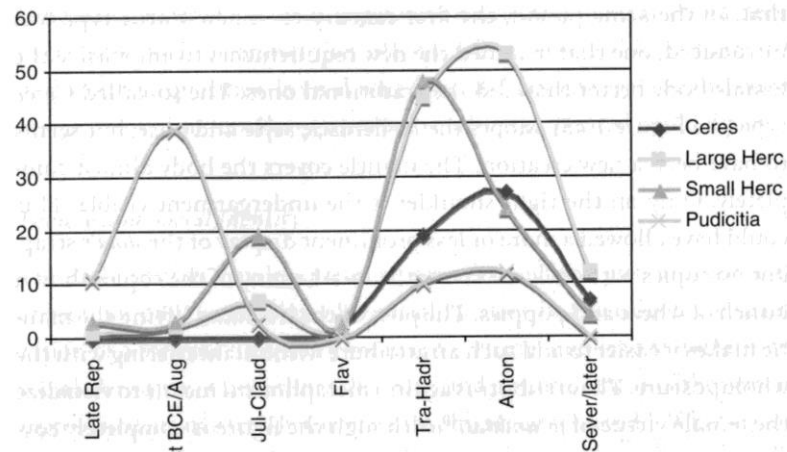


Figure 3.5 Bust of a Flavian woman (Cat no.45).

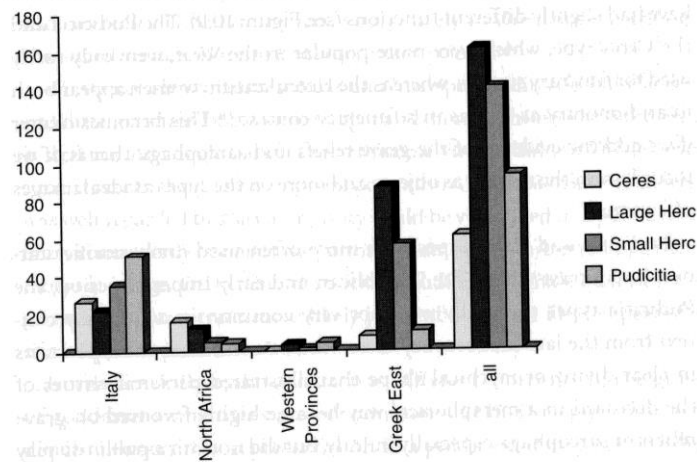
⁵²⁵ Kleiner (1992) 179.

⁵²⁶ Fittschen and Zanker (1983) 49-50. Portrait nr. 63, *Spatflavisches-frühtrajanisches*, has the typically rounded shape. Portrait nr.64, *Trajanische*, wears a more peaked style.

⁵²⁷ Alexandridis (2010) 270.



10.7. Chronological distribution of statue types



10.8. Geographical distribution of statue types

Figure 3.6 The Chronology and Distribution of the Ceres type highlighting its rare occurrence in the Greek East.⁵²⁸

There is a problem. Smith notes that the technique of using the drill to model hair (and beards) was first developed under Hadrian and the Antonine emperors in order to add elaborate and expressive moulding to curls and ringlets at the same time as the

⁵²⁸ Alexandridis (2010) 267.

incising of eyes was introduced, circa 130's.⁵²⁹ Yet here we are clearly dealing with drilled hairstyles that pre-date its use by Trajan's successors. The only practical conclusion to draw is that the technique was in fact developed much earlier to deal with increasingly sophisticated female hairstyles and was only later transferred to male portrait types, highlighting the innovation and influence of imperial female portrait imagery that scholars have so far overlooked, as though it only became significant once it was used on elite male portraiture.

The face of Statue 89 is not so easy to date. The style of portrait has nuances of Julio-Claudian tendencies. It shows no signs of severe Republican types, and yet is far from Classical. Instead, it adopts the Augustan tendency of overlaying an ideal face with individualising, distinctive features such as the ever-so-slightly sagging jowls and cheeks, and prominent chin or small mouth redolent of portraits of Livia. It could be argued that the face is Flavian in style, with the typically unforgiving and sometimes harsh handling of aging features, yet it contains a more sophisticated and elegant appearance than typical Roman female portraits of this period,⁵³⁰ and I propose that the features are in fact an amalgamation of earlier and later portrait styles. The small mouth and chin, and rather flat, heavily lidded almond eyes are not unlike facial features associated with Livia,⁵³¹ especially as she appears on the Sebasteion relief (*Figure 3.7 below*). The association with the wife of the first princeps is further emphasised by the veil. It is not frequently seen on Trajanic female portraits as it would cover the elaborate coiffures. Here, it is worn as on the Livia relief, drawn up and covering the back of the head only, rather than the more commonly seen use of the veil, draped further forward so as to only reveal the fringe and hair in front of the ears and over the cheeks, framing the face. Perhaps through this application of the veil we can detect a more conservative and traditional arrangement of Trajanic female hair, appropriate to mature women and more relevant to the east that may not have applied in Roman prototypes.

The severity and directness of the expression seem more Trajanic. The soft tilt in our Flavian bust (above) is replaced with a direct and uncompromising gaze more familiar

⁵²⁹ Smith (1998) 62.

⁵³⁰ Fittschen and Zanker (1983) compare with portrait no's. 64, 65 and 67, pages 50-52.

⁵³¹ Bartman (1999) 40.

with images of Matidia (*Figure 3.8*), and of a coin portrait of Plotina (*Figure 3.9*), both of which might indicate a slightly later, early second century date. The portrait of Plotina is also interesting because the slight sagging of the jowls and chin compare closely to the jaw-line of Statue 89.



Figure 3.7 Comparison of head of Statue 89 (Figure 3.2) with face of Livia (Figure 2.13) from the Sebasteion. Note also the veil worn to the back of the head only.



Figure 3.8 Detail of Figure 1.26 showing the head of Matidia.

Statue 90 is just as difficult to date, relying as it does on less contemporary iconographic precursors. As discussed above, the clothing and body type refer to earlier, even ancient precedents. The face is much more idealised than her counterpart, and the demure tilt of the head is a traditional, commonly used female gesture. Once again, the hair alerts the viewer to a date. It is inspired by the same style as Statue 89, and the smaller size of the sculpted coiffure and melon braids and ponytail can be satisfactorily compared to hairstyles worn by Plotina (*Figure 3.9*), and also a late Flavian/ early Trajanic bust that Fittschen and Zanker note compares with securely identified examples of Domitia (they also note that the facial features are similar to a representation of Julia Titi from the Terme museum).⁵³² Like Statue 90, she also has a Venus ring on her neck.



Figure 3.9 Coin showing Plotina with sculpted coiffure, melon braids and pony-tail. Note the sagging jawline, fleshy cheeks and extraordinarily long neck (Cat no.46).

3.7: Influences and Meaning: Sex and Power

These two portrait statues create a striking impression with similar and also contrasting iconography. Both show clear signs of being influenced by local traditional portrait types and dress, as well as distant, up-to-date Roman examples;⁵³³ in the case of Statue 89 even being amongst the first of her kind. This portrait also

⁵³² Fittschen and Zanker (1983) 50, nr. 63.

⁵³³ Lenaghan (2008) 99.

expresses a powerful and authoritative presence redolent of images of imperial women portrayed in the Sebasteion.

She adopts the Ceres body type, which Smith refers to as a ‘more sedate’ choice than the Pudicitia type.⁵³⁴ On the contrary, it is anything but sedate and is not, as he seems to suggest, a replacement of the more sexually suggestive figure.⁵³⁵ The Pudicitia type, as noted in Chapter 1.17, was commonly used in a funerary context, and in places such as Aphrodisias, it continued to be a relatively popular choice of public self-representation for women (*see figure 3.6 above*). Importantly, as it was not known to be used by imperial women, those who were inspired by their portraits would have passed it over as a portrait body choice. As seen in the case of Statue 89, the Ceres type suggests a new level of confidence absent from the Pudicitia and other closed types which rely on a more demure, closed pose to portray a similar message of sexual capacity and *fecunditas*. It is interesting as a choice of body in this case because it was not widely recognised as being popular with imperial females at this time, becoming most popular with later figures such as Julia Domna.⁵³⁶ Rather, the use in this instance, which might indicate that the subject was a priestess or devotee of the goddess, makes just as undiluted a claim to sexuality, fertility and motherhood as her ancient predecessor body-types. But it is in a fuller bodied and more expressive way, better attuned to Roman wifely and matriarchal sensibilities, and arguably more appropriate for use by more mature or senior women. Alexandridis also surmises that early imperial women were beginning to abandon some of the older, more traditional body formats because of an ‘every-woman’ interpretation that did not reflect their special status.⁵³⁷ This observant argument helps to explain the need for a different, bolder and more animated format style. No completely new, widely distributed, successfully copied type had been developed for over two centuries. The environment was clearly right for a new format that reflected a specifically Roman, elite female set of values. It is not coy or retiring, but reflects an assertiveness by a woman of some social standing or influence. In our portrait, the bucolic, nature-like appearance evoked by the reference to Ceres/ Demeter is contrasted with the closed shoes that are

⁵³⁴ Smith (2006) 48.

⁵³⁵ Davies (2013) 185.

⁵³⁶ Davies (2013) 185.

⁵³⁷ Alexandridis (2010) 269.

more associated with metropolitan, public city dress,⁵³⁸ or the ideal footwear of the *matrona*.⁵³⁹ The lifting of the himation, as we saw earlier, accentuates the focus on the shoes and sense of animation. The viewer is faced with a matronly woman of some importance who subscribes to Roman values. Ethnicity is not expressed, and is subordinate to the more important and carefully selected cultural and political affiliations clearly demonstrated.⁵⁴⁰

The sensuous body, dress and attributes allude to the very traditional female roles of mother and wife, yet the direct, unrelenting gaze, frontal pose and openness show that she is no pendant to male authority, but an independent and important individual represented in understandable and traditional female imagery. Kampen has argued that the nuanced difference between power and authority is based on the holding of public office or the ability to govern, and is couched in gendered terms of male virtues or display.⁵⁴¹ We have already dismissed this argument, and in this instance references to authority and the public realm are plain to see and completely feminine; traits, as we have seen, successfully used to portray imperial women on the panels of the Sebasteion. Kampen's argument fails to take into consideration the frequently observed fluidity of gender in representation and discourses on deportment from the ancient world. As we noted in Chapters One and Two, not only could popular body-types take inspiration from models originally intended for the other sex, such as the Aischines and the Large Herculaneum Woman formats and arm-sling types, but elite individuals from Cleopatra to Augustus adapted elements most commonly associated with the opposite gender for their portraits. Arguably, Kampen might suggest that the Aischines type inspiring the Herculaneum Woman confirms the argument of male types being the origin of later female versions, but the very fact that a body-type imbued with authority was being adapted for use by women at all shows that they at least began to engage with representations capable of expressing power in a feminised format. By the time that we reach the Ceres type, however, we see a female body-type invented from scratch that finds its own way of expressing power. How it achieves this is revealing. Gleason, in noting the ambiguity of sex, importantly points out that gender was not solely a matter of the physical body, but was regarded as

⁵³⁸ Smith (1998) 65.

⁵³⁹ Alexandridis (2010) 270.

⁵⁴⁰ Smith (1998) 61.

⁵⁴¹ Kampen (1996) 14, and 16.

characteristics attributable to masculine or feminine tendencies, whether viewed positively or negatively.⁵⁴² Although on the surface, such complex arguments would seem to complicate matters, it nevertheless supports the view proposed here that we are witnessing a powerful confidence of presence not generally seen in traditional female portraits.

However, before we leave the important issue of gender and characteristics, a matter of balance must be addressed. We have noted already the absolute importance and significance of gesture. Gleason notes that ‘masculine’ traits tended to be viewed as favouring the right side of a figure.⁵⁴³ If so, the outstretched right arm of the Ceres type could be argued to denote a masculine trait, raised as it is, if only demurely and appropriately at the elbow. However, any problems evoked by this action of an over-masculine feel that might somehow negate the feminine aspects of motherhood or fertility are perfectly countered and tempered by the action of the other side of the body, through the moving leg and grasped drapery. The stepping action that denotes such a public and active role is controlled by the left side, appropriate to the feminine aspect. Thus, we see traits of both genders employed to express power and confidence, but in this female body setting, they are applied in perfect balance.

Statue 90 adopts similar traditional and contemporary imagery to achieve a very different effect. The body, head and drapery make similar allusions to sexuality but in a more immature and less confident way. The peplos, perhaps with reference to the chastity of Athena, and having other religious or sacred meanings,⁵⁴⁴ was already an ancient garment by this period. As we saw above, it conceals and exposes the breasts of the younger woman. The body is surprisingly open for the portrait of a young woman, but any inappropriate lascivious behaviour is restrained by the demure tilt of the head and the failure of the expression to engage with the viewer, as is often the case with statues of younger women, as we see in portraits of the Small Herculaneum Women types. Also, she is veiled by the ‘not portrait’ face which,⁵⁴⁵ as I argued in Chapter One, was a useful device for protecting the modesty of a woman in public. It was a way in which a woman might be seen yet not seen, and was unequivocally

⁵⁴² Gleason (1995) 59.

⁵⁴³ Gleason (1995) 59.

⁵⁴⁴ Dillon (2010) 81.

⁵⁴⁵ Dillon (2010) 135.

intended as a portrait. But the face type, which contrasts with the individualised features of Statue 89, might also be an allusion to the face of Agrippina as she appears on the Sebasteion and elsewhere. Unlike other imperial mothers and daughters, as we saw, the mother of Nero preferred to use an idealised, Classical style portrait face. This is not the only reference to tie Statue 90 to Aphrodisian representations of Agrippina, and it contrasts with the allusion to Livia in Statue 89, arguably the more senior, certainly the older matriarch of the two imperial women.

The use of the 'Hera of Ephesos' type is a surprising choice for the body of a younger woman, and whilst we might expect to see the Small Herculaneum Woman type instead, it is interesting to note that the latter does not appear to have been greatly used in Aphrodisias. Smith argues that it does in fact exist in two fragmented statues, 106 and 108, but I do not consider that enough of these statues remains to satisfactorily conclude that they were the Small Herculaneum Woman types (*Figure 3.10*). If he is correct that Statue 108 portrays the type, they still represent a negligible minority body choice.⁵⁴⁶ The full-figured, sensual and very sexual Hera type seems at first glance inappropriate, but was a popular regional type, and this is the only securely known example of a portrait of such a very young woman in the city, and it may be that she is therefore portrayed in a more popular mature female format, but aspects such as the peplos, head tilt and idealised face make sufficient reference to her youth, vulnerability and unmarried status.

⁵⁴⁶ Smith (2006) 196. Statues 106 and 108.

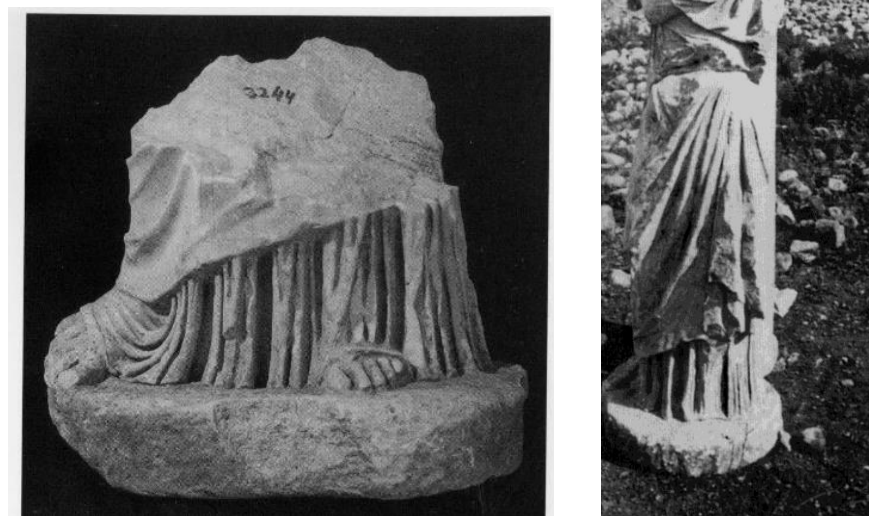


Figure 3.10 Statues 106 and 108. (Cat no.47).

The Hera body type also shares imagery and drapery across the front of the hips that is comparable with that worn by Agrippina in the Sebasteion relief of her crowning Nero (*figure 3.11*). Just as it did for men, the hip mantle carried a special meaning in portraits. Whilst the male version signified a heroic and divine or religious aspect, for women it added a layer of religious significance, and was worn in the same manner as an attribute.⁵⁴⁷ Once intended as a reference to Aphrodite or Hera, here it may also allude to the ‘goddess Agrippina’,⁵⁴⁸ as she appears on the relief with her son. Once again, this is no coincidence. Agrippina, like Statue 90, was a dutiful daughter, and as we have seen, was a venerated figure in cities such as Aphrodisias. As there are clear references made to other imperial women in the two portrait statues, the presence of references to this popular, though by this time, deceased, mother and daughter is unsurprising and links these two Aphrodisian examples in a very clear visual way, and is an association that would not have been lost on the ancient local viewer.⁵⁴⁹

⁵⁴⁷ Dillon (2010) 82.

⁵⁴⁸ Rose (1997) 47.

⁵⁴⁹ Smith (1998) 93.

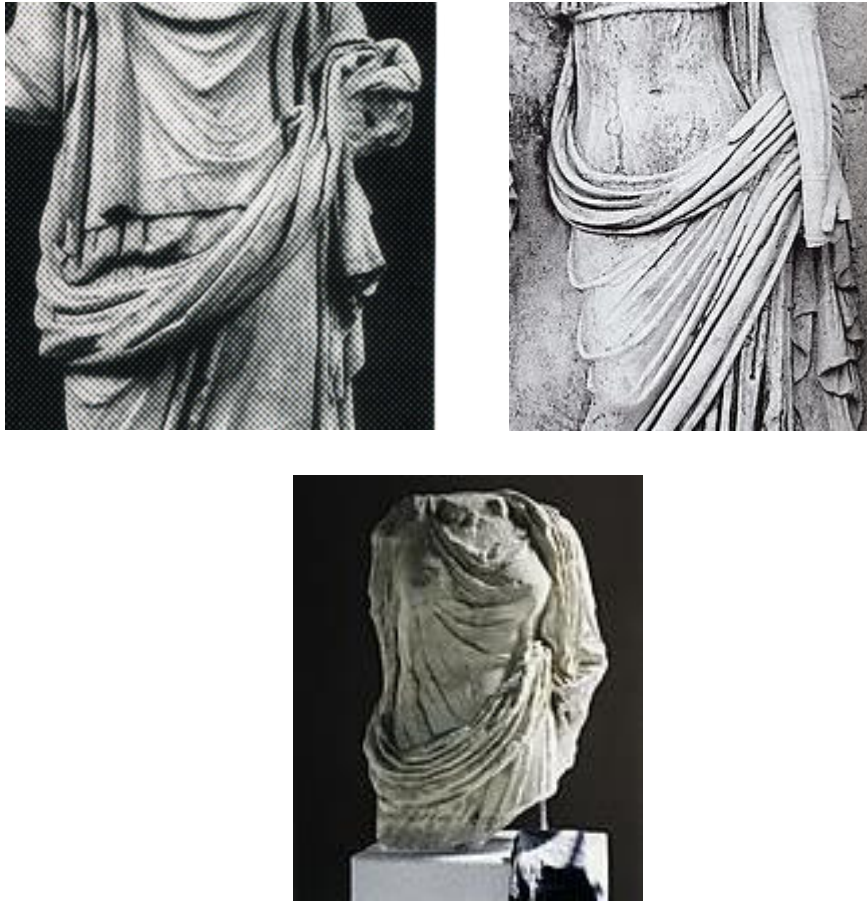


Figure 3.11 Comparison of hip drapery, Statue 90, Agrippina from the Sebasteion and the Hera of Ephesos.⁵⁵⁰

Once again, there are contemporary twists. The hair and shoes bring the ancient precedents up to date. Just as with Statue 89, the figure alludes to high Roman culture and modern city dress which makes a striking contrast with the peplos and the demure head tilt and Classical face. This then would appear to be a young, probably unmarried woman of elevated social status, directly or by association. She demurely advertises her budding fertility in a traditional ‘exposed and concealed’ way, whilst also showing affiliation to both contemporary Roman and ancient, traditional Greek cultural values.

It is clear that as Smith claims, they do indeed represent mother and daughter.⁵⁵¹ In the Greek world as we saw in Chapter 2.10-12, unlike in Rome, it was an established

⁵⁵⁰ Hera of Ephesos image, www.scholarsresource.com

and common practice for portrait statues of mothers alone or mother and daughters to be dedicated and erected together, or even by each other,⁵⁵² a practice reinforced in the region by the erection of the earliest monuments to Roman mothers such as Julia, wife of Agrippa and daughter of Augustus, and of course grandmother to Agrippina the Younger. And in Aphrodisias, monuments such as the Sebasteion positively reinforced and celebrated the special status of mothers, albeit in an imperial context alongside sons. So we should not be surprised to see a mother and daughter together with such strong allusions to elite status, authority and references to contemporary city life, mimicking the precedents set by imperial female role models within the city precincts from a palette created from ancient local customs and traditions as much as chic Roman fashions. It is clear that the mother is the influential and most important of the pair, taking centre stage as a figure of prime confidence and power, just as Agrippina and Livia do in their respective reliefs, and the daughter adopts the demure and obedient role appropriate to dutiful offspring.

Yet there is another valuable dimension to this group, and that is what it reveals of the mother-daughter relationship of non-imperial women that was of such importance in Aphrodisias and Rome. The surviving literary evidence of this relationship was predominantly written by men,⁵⁵³ yet here is probably one of the few surviving examples of a mother and daughter, quite possibly commissioned by one of them. There is no need to repeat here the special standing of mothers and daughters in the city established in previous chapters provided by the happy circumstance of Aphrodite Progenitor and imperial women, but a physical manifestation of that importance in a private portrait group reveals the emphases on that relationship. It reinforces the seniority and authority of the matriarch, and also highlights a matter of important distinction between Greek and Roman mothers. As Dixon notes, in the Roman world, sometimes on account of fame gained through sons, at other times in their own right, rich or influential mothers ‘won a respect from their peers which had no equivalent in an ancient culture like that of classical Athens’.⁵⁵⁴ Although Statues 89 and 90 are considerably later than in time and in the east, they nevertheless show

⁵⁵¹ Smith (2006) 208.

⁵⁵² Dillon (2010) 46-47.

⁵⁵³ Dixon (1988) 210.

⁵⁵⁴ Dixon (1988) 176.

how a sense of Roman motherhood has developed and made its mark here in an elite but non-imperial setting.

The statue pair highlights a very astute and sophisticated understanding on the part of the patron and artist of the meaning and allusion contained in local and remote portrait and statue elements. They are just as much examples of ‘creative adaptation and variation’ by Aphrodisian sculptors as works such as the cross legged Venus. Equal importance has been given to the representation of the head and body, and every single aspect is imbued with a meaning that contributes to the overall message contained within the statues of local as well as distant allegiances and beliefs, but in a way that strictly relies on already existing imagery. Widespread influences from home and further afield have not only been clearly understood by the artists, but they have been deconstructed and reassembled in remarkable and yet understandable ways.

3.8: ‘Daughters and Mothers of the City’

The special status of mothers and daughters is hinted at in the rich source of epigraphic evidence that survives in the city. As well as an abundance of the formulaic dedications to mothers, daughters and wives found here that are typical of those found across the wider region, there is a group that displays a very unusual type of dedication. Lenaghan notes that chief priestesses were often referred to in inscriptions as ‘Daughters of the city’.⁵⁵⁵ Although the title is not unique to Aphrodisias, it is nevertheless extremely rare in the Roman world, and is seen in greater frequency here than anywhere else. Lenaghan surmises that the exact meaning of this reference is no longer apparent. But it is my view that the relevance becomes clearer if local context is considered. Most often employed in inscriptions as a title of honour in a list of offices and roles dedicated to distinguished high priestesses, wives of high priests and flower bearers of Aphrodite, the term is yet another assertion of the significance of motherhood and daughters in Aphrodisias. Of the five known bearers of the title listed by Smith, three were high priestesses (two of ‘patris’, one of ‘Asia’), two were wives of high priests and three were flower bearers of Aphrodite and three had a directly named connection with the goddess. One honorand, Aur. Fl. Messouleia

⁵⁵⁵ Lenaghan (2008) 92.

Diogeneia, was all of these.⁵⁵⁶ There was also a known ‘Mother of the City’ in connection with the cult of Artemis.⁵⁵⁷ Whatever the exact circumstances for granting the title, it nevertheless recognises the local importance of the status of daughter and mother, adopting its use as a means of honouring renowned women, especially those in public roles. Notably, on the propylon of the Sebasteion, that monument that contains so many imperial mothers, wives and daughters and images of the patron goddess in her maternal aspect, the inscription identifies that it was dedicated to Aphrodite by ‘Eusebes, Menander, their sister Apphias and her daughter Tata as well as her grandchildren’.⁵⁵⁸ That women, named as sister, mother and daughter, were among the main dedicators of this important structure demonstrates yet again the locally enhanced importance of the role. But it is worthy of note for another reason not generally recognised; as commissioners of this important structure, could we be witnessing imperial designs influenced by women? We can never know for sure how active the dedicating female relatives were in the finished reliefs, but it should certainly be recognised that this is a possibility and may come to affect how they are viewed.

Finally is the case of a very special dedication to Livia. Known only in one other city in the empire, an inscription found that once belonged to a statue that may possibly have been originally located in the Sebasteion, celebrates Livia as the daughter of Augustus,⁵⁵⁹ a title bestowed on her following his death. It can be no coincidence that Aphrodisian patrons, as astute followers of political vicissitudes unfolding in Rome, picked up on this new familial link conferred on the adopted daughter of the former emperor and mother of the new one and used it as a means of dedication.

3.9: Statues 91 and 92

The two other portrait statues found with the mother and daughter group are, in contrast, very traditional. Just as lacking in context, they are in a poor fragmentary state. As a result of their find site, Smith asserts that they were probably displayed as

⁵⁵⁶ Smith (2006) 94 References: Walls 163, CIG 2822, 63-434, M 514, 1-105.

⁵⁵⁷ Smith (2006) 92. M 492, second century.

⁵⁵⁸ Erim (1986) 112.

⁵⁵⁹ Rose (1997) 22, and 37.

a group with Statues 89 and 90, but were placed there in a secondary context, and it is not known where they were originally displayed.⁵⁶⁰

Statue 91 is 162 cm tall, over life size but not as tall as Statues 89 and 90 (*Figure 3.12*). It is an unaltered Pudicitia type, carved from a single piece of marble, except for the fingers, now lost, which were worked and added separately.⁵⁶¹ The head is lost. She wears sandals with high soles, and a thick, deeply drilled carved chiton that gathers around the feet which poke out beneath. The pose is very typical, the left leg being bent, the left foot now missing, the arms folded across the chest with the right hand raised to the neck. In Chapter 1.17, the type was described in detail, so will not be done so here except to note elements of distinction. The carving is technically exquisitely accomplished. The himation represented is of very rich quality, the generous drapery ending in finely sculpted tassels, each of which is picked out by deep chiselling. The chiton beneath is carved in very deep, finely finished folds. This version of the type, which corresponds to two examples of the Pudicitia type known from nearby Magnesia on the Maeander, is noted by Smith as being a popular regional choice. Because of these associations with regional variants from the first century BC, Smith claims a date of the beginning of the imperial period, which would make it one of the earliest female portrait statues in Aphrodisias. It was during this time that the city first began to erect honorific statues.⁵⁶² It was most probably produced well before the building of the Sebasteion.

⁵⁶⁰ Smith (2006) 211.

⁵⁶¹ Smith (2006) 211.

⁵⁶² Smith (2006) 44.

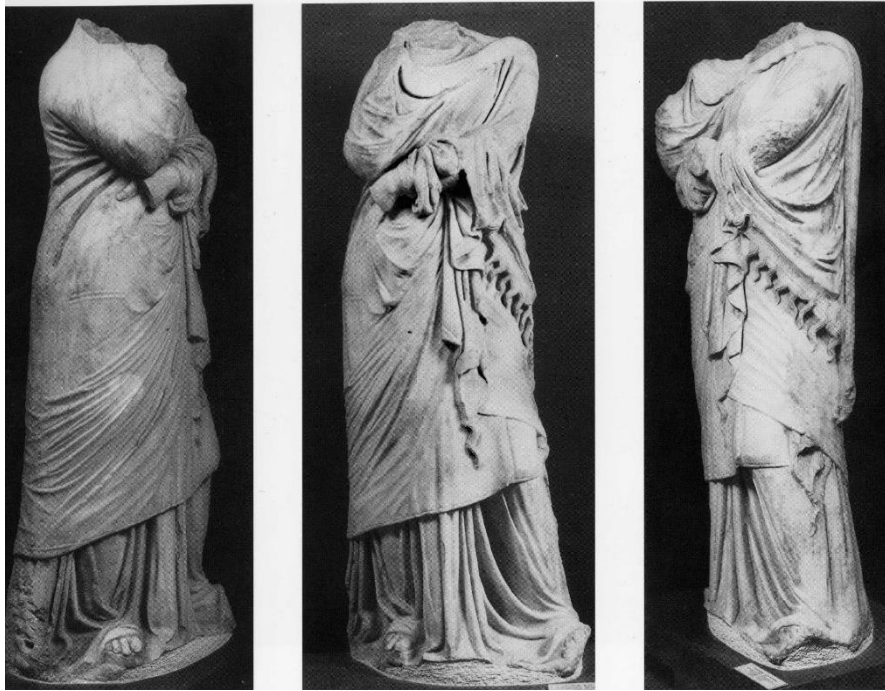


Figure 3.12 Statue 91 (Cat no.48).



Figure 3.13 Statue 92 (Cat no.49).

Statue 92 is also over life size (*Figure 3.13*). It represents a Large Herculaneum Woman type broken off just above the waist. It shares close similarities with the common pattern of the body type described in detail in Chapter 1.18,⁵⁶³ but there are small variations. She once held attributes of wheat or fruit, indicating fertility, and these are not typically seen in the type.⁵⁶⁴ In this example, carved like the others from a single piece of marble, traditional elements have been slightly altered that help to provide clues to dating. The simplified and deep, flat cut folds of the chiton attest to a later date. More securely, the manner that the drapery ‘tapers’,⁵⁶⁵ where it meets the plinth and ends in little carved loops corresponds to third century styles as seen in the more elaborate example of the statue of Claudia Tatiana, below (*Figure 3.16*).

Statues 91 and 92 owe more to unaltered, traditional precursors than 89 and 90 that, as we observed, freely fuse typological and fashion elements. The early Pudicitia statue adheres closely to traditional regional variants of the type, and the Large Herculaneum Woman contains contemporary carving techniques and features. Without their respective heads we cannot know how the complete statues looked, but enough remains to show that, like Statues 89 and 90, they owe much to ancient Hellenistic/ Classical models whilst also showing contemporary and localised dateable ‘variations’.

3.10: Summary

Clearly, although these four portraits were found together, they cannot have been intended to belong to an original, singular display context. The dates of the portrait statues span three centuries, starting from the earliest period of honorific portrait statuary in Aphrodisias. However, of greatest interest is the shared similarities of the group. Each closely corresponds to a securely known type of Greek origin and even regional variants with the exception of Statue 89 that follows a distinctly Roman, contemporary type, and could even be described as reflecting the latest fashions in terms of body choice, shoes and hair. The earliest portrait, the Pudicitia, shows the least digression from the essence of the original type. All others, including the Large

⁵⁶³ Smith (2006) 212.

⁵⁶⁴ Smith (2006) 213.

⁵⁶⁵ Smith (2006) 213.

Herculaneum Woman, show tendencies of ‘creative variation’ to a greater or lesser degree.

It is problematic in this instance to attach an overarching meaning to the whole group. They are from different eras, and looking for a reason that they came to be assembled together in this secondary context is conjecture, their only true connection being gender. As such, it would be a speculation too far to claim that they represent some now lost display of elite women devoid of their usual male counterparts. As yet, in no other part of the city do female portraits appear alone without those of males in support as they do here. Even in the Sebasteion, although not always in the panels themselves, husbands and sons are never far away in other reliefs of the monument. Even looking for reasons of body choice is not straight forward. As we saw in Chapter One, as body types traversed through time, they came to be overlaid with new meanings depending on new uses. Traditional female virtue and the intellectual and mature qualities associated with the Large Herculaneum Woman type ensured it was adopted by early empresses as a suitable vehicle for displaying paradigm qualities of female behaviour, and this came to be one reason it was chosen by women such as Plancia Magna,⁵⁶⁶ but the Pudicitia type was not used by them at all. This may be a reason why those that survive in Aphrodisias do not date to later than the first and second centuries. As a body type was abandoned or overlooked by the empresses, its popularity as a choice of self-representation, certainly within this city, appears to have fallen away. Statues 89 and 90 both show evidence of being heavily influenced by Roman iconography, Statue 92 of traditional Greek influence but popularised by the empresses in the west. Statue 91, the early Pudicitia type, on the other hand, may well have even been erected before the images and preferred body choices of the earliest empresses came to be known, and as such shows little or no sign of Roman influence. As we saw above, images of empresses became more prolific in the Tiberian period, especially in Aphrodisias, and there influence can be seen in female portraits from this period.

⁵⁶⁶ Dillon (2010) 158.

3.11: The Significance of Heads, Hands and Feet

Of particular interest in this rather random group is the treatment of heads, hands and feet. Three of the four statues had separately worked arms and hands (the fourth is broken off at the waist), and the surviving heads of Statues 89 and 90 have different quality and styles of carving despite having bodies of almost identical technical treatment. One surviving hand holds an unexpected attribute. These aspects are not usual and require closer investigation.

Smith notes that it was considered important for a portrait statue to be carved from a single block. Acts such as the *damnatio memoriae* and the worship of an imperial portrait stress the symbolic link between a portrait and its subject as more than an inanimate object representing an individual, but as a creation encapsulating the essence of a real person *in absentia*. However, to keep manufacturing costs down, projecting elements such as arms and heads could be carved separately and then seamlessly attached by using dowels. But Smith also notes that affordability, accessibility and abundance of quality marble made this less necessary in Aphrodisias than elsewhere.⁵⁶⁷ In portrait statues of great expense and individuality, such as Statues 89 and 90, as opposed to ‘off the shelf’ examples, one might expect to find the sculpture completed from a single block in order to reflect the cost and renown, yet this is not the case. Separately attached hands and feet frequently occur in Aphrodisian portraits, even on extremities that are held close against the body, such as the fingers on Statue 91, above. Possible reasons may be specialisation by sculptors, and a particular symbolic importance of these features within the city. Erim notes the unprecedented amount of ‘exercise’ and unfinished sculpture pieces of hands and feet found in excavations,⁵⁶⁸ and it is possible that there were workshops or sculptors that worked exclusively on extremities. But in her article exploring a selection of ‘apprentice’ hands and feet, Van Voorhis doubts this to be the case.⁵⁶⁹ It may be that such pieces reveal a locally common practice of carving hands and feet separately for later insertion into portrait statues for a reason that is as yet unclear. However, the unusual abundance of so-called practice pieces of separate hands and feet found

⁵⁶⁷ Smith (2006) 30.

⁵⁶⁸ Erim (1986) 150.

⁵⁶⁹ Van Voorhis (1998) 183.

across the city, and the evident importance of technically executing the extremities with great skill and accuracy is apparent nonetheless.

Brilliant notes the importance of gesture expressed through hands and pose,⁵⁷⁰ and its significance in overall meaning should not be underestimated. Much rests on the definition of a portrait statue as Greek or Roman in origin, male or female, and detail such as the raised height of an arm above the elbow can transform an image.⁵⁷¹ It accentuates the posture of the body and is a vehicle of meaning in its own right. The same degree of significance extends to the hands and digits. The fingers of Statue 89 clasp the folds of her mantle, emphasising her expert control of the garment, and also grip attributes of Ceres, demonstrating maternal and natural qualities. The neat fingers are particularly well carved in a beautiful and feminine way that, as we noted, contrast with the bulky and stylised carving of the body and chiton.⁵⁷² Although they are sculpted from the main block of the body, they appear technically more detailed. It is reasonable to surmise that they were carved by a different sculptor, more adroit at hand carving, or prized for that particular skill. The right arm, as with Statue 90 and Claudia Tatiana, below, was attached separately. The all-important gesture that the hand expressed may have been carved by an expert for fitting once the statue was ready for installation. Brilliant stresses the great significance of the right arm and hand as;

‘...appended to the body as a rhetorical instrument in various attitudes around the locus of the elbow and makes an interpretive accent which attracts the eye and individualizes an otherwise homogeneous form’.⁵⁷³

Gleason also notes that sides of the body were also loaded with gender-related meaning. The male ‘type’, according to this argument, favours the right side,⁵⁷⁴ and therefore any gesture made on the left or right side of the figure must be concerned with consideration of matters of gender and, more importantly, issues of characteristics associated with male or female.

⁵⁷⁰ Brilliant (1963) 67.

⁵⁷¹ Brilliant (1963) 30.

⁵⁷² Erim (1986) 147.

⁵⁷³ Brilliant (1963) 69.

⁵⁷⁴ Gleason (1995) 59.

The extension beyond the elbow was a signifier of power. The raised arm of the *adlocutio* is one example, and the gesture of the hand and contents reinforced the meaning of the image; literally and figuratively projecting it into the public arena.⁵⁷⁵ In the cultural environment of Aphrodisias, with a Greek emphasis of meaning expressed in every aspect of the body, combined with Roman-style individualisation of the face, the hand was of particular and enhanced significance. In this way, a standard body could be overlaid with different messages, and was a subtle way that portrait statues expressed an understanding of Roman portrait styles and cultural values of power and meaning. This argument is substantiated by a brief examination of feet. The closed shoes of Statue 89, although appropriate in some respects to a *matrona*, typify a cosmopolitan outfit, and are a distinct departure from the rustic open-sandaled iconography of the Ceres type, and would have not have been included were it not for the allusion they create.

It is also clear that heads and hair could be worked by different sculptors. The case of Statue 90 is of special interest. The body was clearly carved by the same artist or workshop, yet the head is technically very different, and the hair inferior in finish to Statue 89. Statue 90, with a traditionally idealised and beautiful face may have been carved by a sculptor more familiar with traditional Greek forms of female facial representation, and that may explain the poorly executed hair by an artist more familiar with Greek hairstyles than new Roman imperial fashions requiring the use of the drill and new techniques.

Once again it highlights the fusion of Greek and Roman juxtaposition of emphases prevalent in the city, of equal relevance on head and body and the necessity of specialisation by artists. It appears likely that local sculptors and patrons sought to place a particular emphasis on arms, hands and feet because they were the vehicles of distinctive gesture and meaning in bodies that functioned as equally expressive in the body and head.

⁵⁷⁵ Bremmer (1991) 22.

3.12: Two Portraits from the Bouleuterion

The Bouleuterion (*Figure 3.14*) was rebuilt on a grand scale in the second century.⁵⁷⁶ Much of the statuary that was found in this area can be securely identified as belonging to the *scaena* and other positions within the building, some of which may have been moved here at a later date or erected in late antiquity as part of a restoration. Yet others, such as those of L. Antonius Dometeinos Diogenes and Claudia Antonia Tatiana,⁵⁷⁷ found in prime display positions either side of the main entrance to the Bouleuterion,⁵⁷⁸ are securely dated and located in their original contexts.⁵⁷⁹ A date of Antonine or Severan period is generally applied to the statuary associated with the building, and stylistic and technical elements and finish certainly link many of the examples.

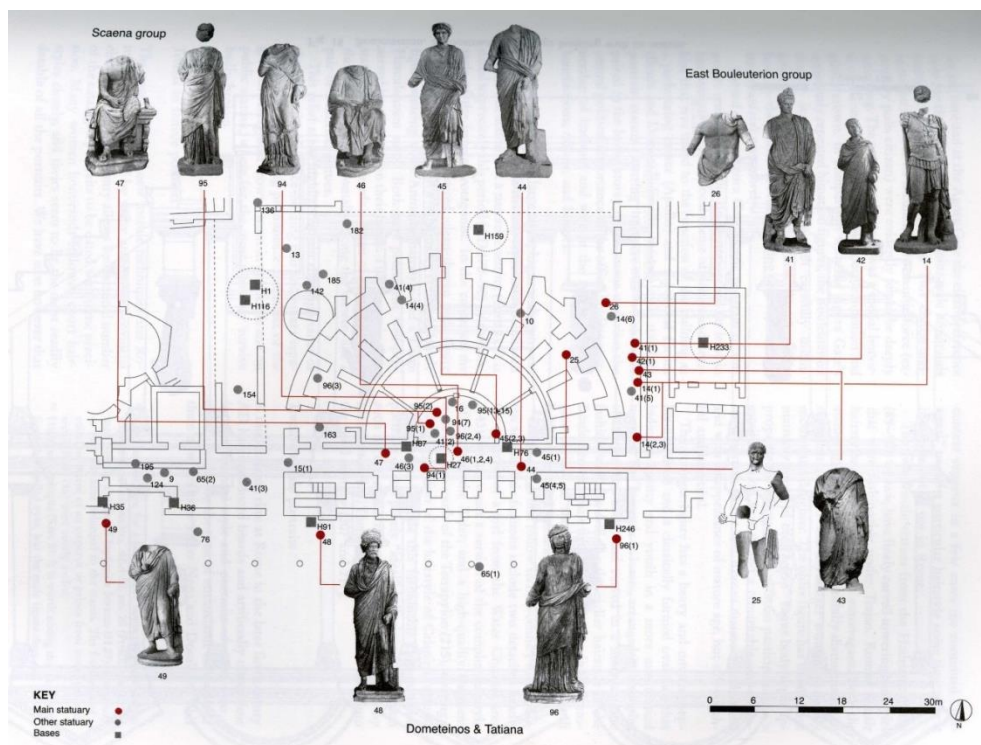


Figure 3.14 Diagram showing plan of Bouleuterion and the location of statuary
(Smith fig.17 2006).

⁵⁷⁶ Smith (2006) 60.

⁵⁷⁷ Erim (1995) 104-105.

⁵⁷⁸ Smith (2006) fig.17,63.

⁵⁷⁹ Erim (1985) 64, and Bier (2008) 156.

The statue of Claudia Antonia Tatiana (*Figure 3.15 and 3.16*) stands at an over life size two hundred and thirty four centimetres tall on a colossal plinth over two metres high.⁵⁸⁰ The statue plinth carries the signature of Alexander, son of Zenon.⁵⁸¹ The inscription, written in Greek, on the base reads;

“The council and the people (sc. honour) Claudia Antonia Tatiana, their illustrious benefactress, from a family of benefactors, cousin of the Roman senators Claudius Diogenes and Claudius Attalos. Ti. Claudius Kapitoleinos saw to (sc. The erection of the statue).”⁵⁸²

She stands with the weight on her right leg, the sandaled foot exposed through the over floor length chiton that ends in carved loops characteristic of the period. The left leg is bent inwards at the knee and the foot trails behind, lifted from the ground and facing outwards in an exaggerated manner. The foot is intricately carved down to the lines of the toenails; another indication of the importance of detailed extremities. At this height on a plinth, they could not possibly be seen by viewers below. The sandals are also finely carved with straps and fine ivy leaves.⁵⁸³ By her feet are the remains of a small naked Eros.⁵⁸⁴

⁵⁸⁰ Smith (2006) 216.

⁵⁸¹ Reynolds (2008) 186.

⁵⁸² Smith (2006) 218.

⁵⁸³ Smith (2006) 217.

⁵⁸⁴ Smith (2006) 70.

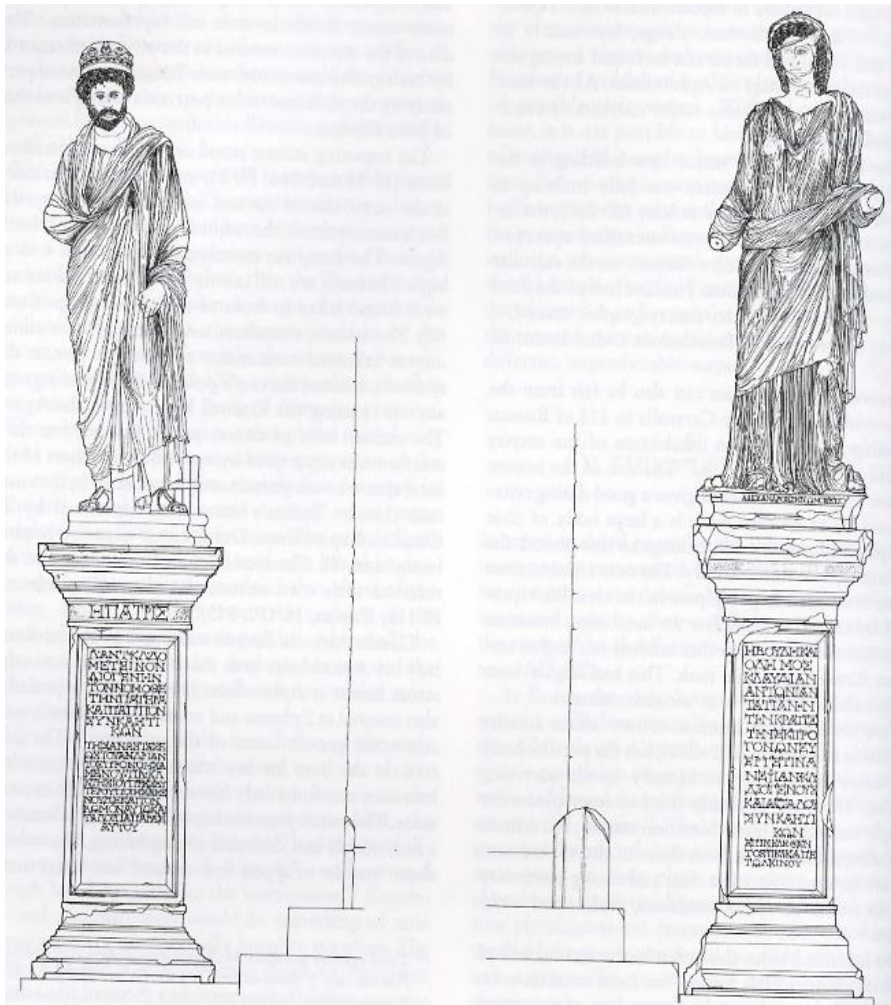


Figure 3.15 Reconstruction of the monuments of L. Claudius Dometeinos Diogenes (H: 4.38m) and Claudia Antonia Tatiana (H: 4.57m).

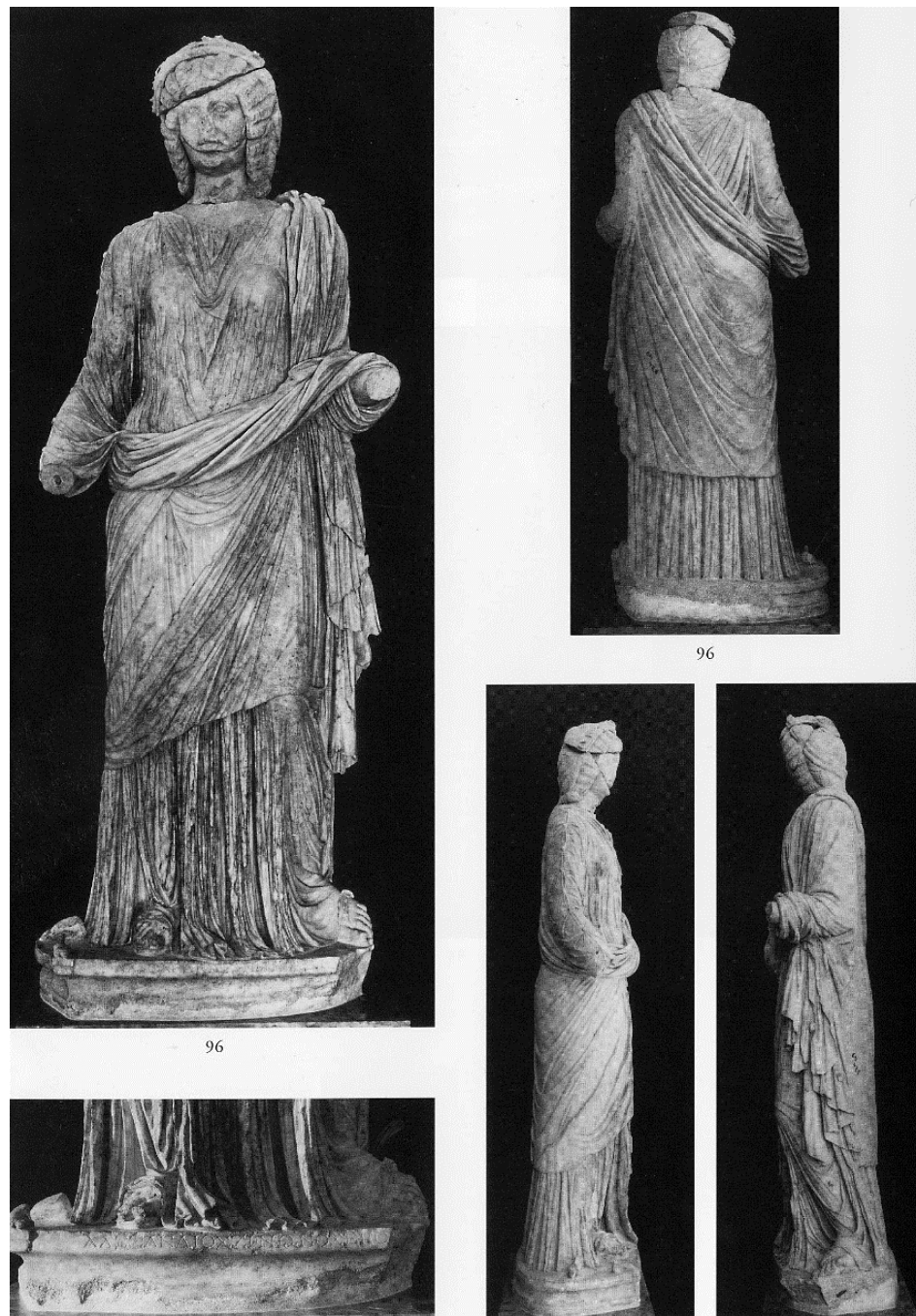


Figure 3.16 Views of Claudia Antonia Tatiana.

The exquisitely fine and delicately modelled unbelted chiton covers the entire figure, the material clinging to and shaping the mature and voluptuous body and breasts. The full length sleeve over the right arm is pinned by little buttons that tantalisingly expose the flesh beneath. The garment is trapped at the right elbow by the himation, wrapping tightly around the hip that pushes through the fabric. The right arm is held

downwards and away from the body. The hand and attribute it may have held, worked separately and attached by a dowel, is now missing. The himation is gathered simply over the left shoulder, wrapping round the body at the back, and continuing round the front of the hips, forming a roll at the top and ending asymmetrically over the knees. It wraps around the left forearm which is extended away from the body at the elbow and falls in a series of folds that zigzag to the lower leg. The hand from the wrist downwards is broken off. The himation is shaped in diagonal and triangular lines across the lower body, contouring the sexuality of the body beneath, and is wrapped so tightly that the fine chiton underneath can be seen. Such virtuoso carving is intended to represent a garment of expense and quality. At the breasts and neckline, the triangular shape is created by the material falling forward against the undulations of the figure. The whole statue is well finished, with tool marks being completely removed. The back is as well finished as the front, as it was visible.

The head, badly damaged, is broken in three parts across the neck and face. The face is full and oval, the neck showing a finely finished matte, skin-like texture that is likely to have been the original surface. There are signs of mature age indicated by the slight double chin and deep naso-labial lines.⁵⁸⁵ She looks to the right, the side where she may have been performing a religious gesture, but straight ahead and not downwards. The remaining left eye is large and almond shaped, and the pupil is incised with a bean shape. The lids are heavy and deeply carved.

The hair is typical of the helmet style coiffure worn by Julia Domna, falling in thick waves that cover the ears to the neckline, where it folds over in a bun secured loosely at the back of the head (*Figure 3.17*). Generally considered to be a hairpiece, it is almost identical to the coiffure depicted on one of the finest images of that empress from Rome, the so-called Bloomington bust. The over life size portrayal of Julia Domna was believed to have been publicly displayed.⁵⁸⁶ In both instances, the subject's own hair is indicated at the cheeks, peeping out from beneath the wig. Over this, Claudia Tatiana wears an intricate *stephane* created by two bands that were

⁵⁸⁵ Smith (2006) 218.

⁵⁸⁶ Kleiner and Matheson (1996) 81.

ornamented with decoration, now broken off, that showed floral motifs rather than imperial busts,⁵⁸⁷ ending in looped ribbons that fall to the upper shoulders.



Figure 3.17 Detail of head of Claudia Tatiana.

The statue of her uncle, L. Antonius Claudius Dometeinos Diogenes (*Figure 3.18*), which also flanked the entrance from the North Agora,⁵⁸⁸ was taller than his niece, two hundred and thirty seven centimetres, but was raised on a shorter base, two hundred and one centimetres,⁵⁸⁹ meaning the overall monument was shorter than that of Claudia Tatiana. The inscription on the base translates as;

“The fatherland (honours) Lucius Antonius Claudius Dometeinos Diogenes, the law-giver, father and grandfather of Roman senators. The setting-up of the statue was seen to by Tiberius Claudius Ktesias the Elder, who also made the base “altar”, (*bomon*: lit) for it, together with what remained, at his own expense.”⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁸⁷ Smith (2006) 70.

⁵⁸⁸ Brody (2007) 27.

⁵⁸⁹ Smith (2006) 170.

⁵⁹⁰ Smith (2006) 174.



Figure 3.18 L. Antonius Claudius Dometeinos Diogenes (Cat no.50).

The feet of the statue are set squarely on the ground, the left leg is bent and the left foot is turned out. The sandals are elaborate but of a type fairly common in the city.⁵⁹¹ The stance is relaxed and elegant, even informal and fluid. Dometeinos is draped in a thick and voluminous himation in an ‘arm sling’ format that evokes the Aischines

⁵⁹¹ Smith (2006) 172.

type, with its urbane and sophisticated pose (*Figure 3.19*), but it diverges from the type in several ways. The Aischines type, with the hand held jauntily at the hip and forward thrust, is a more flamboyant and active figure, and it has been deliberately ‘calmed’ in the portrait of Dometeinos to create a more solid, self-possessed tone.⁵⁹² It lacks the sense of immediacy of the Aischines type, but this seems a conscious decision to give a more monumental and imposing feel to the Aphrodisian statue to reflect the purpose of the Bouleuterion as a place of business and importance. These changes to the basic iconography of the format also appear to be unique to the city. Other versions of the type in relief, such as a sarcophagus portrait discussed further below in this chapter section (*Figure 3.22*), clearly show the male figure in the same stance with the vertical drape between the legs and the hand placed in front of the body holding a scroll at waist height and facing the same direction. In statue form, a headless body of slightly earlier or the same date survives that shares almost exactly the same format, but is less well accomplished.⁵⁹³

The himation is deeply carved and sports press folds and weights, indicating a garment of substantial thickness and quality. It drapes over the left shoulder behind the body in deep folds. The right arm is enveloped securely in the material, the hand now broken off. The left arm supports a roll of thick drapery that hangs elegantly by the side and behind either side of the left ankle. Smith notes the innovation of these folds and the crease that hangs vertically in the centre of the figure, which he rightly argues creates a strong stabilizing effect in the overall scheme of the composition.⁵⁹⁴ The end of the left hand is missing, and it is not clear what it may have grasped. Smith notes that in other local relief examples of the type, the end of the himation was commonly held; that does not appear to have been the case here or in Statue 49. Perhaps he held a scroll as similar figures do on local sarcophagi examples,⁵⁹⁵ because to his left the statue is supported by a box of eight scrolls bundled together, signifying the educated status of Dometeinos and the business function of the Bouleuterion, acting as a reminder of the mood expected of those entering the building.

⁵⁹² Smith (1998) 66.

⁵⁹³ Smith (2006) 176. Cat. No.49.

⁵⁹⁴ Smith (2006) 172.

⁵⁹⁵ Erism (1995) 68, and 110.



Figure 3.19 Aischines (Cat no.18).

The head of the statue turns slightly to the left. Smith notes that this differs from other versions of the body type that invariably look to their right. He proposes that this has the effect of increasing the stabilizing effect, as it emphasises the vertical line between the straight right leg and vertical folds of the drapery,⁵⁹⁶ and it mirrors the turned head of Claudia Tatiana, as though they look in the direction of people entering the Bouleuterion complex, welcoming them as they pass through.⁵⁹⁷ But the head turn is also a common feature of the adapted Aischines type in the city, and not specific to the portrait of Dometeinos. The body of this portrait is a virtuoso masterpiece of Aphrodisian creative variation, adding a unique and local accent to an existing type to dramatic effect. The innovative alterations made to the body retain the urbane feel of

⁵⁹⁶ Smith (2006) 173.

⁵⁹⁷ Smith (2006) 172.

the format, yet overlay an impression of stately self-discipline and *dignitas* appropriate to the civic intellectual context.⁵⁹⁸

The head is a skilfully crafted mix of contemporary and traditional design (*Figure 3.20*). The face is idealised and expressionless, as though deliberately harking back to Classical precedents, except for a few minor details of individuality; regionally recognised traits, discussed in Chapter 1.7. What is visible of the shape through the full beard indicates an oval, mature face. The cheeks are full as are the slightly parted lips. The heavily lidded eyes are deeply carved, the pupils picked out with a drilled bean shape. The end of the nose is missing. The arched eyebrows are delicately and individually carved. The ears would once have been completely covered by long locks of hair, now snapped off at the ends.⁵⁹⁹



Figure 3.20 Detail of head of L. Antonius Claudius Domitianus Diogenes.

⁵⁹⁸ Zanker (1995) 245.

⁵⁹⁹ Smith (2006) 173.

The full beard and curly hair are exquisitely carved. The drill has been employed to indicate deep shadows and ringlets, particularly round the side and back of the head. Smith notes that the extravagant hair is influenced by portraits of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, but the fringes on their respective heads do not fall onto the forehead as it does on Dometeinos'.⁶⁰⁰ Nor are their beards as luxurious and fulsome as they are on the Aphrodisian aristocrat. However, ringlets that fall over the forehead and a richly curled beard can both be found on portrait busts of the emperor Septimius Severus (*Figure 3.21*),⁶⁰¹ and coins which clearly show the emperor's head in profile with thick, dense curls that cover the ears and spread onto the forehead, and a fuller beard.⁶⁰² They do not correspond exactly; the typological twisted fork in the Severan beard is absent, and it is possible that the hair and beard are intended as a *homage* to all those emperors, and has a retrospective aspect; a trope that we have observed in portrait statues of women in the city to both contemporary and past imperial and local elite personages, and one that we will see below can be applied to the portrait statue of his niece. Interestingly, Smith notes that the estimated date of birth of Dometeinos would place him as a younger contemporary of Marcus Aurelius, and that is why there are strong affiliations with his image.⁶⁰³ Although Smith might disagree,⁶⁰⁴ it seems more plausible that the identification with Septimius Severus can be safely made because busts on Dometeinos' priestly crown contains figures from the most recent imperial dynasty, the Severans. They are represented alongside members of the Antonine dynasty and Marcus Aurelius and relations.⁶⁰⁵ But because the portrait of his niece refers directly to the image of Julia Domna, this necessitates the more contemporary reference, and that is why the imperial influences are fused in this portrait.

⁶⁰⁰ Smith (2006) 174.

⁶⁰¹ Brody (2007) 27.

⁶⁰² Stevenson (1964) 738.

⁶⁰³ Smith (2006) 176.

⁶⁰⁴ Smith (2006) 71.

⁶⁰⁵ Brody (2007) 27.



Figure 3.21 Septimius Severus (Cat no.51).

The tall crown and long locks of hair identify Dometeinos as a priest of the Imperial cult.⁶⁰⁶ It is an exceptionally large and elaborate head-dress that accentuates the height of the statue and would have been gilded, adding to the striking effect. As well as the imperial images, it also contained a central bust of the cult figure of the Aphrodisian Aphrodite,⁶⁰⁷ though now partly broken off. It identifies Dometeinos as a local aristocrat of importance, as is testified by the inscription, and creates an imposing image.

It might be considered surprising that the priest is dressed in such a contrast of attire; the civic and the priestly, Greek body and head, Roman influenced hair and beard. Smith surmises that he is presented as the epitome of local urbane culture, not in a toga, but instead in the traditional and ancient manner of dress appropriate to the business-like function of the Bouleuterion.⁶⁰⁸ In the environment of the Eastern Greek city, it was also entirely appropriate that religion and business were not kept apart, and Dometeinos represents the perfect fusion of the two in a sober and dignified manner. He is also seen to straddle the Greek and Roman worlds, relying on the age old conventions of male costume whilst simultaneously expressing strong Roman

⁶⁰⁶ Brody (2007) 27.

⁶⁰⁷ Brody (2007) 27.

⁶⁰⁸ Smith (2006) 175, and Smith (1998) 65.

affiliations.⁶⁰⁹ This was not mere symbolism. Greek civic leaders travelled regularly to Rome,⁶¹⁰ and interaction with the capital was a major part of their daily life.

Smith compares the statues of Claudia Antonia Tatiana and her uncle with other examples of office-holding coupled figures from the city portrayed in closed formats. These are most frequently found on sarcophagi, and usually present the male in the Aischines type and the accompanying female in a matching closed format derived from it,⁶¹¹ the traditional and locally popular Large Herculaneum Woman type (*Figure 3.22a and 3.22b*).⁶¹² As seen on the relief from Sarcophagus 8 from the west necropolis, the pair mirror each other's pose in scenes of union, 'equality' and sentiment. In this example, as in others, the man is portrayed in the local variation of the Aischines type,⁶¹³ complete with hand held scrolls and central vertical drapery fold and facing left.



Figure 3.22a Detail of Sarcophagus 8 from the west necropolis.

⁶⁰⁹ Zanker (1995) 245.

⁶¹⁰ Smith (1998) 61.

⁶¹¹ See Chapter 1.18.

⁶¹² Smith (1998) 68, and also Smith (2011) Fig. 4.6, 66.

⁶¹³ Smith (2006) plate 158, Sarcophagi 6 and 7.



Figure 3.22b Sarcophagus 8 from the west necropolis,⁶¹⁴ showing a couple represented in matching closed formats⁶¹⁵ (Cat no.52).

However, Smith's comparison overlooks a crucial point of difference. It is based on two closed types that, as we established in Chapter 1.18, are iconographically closely related. Dometeinos and Claudia Tatiana, on the other hand, make a striking contrast. He stands in the sedate and often identically replicated local version of the Aischines type, but his niece is presented in a far more open and animated format that is a far cry from the pious modesty of the Large Herculaneum Woman type, and is unique.

She stands in a version of the *femina orans* or Artemisia-Delphi type discussed in detail in Chapter 1.21. Smith refers to it as an 'elegant and purposeful variation of the unbelted hip mantle design'.⁶¹⁶ I would go further and assert that the portrait statue is a supremely sophisticated and confident representation of a locally well-known elite woman who has chosen to be portrayed in a fusion of traditional and up-to-date, and ultimately orthodox ways.⁶¹⁷ An expectation of overt modesty and restraint characteristic of some professional priestesses of the East is not evident here;⁶¹⁸ quite the reverse is true.

⁶¹⁴ Erim (1995) 68, and Erim (1986) 150.

⁶¹⁵ Smith (2006) plate 158, Sarcophagus 8 and Smith (2008) 355.

⁶¹⁶ Smith (2006) 217.

⁶¹⁷ Vermeulle III (2000) 18, and Smith (2006) 218.

⁶¹⁸ Smith (1998) 70.

The portrait mimics the pose of the so-called Artemisia from the Mausoleum in more than just basic stance. Detailed features such as the himation across the abdomen restricting the right arm and circling the left arm, the unbelted chiton and triangular drapery at the breasts and hips emphasising the sexual aspects unequivocally associate the Aphrodisian aristocrat with the earlier local elite woman as represented in the widely known monument. Whether the figure represented is Artemisia or not is academic; she was still a female senior member of a powerful regional dynasty.

Other well-known examples of the Artemisia-Delphi type exist from the fourth century onwards,⁶¹⁹ but Claudia Tatiana seems to have chosen to associate herself closely with the iconography of the Artemisia of Halicarnassus, making the reference intentional and clear to a regional audience who would have recognised the significance.⁶²⁰ As her inscription testifies, Claudia Tatiana was herself a member of a powerful family, active locally and in Rome, and the association is deliberately made to advertise her important role within her family, like her predecessor, but also as a powerful individual of some local influence and authority.⁶²¹

Rose has noted that the first dynastic monuments to powerful women were erected in fourth century BC Caria,⁶²² often with the involvement of women themselves. He also identifies the retrospective and continuous nature of such monuments. Claudia Tatiana was not a relation of Artemisia, but she was associating herself with/ and continuing the regional tradition of female elite imagery in a pre-existing local format that looked as much to the past as to the future. Claudia Tatiana assumes the heritage and renown of the famous queen in a contemporary setting. Such monuments reaffirmed the past as well as reinforcing individual presence. We have already established that patrons and sculptors responded to the statues in their own surrounding environment.

The tradition and link with earlier elite women can be seen in the choice of footwear. Unlike figures 89 and 90, she does not choose to wear modern closed ‘city’ shoes which might be appropriate to the context of the Bouleuterion. Instead, she wears delicate sandals that link her with ancient predecessors and traditional costume. With

⁶¹⁹ Dillon (2010) 71.

⁶²⁰ Smith (1998) 93.

⁶²¹ Vermeulle III (2000) 18.

⁶²² Rose (1997) 3-4.

regard to the drapery, rather than the thick garment rolled over the waist worn by Artemisia, she wears the hip mantle that recurs in Aphrodisian female portraits first seen in the panel of Agrippina and Nero from the north wall of the Sebasteion, and inspiring the use of the garment on later female portraits such as Statue 90, above. Of course, the hip mantle was not uncommon in female portraits, and it could be argued that it appears in the generic form of religious and traditional correct dress, but the argument of connection within a local context is just as valid, especially if we consider that aesthetic similitude was an established form of association between portraits, especially here in the Greek East.⁶²³ The very fine chiton also adheres to the dress worn by Agrippina around the lower legs (*Figure 3.23*), as does the zigzagging of the drapery that falls from the left elbow, a motif that Rose notes was a ‘mix of East/ West iconography’, lifted from the regular draping of mantles on coins and reliefs,⁶²⁴ and in this way Claudia Tatiana associates herself with earlier imperial women from Rome in her body rather than just in the head and hair that reflects more contemporary fashion.

⁶²³ Trimble (2011) 195, and 197.

⁶²⁴ Rose (2011) 285.



Figure 3.23 Claudia Tatiana, 'Artemisia' from the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, and Agrippina from the Sebasteion.

The bold and confident nature of this portrait reflects a zeitgeist apparent in second and early third century portraits. Smith notes this period saw a rise in the prominence of Greek aristocrats and a new cultural confidence began to flourish, and as a result what ensued was a 'vigorous assertion of cultured Hellenic identity by leading Greek provincials'.⁶²⁵ For elite women as well as men, it was suddenly possible and desirable to celebrate local culture in portrait form rather than concentrating on a cultural dialogue with Rome, although it might be reasonably argued that such a statement is disingenuous, because emerging interest in all things Greek was instigated by Rome through the development of the second sophistic and the interests of philhellenic emperors. Therefore rather than breaking away from Roman values, the practice in fact reinforces them, and highlights the role of Rome as the definer of contemporary taste and fashion. Yet it is this new-found shift in emphasis and resurgence of local culture that provokes the reference to the regionally renowned 'Artemisia'.

⁶²⁵ Smith (1998) 63.

The association with antique references only added renown and *gravitas* to a portrait; yet Claudia Tatiana's is also very modern. The figure lacks the fluidity of earlier Hellenistic portrait bodies,⁶²⁶ and the larger body proportions associated with later Greek examples are replaced by a more slender figure,⁶²⁷ a lack of movement and stiffness more typical of contemporary Roman portrait statues,⁶²⁸ once again highlighting the perceptive observation of the artist and his adherence to contemporary Roman aesthetics. The addition of the looped edges of the hem and exaggerated gesture of the raised foot are also contemporary details.

This portrait, then, spans a spectrum of influences selected from across the centuries and different locations. Like her uncle, Claudia Tatiana stands as the perfect fusion of Roman and Greek Eastern elite culture, proudly and confidently associating herself with the ruling aristocracy of past and present, Roman and Carian. Unlike her uncle, who represents an urbane and worldly figure with his scrolls, she is accompanied on her right side by a tiny Eros, only the feet of which survive,⁶²⁹ referring to her divinely inspired beauty and linking her with the patron goddess. In this way, she reflects the traditional ideals of centuries-old female portraiture, required at its most basic level to reflect homogenous notions of ideal beauty,⁶³⁰ but breaks free of the associated restrictions by the political and cultural affiliations that dominate the portrait head and body. Rather than being portrayed in the Large Herculaneum Woman type, as one might expect, in a more 'civic' format complementing Dometimeinos, she chooses a unique adaptation of an open and ancient religious body type that completely overshadows her uncle, metaphorically and literally, removing her from the 'worldly' feel of Dometimeinos' statue to something more abstract.

Though she too is the holder of a priestly office, she chooses to represent her authority through more traditionally feminine formats, and the inscription that accompanies the statue is striking. It identifies her as the member of an influential family of senatorial rank, and as an 'illustrious benefactress' of some importance,⁶³¹ but not as a wife or mother, and is similar in sentiment to that of her uncle. Her monument was taller than

⁶²⁶ Smith (2006) 217.

⁶²⁷ Dillon (2010) 62.

⁶²⁸ Smith (2006) 217.

⁶²⁹ Erim (1995) 100.

⁶³⁰ Dillon (2010) 133.

⁶³¹ Smith (2006) 218.

his⁶³² by nineteen centimetres, and the increased height and contrastingly open and inviting body ensure that her monument was the more imposing, visually striking and engaging of the pair. She is not portrayed as a subservient complement or appendage to her uncle's monument; on the contrary, she transcends the bustling business-like people she greeted passing beneath her, and it is her monument that dominates, highlighting Claudia Tatiana as the most important and significant of the two figures, as a beautiful and powerful individual, a visual comparison that would not have been lost on those approaching the Bouleuterion.

Summary

The remarkable female portrait statues studied in this chapter all share the common feature of traditional and regionally well-known iconography as a starting point. With the exception of the earliest example, the Pudicitia type, they all display unusual additional attributes and creative adaptations that set them apart from the standard iconography associated with their body types. Where known, as much detail and emphasis has been placed on the body as the head; a feature that separates them from earlier Greek ancestors and Roman influence, and is an aspect unique to female portrait statues within the city. Details such as hands, feet, head and hair are given equal and individual emphasis to a greater or lesser degree, and the effects are striking and daringly complex. The attention to detail does not over-complicate the images, but rather adds overtones of meaning to what might otherwise seem tediously repeated iconography, and is intended to do so much more than merely differentiate between statues for purposes of aesthetic distinction.

The mother-child relationship, popular in imperial and non-imperial portraiture in the region, and celebrated through monuments such as the Sebasteion, inspired statues 89 and 90, who drew equally from powerful contemporary imperial female fashion elements and ancient precedents to produce images of supremely confident Greek and Roman affiliation and elevated status and authority, whilst never deviating from safe, traditional and recognisable feminine formats. They show a sophisticated understanding of semantics and meaning.

⁶³² Smith (1998) 68.

Building on centuries of Greek, Roman and Carian female portrait examples, Claudia Tatiana's portrait statue overshadows that of her uncle by deliberately contrasting an open and expressive format with his sedate and locally reproduced body. His is a magnificent statue of civic and priestly elegance, but cannot compete in terms of the statement made by his niece of association with illustrious local powerful women of antiquity and self-possessed authority and power. The monument highlights the importance of height and the relationship and interaction between figures. It is also a *tour de force* of the significance of gesture, and shows that by the second century, local women were capable of demonstrating real and unveiled power in portrait form that could compete with male counterparts on equal aesthetic terms, and on occasion even surpassing them, whilst also retaining traditional feminine values of beauty.

Chapter Four: The non-conformists?

This chapter turns its attention to two female portrait statues that seem to display little or no Roman influence, or an apparent deliberate disregard or refusal to conform to traditional local representational forms that prevailed in Aphrodisias. They are referred to below as Statue 85 (or the Menodotus figure) and 86, as this is how they are catalogued by Smith. In a city with such intimately close cultural and political links to Rome, especially in the early imperial period before or at the verge of the emergence of the second sophistic and the revival of early Greek portrait traditions, the existence of apparently ‘pure’ Greek portrait statues in such a staunchly pro-Roman city is a phenomenon that requires investigation. As we have observed repeatedly, even though early imperial period portraits within the city could display a strikingly unusual set of complex deviations from expected norms, and the by-now typical hallmarks of ‘creative adaptation’, they ultimately pursued aesthetically similar underlying gender and social-grouping related conventions that connected them in a network of elite visual commemorative communication.⁶³³ They followed patterns that were if not entirely Roman in origin, then had been in part filtered through Rome in terms of use by elite and imperial Roman women, having undergone shifts in meaning and emphasis *en route* (both chronologically and geographically). As Smith notes, portrait statues were ‘powerful markers in the three-way negotiation between a notable, his peers and the community’,⁶³⁴ and this included the intimate microcosm of the local, as well as the formidable and potentially more lucrative relationship with Rome.

As we have seen, women in communities across the Greek East chose to follow Roman influences to a greater or lesser degree; some apparently chose to continue solely with traditional and ‘unadulterated’ Greek styles of portrait representation.⁶³⁵ The women of Aphrodisias were not among them, and from the earliest imperial period onwards, elite local females engaged in a complex dialogue with Rome through public monumental portraits. In this chapter, I will examine cases that

⁶³³ Trimble (2011) 1, and Stewart (2003) 162.

⁶³⁴ Smith (2006) 41.

⁶³⁵ Dillon (2010) 162.

seemingly reject such expectations. The statues themselves will be studied closely alongside contextual evidence that may assist in an interpretation of what appear to be challenging portraits defying straightforward analysis.

The statues were found as part of a large architectural display group from the Antonine period Agora Gate positioned at the end of the south agora. Somewhat enigmatically, they were both moved to this site sometime later in their life, so little is known of their original display context. However, in the relatively short period between the estimated original statue dates and the positioning into this new home, the original meaning is unlikely to have changed. Despite creative adaptation and innovation, the design of the statues was ultimately based on centuries of precedent. Once a portrait statue was constructed, change to meaning could only occur if the display setting changed. The new context and grouping as part of an overall compositional display is likely to have been in part due to the original significance. Therefore we are in a position to make an interpretation based on the new site of display. The moving of statues was not unusual even in this early period. They were precious objects that underwent renovation and repair as well as being relocated across public spaces in the city.⁶³⁶ In a sense, they were a paradigm, parallel population that moved around the city just like the real residents, ambassadors, pilgrims and visitors to the city, reflecting the concerns and values of an ideal elite world to those who passed between them.⁶³⁷ They took with them to their new location their original meaning and also contributed to a different one deliberately intended by a regrouping of disparate examples in new architectural complexes.

⁶³⁶ Smith (2006) 41.

⁶³⁷ Stewart (2003) 166.

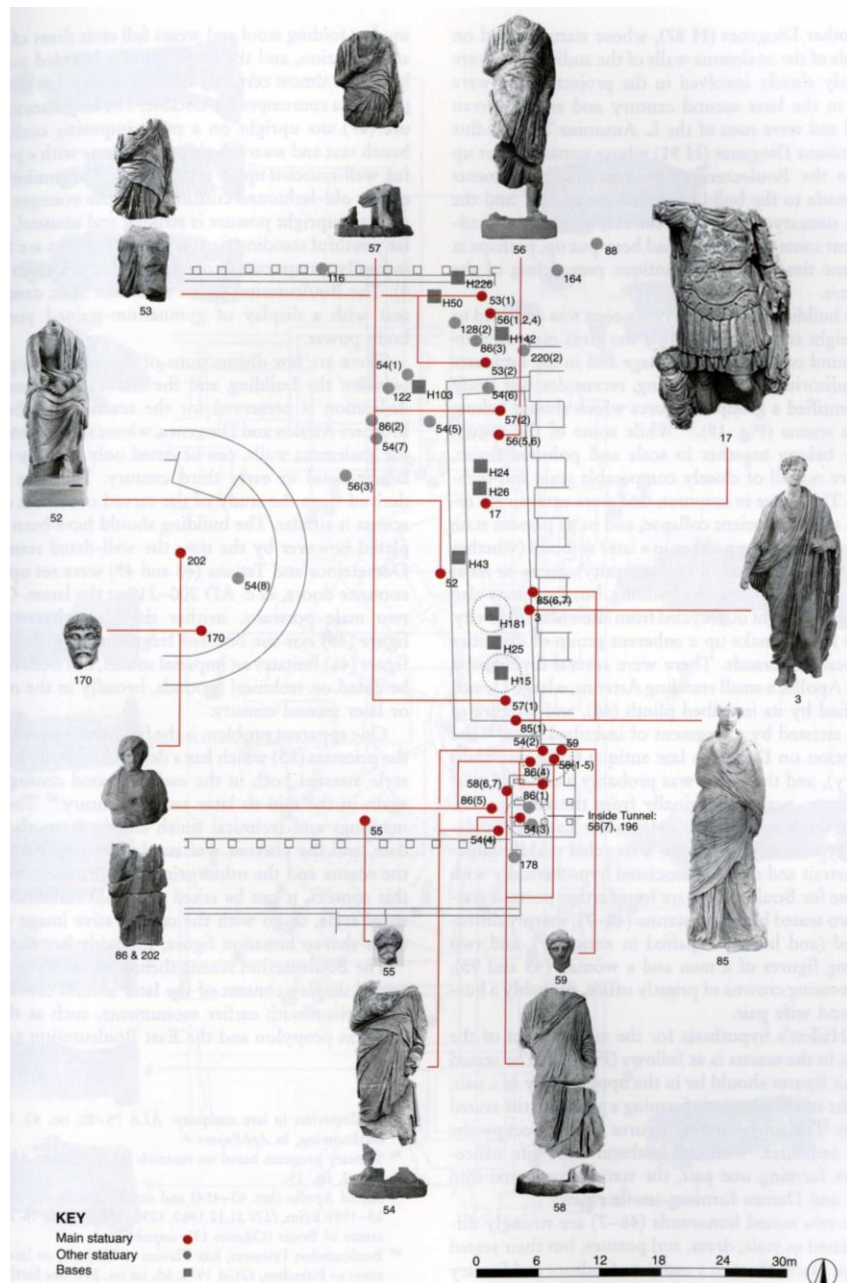


Figure 4.1 Statuary from the Agora Gate. Plan and diagram of find locations.

(*Smith 2006, Fig.16*).

An interpretation of iconography and meaning of the statues within their setting will be aided by a comparison with those from the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus at Olympia because they share many architectural design features and similar layout.

Chronologically and geographically close, they are both faithful to a particularly Roman style of display, and both contained local and imperial elites within their architectural spaces. Studies carried out into the form and function of the statuary from the better-preserved Nymphaeum artefacts can illuminate that of the Agora Gate. Aspects of meaning link the buildings. The Nymphaeum and the gate shared the distinction of emphasising the intellectual status of the dedicants. The urbane and civic outfits shared by the statues in the Nymphaeum and the philosopher portrait and muse-influenced figures of the Agora Gate attest to this layer of meaning.

4.1: The Female Portrait Statues of the Agora Gate and the Nymphaeum

Statues 85 and 86 (*Figs 4.3 and 4.12*) formed part of the portrait statuary that occupied the architectural display spaces of the Agora Gate (*Figure 4.1*). They were surrounded by eight statues; a togatus, six arm-sling format himation male portraits and a seated philosopher.⁶³⁸ Located on the eastern side of the South Agora, this enormous structure, dating from the early Antonine period,⁶³⁹ took the form of two projecting towers or *pyrgoi* positioned either side of vaulted gateways that supported a façade of seven *aediculae* with two storeys of columns.⁶⁴⁰ The date is based on the inscription of dedication and the remains of imperial portrait statue fragments. Its unusual aspect suggests that it provided the dramatic entranceway to an as yet unexcavated building or complex. Surviving evidence in the form of inscribed bases suggests that bronze portrait statues of the emperors Nerva and Hadrian, and a marble portrait of Antoninus Pius occupied the lower storey with local honorands positioned above.⁶⁴¹

There is debate as to the original location of the portraits of local elites on the monument, and of the relative connection between them. Surviving inscriptions of honorands from the gate include dedications to a pair of brothers and a beloved wife, but none can be securely dated or positioned. We will see that some of the portraits are linked together by technical and stylistic characteristics. Some, such as the seated

⁶³⁸ Smith (2006) 59.

⁶³⁹ Smith (2006) 58. Date is based on inscription evidence and the emperors.

⁶⁴⁰ Bellefonds (2009) 1-3.

⁶⁴¹ Smith (2009) 58, and 60.

philosopher, do not seem to be connected with any of the others, yet all allude in some respect to intellectual activity or status; for example, the young togatus holds scrolls indicating his educated status, the seated philosopher is typical of thinker/poet portraits.⁶⁴² The veiled female portrait, Statue 85, is presented in a sophisticated civic format in a variant of the type most commonly associated with muses.⁶⁴³ This portrait is a striking and unique composition. As will be seen, it is unlike the overwhelming majority of female portraits because of a complete lack of sexuality coupled with overtones of intellectualism and introversion. It will be argued below that one of the main reasons for the grouping of these honorands in the gate is precisely because of this intellectual status.

Both Smith and Dillon also observe that no overarching theme or meaning has yet been detected with regards to the statuary of the Agora Gate, not least due in part to the apparent reuse of statues dating from an earlier period.⁶⁴⁴ Smith also compares the Agora Gate in programmatic and aesthetic terms with the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus at Olympia,⁶⁴⁵ the grand monument he describes as constructed on ‘Greek and Roman axes’.⁶⁴⁶ However, Davies makes the important observation that Smith’s study of the Nymphaeum statue group is based on the repertoire of male figures and their costumes.⁶⁴⁷ This puts limitations on his interpretation and overlooks the important role of the many female portrait statues present in the monument, which was originally dedicated to Zeus by a woman, Regilla, wife of Herodes Atticus.⁶⁴⁸ It is especially vital that female as well as male portrait iconography is taken into consideration; as Trimble notes, associations were made by visual clues and links not noted in inscriptions or other evidence.⁶⁴⁹ By looking more closely at all the portraits present in both monuments, a unifying theme may be detectable in each case.

⁶⁴² Zanker (1995) 143.

⁶⁴³ Smith (2006) 205.

⁶⁴⁴ Smith (2006) 58, and Dillon (2010) 150.

⁶⁴⁵ Smith (2006) 60.

⁶⁴⁶ Smith (1998) 76.

⁶⁴⁷ Davies (2002) 233.

⁶⁴⁸ Bol (1984) 90, Trimble (2011) 242 and Daehner (2007) 100.

⁶⁴⁹ Trimble (2011) 195.

Although the Agora Gate was not quite as grand or imposing a monument in terms of scale or composition as the Nymphaeum in Olympia,⁶⁵⁰ or indeed as famous, it was still a huge structure, spanning the east end of the South Agora.⁶⁵¹ The statues displayed in the architectural spaces were thematically similar, comprising imperial figures and local elites wearing either himation or togate costume.⁶⁵² In both cases, the emperors appeared in cuirassed military uniform with the familiar raised arm, an imperial style popular in the Greek East. There is some debate concerning the positioning and relationship of private individuals represented in the Agora Gate that we will consider below, but they were nonetheless, just as in the Nymphaeum, local elites. The position of figures occupying the aediculated spaces of the structure is also a matter of debate. Hitzl has recently questioned not only the position of the central figures, placing Regilla in the central niche, but also switched the display so that the private family occupies the lower rather than the upper storey.⁶⁵³ This theory is based in part on the degree of damage suffered by statues that reveals the distance they may have fallen from the monument, those having toppled from a higher level showing worse damage than those below. Even though the central positioning of a non-divine and non-imperial woman in such illustrious company may seem at first surprising, it is made plausible because she was a main dedicator of the overall monument. Regilla herself enjoyed very high social status and links with the imperial family. Her grandfathers were of patrician rank and she was a niece of Faustina the Elder.

The ease and familiarity with which the elite wife and mother in the Greek East was honoured in monumental portrait form is a theme that we have scrutinised in detail in the preceding chapters, but the blending of Roman and Greek styles in the architecture and display of the Nymphaeum sees a new development in this phenomenon. Other women honoured in the east on this huge scale were ruler-wives and mothers such as Artemisia, or early imperial Roman mothers such as Julia the Elder,⁶⁵⁴ or the Julio-Claudian mothers represented on the reliefs of the Sebasteion, and therefore directly involved in the legitimacy, continuity and security of the ruling regime. On the Nymphaeum, however, Regilla takes centre stage as an apparently ‘ordinary’ wife and

⁶⁵⁰ Trimble (2011) 237.

⁶⁵¹ Stinson (2008) 64.

⁶⁵² Walker (1995) 22, and Smith (2006) 60.

⁶⁵³ Based on the unpublished reconstruction of K. Hitzl (pers. Comm. A. Kropp) (2007).

⁶⁵⁴ Rose (1997) 13.

mother in a fashion not seen before. She may have been of elevated status, but was not so illustrious as her imperial relatives, yet is honoured in equal measure. It is undeniable that for her ambitious husband, Regilla's presence is an underscoring and reflection of his own high status as well as a visual connection between his own family and the imperial family, and perhaps even an attempt to position her as the guarantor of his own private dynasty; but rather than being presented as an embellishment of his status and a possession to flaunt, she is presented as a central focus of the statue program.

Part of the function of the Nymphaeum, monuments sometimes used to commemorate marriages and places of social activity,⁶⁵⁵ was to visually link the ancestry of the imperial family of the adoptive emperors established by Hadrian with that of Herodes Atticus. Both families are presented in four generations,⁶⁵⁶ and make complex visual associations by use of costume, not only by basic format choice but also through an exacting replication of drapery and execution that reflects and emphasises high status.⁶⁵⁷ For example, the figures of Regilla and Faustina the Elder are virtually indistinguishable, both adopting very formulaic versions of the Large Herculaneum woman types. Although the head of Regilla does not survive, and the figure of Faustina remains only from the waist upwards, the technical similarities of the drapery are remarkable (*Figure 4.2*). For example, the V-shaped drapes across the chest demonstrate identical fold counts. The length of material extending away from the hand in each case shows the same deep lower fold below a doughy length of fabric. On top is a finer crease that extends away to the lowered left hand. As well as making a very specific visual connection between the two women, it also demonstrates an affiliation with Rome by adopting replication as a visual reference.⁶⁵⁸ No other surviving female figures from the monument show this slavish a degree of association through exact copying of features. Although the portrait of Sabina adopts the Large Herculaneum Woman type, she does not show the same degree of exactness. Clearly the message is to associate Regilla with the deceased wife of the current emperor.⁶⁵⁹ The head of Faustina is an individualised portrait in the Roman

⁶⁵⁵ Daehner (2007) 100.

⁶⁵⁶ Bol (1984) 88.

⁶⁵⁷ Trimble (2011) 241.

⁶⁵⁸ Trimble (2011) 4.

⁶⁵⁹ Trimble (2011) 240.

tradition of the mid second century. It shows mature age through the fleshy round, soft edged face shape and deep lines either side of the small unsmiling mouth and nose. The eyes are heavily lidded and the pupils are incised. A heavy brow with a low hairline is topped by Faustina's severe coiffure of parted wavy swept back incised locks topped with a crown of coiled plaits.



Figure 4.2 Faustina the Elder and Regilla from the Nymphaeum (Cat no.53).

This technique of replication is very much in the Roman tradition of emulation and association, and here in the Greek East, the convention was at its strictest.⁶⁶⁰ Elsewhere on the Nymphaeum, other figures share this device of similarity of type if not exact replication. The figure identified as Elpinice is represented in a distinct portrait to portray very different messages of identity.⁶⁶¹ In contrast to the closed formats adopted by other women on the monument, this figure is presented in a relaxed and open Artemisia-Delphi type with an unusual draping of cloth over the left shoulder and patera in the right hand. This costume distinguishes her as a priestess,

⁶⁶⁰ Trimble (2011) 195.

⁶⁶¹ Davies (2002) 235.

and is the closest match in terms of pose, drapery and use of attribute to the statue identified as her father, Herodes Atticus.⁶⁶² Again, this is a case of visual association made through similarities, but unusually it creates a sense of equality through the daughter and father figures. Both appear in typical Greek costume. Herodes Atticus is the very essence of urbane Greek sophistication, establishing his credentials under the second sophistic, with his daughter following suit. This endearing but also striking connection does not seem out of place in the Nymphaeum, concerned as it was in part with the honouring of female figures in a social, family and political context. But more importantly, the visual connection between father and daughter imbues her image not only with his social rank, but also a claim on his intellectual status by association. Daehner suggests that the women who appear in the Large Herculaneum woman format are the most senior of the ensemble,⁶⁶³ and this is why the type has been used here. This may well be the case, but other females such as Elpinice wear different costume and body types to link them with different people rather than simply to distinguish social standing. In other contexts, intellectualism in women is highlighted through the Large Herculaneum Woman format. In this case, it is made clear through a costume-choice closely associated with a male. The conclusion intended to be drawn appears to be that this is a case of intellectual equality, and not based on gender. The wife is associated with the empress and traditional values, the daughter as intellectual equal with the father. This might be a controversial idea in other parts of the empire; here in the Greek East, as we have seen repeatedly, it was developing in response to social change and an established tradition of portraying elite women in portraits of equal status. It may be that her father wished to emphasise her Greek connections as a valuable asset to his or her own status. Although Elpinice was related to Roman aristocracy, she reputedly lived much of her life in this part of the world with her father. As we have already seen, connections were made in statue groups that go unmentioned in inscriptions. But that is not to say that they are not intended. Links and meaning made through aesthetic association were just as valid and more easily understood.

Setting aside for a moment the grander meanings of imperial and monumental messages portrayed in the Nymphaeum, a subtler, more intimate change in social

⁶⁶² Davies (2002) 234.

⁶⁶³ Daehner (2007) 101.

attitude begins to emerge and take centre stage. Walker notes that free-standing portraits ‘were placed in significant arrangements reflecting social relationships in real life’ on grand monuments such as this one.⁶⁶⁴ If we consider that Regilla was not only a named dedicator of the monument,⁶⁶⁵ but also entertain the assertion that she may even have been the central figure of the entire ensemble,⁶⁶⁶ and further accept that Elpinice is presented as being of equal status with the father, then the conclusion must be drawn that something highly unusual is taking place. Even if Bol’s reconstruction is used, the figure of Regilla was still just off-centre, and therefore occupied a position of elevated importance.⁶⁶⁷

We saw in Chapter sections 1.9 and 2.11 that by the imperial period women were coming to be regarded as social, if not legal, equals of their husbands, sons and fathers.⁶⁶⁸ Certainly, imperial women had by this time already established themselves in the public arena as holders of power and authority; but the Nymphaeum represents the glorification of a private woman not only as a beloved family member and wife and parallel of an imperial woman, and as a benefactor and priestess,⁶⁶⁹ but also in her own right as equal or more than equal to her husband. On a smaller scale, this phenomenon was already becoming established in Aphrodisias. Yildirim points out that by the end of the first century AD, elite couples were acting together as benefactors and in liturgies in the public sphere.⁶⁷⁰ Bol notes parallels in monuments in cities such as Perge,⁶⁷¹ but the association is subtly different. Certainly, portrait statues of women were placed in positions of prominence, but still secondary to their husbands, or they were presented as individuals subordinated to performing roles. Even the example of Plancia Magna, taking prime position in the gate complex at Perge,⁶⁷² although centrally placed as benefactress and priestess complete with veil and crown, is arguably still presented in her portrait in her public role as priestess, and not just as her own person. Regilla, in contrast, unveiled and central to the Nymphaeum, does not fall back on the ‘excuse’ of public office in her portrait statue;

⁶⁶⁴ Walker (1995) 21.

⁶⁶⁵ Meyers (2012) 459.

⁶⁶⁶ Hitzl (2007).

⁶⁶⁷ Bol (1984) 88.

⁶⁶⁸ Chapter 1.9, and 2.11, Fraschetti (1994) 10.

⁶⁶⁹ Trimble (2011) 243.

⁶⁷⁰ Yildirim (2004) 44.

⁶⁷¹ Bol (1984) 90.

⁶⁷² De Grazia Vanderpool (2005) 12.

although the inscription identifies her as the priestess of Demeter, and this aspect is in part that is the reason for the erection of the Nymphaeum in its prime location,⁶⁷³ she is nevertheless presented in her portrait statue as ‘herself’, unveiled and as a private woman. Did the location of the Nymphaeum not require so religious a dedication, her role need not have been mentioned. The point is that personal familial relationships are honoured and celebrated in the Nymphaeum, reflecting women as important in their own right and central to the nucleus of the domestic group.

Both the Agora Gate and Nymphaeum were constructed at the same time under the reigning emperor Antoninus Pius, and both owe much to a specific style of monument heritage associated with the Greek East,⁶⁷⁴ of representing members of the imperial family in association with local honorands of both sexes. Both monuments show evidence of updating their statues, in the case of the Nymphaeum to reflect marriage or death.⁶⁷⁵ Some of the statues found at the site of the Agora Gate clearly did not begin their life here, but were moved to this new context sometime after their first use; they are not technically the same and demonstrate different stylistic trends and handling of drapery and material, and eclectic styles of portraiture. No overarching epigraphic evidence survives to point to any particular family group or relationship. As noted above, brothers are mentioned, and a wife and an ancestral relative, but unlike the Nymphaeum, there is no apparent unifying connection. What the inscriptions do reflect in all instances is the continued importance of familial relationships, and, just like the Nymphaeum, changes in social attitude towards women. As we saw above, those present on the Nymphaeum, particularly Regilla, are present in their own right as prominent individuals, as well as being significant members of a family group. Clearly we must look to the iconography of the statues themselves to deduce the link.

There are, however, fewer women present in the Agora Gate. Even if the surviving evidence is incomplete, women are unlikely to have been represented in such high proportion as in the Nymphaeum. As noted in Chapter 1.7, half of the twenty two figures on the Olympian monument were female. Why this should be the case in the Agora Gate is unclear. One reason might be that the Agora Gate relied from its

⁶⁷³ Trimble (2011) 243.

⁶⁷⁴ Bol (1984) 22.

⁶⁷⁵ Walker (1995) 22.

inception partly on reuse of statues for the particular theme of honouring local intellectuals gathered together to reflect contemporary cultural values dominant during the second sophistic. As we have seen, communities continually took every opportunity to compete on a local and wider level to keep up with changing cultural and political trends emanating from Rome,⁶⁷⁶ and the new theme of Greek intellectualism was displayed in the statuary of the Agora Gate with a uniquely Aphrodisian twist. Even though women were penetrating male spheres of public roles, authority, status and power, and not least public honorific portraits, the realm of the intellectual was one area that had remained in general exclusively male. It can therefore be construed as highly unusual that women are represented here at all, and those who are present are testament to the vastly shifting attitude to elite wives, daughters and mothers, and of course the uniquely Aphrodisian promotion of elite mothers and wives through the link with Aphrodite in her role of progenitor of the Julio-Claudian house. It is true that no inscription survives to identify any of those present as intellectuals or as being present in this capacity, but the construction of the gate coincided with the rise of the Greek intellectual, and the patrons of such a building were likely to be astutely aware of this, as the evidence suggests they were sensitive to every other nuance of political change coming from Rome; and we shall see that this is an unquestionably strong visual link that runs through the portraits, both male and female. Smith notes that early intellectuals were honoured in Aphrodisias with busts or statues, and that the presence of intellectuals such as the seated philosopher (Statue 52) would be highly unusual in the civic honorific context of the Agora Gate,⁶⁷⁷ but if the purpose of the gate was due in part to the honouring of previous or contemporary intellectuals, then it becomes a palatable justification. As with the statues of Regilla and Elpinice from the Nymphaeum, the women and men are presented here first and foremost as treasured individuals and family members, but with an alternative and unexpected aspect to their personas prominently represented.

Due to the very fragmented and poor state of finds and the haphazard dissemination of portrait statues and artefacts from the building, a reconstruction of the Gate complex is not viable, although Stinson provides an illustration of how it may have looked.⁶⁷⁸

⁶⁷⁶ Yildirim (2004) 33.

⁶⁷⁷ Smith (2006) 60.

⁶⁷⁸ Stinson (2008) 63.

But what concerns us here are the portraits that filled its spaces, and an attempt can be made to associate particular statues with each other as forming intimate relationship groups. Find sites and positioning can offer little assistance, but we can deduce meaning by association with fellow portraits. No multi-figure monument existed without a unifying theme or meaning, and there is no reason that suggests the Agora Gate is an exception.

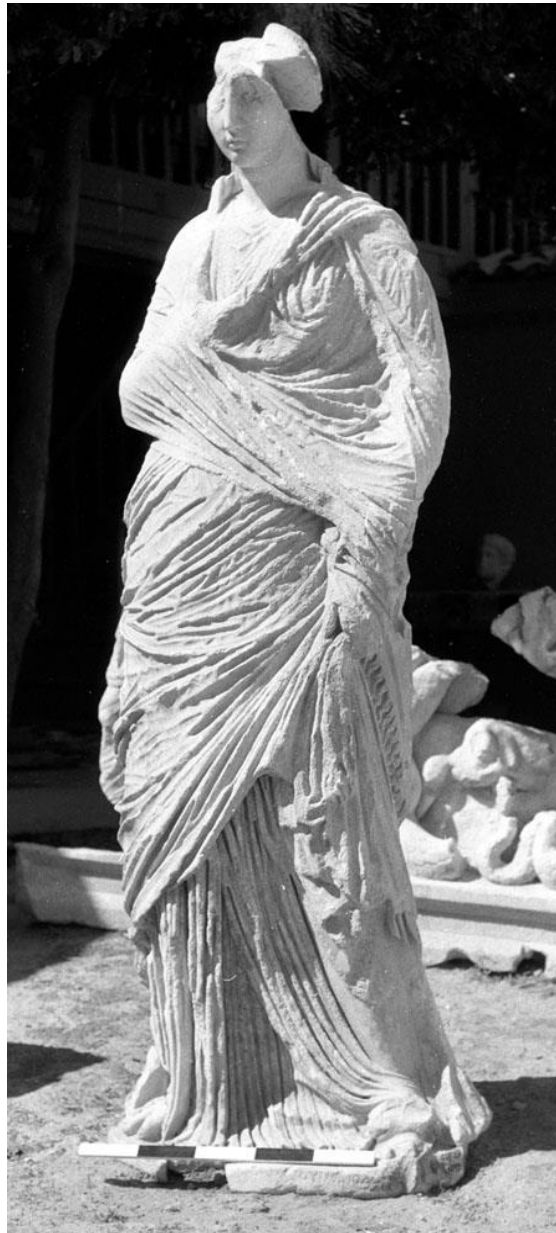


Fig 4.3 Statue 85, signed by Menodotus (Cat no.54).

4.2: The Menodotus figure

Statue 85 is a unique virtuoso marble portrait statue of a mature woman dated to the late first/ early second century, and therefore not originally intended to be part of the statue group of the Agora Gate complex.⁶⁷⁹ The original display context is unknown and, due to the unusual nature of this portrait, it is hard to imagine where it may once have been located. Although the city was well provided with exquisite portrait statuary, the style of this statue is unparalleled. It survives in a relatively poor state of preservation with large fragments of the head missing, but enough surface, head and facial evidence survives to permit a close reading of the figure. Although there is no secure inscription attached to the statue to identify the subject, it bears the signature of its creator.

She stands with the weight on the right leg with the left leg trailing slightly behind. The right hip pushes out indicating gentle movement that is not exaggerated; the pose is the epitome of modest restraint. The feet are intricately carved and wear delicate sandals. She wears a voluminous chiton that falls in deeply carved and drilled drapes to the hem that cascades in loops to the ground. Over this is worn a substantial mantle that completely envelopes the body, shaping the figure but revealing little detail of the womanly body beneath; at the back, it even billows out slightly to hide the left hip, as can be seen in Figure 4.3.

In sharp contrast to all the other mature female body types we have examined so far, or in any other example in this city of such sensual female portrait statues, there is no shaping or indication of the breasts or sensuous sexuality of the woman, surely one of the most fundamental and expected functions of the female portrait statue of the Greek and Roman world. The drapery provides hardly any clue to the sexual maturity of the figure; not even the knee of the trailing leg is indicated through the fabric, rather it is modestly swathed in the zigzags of the elaborately fringed hem. In contrast to formats such as the Ceres type, where the drapery is lifted in part to actually reveal the leg, here the left hand holds a swathe of cloth as if it were an attribute, and deliberately intended to cover the leg which can only be discerned from the mid-calf

⁶⁷⁹ Smith (2006) 204, Smith (1991) 272, and Dillon (2010) 150.

downwards. The material layered over the leg seems particularly exotic and textured, intending to indicate a substantial garment. No reference to the pubic area is made at all.⁶⁸⁰ The body proportions are massive and feminine, the hips are large, indicating womanly beauty, but devoid of any sexual reference or swagger; a feature of the statue that can be appreciated more fully when viewed from the back that is quite flat and, unlike the front and sides, is only lightly carved, indicating an original frontal display context (*Figure 4.4*).



Figure 4.4 Back view of Statue 85.

The left arm is held close by the side, clutching the heavily fringed edges of the himation. Only the fingers emerge from the fabric. The right hand is totally concealed by the drapery of the himation that winds tightly around the top of the figure, restraining the arm in the arm-sling format, and falling over the left shoulder. The drapery here is expertly and deeply carved, creating triangles and zigzag shapes that

⁶⁸⁰ Davies (2002) 236.

allow the chiton beneath to push through, and highlights the luxuriant nature of the material, indicating material wound several times around the body.⁶⁸¹ The drapery that falls softly over the left breast is particularly worthy of note; there is a strange U-shaped fold that could be described as breast-shaped, but it lies flat against the chest. The opportunity to shape the breast has been deliberately ignored. Why this should be is intriguing and unclear, especially as convention and taste demanded the inclusion of breasts that pushed through garments.⁶⁸²

In such a beautiful and mature female figure, I know of no other female body or type in statue form that eschews sexuality so completely. There are, however, rare examples of precedents for the unusual breast shaping, but they seem obscure and unrelated. Examples of Etruscan reclining tomb portraits of women survive which have similarly flat U-shaped breasts picked out in folds of drapery above high-waisted belts. These women are beautiful and sensual, and the flat chested portrayal appears to be no more than aesthetic convention, perhaps copied from paintings. In early second century Palmyra, tomb relief portrait busts of mature women clearly shows the chest, with no reference or shaping of the breast whatsoever (*Figure 4.5*), despite the high relief carving and other beautiful and womanly physical features such as the hair, face and inclusion of jewellery. These examples are very much the exception in Greek and Roman female portrait traditions.

⁶⁸¹ Smith (2006) 194.

⁶⁸² Llewellyn-Jones (2002) 180.



Figure 4.5 Tomb relief from Palmyra AD 113. ⁶⁸³

With her veiled, downcast face and concealed knee, Dillon describes Statue 85 as a very demure version of the arm-sling type,⁶⁸⁴ and Smith notes that she is presented in the ‘unchanging tradition of Hellenistic female representation’, showing the ‘partly contradictory social messages of wealth, fine bodily form and moral restraint’,⁶⁸⁵ but neither Dillon nor Smith see any significance in the unusually desexualised nature of the figure or alterations to a well-known type. The tradition of Hellenistic female representation to which Smith refers is fundamentally concerned with the expression of full bodied sexuality as well as beauty.

There is extensive damage to the neck and head, large fragments of which are missing. The veiled head looks demurely slightly downward and to the left. The neck is long and elegantly carved with Venus rings. The face, at first glance a ‘not-portrait’ type, does in fact display slightly individual portrait features redolent of the region and the ‘Mausolos’ style (Chapter 1.7). These features can be seen in the very slight double chin and plump face and cheeks, and the full yet small and pouting lips over a

⁶⁸³ British Museum. Image: Karapalpak.com.

⁶⁸⁴ Dillon (2010) 150.

⁶⁸⁵ Smith (1998) 70.

prominent chin. We shall see below that the connection to the distinctive portrait style and figurative forms first evident in Halicarnassus, and so influential on later portraiture in the wider region, is apparent in more than just individualised facial features. The nose is neat but not quite straight, the eyes do not survive. What little remains of the hair indicates a traditional swept back style, and the veil only concealed the back of the head, framing the face.

The statue closely follows variants of traditional and locally popular arm-sling body formats. It compares with the ‘muse with kithara’ variant (*Figure 4.7*),⁶⁸⁶ a type well attested in the east and west, more usually identified with, as the name suggests, the muses. On the second century BC relief of Archelaos,⁶⁸⁷ the type can be seen to the centre-left of the second row of figures, the head turned and gazing up at Zeus (*Figure 4.6*), and *Figure 4.7* is a rather static example of the type in statue form, but whether this particular example was intended as the body of a portrait is not clear. Because of the complex use of attributes discussed in Chapter 1.24, it is possible that it is. Unlike our statue, neither figure is veiled, and both are sensual beings revealing the left breast and leg, although the Archelaos figure partly obscures the view of her leg with her kithara. Otherwise, the similarities are striking. Most apparent of these is the outer mantle that sweeps across the lower legs to the left hand, and the drapery which partly conceals the left foot.

⁶⁸⁶ Smith (2006) 205.

⁶⁸⁷ See Chapter 1.24.



Figure 4.6 Detail of Archelaos Relief (Cat no.23).



Fig 4.7 'Muse with Kithara' type (Cat no.55).

In the case of Statue 85, the veiled head, dress and body references clearly indicate a portrait with meanings of reserve, self-discipline and status expressed through the

luxuriant and copious drapery, and having its origins in late fourth century Greece.⁶⁸⁸ As we have seen many times already, the arm-sling type was adopted by both men and women and often used in civic contexts. In the examples above of the muse figures (*Figure 4.6 and 4.7*), and a commonly repeated feature, is the effect of the gathered himation which exposes a surprising amount of the left upper thigh pushing through the drapery as though naked, and the taut cloth shaping the breast. But as we observed, Statue 85 disregards these sexualising features, and in the process achieves an even more profoundly chaste and desexualised appearance.

As Trimble notes, any variation from the ‘sameness’ of a widely recognised popular body format threw emphasis on aspects of difference,⁶⁸⁹ and in this case it draws attention to the enclosed and sexless characteristics. The alterations made to the arm-sling/ muse with kithara type shift the meaning of the original format and create an unusual tension. The question must be asked why this body type was chosen if not for the effect of drawing attention to the deliberate toning down of its overt sexuality; the only explanation, that we shall explore more deeply below, is the reference to the muses and connotations of artistic or intellectual skill in a format that was acceptable and respectable in a public setting. The only other female format that conceals sexuality so completely is the Small Herculaneum Woman type, but this was not appropriate for a mature woman such as this, and nor was it particularly widespread in Aphrodisias, nor a sensually suggestive type. It must be the case that the widely known Muse type and implied meaning of self-discipline and muse reference was used as it was the most appropriate backdrop for an over-layering of a quite different meaning.

Before we continue, however, there survives one other version of the Muse with kithara that is almost exactly the same in terms of expected format, but is more animated and sexual than the two examples noted above. It is included in the group of muses from a little-known relief on the Altar of Halicarnassus (*Figure 4.8a and 4.8b*).⁶⁹⁰ In the drawing (*4.8a*), the figure is fourth from the right. The stance and detail, including the right leg that protrudes through the outer garment and the exposed left breast and sense of swagger created by the movement of the hips to the

⁶⁸⁸ Dillon (2010) 92.

⁶⁸⁹ Trimble (2011) 143.

⁶⁹⁰ Daremberg (1817-72) 2067, and Watzinger (1903) 5, 7, 9.

left are striking. The head of the figure on the relief, just as the two comparative figures, is uncovered as can be seen by the bun at the back of the head, and she also bears the musical instrument in the left hand.

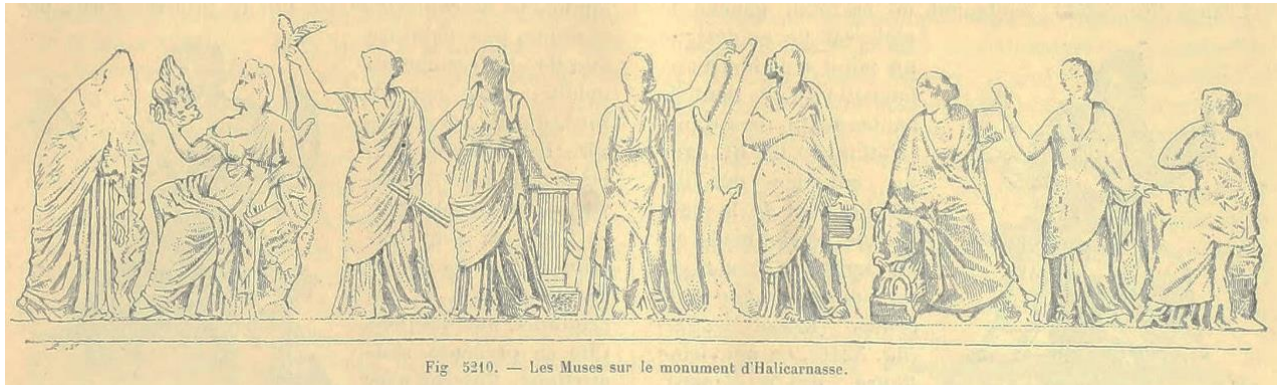


Figure 4.8a Drawing of the muses from the Altar of Halicarnassus.

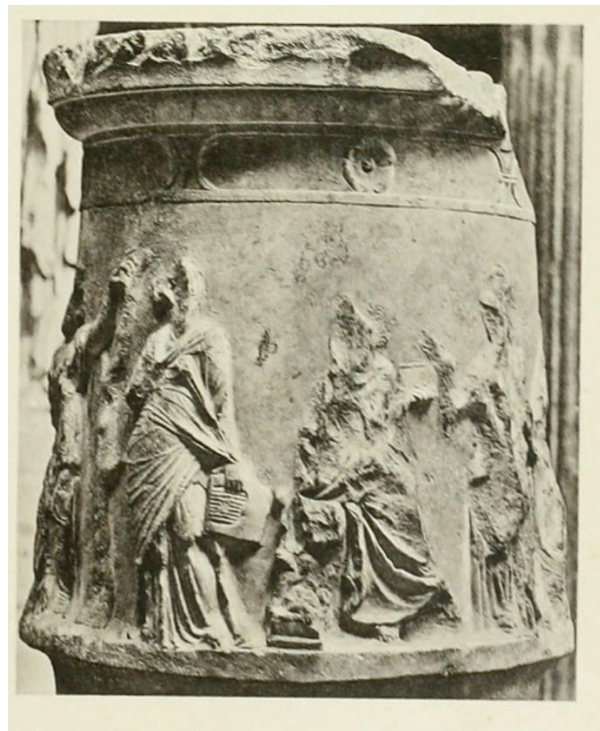


Figure 4.8b The muse with kithara (centre left) from the Altar of Halicarnassus

(Cat no.56).

The similarity between bodies of the Menodotus statue and the Halicarnassus figure is highlighted by these main differences, but it seems logical that the reference to the earlier relief or an unknown statue version is intended in the portrait. The importance

and influence of the monuments of Halicarnassus once again appear to be exerting their presence on a later Roman period portrait of neighbouring Aphrodisias. The reference to the muse, rather than being to a particular woman of elite status, such as Artemisia, is present here to lend an artistic, musical or intellectual association. But it also highlights the copying and use of distant and not-so-distant statues, such as is frequently seen in imperial examples across the Greek East,⁶⁹¹ in order to make an association of meaning or virtue. Muse bodies were clearly frequently copied in relief and statue form from a recognised original, widely known group.⁶⁹² But in this instance, the specific and reserved body type used here seems to have a very localised and deliberate connection.

The lack of kithara is in keeping with the appropriate use of attributes. As we saw above in Chapter 1.24, the restraint and self-discipline necessitated by the very exposed public nature of female honorific portraits meant that the inclusion of a musical instrument would have been indecent and inappropriate. The wives and daughters of the elite might sing or play instruments within the ‘private’ spaces of the home, whether in Rome or the Greek East, where the audience was intimate, restricted and controlled by senior members of the household. As we saw, this quality might be celebrated on domestic reliefs in portrait form by including musical instruments or other objects. In public, the playing of instruments carried connotations of the concubine or actor. In the context of the *oikos*, such an attribute reflected the more personal aspect of a woman that might be glimpsed by the immediate family and visitors to the home, even emphasising desirable domestic skills of the well-educated and ideal wife. But it also highlights the vast difference between the public and private use of female portrait forms, and the strict display codes to which public portraits were subjected. In public, attributes were of a more abstract or religious nature, signifying a broad range of generic female qualities of beauty, fertility, piety or domesticity. In private, they could reflect more personalised aspects of the private woman. In this way, the Menodotus figure treads a fine line between the personal and private female spheres. The clearly intended reference to intellectual or artistic skills is muted and steeped in the traditional and conservative forms of gender deemed acceptable for public consumption. Even images of the poet Sappho, who might

⁶⁹¹ Lenaghan (2008) 50.

⁶⁹² Palagia (1997) 70.

otherwise be considered a suitable model for the portrait of a musician, female intellectual or thinker, were subject to the conventions of female portraiture. Of the few images of her that survive, the most common form where she is accompanied by an instrument or reference to her skill are in the intimate setting of vase paintings, such as an early example from 480 BC (*Figure 4.9*). In this depiction, in all other respects she is portrayed in a traditional and decorous way. In her hand is the instrument of her craft.



Figure 4.9 Sappho and Alcaeus, red-clay figure vase. (Cat no.57).

The base of Statue 85 is inscribed with the name of the sculptor, which translates as:

“Menodotos, son of [..?..]machos, grandson of Menodotos, made (this).”⁶⁹³

Smith notes that the style of lettering and comparison with other dedications in the city helps to date it to the late first, early second century AD. Such a date confirms, if accurate, that it could not have been originally commissioned to be part of the display of the Agora Gate which was constructed later. It is tempting to link the statue with a

⁶⁹³ Smith (2006) 204.

posthumous inscription found at the gate to a certain Ammia, daughter of Zenon,⁶⁹⁴ and infer that the demure modesty of the figure is in part due to her deceased status, but this link with the inscription is not secure so cannot be safely made.

The facts that the statue is a unique adaptation rather than a strict copy of a known type and carries a signature indicate that it was deliberately designed to look the way it does and was a monument of some prestige and status. With regard to the lack of sexual reference (or, it might be argued, enhanced focus on the lack of it), there is no obvious reason why this should be the case, but it is clearly a major factor included for a reason and requiring interpretation. In a city where there was such a strong visual reference to motherhood and elevated status in female portrait statues, it is possible that Statue 85 represented an exemplary wife and daughter perhaps, as discussed above, with muse-like personal qualities known to her family, or was even a poet or a gifted musician, but with some important aspect of otherness or difference. Perhaps she may have had no children herself, or may have died before providing her husband with children, or even dying as a result of childbirth, and therefore visual reference to this essential role of an Aphrodisian wife is deliberately withheld from her representation. The veiled head, although an indication in other portraits of a priestess, may or may not be present here as an indicator of grief. As we have seen repeatedly, the ambiguous use of the covered head could be interpreted in many ways,⁶⁹⁵ sometimes erroneously, but it is certainly an unusual addition to the arm-sling/ muse type usually associated with civic, public contexts. Grief when accompanied by the veil is occasionally expressed by the raised hand to the face, but that might make inappropriate reference to the Pudicitia type and her meaning, and would begin to unravel strict adherence to the sling format. In all other respects, this is an image of unusually submissive traditional feminine modesty and restraint for its time. When compared with powerfully confident contemporary female statues such as Statue 89, above, Statue 85 is strikingly restrained, as though dismissing the latest innovations in female portraiture in favour of antique traditional iconography and an almost neutering effect.

⁶⁹⁴ Smith (2006) H226, 93.

⁶⁹⁵ Llewelyn-Jones (2003) 85.

The imagery upon which the figure is based is of centuries old Greek heritage, yet, as we have established, this is not a straight forward portrait. Alterations have not been made to indicate social position or political or cultural allegiances as we have seen in other examples, although they are present in the underlying arm-sling iconography. Instead, this is a very insular statue that does not engage with its viewer, and because of this, it does not openly enter into in a dialogue with an audience in the manner of, for example, Claudia Tatiana, who positively calls out to those who encounter her. Instead, despite her lack of sensuality, Statue 85 creates a strange voyeuristic tension between herself and her viewer, as though it is almost inappropriate to look at her. Is she too dignified to look back, or too modest; is she ashamed, is she inward looking? Is she a female poet showing signs of distracted inward contemplation? If so, she is in good company, surrounded as she is by the seated philosopher and male figures bearing the outward signs of their educated status, and this aspect of her representation may be why she was moved to the Agora Gate to take her place amongst intellectuals of the city in the context of the second sophistic.

Even in this city of powerful female portraits, and in a region of the Greek world with a renowned heritage of ruler wives, mothers and famous women of high status and authority, there was no real convention that expressed artistic intellectualism in female form, except arguably this version of the arm-sling format. In some ways, it could be compared with the portrait of Elpinice that we encountered earlier on the Nymphaeum. Such a concept would have been difficult to swallow and defied the ultimate feminine traditional qualities of beauty, sensuality and *aidos* that underpinned the overwhelming majority of female portraits; thinking was an inappropriate, dangerous and unwomanly business, and was considered the domain of men. Therefore no female format existed to truly express any such qualities in a female portrait with emphasis on Greek culture; instead, an adapted, witty and urbane sophistication of the Aischines type is the result. The exception to this is of course the Large Herculaneum Woman body. But its use in this instance would seem rather too 'safe', emphatically Roman and traditional and miss the point. The type is never seen in controversial or potentially dangerous adaptations. Lenaghan argues that the reputation of the Large Herculaneum Woman type as the paradigm of conservative and exemplary female behaviour should be reassessed, because here in the east,

imperial women relied on more open and active formats to express these qualities. However, as Trimble argues,⁶⁹⁶ it is clear that its continued use relied mainly on the interpretation of respectability and female virtues, even of self-contained intellectualism. Instances such as Elpinice from the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus and Statue 85 that eschew the type in favour of more daring formats prove the point that it was not always suitable for more challenging images of intellectual equality or otherness. Messages conveyed in the statue are left entirely to the body; the viewer is forced to scrutinise her form to unpick the enigmatic meaning. And as we have also seen, the concept of the female intellectual as equal was beginning to develop in certain elite environments in the region.

4.3: The Young Togatus Figure

The Menodotus statue has been associated with the young togatus figure (*Figure 4.10*). They were found in close proximity and have been considered a group. Whether this is the case or not, they both share traits of intellectual and educated status, and therefore the portrait of the young male must be addressed in the context of association. If they were intended as a pair, this statue may shed light on meaning conveyed in the female.

The over life-sized portrait is of a youthful male dressed in the costume of a Roman citizen. It is carved from a single block, including the arms and head, from a fine grained marble. It has been allocated dates that extend well into the fifth century, but the most probable is early to mid-second century because of technical details such as the undrilled eyes and fluid style of toga.⁶⁹⁷ He stands in a flamboyant and open pose. The feet, now badly broken, wear the soft leather *calcei* of the upper classes. The left knee is bent and the left heel would probably have been raised from the ground to create fluid movement reflected in the drapery. The toga is unusually draped, but stylistically is more contemporary to the second century, although Hannestad claims a later date and attempts a comparison based on a fifth century diptych of a poet and muse. But he concedes that the style is at least based on early imperial models.⁶⁹⁸ It is

⁶⁹⁶ Trimble (2011) 6.

⁶⁹⁷ Smith (2006) 111.

⁶⁹⁸ Hannestad (2012) 84-85.

unbelted and voluminous, draping from the right foot, up over the left shoulder and continuing down the left arm to the lower wrist. There is a large, thick swag of drapery that loops the left shoulder, continues across the chest and abdomen, under the extended right arm and following the line of the upper arm before going round the back of the figure.

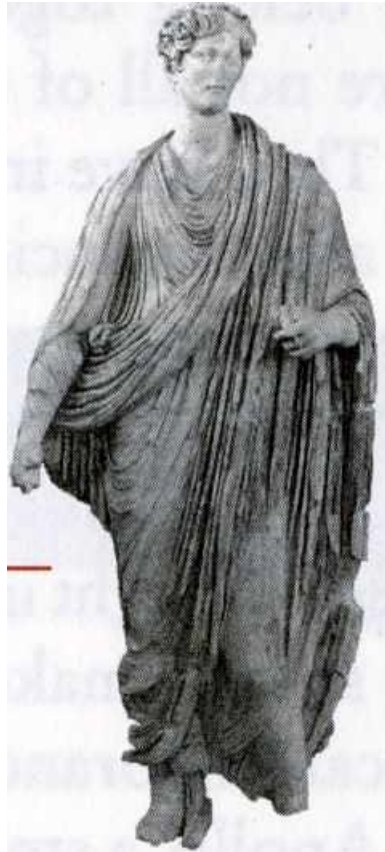


Figure 4.10 Young togatus male (Cat no.58).

Damage suffered to the surface has removed some details of texture, but enough remains to show the high quality of carving and attention to detail. The drapery appears to cling to the legs and right hip, intensifying the sense of swagger of the figure. Deep ridges of the garment that fall from the left shoulder to between the legs creates a realistic feel to the garment. But the looped material between the right hip and wrist that stands proud of the body makes a clumsy shape that somewhat breaks this fluid sense of realism. The toga, broken off under the right arm, stands out from

the figure under each arm in an arc of cloth, as though to add bulk and frame the body.

At the inner right elbow is a little loop redolent of earlier Augustan togas that have a similar if much larger detail extending from a tuck at the waist. The left arm is extended but held inward to the body. The damaged hand with large ring on the middle finger is curved around a broken object, most likely to have been a scroll, and indicating the intellectual status of the youth. The right hand, extended downward with fingers curled inwards but broken off, was most likely making 'a restrained gesture of public-address',⁶⁹⁹ but this is a remarkable pose that makes an important statement regarding the unusual status of the young man. These combined hand gestures of simultaneous containment and address are significant, identifying that he is a product of the two worlds that he inhabited. To the Greek elite, the hands were all-important indicators of status and 'action' in adult males. Youths in particular were expected to keep their hands contained 'within their garments'.⁷⁰⁰ Yet here is a young man in a toga with his hands held lightly by his side, but without making the elevated adult male Roman-style arm gesture of address. In this instance, it is more redolent of female figures who generally extend from the elbow only. The toga in this Greek context as worn by a youth may well account for the unusual restraint yet engaged and visible arms and hands. It is a deliberately intended gesture appropriate to a male wearing a toga, yet with Greek restraint expected in a youth or women, and shows a fusion of urbane sophistication inspired from Greek and Roman behaviour.

Below the toga is a richly folded tunic that falls at the neck in an elegant V-shape. The back of the statue is largely unfinished. Except for some deep and rough ridges carved into the drapery over the back, it is quite flat and featureless, indicating the intention to display the statue in a frontal context against a background. The head is placed on a smooth, slender neck, and faces left. It shows unmistakeable portrait features in the oval face and long chin, small neat mouth and soft shaping of the cheeks, and fleshy sides of the mouth. The large prominent oval eyes have deep indented tear ducts, and the eyes continue to bulge out beneath the lower lids. There is significant damage to the nose, left eye and brows. The right brow shows a high arch and some hairs are

⁶⁹⁹ Smith (2006) 111.

⁷⁰⁰ Bremmer (1991) 22.

picked out where the brow meets the nose. The hair is made up of two layers of unusual locks, deeply drilled and carved in a tousled mass of curves and coils. It is swept forward over the brow and curls delicately at the sides of the cheeks and over the finely shaped ears. At the back of the head, the hair is not carved at all, leaving a smooth dome that would have not been visible from the front. The hair continues down the nape in stylised lightly carved curls. These are more detailed on the right side because the tilt of the head made them more visible. The gaze is outward and direct. The youth openly engages with his onlookers, epitomizing a proper upbringing and education and worldly presence.

The figure stands in a variant of the togate format, similar in style to other males of the city. But instead of the more restrained version adopted by older men, this young man is portrayed in a lively and dynamic way. He is too young to hold public office, and instead relies on the most important element of his public persona; that of being a Roman citizen. Smith notes that togate statues were unusual in the Greek East at this time, and the costume choice was sometimes used to add variety in a group setting, and in this context was used to distinguish the youth from his peers.⁷⁰¹ This argument does not convince. We cannot be sure of the original display context of this statue, as like Statue 85, it was also believed to have been moved here at a later date. But it is unlikely that variety alone is the reason for the costume choice. The relationship with Rome was a strong and significant one at this time, and the world the youth would inhabit was predominantly and fundamentally tied up with Roman politics and interaction. He wears this costume proudly symbolising his affiliation and the probable direction of his future fortunes.

In his study of a first century group of male figures from the Bouleuterion, Hallett addresses the importance of costume choice for the statue of a male youth with no apparent public role. According to his argument, decisions to deviate from the expected chlamys, the ‘garment of action’ associated with youthful male portraits of the Greek East, were not made to produce variety and aesthetic difference, but instead

⁷⁰¹ Smith (2006) 111.

were made to express a ‘broad cultural preference’.⁷⁰² In this case, that is the link with Rome that takes precedence over other factors of representation.

As noted above, statue 85 was found alongside the togate youth, and on grounds of find-site, finish and scale, Smith is tempted to place them together as a couple; as brother and sister, husband and wife, or even mother and son.⁷⁰³ This association joins the pair through familial relationship alone. This theory is convenient, but must be tested. The figures bear many aesthetic similarities. As well as the height and scale, they share the same featureless back indicating frontal display. Both are upright and column-like when viewed from the side, with the exception of the slight forward lean of the togatus that lends to his appeal to viewers that contrasts with the solid, upright and triangular form of the female and her remote appearance.

It is the marked differences that cast doubt on a relationship between the two figures. They are carved from different types of marble; the female statue is of a coarser grain than the male, which is carved from a fine grained marble more usually associated with portrait busts.⁷⁰⁴ In other securely identified statue portrait groups from across the city, the same or similar marble type is often used for each statue.⁷⁰⁵ Both portraits are adaptations of traditional body types that are not usually placed together; the female of antique Hellenistic origin, and the male a contemporary dynamic Roman version of a civic type. Yet Hannestad notes that togate figures in similar formats have been associated with muses.⁷⁰⁶ We have already noted the muse references in the Menodotus portrait. The biggest differences, however, are in the contrasting poses and effect in the two statues. The male moves forward in an open and engaging manner, the turning head redolent of Hellenistic leaders and yet distinctly worldly; the female, as we saw above, is detached, inward-looking and remote. If the couple were originally intended as a pair, this contrast is deeply divisive. Couples and groups that can be securely identified from Aphrodisias as belonging together generally interact in some way.⁷⁰⁷ The sarcophagus discussed in Chapter 3.11 clearly shows the female

⁷⁰² Hallett (1998) 79.

⁷⁰³ Smith (2006) 60.

⁷⁰⁴ Smith (2006) 108, and 204.

⁷⁰⁵ Hallett (1998) 61. The group from the Bouleuterion, and also the statues of Claudia Tatiana (coarse-medium grained marble) and Dometeinos (medium grained marble), Smith (2006) 170, 216.

⁷⁰⁶ Hannestad (2012) 86-89.

⁷⁰⁷ Hannestad (2012) 85.

in the Large Herculaneum woman type turning toward the male in the related local version of the sling format costume. They are related by scale, height, interaction but also, significantly, by costume.

There are, however, notable exceptions to this argument. As we saw above in Chapter 3.11, Claudia Tatiana and her uncle from the Bouleuterion do not follow the trend of associated body types or costume; his body is closed and reserved and adheres closely to the rules of his chosen body format, the local and widely copied version of the Aischines type, hers is in the dynamic but unique adaptation of the Artemisia-Delphi type. Despite this fundamental difference in body type choice, both figures are still closely interrelated by head turn, scale, technical finish and Severan-style portrait features and hair. In his discussion of the earlier Bouleuterion group of male portrait statues, despite a variety of costume choices, Hallett also notes the close interaction of poses that mirror each other and help to visually consolidate the group.⁷⁰⁸ Yet with statue 85 and the young togatus, the contrasts in pose and complete lack of apparent interaction seem too striking to intend any similarities or relationship. Even if the pair are placed side by side (*Figure 4.11*), they do not seem to communicate on any level. Her total lack of movement and self-containment bears no relation to his dynamism and outward appeal. They are both facing the same way, and cannot turn towards each other, whichever way round they are positioned. The bent legs are the same and do not mirror each other. As we saw, she has apparently chosen to totally eschew all Roman contemporary portrait trends; he has chosen to embrace them.

⁷⁰⁸ Hallett (1998) 71.

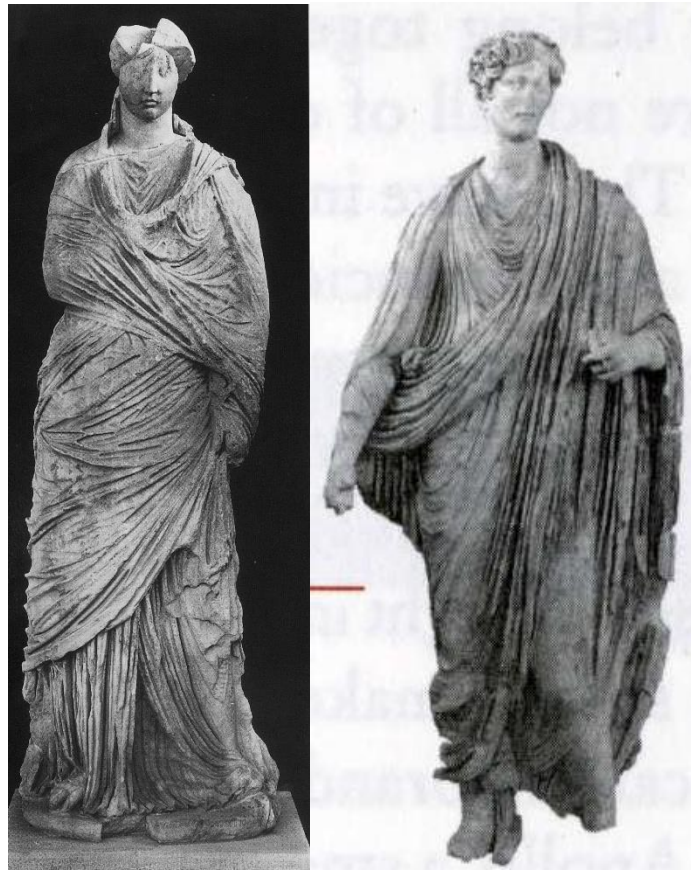


Figure 4.11 Statue 85 and the togatus youth placed together.

There is only one major aspect that unites these two, and that is the theme of the intellectual. As I argued, the female portrait is largely tied up with this facet of representation. The arm-sling type, dating back to the civic and public style of the Aischines figure, and the over-layering of the muse attributes, and the contemplative aura emphasise this aspect. One hand of the male presents his scrolls to the onlooker while the other gestures as though he is making a speech; perhaps he is engaged in an intellectual debate of some kind, or reference is made to an expectation of public office. Therefore, whatever the original context of these portrait statues, because of these disparate features, I conclude that they were never intended as a group, but were brought to the Agora Gate to take their place beside other intellectuals or thinkers of the city. As we saw, bringing together muse-types and intellectuals was an established convention.

4.4: The Himation Figures

There are remains of six other male portrait statues found at the Agora Gate. All wear versions of the himation. With the exception of the second century seated philosopher type who is bare chested,⁷⁰⁹ all wear very similar restrained versions of the chiton and himation, the ubiquitous costume of the urbane Greek male citizen, in the arm sling format. Of those whose feet survive, they are planted firmly apart on the ground and wear typical open toe footwear of all three sandal-types.⁷¹⁰ The result is very rigid, solid full frontal statues. Dates of first-second century are attributed to each, and it is not clear if they were originally intended to be placed here or this is, in some cases, a secondary location. None demonstrate what Smith describes as an ‘Antonine’ technique.⁷¹¹ Of special interest are two statues that appear to belong together; Smith is tempted to identify them as brothers.⁷¹² As well as being of very similar appearance, pose and technical execution, they are closely linked by an inscribed base attributed to them and identifying the pair as ‘Adrastos and Hierokles sons of Hierokles’ (inscription catalogue no. H50, 103). If they were indeed brothers, this is a useful example that highlights visual similitude in male portraits in order to closely associate figures in a group, and supports arguments in other cases drawing the same conclusion of association where an inscription is lacking or never existed, as is most often the case. The same technique of aesthetic similitude to form a visual connection could also be used to associate female figures in a group, as we saw above with Faustina and Regilla from the Nymphaeum in Olympia.

Without question, the male portraits represented local elite honorands. In the case of the brothers, like the young togatus, they were too young to hold public office and were honoured for their ‘noble character’.⁷¹³ Why they all wear the chiton and himation instead of the toga is, as Hallett notes, an expression of broader cultural concerns. Competition and rivalry existed on a local level as well as with Rome and the wider world. Preference of costume does not here denote mere variation or indeed association through similarity, though of course the juxtaposition of affiliation and distinction are ever present factors of representation. Nor does it necessarily reflect

⁷⁰⁹ Smith (2006) 150.

⁷¹⁰ Smith (2006) 153.

⁷¹¹ Smith (2006) 60.

⁷¹² Smith (2006) 184.

⁷¹³ Smith (2006) 184.

the zeitgeist of the second sophistic that may have begun to emerge after the dates proposed for some of these statues. Rather, it reflects civic interest and competition between the residents of the city, and expresses pride in the city itself. Some of the portraits have been identified as priests, others as benefactors. But all have chosen to make the same association with Greek civic and public life.



Figure 4.12 Statue 86/ 202. (Cat no.59).

4.5: A Long Lost Sister?

Statue 86/ 202 (*Figure 4.12*) is the over life sized portrait of a woman in a restrained arm-sling format also found in the vicinity of the Agora Gate.⁷¹⁴ It is badly fragmented and damaged, and much of the detail has been lost. Piecing suggests an early imperial date,⁷¹⁵ as does the technical style of the statue from the surviving fragments. She stands with the weight on the left leg, and the right knee is bent and appears to trail slightly. The feet and end of the chiton are missing. The himation covers the garment beneath, ending at the lower legs in an uneven inverted gentle V-shape. The delicate chiton that emerges beneath is crinkled and realistically carved. Below the waist at the significant break, the thicker himation falls in soft vertical folds; on the left it shapes the left thigh and leg, the right leg is not shaped at all. This creates a sense of solid stillness to the figure. The body is substantial and full, but the trailing leg does not create much, if any, sense of feminine swagger. Above the waist, the left arm is largely missing, but it is likely to have been held down by the side. The right arm is held closely across the chest. Unlike the Menodotus figure, the right knee and left breast protrude a little through the material. Below the breast is a soft over-fold of material that, as Smith notes, bears some resemblance to that of the statue of Livia from the Sebasteion.⁷¹⁶ However, this is where the similarity ends between the two figures; the Tiberian statue of Livia as Julia Sebaste Hera is voluptuous and sexual (*Figure 4.13*).⁷¹⁷ This unusual portrait of Livia created after the death of the princeps complies with the local trend of visual similarity. It compares closely with other portraits in a similar pose, all in Western Asia Minor.⁷¹⁸ The drapery clings tightly to the thighs and buttocks, the breasts are prominent and large, the belly pushes through the drapery (a detail more fully appreciated if the statue is viewed from the side); the wide body has a defined swagger and sense of movement. That is not the case with Statue 86. The drapery under the right arm is carved in complicated horizontal folds. Like Statue 85, above, the back of the portrait is scarcely carved and indicates a frontal display context. It also reveals the lack of feminine sensuality. The

⁷¹⁴ Smith (2008) 230-231.

⁷¹⁵ Smith (2006) 206.

⁷¹⁶ Smith (2006) 206.

⁷¹⁷ Lenaghan (2008) 39-50. The inscription reads, 'Julia Augusta, daughter of Augustus, Hera' which complies with a portrait of Augustus as Zeus (49).

⁷¹⁸ Lenaghan (2008) 50.

side view emphasises the column-like upright shape of the statue. Just as the Menodotus figure, the body is restrained and fails to engage.

The head is veiled and looks demurely down and to the left. The hair that emerges from beneath is styled in a traditional, Hellenistic swept back fashion. There is substantial damage to the head and face, the surface of the left side is almost completely worn away, but enough survives on the right to show an idealised 'not-portrait' face, in that the face is intended to represent a portrait, but in the by-now familiar ideal beauty, devoid of individualising or recognisable features. The oval shape bears no sign of age, and the remains of the eye and mouth are expressionless.

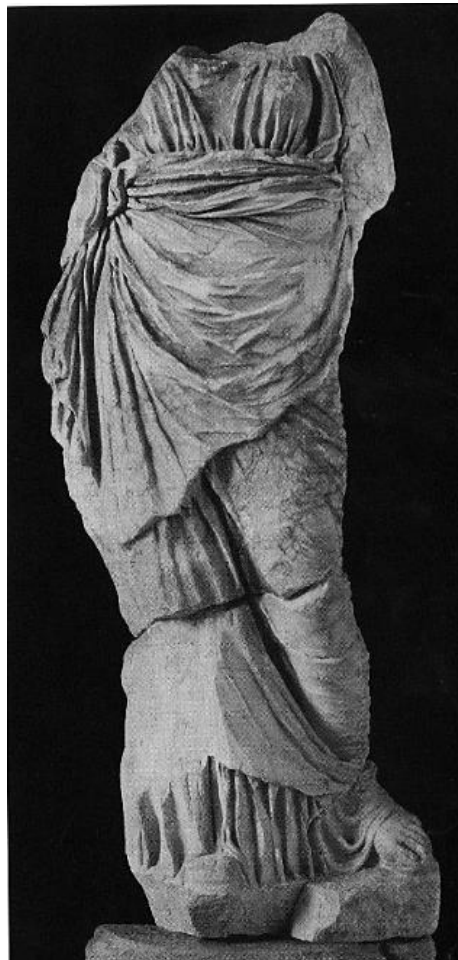


Figure 4.13 Statue of Julia Augusta (Livia) (Cat no.60).⁷¹⁹

⁷¹⁹ Smith (206) 197, Bartman (1999) 210.

Dillon notes the demure, apparently traditional iconography of the portrait,⁷²⁰ with elements inspired by the Pudicitia and Large Herculaneum Woman types. There are, however, notable departures from the usual features of these formats; the Pudicitia type has the right arm across the body and the left hand directed towards the face or veil. The Large Herculaneum Woman mirrors elements of the stance of the body and head tilt, but with the obvious omission of the V-shaped drapery motif. Both Smith and Dillon note the comparison with arm-sling body types popular in the west during the first century AD and typified by Eumachia from Pompeii,⁷²¹ and Smith further notes affinities with a statue of Agrippina the Elder from Velleia in northern Italy. There are many similarities between these statues (*Figure 4.14*), and it is instructive to compare them. All are identified as first century portraits. They share elements of the basic arm sling type; in each case, the right leg is bent and the foot trails behind. The shape of the leg and knee is clearly defined through the material. The drapery that begins at the left foot crosses the legs diagonally, disappearing behind a length of material and draping over the left shoulder. Below the left arm, in each case there is, or was, a substantial hang of material that ends beside the lower left leg. The right arm is restrained over the chest. Each woman is veiled.

There are differences. Where Agrippina's arm is covered beneath a swathe of drapery, Eumachia grasps a bundle of the material; for both, the material continues over the lowered left arm. For Statue 86 as noted, the material is bunched between the left breast and arm, as it is with the early first century statue of Livia from the Sebasteion, above (*Figure 4.13*). Agrippina and Eumachia's body are revealed in sensual detail. The drapery that crosses the body moulds to shape the contours of the pubic area. The right thigh is discernible in each. The breast of Agrippina is small but apparent through the large swag; for Eumachia, the drapery has deliberately been moved aside to create a frame so that the small breast may be more clearly seen. They are both slim bodied, in contrast with the large proportions of Statue 86. She is too heavily draped for the body to push through sufficiently to reveal such detail, and as a result appears far less sexual. The two western statues also show movement and swagger, the Aphrodisian figure is instead column-like, static and bulky.

⁷²⁰ Dillon (2010) 150.

⁷²¹ Dillon (2010) 150, Smith (2006) 206.



Figure 4.14 Comparison of Agrippina the Elder from Velleia, Eumachia from Pompeii and Statue 86 (Cat no. 61).

The Agrippina statue has an individualised portrait head and snail shell hairstyle. The face looks straight out. That of Eumachia is more traditional in style; the hair is the age-old swept back style, the face an ideal and beautiful portrait that tilts slightly down and demurely away to her left. Statue 86 shares the traditional hair and face, but the head is so tilted that if the gaze is followed, she almost looks to the ground. The contrasting gazes in each statue deeply affects the impact on the viewer. The direct gaze of Agrippina asserts a confidence and engagement with onlookers that the others lack.

It must be concluded that Statue 86, whilst appearing at first glance to have adopted a traditional Greek format body, has actually selected a Roman version of a type and made modifications and changes to create a deliberate contrast, and thereby creating a strong statement of identity. Yet another example of Aphrodisian ‘creative adaptation’. Had the patron wished to associate themselves with Roman culture

without qualification, there is every reason to suppose that they would have simply copied the format more closely, as with other examples we have examined so far. But the differences are too marked. The variations made have created a figure of much more subdued, withdrawn and solid appearance. Like Statue 85, Statue 86 is conservative and withdrawn in the extreme. The swathes of thickly wrapped drapery, muted sexuality and full body combine with the downcast head to create an image of remote restraint and reserve, and an inward-focus rather than an outward appeal.⁷²² As with Statue 85, the deliberate alterations to the arm-sling format point to something more than a mere civic figure. The fragmentary state, missing body parts and possible missing attributes mean that a satisfactory understanding of this figure cannot be fully realised, but an attempt can be made to interpret her meaning through her presence in the Agora Gate and association with her fellow portraits.

It has been suggested that Statues 85 and 86 belong together.⁷²³ It is an interesting proposition, and one worthy of consideration. Certainly, there are more similarities between the two portraits than with other possible groupings so far suggested (See comparison. *Figure 4.15*). The rich and abundantly full and detailed drapery, the tightly closed and introverted body pose, lack of suggestive sexuality, sense of solid presence, head-tilt and aloofness of these statues is comparable, as is the technical skill and quality of carving in each case, despite the very poor preservation of Statue 86. Each is a unique piece of work inspired from well-known local or distant models, but without direct comparison. Both are over life size, carved from medium to coarse grained marble, and have similar adherence to portrait hair, head and facial features. Find-site also unites the pair. Like Statues 89 and 90 considered in the last chapter, which are more securely identifiable as a pair, opposing legs are bent and the poses mirror each other, creating a close visual association. Like the earlier portraits, no inscription links them.

It seems logical to deduce that the theme running through other figures in the Gate complex can be applied here, and that is that Statue 86 is also a female intellectual. Admittedly, if considered independently from the other statuary, this is not a conclusion that would otherwise be reached. However, she is part of the group, and as

⁷²² See Chapter 1.13.

⁷²³ Smith (2006) 206.

such, it seems just as likely that the arm-sling civic and intellectual backdrop and contemplative mood of this portrait statue is what brought her here to take her place amongst her peers. It is also reasonable to surmise that both statues were once displayed together in another location before being moved to their new home. I do not suggest that the same artist is responsible for the two statues, but it is a possibility that they started life intended as a pair, or one being carved to complement the other, and perhaps displayed like the mother and daughter group from the South Agora. If we went a step further, it could be argued that the two were of equal familial status. They are both veiled and appropriately attired as exemplary matrons. Were they sisters, or were they simply related by their intellectual status?



Figure 4.15 Comparison of Statues 85 and 86 from the Agora Gate.

Finally, one major point of difference between these two statues must be addressed, and that is why the patron of Statue 86 chose a popular western version of the arm-sling format rather than a well-known Greek eastern one like Statue 85. Both are popular variants of the type, but from great distances across the empire. It would seem that Statue 85, rather than a deliberate attempt to eschew Roman trends, has simply chosen a local variant better attuned to drawing attention to the different nuances of meaning.

However, the very close or exact replication of body types was itself a Roman innovation in portraiture;⁷²⁴ adopting and altering recognised and pre-existing body formats was not. Greek portraiture in the west and east had a long established tradition of using similar body types that preceded Roman replication by centuries. As Dillon and others note, and as we saw in Chapter 1.15-1.22, Classical and Hellenistic period female portrait statues could already be roughly grouped into select categories of body formats.⁷²⁵ And as we also observed in the first chapter, these types formed the basis of portraits of Roman women well into the republican and imperial periods that stayed faithful to ancient iconography. Statue 86 has chosen to make the affiliation with Rome through the adaptation of a western, Roman arm-sling variant, but overlays fuller, more substantial proportions and a restrained aspect similar to contemporary local female bodies, thus adding an even deeper layer to the type. Statue 85 makes few variations to a local variant, but removes virtually all sexual reference, the ‘addition’ of which adds deliberate difference; a recognisably Roman technique. Therefore, each has chosen via different models to continue a dialogue with Rome, but through the same vehicle of the arm-sling type.

Summary

This chapter has attempted to deal with two female portraits that at first glance turned their backs on Roman innovations in female portraiture in the first-second century. Little or no supporting evidence survives to add background or context to the pair with the exception of their presence in the portrait statue group of the Agora Gate. Yet

⁷²⁴ Trimble (2011) 2.

⁷²⁵ Dillon (2011) 68-91.

this architectural setting and the close iconographic study of the statues themselves and their co-residents has proved sufficient to enable an interpretation. By doing so, we have been able to challenge former interpretations that have dismissed them as merely traditional and feminine.

The comparison with the sculpture from the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus at Olympia highlights the emergence of elite non-imperial women in prominent and powerful display contexts in typically Roman style settings in the provincial Greek East in the second century, and the many visual techniques, such as display context, replication and association, that represented them as equal to male family members and individuals of the imperial household. As we saw in earlier chapters, female portraits in Aphrodisias were already expressing an elevated sense of power and authority on their own terms. This was achieved in part through the example being set by relief and statue portraits of imperial wives and mothers. By displaying elite women and men in the same architectural settings, and the visual connections and messages generated by their appearing side by side on equal footing in complex relationships, the Nymphaeum provides a much more complete view of changes in social attitude that were partly the instigation for changing styles of representation. A consideration of function and theme in the Nymphaeum also contributes to a deeper understanding of why the two Aphrodisian portrait statues were brought into the context of the Agora Gate complex from their unknown original location. They existed as portraits of intellectual women of status prior to the second sophistic at a time when there was no suitable vehicle for females in these circumstances, as poets or thinkers, other than the ultra-respectable Large Herculaneum Woman type, but were perfectly placed to move to this new site, built as it was at the height of the Greek intellectual revival movement.

Statues 85 and 86 are both severely restrained and in many ways traditional, but with significant adaptations to their chosen body formats, deliberately intended to create dramatic new meanings of introspection and feminine intellectualism. Statue 85, although seeming to eschew Roman influence altogether, has nevertheless let slip a dialogue with Rome by demonstrating a sophisticated understanding of Roman-style semantics, replication and adaptation as modes of transmitting meaning; Statue 86 takes her lead from widely known western versions of the arm-sling format to make a

similar statement. The statues that surround the women support the theme of the intellectual. Despite this quality not being mentioned in any surviving inscriptions of the Nymphaeum, a visual connection between Greek and Roman cultural intellectual status is made through body, costume choice and visual similarities; in the Agora Gate where no such inscription survives, the same connections are made by the secondary use of the statues brought here, united by this theme. The seated philosopher, the young togatus and the army of himation figures and priests all attest to this connection. Just as with the Nymphaeum, there is more than one reason for the construction type and figurative grouping; but the theme of the Greek intellectual in a Roman setting is a prominent one, and by including the female portraits, groundbreaking.

Conclusion

This thesis is the first study of a group of honorary portrait reliefs and statues from a particular city based primarily on matters of iconography, gender and gender-related issues and display. The material itself is unsurpassed in terms of quality, artistic innovation and variety,⁷²⁶ as well as contextual background, yet to date it has not received sufficient attention. Portraits of males are more straightforward to interpret and have been studied in much greater depth. They rely on the costume of office to assist in relaying meaning; those of women are more abstract and ambiguous, and have only relatively recently started being studied in their own right. Women in the Greek and Roman world were subject to very different codes of behaviour to men, and were viewed as one homogenous social group. As a result, their portraits reflected more complex and abstract messages. This difficulty of interpretation, combined with a hierarchical approach to the study of ancient portraits that has only been challenged in the last few years, has meant that important groups such as these have been overlooked or their significance not properly understood. Circumstances that converged on Aphrodisias during the early imperial period resulted in some of the most diverse and sophisticated portraits seen anywhere in the ancient world, and this is sufficient reason alone for a detailed study.

Most often, the female portrait sculpture of Aphrodisias is only really referred to as part of a larger study, or is glanced over as typically traditional and conservative, with little attention paid to the highly innovative and problematic nature of the evidence. The portraits show originality of design and much thought has clearly been put into how they looked and the sense of difference they express. The finished product is therefore capable of revealing the mentality and values of patrons and how they interpreted their world, and crucially, this included women themselves. Evidence of their contemporary views in literary form is rare indeed, and was written by elite males or was confined to short inscriptions; and although men may have been involved in shaping the final portraits, we can nevertheless discern something of what women felt was important enough to be reflected in their public sculpture. There is every reason to believe that women as powerful patrons and benefactors exercised

⁷²⁶ Erim (1986) 133.

some control over their images.⁷²⁷ Although imperial females in Rome had much less control over how they were represented in the distant eastern city, local elite women were certainly in a position to control their own. Even though created through the existing traditions and vocabulary of established portrait convention, the results expressed a very specific sense of the self and their position within society.

My methodology has been to scrutinise the iconography of the portraits in close detail, starting with a reconsideration of the development of ancient portraiture in order to take a more holistic view across both genders. Whether through unquestioned hierarchical or previously accepted methods of study, former approaches have grouped male and female separately. But my approach provides a much wider scope for interpreting how values crossed over boundaries or were adapted by the opposite sex as social circumstances changed, especially for women. It also shows how portraits of both sexes were never perfectly segregated. As we have seen, interplay of both the masculine and feminine sphere is present in most portraits to a greater or lesser degree, as well as gender-ambiguous posture and position in relation to other figures. Furthermore, portraits of males and females did not evolve independently from each other, and influence was a two-way process. As well as the fluid nature of gender, representations of individuals of either sex interacted in display contexts. Reasons for honouring individuals also changed, and those once the preserve of males came to include women, particularly where public duty was concerned.

My approach considers that every single aspect of an image, whether a copy of a widely-known type, a contemporary or ancient reference, or something entirely new, and the addition of attributes or supports and costume and finish have all been added for their contribution to the overall meaning. Considering my underlying hypothesis that every aspect is significant has also required a deconstruction of the portraits in order to step back and examine other factors such as gesture, choice of type and the role of gender and also theories of how these are used in a portrait contexts. In this way, the outstretched arm, hands gripping drapery and objects, right or left side, regions of the body considered masculine or feminine, all contribute to a much richer interpretation of what were highly prized and expensive public monuments.

⁷²⁷ Wood (2001) 20.

Comparison with other artworks from nearby or across the empire also provides invaluable insight into interpretation. Other factors such as inscriptions or display are useful, but ultimately the images themselves contain meaning not expressed elsewhere. Dillon and others have approached material of this kind differently, choosing instead to put as much emphasis on display and inscribed evidence as the statue itself. Whilst such an approach provides a wider contextual narrative, I have chosen instead to make close study of the iconography, along with an artistic and art-historical approach of the statues themselves, the central basis of this thesis. By doing so, it has been possible to interpret the meaning of portraits and make comparisons locally and further afield to determine exactly what message the subject was attempting to convey, and what cultural, political or social factors are detectable and why.

Portraits engaged in a visual dialogue and connections in a network across cities or provinces that do not appear in epigraphic or other forms of evidence. As Lenaghan observes with the statue of Claudia Tatiana, the conservative modesty expressed in the inscription that accompanies it does not reflect the sexuality, confidence and open nature of the portrait itself.⁷²⁸ As such, studying appearance alone is a valid and satisfying exercise. As well as examining the portrait sculpture itself, and the political situation of Aphrodisias, her artists and their background and ability, I also looked in depth at what it can reveal about how women were reflecting social change and interpreting the images of other females from their own region and distant Rome. Here in the Greek East, women had a different heritage to draw from. As well as a culture of 'realism' and insight into individual personality that began with the portraiture of Mausolos and his court centuries before in nearby Halicarnassus, it included sculpture of queens and elite women and an existing culture of honorific female portraiture absent from Rome, and in the case of Aphrodisias, a complex relationship with the patron goddess, Aphrodite.

Of profound importance was the significance and impact of the overall body in the portrait, especially in early Greek types and in early to mid-imperial Aphrodisias itself. In contrast to later Roman portraits, the body might carry more meaning than the head, which might, especially in the case of female portraits, be idealised. In

⁷²⁸ Lenaghan (2008) 92.

addition, copying, repetition and emulation all became significant factors. We also saw that the portrait statues of women behaved very differently in the public sphere. Especially in Classical and Hellenistic Greece, women were viewed as a homogenous group and subject to restrictions of behaviour and visibility. Thus their portraits were subjected to much more rigorous rules of display in public spaces of towns and cities and as a result demonstrated more abstract values of respectability, beauty, marriageability or correct education (provided to highlight status and reflect back on male relatives). Because of the inappropriateness of an elite 'real woman' being seen in public, their faces were 'hidden' behind an idealised mask of beauty that remained unchanged for centuries.

Such early feminine values could not be expressed through recognisable costumes as they could be for men, but through signals expressed through intricate and ambiguous layering of drapery, posture and gesture. Male portraits, free from such restraints, displayed politically and socially active roles in the world through the uniform of office or the stance of the orator or thinker. Unlike the situation in Greece and the East where they were already an established phenomenon, under the republic, honorary portraits of women were very rare in the Roman world. Later, towards the end of the period and as the imperial system emerged, this situation changed and influence for female portraits in the west came predominantly from Greek examples.

Chapter One explored what constituted a portrait. The ancient portrait was very different to modern ideas on the subject. It was based on the intention of the artist and patron to produce an object that 'represented, replaced or duplicated' the subject; later with the addition of 'psychological depth'.⁷²⁹ Far from meaning that a portrait had to look like someone, this meant that it had to express something of their personality. But even this was not straight forward, for in ancient terms this was intended to show what *type* of person the subject was; thinker, philosopher, general, man of action, man of contemplation, respectable female. As well as this was an interest in expressing civic identity rather than individual merit, as seen in Myron's discus thrower, which was an intended portrait, but with the actual physical appearance of the man suppressed in favour of the perfect idealisation of the citizen.

⁷²⁹ Chapter 1.1.

The portraits of women, although also developing as types, were not represented in public roles of office except in the case of priestesses, and this makes them more problematic to interpret. As we noted, they were subject to more abstract values and qualities. Even though this resulted in a dazzling array of body types and variations, it also makes them more difficult to interpret. The ageless Classical face that remained a staple for centuries combined with a relatively few hairstyle choices ensured that they were largely overlooked. But as we saw, even the face, identified as the ‘not portrait’ face by Dillon, carried substantial meaning when taken into consideration as part of the overall image, and ensured true emphasis was focused on meaning conveyed via the body. What finally emerged over the centuries was a repertoire of types that carried very different but explicit meanings, from the closed but sexually charged Pudicitia type to the much later and more open and physically active Ceres type. The addition of attributes (or indeed the conscious withholding of them, as with the Menodotus figure),⁷³⁰ different layering of drapery, footwear, hair and position in relation to other statues or architectural features, even choice of material, all added important signposts of meaning.⁷³¹ Reasons for choosing a particular body format also changed over time, as we saw with the adoption of the Large Herculaneum Woman type by imperial wives and mothers. A type might be chosen because of allegiance to a particular regime or former user of it rather than because of the originally intended significance.

The portrait statue itself as a physical object existing in the same space as its audience also gave scope for effects not available in other media. Whether it was a closed body looking away, or an open and dynamic figure reaching out and forward looking, effected how it might be viewed and showed the sophisticated understanding of display by those who commissioned or created them. Every single detail of the statue was included for a reason. The fringe and weights of drapery, rings on fingers, shoes and gesture all meant something. I have attempted to prove throughout that features were rarely if ever included for aesthetic difference alone. Every honorific statue cost a great deal of money and took time and skill to create, and would not have been commissioned for mere ornamentation alone. As such, each element that contributes to the overall portrait must be considered for what it adds to the meaning of the

⁷³⁰ Attributes, Chapter 1.24. Menodotus figure, Chapter 4.2.

⁷³¹ Hair, Chapter 1.25. Costume, Chapter 1.14.

complete image. In different parts of the empire and at different times, emphasis has been more on the body than the head and vice versa. But in Aphrodisias, where busts were introduced later and the strongest early influence was Greek, the body carried great meaning.

Portraiture also developed along different lines in the region. In fourth century BC Caria in the Greek East, the region in which Aphrodisias was situated, a new type of free expression and individualism emerged that could be seen in the statues of the royal family embellishing the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus.⁷³² This new sense of ‘individualism’ (not to be confused with realism or similitude) seen in this area of the world had a huge impact on the later portraiture in the region, especially in Aphrodisias, as they grappled with their own emerging sense of self as a city of special status under Rome. The forceful and equal presence of elite women that adorned the Mausoleum also influenced the portraits of later Aphrodisian females seeking to express their own sense of powerful identity in a form that looked back on its heritage as much as to the present and future.

Chapter Two focused in more closely on the circumstances of Aphrodisias itself, as a friend of Rome and beloved of Augustus. The city was close to quarries that produced high quality marble in abundance, and attracted artisans and sculptors of the highest calibre from across the Greek world. Evidence from the Sculptor’s Workshop pointed to their expertise. It also highlighted an astute understanding of the techniques of traditional carving and stylistic innovation emanating from Rome, as well as locally conceived ‘creative adaptation’. This meant a direct copying (either of exact replication or a more free interpretation, sometimes leading to confusion in attempts to identify certain figures) of typologies and styles in use elsewhere, and an adaptation of particular features and copying in new settings. As we saw with the cross-legged Aphrodite, the artists also created their own unique designs and freely adapted them to new contexts within the city, in relief and in the round. This use of existing motifs and designs also provides the opportunity to trace them back to possible original sources, such as architectural elements from the Mausoleum, facial expressions from the Great Altar of Pergamon, and statue groups from temples across the region as preserved on coins. Creative adaptation was a crucially important factor when it came to

⁷³² Chapter 1.7.

interpreting a new and major portrait subject that appeared during the late republic/early empire; that of the imperial portrait. More than at any other time, here was an image created to be instantly recognisable and disseminated more widely than any portrait of a real person previously seen with the possible exception of an individual such as Alexander centuries before. In Rome under the Julio-Claudians, imperial imagery was more closely managed to mute royal allusions; in Aphrodisias no such restriction applied. This freedom to interpret and manipulate a portrait's iconography, combined with a pre-existing familiarity with royal imagery, produced striking results, as seen in the panels of the Sebasteion that explicitly blends the divine with the royal and imperial.

However, there was an altogether new element that appeared for the first time in the Greek East at the end of the first century BC that had a huge impact on female portraits in the city. Rose observes that the first imperial wife and mother, as seen in the person of Julia the Elder, daughter of Augustus, came to be represented in portrait form in the region for the first time. Even though there was already an established tradition of royal wives and mothers in portraits in this part of the world, the position of a Roman imperial figure portrayed in this context was a new twist. This cultural acceptance and artistic convention was a natural progression that the Aphrodisian artists converted into images on the Sebasteion of later imperial female figures, such as Agrippina the Younger and Livia. Back in Rome, another vital change was taking place that would have a further significant impact. As we observed, female portraits were rare in Rome at this time because reasons for the erection of honorary portraits was motivated by public office or position, something denied to women. This changed, and the role of providing dynastic heirs and bolstering the imperial image came to be viewed as just as important a public role as that of any politician or military position, and saw an increase in the erection of portraits of women. This was not the case in Greek states, where the phenomenon of the honorary female portrait statue was already widely established, if on different grounds of traditional family relationships, as priestesses or in support of status of male relatives.

Two other factors had a major impact on female portraits emerging at the same time. One was that some women were becoming more influential and powerful. Legally, they continued to have the same low status of slaves, but in more elite circumstances

they could accumulate wealth and power. Literary sources also note that husbands came to regard wives and female relatives as social equals worthy of esteem. Women in this position in Aphrodisias sought ways to represent this change of status in portrait form, and they looked for inspiration to the newly emerging imperial female portraits that were beginning to occupy the public spaces of the city. Taking these as a cue, honorary portraits of women began to break away from more traditional formats, selecting instead more forceful styles or variations that could be interpreted as portraying this new status and confidence.

Secondly was the formidable presence of Aphrodite. From the time of the late first century BC Zoilos relief that adapted various known types of the goddess to act as personifications, her presence was acknowledged as vitally important to the identity of the city. Fortuitously, the goddess was not only the patron deity of Aphrodisias and cause of patronage by Caesar and his faction to whom the inhabitants remained loyal, but she was also the progenitor of the new Julio-Claudian regime. Although this is a well-known fact, this thesis is the first to note how deeply it was reflected in the portrait sculpture of Aphrodisias. The citizens of the city were in a unique position to exploit this factor. In particular, the aspect of Aphrodite as mother figure was glorified in sculpture because it was in this respect that she was important to Octavian/ Augustus and his dynasty,⁷³³ and therefore of profound importance to the city and basis of their privileged status. In the mythological reliefs on the south wall of the Sebasteion, we saw how this is reflected in the first and last panels that weave the goddess and her descendant the princeps into the mythical history of the region. Indeed, in Rome he was busy remodelling his divine ancestor into this aspect in his own forum. As a result, and directly because of this important feature of the patron goddess, in Aphrodisias motherhood (the preserve of women alone!) and the feminine was emphasised in private portraiture as being of elevated importance, as the following chapters demonstrated. The reliefs of Livia and Roma, the south wall sequences beginning and ending with panels of Aphrodite and her son Aeneas and his heir, the north wall relief of Agrippina and Nero all testify to the conjunction of Aphrodite and motherhood in an imperial capacity in the city. The less well-known but unique inscriptions identifying ‘Daughters of the City’, and the very rare

⁷³³ Reeves (2013, forthcoming) Conference paper given in Amsterdam 2011 and subsequent article submitted for publishing, ‘Great Grand Mothers: The Female Portrait Statues of Aphrodisias’.

dedication to Livia as daughter of Augustus are further evidence of the importance of the role to Aphrodisias.

Chapter Three examined in detail case studies that showed Roman influences to put these theories of self-representation and status to the test. Traditional styles were more prevalent in the earlier period in Aphrodisias. But from the end of the first century, examples of virtuoso complexity such as the mother and daughter group, statues 89 and 90, demonstrate female familial links in tandem with Roman and local iconography. They also show that the sculptors were keenly attuned to the creative developments taking place in Rome at the time. The Ceres body type used in the mother statue was one of the earliest recorded in this part of the world.⁷³⁴ The latest up-to-date hairstyles were combined with ancient features, such as the peplos in Statue 90, to convey multi-layered meanings of Roman allegiance and traditional female beauty, combined with a forceful presence and confidence as seen in the large proportioned Statue 89. The later portrait of Claudia Tatiana combines iconography associated with Julia Domna and an updated version of the ancient Artemisia type to express power and authority.⁷³⁵ Without breaking away too far from expected norms and tradition, and making clear and continued links with ancient regional elite females, she nevertheless creates a striking authority figure. She stands beside her uncle, but his portrait is shorter than hers and comparatively self-contained and subdued. Where her portrait is a unique innovation, his is a version repeated throughout the city, especially in relief form. Factors such as height, open and closed gestures, and the combination of a contemporary new female variant with a traditional male figure are blended successfully in the case of uncle and niece to produce a deliberate and stunning visual contrast.

This contrast also highlights the importance of position and relationship to other portraits that assists in interpreting a portrait, but is not always available evidence. Reliefs such as the Sebasteion panel of Agrippina with Nero and then Claudius, and that of Livia being crowned by Roma seen in Chapter 2.15, emphasise this point. Other technical factors had a huge influence on the impact of a portrait statue. Actions that took place on the right hand side of the body, identified as the masculine sphere,

⁷³⁴ Chapter 3.5.

⁷³⁵ Chapter 3.11.

such as the raised arm, and those on the left identified as female, such as the grasped drapery and bent knee, were manipulated and balanced to great effect. Gender was viewed as more fluid than modern conventions, and factors such as these had an important bearing on the message relayed through the body to the viewer. Details such as hands and feet were used as a further vehicle of meaning, adding an extra dimension to the overall finished product. The sophisticated portrait of Claudia Tatiana and her uncle also reflect an important shift in attitude. The celebration of urbane Greek culture that emerged from Rome in the second century is demonstrated in their portraits through the emphasis on regional dress and types in conjunction with portrait elements of the contemporary regime.

Chapter Four considered the cases of examples associated with a particular architectural location that have been formerly identified as bearing no Roman influence, or being traditionally Greek in origin. Yet closer inspection noted some peculiarities that required deeper investigation. Arguments surrounding theme, interpretation and display of statues once located in the Antonine period Agora Gate could best be made through a comparison with a similar structure, stylistically, chronologically and geographically close; the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus. Both showed that female portraits could be displayed alongside male family members and imperial figures with an equal status and standing. Associations were made through visual links of copying and almost exact replication, as with Regilla and Faustina, and through costume similarities, as made by Atticus and his daughter Elpinice, and of course through position in the structure. In the case of the Agora Gate portraits, the evidence is more problematic. A reconstruction of portrait positions is not possible, but we can attempt to make links through appearance and iconography.

The Menodotus figure, at first glance the epitome of Greek traditional subdued beauty in an arm-sling format, in fact demonstrates a sophisticated image of difference. Stripped of any sexual reference, the allusions she makes are linked to the muses and intellectual status. As Trimble notes, any deliberate eschewing of expected norms in a 'standardised' portrait type was usually a deliberate attempt to highlight such differences. In order to make the statement it does, this figure has been forced to rely on traditional Greek iconography as there was no Roman-style suitable version available at the time other than the widely used Large Herculaneum woman type. But

it also adopts the specifically Roman approach of close copying coupled with deliberate alterations. In contrast is Statue 86. It too uses as its basis a recognised arm-sling style. It shares the enclosed, subdued and conservative appearance. But it closely copies versions popular in the west. Both portraits, rather than being the straightforward paradigms of beauty they seem, are in fact exercises in expressing intellectualism and elite status prior to the Second Sophistic, and a more dynamic and overt interest in Greek values. As such, they demonstrate a dynamic dialogue with Rome and an understanding of meaning and emulation.

If the interpretation of intellectual status, or indeed of power and authority in a female portrait statue, seems too controversial, it is pertinent to note what Yildirim observes: that men and women had recently begun to display their portraits as equal benefactors side by side in other places of the city.⁷³⁶ The unique political, cultural and social circumstances that converged on Aphrodisias, namely the special strand of family and motherhood emphasised by Aphrodite and connection with the imperial family, and the brilliance of its artists, ensured that the portrait statues created here were like no others in the whole of the empire.

Finally, the female sculpture of Aphrodisias and its legacy was limited. Accomplished portraits of males and especially emperors continued to be created until at least the fifth century.⁷³⁷ These included a group of philosopher busts and statues of city leaders, but those of women became less common. Trimble notes that the flourishing of female portraits as a cultural phenomenon was grinding to a halt more generally across the empire in the early third century.⁷³⁸ This was in part due to a combination of cultural and social factors. But their production in Aphrodisias continued to the time of Claudia Tatiana. The same general circumstances that drew this era to a close may have been complicated by causes specific to Aphrodisias. Possibly with the removal of the special privileged status of the city or the arrival of Christianity, the elevated position of women as mothers through the link with Aphrodite was no longer to be celebrated in art. Certainly the female portrait heritage that flourished so brightly in this remarkable place for over two centuries appears to have had no successor in

⁷³⁶ Chapter 4 page 243.

⁷³⁷ Smith (2006) 74.

⁷³⁸ Trimble (2011) 310.

the Greek or Roman world, and only imperial women enjoyed the continuation of widely seen portraits.

This is an exciting time for such a study because emerging attention on female portraits has coincided with a vigorous questioning of exactly what constituted gender in the ancient world and the overturning of centuries of dismissive and unenlightened approaches to the subject. This has enabled me to not only disregard old and defunct ideas, but apply new and unexplored ones to a unique and well-preserved portrait group. Applying such contemporary and developing ideas to the material of female portraits in Aphrodisias has produced some startling results, and some examples that have been previously overlooked as ‘merely’ traditional (with implicit preconceptions of demure and correct behaviour), have in fact been shown to be innovative, powerful and original designs, incorporating influences and inspiration not noted before. For example, dated arguments of feminist gender theory claimed that early Roman veristic style portraits of women were deliberately made to look like men, the manliness adding *kudos* and *gravitas* not found in previous portraits of women.⁷³⁹ Such arguments, although an attempt to redress the imbalance of male centred interest in the field, were as restrictive as former approaches, and continued to stifle the true meaning of the material by enveloping it in modernist theory that failed to engage with the portraiture itself. But by looking again at the same type of imagery without the restrictions of gender theory, two contrasting ideas emerge; that the same portrait type could be gender-ambiguous and did not refer solely to male ideals and values, but also that women were quite capable of adopting types used by men and ‘feminising’ them for their own intentions of conveying a new elevated social status.⁷⁴⁰

⁷³⁹ Kampen (1996) 18. Chapter 1.10.

⁷⁴⁰ See Chapter 1.10, 1.18, 1.20.

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CATALOGUE OF PRIMARY EVIDENCE

This catalogue includes primary evidence and important secondary objects in the order they appear in the chapters and as listed in the illustrations. Each listing will provide a brief description, date, material, the current location where known, inventory or identity number, most recent and/ or principle literary references and photograph acknowledgements. It will also note anything else of significance, such as the artist.

Chapter One

1. The Kritios boy

Standing sculpture of a young male by Kritios. c.480's BC.

Marble. H: 1.17m. Originally located on the Acropolis, Athens. New Acropolis Museum, Athens, inv. No. 698. Turner and Jenkins (2009) 12-13 Photograph: akg-images

2. The Diskobolus

Roman copy of discus-thrower by Myron, c.450's BC. Originally located in Athens.

Marble. H: 170.1cm. Museo Nazionale, Rome (Roman copy), and British Museum. Sculpture 250. Walker (1995) 29; Jenkins and Turner (2009) 14, 31; Image: BM

3. Homer

Head identified as Homer

460's BC. Walker (1995) 23-24; Zanker (1995) 15; Dillon (2006) 174; Richter *The Portraits of the Greeks*, 50-53, Figs 64-104; Richter-Smith, 147, Figs. 107-108; Zanker (1995) 166-71. Image: Zanker

4. Chrisyppus

Seated statue of the philosopher Chrisyppus. Restored head.

280-210 BC Paris Louvre, (Head a copy of the original in the British Museum) Ma 80. Dillon (2006) 113-115; Zanker (1995) Image; Zanker.

5. Demosthenes

Standing statue of the orator and politician Demosthenes.

280/79 BC. H: 2.02m without plinth. Vatican Museums, Braccio Nuovo, Inv. 2255. Dillon (2006) 41-42, 45, 62-76, 104-126; Zanker (1995) 84. Image: Zanker (Roman Copy. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek)

6. Mausolos

Colossal sculpture of 'King Mausolos'. Greek 350 BC.

H: 3m. British Museum (BM Sculpture 1000) Jenkins (2006) 215-220; Walker and Matthews 49-59, Jeppesen 42-48 and Waywell 60-67 in Waywell and Jenkins (1997); Waywell (1978) 97-103; Hornblower (1982) 272-3; *MAH* 5, 173-9. Image: BM

7. Artemisia

Colossal sculpture of 'Queen Artemisia'. Greek 350's BC.

H: 2.66m. British Museum. BM Sculpture 1053. Jenkins (2006) 215-220; Walker and Matthews 49-59, Jeppesen 42-48 and Waywell 60-67 in Waywell and Jenkins (1997); (Waywell (1978) 108, cat.32, pl.17. Jeppesen (1998) 169; *MAH* 5, 178-82. Image: BM

8. Hekatomnid head

Colossal portrait head. Greek, c. 350 BC.

British Museum. Possibly sister of Mausolos. British Museum. BM Sculpture 1151. Jenkins (2006) 216-17; Waywell (1997); Walker, S. (1995) *Greek and Roman Portraits*. London 95-96; Carter, J.C. (1983) *The Sculpture from the Sanctua*. London; Smith, A.H (1900) *A Catalogue of Sculpture in -1, vol.2*. London. Image: BM

9. The Prima Porta Augustus

Copy of a statue of the emperor Augustus in military dress, c. 20's BC.

Marble. H: 2.04m. Originally located at the Prima Porta villa, Rome. Museo Vaticano, Braccio Nuovo Inv. 2290. Kleiner (1992) 63-67; Zanker (1990) 188-192; Ramage and Ramage (1996) 95-96. Image: Zanker

10. The Tivoli General

Statue of a nude figure in hip mantle with portrait head.

Republican. 'Tivoli General': found in the substructures of the temple of Hercules in Tivoli, Rome. Museo Nazionale Romano inv. 10 65 13. Hallett (2012) 96, 120-1, 154 plate 12. Kleiner (1992) 35-36. Image: Hallett

11. The Tusculum Caesar

Bust portrait of Julius Caesar from Tusculum.

c. 44BC. Turin, Museo di Antichità. Collezione del Castello Reale di Agliè. Walker (1995) 77; Kleiner (1992) 44-46. Image; DAIR 74.156 (Kleiner). Image: Museum

12. Roman matron

Portrait head of a Roman matron.

Late first century BC, Rome. National Museum of Rome. Palazzo Massimo, Inv. 124493. Image: flickr. Ian Scott

13. Portrait of Livia

Portrait head of Livia.

Marble. H: 27.94cm. British Museum. (BM Museum no. 1856, 1226. 1722). Pryce, FN; Smith, AH. Catalogue of Greek Sculpture in the British Museum, 1-11, London, BMP, 1892. Image: BM

14. Claudia Antonia Tatiana

Statue of a woman in an open format, Aphrodisias signed by Alexander, son of Zenon.

Marble. H: 234, W: 88, D: 51cm. Bouleuterion. Aphrodisias Museum, Inv no. 63-57, 64-292, 64-426, 64-427. Early third century AD. Smith (2006) Cat no. 96, 216-219. Image: flickr.com/ Smith

15. Statue 89

Statue of a mature woman in the Ceres format with contemporary Flavian/ Trajanic hairstyle.

Marble. H: 196cm. Originally from the west stoa of South Agora. Istanbul Archaeological Museum, Inv 2269. Dillon (2010) 153; Alexandridis (2010) 252-282; Lenaghan (2008) 99; D'Ambra (2007) 18-20; Smith (2006) Catalogue no.89, 207-209; D'Ambra (2007); Kruse (1975) 3-4; Bieber *Copies*, 163-5. Image: flickr.com/ Smith

16. Pudicitia type

Statue of a woman in the Pudicitia format.

From a Hellenistic original. Capitoline Museum. Palazzo Nuovo Inv. 636. Dillon (2010) 88; Fejfer (2008) 335; Smith (2006) 48. Image: Anna Raia, vroma.org

17. The Large Herculaneum Woman

Statue of a woman in the Large Herculaneum format. Found in Herculaneum

c. AD 40's. White marble. H: 2.03m without plinth. (Vorster in Daehner *et al* 2007, 61), Julio-Claudian (Alexandridis). Dresden. Staatl. Skulpturenslg. Albertinum, Inv.326. Daehner *et al* (2007) 1-17, 60-64, 75-76; Alexandridis (2004) 240 (nr 45); Trimble (2000) 42-54; Pagano *CronErc* (1993) 123-128; Fuchs (1987) 31-32; Protzmann (1977); Kruse (1975) 261 (nr 43); DAIR Inst. Neg. 61 1250-61.1252, 65.2843R. Image: Trimble

18. Aischines

Statue of the orator Aischines.

Marble. H: 1.98m. Villa of the Papyri. Roman Copy of Greek Original. Museo Nazionale, Naples. Inv 6018. Vorster (2008) 136; Dillon (2006) 61-66; Zanker (1995) 46. Image: DAI Rome neg. no.85.486, Schwanke, Dillon.

19. Small Herculaneum Woman

Statue of young woman in the Small Herculaneum Woman format, found at Herculaneum.

Marble. H: 196cm. Dresden, Staatliche Skulpturensammlung, Herrmann-Verzeichnis 327 and 328. Vorster (2008) 47; Fejfer (2008) 335; Trimble (2011) 1; De Grazia Vanderpool (2005) 16-20. Image: Ingrid Geske, Trimble.

20. Ceres type

Julia Domna in the Ceres type. Severan.

Marble. H: 195cm with plinth. Ostia Museo. Inv 21. Alexandridis (2010) 252-282; Alexandridis (2004) Kat Nr. 223; Kleiner (1992) 326; Fuhrmann, AA (1940) 436; Galza, G (1939) 45; G M A Richter (1951) ProcAmPhilosSoc 95; R Calza- Floriani Squarciapino M (1962) Museo Ostiense; Buchholz K (Diss. 1963) 193-295; Meischner J (1964) 47, nr.37; Kruse (1975) 37f. 258f; Bieber (1977) 166f; Calza R I ritratti II, Scavi di Ostia IX (1978); Schlüter R (1977) 74ff. 143f. Fittschen-Zanker III 28f. (zu nr.28) Anm.20; Nodelman S A (1984) 129.133 Taf.55; LIMC IV (1988) 906 906 Nr. 191 s. v. Demeter/ Ceres (S. De Angeli); Mikocki, Sub specie deae 209f. Nr.410 Taf.7, 410; C. Donzelli, XeniaAnt 7, (1998), 98f. Image: Alexandridis

21. Julia Domna on the arch of the Argentarii

Relief of Julia Domna and Septimius Severus, Arch of the Argentarii, Rome.

Marble. H: 169 cm. Elsner J (2005) JRA Vol 18, 83-99; Alexandridis A (2004) Kat Nr.224; Kleiner (1992) 334-337. Image: Alexandridis Taf.50

22. Matidia

Portrait of Matidia in Arm-Sling format. H260m.

Marble. H: 260 cm without plinth. Trajanic. Florence, Loggia dei Lanzi. (vgl. Anhang 2.2.11 D5) Alexandridis (2004) Kat.-nr 164. Dütschke III 256f. Nr.561 (Haartracht wie M.); Bernoulli; Ikonographie II 2, 99 (keine M.); E B van Deman, AJA 12, 1908, 327 mit Anm. 4 (ohne Benennung); Lippold, Kopien 216 (ohne Benennung, Kopf nicht zugehörig) A Adriani, BArchAlex 30, 1936, 15ff. (ohne Benennung); M Wegner, Hadrian 81. 123 (M); G Capecchi, BdA 60, 1975, 172f. Nr.4 Abb 8ff. (M); Kruse (1975), 117; C Gaspari, AA 1979, 529ff; Fittschen-Zanker III 9 zu Nr.8 (M); M T Boatwright (2000) in: I, Claudia II. Image: Museum

23. The Archelaos relief

Relief by Archelaos of Priene: Apotheosis of Homer.

Marble. British Museum. (cf. GR 1819.8-12.1/BM Cat. Sculpture 2191) H: 283 mm. W: 211 mm. Palagia (1997) 62-68. Image: BM

Chapter Two

24. Aphrodite wearing the sakkos

Relief of seated Aphrodite from the Sebasteion,

Early first century. Aphrodisias Museum. Smith (1989); Erim (1986). Image: Erim

25. The cross-legged Aphrodite

Relief of cross-legged Aphrodite seated on a shell from the Sebasteion

Early 1st century. Pediment. Aphrodisias Museum. Rockwell (2008) 91-115; Rockwell (1991) 127-142; Erim (1986) 144-145. Image: flickr.com

26. Two portraits signed by Zenas

Two Hadrianic/ Trajanic busts signed by Zenas, Son of Alexandros and Zenas, Son of Zenas respectively.

Carrara marble. H: 71mm, lunar marble. Capitoline Museum I.G 14 1241 and I.G 14, 1242. Attansio, Bruno, Yavuz and Elçi in Smith (2008) 220; H. Jones (1912) (pls. 54 and 57) 245; Winckelmann, vi, 126, n.1; Arndt-Brukmann (1890) 191-2; Helbig (1905) AJA 12, fig.1; Wolters (1909) 201. Image: AJM Kropp

27. Prometheus from the Sebasteion and a giant from the Great Altar of Pergamon

Relief from the Sebasteion of Prometheus and frieze from the Great Altar at Pergamon.

Prometheus; Early first century. Aphrodisias Museum. Smith (1989); Erim (1986). Image: Smith

Relief from the Great Altar of Pergamon. East Frieze, 'Athena's opponent', Smith (1991) 162, 173,175. Image: Smith

28. Augustus as ruler of land and sea

Relief from the Sebasteion of a Julio-Claudian emperor with personifications..

Early first century. Aphrodisias Museum. Smith (2008) 15; Smith (2006); Kleiner (1992) 158-159; Image: Smith

29. Tellus from the Ara Pacis

Relief of Tellus from the Ara Pacis.

Late first century BC. Rome, Ara Pacis museum. Wood (2001) 100; Kleiner (1992) 90-98; Ramage and Ramage (1991) 100-101; Zanker (1990) 172-177. Image: Kleiner

30. Claudius subduing Britannia

Relief of Claudius and a personification from the Sebasteion,

Early first century. Aphrodisias Museum. Zanker (1990) 302-303. Image: flickr.com

31. Agrippina crowning Nero

Relief of Agrippina crowning Nero from the Sebasteion. North Wall.

H: 1.72 m. Museum. Kropp (2013) 1-8; Bartman (2012) 419-421; Smith (2006) 119-120; Ginsburg (2006) 66; D'Ambra (1998) 98; Zanker (1990) 302-303; Erim (1986) 122; Image: New York excavations at Aphrodisias

32. Coin of Gaius with Agrippina, Drusilla and Julia, S.C.

British Museum RIC 1 33, p110.

Sestertius of the three sisters of Caligula

AD 37. Ginsburg (2006) 66; Alexandridis (2004) Kat no.7. Stevenson (1964) 28-29. Image: Ginsburg

33. Coin of temple of Augustus and Roma

RIC 120 (Pergamum) Temple of Augustus and Roma containing the cult statues.

Stevenson (1964) 237. Image: Stevenson/ acsearch.info

34. Agrippina and Claudius

Relief of Agrippina and Claudius clasping hands from the Sebasteion.

H: 1.6 m. Early first century. Aphrodisias Museum. Alexandridis (2004) Kat no.104; Smith (2006). Image: Alexandridis

35. Livia and Roma

Relief of a figure being crowned by a personification from the Sebasteion.

Early first century. Aphrodisias Museum. Geyre, Aphrodisias Depot S-1298 E; Bartman (1999) 134-5; K Erim (1982) 165 fig.6; Rose 166. Image: flickr.com

36. Zoilos relief

Relief from the tomb monument of Julius C. Julius Zoilos.

Late first century BC. Aphrodisias Museum. Smith (2006) 43-44; Smith (1996); Smith (1993) 56-57; Erim (1986). Image: flickr.com/ Erim

37. Gem of a Julio-Claudian prince and Roma

Sardonyx cameo of a Julio-Claudian emperor with Roma.

First century. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Inv. IX a 59. Image: KW.

38. Flavian coin of Roma

First Brass of Vespasian showing Roma reclining on the seven hills with Romulus and Remus suckling the she-wolf and a personification of the Tiber.

Stevenson (1964) 694. Image: Stevenson/ acsearch.info

39. Roma from the Zoilos relief

Relief from the monument of Julius Zoilos.

30-20 BC. Aphrodisias Museum. Erim (1986) 139. Image: Erim

40. Livia sacrificing at an altar

Relief of Livia from the Sebasteion.

Head missing. Early first century. Aphrodisias Museum. Smith (2012) 306. Image: flickr.com

41. The Gemma Claudia

Sardonyx cameo of apotheosis scene and Julio-Claudian imperial family.

Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien 19. Inv. IX a 63. Alexandridis (2010) Kat n. 74, 147.
Image: Museum

42. The Grand Camée de France

Sardonyx cameo.

First century. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles 264. Alexandridis (2010) Kat no.44, 134. Image: Museum

43. The Bochum Livia

Posthumous bust of Livia.

Marble. Ruhr-Universität 1081. Winkes (2000) 37-39; E Bartman (1999) 181, cat 77; N Kunisch (1977) Jahrbuch der Ruhr-Universität Bochum 47-56; M Imdahl and N Kunisch (1979) 54f. col. Pl. 55; W Megow (1987) pls. 88, 4 and 89; F/Z III 4 n.9j; Simon col pl.5, fig 100; KaiserAug 327-8 no.173. Image: Winkes

Chapter Three

44. Statue 90

Life-size statue of a young woman.

Marble. H: 1.955 m. Originally from the west stoa of South Agora. Istanbul Archaeological Museum, Inv 2268. Dillon (2010) 153; Lenaghan (2008) 97, 99; Smith (2006) Catalogue 90, 209-211. Image: Smith

45. Flavian Portrait

Bust of a woman with peaked hairstyle.

‘Fonseca bust’ Capitoline Museum, Inv. no. MC0434. Wood (2001) 22-23; Fittschen and Zanker 3 (1983) 53-54 no.69, plates 86-87. Image: Museum

46. Coin of Plotina

British Museum RIC 59, BMC 50

Denarius. Coin of profile portrait of Plotina, wife of Trajan.

Alexandridis (2004) Kat no. 2a.b. Stevenson (1964) 634-635: Image: vroma.org

47. Statues 106 and 108

Lower legs of two female portraits. First –third century, Aphrodisias.

Statue 106: Marble. H: 57, W: 61, D: 42cm. (Unpublished). Image: Smith

Statue 108: Aphrodisias Museum. Statue 106; Inv. 73-21. Life-size stray find. Statue 108 now lost. Smith (2006) Cat no. 106 and 108. Trimble (2000) JRA 13, 42. Image: Smith

48. Statue 91

Headless Statue, Pudicitia type.

Marble. First century AD, Aphrodisias. H: 162cm. Over life-size. Marble. Istanbul Archaeological Museum, Inv no. 2267. Over life-size. Smith 92006) Cat. No. 91, 211; Mendel, G (1906) 175, no.6. Image: Smith

49. Statue 92

Lower body of Large Herculaneum Woman type.

Marble. H: 117, W: 52, D: 35cm. First/ second century AD. Ödemiş Archaeological Museum, Inv no. 719. Formerly in Izmir Archaeological Museum, Inv no. 427 (until 1986). Smith (2006) Cat no.92, 212-213. Kruse (1975) 65, 225, 293, B 54. Image: Smith

50. L. Antonius Claudius Dometeinos Diogenes

Portrait statue of bearded male in arm-sling format.

Marble. H: 237, W: 78, D: 50cm. Total height of monument 4.38m. Bouleuterion, Early third century. Total monument height; 4.38m. Aphrodisias Museum, Inv no. 64-277. Brody (2007); Smith (2006) Cat no. 48, 170, 61, 69-71; R. van Bremen, *The Limits of Participation* (1996) Amsterdam, 227, no.74Erim (1986). Image: Smith

51. Septimius Severus

Bust of Septimius Severus.

Severan. Capitoline Museum, Rome. Inv. no. MC0461. Ramage and Ramage (1996) 234. Image: Museum

52. Sarcophagus 8 from the west necropolis, Aphrodisias

‘Frieze sarcophagus of a priestly couple led before Hades’.

AD 150-200. Chest H: 1.21.5 m. Figure H: 100 cm. Aphrodisias. Trimble (2011) 36; Smith (2011) fig. 4.6, 66; Smith (2006) 176, cat. No.49; Erim (1986) 149-150. Image: flickr.com and Smith

Chapter Four

53. Faustina and Regilla from the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus

Two Large Herculaneum Woman type portraits from the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus, Olympia. Both missing substantial parts.

Second century. Marble. Regilla: pl.36, 1.77 m without plinth, no head. Olympia Archaeological Museum. Inv. 156. Faustina: H: 1.07 m upper half only. Also Olympia Archaeological Museum. Inv. 155. Trimble (2011) 237-252; Daehner (2007) 100; D'Ambra (2007) 20-21; Davies (2002) 227-241; Walker (1995) 21-23; Bol (1984) Hirschfeld G (1877) 12 Taf.27; L v Sybel (1877) AM 8, 1883, 27; Amelung (1895) 26 Anm.1; Treu G (1897) 274 Taf. 67,3; Neugebauer K A (1934) 110f Abb.15; Bieber M (1962), Schmidt 119f; Kruse 284 B29. Image: Bol

54. The Menodotus figure/ Statue 85

Statue of a woman in a variant of the arm-sling format/ Muse with kithara, signed by the sculptor Menodotus.

Marble. H: 200 cm, plinth 5.5cm. Late first/ second century. Agora Gate, Aphrodisias. Aphrodisias Museum Inv. no. 83-122. Marble. Dillon (2010) 150-151; Lenaghan (2008) 99; Smith (2006); Erim (1986) 136. Image: Smith

55. Muse with kithara

Statue of a woman in a variant of the arm-sling format/ Muse with kithara (Erato (?) Muse of Lyric Poetry).

First century. Archaeological Museum, Izmir. Atalay 68-70; Smith (2006) 205. Image: Dr R. V. Wiedenhoeft, scholar Resource.

56. Relief from the altar of Halicarnassus

Relief from the votive altar of Halicarnassus of muses.

150-50 BC. British Museum sculpture 1106. Watzinger (1903) 5, 7, 9, Taf, 11; Daremberg. Image: Daremberg

57. Vase of Sappho and Alcaeus

Athenian red clay figure vase depicting Sappho and Alcaeus.

480's BC. Munich Antiksammlungen J753. Beazley Archive. Image: BeazleyArchive.ox.ac.uk

58. The young togatus male

Statue of a young togate male.

Marble. H: 202.5 cm. Second century AD. From the Agora Gate complex. Aphrodisias Museum. Inv. no. 67-181. Hannestad (2012) 83-86; Smith (2006) 112-112. Cat. No. 4. Image: Smith

59. Statue 86

Portrait of a mature woman in an arm-sling format. Badly damaged.

First / Second century AD. Marble. Estimated H: 1.74 m. Head, torso and lower body fragmented with non-fitting joins. Museum Inv. 83-192. Dillon (2010) 150-152; Lenaghan (2008) 87, 95-97; Smith (2006) Catalogue no. 86, 205-207, 63, 70-71. Image: Smith

60. Julia Sebaste Hera (Livia)

Statue without head of Livia as Julia Sebaste Hera from Aphrodisias.

Marble. H: 1.77 m. Plinth 10-16cm, total monument 270 cm. Tiberian. Possibly once located at the Sebasteion. Aphrodisias Museum Inv. 72-275; Lenaghan (2008) 37-50; Smith (2008) 254, Catalogue no. 13; Smith (2006) catalogue no. 80, 197-199. Image: Smith

61. Agrippina the Younger from Velleia and Eumachia from Pompeii

Two portraits statues of females in arm-sling formats

Agrippina the Younger, Velleia. Marble, H: 2.09 m. Early first century AD. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Parma, Inv. no. 829. Kleiner (2007) *A History of Roman Art*, 110, fig 8-11; Ginsburg (2006); Wood (2001) plate 87; Rose (1997) 75-76. Image: flickr.com

Eumachia; End of first century BC. Marble, Museo Nazionale, Naples, 6232. Stewart (2003) 165. Images: Museum