

HONORIFIC STATUARY IN THE THIRD CENTURY AD

PART I: TEXT



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Parentibus optimis

ABSTRACT

The habit of honouring outstanding individuals with statues was common throughout the Roman Empire. Yet after the end of the Severan reign at the beginning of the third century AD, a decrease in honorific statues is generally assumed to have taken place. This thesis aims to evaluate this hypothesis, focusing specifically on the years AD 222-285. Statuary practices preceding this time frame have already been thoroughly studied and the project entitled 'The Last Statues of Antiquity' provides a comprehensive investigation of the later Roman Empire. This research into the decades immediately preceding the Tetrarchy will therefore fill much of the gap between these two periods. It will do so by assessing the contemporaneous imperial remains for the Roman Empire as a whole and the evidence from four exemplary cities that are particularly conspicuous in their statuary production and display, both before and after the timeframe under investigation (Leptis Magna, Athens, Ephesus, and Aphrodisias). The purpose is to explore the standards, conventions, and limitations of statuary practice in Roman society in a synthetic and comparative analysis and thereby to evaluate its political and social role during a state of internal and external instability, labelled 'the third century crisis'. By providing concrete figures, the practice of the third century can be juxtaposed with both the antecedent and subsequent centuries and this will facilitate a more coherent insight into the overall development and changes in Roman honorific statuary practice. The results suggest that the assumed decline in the number statuary installations might have to be re-evaluated. It has become apparent that in order to obtain comparable numbers, the inclusion of imperial family members in any statistical evaluation is indispensable, a factor which has previously been disregarded. A gradual decrease cannot be supported and neither can a decrease in the appreciation of honours.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i> (Darmstadt 1889-2007; München 2008-2012, Tübingen 2013-).
ADelt	<i>Αρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον</i> (Athens 1915-).
AE	<i>L'Année Épigraphique</i> (Paris 1888 -).
AfrIt	<i>L'Africa Italiana: Bolletino della Società Africana d'Italia</i> (Naples 1913-).
AfrRom	<i>L'Africa Romana, Atti del Convegno di Studio Sassari</i> (Sassari 1983-).
Agathe	http://www.agathe.gr/id/agora/object/i%20673 ; <i>The Excavations in the Athenian Agora conducted by the American School of Classical Studies</i> ; (last accessed Feb. 2014).
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> (Boston 1885).
AJPh	<i>American Journal of Philology</i> (Baltimore 1880-).
Anatolian Studies	<i>Anatolian Studies</i> (Cambridge 1951-).
AnnPerugia	<i>Annali della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia, Università degli studi di Perugia. Studi classici Perugia</i> (1964 - 1978).
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> (Berlin et al. 1972-).
AntAfr	<i>Antiquités Africaines</i> (Paris 1967-).
Antichità Altoadriatiche	<i>Antichità Altoadriatiche</i> (Aquileia 1972).
AntK	<i>Antike Kunst Basel</i> (Basel 1958).
Anz Wien	<i>Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Anzeiger der Phil.-Hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> (Wien 1864 - 1946).
Arachne	<i>Arachne. Zentrale Objektdatenbank des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (DAI) und des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität zu Köln</i> . http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/drupal/ ; (last accessed Feb. 2014).
Archäologische Denkmäler in Hessen	<i>Archäologische Denkmäler in Hessen</i> (Wiesbaden 1977-).
ArchCl	<i>Archeologia Classica: Rivista dell'Istituto di Archeologia della Università di Roma</i> (Rome 1949-).
ArchEphem	<i>Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς: Περιοδικόν της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας</i> (Athens 1837-).
BCTH	<i>Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques</i> (Paris 1885-1973).
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i> (Athens/Paris 1877-).
Bianchi	L. Bianchi, <i>Ritratti di Leptis Magna fra III e IV secolo</i> , in: <i>ArchCl</i> 56 (Rome 2005) 269-302.

Bjb	<i>Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn</i> (Bonn / Darmstadt 1842 -).
BollArch	<i>Bollettino di Archeologia</i> (Rome 1913-).
Boreas	<i>Münstersche Beiträge zur Archäologie</i> (Münster 1978-).
Brill	<i>Brill's New Pauly online</i> : http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/cluster/New%20Pauly%20Online?s.num=0 (last accessed 01.02.2014).
BerRGK	<i>Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission</i> (Frankfurt; Mainz 1904-).
BSR	<i>Papers of the British School of Rome</i> (London 1902).
BullCom	<i>Bullettino della Commissione Archaeologica comunale di Roma</i> (Rome 1872-).
Bull. corr.Hell.	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique École française d' Athènes</i> (Athens 1877-).
Bull. Inst. Arch.	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologie Bulgare</i> (Sofia 1919-).
Capitolino	H. Stuart Jones, <i>The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino</i> (Oxford 1912).
Cat. Ephes.	S. Erdemgil – A. Evren – Ö. Özeren – D. Tünzün – M. Büyükkolancı – P. Mus. 1989 Büyükkolancı – C. İçten – E. Üçbaylar Yüğrük, <i>Ephesus Museum Catalogue</i> (Istanbul 1989).
CEFR	<i>Collection de l'École Française de Rome</i> (Rome 1972-).
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> (Berlin 1828-1877).
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (Berolini 1863-).
CILA	<i>Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Andalucía</i> (Sevilla 1989-).
CPR	<i>Corpus Papyrorum Raineri</i> (Wien et al. 1895-).
DKP	K. Ziegler – W. Sontheimer (eds.), <i>Der kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike</i> (Munich 1979).
DNP	<i>Der neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike</i> (Heidelberg 1996-).
EDH	<i>Epigraphische Datenbank, Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> ; http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/home/ (last accessed 01.02.2014).
EphEp	<i>Ephemeris epigraphica</i> (Berlin 1872-1913).
Epigraphica	<i>Epigraphica. Rivista Italiana di Epigraphica</i> (Faenza 1939-).
Epigraphica Anatolica	<i>Epigraphica Anatolica. Zeitschrift für Epigraphik und historische Geographie Anatoliens</i> (Bonn 1983-).
FiE	<i>Forschungen in Ephesos</i> (Wien 1906-).
G	+ number refers to Graindor 1915.
GGA	<i>Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen</i> (Göttingen 1773; 1802 -)
H	+ number refers to catalogue numbers used by Smith 2006.
HD	+ number refers to catalogue numbers used by the EDH.
Hesperia	<i>Hesperia. The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i> (Athens 1932 -).
Historia	<i>Historia. Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte</i> (Stuttgart 1950-).
IAM	<i>Inscriptions antiques du Maroc</i> (Paris 1966-1982).

IAPH	Joyce Reynolds, Charlotte Roueché, Gabriel Bodard, <i>Inscriptions of Aphrodisias</i> (2007), available http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007 , (last accessed Feb. 2014), ISBN 978-1-897747-19-3.
IDR	<i>Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae</i> (Bucarest 1975-).
IE	<i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i> . 8 vols. in 9 parts, with a supplement, part of <i>Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien</i> , Vols. 11,1-17,4 (Bonn 1979-1984). Vol. Ia, ed. H. Wankel (1979); vol. II, eds. Ch. Börker, R. Merkelbach (1980); vol. III, eds. H. Engelmann, D. Knibbe, R. Merkelbach (1980); vol. IV, eds. H. Engelmann, D. Knibbe, R. Merkelbach (1980); vol. V, nos. eds. Ch. Börker, R. Merkelbach (1980); vol. VI, eds. R. Merkelbach, J. Nollé (1980); vol. VII,1, VII,2, eds. R. Meriç, R. Merkelbach, J. Nollé, S. Sahin (1981), incl. <i>Addenda et corrigenda</i> (VII,1) eds. Reinhold Merkelbach and Johannes Nollé; vol. VIII,1-2, Índices, eds. H. Engelmann, J. Nollé (1984).
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> (Berlin 1903-).
IGBulg	G. Mihailov, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae</i> (Sofia 1958-1997).
IGLS	<i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie</i> (Beyrouth/ Paris 1929-).
IGR	R. Cagnat et al., <i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes</i> (Paris 1906-1927).
IGUR	L. Moretti, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae</i> (Rome 1968-1990).
IK	W. Amelung – W. Blümel – J. Hammerstaedt – H. Malay (eds.), <i>Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien</i> (Bonn 1972-).
IL Afr	R. Cagnat - A. Merlin - L. Chatelain, <i>Inscriptions latines d'Afrique (Tripolitaine, Tunisie et Maroc)</i> (Paris 1923).
IL Alg	<i>Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie</i> (Paris 1922-).
IL A Vellaves	<i>Inscriptions Latines d'Aquitaine (I.L.A.): Vellaves</i> (Bordeaux 1995).
IL Bulg	B. Gerov, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae</i> (Sofija 1989-).
IL ER	J. Vives, <i>Inscripciones latinas de la España romana</i> (Barcelona 1971-1972).
IL Jug	A. Šašel - J. Šašel, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos [...] et [...] repertae et editae sunt</i> (Ljubljana 1963-1986).
ILLPRON	M. Hainzmann - P. Schubert, <i>Inscriptionum lapidariarum Latinarum provinciae Norici usque ad annum MCMLXXXIV repertarum indices</i> (Berlin 1986-).
ILM	L. Chatelain, <i>Inscriptions latines du Maroc</i> (Paris 1942).
ILS	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae selectae</i> (Berlin 1892-1916).
ILTun	A. Merlin, <i>Inscriptions latines de la Tunisie</i> (Paris 1944).
InscrIt	<i>Inscriptiones Italiae</i> (Roma 1931-).
IRB	S. Mariner, <i>Inscripciones Romanas de Barcelona</i> (Barcelona 1973).
IRC	G.Fabre – M. Mayer – I. Rodà, <i>Inscriptions romaines de Catalogne</i> (Paris 1984-2002).

IRT	J.M. Reynolds – J.B. Ward Perkins (eds), <i>The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania</i> (Rome/London 1952); online: http://inslib.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/ ; (last accessed Feb. 2014).
It. Cat.	I. Tantillo, – F. Bigi (eds.), <i>Leptis Magna. Una Città e le sue Incrizioni in Epoca Tardoromana</i> (Cassino 2010).
JdI	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i> (Berlin 1886 -).
JHS	<i>The Journal of Hellenic Studies</i> (London 1880 -).
JÖAI	<i>Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts</i> (Wien 1898 -).
JRA	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i> (Portsmouth, USA 1988 -).
JRS	<i>The Journal of Roman Studies</i> (London 1911 -).
Kavv.	cf. Kavvadias 1890-92.
Klio	<i>Klio. Beiträge zur alten Geschichte</i> (Berlin 1897 -).
L	+ number refers to Lattanzi 1968.
LBW	W. H. Waddington, <i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie</i> (Paris 1870).
LibSt	<i>Libyan Studies</i> (London 1979-).
LSA	R.R.R. Smith – B. Ward Perkins (eds.), <i>Last Statues of Antiquity</i> project, online data base, http://lsa.arch.ox.ac.uk (Oxford 2009-2012); (last accessed Feb. 2014).
MAMA	<i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua</i> (Manchester, London 1928-).
MEFRA	<i>Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Antiquité</i> (Rome 1971-).
MDAI	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i> (Röm. Abt./RM) (Rome 1829-).
Milet	Peter Herrmann, <i>Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahr 1899</i> (Berlin 1998 / 2006).
MM	<i>Madrider Mitteilungen</i> (Madrid 1960-).
MusNazRom	A. Giuliano, ed., <i>Museo Nazionale Romano. Le Sculture</i> , 1.1-9.2 (Rome 1979-1988).
NiE	<i>Neue inschriften von Ephesos</i> , in: ÖJh; (Wien 1966/1967-).
OGIS	W. Dittenberger, <i>Orientalis Graeci inscriptiones selectae</i> (Leipzig 1903-1905).
ÖJh	<i>Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien</i> (Wien 1898-).
PBSR	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i> (London 1902-).
PIR ²	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani saeculi. I. II. III, ²</i> (Berlin 1933).
Prospettiva	<i>Prospettiva : rivista di storia dell'arte antica e moderna</i> (Florence 1975-).
PPA	C. Roueché, <i>Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias</i> . <i>Journal of Roman Studies</i> , Monograph 6 (London 1993).
RE	<i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (Stuttgart 1890-1980).
REG	T. Reinach, <i>Inscriptions d'Aphrodisias</i> , <i>Revue des Etudes Grecques</i> 19 (1906).
RIA	<i>Rivista dell' Istituto nazionale d'archeologia e storia dell' arte</i> (Pisa/ Roma 1929-).
RIB	<i>The Roman inscriptions of Britain</i> (Oxford, Gloucester, Oxford - Oakville 1965-2009).
RIT	G. Alföldy, <i>Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco</i> (Berlin 1975).

RIU	<i>Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns</i> (Budapest/ Amsterdam 1972-).
RM	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung</i> (Rome 1829-).
Scavi di Luni	cf. I. Frova 1973; II Frova 1977.
SEG	<i>Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum</i> (Leiden, Alphen aan den Rijn, Amsterdam 1923 -).
SIG	<i>Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum</i> ³ (Leipzig 1915-1924).
Studia oliveriana	<i>Studia oliveriana</i> (Pesaro- 1953-).
TAM	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i> (Vindobonae 1901-).
Uchi Maius	cf. Khanoussi 1997/2006/2007.
UEL	F. Harl – O. Harl, <i>Bilddatenbank zu antiken Steindenkmälern</i> , Universität Salzburg; www.ubi-erat-lupa.org (last accessed Feb. 2014).
UM	cf. Khanoussi 1997/2006/2007.
Vivamus	<i>Das virtuelle Antikenmuseum der Universität Göttingen</i> , online: http://viamus.gbv.de/ ; (last accessed Feb. 2014).
WissZJena	<i>Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena</i> (Jena 1965-).
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i> (Bonn 1967-).

Abbreviations and citations are used according to the principles of the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut*, the *Epigraphische Datenbank*, *Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften* and the citation suggestions/ requests of the online pages.

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² The Latin numbers conform to the chapter numbers for clarity.

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- c. Western North-Africa
- d. Latin Balkans
- e. Hellas
- f. Asia Minor
- g. Near Eastern Provinces

Photo credits

PLATE CHAPTER I

- I Smith – Bartholomew 1915, Map 4.

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3a by the author
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3c Bergmann 1977, pl. 33. 4.
- 4a-5c by the author
6a <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/37413>; (last accessed Feb. 2014).
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3 Wiggers – Wegner 1971, pl. 42 c.

4c DAI Inst.Neg.Rom 61.1797 (right).

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The adornment of the cityscape with images of outstanding men and women in stone or precious metal is one of the quintessential expressions of most societies' self-conception, identity and representation. Accordingly, it proves to be one of the most characteristic and revealing features of most social systems, ancient or modern. It was under Roman rule that statue production reached unprecedented dimensions. The number of preserved inscriptions and statue fragments bear testament, however, to merely a fraction of the monuments that were actually erected. Pfanner estimates, for instance, with respect to the onset of the principate that the extant portraits of Augustus account for merely 0.5-1% of monuments actually installed. His estimated total amounted to ca. 250 items at the time of publication³, which is, however, an exaggeration. Boschung lists 211 certain Augustus portraits in his catalogue, which also includes miniatures.⁴ Considering that these are only estimations, possibly representing only a fraction of the real numbers, we are left with a notion of museum-like streets and squares framed by endlessly lined up statues: imperial families, outstanding contemporaries as well as paradigmatic men of the past, heroes, deities, and personifications. While new statues were constantly added – partly as booty from military campaigns – others were destroyed, discarded, or re-cut. In addition to those on the *fora*, squares and prominent city streets, statues were incorporated into monuments such as arches

³ Pfanner 1989, 178.

⁴ Boschung 1993, 107-194.

and *nymphaea* and exhibited in public and private buildings, in military camps, in sanctuaries as well as in the educational, recreational and funerary spheres – in other words, they were ubiquitous.

Although these monuments without doubt embellished the city, they were not mere decoration but political statements. A particular sub-group, the honorific statuary, constitutes the focal point of this thesis. The term ‘honorific statuary’ addresses specifically those images that were erected as a tribute to illustrious contemporaries and distinguishes these from cult or votive statues installed for divinities, mythical heroes, and historical figures. The period investigated, the years AD 222-285, is defined by the reigns of the emperors Alexander Severus and Carinus. The development of previous statuary practice, especially the imperial evidence, has been studied thoroughly up to and including the era of the Severans⁵. The project ‘The Last Statues of Antiquity’⁶ under the auspices of R.R.R. Smith and B. Ward-Perkins, on the other hand, provides a comprehensive study of the later Roman Empire commencing with Diocletian. By assessing the time frame between the accession of the emperor Alexander Severus (AD 222) and the violent death of Carinus (AD 285), the predecessor of Diocletian, this thesis attempts to fill most of the gap between these two periods. It does so with the aid of a catalogue that provides exact numbers to facilitate quantitative analysis. This way, a basis for comparing the general development of statuary practice through the centuries and throughout the Empire is provided. It further enables the investigation of specific

⁵ The latter most recently by Petruccioli 2012 and Leitmeir 2009.

⁶ LSA - <http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/> (last accessed 01.02.2014).

aspects of interest, such as regional peculiarities or motivations behind the dedications.

The discussion includes Alexander Severus (AD 222-235), who reigned before the actual 'era of the soldier emperors' but who holds an exceptional position. In hindsight, he and his mother could be regarded both as the last Severans and as the first imperial 'victims' of the political developments that are now referred to as the 'third century crisis'. His reign effectively marks Rome's transition from a state of relative political stability and order, which had already begun to totter with Caracalla's murder, to this state of so-called 'crisis'. During Alexander's thirteen-year reign the steady production of statuary persisted – the evidence for this is abundant. Therefore, in this study the statuary of his family serves as the analytical control group for the subsequent development. His mother, Iulia Mamaea, held a dominant position during his reign, while his wife was exiled early on. Both events are very well reflected in the amount of surviving statuary and inscriptional evidence. The proclamation of Maximinus Thrax as emperor by soldiers in Mainz and Alexander's violent death provided the *de facto* model for the imperial appointment of subsequent emperors. Discontent, especially within the military, led to the rapid appointment of a series of new emperors, a process which was marked by constant usurpation. In the short period of 50 years, the Empire witnessed the rise and – almost without exception – the violent fall of more than 60 emperors, *Caesars*, co-regents, usurpers, and pretenders to imperial power (cf. Tb. I).⁷ Of all the emperors ascending to the throne during these tumultuous decades, only Gallienus succeeded in retaining power for a significant period of

⁷ Cf. Kienast 2011, 177- 263.

time, namely 15 years. Quiet, if only momentarily, came with Diocletian's introduction of the Tetrarchy. Since, however, statutory practice changed significantly with the advent of this new political system, which established a whole new approach to imperial self-representation, the limit for this thesis is set with the demise of Diocletian's predecessor Carinus (AD 283-285).

<i>Cat.</i> ⁸	<i>Augusti / reign</i>	Imperial family members	Not related co-emperors	Usurpers	Parts of the Empire temporarily broken away
01	Alexander Severus AD 222-235	- Sallustia Orbiana - Iulia Mamaea (mother)		L. Seius Sallustius Taurinus (Ovinus Camillus)	
02	Maximinus Thrax AD 235-238	- Caecilia Paulina - Maximus		Magnus Quartinus	
03	Gordian I - AD 238 Gordian II - AD 238 Gordian III. AD 238-244	 - Tranquillina	 Pupienus / Balbinus AD 238	 Sabinianus	
04	Philippus Arabs Philippus Minor AD 244-249	- Ottilia Severa		Pacatianus Iotapianus (Marcus) Silbannacus Sponsianus	
05	Decius AD 249-251 Herennius AD 251	- Herennia Etruscilla		Priscus Iulius Valens Licinianus	

⁸ The catalogue entries for each family start with this number.

06	Trebonianus Gallus Volusianus AD 251-253		Hostilianus (one month)	Uranus Antoninus	
07	Aemilius Aemilianus AD 253	- Cornelia Supera			
08	Valerian - AD 253-260 Gallienus AD 253-268 Saloninus	- Egnatia Mariniana - Salonina - Valerianus Iunior		Marinianus (Mareades) Ingenuus Regalianus Macrianus Senior Macrianus Iun. (s.b.) Quietus Piso Valens Ballista Mussius Aemilianus Memor Aureolus (Trebellianus) (Celsus) (Saturninus)	Palmyrene Empire (AD 260-272) Vaballathus Zenobia Usurper: (Maeonius) Antiochus Gallic Empire (260-274) Postumus Laelianus Marius Victorinus Victoria Tetricus I. Tetricus II. Caes. Usurper: (Faustinus?)
09	Macrianus Iunior AD 260-261	- Macrianus Senior - Quietus			
10	Claudius II. Gothicus AD 268-270			(Censorinus)	Palmyrene Empire (AD 260-272) Gallic Empire (260-274)
--	Quintillus AD 270				Palmyrene Empire (AD 260-272) Gallic Empire (260-274)

11	Aurelian AD 270-275	- Ulpia Severina		Domitianus Septimius Felicissimus	Palmyrene Empire (AD 260-272) Gallic Empire (260-274)
12	Tacitus AD 275-276				
13	Florianus AD 276				
14	Probus AD 276-282			Bonosus Proculus Saturninus	
15	Carus - AD 282-283 Numerianus Carinus AD 282-285	- Magnia Urbica - Nigrinianus - Paulina		M. Aurelius Iulianus (Sabinus Iulianus)	

Tb. I. The emperors of AD 222-285 with their family members, and the usurpers.⁹

A general problem that arises with the definition of the time frame investigated is the issue of overlapping reigns. Evaluating the entire Severan evidence in order to identify bases that were set up for deceased family members under Alexander¹⁰ did not appear sensible; especially since an evaluation of the Severan evidence has already been carried out and is about to be published.¹¹ It is, however, interesting to note that, despite the installation of posthumous statues for the Severans under Alexander, at least two bases for Caracalla have been re-cut

⁹ According to Kienast 2011, 177-263. Uncertain ones are marked with ?, fictitious ones are in brackets. The emperor's name in bold type signifies the name under which the entire family will be addressed in the following.

¹⁰ For example AE 1899, 0057; CIL 08, 26224; AE 1975, 829.

¹¹ Petruccioli 2012; Leitmeir 2009.

into ones for Alexander.¹² Furthermore, Alexander became *Caesar* during the reign of his cousin Elagabalus (AD 218-222). Therefore, some of the portraits for Julia Mamaea, his mother, and especially for Alexander himself might have potentially been installed earlier. Yet this possibility was disregarded since this scenario concerns a time frame of only nine months¹³ and would apply, most certainly, only to the production of the first sub-group of Alexander's portraits (sub-group A: 8 pieces of evidence). Accordingly, the evidence for his grandmother Julia Maesa, who was influential predominantly during Elagabalus' reign, was likewise excluded here. The thesis further excludes statues that were installed before the first emperor of a family held the office of emperor, for instance military honours.¹⁴ Bases for Odonathus have been deliberately excluded since he never in fact tried to seize power. There are at least two bases for Zenobia in Palmyra but these were installed in AD 271, which is before she took the title *Augusta* and her son Vaballathus that of *Augustus*.¹⁵ The evidence for Diocletian in AD 285 has also not been taken into consideration since the time frame is defined by reigns and not by years.

The abovementioned number of approximately 200 portraits of Augustus alone (including miniatures) raises a crucial focus of this thesis, namely the alleged decrease in statuary honours in the third century: for the specified time frame the total number of portraits amounts to less than two thirds of this (not including miniatures), despite the high quantity of emperors *and* family members. In order

¹² Cat. 06-14, 01-148.

¹³ Kienast 1990, 177.

¹⁴ Emperors featuring as the dedicators or supervisors of imperial honours during their military duty will, of course, be mentioned in the discussion.

¹⁵ Hartmann 2001, 176, 201. 301; Kienast 2011, 240-242.

to more carefully analyse what seems to be a salient transformation in statue practice, two specific aspects were investigated for the years AD 222-285: a) the statuary and inscriptional evidence for the members of the imperial families throughout the Roman Empire b) both the imperial and the non-imperial evidence in four major cities of the Empire: Leptis Magna, Athens, Ephesos, and Aphrodisias. Where possible, the resulting numbers will be discussed in relation to subsequent, and especially to preceding centuries, while highlighting the limitations of this approach. From the abundant range of information that can be retrieved from the compiled evidence, this thesis focuses primarily on honorands, awarders, and the chronological and geographic distribution within their historic context.¹⁶

I.1 HONORIFIC STATUARY

Honorific statuary, the 'free-standing sculptural representation of full figures [...] life-size or larger'¹⁷ representing illustrious contemporaries did not only decisively shape the ancient cityscape, but was also a central element of Roman society. Today mainly stray fragments, such as severed portrait heads, decapitated torsos, and battered bases, are left of what was once imposing displays of Roman self-conception. Formerly towering above the common passers-by, elevated by inscribed pedestals within a carefully chosen setting, these preserved scraps of stone, and very rarely metal, are now displayed at eye-level in museums and retain only a small fraction of their original message. Yet, the *entirety* of the portrait,

¹⁶ For reasons of clarity the aspects listed in the appended version of the catalogue have been selected accordingly.

¹⁷ Stewart 2003, 19.

habitus, dress, inscribed text, location, and the surrounding context of these monuments was intended to convey a much bigger range of statements than parading mere physiognomy. While the portrait denotes the individual – also transmitting sets of values through the degree in which contemporary styles and certain traits of imperial portraits were adapted – the statue's body, posture, dress and attributes signify his status or function. Since it is the adaption of imperial traits that facilitates a chronological attribution in the first place, any deliberate departure from this rendition, for instance due to personal or local taste, would render the dating of a statue difficult. The inscriptions chiselled into the pedestal the monuments were mounted on may proclaim, in more or less standardised phrases, certain civil or military achievements, praise the virtues of family members, and affirm the gratitude for the solidarity of a patron or for generous benefactions received.

The honorand with his rank, relatives or achievements is not the only party that received praise on these inscriptions, but the awarder and any personnel in charge of the execution and finance were likewise extolled– often in at least as many words. Raising a statue was always closely and inseparably linked to the resulting gain of the awarder. The awarder, either an individual or a body, expected a continued or even increased gain from this investment. The awarding bodies could be civil institutions, the *boule / ordo*/ council, the *gerousia / senatus*, the *demos / populus*, a whole *polis* (these could also decree or authorise statues without being the actual awarder), or professional associations, such as guilds and priesthoods. The case studies will reveal city-specific preferences and idiosyncrasies regarding the protagonists. Hence looking into the statue habit

within a set time frame and in certain regions does not only facilitate an insight into regional and chronological developments but also into the politics and social fabric of the Roman Empire.

Fejfer distinguishes between ‘private statues’ for non-imperial honours and ‘public statues’ for imperial honours, originating in the designation of the emperor as *homo publicus* as opposed to the *homo privatus*¹⁸. Since both were installed publicly but could be awarded by private individuals¹⁹, this is unnecessarily confusing for the reader. Therefore, in the following the term ‘imperial’ will be used for statues displaying the emperor or a family member and ‘non-imperial’ for the remainder.

I. 2 THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

AD 235-285 – A time of crisis?

This time frame, commencing with the forcible takeover by Maximinus Thrax and constituting the focus of this thesis, has been labelled the ‘third century crisis’.²⁰ The latter term has been refuted by some scholars and reaffirmed by others,

¹⁸ Fejfer 2008, 16-17.

¹⁹ Fejfer 2008, 16-17.

²⁰ Applying solid terms within any progressing ‘system’ such as ‘third century crisis’ or ‘era of the soldier emperors’ might not always be appropriate or even fallacious as, for example, the terms ‘*ars plebeia*’ or ‘triumphal arch’; yet they allow an appellation that an audience can immediately allocate without the necessity of using digressing periphrases. Hence the two former will be used throughout this thesis.

without reaching a final consensus.²¹ The question arises whether the concurring events were actually comprehensively perceived as a state of crisis and to what extent they directly affected the behaviour of the individuals and the communities. In this context, statuary production might prove to be a suitable indicator, because it not only demonstrates whether it was deemed sensible and feasible to invest into costly monuments during such restless years, but also indicates where individual priorities and loyalties lay at the time.

The so-called 'crisis' had several flash points of political, military, financial, economic, and social nature that were all more or less closely intertwined. As in any circle, vicious or not, a definite starting point can hardly be determined. The need for financial means played the most crucial role: the necessity to remunerate soldiers in order to gain and assure loyalty, to finance this constant war for peace, to provide bribes to sideline enemies and civilian revolters. The attempt to provide those means by constantly reducing the content of precious metal in coins, the factual and ideational devaluation of which perpetuated and continually worsened the situation – the issue of money, or the lack thereof – pervaded almost every aspect of the 'crisis'.

The persistent invasions by barbarians in every corner of the Empire required a constant relocation of the forces that in turn exposed new weak spots to the enemies. Usurpations initiated by discontented soldiers that were casually

²¹ Cf. for example *pro*: Martin 2006, 19; *contra*: Alföldy 1975b, 112-129. Further comprehensive studies on the subject, for example: Alföldy 1975b; Alföldy 1989; Krause – Witschel 2006. A comprehensive overview over the development of the scholarly discussion will be given in: 'The Crisis of the Third Century from Michael Rostovtzeff and Andrew Alföldi to Recent Discussions', in: *Acta of the Colloquium "Andreas Alföldi in the Twenty-First-Century"*. University of Wales Trinity Saint David (Lampeter, 31 August – 2 September 2011 (forthcoming)).

selling their allegiance to the most generous commander constituted a further threat ('Kaisermacher'). The regime of a principate with an already less influential senate changed into the dominate of the emperor, who, moreover, now ruled as a soldier.²² The quick succession of new rulers and the violent nature of their acquisition of power exacerbated the instability of the state further. Changes within the social structure allowed men of lower standing to become senators: their inability to deal with the social problems, however, led to revolts.²³ The prevalence and the disintegration of the increasingly influential provinces fuelled internal rivalries.²⁴ The temporary dissociation of the Gallic Empire (AD 260-274) and the Palmyrene Empire (AD 260-272) could not be averted. The constant internal and external fights, which called the men from their ploughs, drained the people and the Empire alike: economic and further financial problems caused by uncultivated lands, food shortages, and inflation reaching a degree which even led to the regression of paying in kind, depleted mines and quarries, and possibly also decreased the quality of the crafts.²⁵ Natural disasters, such as earthquakes, diseases, such as the plague, population decreases and religious and moral crises²⁶ – mirrored in the sacrifice edict by Decius and leading to the persecution of the Christians under him and later under Valerian – shook the Empire further. It would be more than comprehensible if an empire bearing so many challenges would, at least temporarily, refrain from investing into costly statuary and distribute the money for more direct gain. But was this indeed the case?

²² Alföldy 1975b, 119; Alföldy 1989, 328.

²³ Alföldy 1975b, 120-21; Alföldy 1989, 330.

²⁴ Alföldy 1975b, 120; Alföldy 1989, 330; cf. also Erism 1986, 32.

²⁵ Cf. *cum grano salis*: Cypr. *Demetr.*; Alföldy 1975b, 119. 121; Alföldy 1989, 331-332.

²⁶ Alföldy 1975b, 121-122; Alföldy 1989, 331-332.

A closer look reveals that these adverse circumstances in the third century AD were actually an aggravation of pre-existing problems rooted in previous centuries²⁷, when statue production was still on the continual increase. The problems the population of the third century faced were those that will inevitably arise when an extensive dominion has to be controlled and 'protected' by a single individual. The decisive circumstances were mutually dependent and created a self-amplifying vicious circle, which, however, did not affect all regions to the same degree.²⁸ It is necessary to bear in mind that we are regarding the totality of these events in hindsight. In how far contemporaries were aware of the actual extent can only be speculated.²⁹ A threat in the east would have presumably not overly alerted the communities in the west, and vice versa. The impact of natural catastrophes will have been primarily of regional concern as well. It goes without saying that such natural catastrophes are in no way century-specific. Ephesos, for example, faced several shattering earthquakes before and after the third century and the plague had already decimated the population in AD 165.³⁰ Natural phenomena as well as spreading diseases were, of course, cleverly utilized by the church fathers and therefore possibly over-emphasised in their accounts of this period, in order to discredit the 'heathens' and their beliefs. The actual impact on the self-conception of the cities and their denizens will be demonstrated in the following chapters. Beforehand, however, the catalysts of the 'crises' shall be briefly addressed.

²⁷ Cass. Dio 72,36,4; Bianchi-Bandinelli 1971, 1.

²⁸ Martin 2006, 19; Knibbe 1998, 10.

²⁹ Alföldy 1975b, 112-129, esp. 116-119, 121, 123-128; MacMullen 1976, 218; Alföldy 1989, 319-342. 345.

³⁰ Martin 2006, 16.

The forerunners of the 'crisis'

The Roman Empire indeed had to face some disastrous first time appearances during the third century: Decius was the first emperor to die on the battlefield when fighting the Goths in AD 251 and Valerianus was the first emperor to become a hostage of the enemy, the Persian King Shapur III, in AD 260 and died in captivity. Both constituted humiliating events, which certainly deteriorated the morals of a proud Empire. Yet many of the third-century problems had been dragging on almost since the beginning of the principate. The devaluation of the currency started as early as Nero's reign (AD 54-68) with marginal and only temporary recoveries. The army's abuse of power to force their candidate onto the throne was not first attested with their acclamation of Didius Iulianus (AD 193) and Pescennius Niger (AD 193-194), but with the appointment of Claudius (AD 41-54) in the first half of the first century AD. Although the praetorians did not chose him from within their own ranks but from the imperial family, they were already acting as 'Kaisermacher'. Claudius, like many after him, also had to face an usurpation when Scribonianus tried to seize power in AD 42, but he was soon abandoned by his soldiers.³¹ The first actual 'soldier', the *eques* and prefect of the praetorians Macrinus, ascended the throne in AD 217.

The influence of the senate had also been progressively reduced from the very beginning of the principate onwards. In AD 69, four emperors and a civil war adumbrated the dimensions of possible disaster. Invading barbarians had been

³¹ Kienast 2011, 95.

troubling the Romans since AD 166 when the Marcomanni started to breach the borders, followed by the Chatti in AD 171 and the Alemanni in AD 213.

Moves to prioritise in favour of the military had already been instigated when Caracalla, in his *Constitutio Antoniana* in AD 212, allowed almost all free men of the Empire to call themselves Roman citizens in order to generate higher tax income to finance the soldiers.³² Yet this opened further conflict as it eliminated one of the most attractive reasons to become a soldier in the first place – citizenship. Fewer men became soldiers, which made the employment of mercenaries necessary, which in turn exacerbated the threat of usurpations.

Nevertheless, not only adverse aspects originated in earlier centuries, but also the mindset of the third century with a heightened interest and engagement in *paideia* and the ‘Second Sophistic’, as well as the retreat into a more private sphere.³³ The latter becomes evident in the increased ornamentation and altered usage of representative spaces of *villae*³⁴ and even more so in a shift in the funerary sphere.³⁵ From impressive, extrovert, self-promoting monuments along the roadside, tombs turn into more introverted, secluded monuments with ornate sarcophagi, charged with metaphors and statements about the life and the values of the deceased, but hidden from the public eye.

³² Cass. Dio 79,9,5.

³³ Borg 2004ñ, 157-8; 165 n. 42; 171-173.

³⁴ Borg 2007, 65-69.

³⁵ Borg, 2007, 53-63.

Statuary in the face of crisis

It is with awareness of these forerunners that we have to consider the circumstances and the consciousness of the third century, which are reflected in the execution and number of honorific statues. In particular for the imperial statuary practice, it needs to be re-emphasised that we must not assume that our hindsight view corresponds with the conception at the time. Despite quick and violent successions, every new emperor will have initially been expected to be the one to stay. Accordingly, a base from Ephesos (03-153) expresses gratitude to Gordianus III (AD 238-244) for having ended chaos and reinstalled peace; another one addresses him as a 'saviour' (03-156). Little did the *polis* know what was still to come. Analogously, every new emperor – with few exceptions, such as Gordian I, who committed suicide – will surely have assumed the same and expected to create a new and lasting dynasty. Hence, no emperor would have received fewer statuary honours because he was expected to be replaced soon. Instead, the remaining statuary tells us about local customs and priorities, about the speed of communication and job execution – all surely influenced by the respective local situation at the time, but unconscious of the 'bigger picture' we place them in. Accordingly, there were no negative messages in the mode of depiction chosen for the statuary. Just as dress and *habitus* convey political statements, portrait features can display virtues, such as military competence and vigour. Any negative interpretations of features³⁶ or the portrait styles are modern-day constructions.

³⁶ Bianchi-Bandinelli 1971 1-21 esp. 3. 6; Kitzinger 1977, 16-18; Wood 1986, 78.

There is, for instance, no desperation, austerity or sorrow in Decius' expression, instead it expresses the *cura imperii/ cura rei publicae*.³⁷

The simplification of the lettering on the bases and a certain sloppiness in the execution regarding the horizontality, consistency in size and spacing, symmetry and respecting the framing border, are suitable indicators for dating bases to the third century. This development is also regarded as one aspect of the change in the epigraphic habit that was assigned to the third century.³⁸ Yet this style of lettering developed gradually and in fact, already occurs on bases with a second-century date – just as high-quality inscriptions can appear in the third century. Disregarding the border can, admittedly, hardly be attributed to contemporary taste or to the sculptors' reliance on the paint applied afterwards. This transformation in the styling of the letters and the inscribed text, however, is not restricted to the medium of statuary but encompasses the entire epigraphic evidence of this period. Obviously, content was regarded as more important than presentation. Economisation considerations, that is the wish to settle for a quicker and thus possibly also cheaper execution, might have played a decisive role in this.

The eagerness to be represented among the notables of the city, best illustrated by the willingness of honorands to pay for the statues granted themselves, further refutes the misconception that there was a decreased interest in quality or even a perception of quality decline. Characterizing these portraits as less appealing or more 'abstract' than their predecessors not only imposes modern

³⁷ FZ 1985, 132; 140.

³⁸ Cf. for example MacMullen 1982, 233-246; Witschel 2006b, 359-411.

standards of aesthetics, but also does not do justice to the images.³⁹ The statuary habit and any possible changes thereof display the contemporaneous value system but not least contemporaneous taste.

I.3 STRUCTURE

The following is divided into analysis and catalogue. The analysis is again subdivided into a discussion of imperial and of non-imperial statuary. The first part will introduce all identifiable imperial evidence for the years AD 222-285 which is preserved throughout the entire Roman Empire (Pl. Ch.I. ⁴⁰). Chapter II will present the extant statuary, while Chapter III will introduce the pedestals and relate them to said statuary. Since it is primarily the imperial evidence that enables us to date the remainder of material, the methodology applied for both the statuary and the epigraphy will be discussed respectively in Chapters II and III. In Chapters IV-IX, which form the second part, the entire honorific statuary evidence of the years AD 222-285 will be investigated in case studies for four indicative cities of the Empire. After a short introduction to the case studies and the chosen methodology (Chapter IV), the individual developments of the cities Leptis Magna (Chapter V), Athens (Chapter VI), Ephesos (Chapter VII), and Aphrodisias (Chapter VIII) will be presented. The discussion of the imperial evidence starts with the introduction of the statuary to provide 'faces' for the following bases, while the non-imperial evidence starts with the inscriptions. This is due to that fact that in this study it

³⁹ Cf. Smith 1988, 257-258.

⁴⁰ The plates are named and sorted by chapter. On each plate the images are numbered consecutively.

was hardly ever possible to assign a name to a non-imperial portrait whereas the inscriptions frequently provide a vivid insight into familial and occupational correlations. All chapters use tables and charts for clarity and comprehensibility as well as bar charts to visualise the individual developments. The final chapter (Chapter IX) will briefly synthesise and review the findings of both the imperial evidence and the case studies and attempt to draw inferences about the developments of honorific statuary in the third century and the possible reasons for such developments.

The catalogue provides selected references as well as more detailed information on the individual monuments. The imperial evidence is primarily arranged in chronological order, namely by imperial family, and within each family by geography. The statuary and epigraphic evidence, however, are introduced consecutively, to enable the direct comparisons of stylistic as well as of contextual aspects (depending on the chapter, the imperial evidence lists the statuary first and the non-imperial, the bases). The text refers to the catalogue by a number for each entry. For the imperial evidence, consecutive numbers from 01 to 15 are used to refer to the families chronologically,⁴¹ followed by numbers counting the evidence: for example, catalogue number 01-001 for the first portrait listed for Alexander Severus, 02-01 for the first one of Maximinus Thrax, 03-054 for a base set up for Tranquillina, the wife of Gordian III. The non-imperial evidence of case studies is listed with an abbreviation of the city's name Lep (Leptis Magna), Ath (Athens), Eph (Ephesos) and Aph (Aphrodisias) followed by consecutive numbers, for example Ath-01, Eph-36.

⁴¹ For an overview over these numbers cf. Table I.

During the course of this analysis several focal points have emerged. The main questions raised in the following will be: Is there a definite indisputable decline in the number of statuary honours set up in the third century? Can any kind of reasons, triggers or catalysts be determined for such a change and can they be allocated within a chronological framework? Do these developments occur everywhere and to the same extent? Is there a shift in focus and motivation within Roman society that could be held accountable and if so, what does this tell us about this society and its perception of a state of crisis during the third century AD?

CHAPTER II

IMPERIAL STATUARY IN THE THIRD CENTURY AD

II. 1 THE EMPERORS OF THE THIRD CENTURY (AD 222-285)

The era of the soldier emperors constitutes an exceptional phase in the history of the Roman Empire due to the political circumstances of constant turmoil and change. Generals in the provinces were proclaimed emperor by their troops and with equal swiftness, subsequently dropped and killed. The senate was forced into constantly approving new emperors, of whom only few died of natural causes or at the hands of an external enemy, and none of old age. In two instances even entire parts of the Empire broke away temporarily, forming the Gallic Empire (AD 260-274) and the Palmyrene Empire (AD 260-272).⁴² Very few emperors reigned long enough to establish themselves and their families, let alone an atmosphere of continuity for their subjects. The longest reigns are those of the family of Valerian and Gallienus (AD 253-268), who, however, faced numerous usurpers during these years; the family of the Gordians (AD 238-244), which in the first year, however, lost four emperors (including Balbinus and Pupienus who were forced to be interim emperors until Gordian III came of age); Probus (AD 276-282); and Aurelian (AD 270-275).

Due to the lack of archaeological evidence for many of the shorter-reigning emperors, it is not even possible to state their exact number. The literary sources –

⁴² Kienast 2011, 239-242; 243-249.

Cassius Dio, Herodian, the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, and the church fathers – are fragmentary and often unreliable. Cassius Dio's *Roman History* and the appended epitomes as well as Herodian's *History of the Roman Empire* mention imperial statues on several occasions, but these are not included in the statistical evaluation since they might be fictional. The same applies to the account of statuary provided in the *Historia Augusta*, which is indeed abundant. This work is largely based on Herodian, but uses the subject to mask comments on the contemporary political situation in the fourth century.⁴³ Given the underlying criticism of its own era, its veracity is more than dubious and so does not allow for any actual conclusions to be drawn. The reports of the church fathers do occasionally mention statuary as well and provide a fascinating, although biased, view on the events from an Early Christian perspective. They can, however, not contribute any reliable numbers. Where suitable, though, papyri addressing specific statues have been taken into account.

The meagre preservation or even non-existence of archaeological evidence for the vast majority of the numerous emperors and usurpers is certainly due to the brevity of their reigns. Understandably, this is especially true for their portraiture. Since portraits on coins become increasingly inconsistent at the end of this period, discord prevails among scholars in terms of the distinction between the images of several emperors and their family members. Indeed, for many there is no clue as to their identification whatsoever. The *memoria damnata* that was imposed on some of the families appears to be only a minor factor in the

⁴³ DNP *Herodianus* 1998, 467; DNP *Historia Augusta*, 638-639.

preservation, as we shall see below.⁴⁴ Later re-working and reuse, on the other hand, must have played a more significant role. The identification and dating of monuments that have undergone the process of re-cutting is conceivably easier for inscriptions than for statuary, which is prone to losing all distinguishing features in the process. At least 18 of the 37 bases for which reuse is explicitly stated were re-cut later. The *de facto* number of re-cut pedestals is arguably significantly higher.

Now to the sculptural evidence, namely the honorific statuary installed for the emperors and their families relevant to this study. The remains will be considered – where and if possible – by reference to the medium, their number, the material, the portrait types, the attire, and the provenance. The question of a possible assembly in groups, galleries or an individual display of the monuments will be discussed in Chapter III. As mentioned, the imperial evidence will, unlike in the case studies, be introduced in the portraiture first, to provide an image for at least some of names that will recur on the pedestals in the next chapter.

II. 2 METHODOLOGY – IDENTIFYING IMPERIAL PORTRAITURE

Honorific statues or busts were never installed by the honoured individuals themselves. Instead, these were honours and signs of loyalty from their subjects, which could be either groups of people, such as cities and soldiers, or individuals, such as governors. Yet the distinct intention of the imperial authorities for the emperor to be represented in this medium is made apparent by the fact that they

⁴⁴ Also Borg 2007, 51 n. 53.

commissioned the creation and distribution of a 'centrally defined portrait image'⁴⁵. It was 'centrally defined' because recognition was, of course, crucial. Further, there was a vested interest in depicting the emperor in certain attire and postures, and in his 'presence' at certain politically-relevant locations, for example in the *fora* of cities or in camps. The respective awarders must have been aware which kind of depiction and location was appropriate. It was loyal cities, communities, and individuals that showed their solidarity by facilitating and ensuring the emperor's presence. For this purpose some communities even levied – at least occasionally – a particular tax.⁴⁶

The compilation of a conclusive corpus of extant third-century imperial portraiture from across the Empire proves to be rather challenging. Busts and statues are very rarely unearthed with their inscriptions or, in the case of busts, plaques and can hardly ever be correctly assigned. This also applies to the imperial material discussed, which was in no case found in association. An additional difficulty is that the find spots are often unknown because many of the pieces come from the art market or are part of collections. Accordingly, the original contexts – for example, what kind of monument, building or space they were installed in – cannot be reconstructed. Moreover, the remains predominantly constitute broken heads and therefore it is often impossible to decide whether they formed part of a bust or a statue.

⁴⁵ Smith 1996, 31.

⁴⁶ Pekáry 1985, 16.

Contrary to the well-studied display of statues, very little is known about the context of freestanding busts.⁴⁷ They are, admittedly, not honorific ‘statues’ as such and were considerably cheaper to produce. They range in size from waist-length busts to busts that were mounted onto or created with a plinth, and the short bust, which was prepared for insertion, either into a statue, a herm shaft, or a bust shaft which could, for example, be worked from of a different kind of marble. Still, as the ‘abbreviated’ form of a statue, they portray analogous attire and postures⁴⁸. The decision to include busts in this study is two-fold. First of all, as already stated, for many of the broken heads it cannot be ascertained whether they belonged to a statue or a bust and, additionally, with the mentioned short busts transgressing the classification, it is not expedient to exclude all broken off heads. The second aspect is the conjecture that busts could form part of honorific monuments, for instance in the niches of honorific arches.⁴⁹ Similar monuments and buildings of honorific character might have been so used. The display of busts will be discussed together with that of statues in the next chapter.

Portraits far smaller than life-sized, called miniatures in the following discussion, have been excluded from the statistics since they are neither honours⁵⁰ nor parts of statues. Instead they presumably served the same purpose as the images described by Fronto in his letter to Marcus Aurelius,⁵¹ namely being decoration for *villae*, for example, purchasable to demonstrate loyalty. Therefore, they served as political statements and for the self-representation of their owner

⁴⁷ For a comprehensive discussion of the possible display of busts, see Fejfer 2008, 154. 228-244.

⁴⁸ Fejfer 2008, 228.

⁴⁹ Kähler 1939, 474.

⁵⁰ Cf. Dahmen 2001, 7. 55.

⁵¹ Fronto, *Ad M. Caes.* 4.12

in his own sphere. It is also possible that they were used as votives⁵². Their size strongly suggests that all of these heads originally belonged to busts, since a child-sized imperial marble or bronze 'statuette' towered over by the spectator is hardly conceivable.

General aspects of imperial statuary

Since statuary remains are hardly ever found with the corresponding inscription with which they would have presented themselves to the ancient spectator, other ways to distinguish imperial from private portraits and one emperor from the other have to be found. There are five indicators that suggest that an image might depict a member of the imperial household. The first is the preservation of multiple portraits of a person, since the existence of replicas suggests that the depicted individual was of some importance. This rule is, however, problematic due to the brevity of reigns in the third century, which understandably results in a much smaller number of preserved images.⁵³ The second is the scale of the statuary. Imperial statues are often larger than life-size or, indeed, even colossal. Thirdly, the use of precious metals is often considered a further factor. Yet these factors only suggest a comparison of newly-discovered portraits to imperial portraits on coins (see below); they cannot serve as reliable evidence for their identification as imperial imagery. The two over life-size bronze heads of a man found in Brixia, for example, are believed to be – with a high degree of certainty – private portraits (Pl. Ch.II.1a, b);⁵⁴ this is definitely the case with the

⁵² Dahmen 2001, 53-57; 96.

⁵³ Bergmann 1977, 106.

⁵⁴ Cf. e.g. Bergmann 1977, 117; Brixia 2003, 63.

bronze portrait found near Ephesos (Eph-55a). Another clue is the context in which the image was found. Thus the location of the original installation can reveal the political importance of the depicted if the statuary was found in public spaces or on public monuments such as *fora* or honorific arches. The last but certainly the most unequivocal indication for imperial individuals are specific attributes such as 'crowns', the *corona civica* for example, because certain headgear could not be worn by anyone of a lesser standing.

The following additional insights can be deduced from imperial depictions whose validity has been confirmed: The emperor's posture in statuary is either standing, riding on horseback or sitting. These three basic types could be displayed in combination with the following vestments: the *statua togata*, either with an unveiled or veiled head (*capite velato*), when in the function of *pontifex maximus* or while sacrificing; *loricata*, in cuirass, when in the function of a general; and in the heroic nude or semi-nude, often with a *paludamentum*, cloak or hip mantle. The latter originated from mythological and religious contexts and exhibited, depending on the attributes, either the demeanour of a *heros* or god.⁵⁵ The same codes of depiction apply to male heirs. The imperial females, on the other hand, are depicted more plainly with modest 'draped statues', which can, again through the addition of attributes, sometimes be in the guise of goddesses or personifications. If these attributes are lost, distinguishing between the representation as a human or as a divinity is almost impossible.

⁵⁵ Cf. Simon 1986, 52; Hallett 2005, 102; 217-222; 223-270; Højte 2005, 43.

‘Copy comparison’

If any of the abovementioned features occur in a sculptural image, the next step is to conduct a study of *‘Porträtforschung’* or ‘copy comparison’. This method forms the basis for the appended catalogue since the remaining identifiable images are predominantly body-less heads. Copy comparison allows the identification of an emperor by comparing the surviving portraits according to specific key characteristics. This approach was first used in the observation of the consistent lock pattern in portraits of the emperor Augustus.⁵⁶ It was subsequently developed to allow for the recognition of further physiognomic and stylistic features, which were then used in the determination and distinction of countless imperial and non-imperial individuals.⁵⁷

This method of identifying and assigning imperial portraits is primarily dependent on the coins minted during the reign of the respective emperors. The chance of numismatic evidence being preserved is much higher, since coins were produced in much larger quantities than statuary. Most of the emperors and usurpers we are lacking statuary evidence for are still well documented on coins; indeed, some of them we are familiar with merely from this medium. Coins alone would have made the development of an imperial portrait indispensable, since they were, especially in this turbulent time, necessary to pay the soldiers, to keep them calm, to spur them on, or to win their sympathies and support for an attempted usurpation. Accordingly, the portraits on coins were a constant visual reminder to

⁵⁶ Brendel 1931.

⁵⁷ Among the most important studies are: Bernoulli 1886; Brendel 1931; Fittschen 1969, 197-236; Zanker 1973; Bergmann 1977; Massner 1982; Zanker 1983; FZ 1983; 1985; Boschung 1993.

the soldiers where their money came from and where their loyalties should lie. They were designed after a model that was commissioned by the local authorities and 'made available to local centres'⁵⁸. Local mints, sculptors' workshops, and other crafts could then use this model as a reference, for example, for the creation of coins, statuary, cameos, and paintings. Establishing a universal image was necessary to assure immediate recognition by the ancient viewer. This, at least, was the objective.

Coins provide us with a profile image of the emperors and their wives and children as well as with their name. Thus, we are able to gain insights into facial features and hairstyles. Honorary titles or offices can enable, together with the thematic motif on the reverse, an even more specific dating and therewith the chronological assignment of different portrait types. The arrangement of a portrait's hair as well as facial and cranial characteristics, such as the shape of the head, the nose, the chin, and the forehead serve to determine the diagnostic features of individuals and to match these with the corresponding profiles on coins. If such an identification is successful, this statuary portrait itself be used as a three-dimensional paradigm to identify further copies. If several copies of an individual have survived, the comparison between them allows for the specification of key features. The variations further facilitate the establishment different 'portrait types' and local variants. By illustrating the scope of possible deviations, they facilitate classification and therefore the certain inclusion or exclusion of further portraits.

⁵⁸ Smith 1996, 34.

Importantly, the identified sculptural image displays, unlike the profiles on their minted counterparts, the complete assembly of the frontal fringes. The arrangement and number of locks, their direction and the formation of the pincers and forks are the characteristics that are most easily reproducible. The lock pattern is consistent on all images of a specific type and therefore invaluable for modern scholarship. Of course, the value of this feature depends on local styles and traditions, the materials employed, and the sculptor's abilities. Yet if all the factors are conducive, they allow for the recognition of the individual beyond all doubt. If lock patterns were ignored, on the other hand, any identification is rendered impossible, no matter how similar the facial features are to those of a certain emperor. Thus strong similarities in features do not necessarily result in identification, while a complete dissimilarity does not necessarily exclude a successful identification⁵⁹ Modifications to hair arrangements on different portrait types are unproblematic since they also occur on coinage.

Alterations to the lock patterns are also used to indicate familial relations. The facial features on images of Gaius Caesar, for example, are so closely dependent on those of his grandfather Augustus that they are sometimes hard to tell apart. This is, of course, intended and meaningful in itself.⁶⁰ In their case, the frontal fringes are the primary distinctive feature. On Gaius' portraits a slight lateral shift of Augustus' frontal motif occurs. Detailed knowledge and awareness of lock patterns must have been common, because they could be alluded to in portraits of contemporaries that wished to demonstrate their loyalty or by later

⁵⁹ Smith 1996, 33.

⁶⁰ Cf. the study Massner 1982; Boschung 2002, 194.

rulers for purposes of legitimisation and in order to project the virtues of the imitated onto themselves.⁶¹ It is, in fact, this reliability of the emperor's key features that contemporary private portraits play with: They closely imitate the emperor's or empress' looks, but consciously omit or alter the main distinctive characteristics. After all, the individual wants to be associated with and not mistaken for the emperor. The hairstyles of the imperial women were naturally more elaborate than their male counterparts, depicting strands styled with a curling iron or with complex braiding, for instance. Their arrangement is equally discernable and any references to empresses in depictions of non-imperial women are equally modified, as we will see in the case studies.

Apart from the indisputable primacy of the lock pattern, there are also key physiognomic features that can support identification; although these are not as reliable or uniform. This is one of the main reasons why scholars tend to disagree on the identification of most imperial family members discussed in this study, despite the applicability of the method explained above. The meaning of variations in minor features is easily over-valued if these are regarded as intentional. The compendia by Wegner, Wiggers – Wegner, the dissertation by Bracker, and the review of the latter by Fittschen illustrate the prevailing uncertainty and discord concerning the identification of many heads from this period⁶²: To what extent can portraits vary? How closely can portraits of private individuals conform to those of the emperor? How many degrees may the angle of the nose or the chin vary before the portrait has to be discounted as a representation of a certain emperor?

⁶¹ Massner 1982, 4-5. Cf. also the comprehensive usage of references to Alexander the Great utilized by Cn. Pompeius; Michel 1967, 35-66.

⁶² Wiggers – Wegner 1971; Wegner 1979; Bracker 1965; Fittschen 1969, 197-236.

The portraiture of Gallienus can serve as a useful example to visualize the spectrum within which the physiognomy can range. Not only does his portrait age with him and change types as was customary in the early Empire and amongst long reigning emperors, even the shape of his head changes several times during his reign⁶³ (Pl. Ch.II.9a-11c). Furthermore, there are also deviant local ‘Sonderbildungen’.⁶⁴ The latter peculiarity demonstrates that the elimination of a portrait due to slightly divergent nose and chin angles has to be considered as hasty and potentially fallacious. As Fittschen has shown, it is only few characteristics – not a broad range of measurable details – that render each imperial individual distinctive.⁶⁵ This is indeed necessary since the idea of the honorific statue would have been lost to any illiterate ancient spectator as well as to hurried passers-by. The depicted had to be quickly, easily and unambiguously recognizable. Although this was certainly not always achieved due to the factors mentioned above, it was certainly the aim of the imperial authority and the reason for the supply of a ‘centrally defined model’ for copying. The viewer was not meant to get involved in a detailed comparative portrait analysis, nor was he able to scrutinise different portraits of an individual next to each other to discern any differences in the curve of the nose or the skull. A portrait that was produced without any actual resemblance whatsoever must have presumably forced the ancient spectators to rely on more general aspects, that is ‘crowns’, *habitus*, or attributes, for instance.

⁶³ Bergmann 1977, 54; esp. 57.

⁶⁴ Wegner 1979, 112-113.

⁶⁵ Fittschen 1969, 202.

It is, however, noticeable that portraits on coins may show similarities between different individuals and, more importantly, divergences in the representation of the same individual towards the end of the era of the soldier emperors. This is due to sudden appointments, rapid successions and the need for a swift coin supply for the troops, which presumably rendered re-cutting a die much easier and quicker than waiting for the new model to be distributed. Further, the emperors' absence from Rome might have hampered the creation of a proper sculptural model that was meant to be used by the mints. As a result, some emperors and usurpers probably did not have the opportunity to create a suitable portrait-model for coins, let alone for the thorough distribution of their sculptural portraits throughout the Empire. As will be shown, this situation is probably also mirrored in the complete absence of many usurpers on bases. These circumstances do, of course, further aggravate difficulties concerning the recognition of sculptural remains.

In one instance, the abovementioned blurring likeness we find on coins can also be noticed in the statuary of two non-related emperors (Pl. Ch.II.2a-3c). The two bronze portraits from Brixia (Brescia) are, in fact, so similar that the museum still assigns them to one emperor, namely Probus.⁶⁶ Yet a personally conducted autopsy in the museum has made disparities obvious: particularly the treatment and elaboration of the hair and the frontal fringes, but also the shape of the chins and of the skulls, and the contours of the hairlines at the neck leave little doubt that these are indeed two different men, Probus and Aurelianus (14-01; 11-01).⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Brixia 2003, 63.

⁶⁷ Also Bergmann 1977, 107-115.

The verifiable method of copy comparison was applied to the compilation of the appended catalogue based on existing compilations as well as on later publications that introduce new heads to the discussion. Since it is not the aim of this thesis to revise the identification of the imperial families but to extract conclusive data from portraits, we can identify with certainty the respective key features and criteria crucial for the identification of each imperial individual will not be reiterated here. Respective discussions can be found in the literature specified for each entry in the catalogue.⁶⁸ The reasons for excluding certain portraits that are part of some of the ‘canonical’ compilations established in recent decades will not be discussed in detail. In my opinion, the respective portraits were either classified incorrectly, are forgeries or in very few cases, modern copies. Portraits incorporated in the catalogue that are usually excluded from these compilations will, however, be introduced briefly.

The identification of individual emperors and their family facilitates the chronological assignation of non-imperial contemporaries discussed in the case studies of this thesis. This is possible because changes in styles, aesthetics, and techniques of imperial portraits were widely adopted. The appearance or combination of certain styles and techniques on imperial portraits thus helps to determine the time frames within which non-imperial portraits were produced. This is, for example, the case for the introduction of the *a penna technique* commonly used during the reign of Alexander Severus, which shows the hair

⁶⁸ The criteria were most convincingly elaborated by: Fittschen and M. Bergmann: Fittschen 1969, 197-236. Bergmann 1977. FZ 1983; 1985. Further discussions on the subject, among others: Bernoulli 1894; L’Orange 1933; Felletti Maj 1958; Wiggers – Wegner 1971; Zanker 1973; Bergmann 1977; Wegner 1979. The studies of Gamer and Stoll on fragmentary bronze finds from camps along the Rhine and Danube have also been taken into consideration. Gamer 1969; Stoll 1992.

stylized like little feathers. A factor that can complicate identification is the later re-working of portraits, which eliminates characteristic features or sometimes combines them with non-contemporaneous styles.

II. 3 NEW AND DISPUTED IMAGES

Quick recognisability through distinct key features is, to my mind, given by the following portraits that were either disregarded or excluded from previous third century compilations but are included in my catalogue.⁶⁹ Although some of them are badly damaged, the individual can in fact still be recognized easily. This impression is confirmed by a systematic inspection of the diagnostic features of their hairstyles.

The two heads that shall briefly be discussed here are stored in the depot of the Vatican Museum in Rome (01-026, Pl. Ch.II.4a-c; 01-32, Pl. Ch.II.5a-c) and are both portraits of Iulia Mamaea, as argued below. Their faces are in an extremely bad state of preservation; only the contours of their eyes, nose and lips are discernable.⁷⁰ On portraits and coin depictions, Iulia Mamaea's hair is commonly parted in the middle, from which it falls in four waves down to the level of her ears on each side. From there it forms another wave before it ends in a braided, furled tail of hair. The last wave can optionally be divided into one or two smaller waves, sometimes with only the merest hint at this design. For examples with no further

⁶⁹ Cf. footnote above.

⁷⁰ Wegner rejected both portraits in a single catalogue entry that also discarded several other images that are included in the catalogue of this thesis. Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 216.

waves cf. 0-027 (London BM 1922) and 01-032 (Vatican 4311); for examples with a hint of one wave cf. 01-017 (Copenhagen 1416; Pl. Ch.II.6b,c) and 01-026 (Vatican 4310); for examples of two waves cf. 01-016 (Rome 4285), 01-042 (Alexandria 3225, Pl. Ch.II.6a), and 01-030 (Holkham Hall). The portrait 01-029 (Vienna I 8) even features a third wave adjacent to the braiding. The miniature head (01-063small) might possibly display one alluded wave, but this remains uncertain due to the poor preservation.

A further characteristic of confirmed Mamaea portraits is the arrangement of the hair on the back of her head. The hair on the left half is folded over that of the right half before they are braided and rolled into a furled tail in six or sometimes seven rows (cf. Pl. Ch.II.5b). The seventh row is usually partly tucked away underneath the row above as on 01-017 (Copenhagen; Pl. Ch.II.6b). The two Vatican heads display the same arrangement, which appears in a slightly more realistic and more easily comprehensible execution of the actual coiffure. In no way does their style constitute a deviant coiffure as Wegner claims.⁷¹ The identification is so unequivocal that heads in an even worse state of preservation – some of them have actually almost lost their entire face, for instance 01-026 (Vatican depot) – could still have been, for the most part consensually, agreed upon. In contrast, a female head in the Museo Nazionale delle Terme (Inv. No. 65189) can be instantly identified as a private portrait despite resemblance to Iulia Mamaea, due to the fleshiness of the features and the differences in the coiffure (Pl. C.II.1c).

⁷¹ Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 216.

Spinola contested the identification of a portrait head in the Palazzo Alberto Spinola in Milan (01-031) as Iulia Mamaea. Yet while he pointed out deviations in the treatment of the eyes, nose, and mouth, he stated within the same paragraph that all of these features are modern additions.⁷² The suspicion that we are dealing with a portrait of Iulia Mamaea after all is confirmed by the hairstyle, which features four waves with a fifth framing the ear and a bun with seven rows. This is also supported by the shape of her face. A further portrait head of Iulia Mamaea (01-061) is part of a private collection and remains unpublished.⁷³ The identification was confirmed by autopsy. The head corresponds with the standard rendering of one subordinate wave and six rows without a folded tip as found on examples in Bochum, Switzerland, Holkham Hall, Vienna, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Crypta Balbi (01-035; 036; 030; 029; 060; 004).

Apart from portrait heads, the catalogue also includes two statues which cannot be identified by copy comparison because their heads are missing but, unlike other headless statues,⁷⁴ their find contexts are instructive and allow for reliable inferences to be drawn. The Pupienus depiction from Piraeus (03-015) could be successfully assigned on the grounds of the shared find spot and its close thematic and stylistic correlation with that of a Balbinus statue (03-016). A statue from Cartagena (01-088) could be attributed to Iulia Mamaea because it was found together with a inscription. It is listed and discussed in the chapter bases.⁷⁵

⁷² Spinola 1995, 25-26.

⁷³ I would like to thank M. Bergmann for pointing its existence out to me in 2011.

⁷⁴ Cf. eg. Deppmeyer 2008, no 169.

⁷⁵ CIL II 3413; Hübner 1885, no 661. Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 206. According to Wegner, the Iulia Mamaea statue cannot be distinguished anymore from the other headless statues in the museum.

II. 4 OVERALL NUMBERS – PRESERVED IMAGES

Comparative evaluation of the sculptural evidence resulted in the allocation and validation of a total of 19 members of the imperial household: 14 emperors, three wives of emperors, one Caesar, and one mother. For this purpose the imperial evidence was subdivided by ‘families’ and subsumed under the name of the longest reigning emperor respectively (cf. Tb. II). This method was applied consistently and was also used for joint rulers and co-rulers (i.e. Pupienus and Balbinus are subsumed under the ‘family of Gordianus’). This way possible patterns such as geographic or prosopographic clusters as well as other coherences emerge more clearly. This approach is practical since the evidence strongly suggests that the creation and distribution of the model-portraits was centrally conducted and controlled by the same authorities. Accordingly, the representation of the ruling individuals was interdependent. This is also illustrated by a milestone from Algeria, on which the *Augusti* Pupienus, Balbinus, and the *Caesar* Gordian III are jointly honoured by the Colonia Nerviana Augusta Martialis Sitifensium (AE 1912, 158).

Compared to the preceding centuries, the remains of imperial sculptural imagery from the third century AD seem sparse. Yet despite the short reign of many of the emperors, there are still a considerable number of depictions. Of the eighteen men, women and children whose identification can be regarded as confirmed, some stand out markedly in terms of the number of preserved images (Graph IIa). As mentioned above, the honours for Alexander and his mother were produced in the transition period before the ‘crisis’ and constitute a reference

group. With 34 images Iulia Mamaea commands the largest number of preserved portraits in this study (plus a miniature (01-063small)). Alexander Severus is represented by 29 depictions.

For the following years, Maximinus Thrax is preserved in 10 images (including five portraits now missing; AD 235-238) and Gordian III 26 (plus one miniature (03-008small); AD 238-244). Strikingly, Gordian's wife Tranquillina is represented in 13 portraits (plus a miniature (03-047small)), which were all produced within only three years of her marriage. Further, the six statuary remains of the emperor Pupienus (AD 238) and the two of his co-regent Balbinus might have been installed within their short reigns of roughly three months (03-01-02, 015-016, 018-021).⁷⁶ However, it is also conceivable that six of them, excluding the examples from Pireas, could have been created before their reign, during their senatorial status.⁷⁷ Gallienus, who was a co-regent of his father from AD 253 onwards and sole ruler from AD 260-268, survives in 17 depictions (plus one miniature (08-012small)).⁷⁸

A smaller number of images have survived of: Maximinus Thrax's son and co-regent (AD 236-238) Maximus (4); Philippus Arabs (4) (AD 244-249); his wife Otacilia Severa (3), who died in AD 248; and of his son and co-regent (AD 247-249) Philippus Minor (2, plus a miniature (04-04small)). Gallienus' father Valerian (AD 253-260) and Probus (AD 276-282) only have two confirmed portraits each.⁷⁹ Traianus Decius (AD 249-251), his wife Etruscilla, Claudius Gothicus (AD 268-

⁷⁶ Kienast 1990, 191; 193.

⁷⁷ As were Eph-07, 08.

⁷⁸ Cf. also the miniature head from Ephesos (Eph-60-5sm).

⁷⁹ Cat. 08-014, 015; 14-01, 02.

270), Aurelian (AD 270-275), and Carinus (AD 282-283) are represented by only one portrait each (Appendix A, Graph IIa). Two examples that are attributed to Gordian I. (AD 238) are, however, not included in these statistics. One of them was rejected because it shows a very young image of him that was certainly created before his reign (Museo Capitolino, (03-047a)).⁸⁰ The second example (Carthage, 03-047b), which, due to the imperial oak wreath and its find spot, must be an emperor, has been convincingly attributed to Gordian I. Yet since it was identified by method of elimination⁸¹ – a method that is legitimate but not acknowledged in this study, since its methodology is based strictly on copy comparison – it was excluded. For the remainder of emperors reigning in-between and during the abovementioned, the identification of imagery is either dubious, controversial or has not yet been possible. Nevertheless, it has to be assumed that for at least some of them sculptural portraiture will have existed. It might even be preserved, but so far no identification has been successful.

As demonstrated in the second paragraph of this section, in most cases the highest number of preserved portraits conceivably belongs to emperors who enjoyed a comparably long reign (Appendix A, Graph IIb). Yet there are exceptions to this rule, such as Maximinus Thrax with a reign of only three years but 10 known images. Conversely, for some long-ruling emperors only a few portraits could be ascertained. Thus, Valerian, Probus, and Aurelian, who ran the empire for seven, six, and five years respectively, are only preserved in one to two portraits each. In this context, the striking lack of imagery of Cornelia Salonina needs to be

⁸⁰ Cat. (03-047a).

⁸¹ Bergmann 1977, 33-34; cat. (03-047b).

mentioned. Bearing in mind the comparatively long reign of Gallienus and the rich evidence for Tranquillina, it is to be expected that several of her portraits must have survived and have simply not been recognised yet. As we will see, this assumption is supported by the epigraphic evidence, in which dedications to her are well attested.

Interestingly, quantitative analysis of the preserved statuary remains illustrates that 'families' form clusters (cf. Graph IIa). Thus emperors with numerous portraits often also preserve evidence for further family members. Alexander and his mother have 63 portraits together, Maximinus Thrax and his son 14, Gordian III with his wife Tranquillina and the two 'proxy emperors' Pupienus and Balbinus 47, Philippus Arabs with his wife and son 8, Decius and his wife 2, and Valerian with his son Gallienus 19. Only four emperors with preserved portraits have no identified statuary for members of their families: Claudius Gothicus, Aurelianus, Probus, and Carinus (5 altogether). The described clusters are even more conspicuous when considering that the extant portraits of imperial relatives and associates have rarely been found together (cf. below). The impression that this concentration and dominating 'presence' of certain families is not coincidental will be strengthened in the discussion of preserved statuary inscriptions.

Cat.	Emperor and imperial family members (including co-regents)	portraits ⁸²	total
01	Alexander Severus (AD 222-235) Iulia Mamaea (mother)	29 34	63
02	Maximinus Thrax (AD 235-238) Maximus (son & <i>Caesar</i> AD 236)	10 4	14
03	Gordian I (AD 238) Pupienus (co-regent) (AD 238) Balbinus (co-regent) (AD 238) Gordian III (AD 238-244) Furia Sabinia Tranquillina (wife, since AD 241!)	(2; not included see discussion) 6 2 26 13	47
04	Philippus Arabs (AD 244-249) Otacilia Severa (wife) Philippus minor (son; <i>Caesar</i> (AD 244); <i>Augustus</i> (AD 247))	3 3 2	8
05	Decius (AD 249-251) Herennia Etruscilla (wife)	1 1	2
08	Valerianus (AD 253-260) Gallienus (AD 253-268)	2 17	19
10	Claudius Gothicus (AD 268-270)	1	1
11	Aurelianus (AD 270-275)	1	1
14	Probus (AD 276-282)	2	2
15	Carinus (AD 283-285) (<i>Caesar</i> 282)	1	1

Tb. II. Overview of the preserved imperial statuary

⁸² 'Miniature' depictions are not included.

Individual numbers – types and subgroups

Within the period of their reign, the portraits of imperial individuals can change beyond mere variation. These changes facilitate a more exact dating of the image by means of comparison to parallel developments on coins. If they are profound, such as the introduction of a new scheme in the hairstyle for example, the images constitute different ‘portrait types’. However, although a clear development is recognizable in the portraiture of Alexander Severus, his portraits do not constitute different ‘types’ but only mirror his maturation, as Fittschen pointed out.⁸³ His image ‘ages’ with him from boyhood to manhood: His beard is increasingly depicted as long and full and his skull profile elongates from a puerile roundness to the head of a young man. Nevertheless, no defining change in the sense of a different portrait type can be detected. On account of these changes we instead can divide his 29 portraits into subgroups, based on the length and the spread of his beard, and date them by means of his coins. There are eight portraits of the unbearded subgroup A (AD 222-224), three subgroup B portraits with a moustache (ca. AD 225), four subgroup C portraits with sideburns and a moustache (AD 226-235) and fourteen portraits of subgroup D with a moustache and the sideburns down to the chin, respectively a full beard (Pl. Ch.II.7a-c).⁸⁴ The transition between sub-group C and D is fluid. The portraits with the longest, most prominent beard, sprawling in curls at both cheeks and throat are marked in the catalogue as D2. In accordance with his aging, this last subgroup also shows

⁸³ Zanker 1985, 118-121; Fittschen 1969, 210-211.

⁸⁴ Fittschen 1969, 210-211.

Alexander's most mature features. His mother's portrait also displays her in two stages of her life, which again do not constitute different types.⁸⁵

The circumstances of Alexander Severus' portraiture also apply to Gordian III. He also only 'matures' by a gradual prolonging of the head's shape and the growing of a beard. His portraits can be divided into the following subgroups: sixteen images in group A that show him with very puerile features (AD 238 - ca. 242), five in group B that display him as slimmer overall and with an engraved moustache (AD 242), and five in group C that depict him with a moustache and side burns (Pl. Ch.II.8a-c).⁸⁶ As mentioned above, the excluded Gordian I, in contrast, seems to have been depicted in more than one type. Since the two portraits show him at two very different ages, although he reigned for only twenty days⁸⁷, it can be assumed that the younger-looking example might have been created before assuming the office of emperor.⁸⁸ The use of an 'early form of the a-penna-technique'⁸⁹ reinforces this assumption. Although it is conceivable that his already existing private portrait⁹⁰ was transitionally used as a model before the second was created – due to his rushed and unwanted appointment through the senate – the head is excluded.

The images of Gallienus can be subdivided into four proper portrait types (Pl. Ch.II.9a-11c). The first is dated to the time of his co-regency and is termed 'Samtherrschartypus' or 'Co-regent-Type' (253-260 AD), and the remaining three

⁸⁵ Bergmann, personal communication, 2011.

⁸⁶ Fittschen 1969, 210-211; FZ 1985, 129-130.

⁸⁷ Kienast 1996, 188.

⁸⁸ FZ 1985, 123-124 no 104.

⁸⁹ FZ 1985, 124.

⁹⁰ FZ 1985, 124.

are 'Alleinherrschertypen' or 'Sole-regent-types' (261-268 AD).⁹¹ The latter comprise the so-called 'Louvre', 'Museo delle Terme', and 'Lagos' types. The co-regency type is used for six preserved portraits, and the three sole reign types for a total of twelve portraits (including a miniature example).⁹² Except for the 'Louvre type', which was introduced when he became sole emperor, the reasons for the creation of new types are uncertain. Their execution, however, indicates changes in style occurring at the respective times. These in turn were caused either by changes in taste and in the perception of portraits⁹³ or by experimentation with extant styles. The latter could draw on various paradigms, only one of which was Augustus, and their associated connotations.⁹⁴

One reason that different types were created only during Gallienus' reign is the fact that he held the office for the longest period of time and therefore had the opportunity to issue them. A second reason was surely his age and physical maturity. This is supported by the evidence for the younger Alexander Severus and Gordian III, who also reigned for comparatively long periods and boast the greatest numbers of depictions, and yet they issued only one type. After all, a portrait type constitutes a programmatic or propagandistic statement. Accordingly, a new type works as a new statement that added to the message imparted by previous types and which could be conditioned by the need to adjust to a new status quo. This is very well illustrated by the adjustment of Augustus' portraits to respective political situations. The progressive change in the images of Alexander and Gordian III contains a statement as well: the promise that they will be capable emperors

⁹¹ Cf. the respective catalogue entries 08-001 to 013, 015 to 019.

⁹² FZ 1985, 135. 137. Fittschen 1993, 222-226.

⁹³ Bergmann 1977, 56.

⁹⁴ Bergmann 1977, 48.

despite their youth. In actual fact, however, both were advised and led by others rather than deciding and leading themselves. If they had lived long enough to reign in their own right, circumstances that made adjustments necessary would probably have led to the creation of new types.

For the remainder of rulers and their families only one type is preserved. This might be on account of our lack of sufficient numbers of portraits that would permit the identification of different types. Yet due to the brevity of most of the emperors' reigns, it appears highly unlikely that these commissioned more than one type. Considering these short time spans, which sometimes only comprise a few weeks, any subdivision of their imagery to facilitate a more precise dating is unfeasible and for the focus of this thesis is also not necessary.

II.5 THE MEDIUM: BRONZE OR MARBLE – STATUES OR BUSTS

Since the surviving remains of imperial imagery are predominantly broken off heads or fragments thereof, it is not always possible to determine whether they originally formed part of a statue or a bust. Some of the examples in museums and collections have been mounted on unrelated statues or busts to make their display more appealing. Therefore it is not always apparent whether the two parts originally belonged together.⁹⁵ In such cases the image will simply be counted as portraits or 'heads'.

⁹⁵ Cf. for example Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 195; Bergmann 1977, 26 (Alexander Severus, 01-001; Otacilia, 04-06).

Unfortunately, only some publications specify the size of the imperial images that are used in this investigation. Uncertainties can derive from inconsistencies in which parts have been measured, especially whether the neck or also modern or amended parts have been included. Different practices have inevitably led to varying sizes quoted in literature. Hence it is inadvisable to calculate potential original sizes from these figures for the heads discussed here. Further, various scholars use the terms 'life-size', 'over life-size' and 'colossal' rather subjectively since there are no specific 'guidelines' for these categories. According to Fittschen, the average life-size proportions of a person are 0,20-0,25m for the head and 1,60-1,80m for the body.⁹⁶ The term 'colossal' is probably best used for statues that are at least double life-size.⁹⁷ For several heads discussed in this thesis, the terms 'life-size', 'over life-size' and 'colossal' are unfortunately the only reference to their size, while in other cases no information at all is provided. Since a renewed measuring is not feasible within the time frame set for this thesis, the terms provided in respective publications have to be maintained despite their vagueness.

The surveyed images range in size from 'colossal' to 'slightly under life-size'. The latter is mainly applied to portraits of women or young boys. The majority of images is, however, either life-size or over life-size. If not characterized as bronze or as being provided for insertion, heads that are life-size, slightly over life-size or not further specified are omitted from the following discussion. Their number are,

⁹⁶ Fittschen 1994, 613-14.

⁹⁷ Fittschen 1994, 613.

of course, included in the total and their details can be found in the appended catalogue.

As is to be expected, the majority of the 158 preserved honorific depictions are in marble. As in any other period of antiquity, statuary in bronze or other precious metals is only preserved in the few cases when it escaped the fate of being melted down for the sheer value of the material. Accordingly, only seven bronze portraits have survived: two heads of Alexander Severus, one of them classified as over life-size; two heads of Gordian III, one designated colossal and one over life-size; and one slightly over life-size head each of Balbinus, Aurelianus, and Probus, the latter two still showing traces of fire-gilding. Their provenances are predominantly the provinces: one was excavated in Rome, two in the Italian provinces, and four in non-Italian provinces. The five 'over life-sized' examples are explicitly mentioned as belonging to statues. Colossal size, if defined as above, generally suggests a statue; so, too, could the use of bronze, but precious metal was used for busts as well, as is exemplified by a silver bust of Lucius Verus (Turin Museo di Antichità Inv.-No. 5456). The material alone does not allow for any further conclusions since the bronze heads are merely occasional survivors. Thus although Alexander Severus and Gordian III have two extant portraits each, other emperors of whom there is otherwise very little or no statuary evidence at all have only been preserved in bronze through a lucky twist of fate. The fact that no portraits of wives or Caesars are among these depictions could also be due to pure chance.

Only three statues are fully preserved, all of which are made of marble. Two of these represent Alexander Severus. The example in Naples (01-006) is 3.79m and can be considered as truly colossal, whereas the statue in Rome (Museo Torlonia 365, 01-012) measures 2.25m and is accordingly not even 1½ times life-size. The third fully preserved statue is a slightly over life-size statue attributed to Balbinus (03-16).⁹⁸ Of further note is the fact that the example in Naples constitutes a re-worked statue of Alexander's cousin, the emperor Elagabalus (218-222 AD)⁹⁹ as does the portrait 01-044.¹⁰⁰ Further signs of re-working can be found on his colossal portrait (01-010) and on two portraits of his mother (01-027, 057).¹⁰¹

13 'over life-size'/'colossal' heads and one slightly under life-size example for insertion¹⁰² were noted in the compendia¹⁰³ as distinctly belonging to statues. This includes five portraits of Maximinus of varying sizes, which are now lost (02-06-10).¹⁰⁴ Another over life-sized head is furnished with large dowel holes for the attachment to a statue.¹⁰⁵ One short bust is reported as probably fashioned for the insertion into a statue.¹⁰⁶ There are six further over life-size heads that are attributed neither to a statue nor to a bust; three of them are prepared for insertion. Two of them are colossal – one prepared for insertion – and hence are most likely part of statues. These numbers need to be considered against the background that among all preserved third-century imperial portrait sculpture a

⁹⁸ Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 244-245.

⁹⁹ FZ 1970, 248-253.

¹⁰⁰ FZ 1985, 121-122 no 101.

¹⁰¹ Cf. the catalogue entry for the relevant literature.

¹⁰² Cat. 03-024.

¹⁰³ Cf. the respective catalogue entries.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Fittschen 1977, 319-326.

¹⁰⁵ Cat. 08-014; Inan – Alfoeldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 130.

¹⁰⁶ Cat. 01-027.

total of 26 heads and one bust are worked for insertion. Insertion was much more common for statues than for busts.¹⁰⁷ Alternatively, in some cases this practice could also have been employed to combine painted marble portraits with coloured stone, accentuating the dress and drapery of busts.

Presumably 21 of the portrait heads are mounted on the busts they were produced with originally. All others are attached to unrelated ancient or modern busts. The suggested numbers are as follows: three fully-preserved and one fragmentary statue;¹⁰⁸ 26 heads and one bust that are worked for insertion; and seven bronze heads, five of which certainly and two of which most likely belong to statues. This amounts to 38 statues, 21 busts and 99 unassigned heads.

II. 6 COSTUMES

The *Historia Augusta* provides us with hints as to how the emperors perceived themselves or how they wanted to be perceived by others. This source reports that in the house of the Quintilii an image of Tacitus was rendered in five different modes on the same panel: he was depicted wearing a toga, a military cloak, armour, a Greek mantle, and the costume of a hunter. It mentions further that this caused him to be ridiculed by his contemporaries, since they solely knew him in a toga as he was not an accomplished general or hero of any kind.¹⁰⁹ Regardless of whether this story is based on an actual occurrence, it mirrors the view of subjects towards the depiction of emperors. The way emperors hoped to

¹⁰⁷ Bergman 1978, 3.

¹⁰⁸ Not counting the one for Mamaea.

¹⁰⁹ SHA *Tacit.* XVI.1-2.

be perceived was obviously not always how the public viewed them. The attire and postures assumed by the images of emperors were iconographic signs that conveyed a message rather than presented actual circumstances. These signs were understood by their subjects and were either commented on favourably or unfavourably.

The analysis of the statuary's apparel is restricted by the preservation of the evidence. Firstly, most heads are broken above the neckline or the remaining section of the neckline is nude and could be inserted into any kind of dress. Secondly, since busts have a slightly higher chance of survival, it is understandable the majority of the costumes discussed in this chapter is preserved on busts. The following only discusses portraits that are confirmed as belonging to the statue or bust they are mounted onto.

The men

The depictions of emperors and their heirs can generally be distinguished by context into military, i.e. on an expedition, and civilian, i.e. at home.¹¹⁰ Given that the situation at the time was one of constant war, with both internal and external battles, and also that most of the emperors rose from military ranks, a majority of depictions in military habit might be expected. Whether this is actually the case will be reviewed in the following.

¹¹⁰ Simon 1986, 52.

Depictions with a toga:

All seven surviving depictions with a toga are preserved on busts and all of those display a *toga contabulata* with a *trabea*. This specific type of toga was prevalent in the third century.¹¹¹ Three of the busts represent Alexander Severus (01-007, 034, 059), one Gordian III (03-045), one the senator-emperor Pupienus (03-018) and two Philippus Arabs, the only proper soldier emperor amongst them (04-01, 04).

Military attire:

A total of three military depictions, all of them busts, have been preserved. One example of Alexander Severus (01-050) shows him with a mantle draped over his shoulders, presumably a *paludamentum*.¹¹² The other two preserved instances are a bust of Gallienus with *paludamentum* (08-019) and a half-torso bust of Gordian III in *paludamentum* and scale-armour. It should be mentioned that Letta assumes that the bronze head in Bochum (01-033) might have been inserted into a '*statua loricata*'. However, no traces of any garment are detectable and therefore this interpretation is certainly based on its provincial provenance, namely near Carnuntum.¹¹³

Depiction in the nude or in heroic attire:

There are four surviving male statues that are shown in the idealized manner of the 'heroic' nude or god-like semi-nude. The two mentioned statues of Alexander Severus both show him in heroic nudity (01-006, 012). Both of them are

¹¹¹ DKP *Toga*, 880.

¹¹² Cf. Bergmann 1977, 26.

¹¹³ Letta 1981, 42.

holding a sceptre; the former flaunts a cloak ('Schulterbausch') with a *fibula* and an additional *fascia* or fillet in the hair, which is strongly reminiscent of the diadem of Greek kings, while the latter is wearing a *paludamentum* around the shoulder. 01-012, in fact, constitutes a reworked image of Alexander Severus' cousin and predecessor Elagabalus and presents him as an athlete ('Athletentypus').¹¹⁴ The presumptuous use of the diadem is a reflection of the representation used for Elagabalus not of that used for Alexander.¹¹⁵ The statue of Balbinus (03-016), our third case, is depicted in the guise of Jupiter and crowned with a circlet. The lifted right arm and the fingers on the left hand are missing, but the posture suggests that he must have held an attribute. Next to him, Jupiter's eagle is sitting on the ground with his gaze lifted to the emperor. A now headless Pupienus (03-015) is preserved only in fragments. These, however, include another eagle, which indicated a depiction similar to the previous. The statue has been interpreted as a 'corresponding heroic statue' to the one of his co-regent.¹¹⁶

Many portraits preserve parts of a nude neckline, which in most cases allows for any kind of dress. In some instances, such as the short bust of Gordian I,¹¹⁷ the neckline seems too broad for a dressed depiction, but this is surely rather an aesthetic element than an indication for a nude depiction. Only heads are preserved of Maximinus, Philippus Minor, Traianus Decius, Probus, Aurelian, Claudius Gothicus, Carinus and therefore their original attire remains unknown.

¹¹⁴ FZ 1970, 252.

¹¹⁵ For further information on Elagabalus' imagery see: FZ 1970, 252.

¹¹⁶ Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 244-245.

¹¹⁷ Cat. (03-047a).

To sum up: the posture of all the preserved imperial statues is 'standing'. With regard to all the preserved male depictions, the majority of these are not displayed with armour as might be expected for the 'era of the soldier emperors'. On the contrary, they feature armour on only three occasions, on four occasions they are shown in the heroic nude or semi nude, and on a further seven they wear a toga in the fashionable *contabulata* style. It is uncertain whether this reflects actual proportions or is due to mere chance. It might also be conceivable that any images with armour were more likely to have been destroyed – even more so if they had been cast in bronze. It is indeed conspicuous that, except for one example (03-002) from Rome, all surviving bronze heads have been discovered the area of the ancient provinces and in the context of military camps ('Kastell Niederbieber' in Germania Superior (Germany), Carnuntum in Pannonia (Austria), Rhyakia in Macedonia (Greece), and Nicopolis ad Istrum in Thracia (Bulgaria)).¹¹⁸ The type of depiction appropriate for display in camps would have been the one exhibiting armour and cast in bronze, which is supported by the evidence Stoll has collected.¹¹⁹ In the third century, military camps were forced to constantly adapt to the new rulers and, since the image of the previous emperor was surely not wished to be kept, it was most convenient to reuse the valuable bronze material. Of course, this is only one of several factors that resulted in the meagre number of cuirassed statuary.

¹¹⁸ Cat. 01-033, 039; 03-013, 017.

¹¹⁹ Stoll 1992.

Headdress:

Besides the three statues mentioned above whose headdresses appear in contexts, some adorned heads allow for assumptions regarding their intended meanings. Wreaths as the *insignia* of the gods, for instance, commonly make reference to certain divinities, which for the Roman emperors is prevalently Jupiter. They played a symbolic role in politics, triumphs, the military, cult and, here less importantly, in the games.¹²⁰ They were primarily awarded as honours but could, of course, also be implemented for imperial propaganda and be representative of conveyed offices, qualities and claims. The public apparently understood the different meanings of specific wreaths as well as their alterations, such as added fascia, which distinguish cultic from honorific wreaths. The portraits reveal a broad range of the wreaths employed in the third century. The portrait head of Alexander Severus from Istanbul (01-040) shows him with an oak-wreath bearing a jewel.¹²¹ This *corona civica* served to characterise him as a saviour and as *pater patriae*.¹²² A portrait of Gordian III (Florence, 03-012) features a badly abraded wreath that has been identified as being of oak¹²³ or of laurel¹²⁴, the latter constituting a *corona laurea*¹²⁵ of a *triumphator*. In either case it must have served as a 'Strahlenkrone', as indicated by the holes into which metal rays were inserted. Therefore, Gordian was depicted in the manner of the god Sol, a guise that also survives for one depiction of Alexander in Tomis (01-037). The solar rays could obviously be employed on different types of headdress. A portrait of Gallienus

¹²⁰ For a quick overview see: BergmannB 2010, 518-519.

¹²¹ Cf. cat. (03-047b) for the possible head of Gordian I. with *corona civica* and uncarved gem or cameo.

¹²² Cf. BergmannB 2010, 204-205.

¹²³ Bergmann 1998, 279.

¹²⁴ Wegner 1979, 22.

¹²⁵ BergmannB 2010, 51-53; 519.

from Rome (08-002), for instance, is surmounted by a spiralled wreath, which Bergmann describes as an ‘odd *strophion*’ prepared for the insertion of similar rays.¹²⁶ On the head of Gallienus from Asia Minor (08-015) the rays were inserted into a rounded circlet. This piece was reportedly found together with a head of Valerian (08-014) which is crowned by a broad circlet. According to Inan and Alfoeldi-Rosenbaum this type is unknown.¹²⁷ A reworked head of Alexander Severus from Ostia (01-010) displays a recess above the hairline that most likely provided for the attachment of a band or metal headwear, the nature of which is also uncertain.

It is striking that none of the preserved images of the emperors is *capite velato*, as is so frequent in, for instance, the Julio-Claudian period. Corresponding to the absence of male *capite velato* depictions, imperial women are not shown veiled – i.e. sacrificing – either. For Caracalla for instance, we still find this kind of representation (cf. Pergamon, Museum. Inv. no 16). Unfortunately, for Decius, whose edict so vigorously demanded sacrificing, only one portrait head is preserved, which, of course, is insufficient to allow for an inference about this kind of representation. Interestingly, however, the number of coins referring to the virtue *pietas* also declined significantly in the third century.¹²⁸

To sum up, ten male portraits or fragments thereof were attired with some kind of headgear. Four of these were excavated in Italy: two come from Rome (fillet, spiralled wreath), one from Ostia (traces of an undefined headdress) and

¹²⁶ Bergmann 1977, 52.

¹²⁷ Inan–Alfoeldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 130-131.

¹²⁸ Hekster – Manders 2006, 138.

another is of unknown provenance ('Strahlenkrone'). From Asia Minor three examples survive: one was found in Istanbul (*corona civica*) and another two are of unknown provenance (one of them a crown of Sol). Further, a pair of statues was discovered at Piraeus in Greece (Jupiter circlet). Finally, a single example comes from the Latin Balkans, modern-day Romania ('Strahlenkrone').

The women

For the headless statue of Iulia Mamaea (01-088) we are left with the description of a standing, draped depiction that cannot be matched with any of the numerous similar depictions in the museum with any certainty.¹²⁹ One bust and one insertion head of Mamaea seem to be wearing a simple tunic (01-027). Four busts, one of them with modern additions, are additionally provided with a cloak, a *palla*, which is draped around the chest or around the shoulders (01-013; 01-018; 01-015; 01-030). Two further examples might have exhibited similar garments with covered shoulders, however, their chest parts are too insufficiently preserved to be able to specify (01-003; 01-057). Further, two busts of Tranquillina (03-014, 034) are depicted wearing tunics in combination with a *palla*, while the robed bust of Otacilia is broken at the neck and might therefore not be an original component (04-06). The remainder of busts unfortunately depict modern additions. With regard to headgear, four images from Italy are crowned with a *stephane*/circlet/'diadem', which in the case of the two re-worked examples certainly also belongs

¹²⁹ Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 206.

to the original¹³⁰ (01-004, 019, 027, 057). The insertion head of Etruscilla, found in the region of Rome, also displays a *stephane* (05-01).

From these observations it can be concluded that women were generally displayed in a decent and modest manner, wearing tunics with or without a *palla*. No attributes or other indications are provided that could support the identification of a guise as a personification or such like. The circlet or *stephane* was simply a symbol of majesty¹³¹ and did not assume any specific meaning as the multifaceted headgear of emperors did. It belongs, like the wreaths, to the divine *insignia* (cf. for example, Iuno Ludovisi. Rom, Museo Nazionale Romano – Museo delle Terme Inv. 8631) and constitutes a reference to a goddess without necessarily being specific as to which.¹³² Importantly, all female imperial portraits with headgear were excavated in Italy.

The function and application of the crowning attributes for the males, however, carry further meaning than merely the symbolism of majesty. They convey offices, qualities and claims. Some of them are easy to read: the *corona civica* designates a saviour of Roman citizens, for instance, or the crown of Sol elevates the emperor above his mortal subjects. For others the intended message cannot always be clearly reconstructed: for example, the concrete meaning of the *strophion*, originally the headgear of a Greek priest or Valerian's unique crown from Asia Minor.

¹³⁰ Cf. the catalogue entry for the relevant literature.

¹³¹ Alexandris 2004, 110.

¹³² Vivamus 2010, 01.03. (<http://viamus.uni-goettingen.de/fr/e/uni/d/01/03>; 'Ehrenkränze', last accessed 01.02.2014).

II. 11 PROVENANCE

The actual placement of statues, their location as well as possible associated statuary, is in the majority of the cases more easily traceable through the bases, which are more likely to remain *in situ* or at least in the vicinity of the original display. Therefore, to avoid redundancy, the subject of group or gallery display will be elaborated on in Chapter 3, which also puts the statuary evidence and the epigraphic findings into a geographical context. The following, on the other hand, will introduce the heads in their chronological sequence by family and in descending numerical order.

A significant number of portraits are of uncertain provenance. For others only the region or city of origin is recorded but not the actual find spot and if it is, it can rarely be confirmed as the original site of installation. Any theories and speculations on ancient installation locations can be found in respective catalogue entries. Portraits with a provenance that was reported in the phrase ‘said to be from’ are listed under this location in the text only if the source is convincing and are labelled with a question mark in the catalogue.

32 of the overall 63 images of Alexander Severus and his mother come from Italy, seven of which (plus one miniature) are from Rome.¹³³ One portrait each of Alexander and Mamaea were found in the Villa of the Gordians. Ostia preserves insertion heads for both: the over life-size example of Iulia Mamaea was found

¹³³ Fittschen altogether assigns 20 images of Iulia Mamaea to Italy, which are elsewhere marked as unknown. Unfortunately he does not give a reference for this. FZ 1983, 31-32.

near the Decumanus, the colossal head of Alexander north of the Decumanus in the Tempio Rotondo.¹³⁴ Alexander's colossal Torlonia statue was discovered at Portus. Further, one head of Alexander and a bust of his mother were found in Otriculum. Two facial fragments of Iulia Mamaea were excavated together with a bust of Alexander in a town house ('Stadtvilla') in Cartagena (Col. Victrix Iulia Nova Carthago), Spain.¹³⁵ The headless statue of Mamaea comes from the same city (01-088). Furthermore, there are two images each from Greece (Corinthus and Rhyakia/ Riakion) and Egypt. One head was found in the region of Carnuntum (Austria) and one in Byzantium (Turkey).

Maximinus Thrax and his son Maximus are represented in 14 images. Ten are from Rome; the others are of unknown origin. According to Fittschen, two of Maximinus Thrax's heads from Rome (now in Casino Aurora) and a further five that are lost today could have belonged to a statue gallery or might have been found on the premises of a sculptural workshop due to their stylistic likeness.¹³⁶ The family of the Gordians is preserved in 47 images (not including the two examples depicting Gordian I. and two miniatures). Twelve images come from Italy: five from Rome, two from Gabii, one each from Ostia (a colossal statue head of Gordian III)¹³⁷ and Otriculum, and one is of unknown origin. The two associated statues of Balbinus and Pupienus were set up in Piraeus (Greece). A bronze head of Gordian III was found near ancient Nicopolis ad Istrum (Bulgaria) and a further example comes from a camp in Niederbieber (Germany). Finally, a bust of

¹³⁴ Deppmeyer 2008, cat. 211. The subject of groups and 'statue galleries' will be raised in the next chapter.

¹³⁵ Cf. for example Deppmeyer 2008, cat. 160.

¹³⁶ Fittschen 1977, 324-325.

¹³⁷ Deppmeyer 2008 cat. 211.

Tranquillina was discovered in a Roman villa in Chiragan (France). It is impossible to allocate provenances for the remaining portraits.

Philippus Arabs, his wife Otacilia Severa and his son are depicted eight times. Five of these were found in Italy: three in Rome, and one nearby Ostia (and one miniature is from Ostia). A portrait of Philippus Minor was discovered in the same villa in Martres Tolosane, France, as the bust of Tranquillina. The remaining ones are of unknown origin. The head of Decius has no provenance, whilst that of his wife was found in Rome.

Valerianus and his son Gallienus have survived in 18 depictions and a miniature. Six of the twelve images presumed to have been found in Italy come from Rome.¹³⁸ The two heads now on display in Copenhagen are interpreted stylistically as being from Asia Minor rather than Greece.¹³⁹ A further example was excavated in Ossonoba (Portugal). The head of Claudius Gothicus is of unknown origin. One bronze head for both Probus und Aurelian were found in Brixia (Italy, 11-01; 14-01; Pl.Ch.II.2a-3c) as part of what was potentially a material depot together with several other bronze images, amongst them one of Septimius Severus. A further head of Probus is of unknown origin. The last imperial statuary evidence of this period is the head of Carinus from Rome.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ Fittschen again marks nine portraits simply with Italy, unfortunately again without further reference. FZ 1985, 137.

¹³⁹ Although the location of discovery is not known, it is noted by Inan and Alfoeldi-Rosenbaum that the declared origin Asia Minor is reliable. Inan – Alfoeldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 130. Cf. also FZ 1985, 135.

¹⁴⁰ FZ 1985, 141-142.

In order to establish regional patterns, the evidence will now be regarded by its occurrence in ancient provinces. These are necessarily artificial constructs, but this method offers valuable insights. By far the largest portion of the overall 158 honorific statuary remains has been retrieved from the region Italia (74), especially from Rome (34). Three further examples come from Ostia, three from Otriculum, two from Brixia and six pieces from other places in Italy. For 26 examples the only available information reads 'from Italy'.¹⁴¹ From the Northern Provinces we have four honorific depictions from Hispania, two from Gaul, and one from Germania. Further, there are three from the Latin Balkans, four from Hellas, three are from Asia Minor, and two from the Near Eastern Province Egypt.

II. 12 CONCLUSION

To sum up, the honorific imperial portraiture currently identifiable amounts to 14 emperors (plus five imperial relatives) of a total of approximately 41 emperors (plus usurpers, plus an unknown number of relatives) in 63 years.¹⁴² The 158 statuary finds are strongly dominated by evidence from Italia (74), and there the site that yielded the most examples is Rome (34). The families with the majority of the preserved remains are also the three longest reigning: those of Alexander Severus (63), Gordianus III (47) and Gallienus (19). This factor, however, cannot be solely decisive since Maximinus Thrax, for example, has been preserved in 14 portraits in three years, while Probus is preserved in two in six and Aurelianus in only one in five years. The most conspicuous numbers are to be

¹⁴¹ FZ 1983, 31-32; 137.

¹⁴² According to the applied methodology.

found in the evidence for women: Iulia Mamaea is preserved in the highest number of extant portraits (34) and Tranquilina boasts 13 portraits within only three years of marriage.¹⁴³

Regardless of the respective length of rule, six 'family clusters' stand out. Instead of a few images of many different emperors, mainly numerous examples of specific 'families' have been found. One reason for this is certainly the snowball effect: the more portraits of one person with certain congruities and occasional deviations are known, the more portraits with the same slight deviations, which initially did not seem to fit into the scheme, can be included. For example, a possible head of Philippus Arabs from the Roman art market has been excluded due a different execution of the chin.¹⁴⁴ However, if another head similar to the canonical ones but featuring this deviating chin was found, both heads could be included.

The following chapter will re-assess the information by evaluating both the inscriptional and the sculptural evidence in context. It will further reinforce the described stronger 'presence' of certain families and the numerical 'dominance' of certain individuals, which is reflected in the epigraphic evidence. In addition to the abovementioned individuals, further emperors and family members will emerge that have not yet been identified in the statuary record and contribute to an even more extensive clustering. On the other hand, as will be seen, the bases will rectify

¹⁴³ Not including the miniatures and the headless statue.

¹⁴⁴ Bergmann 1977, 34.

the impression that some emperors were completely omitted from honorific sculpture and these will noticeably shift the geographic distribution.

Chapter III

INSCRIPTIONS FOR IMPERIAL HONORIFIC STATUARY

This chapter will take a closer look at the surviving statue bases of the emperors and their families. As the statues can provide us with insights about posture, dress, size, and material, the bases offer further information regarding their installation, regional distribution, group display, portrait galleries, region-specific dedicating bodies, and local differences in dedication customs. Some of the questions asked will be: Who were the main recipients of honours in the third century, which emperors and which family members? Is there indeed a noticeable decline in the number of honorific statue installations and, if so, how does it present itself? What statements can be made about the geographic dissemination of these honours? Are there any regional peculiarities or noticeable distribution clusters and, if so, how can they be explained? Further, who commissioned these honours? The answers suggested in the following are based on the compilation of material from the main corpora for Latin and Greek inscriptions, together with the results gained from the statuary evidence analysed in the previous chapter.

III. 1 THE PLACEMENT OF STATUARY

The surviving evidence for whole-body statues shows that these were mounted on inscribed bases, columns, or arches, or could be part of architectural monuments or open spaces, such as the *fora*. They could be installed in a multitude

of different social spaces that could be of a public, private, sacred, or funerary nature. Understandably, the heavy bases were more likely to remain *in situ* than statues or portraits and usually stayed in the same vicinity even if reused.

Bases commonly take the shape of simple square blocks, which could be worked in one piece or brick-built and veneered with a marble plate, or reused column drums. Monumental columns that elevated the depicted high above the passers-by were apparently prerogative only of the emperor.¹⁴⁵ The only potential example of this for the period discussed, the so-called 'Gothensäule' in Istanbul, cannot be securely assigned to either Claudius Gothicus or Constantine.¹⁴⁶ Another possibility of including columns in statuary display was to set the statues on brackets, one-third up the columns, as seen in the peristyle of the agora at Palmyra and Apamea. In such cases, the inscription is chiselled onto the column below the bracket. In the city of Rome, honorific arches had been a privilege reserved for the emperor and the gods since the first century, while in the provinces they could also be dedicated to individuals in high offices.¹⁴⁷ In sepulchral contexts, they were erected for and by private individuals, but the act of doing so required official permission. The preserved imperial honorific arches of the third century will be briefly summarized at the end of this chapter.

Arches also offered potential locations for the installation of busts. Contrary to the well-studied display of statues, very little is known about the context of freestanding busts. In her book about statuary in context Fejfer suggests *villae* as

¹⁴⁵ Fejfer 2008, 27.

¹⁴⁶ CIL II 733; IK 58, 15.

¹⁴⁷ Kähler 1939, 467-470.

installation sites for busts and proposes that these could have been placed in representative spaces as well as in more secluded private sphere.¹⁴⁸ Closed architectural settings, such as in wall niches, consoles, and on shelves, can reasonably be assumed to have accommodated busts. Some of the so-called *tabulae* might have been attached beneath such niches, especially in official buildings, but this must remain hypothetical since they were spoliated or found scattered across the premises. It is further conceivable that busts were used in for funerary contexts, in small military camps where they could substitute imperial statues, in official buildings and in the niches of nymphaea. Busts were *mobile* – unlike whole statues – and could therefore be carried in processions and, with respect to the emperor, also in triumphs. Fejfer provides a variety of convincing locations for the display of busts that she, however, deems too insufficient to be regarded as representative. She lists small columns and bases,¹⁴⁹ herm-shaped socles into which busts were inserted,¹⁵⁰ benches, marble tables¹⁵¹, consoles and altars. None of the discussed displays can be verified, however, for the busts discussed in this thesis. One reason for this is certainly their mobility. Hence, the only indication about possible display can be gained for the full-body statues, provided by their heavy statue bases .

¹⁴⁸ Fejfer 2008, 239-244.

¹⁴⁹ Fejfer 2008, 242-243. Possibly some of the objects described in the epigraphic corpora as ‘parvus cippus’, for example AE 1987 194 (19 x 23 x 11.2m); CIL XI, 5269 (0.95 x 0.68m) could be identified as such bases.

¹⁵⁰ Fejfer 2008, 228-233.

¹⁵¹ Fejfer 2008, 244.

III. 2 STATUE GROUPS AND STATUE GALLERIES

Regarding their assembly in original locations, statues could be arranged either as independent monuments or as planned or ‘grown’¹⁵² groups. The latter present a successive, not contemporaneous, installation of related statues. The assembly of several statues representing one or more individuals without a predefined connection indicates an ancient gallery.¹⁵³ The lack of coherence between the images displayed in a statue gallery means that emperors of different dynasties and centuries could be combined. Such a gallery usually accrued, as evidence suggests, from the habit of retaining or acquiring older statuary because of its ‘*antiquitas*’. It was conceivably easier to obtain a gallery by collecting busts and portrait heads rather than whole statues (cf. for instance, the material from the villa at Chiragan¹⁵⁴). In the *fora* the accumulation of incoherent and independent statuary honours was inevitable, but this phenomenon has to be distinguished from actual galleries.

Actual statue groups are generally composed of several individuals that were installed together and belong within the same context, such as family members or co-regents. Their composition is usually symmetrical and the attire is matching in order to create a unified impression. With the gradual addition of further statues of the same context, a group might ‘grow’ but at the same time, lose the effect of a coherent entity. It should be stressed that a shared provenance from the same city does *not* necessarily prove the joint assembly of statues in a group.

¹⁵² Fittschen 2009, 1133-1134.

¹⁵³ Fittschen 2009, 1134.

¹⁵⁴ Bergmann 2007, 323-339.

Neither does the same dedicator or supervisor, since the evidence shows that some individuals commissioned statues in several cities, it is very likely that one individual also installed statues in different spaces of one city. Only if bases or statues are actually found together should the possibility of an arrangement as a group or a 'gallery' be contemplated. The use of the plural *eorum* in the formulaic *devotus numini maiestatique eius/eorum*-phrase is frequently interpreted as indicating a group display.¹⁵⁵ If a base is using *eius* and an affiliated example is using *eorum*, the latter is further assumed to be a later addition. Since in many cases this formula is abbreviated to *(D)NMQE* or has indeed been lost, a quantitative evaluation of these instances is unfeasible.

The preservation of honours for imperial women or *Caesars* also frequently leads to the assumption of a combined assembly with the emperor.¹⁵⁶ This is possible but not mandatory. From numerous independent monuments for *Caesars* that were installed during the first century AD we know that at least sons could receive separate honours in their capacity as military leaders. Correspondingly, there might have been contexts in which an individual display of imperial wives, mothers or daughters might have been appropriate and desired. Indeed some installations suggest an intentional emphasis on certain female imperial family members.¹⁵⁷

Statues could also share a pedestal, which carried either a joint appellation, stating two names in the Latin dative/ Greek accusative that were connected by *et*

¹⁵⁵ For example Kleinwächter 2001, 121.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. for example I LAlg II, 2 6879 (01-105, Gnaea Seia Herennia Barbia Orbiana – Algeria, Thibilis).

¹⁵⁷ Cf. 08-48 to 54 and the discussion on Falerii Novi in III.6.

/ *kai*, or two separate inscriptions. These double bases are counted as two monuments since they carried two statues. There are 14 imperial examples of such double bases, which are distinguished in the catalogue by the attribution of extended numbers (for instance 03-109-110). It can also be assumed that arches, *nymphaea*, theatres, and similar monuments bore the image of more than one individual or multiple statues of one individual. The following will, of course, only count the individuals explicitly named in the inscription in order to avoid the inflation of actual into hypothetical numbers.

III. 3 METHODOLOGY (IMPERIAL BASES)

The identification of statue bases in inscription corpora proved to be rather challenging since the authors, for example of the CIL, often provide only vague descriptions, such as *cippus* and *lapis*, or no description at all. This uncertainty or cautiousness also becomes evident in the frequent use of the term ‘honour’ in the corpora as well as in secondary literature.¹⁵⁸ The term ‘honour’ (‘Ehrung’) is often applied very broadly to all inscriptions in the dative. This case does indeed denote anything that was erected in the honour of an emperor, but this also comprises altars and milestones. Further, many inscriptions are described as *tabulae marmoreae*, which can be both plaques that were fixed to a statue base or any other kind of honorific monument. Alternatively, these can constitute slabs that were sawn off larger blocks, such as bases, for secondary use in antiquity or more

¹⁵⁸ Cf. for example Pflaum 1969, 144.

recently to facilitate transport, or simply just to save space in museums.¹⁵⁹ In some cases, milestones and altars can easily be identified and excluded on the basis of certain formulaic wordings (e.g. *IOM*, *MP*) if their inscriptions are preserved completely. However, these are often fragmentary and crucial key words are lost. Moreover, altars often use the same exact wording as bases.

For these reasons, it was necessary to establish stringent criteria for the differentiation of monuments bearing statues from other dedicatory monuments. Inscriptions are included as bases if:

1. the honorand is referred to in the dative in a Latin inscription or in the accusative in a Greek inscription and the dedicator is in the nominative case in both instances;¹⁶⁰
2. the monument was convincingly identified as a base¹⁶¹ (for an individual, not a deity or personification) in the corpora or in secondary scholarly literature (for example, in the case studies by Boschung¹⁶² or in monographs and articles about statuary or the Roman military);
3. the monument is an honorific arch, since these were most likely to bear images of the emperor.¹⁶³ In order to be included, they have to be explicitly described as arches either in the epigraphic compendia or in Kähler's list of

¹⁵⁹ Højte 2005, 21.

¹⁶⁰ An indication for the identification of statue bases also recommended by Stuart 1938, 14 and Højte 2005, 19-21. Pflaum 1969, 133-134.

¹⁶¹ Cf. e.g. CIL II, 4507.

¹⁶² Boschung 2002. Cf. the respective catalogue entry.

¹⁶³ Kähler 1939, 374. 467.

arches¹⁶⁴. These monuments sometimes address the emperor in the genitive;

4. the monument conforms to or strongly resembles a monument included on the basis of the criteria outlined above, but is not clearly defined as a base.¹⁶⁵

Doubtful cases are generally excluded in order to maintain the reliability of the compiled list. Examples that are categorised as problematic are frequently fragmentary, do not provide a clearly defined honorand¹⁶⁶ (i.e. a vague either/or-attribution) or are lacking both a dedicator and a convincing description. Some further inscriptions were excluded since their identification as bases proved to be incorrect; they were obviously altars¹⁶⁷ or bases for deities. In shape and appearance some bases and altars are indeed so similar that neither photographs nor autopsy can help resolve the question as to the monument's purpose. Additionally, in some instances altars could also serve to carry images of different sizes ranging from a small statuette to an over life-size statue.¹⁶⁸

For Greek bases the first criterion alone is almost invariably reliable and the number of fragmentary, insufficiently described milestones that were possibly

¹⁶⁴ Kähler 1939, 467-469.

¹⁶⁵ Correspondingly used for exclusion if the monument conforms to or strongly resembles a monument excluded on the basis of the criteria outlined above.

¹⁶⁶ A number of bases might have been identified as third-century imperial bases but due to their poor levels of preservation, they cannot be assigned to a certain emperor beyond doubt. For the chronological development they are therefore nugatory.

¹⁶⁷ *Pro salute* dedications, often called bases, generally make the distinction easy: a deity or personification which is depicted as a statue and mentioned in the nominative (or dative) has been consecrated for the prosperity of the emperor. Monuments dedicated to the emperor and his co-consul are, despite using the same formulaic wording as bases, surely altars rather than double-bases.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. for instance CIL 03, 01379; HD045040; IDR 3, 3, 058.

erroneously carved in the wrong case is comparatively insignificant. For the Latin inscriptions this methodology admittedly entails a margin of error (i.e. fewer inscriptions are included than are actually extant). This concerns, for instance, statuary inscriptions that deviate from the usual custom of using the dative for the honorand. These state the recipient in the nominative instead and have only been included if they were convincingly described as bases.

Importantly, the bases that had to be omitted due to their deviation from the criteria do not distort the proportion of examples attributed to respective emperors. Only the numerous plaques from Rome dedicated to Alexander Severus, which were excluded because their attribution to statues was uncertain, could possibly skew the picture. Despite the strictness of the criteria, it is possible that a small number of monuments might have erroneously been included alongside the bases. Yet the actual number of preserved bases will in any case be higher than the results presented here.

III.4 INFORMATION PROVIDED BY THE INSCRIPTIONS

The inscriptions predominantly consist of the following elements for both Latin and Greek inscriptions:

- i) The Greek examples can open with the phrase ‘with good fortune’ (*ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ*).
- ii) Then the honorand(s), in this case the emperor and/or members of the imperial family, is/are addressed in the Latin dative or

Greek accusative, followed by their familial affiliation, honorary appellations, offices, and titles. The latter three are particularly useful as they allow for a more precise dating. Appellations such as 'saviour', the mentioning of *munificentia* or simple references to the general political circumstances can allude to reasons for the dedication. Since imperial titles allow for a broad dating, scholars can make informed assumptions about the occasions that induced such dedications. In some cases a more specific date is given by reference to the acting consuls at the end of the inscription.

iii) The honorand's appellation is commonly followed by the name of the dedicator in the nominative. Infrequently, some Greek inscriptions can name the dedicator first. Possible dedicators are: the city / *polis*; the people / *demos*; and various councils such as the senate, *the boule*, *the gerousia*, the *ordo decurionum*, and other *ordines*; the eldest / *veteres*; the veterans; military units or leaders thereof; the praetorians; provincial governors; guilds; religious or occupational groups, and different kinds and ranks of officials. If the dedicator is an individual, who is usually male, his rank or offices will also be recited. In the case of bodies, such as cities, this might include their status, for example, *neokoros* or *metropolis*.

iv) Further, the officials in charge of the installation can be mentioned, again with their titles and offices. Since the two offices occurring most frequently are addressed differently in

modern publications, a suitable, uniform terminology had to be found: The terms *ἐπιμεληταί* or *curante* designate the *curators* in charge of the installation of the statues. These were usually equestrians, low-ranking officials, seldom governors or priests and infrequently soldiers. The person referred to by the Latin *dedicante* will in the following be addressed as *supervisor*, a term that secondary literature frequently also uses to translate *ἐπιμεληταί*. These supervisors are often governors, equestrians, priests or other officials. In Greek both offices, curator and supervisor, are referred to in the genitive. The term *ἡγεμονεύοντος* can additionally denote the person under whose governorship the statue was erected and sometimes the consules can be mentioned as well.

- v) The Latin inscriptions mainly end with the phrase (*devotus*) *numini maiestatique eius / eorum* or the abbreviated form (*D*)*NMQE*. Frequently *DD* or *DDPP* (*decretum decurionum, pecunia publica*) is added or replaces the (*D*)*NMQE* and/or the dedicator, marking that they were set up by the decree of the decurions and financed with public money. Besides *pecunia publica*, other financial resources can be specified: specific funds, the dedicator himself, money provided by sanctuaries or military camps, or the surplus of communal budgets. In some cases the amount paid is explicitly stated. A single *P* (*publice*) marks the honour as being set up publicly. Greek inscriptions often end with the phrase *ΕΥΤΥΧΩΣ*, ‘with good fortune’. Inscriptions on

arches can be more detailed and may additionally mention the auspices and banquets held on the occasion of the consecration or the statues ornamenting the arch.

The social status of the dedicator and the location of the base in some cases allow for inferences regarding the type of statue, posture, and dress. Male statues erected by soldiers or in a camp would, as mentioned before, suggest a depiction in a military costume. In other instances, the size, shape and the fitting indicate equestrian statues (cf. 08-096). The material of the statues is usually not referred to in the inscriptions investigated, except for one example that mentions gilding (cf. 08-146). Only in some cases do the epigraphic corpora describe the remains of the fixing on top of the bases so it is possible to assess the material of the statues.¹⁶⁹

On some bases no dedicator is mentioned. It is not always obvious from information given in the corpora whether this is due to the fragmentary preservation of the piece or whether it was intentional. Nonetheless it appears that occasions in which monuments were erected without mentioning the honouring body are relatively few and that in these cases the dedicating body would certainly have been immediately obvious to the ancient spectator from the choice of installation site.

¹⁶⁹ Højte 2005, 28.

III. 5 EVIDENCE BY IMPERIAL FAMILY

Statue bases provide evidence for more than twice as many individuals as statuary. They are dedicated to 42 individuals, 28 of which held the title *Augustus* at some point and 37 of which belong to 10 families (cf. Tb. III.1; Appendix A, Graph. IIIa¹⁷⁰). The number of confirmed bases totals 627, including 14 double bases. The combined number of all statues and pedestals accounts for 785 examples. Since the heads and bases cannot be matched, they have been added up in order to obtain an estimated minimum number. This method is validated by the observation that portraits and bases rarely occur at the same sites, except in Rome. In the few cases that bases and portraits do have the same origin, they were dedicated to different individuals or were retrieved from different find contexts. For Rome, at least 17 of the 18 bases can be excluded beyond doubt as belonging to any of the heads. A remaining 67 portrait heads lack any data regarding their provenance.¹⁷¹

Altogether 12 *divus*, two *diva*, and two *deus* inscriptions testify to posthumous honours. All cases of *divus* and *diva* honours were erected during the reign of the deceased's family, with the exception of two (Claudius Gothicus 10-14 and Decius 05-14).¹⁷² The example for Decius, however, was very likely installed in the month that his son was the co-regent of Trebonianus Gallus. The two *deus* (11-24, 28) and three *divus* honours (11-11, 27, 31.) for Aurelianus were presumably

¹⁷⁰ The Graphs are named and sorted by chapter. On each plate the images are numbered consecutively.

¹⁷¹ Cf. the catalogue with appended literature

¹⁷² Further 02-16.17; 3-088. 098; 08-038. 083; 15-03. 04.

installed during the short interregnum of his wife, before Tacitus' accession.¹⁷³ It is likely that this was also when the epithet *divus* was added to 11-32.

Cat. entries starting with	Emperor and imperial family members (including co-regents) with preserved honorific evidence	portraits ¹⁷⁴	bases	total
01	Alexander Severus (AD 222-235) Iulia Mamaea (mother) Gnaea Seia Herennia Barbia Orbiana (wife)	29 34 -	72 28 4	167
02	Maximinus Thrax (AD 235-238) Caecilia Paulina (wife) Maximus (son & <i>Caesar</i> AD 236)	10 - 4	13 4 15	43
03	Gordian I (AD 238) Gordian II (AD 238) Pupienus (co-regent) (AD 238) Balbinus (co-regent) (AD 238) Gordian III (AD 238-244) Furia Sabinia Tranquillina (wife, since AD 241!)	- - 6 2 26 13	3 1 - 1 84 34	170
04	Philippus Arabs (AD 244-249) Otacilia Severa (wife) Philippus minor (son; <i>Caesar</i> (AD 244); <i>Augustus</i> (AD 247))	3 3 2	22 15 15	60
05	Decius (AD 249-251) Herennia Etruscilla (wife) Herennius Etruscus (son; <i>Caesar</i> (AD 250); <i>Augustus</i> (AD 251)) Hostilianus (son; <i>Caesar</i> (AD 250); <i>Augustus</i> (AD 251) under Trebonianus Gallus, died the same year)	1 1 - -	16 7 4 3	32
06	Trebonianus Gallus (AD 251-253) Volusianus (son of Gallus; <i>Caesar</i> / <i>Augustus</i> (AD 251))	- -	8 8	16
07	Aemilianus (AD 253) Cornelia Supra (wife)	- -	1 1	2

¹⁷³ cf. Kienast 2011, 236.

¹⁷⁴ 'Miniatures' not included.

08	Valerianus (AD 253-260)	2	17	151
	Gallienus (AD 253-268)	17	46	
	Cornelia Salonina (wife)	-	38	
	Saloninus ¹⁷⁵ (son; Caesar (AD 258); Augustus (AD 260))	-	9	
	Valerianus II (son; Caesar (AD 255), Augustus (AD 257))	-	21	
	Licinius Valerianus (brother of Gallienus)	-	1	
09	Macrianus (AD 260-261) <i>usurper, triginta tyranni</i>	-	2	2
10	Claudius Gothicus (AD 268-270)	1	26	26
11	Aurelianus (AD 270-275)	1	34	44
	Ulpia Severina (wife & Augusta)	-	9	
12	Marcus Claudius Tacitus (AD 275-276)	-	3	3
13	Marcus Annius Florianus (AD 276)	-	2	2
14	Probus (AD 276-282)	2	20	22
15	Carus (AD 282-283)	-	17	45
	Numerianus, (son of Carus; Caesar (AD 282) <i>Augustus</i> (AD 283-284))	-	7	
	Paulina (daughter of Carus)	-	1	
	Carinus 283-285 (<i>Caesar</i> 282)	1	13	
	Magnia Urbica (wife)	-	5	
	Nigrinianus (son/ nephew of Carinus (?), grandson of Carus)	-	1	

Tb. III.1. Overview over the imperial evidence between AD 222-285.

To illustrate this numeric trend in the evidence that emerges over the period of 63 years, it is useful to divide this period into units of approximately 15 years¹⁷⁶. This breakdown is particularly convenient because it does not cut through the reign of any emperor (Appendix A, Graph. IIIb, IIIc.). The development expected for the third century, the decline of imperial honours, is clearly

¹⁷⁵ The two bases attributed to 'either Valerianus II or Saloninus' have been added to the evidence of the former in this calculation.

¹⁷⁶ That is 16 (AD 222-238), 15 (AD 238-253), 17 (AD 253-270), and 15 (AD 270-285) years respectively.

discernible in this graph. However, this only applies to the second half of the century, while the middle of the century is characterised by a distinctive peak that is generated mainly by Gallienus and his family (AD 253-260).

In accordance with the statuary, the distribution of the epigraphic evidence describes three family clusters and numeric peaks for the families of Alexander, Gordian and Gallienus (cf. Appendix A, Graph IIIb). Inevitably, these three families provide the vast majority of material. In conclusion, the families with the longest reigns are in fact most prominently represented, yet not in a proportional ratio of years and preserved honours. Accordingly, the family of Gallienus reigned for 15 years and can be attributed with 151 honorific remains; the family of Alexander reigned for 13 years and can be attributed with 167 examples; and the Gordians reigned for only six years but can be attributed with a total of 170 examples (the vast majority by far are for Gordian III. and his wife).

Again, the length of the reigns (or years in office in the case of the following *Augusta*) cannot be solely decisive for quantitative primacy, because Tranquillina was awarded with at least 47 installations during her three-year marriage to Gordian III. This is further supported by calculations of the annual average of installed statuary (see below). Nor can the number of family members be a crucial factor as Alexander's family consists of only three individuals, with his wife, moreover, finding preservation in no more than four bases. Trying to explain the numbers as a result of the enforcement of *damnatio memoriae* on some imperial families is likewise unconvincing. Indeed, some of the emperors for whom ample statuary evidence is preserved allegedly suffered this punishment, among them

Maximinus Thrax, Pupienus, and Alexander Severus.¹⁷⁷ The last being one of the emperors with the most preserved evidence in statuary as well as in inscriptions (albeit not explicitly in bases). Furthermore, it remains unproven that the *damnatio memoriae* (which is indeed a modern term) was ever officially decreed. Deliberately mutilated statues as well as erased names might more likely result from ‘spontaneous’ destructions triggered by local unrests.¹⁷⁸ In any case, deliberate destruction cannot account for the peaks and clusters in the evidence.

Looking at the evidence more closely, it seems that it was rather the beginning of the reigns – the initial circumstances and opportune or adverse preconditions from which the new regnant commenced – than the end and the numbers of years passed that shaped the dedicatory behaviour towards emperors. Imperial authorities in charge of the production and dispatch of model portraits might therefore have been the crucial factor. The peaks and clusters strongly suggest that the respective authorities had a more efficient system or greater opportunity for the creation and distribution of model portraits. An effective organisation, centrally controlled and conducted by skilled individuals, will have immensely facilitated the logistics. Whether this assumption is correct, for these authorities still remain nebulous today, or whether the remains simply reflect the popularity or unpopularity of certain individuals, or whether other factors are the reason for the conspicuous outnumbering of some – mere coincidence can, however, be ruled out. This might be corroborated by the number of images

¹⁷⁷ Cf. e.g. Alexander pro *damnatio*: Dietz 1980, 201, Dietz claims Alexander, but not his mother was deified three years after the *damnatio*; Wegner – Wiggers 1971, 177; Letta 1981, 43; Kienast 2011, 177-178; et al.; contra *damnatio*: Fittschen 1978, 150-151; FZ 1985, 122; Fittschen 1985, 121 n. 21; see also Herodian VI. 1. 4; SHA LXIII. 3 *Severus Alexander*.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. footnote above.

surviving of Gordian III, Tranquillina, Pupienus, and Balbinus. The latter two were senators – and thus appointed by the senate, not ‘soldiers’ imposed by force – and all three emperors were physically present in Rome, at least at some point. These factors surely facilitated the utilisation of more, better, and most of all, established resources. This probably did not merely increase their popularity but resulted in better political connections that aided the distribution of their imagery. Initially Gordianus III’s grandfather Gordianus I and his uncle Gordianus II were appointed emperors and the senate legitimised their claim. However, they never returned to Rome since their joint reign ended after only about 20 days when Gordian I committed suicide following his son’s death in battle¹⁷⁹. Their acclamation took place in Thysdrus and they met their violent demise in Carthage¹⁸⁰, as the crow flies, ca. 173 km to the north. Still we have evidence of five bases for Gordian I and II: two of them were dedicated posthumously (03-088, 098), two come from Asia Minor (03-164, 166) and one from Gaul (03-079) – the latter three erected within a reign of only twenty days. Şahin assumes that the two bases from Perge (Asia Minor) were also installed posthumously in AD 242 alongside an honour for Gordian III,¹⁸¹ which was likewise erected by the *gerousia* of Perge but was found in Mutana. Yet none of these monuments are referred to as posthumous nor do they mention the emperors’ relation to Gordian III, as would be expected in posthumous honours to relatives of the current emperor (cf. for instance, the base from Numidia, 03-098 – AVO AUG N). Instead the two inscriptions refer only to the relation between father, ΠΑΤΕΡΑ [...] ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ, Gordian I, and son, ΥΙΟΝ [...]

¹⁷⁹ Kienast 2011, 188-190.

¹⁸⁰ Kienast 2011, 188-190.

¹⁸¹ A fourth base IK 61, 283 cannot be attributed to any of the three Gordians and is assumed by to be identical with IK 61, 281 (Şahin 2004). Yet the measures given do not correspond.

ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ, Gordian II. Therefore, these bases must predate the reign of Gordian III (238-244 AD).

Even if assuming the information and distribution sequence did not involve the city of Rome as a gateway – which it most likely did and hence the distances that had to be covered will have been considerably longer and the achievement even more impressive – this demonstrates that the process of the news transfer across the Mediterranean, the production of the portrait models, their dispatch, and the production of the statues as well as the inscriptions even in remote cities was achieved at a startling speed and with dutiful commitment.¹⁸² This is particularly well illustrated in the abovementioned case of Gordian I and II, in which portrait models¹⁸³ were dispatched to the faraway cities, Burdigala (Bordeaux; ca. 1400 km from Thysdrus, Africa) and Perge (ca. 1.800 km away) within a brief period.¹⁸⁴ The task of setting up these statues might not have been achieved within the Gordians' less than three-week reign – a lag is likely – but the information was obviously immediately forwarded and the statues were apparently commissioned and produced without further delay so when the news of the accession of the new emperors Balbinus and Pupienus arrived – presumably with a similar lag – the orders had already been executed. At least seven further bases have been attributed to Gordianus III, which might, due to the corresponding names of all three men (Marcus Antonius Gordianus), actually be addressed to one of the predecessors and thereby further increase the number of their bases.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸² FZ1985, 124.

¹⁸³ For Gordian I possibly the pre-existing model (03-047a) was used. FZ 1985, 124.

¹⁸⁴ FZ 1985, 124.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. 03-147; 03-159; 03-161; 03-162; 03-165; 03-095; 03-146.

Further evidence for the swiftness with which distances were overcome is provided by Aemilianus, who was proclaimed emperor in Moesia, accepted by the senate, and reigned for 88 days¹⁸⁶ before he was killed in Spoletium. For him only one double base is preserved, but in *Venetia et Histria* (Tergeste; 07-01, 02) instead of Moesia. Florianus and the usurper Macrianus Minor pose similar cases. The former was proclaimed by the troops in Asia Minor and also killed after 88 days in Tarsos,¹⁸⁷ but he is preserved on a base in both Baetica and Dalmatia (13-01, 02). The usurper Macrianus Minor is preserved in two bases during his rule of only one year as *Augustus*,¹⁸⁸ on one base from Greece and another from Asia Minor (09-01, 02).

Alexander Severus already held the office of *Caesar* when he succeeded his cousin in Rome and would therefore have been able to draw on well-established channels for his distribution of portrait models. In the case of Valerian, who came to Rome less than a month after his proclamation,¹⁸⁹ the senate not only legitimised his claims but also appointed his son Gallienus as emperor. This demonstrates that all families that stand out so remarkably in the total numbers of preserved evidence did indeed have the *placet* of the senate and therefore good connections to Rome.

Emperors who are preserved neither in statuary nor on bases are still not completely absent from the archaeological record, since altars and especially milestones with their names on have been found in considerable numbers. Thus,

¹⁸⁶ Kienast 2011, 212-213.

¹⁸⁷ Kienast 2011, 252.

¹⁸⁸ Kienast 2011, 225.

¹⁸⁹ Kienast 2011, 214.

entering the search criteria 'Inscriptionengattung = miliarium; Inschriftträger = Meilenstein; Datierung: 222-285; Status (Person) = Herrscher, Herrscherhaus' in the EDH results in 264 returns with milestone entries.¹⁹⁰ Yet this does not remotely approximate the number that can be extracted from the various epigraphic corpora, which is a multiple of the statuary honours. Milestones were not created as pedestals and altars did not commonly display any portrait statuary either. Both could therefore be produced more quickly and without a model. The portraits on coins, as discussed in the previous chapter, became increasingly ambiguous towards the end of the era 'of the soldier emperors'. The nature of this evidence, portrait-less honours and ambiguous coin portraits, could constitute a further testimony for the presence, or in these cases absence, of competent imperial authorities that could be deployed.

Stuart dismisses the existence of imperial authorities in charge of imperial 'propaganda' for the first two centuries but admits that they were necessary for the third.¹⁹¹ The hypocritical humbleness of the Julio-Claudians regarding their portraits, namely, discouraging the installation of new examples, which Stuart cites as one of his arguments,¹⁹² was, however, surely a programmatic move analogous to the 'traditional' ephemeral rejection and restitution of honours and offices for perpetual legitimisation.¹⁹³ By the third century, antics of this kind were long since obsolete. Stuart's theory that portraits of members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty as

¹⁹⁰ A similar attempt was made by M. Flohr (not published) the results of which are unknown to me. The knowledge that the actual number is indeed much higher was gained during the process of compiling and identifying the statuary. The milestones were collected in the course of this as rejects but have not yet been evaluated.

¹⁹¹ Stuart 1939, 617.

¹⁹² Stuart 1939, 612.

¹⁹³ Stuart 1939, 612.

well as of most second-century emperors were already available before their actual proclamation is certainly valid. In the third century, on the other hand, proclamations were spontaneous and emperors were not equally accepted in all parts of the empire, implying that models at hand were certainly few.¹⁹⁴ An empire-wide availability was, of course, definitely not given. Intrinsically, these adverse conditions render the numbers of the statuary evidence for the third century not comparable to that of the first or second centuries AD. Any direct comparison of these centuries runs the risk of disregarding the unfavourable circumstances in the third century, including the fact that emperors had much less time to establish themselves, less opportunity to become and stay one of the admired 'good emperor', and enjoyed a much more regional popularity. This in turn could, strictly speaking, be regarded as a reason not to refer to a 'decline'. The differing standards and degrees of evaluation of the evidence (see below) are another argument against direct comparison. Nevertheless, comparing the third-century evidence to the preceding centuries is exactly what will be attempted in the following.

III. 6 EVIDENCE *PER ANNUM*

This section will discuss the numbers of extant statuary collected in the light of a chronological background. It has to be stressed in advance that this attempt is strictly hypothetical since for the two preceding centuries verified total numbers are sparse, at least for bases. Højte lists 2,300 bases for 'a period of approximately

¹⁹⁴ For honours predating the reign cf. (03-047a), Eph-07, 08.

250 years'¹⁹⁵, a number which is highly debatable on account of his methodology. Moreover, his numbers do not include bases awarded to the multitude of wives, heirs, and other imperial relatives, which, especially in the first century, would amplify the evidence considerably. This discourages the use of Højte's evidence for direct comparison, but instead his calculations are provided for a general overview (Tb. III.6). For a comparison to a specific first century emperor, the numbers compiled by Stuart (1939) for the emperor Claudius (AD 41-54)¹⁹⁶ will be used unaltered, despite the fact that the evidence has certainly increased in number since his work was published.¹⁹⁷ For a general comparison to the second century, the numbers calculated by Smith will be consulted.

In order to illustrate the decrease in statue production in Late Antiquity Smith compared the number of preserved late portraits to the number of second-century portraits.¹⁹⁸ Based on the evidence, he proposed an average reign of 23 years and an average of eight portraits per year for a second-century emperor and his wife (amounting to 184 portraits: ca. 123 male and 61 female). Further, he calculated a ratio of one preserved portrait to 2.5 recorded imperial statues, arriving 'at a hypothetical total of c. 20 recorded statues per year' ($8 \times 2.5 = 20$). The surviving 158 third-century 'portraits' (excluding miniatures) from a period of 63 years result in a total average of 2.5 portraits per year. Dividing the total of preserved bases and portraits (the vast majority of the latter definitely did not belong to any of the bases) by the number of years (785: 63) yields an average of 12.46 statues produced *per annum*. It is worth noting that if the monuments

¹⁹⁵ Højte 2005, 16.

¹⁹⁶ Stuart 1939, 608 n. 2. 614; Smith 1985, 217.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Højte 2005, 294-318.

¹⁹⁸ Smith 1985, 217.

excluded from the catalogue because of their ambiguity were to be included in these calculations, the result would not bring the total to more than 13 statues per year.

Taking Stuart's work as a basis, the number of statues attested per annum for Claudius would average 11 statues (38 portraits + 105 bases = 143; $143 : 13$ years of reign = 11).¹⁹⁹ Considering that the number of known monuments has increased since Stuart's publication, the actual annual number could be as high as 14.76 (38 portraits + 154 bases²⁰⁰ = 192; $192 : 13$ years of reign = 14.76).²⁰¹ Assuming, as Smith does, that wives received half the number of dedications offered to their husbands,²⁰² this results in an average of 16.5 pieces of statuary.

The following chart lists the figures calculated for the first and second centuries and contrasts them with both the third-century emperors that offer the largest amount of evidence and the last emperor under investigation in this case study:

¹⁹⁹ Stuart 1939.

²⁰⁰ Højte 2005, 294-318.

²⁰¹ Højte lists 154 bases and calculates 10.5 bases per year of reign (sic!). Højte 2005, 594.

²⁰² Smith 1985, 217.

Emperor + wife	Statuary / Portraits	Bases	Reign in years	Total	Statues <i>per annum</i>
Claudius (plus hypothetical honours to his wives)	38	105 (+ 71.5)	13 years	214.5	minimum 16.5
Exemplary 2 nd century emperor	184	368 (=> x 2.5)	23 years	460	assumed total 20
Alexander (with mother) ²⁰³	63	100	13 years	163	minimum 12.5
Gordian	39	117	6 years	156	26
Gallienus	17	74	15 years	191	6.06
Carinus	1	18	2 years	19	9.5

Tb. III.2 Overview of the *per annum* numbers of attested honours for the 1st–3rd century AD.

As illustrated, the average figures calculated for Gordian exceed the equivalent numbers for both Claudius and the model case second-century emperor by more than a quarter. No other emperor reaches, within the criteria applied, even remotely similar numbers. Comparing the four third-century examples, it becomes evident that the number of portraits fluctuated during this period. However, there was no excessive overall decrease as is demonstrated by contrasting the assigned ‘reference group’ of Alexander’s family with that of Carinus.

So far, only couples have been taken into account in accordance with previous studies. Yet, it does not appear valid to exclude other members of imperial families simply for the sake of forcibly achieving comparable numbers. Such numbers cannot, in fact, be considered comparable unless we include children, co-regents, mothers (especially in the case of Alexander) and for the first century, also nephews, grandchildren and sons-in-law. The second century

²⁰³ Including his mother instead of his abandoned wife who is evident in only 3 inscriptions.

emperors, for instance, had few or no offspring. The act of awarding honours to members of the family has to be regarded as another way of honouring the emperor himself. A city that wished to honour an emperor during the third century might have done so by installing statues for up to five different individuals belonging to this emperor's family. During the second century, on the other hand, dedications were often restricted to the emperor, his wife, and his co-regent, which would result – at the same dedication rate - in a larger number of statues dedicated to these specific people. This aspect has to be borne in mind, especially since money was tight during the third-century and it might have not been possible to maintain similarly high numbers for the emperors and their wives while also acknowledging other members of the family. Consequently, the exclusion of family members in the evaluation leads to a seemingly decreased production. Families were, of course, not generally installed as groups, and awarders who wanted to dedicate only one or two imperial statues had a greater range of family members to choose from, since honours for imperial family members represented, of course, honours to the emperor himself.

The theory that the number of honours awarded to the emperor depended on the availability of venerable family members is confirmed when comparing the evidence for the childless emperors Alexander and Gordian III to Gallienus. In calculations of the average number of annual dedications for Alexander, the inclusion of his wife (4 bases) resulted in merely 8 statues, but the further addition of his mother raised it to 12.8 statues. Iulia Mamaea's impact on her son's politics and the fact that he sent his wife into exile justify substituting Orbiana's evidence with Iulia's. For Gordian, taking account of his wife changes the outcome

considerably, since for their three-year marriage alone 13 statues and 34 bases have been preserved of Tranquillina (i.e. $47:3 = 15.6$ p.a.). Further, his grandfather Gordian I, his uncle Gordian II, and the co-regents Pupienus and Balbinus constitute another 13 statuary remains together (the two posthumous bases for Gordian I. included). Including them as family into the calculation further increases the annual rate to 28.3 statues. Even more remarkably, the annual number for Gallienus almost doubles from 6.06 to 10.06 when his three sons and his father Valerianus, with whom he reigned together for 7 years, are included (17 bases, 2 portraits). Finally, a similar picture also emerges for Carinus, whose total increases from 9.5 to 14.6 statues per year after the inclusion of his father and co-regent Carus (16 bases in one year, plus one *divus* inscription), and his brother, his wife, his son and his daughter (44 bases and one portrait in three years).

Family of	Emperor	With wife only	With all relatives	Years of reign
Alexander Severus	101 7.76 p.a.	105 8.07 p.a.	167 12.8 p.a.	13
Gordian III	110 18.33 p.a.	157 26.16 p.a.	170 28.3 p.a.	6
Gallienus	63 4.2 p.a.	101 6.73	151 10.6 p.a.	15
Carinus	14 7 p.a.	19 9.5 p.a.	45 14.6 p.a.	2

Tb. III.3. The importance of including imperial family members into the calculation, demonstrated by the example of four prominent emperors (sum of preserved items/ resulting number per year)

These figures refute the claim of a steady or even significant decline between AD 222-285, especially if Alexander's family is used as a control group.

Even the inclusion of verifiable posthumous honours erected under Alexander for his ancestors could not advance him to a particularly prominent position.

To ease the introduction of this new approach, this study has so far only presented the emperors that could be attributed to the majority of extant monuments as well as to Carinus in order to be able to assess the chronological developments. In the following, the same analytical method will be applied to the remainder of cases (Cf. Tb. III.4).

Family of	Statuary	Bases	Reign AD ²⁰⁴	Total	Per annum
Alexander Severus	63	104	222-235	167	12.8
Maximinus Thrax	14	29	235-238	43	14,3
Gordian III (incl. Gordian I / Gordian II Pupienus/ Balbinus)	47 (0 6/2	123 4 ²⁰⁵ /1 ²⁰⁶ 0/1	238-244 238 20 days 238 99 days	170 5 9	28.3 5) 9)
Philippus Arabs	8	52	244-249	60	12
Decius	2	30 ²⁰⁷	249-251	32	16
Trebonianus Gallus	0	16	251-253	16	8
Aemilianus	0	2	253 88 days	2	2
Gallienus	19	132	253-268	151	10
Macrianus	0	2	260-261	2	1
Claudius Gothicus	1	25	268-270	26	13

²⁰⁴ Kienast 2011, 177-263.

²⁰⁵ Cat. 03-088 is either Gordian I or II.

²⁰⁶ Further seven bases could be attributed to either of the three, or are unconvincingly attributed to be definitely Gordian III. Nevertheless they are included in Gordian III's number above, but marked in the catalogue.

²⁰⁷ Including in one instance literary evidence, as will be specified in the text.

Aurelian	1	43	270-275	44	8.8
Tacitus	0	3	275-276 1/2 year	3	3
Florianus	0	2	276 88 days	2	2
Probus	2	20	276-282	22	3.7
Carinus	1	44	282-285	45	15
Sum	158	627	63 years	785	12.5
Claudius + hypothetical wives	38	105	13 years	214.5 (143+71.5)	16.5
hypothetical. 2 nd cent. emperor + wife	184	276 (184 x 2.5) -184	23 years	460 (184 x 2.5)	20 (184:23) x 2.5

Tb. III.4. Imperial honorific evidence *per annum*, including all relatives.

The new data provide the following results: Gordian's family still yields the highest average *per annum* rate with 28.3 statues (or respectively 26 for him and his wife alone). However, he is now followed by: Decius and Carinus with 15; the usurper Maximinus Thrax with 14.3; Claudius Gothicus with 13; Alexander Severus with 12.8; Philippus Arabs with 12; and finally Gallienus, the emperor with the longest reign, with 10.5. A gradual decline in numbers over time is clearly not detectable. The putative gap between Claudius' hypothetical minimum number p.a. (16.5) and the actual minimum numbers p.a. for the third century has now been filled. Højte's results are listed below (Tb. III.6.).²⁰⁸ The conspicuously high number of examples for Gordian III's family is exceptional for any century, not only the third.

²⁰⁸ Højte 2005.

In order to better observe the quantitative development of portrait dedications, it is convenient to divide the reigns of the four emperors initially examined (Alexander Severus, Gordian III, Gallienus, and Carinus) into smaller units of 5 years (cf. Tb. III.5). The emperors and each year of their reign are labelled by colour to provide a visual impression of the length of their reign compared to the *per annum* number. The 'black' years denote several other emperors reigning in between. By ordering the information this way it becomes obvious that the dedication of imperial statuary not only continued but also increased again toward the end of the century (Fig. IIIe).

222	227	232	237	242	247	252	257	262	267	272	277	282	AD
223	228	233	238	243	248	253	258	263	268	273	278	283	
224	229	234	239	244	249	254	259	263	269	274	279	284	
225	230	235	240	245	250	255	260	264	270	275	280	285	
226	231	236	241	246	251	256	261	266	271	276	281		
A. Severus			Gordianus			Gallienus						Carinus	
12.6			28.3			10						15	

Tb. III.5. Distribution of honours in sections of five years (reigns of four exemplary imperial families in colour; their average minimum number of honours *per annum* below).

The discrepancy between the actual numerical evidence and the average *per annum* production rate as shown in Tb. III.4. points towards an intense installation activity immediately after the emperors' respective accessions. This was probably due to the imperial authorities' attempts to achieve a certain omnipresence in the phase of the emperor's establishment as well as the awarders' wish to ingratiate themselves with the new emperor. Accordingly, numbers wane after this was achieved and an abrupt break can be seen when a new emperor entered the stage.

As discussed above, the emperor's need to demonstrate his claim to the throne, the subordinates' obligation to quickly adjust and exhibit their loyalty, as well as the lack of portrait models in circulation inevitably led to processes which necessarily deviated from the preceding centuries. Strikingly, however, the resulting numbers are not as deviant as might be expected.

The results of the different approaches show that a single criterion is not enough to achieve a valid comparison. Moreover, in order to draw reliable conclusions and understand their implications, actual not projected numbers are necessary. The general tendencies can, however, still be demonstrated: It has been possible to trace a numerical increase in the number of dedications from the first to the second century and a decrease for the third. Yet these results change according to the factors taken into consideration. Besides the family members, also the overall number of emperors in a century has to be taken into account. If the majority of installations indeed took place at the beginning of a reign, the financial strain on the awarders is much higher after numerous short-lived emperors. The individual situation in the cities during the third century also has to be taken into account, as will become obvious in the case studies. At this juncture, it should probably be pointed out that sudden and extreme fluctuations within each century appear to be far more conspicuous than the gradual changes throughout. However, mere chronology has proven to be insufficient to do this phenomenon justice.

Century	Emperor	Bases	<i>per annum</i> ²⁰⁹
1 st century AD			
	Augustus	203	3.2
	Tiberius	153	4.6
	Caligula	28	5.2
	Claudius	152	10.5
	Nero	59	3.6
	Galba, Otho, Vitellius	4	2.7
	Vespasian	83	7.1
	Titus	66	8.4
	Domitian	65	3.2
	Nerva	49	25.5
2 nd century AD			
	Traian	205	10.0
	Hadrian	418 ²¹⁰	19.0
	Antoninus Pius	291	11.8
	Lucius Verus	139	12.5
	Marcus Aurelius	260	9.1
	Commodus	111	4.2
Comparable p.a. numbers in the 3 rd century AD			
	Alexander	72	5.5
	Gordian III	83	13.8
	Treb Gallus	9	4.5
	Volusian	7	3.5
	Gothicus	21	10.5
	Probus	18	3

Tb. III.6. Bases and *per annum* calculation as listed by Højte²¹¹.

²⁰⁹ Højte 2005, 591-606.

²¹⁰ In the case of Hadrian the numbers have to be estimated even higher since Antinoos received a multitude of statues, just like a regular family member.

²¹¹ It shall, however, be noted beforehand that they are not agreed upon by scholars since it was stated that too many monuments which are actually no bases were included. (Personal communication, for example, Chaniotis in 2011).

III.6 GEOGRAPHIC DISPERSION

The following will survey the distribution of relevant statuary remains by region. For this purpose, the Roman Empire has been divided into Italia (including Roma), the Northern Provinces including Hispania, Western North Africa, the Latin Balkans, Hellas, Asia Minor, and the Near Eastern Provinces. These are further sub-classified into ancient provinces²¹² (cf. Chart III.1-7, Appendix B) and cities, the latter of which are listed according to the quantity of preserved material, i.e. cities with more material are listed above cities with less.

ITALIA

Latium et Campania (including Roma)

128 of the altogether 628 statuary inscriptions, 15 of them constitute double bases or arches, come from the Italian provinces, (Appendix A, Graph IIIe; B, Chart IIIa.). With 75 examples more than half of these can be attributed to only two imperial families: the families of Gordian (27) and Gallienus (46). The majority of the preserved bases (18) were discovered in **Rome**. The families of Gordian and Gallienus can again be assigned with the largest number of examples (eight and five respectively), two of the honours for Gallienus being set on an arch (08-022-23). Of the remaining bases, three are dedicated to Aurelianus, two Carinus and Nigirianus, and one to Hostilian, the son of Decius. The absence of pedestals for the family of Alexander Severus is due to the fact that the inscribed marble plaques which form the majority of the epigraphic evidence for him cannot be attributed to

²¹² Abbreviations as cited in the tables and the catalogue, according to the EDH and Højte 2005.

bases with any certainty. For the rest of monuments naming this emperor their identification as a base is equally uncertain, because available compendia do not provide any description of the monuments' shape or nature. This lack of indisputably identified bases is, however, to be contextualized by the number of Alexander's preserved portraits.

To recap: 31 portraits were found in or attributed with a high degree of certainty to Rome, belonging to the families of: Alexander (s:8, b:0)²¹³, Maximinus Thrax (s:10; b:0), Gordian (s:5; b:8), Philippus (s:3; b:0), Decius (s:2; b:1), Gallienus (s:6; b:5), Carinus (s:1, b:2), and Aurelian (s: 0; b: 3); (s=statue/bust/portrait; b=base/inscription belonging to a honorific pedestal).

Unlike other cities (see below), 'the city of Rome' does not appear in inscriptions as a dedicating body. Yet Rome served as a platform where other cities, sanctuaries and provinces displayed their own monuments to demonstrate their loyalty and to get into the limelight. Among these are Tarsos (Gordian III; Via sacra – 03-049), the *asiarch* of the Ephesian sanctuary (Tranquillina; moved – 03-051) and the three provinces of Gaul (Saloninus; Traianic market; supervised by the imperial procurator – 08-024). Further dedicators of monuments installed in Rome are: the *Fratres Arvales*; the praetorians (both Gordian III – 03-052; 03-050); the '*decuriales* of the *aediles plebis* and of the *aediles plebis cerialium*'; and the '*decuriales* of the messengers (*geruli*)' (both for Tranquillina – 03-054; 03-055). The officers of the camp *Castra Peregrina*, the main quarter of the *frumentarii*,

²¹³ s = statuary; b = bases.

which operated as the emperor's secret intelligence²¹⁴, honoured Salonina (the *centuriones deputati* and *c. supernumerarii* and the *c. frumentarii* – 08-021). Furthermore, Carinus received a dedication from a low-level civil servant administering the state funds (*tabularius summarum rationum cum proximis et adiutoribus* – 15-02), which was found in the Flavian amphitheatre.

Equestrians, who feature quite frequently in the inscriptions, appear as dedicators several times: Geminus Festus, a *vir perfectissimus, rationalis* features on a base for the *divus* Nigrianus (Forum Augusti), and Aurelius Victor, *vir egregius*, astonishingly appears on the aforementioned arch for Gallienus and his wife. This is surprising in so far as in the city of Rome it is usually the senate and not individuals who initiate such honours.²¹⁵ Individual honours were also erected by the secretary Numisius Quintianus (*vir perfectissimus, ab epistulis latinis*) for Gordian III and by the *vir clarissimus, praefectus urbis* Virius Orfitus to Aurelian. The senate as a body, by contrast, does not appear once as a dedicator in the capital – even for those emperors that had its *placet*. The reason for this might, however, be of a monetary nature rather than a matter of principal. The emperor obviously had influence on the installation of statues for himself, but the constant wars were expensive and the state money that was available for such 'official' honours during quieter decades might have been invested elsewhere. On one inscription each for Gordian III, Hostilian, the son of Decius, and Aurelianus the name of the dedicator is lost (all from the *Forum Romanum*). A base for Gallienus

²¹⁴ Mann 1988, 149.

²¹⁵ Kähler 1939, 466.

bears a multitude of names, but these prove too fragmentary for any evaluation (08-020).

Falerii Novi, at the Via Amerina, has yielded at least seven statues for the family of Gallienus (08-48 to 08-54). These consist of five single bases – one for Gallienus, one for Saloninus and three for Salonina – and a honorific monument for Gallienus and his wife, which has been discovered at the forum. The nature of the monument cannot be reconstructed with any certainty, but its inscription corresponds to Gallienus' base and is believed to belong to the same context.²¹⁶ Both the monument, which probably carried further statues, and the base for Gallienus reveal at least one reason for the abundant and exclusive worship of this family: Gallienus restored the city's colonial status.²¹⁷ The monument states further that the dedication is founded on the gratitude for the emperor's *munificentia*, benefactions for the city, which were primarily financial support for building projects. In two instances the dedicator is the senate of the *Colonia Falerii*, twice the *ordo* and the *populus* of the *colonia* (for Salonina and on the monument; for the corresponding base the dedicator is lost), and once the senate and the people of the *colonia* (Saloninus). In all five cases in which the curator of the honours is preserved it is the equestrian Tyrius Septimius Azizus *vir perfectissimus, curatore operum et rei publica*. Curators of the city, i.e. officials in charge of its finances, were not necessarily the head-executor of the building projects as in this case.²¹⁸

²¹⁶ Horster 2001, 319 cat. VII 2a.

²¹⁷ Bakkum 2009, 43 n. 27.

²¹⁸ Horster 2001, 203. 204.

In the third century Falerii had no political influence and therefore the abovementioned honours and their affiliation to one specific family are certainly owed to *munificentia* and the favours granted by the emperor. This generosity in turn relied on fact that Gallienus' mother, Egnatia Mariniana, was born in Falerii Novi.²¹⁹ This, in turn, possibly explains the extraordinary focus on the female members of the family. The city's promotion to the rank of colony might well have been part of Gallienus' propaganda and may have served to highlight his patrician roots in the family of the Egnatii.

In **Ostia**, one of the two main harbours of Rome, six bases have been excavated, four of which are connected to the Gordians (03-59 to 03-62). An inscription for Gordian III from the *castro* lists various names of dedicators as well as supervisors. The CIL assumes that this 'collegio' possibly belonged to the *Augustales* of Ostia.²²⁰ The institution of the *vigils* (firefighters and 'police') dedicated two bases. One of these was addressed to Gordian III, commissioned by the *Cohors VI Vigilium Praeposito Vexillatio* and administered by the *praefectus vigilium* (*perfectissimus vir*), the *subpraefectus vigilium* (*vir egregius*) and a tribune. This piece was further financed by five centurions, one of whom acted as the adjutant of the cohort (*cornicularius tribuni*). The second base was addressed to his wife, dedicated by the *Cohortes Septem Vigilium Gordianae* and executed by a *praefectus vigilium* (the *eminentissimorum virorum*, *vir perfectissimus*) acting in place of the praetorian prefect²²¹, a *subpraefectus vigilium* (*vir egregius*) and a *subpraefectus annonae* (*vir egregius*) acting in the place of the *subpraefectus*

²¹⁹ Chaousson 1997, 273-276.

²²⁰ CIL XIV 461.

²²¹ Potter 2004, 370.

vigilium. In the Tempio Rotondo, a fragmentary base for Tranquillina (03-061) was found *in situ* together with a colossal head of Gordian III, a head of Alexander Severus (01-010) and a base for Valerian II awarded by the citizens (08-31). Further statuary finds depict Iulia Mamaea (01-011) and Philippus Minor (04-04). Moreover, Probus features with one base that was retrieved from Laurentium, near Ostia (14-3).

The importance of the harbour town Ostia must have been consistently high throughout the time that Rome was the capital. The supply of grain and goods for the citizens was always of vital importance, even for emperors who never came near the city. Trade meant the presence of merchants and travellers, making both Portus and Ostia ideal venues for the self-representation of both the emperor and any dedicators who wanted their noble gesture to be known. **Portus** does indeed support this assumption with a Greek base for Gordian III by the city of Gaza (Syria, Palestina; 03-063), whose installation was administered by a curator of the sanctuary for the father divinity Marnas. A nude statue of Alexander (03-063) was also found at this site.

Puteoli was both a commercially important harbour, providing grain supplies via a direct transportation connection to Rome, as well as a (popular) holiday destination for the aristocracy.²²² At the entrance of the Marcellum, the Colonia Flavia Augusta Puteoli honoured Alexander with two statues and his wife with one (01-065 to 01-067). Carinus received a statue by an equestrian holding

²²² Brill NP *Puteoli* 235.

the office of *iuridicus* and performing the duties of a provincial governor, while his deceased father (*divus*) was honoured by a *curator rei publicae* (15-04, 05).

In and nearby **Nola**, situated at a large arterial route from Eturia to Paestum²²³, three bases for Gallienus and one for his wife were found. All of them were dedicated by different *pagi*, districts: the *pagus* Agrifanus, the *pagus* Capriculanus, the *pagus* Lantia, and the *pagus* Myttianus (08-27 to 30). Unfortunately, the CIL and AE provide no information on the local context in which these were displayed.²²⁴ **Trebula** set up statues for Philippus minor (04-09) as well as the wife of Gallienus and his son Valerianus II (08-33, 34). The latter probably formed part of a larger monument that bore further imagery²²⁵. All of them were set up *decreto decurionum*. **Gabii**, **Lanuvium**, and allegedly also **Tusculum** all preserve statuary finds but no inscriptions.

Aemilia

Veleia ranks second in Italy with eight inscriptions for seven families, six of them honouring emperors (01-070; 02-18; 03-072, 073; 08-057; 10-02; 11-12; 14-04). They have all been discovered on the *forum* and were all erected (where still legible) by decree of the *decuriones* without further mention of a more specific dedicating body. Only two are physical bases, the others are inscribed on marble plaques. The presumably joint honours for Gordian and his wife (the former a plaque, the latter a marble block) were reused for Gallienus and Probus.

²²³ DNP *Nola*, 974.

²²⁴ Cf. the respective cat. entries.

²²⁵ IL X, 4558; Chioffi 2005, 172 no 215.

The *forum* as well as the city in general was rich in imperial statuary display throughout the centuries, as Boschung has shown in his case study²²⁶. Imperial equestrian statues of the first century depicting Claudius, Vespasian and a third unidentified emperor dominated the space.²²⁷ According to Boschung's study, the basilica was so densely furnished with images of the Julio-Claudians (12+5?) that for third-century emperors, all available space was restricted to less prominent locations such as the *porticus*.

Veleia prospered as an 'important centre of agricultural trade'²²⁸, situated on the road connecting the Po valley with the sea, and was also popular as a summer residence.²²⁹ Both factors had a considerable impact on the city's wealth and its ability to finance such splendour, which reminded tradesmen and especially illustrious and influential 'holidaymakers' of Veleia's loyalty. Just as in ports (see above), the number of visitors and transients passing through the city appears to have had an important bearing on statue display, which might have brought benefits as well as avoided reprisals. The latter is surely particularly true for hubs, which experienced a strong transmigration of soldiers who might have been offended by a lacking expression of loyalty towards the emperor.

Etruria

In **Castro Novo** six statuary inscriptions have been preserved, four of them for the family of Gallienus (08-044 to 08-047). The choice of wording on three of them suggests that these might belong together: The *Colonia Iulia Castro Novo*

²²⁶ Boschung 2002, 25-35.

²²⁷ Boschung 2002, 35.

²²⁸ Schoder 1976, 960.

²²⁹ Radke 1999, 622-623.

installed one statue each to Gallienus, his wife and one of his sons, whereas the fourth might have been set up independently as the people of the city (*Castronovani*) installed it. Unfortunately, the find contexts of all four examples are obscure. The *Castronovani* also feature as the dedicators of a statue for Aurelian (*dd p(ublice)*) (11-06). A base for Numerian that was also excavated at this site only states the *ddp*. Castro Novo was presumably not particularly important, but as a station along the Via Aurelia it was, again, very well frequented by transients.

From the harbour town **Luna**, famous for its marble quarries, three bases are preserved: Two associated examples that were reused for Carinus (from the *ordo lunensium*; 15-11) and his wife Magnia Urbica (the *ordo* and the *populus* of Luna; 15-12), and one fragmentary example addressed to Saloninus (08-055).

Umbria

Carsulae, situated on the Via Flamina, was another holiday destination, which owed this status to the occurrence of hot springs. Here, Valerianus, Gallienus and Cornelia Salonina were honoured with one statue each by decree of the decurions (08-39 to 41). Furthermore, a fragmentary base for Carinus has survived (15-07). **Otriculum** yields three statuary finds, one each for Alexander Severus, Iulia Mamaea, and Tranquillina, but no bases (01-013, 14; 03-009).

Venetia et Histria

Aquileia was situated on a strategic junction and acted as a commercial centre.²³⁰ It was a key venue of the *bellum Aquilense*, in which Maximinus Thrax besieged the city on his march towards Rome – on account of its connections with the senatorial aristocracy – and was subsequently killed by his praetorian guards. The four bases from this site were set up for Philipp and his son, both dedicated by the people of Aquileia (04-11, 12), and for Gallienus and his wife, both dedicated by the equestrian Licinius Diocletianus, *vir egregius* (08-58, 59). The congruency of dedicators probably implies a combined display as a group.

In **Brixia**, where the bronze portraits of Aurelianus and Probus were discovered (11-01, 14-02), two inscriptions for Aurelianus have surfaced (11-07, 08). One of them was commissioned by the *ordo Brixianorum* and the other by M. Au(relius?) Rufi[---] who, as *praepositus numeri equitum dalmatarum*, was the commander of the unit that fought under Aurelianus in the victorious battle against the Alemanni, who also devastated Brixia.²³¹ The Benacenses, who settled nearby at the western shore of Lake Garda,²³² honoured Claudius Gothicus with one dedication.

The remaining cities in Venetia et Histria have yielded only one or two bases each. Of note is the only preserved honour from **Tergeste**, a double base for Aemilianus and his wife Cornelia Supra that was awarded by the *ordo* of the city (07-01-02) since it is the only evidence for honorific statuary for this emperor.

²³⁰ DNP *Aquileia*, 935.

²³¹ Migliorati 2007, 424-429.

²³² RE III,1, 0267 (Hülse).

Except for Veleia, where eight honours for seven imperial families have been preserved, the accumulation of statuary finds in Italian cities always results from clusters of honours for certain families. On six occasions this is for Gallienus' family (between two and six bases), three for Gordian's family (between two and seven bases), twice for Carinus' family (two bases), and once each for Alexander's (three bases) and Philippus' family (two bases). Almost two thirds of the bases from Italy honour the family of Gallienus. 28 portraits (plus a miniature head) are only to be attributed to Italy in general.²³³

NORTHERN PROVINCES INCLUDING HISPANIA

107 inscriptions and eight statuary finds constitute the evidence from the Northern Provinces including Hispania (Appendix A, Graph IIIf.; B, Chart IIIb.). The numeric distribution among the emperors has shifted slightly compared to Italia. Hispania alone contributes 62 bases. Ten of these were installed for Aurelian (a total of 12 bases), nine for Alexander (plus three portraits; total: 20 bases), seven for Carinus (total: 11), six for Gallienus (plus one portrait; total of 14 bases), seven for Philippus (plus one portrait; total: ten bases), and five for Gordian (plus two portraits; total: 11).

Tarraconensis

Valentia is situated 4.5 km from the sea on the east coast of Spain. It was originally founded as a veteran settlement in 138 BC and later prospered due to its

²³³ Cf. the respective catalogue entries.

intensive agriculture.²³⁴ Three of the eight bases discovered at Valentia are addressed to Alexander's family (01-090 to 01-092): to him, his wife, and his mother (the last set up during the time he was *Caesar* and altered when he became *Augustus*). The two sons of Decius, Herennius Etruscus and Hostilianus (05-10, 11), Aurelianus (11-24), Claudius Gothicus (10-09), and Probus (14-06) were further recipients of statues. The veterans and the eldest of Valentia, who formed two political bodies (*ordines*) and two senates,²³⁵ erected all the examples except for two. On one of these two, the base for Alexander, the awarder is lost. The other, the base for Probus, was installed by a *vir clarissimus, legatus iuridicus* of the province Hispania Tarraconensis.

In **Tarraco**, the administrative seat of the governor in Hispania Tarraconensis, the dedicators are manifold. The *seviri augustales*, mainly freedmen in charge of the imperial cult, honoured Alexander Severus on the *forum* (01-089). The *ordo decurionum* set up a statue of Philippus Arabs by decree of the council and under the supervision of a *decurion* (04-20). An equestrian, *vir perfectissimus, a studiis Augusti* – the Ephesian equivalent of this office will feature numerous in the respective case study (Chapter VII) – generously installed an honour for Aelian's wife Ulpia Severina, which was mounted on a reused a base (11-23). Lastly, the governor himself (*vir clarissimus, p(raesidem), legatus Augustorum pro praetore*) exhibited his loyalty to Carus and Carinus (15-22, 23).

²³⁴ Schulten 1943–1948, 2148.

²³⁵ Schulten 1943–1948, 2149; CIL II 3745.

At Colonia Faventia Iulia Augusta Pia **Barcino**, Aurelianus (11-19, 20) received two statues and Claudius Gothicus (10-06) and Carus (15-19) one each by the *ordo* of Baracino.

The **Municipium Saguntum** was, due to its elevated position on a mountain plateau, key to the costal and inland defence of the costal road, up until its destruction in the fifth century.²³⁶ All dedicators of the honours erected for Valerianus, *divus* Aurelianus, Claudius Gothicus, and Carinus are lost. For the honours to the latter three emperors columns were employed as statue bases (08-079; 10-08; 11-22; 15-21).

The *ordo* of **Baetulo** honoured Gordian III and his wife (03-082, 083). On a base for Philippus Arabs this institution is further specified as the *ordo decurionum* of Baetulo (04-17). Of the four remains of imperial statuary honours found in Hispania, three were excavated at **Carthago Nova** (Cartagena; Tar). This site benefited from a harbour as well as rich resources of silver, lead, salt and esparto glass, which was needed for the production of ship-tackle.²³⁷ The statuary comprises one portrait of Alexander Severus and two of his mother (01-034 to 01-036). Further, a headless statue with its base testifies for a honour awarded to Alexander's mother by the *conventus Karthagiensis* (01-88).

²³⁶ Fletcher 1976, 782-783.

²³⁷ Beltrán 1976, 202.

Baetica

Also originally a veteran settlement, **Corduba** was the capital of the senatorial province Baetica as well as the 'seat of the juridical conventus'. Hence it benefited from the merits that such a status entailed²³⁸ and its rank made the city attractive as a venue for displays of loyalty. Therefore, the 'whole province of Baetica' chose to honour Philippus Arabs at Corduba by decree of the council (no remaining dedicator for his son; 04-22, 23). Although some 90 km as the crow flies south-west of the city, the *res publica* of Astigi also decided to erect an honour for Aurelian here (11-16). Astigi, which acted as the capital of one of Baetica's four *conventus* and possibly constituted Hispania's most important exporter of oil²³⁹ facilitated both the monument and the status of the provincial capital to call attention to itself. Further, Gallienus was honoured by the *res publica* of Corduba, while the awarder of his wife's statue cannot be identified (08-076, 077).

The ***Municipium Florentinum Iliberritani*** set up a statue for Tranquillina (*sumptu publico (posuit), dd*; 03-086). For Probus the *ordo* of Illiberis (*dd*) dedicated two bases (14-07, 08).²⁴⁰ Originally 'one or two' more bases with identical inscriptions were found, but these have since been lost.

In the harbour-city of Colonia Aelia Augusta **Italica** the emperors Florianus, Probus, and Carus were honoured by the *res publica* (13-02; 14-10; 15-24). For the former two, the interim governor (*vir perfectissimus, agente vices praesidis*) Aurelius Iulius is named as supervisor. This official is also known to have held the

²³⁸ Roldán 1976, 239.

²³⁹ Brill NP *Astigi* 192.

²⁴⁰ HD030455.

office of *curator rei publicae Italicensium*, a more local kind of governor, under Probus, which under Florianus was still held by Aurelius Ursinus (*vir egregius*). The latter appears as curator on the dedication to Florianus.²⁴¹ Further, the *res publica* of **Ulia Fidentia** set up one base each for Alexander and his mother, both under the same supervisor and curator (01-085, 01-086). Four further cites preserved two bases for members of different families and in the remaining sixteen cities in Baetica one base each is preserved (cf. cat.).

Lusitania

Ossonoba yielded a portrait head for Gallienus (08-013) as well as a pedestal for Aurelianus commissioned by the *res publica* of the city. Further, at **Emerita Augusta** a pedestal for a statue of Gallienus (08-075) and one for a bronze statue of the *Caesar* and later *Augustus* Herennius Etruscus (05-12), son of Decius, were found. The only other known base is from **Aeso** and is addressed to Aurelianus (11-15).

In summary, the allocation of the 62 bases from Hispania to the imperial families is as follows: Aurelianus with 10 and Alexander with nine examples (plus three portraits) contribute the most evidence. They are followed by Philippus and Carus with seven; Probus and Gallienus with six (plus one portrait); Gordian, Decius, and Gothicus with five; and Volusianus and Florianus with one example each. 17 monuments were set up by the *res publica* and 13 by the *ordo* of the respective cities. The cities with the most prominent numbers are: Valentia with eight; Corduba and Tarracco with five; Carthago Nova, Barcino, and Saguntum with

²⁴¹ Governor of Lusitania cf. AE 2001,1130.

four; and Iliberri Florentia, Italica and Baetulo with three examples each. These clusters are, again, mainly created by several honours erected for members of one or a few specific families.

Britannia

In Britannia only one piece of evidence for statuary display is preserved. This is a slab belonging to a double base, which was discovered at Carrewbrough, the site of the ancient auxiliary fort **Brocolita** at Hadrian's Wall. It was dedicated to Maximinus and his son by the *Cohors I Batavorum* and its installation was overseen by the prefect Burrius [...]stus (02-19-20). This meagre number of preserved items is not surprising, but conforms to Britain's general 'anomalous character of statuary production'.²⁴²

Germania Superior, Germania Inferior, Raetia, and Noricum

In Germania Superior six bases have been preserved: four for Alexander (01-074 to 01-078), one for his mother (01-074) and one for Maximinus Thrax (02-21). For one example commissioned for Alexander the awarder is missing from the inscription, while all other bases were erected by troops stationed along the Limes (01-074 to 078). The fact that a woman was honoured inside a camp is not surprising since the title *mater castrorum* constitutes a common honorary title and has been used since ca. AD 174, starting with Marcus Aurelius' wife Faustina Minor.²⁴³ A bronze portrait head for Gordianus III (03-013), which was recovered from the camp at Niederbieber, poses the only find from Germania Inferior.

²⁴² Cf. Stewart 2003, 174-179.

²⁴³ Cf. for example Körner 2002, 36.

In Raetia the *Ala II Flavia Miliaria Pia Fidelis Alexandriana* honoured Alexander in the *principia* of the camp (01-073), and in **Augusta Vindelicorum** the interim governor of Raetia (*vir perfectissimus agens, vices praesidis*) erected a statue for Probus (14-11).

Three pedestals were recovered in Noricum: two for Volusianus and one for Claudius Gothicus. The two examples for Volusianus were found in **Millstatt** and **Kirchbichl**, but they might have originally been set up at Teurnia and Aguntum (06-02, 03)²⁴⁴ since one of them was commissioned by the *ordo* of Teurnia, one of the biggest cities in Noricum; the other was dedicated by the people of Aguntum and decreed by the decurions. A base for Claudius Gothicus was awarded by the *ordo* of **Solva** (10-11). All three of the cities are reasonably sized and hold the rank of a *municipium*.

Gaul – Narbonensis, Lugdunensis, Aquitania, Alpes Graiae,

Alpes Maritimae, Belgica

From Gaul a total of 30 inscriptions have survived. Five inscriptions come from different cities in the province of Narbonensis, yet none of these were excavated at **Chiragan**, where two portrait heads have been found (Tranquillina 03-014, Philippus minor 04-05). Two of the five bases from the province Lugdunensis were discovered at **Segusavi** (04-15, 08-067) and one, a double base, at **Autessiodurum** (01-082-83). Further, two of the five statues from Aquitania were erected for Alexander Severus and his mother (01-079, 080) by the people of

²⁴⁴ AE 1954, 117; CIL III 4741; Wedenig 1997, 102-103, 277.

Elusa. All three bases from Alpes Graiae were discovered at **Axima**, which under its alternative name Forum Claudii Ceutronum publicly commissioned an honour each for Carus, Carinus and Numerian (15-15 to 17). The curator in charge was the *vir egregius, procuratore Augusti* Latinus Martiniano. Moreover, eight bases have been preserved in the province Alpes Maritimae, four of which were installed for different imperial families at **Vintium**, three by the *civitas* (03-081, 04-14, 05-08) and one by the ‘*ordo* of the people of Vintium’ (08-073). Three further examples are from **Brigomagus** and dedicated by the *ordo* (08-070, 10-05, 11-14). Finally, one monument was installed at Cemenelum, again by the *ordo*. In Belgica, two bases were set up by the *civitas* of the respective cities (01-081; 03-076).

WESTERN NORTH AFRICA

In Western North Africa 118 bases have been found. 60 of these are from the province Africa, 40 from Numidia, 12 from Mauretania Tingitana, and six from Mauretania Caesariensis (Appendix A, Graph IIIg; B, Chart IIIc). The lion share of pedestals can be attributed to Gallienus (23), Gordian III (22), and Alexander (21), which are followed by Carus (12), Aurelian (9), Claudius Gothicus and Probus (7), Maximinus (5), Philippus and Decius (3), and Trebonianus Gallus (1).

Africa

All inscriptional material from modern Libya was concentrated in the Colonia **Leptis Magna**. The 16 bases retrieved from this site will be elaborated on in detail in the respective case study (Chapter V). Five statuary dedications are known from **Uchi Maius**. This *colonia* set up two honours for Alexander Severus, a

statue and a monument that most likely took the shape of a triumphal arch²⁴⁵ (*dd, pp*; 01-117), the latter under the name and auspices of the interim proconsul of Africa (*partes proco(n)sulis, pont[- -]m v(ices), vir clarissimus*). The fragment of a second arch preserves the name of Gordian's wife Tranquillina (03-109-110) and explicitly mentions statues. The dedicators are not legible, but seem to have been two individuals rather than a dedicating body. On a base, Aurelian is honoured by the *res publica* of Uchi (*dd, pp*; 11-33). An inscription names Claudius Gothicus as the recipient of some kind of monument, but the awarder is missing (10-19).

Thugga, situated ca. 12 km²⁴⁶ to the east of Uchi Maius, is referred to differently in each of the four honours displayed at this site. As Municipium Septimium Aurelium Liberum Thugga, a status they gained in AD 205, it erected a statue and an arch for Alexander (his mother's name is amended; 01-114, 115). Later the *res publica* of the now Colonia Licinia Septimia Aurelia Alexandriana Thugga, a title received from Gallienus, set up a base each for him and his wife (08-106, 107). On a monument for Probus only the term *colonia* was used (14-16).

In **Sufetula**, Alexander Severus, Gordian III, and Aurelianus received honours that were set up by the decree of the decurions and financed by public means (01-113; 03-105; 11-32). A base for Carinus additionally states that it was awarded by the *res publica* of Colonia Sufetula (15-34).

²⁴⁵ CIL VIII 26263; UM 47. Possibly belonging to the arch, therefore no separate catalogue entry.

²⁴⁶ Brill NP *Uchi maius*.

From **Sabratha**, characterised as ‘geographically the least favoured of the three cities of the Tripolis’ by Ward-Perkins²⁴⁷, five honours are preserved. Two of these were directed at Alexander (01-111, 112). The awarder is only preserved on 01-112, which states that the proconsul set it up in gratitude for receiving the augurate, for financial support granted to his office, and for food donations to the members of the council. Further, Philippus Minor and Gallienus together with his wife received statues from the people of Sabratha, whereas for the statue dedicated to Aurelianus the awarding entity is unknown (04-25; 08-102-103; 11-30).

Of the remaining bases from Africa, two examples for Claudius Gothicus (10-16, 17; stating only *dd, pp*) and one example for Carinus (by the *res publica*; 15-25) have been discovered in **Calama**. Besides these, the **Municipium Thibica** honoured Gordian III with one statue and Gallienus with two (*dd pp*; 03-107; 08-104, 105), while the **Municipium Aureliana Vina** erected one example each for Gallienus and his wife (*dd pp*; 08-092, 93). In each **Segermes** (03-104, 14-14), **Tempeltense** (02-23; 03-106) and **Uzappa** (11-34; 14-15) two bases for members of different imperial families were found.

Numidia

The 40 bases from Numidia once more attest to a strong presence of the families of Alexander (6), Gordian (12), Gallien (8) and this time also of Carus (7).

²⁴⁷ IRT online: http://inslib.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/introductions/I1_sabratha.html (last accessed 01.02.2014).

Cuicul, a medium-sized Roman town founded by Nerva as a Veteran colony, presents us with a steady number of statues throughout the third century (12).²⁴⁸ It seems striking that the adversaries of the first years of the era of the soldier emperors were all honoured here, especially considering that the bases were predominantly found on the *forum* in front of the Capitol and the Basilica Iulia. Yet they were possibly mutilated and very likely reused in subsequent years, just as the base for *divus* Decius (05-14). The pedestals with missing awarders for Maximus (02-22) and Gallienus (08-085) suggest the same. Yet no inscriptions were ruined. The *res publica* of Cuicul (*dd, pp*) commissioned statues for Alexander and his mother (01-101, 102), Otacilia Severa, the wife of Philippus Arabs (04-24) and Valerian (no *dd, pp*; 08-084). Three bases for Gordian III and one each for Tranquillina and *divus* Gordianus (most likely Gordian I) mention the *Colonia Cuiculitanorum* as their awarder (03-088 to 03-092).

From **Thamugadi**, a veteran town of 'secondary importance', nine bases survive.²⁴⁹ In the baths, images of Valerianus, Gallienus, Salonina, and Valerianus II (two examples) greeted the visitors (08-087 to 091). Except for the statue of Salonina, which was commissioned by the *colonia*, all other examples refer to the *res publica* of the *colonia* as the awarding body – as do those for Carus and his wife (15-28, 29). Further bases could be assigned to *divus* Claudius Gothicus and *divus* Aurelianus (10-14; 11-27).

²⁴⁸ Février 1976, 249; Zimmer – Wesch-Klein 1989, 59-65.

²⁴⁹ Lassus, 1976, 901.

The *res publica* of **Thubursicum Numidarum** commissioned statues of Claudius Gothicus and *deus* Aurelianus (10-15; 11-28). The base for *divus* Gordian I only preserves fragments of the awarder's name, which does not allow for any reconstruction (03-098). Two bases each were found at **Lambaesis** (03-096; 15-27), at the **Municipium Verecunda** (15-30, 31), and at **Sila** (01-104; 08-086). Pflaum refers to a total of six inscriptions from Sila for the family of Gallienus alone (naming Valerian I and II as well as Gallienus)²⁵⁰ yet this seems to be a reconstruction of the original display since they are not listed anywhere else.

Mauretania Tingitana

Of the 12 bases from this province 10 were retrieved from **Volubilis**, the administrative centre of Mauretania Tingitana. Most of these are cases of reuse. There are the following numbers of bases bearing inscriptions to imperial individuals: two to Alexander (01-093, 094), one to his mother (01-095), one to Gallienus (08-081), one to Gallienus' son (08-082), two to Probus (14-12, 13), one to Volusianus (06-04), emperor and son of Trebonianus Gallus, one to Claudius Gothicus (10-13) and one to Ulpia Severina, the wife of Aurelian (11-26). All of them were dedicated by the *res publica* of Volubilis by decree of the *ordo*, except for one example for Probus on which the dedicator is illegible. The other pedestal carrying Probus' name additionally mentions the governor of Mauretania Tingitania as the supervisor. The two remaining bases come from **Banasa**. They are assigned to Claudius Gothicus (10-12) and Ulpia Severina (11-25) and were awarded by the *res publica*.

²⁵⁰ ILAlg II, 2 6879.

Mauretania Caesariensis

Four of the six bases from this region are addressed to Alexander and this time also his wife (01-096 to 01-099). Two of these come from **Caesarea** and were dedicated by the *Equites Singulares*, while the imperial *procurator* and *praeses provinciae* Lucius Licinius Hieroclete was in charge of their installation. The two remaining honours from this province were set up for Tranquillina (03-087; **Portus Magnus**) and posthumously for Valerianus II (08-083; **Sitifis**).

LATIN BALKANS²⁵¹

From the whole of the Balkans 123 pedestals are preserved (Appendix A, Graph IIIh; B, Chart IIIId.). With 54 bases and one portrait, the vast majority of honorific remains come from modern Bulgaria (Thr, MoI), which is followed by modern Romania with 32 bases and one portrait. The families of Alexander, Philippus, and Gordianus clearly dominate the material from the Balkans with 28, 26 and 25 bases respectively. Further, there are the following numbers of bases bearing inscriptions to emperors: 12 for Maximinus, 11 for Gallienus, nine for Decius, eight for Trebonianus Gallus, five for Aurelianus, one for Claudius Gothicus, one for Florianus, and another one for Carus.

Thracia

In the Latin Balkans, Thracia ranks highest in terms of the frequency of evidence with 40 bases and one portrait. Within this region three cities are particularly prominent in respect to the quantity of material: Philippopolis,

²⁵¹ Without Greece and Turkey.

Augusta Traiana and Discoduraterae. In **Philippopolis**, the capital of the province Thrace and seat of the provincial assembly, nine bases are preserved.²⁵² Situated between the Danube and the Aegean Sea at the river Hebrus and the junction of two main roads between Singidunum (Belgrade) and Byzantion (Istanbul), the site was of great strategic importance. It assumed the status of a colonia in AD 248 and was sacked by the Goths in AD 251.²⁵³ All of the bases discovered at Philippopolis were dedicated by the city. One example addressed to Alexander (01-142) was looked after by a curator who held the offices chief-magistrate, *thrakarchon* and high priest of the soldiers, while the curator for Iulia Mamaea (01-143) was another *thrakarchon* (head of the *koinon Thracorum*). Two identical bases for Maximinus Thrax were installed during the governorship of Gaius Vibius Gallus (*leg. Aug. pr. pr.*), who is very likely the later emperor Trebonianus Gallus. The curator was yet again a *thrakarchon* (02-32, 33). The installation of a statue carrying the name of his son took place under a different governor and curator and was financed with the surplus of the communal budget (curator: a chief magistrate (*protarchon*); 02-34). Similarly, the only base in this study preserved for Balbinus was financed by a communal surplus (03-131). A peculiar case is posed by the statue base for Tranquillina (03-132). On it, Gordian is addressed in the Greek dative (!) while his wife's name follows, after *kai*, with the Greek accusative, which is the appropriate case.²⁵⁴ This is, however, likely due to a mistake by the unnamed curator in charge and hence this monument probably constituted a double base for the couple. A pedestal for Herennia Etruscilla, the wife of Decius, is preserved that was awarded by the *koinon* of the *eparchia* of Thrace (05-23). Finally, a base for

²⁵² Frova 1976a, 706.

²⁵³ Frova 1976a, 706.

²⁵⁴ Due to this inconsistency and since there are no further indications for a double base this is, however, counted as one base.

Philippus Minor, dedicated by the city of Philippopolis, was found near the ancient city (04-47). 'The *metropolis* of the Thracian *eparchia* Philippopolis' further erected a base for him in **Cillium**, situated about 50 km east of the city. The honour was financed by the surplus of the communal budget under the governorship of (T.) Cl. Saturninus (Fidus). The curator in charge of the installation was the chief magistrate Aur. Apollonidos Apollodoros.

Augusta Traiana constituted a strategic and economic key site of Thrace, located in the proximity of two crucial cross connections of the Balkans and with access to all the relevant road networks of the region.²⁵⁵ Excavations in this city have yielded eight bases. The *boule* and *demos* commissioned honours to both Alexander and his mother Mamaea (01-137, 138). The latter states that it was erected under the governorship of Iulius Proseius, while on Alexander's inscription only fragments of the name of the 'administrator of the statue installation' are legible. The *polis* installed a statue for his adversary and successor Maximinus Thrax (02-27). A further base set up for his son (02-28) preserves only the title of the governor in office, *who was priest of the imperial cult*. Later the *boule* and the *demos* (03-134) as well as the *polis* of Augusta Traiana (03-135) installed statues for the victorious successor Gordian III, under the governorship of two different governors of Thrace and financed again with the surplus of the communal budget. Subsequently, again, the succeeding emperor, Philippus Minor (04-41), received a statue. It was financed by the same means but its fragmentary state obscures whether by the *boule* and the *demos* or the *polis*, as well as the governor's name. Further, the *boule* and the *demos* installed a statue for Gallienus, which was

²⁵⁵Schönert-Geiss 1991, 3. 5.

performed by two curators (08-115). It is quite interesting that the four quickly succeeding emperors Alexander, Maximinus, Gordianus, and Philippus are represented in almost equal numbers. This appears to indicate that the *boule* and the *demos* conformed to the changing political climate. Due to Augusta Traiana's status as an important hub of the region and for military transit, a display of quickly realigned loyalties was certainly crucial.

The *boule* and *demos* of the *polis* Augusta Traiana also installed a statue for Alexander Severus at the *emporium* – marketplace and trading centre – **Discoduraterae** under the supervision of a chief-magistrate (*protos archontos*; 01-139) and as the 'boule and demos of the *polis* Traiana' two more for Philippus Arabs (04-44, 45). The 'boule and the *demos* of the Thracian *polis* in its emporium' (02-31) and the 'metropolis of the Thracian *eparchia* Philippopolis' (02-30) also awarded statues for Maximus here. The latter was set up with the surplus of the communal budget and under the administration of the chief magistrate. The *boule*, *demos* and *polis* of Nicopolis ad Istrum also used the *emporium* to exhibit their devotedness, by honouring Aurelianus (11-36). In its character as a trading centre, numerous transients frequented Discoduraterae and several *poleis* took advantage of this by choosing this exact location to display their solidarity to the emperor. This again clearly illustrates the importance and utilisation of transmigration hubs. The display of honorific statues assumed messages that were not solely directed inward at the citizens of the awarder's polis, but was meant to be heard beyond the city walls and to be spread as far as possible.

In **Deultum** two badly damaged bases belonging to monuments for the wife of Philippus were found (04-42, 43). Furthermore, two imperial bases each have been retrieved at **Plotinopolis** (04-48 and 08-116) and **Egerica** (01-140 and 04-46). All other sites in Thracia preserve single bases.

Moesia Inferior and Moesia Superior

From Moesia Inferior 19 bases and two pieces of statuary have survived. In **Nicopolis**, located near a junction of major roads leading to the Danube and to the Thracian capital,²⁵⁶ bases for eight statues for members from three families and a bronze head of Gordian III were found. The *boule* and the *demos* of the *polis* honoured Alexander twice (01-131, 132) and Iulia Mamaea once (01-133). Mamaea's example was erected by a curator of high-priestly descent under the governorship of the future emperor Decius. Decius is mentioned on two further marble plaques, whose attribution to bases is, however, uncertain.²⁵⁷ Further, a statue by the *polis* for Maximus (02-35) was under the governorship of Flavius Lucillianus, priest of the imperial cult; the curator is not preserved. The *boule* and *demos* awarded two over life-size bronze statues for Gordian III (03-125, 128) possibly both during the governorship of Tullius Menophilus, (presiding Moesia Inferior AD 238-241).²⁵⁸ On the first the name is so damaged that it could also read Traianus Decius, presiding over Moesia and Germania Inferior from AD 232-235.²⁵⁹ The curators of both projects were two different high-priests (*archiereus*). Finally, a double base that originally carried statues of Gordian III. and Tranquillina has been discovered (03-126-127).

²⁵⁶ Frova 1976b, 624.

²⁵⁷ Mamaea: AE 1977, 0761 HD020761; Alexander: AE 1985, 752; HD006280.

²⁵⁸ PIR 3, 441 no 281.

²⁵⁹ Kienast 2001, 204.

At **Tomis** a fragmentary portrait head of the young Alexander Severus (01-037) and a base for his mother (01-134) have been found. Further, two different *cohortes* honoured Gordian III (03-130) and Gallienus (08-114) in **Sostra**, while two *cohortes* set up statues for Tranquillina (03-124) and Valerianus (08-113) in the *municipium* **Montanesium**. All other sites in Moesia Inferior and Superior preserve only one base each.

Dacia

Of the altogether 28 bases from Dacia the largest concentration are the five excavated at **Porolissum**, a veteran settlement and ‘the most important military centre in NW Dacia’ with access to all relevant roads in the region.²⁶⁰ Four of the five bases found here at this site belong to the family of Philippus (04-34 to 37). Three of these were discovered in front of the Porta Decumana and were dedicated to him, his wife and his son by the *res publica*. The other base was addressed to Philippus alone and was set up by a cohort whose name has not survived. The fifth honour from Porolissium bears an inscription to Decius’ wife Herennia Etruscilla and was also commissioned by the military (05-19).

Sarmizegetusa, the capital of Dacia,²⁶¹ re-oriented itself expertly to the changing circumstances under the first soldier emperors: Maximus was honoured by the *boule* and *demos* (02-36), while the *concilium* of the three Dacian provinces (*concilium trium provinciarum Daciarum*) addressed the subsequent emperor

²⁶⁰ Marinescu 1976a, 728.

²⁶¹ Marinescu 1976b, 947.

Gordian III (03-120) and the military installed a statue to his successor Philippus Arabs (04-38). Later the *colonia (publice)* installed a statue for Gallienus (08-112).

Indeed the majority of statues in Dacia were dedicated to the family of Philippus (13). In addition to the examples mentioned above, one statue each for him and his wife were erected at **Napoca** by the *res publica* (04-32, 33), which is probably also the case for two bases, without a preserved awarder, for Gordian III found nearby (03-117, 118). Two military units honoured Philippus and his son in the *castrum* at **Micia** (04-31, 032), and the *Ala I Hispanorum* erected statues on a double base for them at present-day Gostavățu (04-51-52). Philippus Arabs was also honoured by the *Ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana Philippiana* in the *principia* of the camp at the present-day **Alsó Ilosva** (04-50). At the same camp a base each addressed to Alexander (01-128) and his mother (01-129) have been retrieved, both commissioned by the *Ala Frontoniana Alexandriana*, financed by the means of the camp (*ex quaestura sua*) and supervised by proconsul Iasdius Domitianus, *legatus Augusti pro praetore* (01-128, 129). Thirteen inscriptions from Dacia were commissioned by military units, among them all four honours to Alexander' family; three of them are dedicated to his mother Iulia Mamaea. Furthermore, two bases stating the names of members of different imperial families have been found in **Ad Mediam, Apulum, Tibiscum**.

Pannonia Superior and Pannonia Inferior

Besides the previously mentioned bronze portrait of Alexander from Carnuntum (01-033) five bases are preserved in Pannonia Superior. The only instance in which several bases were found in the same city are the two examples

awarded to Gordian III (03-112) and his wife (03-113) by the *res publica* of **Iasorum**. Among the 14 inscriptions from Pannonia Inferior, four were installed in **Aquincum** by military units: one example for Gordian III (03-114), one for Herennius Etruscus, the son of Decius (05-16), and one for Claudius Gothicus (10-20). Two bases are preserved in **Ulcisia Castra** with inscriptions naming Alexander (01-124) and his mother (01-125), which mention the *Cohors I Milliaria Nova Severiana Suorum Sagittariorum* as their awarder. Further, two imperial honours each were found at **Adiaum** and **Intercisia**.

Dalmatia

14 bases have been recovered from Dalmatia, almost half of which are from **Doclea**, 'the most important centre in south-east Dalmatia',²⁶² At the site of the western gate, the *res publica* honoured Alexander Severus, Otacilia, her son Philippus Minor, Trebonianus Gallus, his son Volusian, and Valerianus. All bases, except for the example for Alexander, mention that they were installed by decree of the decurions.

Four bases were found in **Domavium**, the administrative centre for the mining industry.²⁶³ In the *curia* the *ordo decurionum* erected statues for Trebonianus Gallus (06-12) and his son (06-11). The two bases preserving inscriptions to Alexander (01-120) and his mother (01-121) also provide us with a supervisor, the imperial procurator (*vir egregius; dd, pp*). Fragmentary remains of three further bases without a preserved awarder were discovered in and near the *municipium* **Arupium**. One was set up for Gordianus III (03-111) which simply

²⁶²Werner 1976a, 279.

²⁶³Werner 1976b, 280.

states that it was installed by decree, one was commissioned for Decius (05-17), and a further one, by decree of the decurions, for Florianus (13-01).

HELLAS

In the province *Achaëa* 40 bases and three pieces of statuary have been found, eight bases and a portrait derive from in *Macedonia et Epirus*, and seven inscriptions from several Greek Islands. As observed for other regions, the majority of honours are addressed to the families of Gordian (bases: 13/statuary: 2), Carus (8/0), Gallienus (6/0), and Alexander (5/2); (Appendix A, Graph IIIi.; B, Chart IIIe).

Achaëa

At **Delphi** five bases were uncovered. The examples naming Alexander (01-147), Valerianus (08-119), Gallienus (08-130) and Carus (15-35) were dedicated by the sacred *polis* of Delphi, while the base naming Gordian III refers to the Amphiictyonic League, the association that tended to the sanctuary (03-138).²⁶⁴ The latter was further financed with the ‘money of the god’, i.e. it was funded with the means of the Apollo sanctuary. The three bases from **Epidauros** that carry inscriptions for Alexander (01-148), Tranquillina (03-139), and Trebonianus Gallus (6-14) were equally financed with the ‘money of the god’, in this case the assets of the Asklepios sanctuary, and were dedicated by the sacred *polis*.

The *polis* of **Sparta** honoured Gordian with two bases (03-140, 141) and

²⁶⁴DNP *Amphictionia*, 611-613.

Claudius Gothicus with one (10-22). The one for Aurelianus (11-42) does not state the awarder. At **Thespiae** the *polis* installed statues for Gordian III. (03-145), Gallienus (08-124), Numerianus (15-37). In **Demetrias** the *koinon* of the people of Magnesia and the *synhedroi* (the members of the council) set up honours for Carus (15-40) and Carinus (15-41). In Chaironeia **three** bases (one for Macrianus, who was one of the *triginta tyranni*, was awarded by the *boule* and the *demos*; 09-01) and in Troezen, **Hermonie**, and **Megaritis** two bases for different imperial families were found.

Two further honours were erected for Gordian III at **Taenarum** by the *polis* (03-143, 144). Only in **Corinthus** are both an inscription and imperial statuary preserved: a marble portrait head of Alexander (01-038) and a base naming Trebonianus Gallus (06-13). In the harbour city **Piraeus** only two statues, one of Pupienus (03-015) and one of Balbinus (016) were found. Athens, which is the subject of one of the case studies (cf. Chapter VI), preserves neither imperial bases nor heads.

Macedonia et Epirus

In only two cities are more than a single base preserved, Lychnidus and Demetrias. The examples from **Lychnidus** name Gordian III (03-137) and Decius (05-25). The former was set up by the people of Dassarentia, the region in which Lychnidus is situated, the latter is too fragmentary to identify the awarder. At **Demetrias** a statue for Carus was commissioned by the *koinon* of the people of Magnesia and the *synhedrioi* (the members of the council) and a statue for Carinus by the members of the council (15-40, 41). A bronze head of Alexander was found

in a field in modern Rhyakia (01-039). Seven honours derive from different places on Greek Islands, three of which mention Gordian (03-146 to 148).

ASIA MINOR

The evidence from Asia Minor amounts to the substantial number of 79 bases. The main recipients of honorific statuary are again the families of Gallienus (26), Gordian (22) and Alexander (14). A further four examples can be attributed to Philippus and Decius, and two to Maximinus Thrax (Appendix A, Graph IIIj; B, Chart IIIf.). Fragments of statues from this region comprise the head of Alexander from Istanbul (01-040) and the heads of Gallienus and his father, which are of unknown provenance (08-014, 15).

Asia

The province of Asia accounts for 31 bases. The material from **Ephesos** (eight examples) and **Aphrodisias** (three examples) will not be elaborated on in this section since they feature in respective case studies (cf. Chapters VII and VIII). **Iasos** has yielded three bases set up by the polis on the agora: two examples display inscriptions to Valerianus and one example names his grandson Valerianus II as the recipient (08-131 to 133). In **Apameia** Gallienus' wife received a statue (08-124) and his son(s?) were bestowed with honours on a double base (08-126-127). Further, two bases for Alexander Severus (01-160) and Otacilia Severa (04-55) originate from **Pappa-Tiberpolis**. Finally, bases naming Alexander (01-152) and Tranquillina (03-157) were found in and near **Thyatira**.

Bithynia et Pontus

From **Prusias ad Hypium** two pedestals for Alexander Severus (01-155, 156) and one for his successor Philippus Minor (04-57) survive. In **Hierapolis** bases for Iulia Mamaea (01-151) and Gordian III (03-169) have been preserved.

Lycia

Four of the seven bases from Lycia were found in **Boubon**. They once bore a bronze statue for Gallienus, his wife, his father (08-141 to 143) as well as for Gordian III (03-161). Unfortunately, none of them reveals the identity of the awarder.

Pamphylia

Evidence for imperial display from Pamphylia comprises nine bases. In and near **Perge** one base for each of the three Gordians (I 03-164; II 03-166; III 03-163, either of them 03-165) was found, installed by the local *gerusia*. At Mutana, north of Perge, a further statue of Gordian III has surfaced (03-03-163). Further, a statue to Philipp's wife Otacilia Severa was awarded by the *boule* and the *demos* (04-56).

Side's harbour was an important hub and logistic centre for shipping soldiers to Syria. It flourished when in AD 260 the Persians destroyed all the important harbours in Cilicia and when camping soldiers became an economic accelerator that exceeded trade profits by far.²⁶⁵ At this site, a base addressed to Iulia Mamaea and commissioned by the *boule* and *demos* was found (01-161). A further example mentions Gordian III in the office of *Caesar* as the recipient and

²⁶⁵ IK 43, 94; Bean 1976, 835.

the *Cohors I Flavia Numidiarum* as the awarder (03-167); hence the IK assumes a group display with Pupienus and Balbinus.²⁶⁶ Moreover, a plaque mentioning Gallienus records the gilding of one of his statues (08-146). Awarded by Side, it was consecrated by a priest of the imperial cult and financed with the money that consul Ulpus Marcellus [...] bequeathed to the city either in the form of a donation or inheritance.

Cappadocia

Two statues for the family of Gallienus were installed by the *boule* and *demos* of **Comana** (08-147, 148). Further, the people of Comana commissioned a double base for Decius and his wife (05-29-31) and an unknown entity installed a statue for Probus (14-20). **Tyana** and **Kana** provide pedestals for one individual each (03-170; 14-19).

Galatia

In Galatia altogether nine honorific inscriptions have survived. In **Ariassos** a 'monument bearing statues'²⁶⁷ that should actually be identified as an arch is preserved in a base for Alexander (01-159). It originally also displayed portraits of the preceding Severans and very likely also of Iulia Mamaea.²⁶⁸ Gordian III received a dedication by the *boule* and the *demos* (03-160). Iulia Mamaea (01-158) was honoured by the council and the people and Carinus (15-42) by the *boule* and the *demos* of **Neoclaudiopolis**.

²⁶⁶ IK 43, 42.

²⁶⁷ IK 57, 114-118 no. 111.

²⁶⁸ IK 43, 42.

Cilicia and Bithynia et Pontos

Of the seven bases from Cilicia only two were found in the same city: the examples naming Alexander Severus (01-162) and Decius (05-27) from **Anazarbos**. The only base recovered in Bithynia et Pontos is addressed to Macrianus, one of the *triginta tyranni*, and was set up in **Apamea Myrleanorum** by the *polis* (09-02).

NEAR EASTERN PROVINCES

In the Near Eastern provinces 14 bases and two portrait heads have come to light (Appendix A, Graph IIIk; B, Chart IIIg.). Additionally, two honorific statues are known from literary records (05-31, 32). Alexander Severus' family dominates the evidence with five pieces, followed by Philippus Arabs' with three. The families of Decius, Gallienus, Probus and Carus are further presented with two and the families of Claudius Gothicus and Maximinus with one.

Syria

Of the eight bases from Syria the two naming Probus from **Caesarea Maritima** were set up by different governors of the province Syria Palestina (14-21, 22). Both of them were reused at the time and also recycled later. In **Rimea Trachonitidis** a double statue base for Philippus Arabs and his son was preserved (04-59 -60).

Arabia

Up to the seventh century AD **Gerasa**, where all four bases from Arabia were found, constituted a prosperous *colonia*, owing to its agriculture, mining, and status as a (trade) station for caravans.²⁶⁹ Three of the bases were dedicated to the family of Alexander Severus (01-165 to 167) and one to Valerianus (08-149). All of them were awarded by the *polis*. One base for Alexander was found together with an example for his mother and they were both under the curatorship of the same equestrians.

Aegyptus

Apart from the two heads for Alexander (01-041) and his mother (01-042), two bases were found in Aegyptus: Maximinus Thrax was honoured at **Kom-el-Gizeh** by the *polis* (02-43) and the only base preserved for Paulina, the daughter of Carus (15-45), was found in the Hathor temple of **Tentyris**. A letter sent to the prefect of **Hermopolis** by the former *cosmetes* Hermophilos in AD 249 further attest to a statue of Decius and a statue of his wife, which were displayed in the Augusteum of Hermopolis (included in the catalogue under the entry 05-31, 032).²⁷⁰

III.7 ARCHES

Since the statuary dedications for emperors were discussed collectively by provenance and since only cities with multiple honours were presented, evidence

²⁶⁹ MacDonald 1976, 249.

²⁷⁰ Mitteis – Wilcken 1912, 402; Deppmeyer 2008, cat. 222.

for honorific arches shall be summarized in the following. There are a total of nine arches and three 'honorific monuments'. These, again, were dedicated to the families of Alexander, Gordianus III, and Gallienus.

Six known arches were installed for Alexander Severus. One monument was dedicated to him and his mother by an unknown awarder in Lugdunensis at the Municipium Autessiodurum (01-082-83), which was 'a town of little importance' according to Kapps²⁷¹. Of the arch for Alexander that was dedicated by the North African *municipium* Thugga we know that it featured one gate and statue niches on both sides (01-114). In Africa Proconsularis Alexander was honoured with an arch by the city Uchi Maius (01-117), in Asia by the city of Pappa-Tiberiopolis (01-160), and at Isauria in Cilicia by the *boule* and *demos* (1-163). The latter constituted a plain version with one gate and was possibly installed to commemorate the end of the Persian war. Again in Asia, at Ariassos, the whole Severan family was honoured by the *boule* and *demos* with a 'monument bearing statues'²⁷². This project was financed by a certain Diotimos from Samos (01-159). The wording *ex indulgentia* probably refers to the advancement of the city to the status of a *colonia* by Alexander in AD 230.

In Rome an arch from the first-century was reused for Gallienus and Salonina (08-022-23).²⁷³ At Falerii, the multiple, presumably associated honours for his family (08-048 to 054) testify to the city's gratitude for imperial

²⁷¹ Kapps 1976, 128.

²⁷² IK 57, 114- 118 no. 109-111; IGSK, 57, 120 no 112; Mitchell – Owens – Waelkens 1989, 62-67; Mitchell 1991, 159-162; Højte 2005, 528 no 125; Deppmeyer 2008, cat 183.

²⁷³ Another one which is said to be set up for him in Verona (Kähler 1939, 413 no 28) at the Western entrance of the city has been incorrectly attributed. Sticotti 1913, 164, no 19.

benefactions. One of these honours is a unspecified honorific monument, which might not constitute an arch. The base for Valerianus II in Trebula (08-34) has been interpreted as part of a monument that featured extended imagery.²⁷⁴ The inscription on the honorific arches for Gordianus III in Mustis (03-103) and Uchi Maius (03-109-110) explicitly mention their embellishment with statues.

Finally, coins provide further evidence for arches. Two coin issues minted during Maximinus' reign depict such monuments: the arch in Tomis (Constanza) with three gates and a *quadriga* on top, the arch in Alexandria in Asia Minor.²⁷⁵ A coin issue by Gordian III from Markianopolis depicts an arch with three gates, without niches but with three male statues on top.²⁷⁶ On a coin for Otacilia issued by the city of Diokaisarea an arch with four statues is displayed.²⁷⁷ The coins from Mospus and Aegae, also in Asia Minor illustrate the design of an arch during the reign of Valerian.²⁷⁸ Further, a coin from the Colonia Parium that is of Gallienic date depicts an arch with three gates, niches and an elephant *quadriga* on top.²⁷⁹ Finally, another arch adorns the reverse of a coin of Postumus from Lyon.²⁸⁰

While a large number of arches were dedicated during the reign of Septimius Severus, a marked decrease in installation took place in the subsequent decades. This is possibly due to the brevity of the individual reigns, since the construction and approval of such monuments were time consuming. In the third

²⁷⁴ IL X, 4558; Chioffi 2005, 172 no 215.

²⁷⁵ Kähler 1939, 453, VII 4; Imhoof-Blumer 1902, 507 no 2 pl. 19, 13.

²⁷⁶ Kähler 1939, 447, VI 8 b; Imhoof-Blumer 1901, 194 no 116 pl. 3, 16.

²⁷⁷ Kähler 1939, 459, VII 26 b; Imhoof-Blumer 1902, 439 no 6 pl. 20, 20.

²⁷⁸ Kähler 1939, 459, VII 22; Hill 1900, CXII, CXV.

²⁷⁹ Kähler 1939, 456, VII 20; Imhoof-Blumer 1901, 30 no 4; Head 1897, 52. 56. 57.

²⁸⁰ Kähler 1939, 259-65, III 27; Mattingly-Sydenham 1933, no 118, 119, 195.

century, the maintenance and restoration of the existing building structures became a priority (as discussed further in the case studies) while the installation of new arches had supposedly taken a back seat.

III. 7 CONCLUSION

For the emperors and their families a total of 628 bases are preserved empire-wide (Appendix A, Graph IIIm, III n; Chart a-g). These bases provide evidence for imperial individuals that have not been identified in the image record and amplify the evidence for those already discussed in Chapter 2 (Appendix A, Graph III.1-15). The results from the present chapter further substantiate the high frequency of honours for specific families observed for preserved portraits and reinforce the notion of a dominating 'presence' of these families. Three families clearly provide the majority of material: those of Alexander Severus, Gordian III, and Gallienus. These also display a balanced distribution of bases throughout the regions of the Empire. Unsurprisingly, Italy yielded by far the largest number of examples even if Rome is disregarded, while the Near Eastern Provinces, which are generally low in imperial statuary evidence, produced the least material.

For Italia we can observe that Gallienus and Gordian together account for 75 of the 128 bases plus 11 statuary items each. Alexander, on the other hand, is mentioned on only nine bases from this region, but features in 32 pieces of statuary. These three emperors also make up 63 of the 124 pedestals from the Latin Balkans and are represented on the only three portraits that survive from

this region. Remarkably, 26 pedestals belonging to statuary for Philippus have also been retrieved from there. Alexander Severus, Gordian III and Gallienus indeed account for the majority of examples from many regions: for 76 of the 118 pedestals from Western North Africa; for 58 of the 128 bases and six of seven portraits from the Northern Provinces with Hispania; for 64 of the 79 bases and one of three portraits from Asia Minor; and 25 of the 45 bases and all of the four portraits from Hellas. Of the 16 epigraphic finds from the Near Eastern provinces only Alexander stands out with three inscriptions and two portraits, followed by Philippus, also with three inscriptions. Across the regions, it can be observed that the families of Gordian and Gallienus are often honoured with multiple statues in one city, while Alexander's high number results from an even distribution of fewer honours in many different cities.

Of all cities Rome assumes the strongest position with 18 bases, again with the main share awarded to Gordian and Gallienus. Accordingly, the capital did not lose its importance as the primary platform for displaying and receiving tokens of loyalty. However, it is noteworthy that the families represented in Rome also spent at least a short amount of time in the capital, which is not the case for all third-century emperors. The cities with the next largest numbers of evidence are: Leptis with 16, Cuicul with 12, and Thamugadi, Philippopolis, and Nicopolis with nine bases. An unexpected lack of material is notable for Athens, which will be discussed in the respective case study.

Conspicuous geographical clusters in certain cities or regions are either constituted by multiple honours for one or very few families or by a large number

of different emperors that are represented by very few honours. In some instances the former can be explained by a special bond of gratitude between the awarders and a certain emperor, which may be based on received benefactions or privileges for instance. The latter type of cluster seems to appear particularly in military or trading hubs, ports or market places (*municipia*) that experienced a strong degree of transmigration by soldiers, traders or travellers. Religious centres seemed to have played a minor role in this, as will become apparent in the case studies on Ephesos and Aphrodisias.

The imperial administration's capability of bridging distances and facilitating a swift news transfer was possibly the most effective for military hubs because these were necessarily in close connection with Rome. Correspondingly, these had better access to land and water routes and profited from more frequent communication. The opposite would have been the case for some remote towns in Britain, for instance, which might have obtained news on the change of rulers only with considerable delay – taking the quick succession of emperors in the third century into account, maybe even when the next but one regent was in charge already.²⁸¹ The possibility of a swift transmission of news from and to Rome not only allowed for a quick adjustment to new political circumstances such as a change in power but actually demanded it. Thus a quick transfer of loyalties towards the newly appointed emperor as well as the display of this could potentially bring about benefits. On the other hand, it might also have avoided reprisals from Rome or by transient soldiers that expected to find an image of their

²⁸¹ Kolb provides two wildly diverging figures, which gives an impression of the time frame that can be expected for news transfer to Africa: a duration of 192 days for the transfer of an edict from Rome to Carthage in AD 407 and a seafaring of two days with the top speed of six knots between Ostia and Africa, mentioned by Pliny the Elder (Plin., *N.H.* 19, 1, 3). Kolb 2000, 318. 329.

emperor on arrival. This, however, leaves us with the question of why cities that were privileged in their news transfer show similar patterns in the allocation of their honours as the rest of the Empire, instead of preserving at least one of the numerous usurpers for which we have next to no evidence.²⁸² The lack of honours even for longer-reigning usurpers, such as Postumus and Tetricus I and II in the Imperium Galliarum, might simply be due to preservation. Yet it might also display a solidarity that was aimed towards the capital Rome, the office of '*emperor*' rather than at the individual, or the senate, who might have not confirmed this new regent. Yet, in the case of some confirmed emperors, such as Probus, who reigned for six years, the relatively small number of 20 (plus two statues) preserved examples might rather point toward the mentioned change in the *epigraphic habit*.

The assumed change in the *epigraphic habit*²⁸³ during third century shall briefly be analysed in terms of the numbers of preserved bases. It is assumed that after the Severans the traditional '*Inscripfenkultur*' declined and ceased entirely in the middle of the century; the nadir is usually assigned to the years between AD 250 and 280. Soon after AD 280 it is thought to have developed into a new form of '*epigraphic communication*'.²⁸⁴ On the basis of the results from this chapter it is possible to assign the following numbers of bases to the following time slots: The control group Alexander provides 104 inscriptions (167 items in total) in 13 years. For the 18 years before Gallienus' reign (between AD 235 and 253), for which the commence of the decline is generally assumed) 189 inscriptions (260 items in total) are preserved. In the years AD 251-253 where the approximate beginning of

²⁸² Cf., for example, Leptis, Chapter V.

²⁸³ Mrozek 1973, 113-118; MacMullen 1982, 233-246.

²⁸⁴ Cf. Mrozek 1973, 116; Witschel 1999, 291.

the nadir is assumed at least 18 items survive. For the 13 years of Gallienus' reign 134 bases (153 items; including the evidence for Macrianus) are preserved (AD 253-268); for the 14 years between AD 268 and 282 73 bases plus 2 portraits are preserved; and for the following three years 64 bases plus three portraits. A drop in numbers seems to occur during the years AD 275-282. Yet this time period covers the much shorter reign of Tacitus (AD 275-276) for whom we have 3 bases in 6 months (!), Florianus (AD 276) with 2 bases in 88 days (!) and Probus (AD 276-282) with 20 bases (plus two portraits) in six years. This is immediately followed by an increase under Carus (AD 282-283) and Carinus (AD 283-5) with 45 bases in six years. Therefore the years between AD 275 and 282 could be called on to determine an actual nadir in the evidence, which is slightly later than expected²⁸⁵ and which only occurs after a spike in the numbers that is solely constituted by the family of Gallienus. A gap in the evidence, i.e. a complete absence of imperial evidence over a longer period, however, does not exist.

Finally, the awarders that granted the majority of the honours were the official bodies of the city: the people, the *polis*, *demos* and *boule*. The meagre number of military units featuring as awarders is striking. The only exceptions are the Latin Balkans with 34 bases and two portraits – thirteen of them from Dacia (of 28 in total), eleven from Pannonia Inferior (of 14 in total) – and the Northern provinces with seven bases and presumably also two portraits that were awarded by military units.²⁸⁶

²⁸⁵ Also MacMullen 1982, 245.

²⁸⁶ These are not including the ones in Valentia by the veterans, which are the only military-related ones in Hispania.

CHAPTER IV

CASE STUDIES – INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

The following chapters will try to provide an insight into the general development of third-century statuary practice by analysing four representative Roman provincial cities that were conspicuous in their statue production before and after the time frame under investigation.

The cities that will be presented are Leptis Magna in North Africa, Athens in mainland Greece, and Aphrodisias and Ephesus in Asia Minor. The latter three were capitals of senatorial provinces: Ephesus was the *metropolis* of the province Asia and Leptis of Tripolitania, while Aphrodisias first became the administrative centre and possibly also capital of Caria et Phrygia, when this new province was split off Asia in the mid-third century, and then became *metropolis* of the even smaller province Caria under Diocletian. Athens, by contrast, was reduced from its former political importance to a minor provincial town that, nevertheless, still profited from its heritage and the reputation of its philosophical schools. In addition to the commercial advantages associated with the status of a proconsular province, all of the cities were wealthy and important trade centres in their own right and had important harbours at their disposal, except for Aphrodisias. Ephesus, Athens, and Aphrodisias were cultural and intellectual centres as well as focal points of the religious landscape, the two former through their own sanctuaries and Athens through its close association with nearby Eleusis. Unlike Aphrodisias and Leptis, both Athens and Ephesus fell victim to the third-century

raids and directly suffered from their impact. Of special interest is the fact that the developments taking place in these cities have been described with the term 'decline' or with the slightly more favourable 'stagnation'.²⁸⁷

A further common feature of these cities is the availability of stone quarries in their immediate vicinity: Athens, Ephesus and Aphrodisias controlled local marble sources and Leptis Magna had high-quality limestone while marble needed to be imported. This ready supply did, however, not prevent the practice of re-cutting statuary and re-using bases for reasons of convenience and economisation. Although this was practiced before, it was employed progressively in the third century. It can exacerbate the precise dating of many today, by blurring stylistic features and hence rendering it almost impossible to conclusively assign traits to either the original or the 're-cycled' monuments. Further, there is a strong possibility that certain features do not occur deliberately but are conditioned by the re-working process, such as the open drill channels or overly flat cheeks and cheekbones that are a characteristic, for instance, of Gallienic portraits. The consequences of this practice will be discussed in more detail for relevant pieces in each individual case study.

Concerning non-imperial statuary, the criteria for the attribution to a certain period are subject to the stylistic and typological comparison with imperial evidence. The criteria for the selection of the sculptural material are deduced from the stylistic characteristics established in the second chapter: for males, the assimilation of the emperor's coiffure and features as well as the compliance with

²⁸⁷ See in the respective chapters.

the stylistic features of the period; for the more idealised female images, the hairstyle popularised by women of the imperial households. The adoption of the style chosen for imperial imagery was foremost a display of loyalty, but at the same time it also suggests an interest in contemporary fashion.²⁸⁸ The treatment of the dress, especially the execution of the folds, is often also indicative for a certain date. In some instances, find contexts also allow for approximate dating.

Regarding the criteria for identifying and including bases, the methodology established in the third chapter applies. The date of inscriptions is mostly revealed by the styling of the letters, which is comparable to bases belonging to imperial statuary and other datable epigraphic evidence. Further indication is provided by potential prosopographical information about the individual or their family and by the mention of certain offices, which commenced or ceased to be in existence at certain times. References to emperors, known consuls or officials, to cities' bestowals with certain political statuses or to other datable events, such as agonistic games, also provide vital information.

Other than in the first chapter where dedications to certain members of the imperial family allowed for precise chronological allocations, a distinct attribution to a short time frame is hardly ever possible for non-imperial individuals. The criteria for including monuments are the following: While inscriptions with the vague assignation 'third century' have been included, inscriptions with a more precise but irrelevant dating, such as 'early third century', have justifiably been

²⁸⁸ R. R. R. Smith 2013, paper on 'The Greek East under Rome: Some Monuments' in the Ancient History Sub-Faculty Seminar: The High Roman Empire (19 February 2013, Oxford).

excluded²⁸⁹. Monuments from funerary contexts have generally been disregarded, but for portraits it is not always possible to eliminate their original display in such. Non-sepulchral posthumous honours, on the other hand, have been taken into account. To meet the requirements of this analysis, namely to collect and evaluate the relevant evidence, the case studies do not provide a detailed analysis for each of the included items, but instead present examples that are most representative and serve to establish a coherent interpretation of the situation.

The suggested chronology for the monuments referred to the text is illustrated on the tables and in the catalogue, with alternative chronologies introduced briefly below. The chronological evaluation of the bases primarily rests on the excellent foundation provided by the following studies: the compilation of inscriptions from Aphrodisias by Roueché²⁹⁰ and Smith²⁹¹, the compilation of inscriptions from Leptis Magna by Ward-Perkins²⁹²; the inscriptions from Ephesos presented in the *IK*, and the inscriptions from Athens in the *IG*.

The diverging state of research for the different sites in terms of processing, evaluation and publication, the restricted accessibility of the sculptural evidence²⁹³ and the sometimes biased publication of material does not always allow for a juxtaposition of equivalents. Therefore, a comparative approach that considers the preceding centuries is only feasible for cities for which detailed epigraphic

²⁸⁹ In some rare instances, however, the author's estimate deviates from that of the corpora and led to the exclusion or inclusion of certain items differently dated elsewhere.

²⁹⁰ *I*Aph.

²⁹¹ Smith 2006.

²⁹² *IRT*.

²⁹³ In the case of Ephesos and Leptis Magna only a fraction of the sculptural evidence is published, for the latter the current political situation additionally hindered autopsy.

databases are accessible, i.e. Aphrodisias and Leptis.²⁹⁴ Accordingly, conspicuous idiosyncracies will be stressed instead of trying to judge phenomena *in absentia*.

After a brief introduction to the geographic and historical circumstances, the imperial evidence, the non-imperial inscriptions and the statuary remains will be presented, and in this order. Areas that will be addressed are the individual dealings with imperial honours, the status and achievements of non-imperial honorands, and the individual motivation of the awarders. On a greater scale, the traceability of a decline in statuary honours and the practice of awarding statuary honours – whether these are city-specific or part of general phenomenon – will be addressed. Finally, it shall be discussed whether the bestowal of greater independence or a better financial standing on cities led to a stronger or weaker identification with Rome.

²⁹⁴ For Ephesus a complete prosopographical evaluation of the complete IE/IK volumes would be necessary to achieve similar results, respective the entire IG for Athens.

CHAPTER V

CASE STUDY: LEPTIS MAGNA

Leptis Magna in Western North Africa benefitted early on from its annexation by the Roman Empire. Its geographic location, with a sheltered port at its disposal, situated on an important trade and march route that supplied sufficient water resources, and located adjacent to a fertile hinterland, provided the best preconditions to attract a heightened interest by Rome. The fact that a son of the city was to become emperor and a generous benefactor was just an additional lucky turn of history. Leptis hence enjoyed a privileged status within the Empire and the resulting wealth enabled as well as called for an appropriate statue adornment in the city; and indeed a good many honours have survived. The high-quality limestone provided by the nearby quarry at Ras-el Hamman accounts for the good conservation and multitude of Leptis' epigraphic remains over the centuries.²⁹⁵ Yet from Trajanic times onward, the more exclusive marble became the preferred material.²⁹⁶ Since the stone had to be imported²⁹⁷ or brought in across larger distances and was therefore sparser, an even more extensive reuse of old monuments was to be expected. This factor is clearly traceable in both the statuary and the inscriptional record.

In order to be able to understand a city's statuary habit it is necessary to understand its political and economic situation. Yet the reverse is equally true.

²⁹⁵ Mattingly 1995, 116-117.

²⁹⁶ IRT p. 82-83.

²⁹⁷ IRT p. 83.

Leptis' history has been subject to controversy in the past and will, therefore, be presented more comprehensively. Called 'decline' by some,²⁹⁸ 'stagnation' by others,²⁹⁹ Leptis experienced a shift in its development during the third century. Was Leptis, however, really struggling and can we find any indication for this in the extant honorific evidence? Extraordinary rights granted to the city by Rome provided a certain form of political as well as of financial independence. Did these give rise to Leptis cutting its own way, especially regarding its honorific practice, or did it, notwithstanding or even more so, align itself with the Empire's capital?

V. 1 HISTORICAL SUMMARY

Leptis Magna is situated at the mouth of the river Lebda in Libya, North Africa. It was one of the three *poleis* Oea, Sabratha and Leptis that gave Tripolitania its name. Originally a Punic³⁰⁰ *emporium*, it was annexed by Rome in 146 BC after the fall of Carthage, yet remained autonomous.³⁰¹ Until Trajanic times it also seized the opportunity, granted to the African cities, to keep their *sufetes* as administrators instead of ceding the office to Roman officials.³⁰²

The city's geographic position was ideal due to its sheltered natural harbour,³⁰³ its access to a highly frequented trading route from the inland to the

²⁹⁸ For example IRT p 78; DKP *Leptis Magna*, 282.

²⁹⁹ Witschel 1999, 288-290.

³⁰⁰ Plin. *Nat.* V, 19, 76; Sil. *Ital.* III 56; Sall. *Iug.* 19.78.

³⁰¹ Mattingly 1995, 116; Kleinwächter 2001, 218.

³⁰² Lepelley 1998, 77. 82; Kleinwächter 2001, 218, 221-222; Sears 2011, 49.

³⁰³ IRT p.76; Bianchi-Bandinelli- Caffarelli – Caputo 1964, 16-17. The *Stadiasmus Maris Magni* (93), however, calls Leptis a town without harbour. For the scholarly discussion regarding the harbour cf. Kleinwächter 2001, 215 n. 1370.

sea³⁰⁴ and its convenient location that fostered a direct connection and waterway trading route to Spain facilitated the triangular trade route Africa–Hispania–Rome.³⁰⁵ The direct access to the fertile Djebel³⁰⁶ allowed for extensive olive oil production and export.³⁰⁷ Owing to the increased demand for oil under Septimius Severus (see below) the port's importance was elevated even further in the third century, when the Empire's main trade triangle, Hispania–South Gaul–Rome, lost its prominence to the Africa–Sicily–Rome route.³⁰⁸

The Roman annexation led to an economic upswing and exceptional growth and development.³⁰⁹ Under Augustus a large-scale building program had begun.³¹⁰ Leptis was promoted to a *municipium* between AD 74-77³¹¹ and granted Roman citizenship and colonial status as the *Colonia Ulpia Traiana fidelis Leptis Magna* (IRT 420) by Trajan in AD 109. At the same time and presumably as a result, an extensive use of marble, the 'imperial' stone, commenced. The city was renamed in honour of Septimius Severus and once more under Gallienus to become *Ulpia Traiana Augusta Septimia Salonina Lepcis Magna* (IRT 456). Favoured by its most famous son,³¹² the emperor Septimius Severus (AD 193-211), and bestowed by him with numerous benefactions such as magnificent buildings and favourable, lucrative rights, Leptis' splendour as well as its importance was further amplified. He installed, for instance, the daily oil supply in Rome, to which Leptis profitably

³⁰⁴ Kleinwächter 2001, 215.

³⁰⁵ Witschel 1999, 298.

³⁰⁶ IRT p. 76.

³⁰⁷ Mattingly 1988, 21-41; Mattingly 1995, 138-159. 195; Witschel 1999, 161, n. 7. 287.

³⁰⁸ Witschel 1999, 298; Kleinwächter 2001, 215.

³⁰⁹ IRT p.77; Binanchi-Bandinelli – Caffarelli – Caputo 1964, 17; Lepelly 1998, 77, 84-85.

³¹⁰ Mattingley 1995, 118.

³¹¹ Mattingley 1995, 116; Cf. also Kleinwächter 2001, 219, 222-223 n. 1434.

³¹² Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 20, 8.

contributed to a large extent,³¹³ and he vested the independent *civitas* in AD 203 with the *ius italicum*,³¹⁴ which granted a waiver from certain forms of taxation, a privilege usually held by Italian towns and the highest honour a provincial town could receive. The building program comprised the *Severan Forum* with its basilica and temple as well as the colonnaded street with its *Great Nymphaeum*. Yet not all building activity starting under Septimius was finished.³¹⁵

The interpretation of the city's further development is divided: whilst scholars in the past assumed a distinct decline,³¹⁶ more recent scholars view the evidence differently.³¹⁷ We will look at this aspect more closely in the context of the marble and stone evidence. In AD 294-305, however, Leptis became the capital of the new province Tripolitania.³¹⁸ In the fourth century, Leptis, as the entire region, suffered from repeated attacks by raiding tribes,³¹⁹ earthquakes,³²⁰ and also a dam break in AD 455, which led to the harbour becoming silted up.³²¹ After its occupation by the Vandals in the same year, the city was recaptured in AD 534 by Justinian, partly rebuilt and newly walled within a smaller area.³²² Leptis was reinstated in its status as an administrative centre,³²³ but was gradually abandoned after quarrels with the Maurusians flared up once more.³²⁴ In the seventh century, Leptis was conquered in the Arab Invasion and although still

³¹³ Witschel 1999, 287-288; Lepelly 1998, 93.

³¹⁴ Paulus, *Dig.* 50.15.8.11.

³¹⁵ IRT p. 78. For the building program cf. for example Ward-Perkins 1993.

³¹⁶ Cf. IRT p. 78. DKP *Leptis Magna*, 282.

³¹⁷ Witschel 1999, 288-290.

³¹⁸ Kleinwächter 2001, 223.

³¹⁹ Kleinwächter 2001, 244.

³²⁰ Witschel 1999, 289 n. 30.

³²¹ IRT p. 78; Bianchi-Bandinelli – Caffarelli – Caputo 1964, 60.

³²² IRT p. 79; Kleinwächter 2001, 224.

³²³ *Cod. Iust.* I, 27, 2, 1a; Kleinwächter 2001, 224.

³²⁴ Kleinwächter 2001, 224.

inhabited until the eleventh century,³²⁵ the antique site gradually succumbed to its last invader, the sand.³²⁶

LEPTIS IN THE THIRD CENTURY

At this point, a more detailed account of Leptis' development after the High Severan Period shall help to answer several questions. Was the city struggling? Was there, as the IRT states, a distinct decline that already commenced after the last of the Severans, Alexander and his mother, were slain?³²⁷ Loss of economic importance, the drop in building activity, the necessity for restorations at the beginning of the fourth century, and finally the number of imperial honours have all been cited as proof of such a decline. This more detailed discussion will also support some aspects of the argument made in the remaining case study cities, since both the circumstances at the time as well as their modern assessment appear similar.

As Witschel has pointed out in his reference to the cargo of the sunken ship Cabrera III and to the evidence from Septem Fratres (Ceuta) in Mauritania Tingitana, the triangular trade route Africa–South of Spain–Rome was still important in the third century AD. The supervention of the new main trade triangle route Africa–Sicily–Rome at the same time, superseding Hispania–South of Gaul–Rome due to the heightened oil demand, is testimony to Leptis' stable

³²⁵ Kleinwächter 2001, 209 .

³²⁶ A very detailed account of Leptis excavation history was provided by Kleinwächter and will therefore not be reiterated here, cf. Kleinwächter 2001, 209-213.

³²⁷ IRT p 78; DKP *Leptis Magna*, 282.

economy.³²⁸ Despite struggling to hold ground to the rival Byzacena, Leptis was able to keep up the oil supply until the beginning of the fourth century AD.³²⁹ As Kleinwächter rightly states, the city can hardly have lost its economic importance in the third century since it was made seat of the proconsul and capital of the new province Tripolitania in AD 294-305.³³⁰ This administrative as well as representative status requires a city's stability as much as it provides it.

Witschel has convincingly demonstrated that despite the fact that the ample Severan building project in the city was partly left unfinished,³³¹ a decline can neither be determined nor proven.³³² Witschel negates an '*einschneidende Zäsur im tripolitanischen Städtewesen*' in Late Severan times and interprets the decrease in building activity in the second half of the third century as part of general urban developments and as a logical consequence after the preceding '*stürmischen Ausbauphase*' rather than as a result of decline.³³³

Building inscriptions installed during the restorations undertaken during the reign of Constantine I were also called on to further substantiate the notion of Leptis' full-fledged decay in the third century.

³²⁸ Witschel 1999, 298 n. 78.

³²⁹ Witschel 1999, 289 n. 30.

³³⁰ Kleinwächter 2001, 223.

³³¹ IRT p.78. Witschel 1999, 288.

³³² Witschel 1999, 288-290.

³³³ Witschel 1999, 290. 306.

*Quod inter cetera ciuitatis Lepcimagnensium
moenia quae cum sui magnitudine et splendo-
re concordant etiam porticum macelli in rui-
nam [la]bemque conuersam remanere nudam*

[...]ult[... c. 15...]eneret quod esset in usu

ac f[... c. 20...] hort[a]nte clemen-

tia [... c. 9... d(ominorum)] n(ostrorum) et Fl(aui)] Cons[t]antini max(imi)

[et Val(eri) Licini et Fl(aui) Cri]spi et Fl(aui) [Cl]aud[i Con]stantini

et Fl(aui) Val(eri) Licini] [no]b(i)l(ium) Caes(arum) [... 9...]te ac dedicante

Laenatio Romulo [u(iro) p(erfectissimo) p(raeside) p(rouinciae) Tripol(itanae)]

[... 7... amp]liorem [... 11...]am gratiam et pulchritu-

[dinem ... ? ...] sum(p)ti[bus ... 11... admin]istra[t]is

*Because among other affairs of the city of the Lepcimagnensians the walls which ?
are appropriate to its size and splendour, also the portico of the market [fallen] into*

ruin and destruction to remain bare [... ? ...] which was in use and [... c. 20 ...] with

encouragement from the clemency [... c. 9 ...] of our [lords Flavius] Constantinus the very great [and

Valerius Licinius and Flavius] Crispus and Flavius Claudius Constantinus and Flavius [Valerius

Licinius] noble Caesars; [... ? ...] and dedicating Laenatius Romulus [excellent man (i.e. equestrian),

governor of the province of Tripolitania... ? ...] fuller [?and] grace and beauty [... ? ...] ? with the costs [... ?

...] having been administered.

Despite the fact that the wall had ‘fallen into ruin’ (the translation of *conversa* with destruction seems a little strong – *convertere* (verb): clear away; *conversa* (noun): a convert) the city obviously still held ‘*magnitudine et splendore*’.

³³⁴ Text and translation constituted from: <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT468.html> (last accessed 01.02.2014).

The walls were presumably simply damaged and the diction is hyperbole, merely augmenting and underlining the city's gratitude. A further restoration under Constantine I seems to have been made necessary by a thunderstorm rather than by the consequences of a social collapse.³³⁵ The 'moreover' in the translation below is a divisive completion by the IRT.

IRT 467:³³⁶

*Cum basilica uetus ex maxima parte ruina esset deformatā
conlabu ac spatio sui breuiass[et ar]eam forensem
[· 5·] diuino icta conflagrarat incendio [...] adq(ue) is locus saecul[o]
fortunatissimo meliora deposceret tantae stragis lab[e s]ubl[a]-
[ta] tripertita porticus magnitudine sui ac Troadensium columna-
[r]um adornata operis prouincialium ac sumtu publico dispen[te]
[La]enatio Romulo u(iro) p(erfectissimo) rectore prouinciae intra anni spatium
perfecta ac dedicata est adq(ue) ad sempiternam memoriam statua[m]
marmoream suo numine radiantem Domino nostro
Constantino maximo uictori semper Aug(usto) idem u(ir) p(erfectissimus)
dicata mente constituit curante Cl(audio) Aurel(io) Generoso u(iro) e(gregio)
cur(atore) r(ei) p(ublicae) et splendidissimo
ordine Coloniae Lepcimagnensium*

*Since the greatest part of the old basilica was damaged and fallen down and the
space taken by its fallen debris had reduced the open area of the forum [· ? ·]*

³³⁵ See also Thomas – Witschel 1992, 291 n. 38.

³³⁶ Text and translation constituted from: <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT467.html> (last accessed 01.02.2014).

?moreover] struck by divine lightning [· ? ·] it had blazed with a fire [...] and since in a most fortunate period that place demanded better things, the fallen parts were removed and a tripartite portico built. It has been adorned by its own size and by columns of Troadensian marble, by the works of the provincials and at public expense with Laenatius Romulus, excellent man (i.e. equestrian), governor of the province, managing it; it was completed and dedicated within the space of a year; and moreover to his eternal memory a marble statue radiant with his divine power to our Lord Constantine greatest victor, perpetual Augustus, was erected by the same excellent man; Claudius Aurelius Generosus, eminent man (i.e. equestrian), curator of the city and the most splendid city council of the colony of Lepcimagensians overseeing the work.

The necessity and, moreover, the ability to preserve and restore damaged buildings is an indicator of stability rather than of decline. Furthermore, since in the second century AD there had already been laws in the Empire which required new building activity to be restricted and monetary means to be invested into the restoration of the existing buildings instead. This demand, however, could only be followed through in Late Antiquity.³³⁷

Finally and most significantly for this case study, the IRT's line of argument that 'only' twelve imperial honours 'date from the half century following the death of Severus Alexander'³³⁸ cannot be used for the substantiation of a decline.³³⁹ On the contrary, with 16 imperial statuary honours from AD 222-285 Leptis is

³³⁷ *Dig.* I 16, 1, 1 (*Ulp.*); 50, 10 7. pr. (*Call*); *ChT* 15, 1. Witschel 1999, 130. 146 n. 142.

³³⁸ IRT p.78.

³³⁹ This thesis counts the double base 08-094-095 as two honours and thus lists 13 honours.

surpassed only by Rome with 18 attested bases (including none for Alexander³⁴⁰) – despite any contemporary changes in the *epigraphic habit*.³⁴¹ Indeed Leptis reflects on a smaller scale the overall development that was determined for the whole of the Roman Empire in the Chapters 2 and 3: the expected decline occurs after the middle of the century – or in this specific case more appropriately the ‘gap’ from AD 268-281 – yet only after a tall peak that is solely constituted by the family of Gallienus.

In conclusion, Leptis was not facing a decline but a state of stagnation, which inevitably has to follow such a long period of enduring and gradually increasing rise.³⁴² The word *stagnation* is inescapably yet commonly used with a negative connotation. A halt to growth and progress commands such a conclusion in ambitious times like ours. Yet seen in an era of social, economic, and political change and instability, stagnation needs to be looked at differently. The city did not plunge into an abyss. Stagnation under the given preconditions meant the ability and the disposability of means to maintain the *status quo*, to provide stability against the odds. This demonstrates extraordinary strength, not failure. Indeed Leptis was able to maintain a standard that was very high to begin with. The evidence provided in the following will raise the question whether even the word ‘stagnation’ is suitable for a city in which the extant evidence is so rich, especially when a change in the *epigraphic habit* for this period is presumed or proven. Although a multitude of inscriptions is not the only and decisive factor of the

³⁴⁰ As discussed in Chapter III, the actual number for Rome, especially for the family of Alexander Severus, has to be assumed to be considerably higher, due to the significant number of plaques that had to be excluded in order to conform to the applied methodology.

³⁴¹ Mrozek 1973, 114-116; MacMullen 1982, 244-246; Witschel 1999, 73 n. 75. 291.

³⁴² Witschel 1999, 306.

prosperity of a city,³⁴³ their existence does provide us with clues. Maybe Leptis was indeed rather levelling off after a long period of increase, instead of experiencing the tidal ebb after the flood. A more appropriate term I would like to suggest is 'saturation'. Just as for Leptis, the developments of other cities discussed in the case studies were classed with the terms decline and the slightly more favourable one stagnation. However, the alternative interpretation of the evidence offered in more detail in this chapter can be applied to the other cities as well.

V.2 HONORIFIC STATUARY - THE EVIDENCE

For the third century Witschel assumes a change to have taken place in Leptis' *epigraphic habit*. After the peak in Severan times, he claims, the '*traditionelle Inschriftenkultur*' had ended in the middle of the century and that soon after 280 AD a new '*epigraphic communication*' developed, according to the general progress of the *epigraphic habit* in Late Antiquity. He identifies the '*usual*' nadir between AD 250-280.³⁴⁴ Yet he also refers to the high number of reused inscriptions and the many Gallienic imperial inscriptions.³⁴⁵ This will now be reviewed with reference to actual numbers of honorific inscriptions.

Several factors have, as so often, certainly diminished the city's original quantity of statuary – Bejor states that '*nur noch einen Bruchteil*' of the original evidence has survived.³⁴⁶ One factor was the ongoing occupation up until the eleventh century, which led to spoliation and reuse of any deployable stone

³⁴³ MacMullen 1982, 244. 246.

³⁴⁴ Witschel 1999, 291; cf. Mrozek 1973, 116.

³⁴⁵ Witschel 1999, 291 n. 39.

³⁴⁶ Bejor 1987, 109.

material. Another was the deliberate demolition, indeed extinction of the material: the large oven for lime burning that has been discovered near the temple of Augustus and Roma³⁴⁷ has pulverised further evidence. Moreover, targeted plundering of the site since the 17th century has scattered the evidence across international museums and collections – often, no doubt, without any extant attribution of the original provenance.³⁴⁸

Yet the spoliation did not only set in with the ‘*squatter occupation*’³⁴⁹. Reuse, such as in the city walls, and relocation took place already in Late Antiquity and have obscured not only the number but also the original assembly of statuary and bases in the city. Over the course of the reemployment of statue bodies and re-carving of portraits, relocation was concomitant. Yet also unaltered statuary was moved, not always according to its original intention. This is probably best demonstrated by a late Antonine statue of a woman found in the theatre (Pl. V. 6.). She is displayed sitting next to a little boy, who is displayed with the attributes of Eros, namely, wings and a quiver. In her right hand she holds some poppies.³⁵⁰ All of these attributes, individually and together, reveal that the statue was surely taken out of a grave context and transferred to its new, seemingly less appropriate installation site. Whether it was brought there because of mere admiration for the piece mixed with indifference towards its original purpose, or because the mythological connotation and relative *antiquitas* of the statue was seen as appropriate for the theatre, or maybe because the depiction of a ‘mythological

³⁴⁷ Boschung 2002, 11-12.

³⁴⁸ Kleinwächter 2001, 209. 211 n. 1341.

³⁴⁹ Witschel 1999, 290.

³⁵⁰ Caputo – Traversari 1976, 89-91 no. 68, pl. 67-70. No inventory number. The identification as Sabina can be ruled out.

subject' was more likely to survive Christian iconoclasm in this location has to remain open. Witschel states that sculpture has been transferred from 'disreputable' locations such as temples to more neutral grounds such as *fora* and baths.³⁵¹ In the minds of the early Christians theatres belonged to the disreputable establishments as well.³⁵² Therefore a transfer to this location might have possibly been chosen to avoid open argument since a 'proper' Christian would have shunned this place. Statuary in pagan temples was protected by law³⁵³ and the forum was grudgingly accepted as being a place for *idola*³⁵⁴, but in cemeteries on streets leading towards the city, to come back to the late Antonine grave statue, might have scandalized the faithful and provoked debate. Thus it was possibly taken out of Christian sight. Of course, its reuse could most easily be explained by the fact that the statue was available and that its former funerary context was deemed irrelevant. Whatever the manifold reasons for the relocation of statuary were, the practice might conceal the original context but not the quantity. Yet reuse for later honours, spoliation for building material during and after Late Antiquity, as well as modern plunderings have had a considerable impact on the number of statuary in Leptis and elsewhere. In the following, the extant evidence for third century honours surviving all these odds will be evaluated.

IMPERIAL HONOURS

The imperial evidence, which was already called upon to refute a drastic decline, shall now be investigated a little more thoroughly. Although no imperial statuary

³⁵¹ Witschel 2007, 5.

³⁵² *Trad. Apostol.* 11-12. *Tert. Spect.*

³⁵³ *ChT* XVI, 10, 15.

³⁵⁴ Ambrose *De virginitate* VIII, 46; cf. Witschel 2007, 119.

remains are preserved for the time AD 222-285, the number of bases is, as mentioned, considerable. The evidence for 16 imperial statues of five different families is extant (cf. Tb. V1; Appendix A, Graph Va.).³⁵⁵ Eleven of them were found at the two *fora*, the *Forum Vetus* or the *Forum Severianum*. In almost all cases with a preserved dedicator, they were erected by the city, respectively the people of Leptis. The two exceptions in which the dedicators are individuals are for Gallienus, installed by the consul and curator of Tripolitania, C. Servilius Marsus, and for Carus, commissioned by the proconsul Lucius Iulius Paulinus. Five imperial inscriptions are dated to the third century but the honorand cannot be determined, and two more are dated to the mid-third to early fourth century.³⁵⁶

Alexander and his mother are preserved on three base inscriptions. A further one is too fragmentary to conform to the methodology applied.³⁵⁷ His successors Maximinus Thrax, with his son, and Gordian III received two statues each. Eight honours for the family Gallienus have survived under whom the citizens also changed their appellation to the *Lepcitani Septimiani Saloniniani*. One of them was part of an equestrian statue, which was reused later as a double base for Constantine II and Constantius II.³⁵⁸ Another one is a double base for him and his wife. His sons received two statues, which were both found near the Mausoleum. Carus, finally, is preserved on only one base from the abovementioned proconsul.

³⁵⁵ One further inscription is too fragmentary to include (IRT 623), another cannot be attributed to either Alexander or an earlier Severan (IRT 446).

³⁵⁶ The IRT online publication mentions (under IRT 619) that several more fragmentary 'imperial dedications' with the same formula *Lepcitani publice*, attributed to the late second or early third century AD, are not listed separately. <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT619.html>, (cf. commentary; last accessed 01.02.2014).

³⁵⁷ IRT 451.

³⁵⁸ IRT 457. IRT 469; AE 1950, 207; Bergemann 1990, 144 E82.

Cat.	Honorand	Status	Awarder	Date AD	Lit.	Comment
01-107	Alexander Severus	emperor	Lepcitani <i>publice</i>	222-235	IRT 448.	
01-108	Iulia Mamae	mother	[---]	222-235	IRT 449.	fragm. IRT 451 excluded
01-109	Iulia Mamae	mother	Lepcitani <i>publice</i>	222-235	IRT 450.	
02-24	Maximinus Thrax	emperor	Lepcitani <i>publice</i>	236	IRT 452.	
02-25	Maximus	emperor/son	Lepcit. Septimiani <i>publice</i>	236	IRT 453.	
03-101	Gordian III	emperor	Lepcitani <i>publice</i>	238	IRT 454.	
03-102	Gordian III	emperor	[---]	238-244	IRT 455.	
08-094-095	Gallienus & Salonina	emperor & wife	Lep. Sept. Salon. <i>publice</i>	265	IRT 456.	double base
08-096	Gallienus	emperor	Lep. Sept. Saloniniani <i>publice</i>	267	IRT 457; It. Cat. 7.	equestrian statue; reused for IRT 468; fragm. IRT 458 excluded
08-097	Gallienus	emperor	[---]	253-268	IRT 458.	
08-098	Gallienus		C Servilius Marsus <i>cos cur reip reg Tripolitanae</i>	267	AE 1959, 271.	
08-099	Cornelia Salonina	wife	Lep. Sept. Saloniniani <i>publice</i>	253-268	IRT 459.	
08-100	Valerianus II	son/Caesar	Lep. Septimiani <i>publice</i>	253-255	IRT 460a.	
08-101	Valerianus II or Saloninus	son/Caesar	[---]	253-255	IRT 460b.	
15-32	Carus	emperor	L. Iulius Paulinus, <i>v c, procos</i>	281	IRT 461.	
-	[---]	emperor	[---]	3 rd century	IRT 511.	
-	[---]	emperor	[---]	3 rd century	IRT 509.	
-	[---]	emperor	[---]	Not long before the Tetrarchy (It. Cat.) / 280-320 AD (LSA)	IRT 539; It. Cat. 18; LSA 2164.	epigr. remains on a base from the end of the 3 rd - beginning of 4 th c. / Tetrarchy
-	[---]	emperor	Lepcitani <i>publice</i>	3 rd century	IRT 619.	cf. IRT 619 commentary
-	[---]	emperors	Lepcitani <i>publice</i>	3 rd cent. (IRT) / mid 3 rd -early 4 th (It. Cat.)	IRT 508; It. Cat. 69.	
-	[---]	emperor	A[...] Rogatinus <i>vc</i> [...]	end 3 rd -early 4 th cent.	IRT 539; It. Cat. 18; LSA 2164.	
-	[---]	emperor	?	3 rd cent. / end of 3 rd cent. (It. Cat.) / 275-325 AD (LSA)	IRT 510; It. Cat. 20; LSA 2166.	

Tb. V.1. Imperial honours in Leptis Magna (AD 222-285).³⁵⁹

Leptis is a microcosm of the situation of the imperial honours in the whole Empire. The same three families are prominent in the evidence: Maximinus is

³⁵⁹ The bases which cannot be attributed to a certain imperial individual and are therefore excluded from the catalogue.

drawing level with Gordian this time. The peak during Gallienus' reign and the subsequent drop occur according to his empire-wide evidence. Carinus, a member of the last imperial family under investigation in this thesis, is represented by one base, marking the end point of the study's chronology and also disbarring the assumption of a complete abandonment of the statuary habit after Gallienus.

Since the city saw the height of its prosperity under the reign of the Leptis-born Septimius Severus,³⁶⁰ who granted it the highest honour for a provincial town – the *ius italicum* which freed it from certain forms of taxation – it is not surprising that his family features in a multitude of statuary-related and not statuary-related honours. These were profitable for Leptis in two ways: firstly, because the famous son reflected favourably on the city, inwardly and outwardly; and secondly, because Leptis could consequently count on being bestowed with further benefactions by the imperial family the city so extolled. The city's subsequent affinity for Alexander, who claimed his descent from Septimius, can therefore only be expected.

The reasons for the relatively large number of honours the family of Gallienus received, among them an equestrian statue, and for the fact that Leptis even adjusted its name to appeal to this specific emperor are less obvious. Gallienus was put in charge of the Western provinces by his father and he extended the fortifications within Tripolitania (*Limes Tripolitania*).³⁶¹ Yet the reason for this quantity in this specific city might simply be best explained with the

³⁶⁰ Mattingly 1995, 116.

³⁶¹ CIL VIII, 22765; Wickert 1927, 365; De Blois 1976, 1, 36 n. 58.

fact that he was the longest reigning emperor at the time. Since Leptis has always been generous with its attestations of loyalty, Gallienus' reign might have simply provided enough time to extensively do so. A quick overview³⁶² of Leptis' imperial honours over the centuries suggests that voicing or downright flaunting its loyalty was Leptis' priority all along.³⁶³ The fact that honours to so many different imperial families can be traced in Leptis is surely tightly connected to its location as a hub which therefore saw a stronger transmigration of transients.

Honorand	Male rulers: Statuary	Male rulers: Bases	Wives, children, relatives	Source	Total number of preserved honours for the male rulers
Gens Augusta – Commodus	8 ³⁶⁴ (7 Julio-Claudian)	24 ³⁶⁵	statuary: 10 (+) ³⁶⁶ (9 Julio-Claudian) bases: 2 (+) ³⁶⁷	FZ 1983; FZ 1985; Boschung 2002; Højte 2005	32
Severans until Geta	0	17	bases: 21	Petrucchioli 2012 ³⁶⁸	17
Alex. Severus – Carinus	0	10 (1 double base)	6 (1 double base)	Spranger	10
Late Empire commencing with Diocletian (285-423 AD)	0	18	1	LSA ³⁶⁹	18

Tab V.2. General overview of the imperial honours in Leptis.³⁷⁰

³⁶² Since the methodology of the evaluations of the preceding and subsequent centuries is not unified, and a re-evaluation of the entire evidence is not pragmatic, only a rough impression can be given of the development during imperial times.

³⁶³ See also Boschung 2002, 24.

³⁶⁴ FZ 1985, 70-71 n. 2g, no 65; Tripolis Mus. Inv. 482; Boschung 2002, 8-11.

³⁶⁵ Højte 2005 (Augustus 3, Tiberius 3, Claudius 2, Vespasian 2, Titus 1, Trajan 1, Hadrian 5, Antoninus Pius 5, Marcus Aurelius 2).

³⁶⁶ FZ 1983, 19-20 no 18. Boschung 2002, 8-11.

³⁶⁷ Only Julio-Claudian honours, deduced from Boschung 2002, 8-11. Hence the actual number will be higher.

³⁶⁸ Petruccioli, personal communication, 2012.

³⁶⁹ Identifiable are: Constantius I (LSA-2148), Constantius I. and Galerius (LSA-2149), Severus (LSA-2150), Maxentius (LSA-2151, LSA-2152), Constantine I (LSA-2213), possibly one for a member of Constantine I's family (LSA-2214), Constans (LSA-2223), Constantius II and Constantius Gallus (LSA-2153), Constantius II (LSA-2154), Valentinian I or Valens (LSA-2155, LSA-2156), Gratian (LSA-2157), Valentinian II (LSA-2158), Theodosius I (LSA-2159), Arcadius (LSA-2160), Honorius (LSA-2161).

³⁷⁰ Only identifiable individuals are listed. Multiple honours, e.g. double bases are counted individually. Despite my argument that genuine comparability can only be achieved by including all imperial family members in the calculation, the creation of a uniform chart with the data readily available demanded the nonconformity to this principle in this specific case.

Boschung lists 16 statuary remains for the Gens Augusta, whilst Højte adds 24 bases (solely the main male rulers) during the period from Augustus to Commodus.³⁷¹ Petruccioli lists 24 bases for the family of the Leptis-born Septimius Severus,³⁷² of which one is a triple base and four are quadruple bases. Finally, 17 imperial inscriptions date to Late Antiquity, of which two are double bases.

Boschung already pointed out the swiftness and intensity with which the *'Lepticiani'* reacted to the *'impulses coming from Rome'*, *'as if there had been a competition amongst the leading families'*.³⁷³ At least among the awarders of imperial statuary in the third century this presence of individual families is not detectable since, as mentioned above, all but two honours where the dedicator is preserved were erected collectively by the *Lepticiani*.

NON-IMPERIAL HONOURS

THE BASES

In addition to the 16 identifiable imperial bases, 27 inscriptions for officials and locals, dated roughly in-between the Late Severan era and before the Tetrarchy, refer to statuary³⁷⁴. Their dating is mostly based on the lettering.³⁷⁵ Tantillo and Bigi were able to further discern and attribute some of the erased inscriptions on reused panels and bases: 15 of them are relevant for this discussion and nine of

³⁷¹ Boschung 2002, 8-11; Cf. Højte 2005.

³⁷² Information kindly provided by Petruccioli, personal communication, 2011. Cf. Petruccioli 2012.

³⁷³ Boschung 2002, 24.

³⁷⁴ The inclusion or exclusion of certain inscriptions that are dated differently by the IRT from this catalogue is based on the content or stylistic correlation or deviation of individual monuments. Statuary that can unambiguously be assigned to a funerary context (e.g. IRT 657, from the mausoleum) has been excluded.

³⁷⁵ Cf. the respective numbers in the IRT.

them are dated to Late Severan to Diocletianic times.³⁷⁶ The text, however, can no longer be usefully deciphered and assessed. All inscriptions are listed in the two tables below. They incorporate honours to two priests, two *euergetes*, two men of senatorial and one of equestrian rank, one soldier, and two women. Five inscriptions refer to wills, which, however, does not necessarily mean that the statues constituted funerary honours. A further ten are so fragmentary that little can be inferred from them.

Cat.	Honorand	Status/ achievement/ reason for the dedication	Awarder/ administrator	Date AD	Lit.	Comment
Lep-01-03	a) [...]; b, c) Plautius Lupus	a) <i>flamen, pontifex</i> / munificence; b, c) <i>duumvir, 'optimus'</i> of the city council, curator, flamen; generosity; integrity; modesty; meritoriousness; games; adornment of the bathhouse	a) city council (?); [...]nus according with his testament, at his own expense; b, c) city council; public expense; financed by Plautius Lupus himself	prob. 3 rd cent.	IRT 601.	- decree a) unknown number of statues, 'among other things'; b) two-horse chariot; to be erected wherever he chooses
Lep-04-07	[...]	?	[...] and Fl. Capito, the heirs	prob. 3 rd cent.	IRT 700.	- base; testamentary? dedication; four statues
Lep-08	[...]	?	[...] Flavius [...] Capito	2 nd -3 rd cent. with reference to IRT 700.	IRT 701.	four (?) statues
Lep-09	Fabricia [...]	daughter	[...], in accordance with a decree of the city council	3 rd cent.	IRT 640.	
Lep-10	Publius Cornelius	?	?	mid 3 rd cent.	IRT 687; It. Cat 61.	
Lep-11	Cornelius M[...]	?	?	3 rd cent.	IRT 686.	
Lep-12	?	?	?	prob. 3 rd cent.	IRT 817; Lefebvre 1994, 239 n. 67; disagreeing: Kleinwächter 2001, 252 n. 1675.	
Lep-13	L. Silius Amicus Haterianus	v. c., senator, curator of Oea, patron	the people of Oea, publice (publicly)	prob. 3 rd cent.	IRT 542; Torelli 1973, 399, no 17.	
Lep-14	[...]	?	?	prob. 3 rd cent.	IRT 979.	
Lep-15	Grania Iovina	pious daughter	Lucius Granius Sollers Paulianus, senatorial status, quaestor	2 nd -3 rd cent. (IRT); ca. mid 3 rd cent (Torelli).	IRT 642; Torelli 1973, 398 no. 14, text.	
Lep-16	Lucius Granius Sollers Paulianus	senatorial status, quaestor	Nummius Gaetulicus and Tuticius M[... ? ...], with the permission [of the city council ... ? ...]	2 nd -early 3 rd cent. (IRT); ca. mid 3 rd cent (Torelli).	IRT 532; Torelli 1973, 398 no. 14.	two curved blocks, presumably part of a niche
Lep-17	[...]	?	[... ? ...] of the province of Crete and] Cyrenae [... ? ...]	3 rd cent.	IRT 556.	
Lep-18	[...]	<i>euergetes</i> (?)	?	3 rd cent. (IRT 623)/ 2 nd -4 th cent (IRT 786)/ 2 nd half 3 rd cent. (It. Cat.)/ 250-300 AD (LSA).	IRT 786; 623; It. Cat. 51; LSA 2197.	
Lep-19	Porfyrius, son of Porfyrius	not stated, <i>euergetes</i>	decree of the city council	3 rd - 4 th cent. (IRT)/	IRT 603; It. Cat. 50;	two-horse chariot

³⁷⁶ It. Cat. cf. Tb.V.4.

				2 nd half 3 rd cent. (It. Cat.) / end 3 rd early 4 th cent. (Witschel) / 250-300 AD (LSA).	Witschel 147 no 21; LSA 2196.	
Lep-20	[...]Cornelius Philocalus	(father of the Cornelii Cotta and Cornelianus)	Flavius Crescens Saloniunus, with permission of the city council, in accordance with the will of the Cornelii Cotta and Cornelianus	1 st -3 rd cent (IRT) / presumably 3 rd cent. (It.Cat.) / later 3 rd - early 4 th (Spranger).	IRT 638; It. Cat. p. 225 no 84 text.	
Lep-21	Aemilia Lychnis Clementilla	outstanding morality of her disposition (<i>ob insignem adfectionis castitatem</i>), mother of the Volusii Appianilla, Bassus and Cerialis	Lucius Volusius Gallus, Roman knight, pontifex (priest), former <i>duumvir</i> , perpetual <i>flamen</i> (priest); with permission of the city-council	3 rd quater 3 rd cent. (It. Cat.) / 2 nd -early 3 rd cent. (IRT) / 250-280 AD (LSA).	It.Cat. 48; IRT 579; LSA 2194; Torelli 1973, 391 no 28.	daughter of Aemilius Arrianus Caecilianus, former <i>duumvir</i> , <i>pontifex</i>
Lep-22	[... ? ...] ?Amilitis, son of Clement	eminent man (of equestrian status) citizen and patron	the city council of the Lepcitani	3 rd -early 4 th cent. (IRT) / 3 rd quater 3 rd cent. (It. Cat.).	IRT 591; It. Cat. 49; LSA 2195.	
Lep-23	D[...] ?	?	?	4 th cent. (IRT) / 3 rd quater 3 rd cent. (It. Cat.) / 275-300 AD (LSA).	IRT 694; It. Cat. 66; LSA 2211.	of Presbytus, Gerontius Euphrasius
Lep-24	?	?	?	prob. 3 rd cent. (IRT) / 'avanzato' 3 rd cent. (It. Cat.).	IRT 274; It. Cat. 68.	
Lep-25	[...]	?	the Lepcitani	3 rd cent. (IRT) / end 3 rd - beginning 4 th cent. (It. Cat)	IRT 622; It. Cat. 62.	
Lep-26	Lucius Pompeius Cerealis Salvianus	<i>flamen</i> (priest)	Silia Pompeia, wife (daughter of. L., heiress), at her own expense	2-3 rd cent (IRT) / mid 2 nd cent. (Torelli) / 3 rd cent (Lefebvre; Kleinwächter).	IRT 602; Kleinwächter 2001, 252 n. 1675; Lefebvre 1994, 239 n. 67; Torelli 1973, 384, no 10 text.	
Lep-27	[...]nus Castus	military tribune in Legion III Augusta	Lepcitani (?)	1 st -3 rd cent. (IRT) / 3 rd cent. (Torelli).	IRT 560; Torelli 1973, 395, no 12.	

Tb.V.3. Honours for officials and locals from Leptis attributed to the 3rd century AD.³⁷⁷

Reused AD	Erased / Overwritten inscription AD	Lit.
340-350	2 nd - 3 rd century	IRT 567; It.Cat. 35.
Late Constantinian	end 2 nd - beginning 3 rd century	IRT 567; It.Cat. 56.
Late Constantinian	end 2 nd - beginning 3 rd century	IRT 578; It.Cat. 58.
Late Constantinian (ca. 324-326)	end 2 nd - beginning 3 rd century	IRT 606, 581, 627; It.Cat. 59.
third quarter 3 rd century	Severan	IRT 591=IRT 426; It. Cat. 49.
end of 4 th or beginning of 5 th cent.	Severan	IRT 529; It.Cat. 30.
Late Constantinian	Late Severan	IRT 565; It.Cat. 54.
408-423	Late Severan	IRT 480; It.Cat. 31.
ca. 350-360	first half 3 rd century	IRT 565; It.Cat. 41.
4 th century	ca. Gallienic	IRT 576; It.Cat. 43.
late 4 th century	ca. Gallienic	IRT 570; It.Cat. 29.
364-367	after the middle of the 3 rd century	IRT 472; It.Cat. 9.

³⁷⁷ Text and translation from: <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT468.html> (last accessed 01.02.2014).

mid 4 th century	2 nd half 3 rd century	ITR 575; It.Cat. 38.
ca. 378	2 nd half 3 rd century	IRT 526; It.Cat. 23.
Late 4 th -5 th	advanced 3 rd century	IRT 479; It.Cat. 15.

Tb.V.4. Reused illegible honorific inscriptions from the 3rd century AD.

A very interesting inscription is the decree Lep-01 -03. The first part of the text *a)* is in a very fragmentary state, referring to ‘*statues*’, the number of which is obscured, for a *flamen*. It is stated that these will be erected due to his munificence and financed by a now missing individual according to a will. How far we can or should confidently align this to the second and third part of the text *b)* and *c)* is uncertain. The mention of the testament makes a reference to the same monument, however, unlikely. In these two parts the city council stipulates that the *flamen* Plautius Lupus, *optimus* of the council, *duumvir*, and *curator*, will be honoured with a two-horse chariot, a *biga*. The following reasons are given: his ‘integrity’, ‘modesty’, ‘meritoriousness’ and his ‘generosity’, the fact that he richly adorned the bathhouse, and most of all that he gave games on several occasions – ‘*opulentissimos ludos*’, ‘*splendidissimos ludos*’. These games are copiously praised three times in the 26 lines of text *b)*. His munificence is explicitly lauded three times in *b, c)* and since he was, moreover, very modest it was granted that he may pay for the chariot himself. Yet, fascinatingly, he is allowed to set it up ‘*quo loco vellet*’ – wherever he likes. Setting aside the notion that, according to their prominence, locations surely charged profitably for the erection of statues – this is a major pledge by the council. *Fora*, of course, were the most reputable and most highly esteemed location for a statue. Granting the right of choice proves either immensely high gratitude for truly remarkable games, or else a very limited number of options where to put up such a space-consuming monument as a *biga*. A

further two-horse chariot was granted to an *euergetes* by the name of Porfyrius (Lep-19).

Another inscription accounts for the dedication of four statues to an unknown individual by his (?) heirs (Lep-04 to 07). A second one (Lep-08) might have been part of this group of four, since the name Flavius Capito for the dedicator, the number of statues and their price (8000 sesterces) as well as the reference to a co-payment can be amended according to the former.

The *flamen* Lucius Pompeius Cerealis Salvianus (Lep-26) received a *post mortem* honour from his wife Silia Pompeia. The name Cerealis is continually present in the inscriptions from Leptis (cf. for example, IRT 648; (early third century AD); IRT 543-4 (AD 295-305; AD 290-294). What is particularly interesting is a statue base dated to 'the second to third century' (IRT 706). It honours a certain Quintus Furius Cerealis, the father-in-law of a Carminius Saturninus, who had the startling number of 16 statues made (the remaining letters refer to the price and a testament). The mother of L. Volusianus Bassus Cerealis (see above, IRT 543-4) received an honour for her morality (*ob insignem adfectionis castitatem*) by a *flamen* and member of the equestrian order (Lep-21). This and one further base (Lep-09), set up for Grania Iovina by her father, are the only honours for women that have been preserved here from the discussed time frame. The father, Lucius Granius Sollers Paulianus (Lep-16), quaestor and man of senatorial status is the honorand in another inscription, which is found on two blocks that presumably formed a niche in which his statue was placed. The number of women honoured (two) is low, but not surprisingly so. As we will see in the

other case studies, women mostly made an appearance in honours as priestesses or benefactresses. As had been discussed before, the building activity in Leptis had ceased in the third century, yet before that time there are indeed honours for benefactresses,³⁷⁸ and since the city does not have a sanctuary of equal importance as, for instance, Aphrodisias, a different focus was only to be expected.

Leptis makes an appearance as dedicator five times. The city council is designated as commissioner in the abovementioned decree for the *biga* (and possibly a further honour, text *a*)), on the base for Porfyrius' chariot, and for an honour for a man of equestrian status (Lep-22). The 'people of Leptis' arranged the honours of a military tribune (Lep-27) and an unknown individual (Lep-25). Furthermore, a senator and curator of Oea received a statue from the people of Oea, the modern city of Tripolis (Lep-13). This again very well demonstrates besides the relevance of self-representation in the installation of honours in general, in this case of the awarder Oea, the importance of the choice of location, of the stage of self-representation, in particular, in this case, a hub guaranteeing an audience of numerous transients.

Besides the honorific ones, statues of deities and personifications were also continuously dedicated (for example, the Genius of Leptis (IRT 283, 284) and Liber (IRT 299)). Noteworthy are also three statues (IRT 270, 276, 277) of Ceres, Fortuna, and Fortuna Crescens and Hora Bona that Quintus Julius Justus set up for his wife, daughter, and granddaughter, attributed to 'the second to third centuries AD'. In the broader spectrum we have the following development in public

³⁷⁸ Murer, personal communication, 2010; Cf. Murer 2013.

honours from Leptis (cf. Appendix A, Graph Vb.):

Date	Number of assigned bases
2 nd - 3 rd cent. AD	8 ³⁷⁹
2 nd - early 3 rd century AD	27 ³⁸⁰
3 rd century AD	31 ³⁸¹
late 3 rd century AD	2 ³⁸²
late 3 rd - early 4 th century AD	10 ³⁸³

Tb. V.5. Chronological allotment of non-imperial 3rd cent. honorific inscriptions, as dated by the IRT.

In total, the LSA can attribute 56 inscriptions from Leptis to Late Antiquity commencing with Diocletian.³⁸⁴ At this point I do not want to neglect the chance that is provided by the online database of the IRT³⁸⁵ and to put the evidence of the third century into the bigger picture. For this purpose the database was consulted simply under the two keywords 'base + honours' plus the respective century.³⁸⁶ It has to be borne in mind, however, that this leads to doubling up since monuments dated broadly over two centuries, such as 'second to third' appear twice and distort the results. Furthermore, the attribution within each time frame does not necessarily correspond unreservedly with the numbers and monuments compiled

³⁷⁹ IRT 518; 617 (?); 635; 639; 644; 706 (mentioning 16 statues); 713. Erased: IRT 567= It. Cat. 35. Not included: IRT 649 (posthumous; *memoriae* + genitive). Torelli further assigns IRT 560 to the 3rd cent. AD (IRT: 1st - 3rd cent.). Torelli 1972, 395, no 12.

³⁸⁰ IRT 506; 524 (202-205 AD); 525 (early 3rd); 572 (early 3rd); 583; 587; 592; 593; 594; 595; 602; 633; 634 (early 3rd); 636 (early 3rd); 637; 647 (early 3rd); 648 (cf. 524); 715?; 717 (early 3rd); 725 (cf. 634, early 3rd cent., Torelli 1972, 390 no 25); 810. Erased: IRT 567= It. Cat. 35; IRT 567= It. Cat. 56; IRT 578= It. Cat. 58; IRT 606, 581, 627= It. Cat. 59; IRT 591 = IRT 426 = It. Cat. 49; IRT 529= It. Cat. 30. Excluded: IRT 645 (presumably earlier due to the lettering).

³⁸¹ See tables above.

³⁸² IRT 522 = It. Cat. 22 = LSA 2168 (290-294 AD); IRT 544 = It. Cat. 24 = LSA 2170 (290-294 AD).

³⁸³ IRT 543 = It. Cat. 46 = LSA 2192 (295-305 AD) = Witschel 2006a, 148 no 23 (early 4th AD); IRT 559 = It. Cat. 52 = LSA 2198 (280-320 AD); IRT 561 = It. Cat. 45 (tetrach.); IRT 573(?); IRT 622 = It. Cat. 62; IRT 650; It. Cat. 53= LSA 2199 (280-320); IRT 311 = It. Cat. 85 = LSA 2217 (3rd- 4th cent.); It. Cat. 47 (2nd half of the 3rd cent.-beginning of 4th cent AD) = LSA 2193.

³⁸⁴ Numbers evaluated from the LSA website.

³⁸⁵ <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/> (last accessed 01.02.2014).

³⁸⁶ http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/search/search_cat.html (last accessed 01.02.2014).

by the author since both a different dating or a diversion from methodology applied in this study might have led to a different attribution or to exclusion. Therefore the following calculation merely gives a rough impression of the long-range development as it has been evaluated by the IRT.

Date	Number of inscriptions listed by the IRT online data base as 'base+honours' (multiple occurrence likely, due to the chronological overlap)
1 st cent. AD	9 entries, actually only 4 items, two 'probably/perhaps': IRT 531, 589, 600, 615 (a further one 1 st -2 nd : IRT 675 and three 1 st -3 rd : IRT 560, 638, 648; also given under this search 2 nd – 3 rd : IRT 639)
2 nd cent. AD	40
/ AD 200 - 300	54
3 rd cent. AD	45
4 th cent AD:	40
5 th century AD	1

Tb. V.6. Honorific bases by century, as provided by the IRT database.

In conclusion, despite ample reuse and despite the assumed change in the *epigraphic habit*,³⁸⁷ the evidence proves that statuary practice still enjoyed high popularity during the third century AD. Not only the number of extant inscriptions, but the sheer extent of the commissions is striking in a time of stagnation: two chariots and in one instance the erection of four and in another of 16 statues at once. Admittedly, the latter is vaguely dated as being from the second to third centuries and the statues did not necessarily display notables, but could possibly encompass mythological, divine or allegorical figures. Nevertheless, if Leptis was hit hard by crises, obviously no one had told the people. This at least is suggested by the number of 27 inscriptions regarding public honours roughly between AD 222 and 285, 35 from the second to third centuries, and 12 for the third to fourth centuries AD, not counting double, quadruple, sexdecuple honours. A more exact

³⁸⁷ Mrozek 1973, 114-116; MacMullen 1982, 244-246; Witschel 1999, 73; 75 n. 291.

dating for the public honours, necessary to track a change in the *epigraphic habit*, is unfortunately not possible. The imperial honours suggest, however, that no epigraphic nadir (assumed for AD 250-280)³⁸⁸ had taken place before or during the reign of Gallienus (AD 260-268).

THE STATUARY

The discussion about statuary from Leptis Magna has been and is still made difficult by the pending publication of the material found during the Italian excavation.³⁸⁹ Although several publications examine individual aspects and sites of statuary display within the city,³⁹⁰ a lot of the evidence still remains in the depots unreviewed. Therefore, the following does not address the actual remaining or surviving but only the published evidence.

Three portraits can, due to the rendering of their faces, eyes and hair as well the hair-styles, be confidently assigned to the Late Severan Period. The first is the portrait of a young bearded man (Lep-28), mounted on an older over life-size, nude *paludamentum* statue from the Serapeion (Pl.V.1a-c.).³⁹¹ The second is a portrait of a matronly woman from the same find context (Lep-29).³⁹² The insertion head has been reused on a female body from the fourth century with a

³⁸⁸ Witschel 1999, 291.

³⁸⁹ Mattingley 1995, 116.

³⁹⁰ Among others Bartoccini (1922), (1929); Aurigemma (1941); Bianchi-Bandinelli – Caffarelli – Caputo (1964); Floriani Squarciapino (1966), (1974); Caputo – Traversari (1976); Bergmann (1977); Equini Schneider – Bianchi (1989); Bianchi (2005); Kreikenbom (2005); Faulx-Briole Rocher (2011).

³⁹¹ Leptis Magna Museum no 497. Floriani Squarciapino 1966, 117; Kruse 1975, 498 n. 848; Brouquier-Reddé 1992, 103; Di Vita 2003, 287; Kreikenbom 2005, 87 no 4 (Late Antonine).

³⁹² Leptis Magna Mus. no 507; Floriani Squarciapino 1966, 117; Di Vita 1990, 441 fig. 12 (Severan head on a 4th century AD body); Di Vita 2003, 268; Kreikenbom 2005, 88 no 7 (early Severan); Brouquier-Reddé 1992, 103. (Severan/ early 3rd cent. AD).

tunic and *palla* (Pl. V.2a, b.).³⁹³ The woman's right hand is missing, but she was most likely displayed sacrificing, since she is standing next to an altar on which a fire for a burnt offering is blazing. Since all available photos are frontal, I cannot personally comment on the coiffure on the back of her head. Floriani Squarciapino notes that her hairstyle resembles that of Julia Mamaea.³⁹⁴ Yet the hair in front and above the ear deviates from the imperial model. Since the matron is advanced in years, a hairstyle more common in the preceding years would, however, not refute this dating either. From what can be said from the mere observation of the images, the execution strongly resembles that of the young man, for example, in the execution of the deep carving of the Venus rings.³⁹⁵

The third portrait, that of a young woman from the theatre (Lep30),³⁹⁶ might be dated slightly later than the two above, but still within the reign of Alexander Severus (Pl. V.3a-c.). Caputo and Traversari attribute her to the Late Antonine period,³⁹⁷ but despite the coiffure at the back, she must date from later. This kind of bun above the *os occipitale* does indeed occur mainly in the Antonine period, but in a more elaborate execution. Juxtaposing her to a doubtlessly Antonine statue from the Serapeion in Leptis (Leptis Mus. no 498)³⁹⁸ the differences in style and execution become blatantly obvious (Pl. V.4a, b.). Where the Antonine statue is elaborately worked with soft and delicate features, the portrait of the young woman is flat and plain, almost coarse. The bun and the melon-style coiffure are simplified in the later portrait, where the tresses are

³⁹³ Di Vita 1990, 441; Kreikenbom 2005, 88.

³⁹⁴ Floriani Squarciapino 1966, 117.

³⁹⁵ Murer, personal communication, 2010; cf. Murer 2013.

³⁹⁶ Mus. Tripolis Inv. No 448.

³⁹⁷ Caputo – Traversari 1976, 98 no 76, pl. 84 (Late Antonine).

³⁹⁸ Bianchi-Bandinelli – Caffarelli – Caputo 1964, 90, figs. 103-104.

dense, blockish, 'lifeless', and flat. This chronological attribution is supported by a further feature: As on the matron's head above, the portrait's ears are uncovered, a feature that does not occur before AD 219, introduced by Elagabalus' wife Iulia Cornelia Paula³⁹⁹ (Pl. V.3; cf. also Pl. VIII.4a.). Furthermore, a headless female statue in the type 'große Herculenerin' was found which probably belongs to the funerary sphere.⁴⁰⁰

Several reworked heads from Leptis were discussed by Bergmann and later, with further additions, by Bianchi.⁴⁰¹ Both tried in an exemplary manner to distil stylistic traits from these re-carved and therefore blurred features and to assign them within a time span from the Gallienic to the Tetrarchic period and later (for example, Pl. V.8-9c). Yet, a rather unorthodox source, a photographer who is selling photos taken in Leptis on the internet, has provided images, the quality of which excels the ones published until now by far.⁴⁰² The quality and angles of these pictures make it possible to distinguish certain stylistic traits much better than on the photographs available before (Pl. 9b,c.). These traits, such as the uniform combing forward of the hair and the distinct border that separates facial flesh from the beard became customary from Tetrarchic time onwards and can be found on all the mentioned portraits. The extensive reuse in Late Antiquity is demonstrated quite well by this group, but as a result the stylistic features of the original become blurred, which thwarts an exact chronological attribution of the original portraits. The distinguishable features, which are sparse, point in the prevailing majority

³⁹⁹ Marriage: AD mid 119 - end of 220, cf. Kienast 2011, 173-174.

⁴⁰⁰ Bartoccini 1922, pl. 8.

⁴⁰¹ Bergmann 1977, 155. Bianchi 2005, 269-301.

⁴⁰² <http://www.araldodeluca.com>, (last accessed Feb. 2014); cf. the respective catalogue entries for the reference. At this juncture, I want to express my gratitude to Cristina Murer, who called my attention to this internet site.

towards the first century AD, and in two cases towards the Late Antonine to Early Severan period.⁴⁰³ Except for Lep-31, which has presumably been reworked during the third century (Pl. V.7.) I would, in the light of the new photographs, like to align myself with the LSA project which also assigns the abovementioned male portraits as belonging to the Tetrarchic period or later. Thus, with some further additions, the total of the public sculpture from AD 285 onwards amounts to 16 pieces.⁴⁰⁴

Cat.	Honorand	Monument	Date AD
Lep-28	young man	portrait head	Late Severan
Lep-29	matron	portrait head	Late Severan
Lep-30	young woman	portrait head	Late Severan
Lep-31	middle-aged man	portrait head	re-worked in the third century

Tb.V.7. Non-imperial honorific statuary of the 3rd century AD (approx. AD 222-285).

The bias of the published evidence for the third century and the available images of the mentioned heads previously suggested a local tradition that left the

⁴⁰³ Leptis, Museum, Inv. 134. Bianchi 13. Leptis, depot, Inv. 162. Bianchi 3. The numbers correspond to Bianchi 2005. Both Bianchi 3 and Bianchi 5 Leptis Mus. Inv. 52, Caputo – Traversari 1965, no 79, 102, tav. 73 (former: Tripol. Mus. Inv. 461 Inst. Neg. Rom 61. 1804 right; Bergmann 1977, 155) are badly damaged and due to the photographic evidence neither of those two is reliably assignable. They are therefore neither included here nor by the LSA. Lenaghan, personal communication, 29.03.2012.

⁴⁰⁴ (1) Tripolis Mus. Inv. 460, Inst. Neg. Rom 61. 1807 le; Bergman 1977, 155; Bianchi 2; LSA 2140. (2) Tripol. Mus. Inv. 457, Inst. Neg. Rom 61. 1794 le; Bergman, *loc. cit.*; Bianchi 4; LSA 2139. (3) Leptis Mus. Inv. 42. Inst. Neg. Rom 61.2038; Bergman, *loc. cit.*; Bianchi 6; LSA 2136; Togatus C. Valerius Vibius Obsequius (see inscription LSA-2178). (4) Tripol. Mus. Inv. 462, Inst. Neg. Rom 61. 1804 le; Bergman, *loc. cit.*; Bianchi 9, LSA -1156. (5) Leptis Mus. Inv. 75, Inst. Neg. Rom 61, 1805 ri; (former: Tripol. Mus. Inv. 458); Bergman, *loc. cit.*; Bianchi 12; LSA 2138. (6) Tripol Mus. Inv. 450; Bianchi 1; LSA 2141. (7) Leptis, depot, Inv. 1094 (former Inv. 299, now museum?); Bianchi 7; LSA-2605. (8) Leptis, storerooms, Inv. 01382; Bianchi 8; LSA-2608. (9) Tripoli Mus. Inv. 135, new Inv. 10; Bianchi 10; LSA 2137. (10) Lepis Mus Inv. 10; Bianchi 11; LSA -1014. (11) Leptis Mus. Inv. 134; Bianchi 13; LSA 2606. (12) Trip. Mus. Inv. 475, female; Bartoccini 1925, 175-6, figs. 190-193; Bianchi-Bandinelli- Caffarelli – Caputo 1964, fig. 164; LSA 2142. (13) Tripolis, Arch. Museum, Inst. Neg. Rom 61. 1806 ri; LSA-2514, (female ?). (14) Tripol. Mus., Inst. Neg. Rom 61.1806 le; LSA-2513. (15) Leptis Mus. Inv. 671, headless statue, possibly Flavius Victor Calpurnius, 340-350 AD; (see LSA 2181); Bartoccini 1922, 80, fig. 4. Faulx-Briole Rocher 2011, 63-4, fig. 20, n. 32; LSA- 2411. (16) Current location unknown; togate statue possibly of T. Flavius Vibianus It. Cat. 272, fig. 8.15; LSA-2609.

eyes uncarved (for example, Pl. VI.9.).⁴⁰⁵ Yet the overall evidence and the new photographs reveal that the stylistic development and quality in Leptis Magna complied with the standards in Rome (*'Zeitgesicht'* / 'period face'). The peculiarity of the portraits' features can now certainly be explained as an unintended result of the process of reworking, rather than an intended stylistic expression of a certain period or region. The datable portraits from Leptis that did not suffer later reuse as well as the architectural sculpture⁴⁰⁶ display drilled pupils with a light reflection occurring as early as this feature came into fashion. The lack of this technique in statuary must therefore be considered as testimony of the date when the portraits were originally created.⁴⁰⁷ Accordingly, the early second century constitutes the *terminus ante quem* for the portraits with untouched eyes.

Although none of the originals of these reworked heads can be attributed to the time in between 222 and 285 AD, their quantity demonstrates one of the reasons for this scarcity of evidence from the third century. Whereas only four portraits, three of them Late Severan, and the headless female statue are available⁴⁰⁸, their number, as is also testified by the epigraphic evidence, is not representative for Leptis' statuary habit during this period.

⁴⁰⁵ Bergmann 1977, 155 n. 624 a. 221.

⁴⁰⁶ Cf. for example the protomes and cariatydes in Floriani Squarciapino 1974.

⁴⁰⁷ Bergmann assumed such a local tradition, which is comprehensible due to the meagre evidence and the lack of good photographs at the time. Bergmann 1977, 155.

⁴⁰⁸ Lep-31 does not seem to be published yet.

CONCLUSION

As this chapter has shown, despite several factors that have diminished the evidence, Leptis offers a considerable amount of evidence for an undisrupted statuary habit. Only for the period between Gallienus and the Tetrarchy might a regression be detectable. This drop might account for the expected change in the *epigraphic habit*, but since the public honours cannot be sufficiently dated, this cannot be unequivocally proven. In its development, Leptis mirrors, at any rate, the overall empire-wide development in imperial statuary – yet on a very high level, excelling all cities but Rome in the number of preserved imperial pedestals. Conspicuous is also the scope of its public honours, which include *bigae* and multiple honours.

Leptis aligned itself strongly with Rome, stylistically – the execution of its statuary conforms to that of the capital rather than displaying any kind of deviating local or provincial custom or tradition – as well as in the swift adjustment to and veneration of new regents. Its status as an important trading and military port certainly played a major role in the city's aspiration to display its loyalty. In these honours Leptis presents itself predominantly as a community. Individual families stand out as honorands, like the *Cereales*, rather than as awarders, unlike in the first century AD, when local families seem to have 'competed' in the erection of statuary.⁴⁰⁹ It is also not noticeable that any specific office attracted more attention in the allocation of honours than others.

⁴⁰⁹ Boschung 2002, 24.

It was noted above that Leptis was in fact not facing a decline. Furthermore, the quality of 'stagnation' in the third century AD has been evaluated, and a state of 'levelling off', of reaching 'normality', of 'saturation' has been suggested instead. Surely, a constant, continuous, unbroken upswing cannot be the basic state and permanent condition for any kind of community or society. It seems that Leptis Magna had reached and maintained a stable and constant level of urban life at a time when the Empire was experiencing a state of instability with many threatening internal and external variables – in an era subsumed in modern days under a term that increasingly appears to be a misnomer: the 'third century crisis'.

CHAPTER VI

CASE STUDY: ATHENS

The city of Athens deviates from the other case studies in several ways, all of which are more or less closely intertwined: First of all, it is necessary to consider the city's historical development and its influence within the empire. Despite generating the ideas and ideals that have become the foundation of western culture – such as philosophy, democracy and scientific achievement – during the era of the Roman Empire, Athens was merely of cultural importance and in this respect it mainly profited from its previous prestige. When annexed to the Empire, Athens did not even become the seat of the proconsul of Achaea, which was established in Corinth instead. With no political relevance whatsoever, Roman Athens mainly relied on skilled sculptors, philosophical schools and the high esteem in which its history and artistic tradition was held. Yet this could not prevent the city from being directly affected by some of the critical political and social developments in the third century – foremost, by the occupation by the Herulians.

Secondly, Athens created an idiosyncratic honorific medium: portrait herms. The identification of altogether 32 Athenian portrait heads from different decades ⁴¹⁰ as those of *cosmetai* is based on this medium and also by the find context, immured in the *Post-Herulian Wall* in the aftermath of the Herulian raid, in

⁴¹⁰ Graindor 1915, 13; Krumeich 2004, 33.

close proximity to the *Gymnasion of Diogenes*.⁴¹¹ Distinct identification of an office is otherwise rarely possible for portrait heads that do not preserve further attributes. The suggestion that the *Gymnasion* was also their original point of display⁴¹² stands to reason. The wall therefore not only provides an accurate *terminus ante quem* for the spoliated statuary but it also reveals the composition the ancient viewer encountered them. Although these herms function as honorific monuments within its cityscape, they are of course not statues *per se*. Nevertheless they bear inscriptions on shaft, that conform to the methodology established for the bases (cf. Chapter III). At least within a certain time frame, they constituted the preferred type of honour, primarily for men that held what was also a very traditional Athenian office:⁴¹³ the *cosmetai* as well as their entourage.⁴¹⁴ The fact that herms were considerably cheaper than full-size statues, however, should be born in mind when considering them as an argument for an uninterrupted honorific statuary practice.

Further, Athens is conspicuous regarding the amount, the character, and the rendering of the preserved honorific evidence. It is, on the one hand, the only city among the case studies that provides no imperial statuary evidence whatsoever for the time in question. This is startling considering the specific interest that Athenian society had been taking in the imperial cult, at least since the reign of Nero.⁴¹⁵ The evidence for non-imperial honours, on the other hand, is rather lavish.

⁴¹¹ Graindor 1915, 242; Lattanzi 1968, 21-23.

⁴¹² Graindor 1915, 242; Lattanzi 1968, 21-23.

⁴¹³ Wrede 1985, 73; Krumeich 2004, 138.

⁴¹⁴ An exception is posed, for instance, by an honouree who received a prytanical herm (Ath-17). For a comprehensive list of herms for other occupational groups, such as physicians and poets, for local officials, and notables, used especially before the third century AD see Wrede 1985.

⁴¹⁵ Spawforth 1997, 183. 184.

Indeed, Athens provides by far the most evidence among the case studies discussed.

Finally, it has to be noted that the material from Athens exhibits another distinctive peculiarity: to various degrees it employs contemporary styles and a combination of local characteristics and allusions to famous historic portraits. This feature, sometimes in association with reworking, sometimes leads to rather peculiar appearances that challenge the established modes of dating.

All of these characteristics immediately raise several questions: Why and at what point in time did Athenian sculptors incorporate stylistic elements of the past, and in which contexts were they encouraged to do so? Did the Herulian raid affect the city's statuary practice and if so, how? If not the emperors, who were recipients of honours in third century-Athens and what constitutes their pre-eminence? Are there any clues as to the reasons for this negligence of the highest men in the Empire? These are the main aspects that will be raised in the following.

V.1 HISTORICAL SUMMARY

The Romans entered the Athenian stage by invitation; by involving them in their conflict with Philip V in 200 BC, the Athenians sent themselves on a slippery slope to dependence.⁴¹⁶ Rome enabled Athens' economic growth by returning Delos and turning it into a free port. But several bad decisions on Athens' side did not win any favours in Rome: Siding with Mithridates, which led to Sulla's

⁴¹⁶ *Pol* 16, 26-8; *Liv* 31, 14, 4.

retaliation in 86 BC and its annexation into the Empire, and subsequently supporting Pompeius, the assassins of Caesar, and finally Marc Antony⁴¹⁷ proved a rather poor judgement of character. Therefore it is hardly astonishing that Augustus took a rather distanced stance towards the city.⁴¹⁸

The status of *civitas libera*, or *civitas foederata*, allowed a largely independent administration of internal affairs⁴¹⁹ which were irrelevant to Rome. Despite clinging to its heritage and traditions, for example, by retaining the Greek terms for offices and governing bodies that now followed a Roman structure and hierarchy⁴²⁰, Athens acquiesced to its political irrelevance and did not even shy away from asking Hadrian to reform their venerable Draconian and Solonian laws.⁴²¹

Instead Athens profited, also financially, from its intellectual and cultural fame. The city boasted illustrious and renowned *alumni*, the religious festivals attracted many visitors, and artists trained here were much sought-after throughout the Empire.⁴²² Martin talks about an 'Ausnahmestellung Athens', which according to him reaches its 'Höhepunkt und die endgültige staatliche Aneerkennung' when in AD 174 Marcus Aurelius established four chairs of philosophy and a further one for rhetoric, salaried by the imperial fiscus.⁴²³

⁴¹⁷ Phrased similarly by various authors among them Martin 2006,1.

⁴¹⁸ Martin 2006, 1.

⁴¹⁹ Martin 2006, 12. 14.

⁴²⁰ Martin 2006, 12, n. 66. 15.

⁴²¹ Martin 2006, 11.

⁴²² Martin 2006, 10.

⁴²³ Martin 2006, 9-10.

Under Hadrian Athens enjoyed the height of its urban growth when the hellenophile Emperor adorned the city with several splendid buildings and made it capital of the *Panhellenion* aiming at 'advancing it to Greece's official cultural centre and providing the foundation for true integration'.⁴²⁴ Athens came to experience greater affluence than ever before. In the course of this, certain families were able to amass riches and some of old-established families were superseded by a nouveau-riche stratum⁴²⁵ – a development which fostered the plutocratic state⁴²⁶ of the city further. This new stratum in turn helped, to support and financially maintain the Athenian culture and traditions.⁴²⁷ Yet not all of the old families vanished. As Millar has pointed out, in contrast to the situations in other cities of the Empire, some Athenian families were able to maintain their influence over centuries without ever pursuing a career in the treadmills of Roman society.⁴²⁸

In the third century Athens was directly affected by the turmoil, being raided by the Herulians in AD 267, which was just a foretaste of what was still to come. Thus in AD 396 Athens was invaded by Alerich and the Visigoths⁴²⁹; an attack by the Vandals is assumed to have taken place in AD 467⁴³⁰; a further one by Slavs took place in AD 582/3; and in 1204 the city was attacked by Leon Sgouros. Finally, in 1456 Athens was captured by the Turks. After being subjugated to one foreign domination after the other, Athens was demoted further and further, until

⁴²⁴Cass. Dio 69, 16, 6; Tod 1922, 168; Graindor 1934, 102-111; DKP *Panhellenes*, 458; Martin 2006, 9.11 (quote).

⁴²⁵ For the new families see: Martin 2006, 19-20. For the continuity of old families, see: Millar 1969, 21.

⁴²⁶ Martin 2006, 19-20.

⁴²⁷ Martin 2006, 12.

⁴²⁸ Millar 1969, 21.

⁴²⁹ For the discussion on whether such a raid took place, see Castrén 1994, 1-4; Martin 2006, 9-14.

⁴³⁰ Camp – Mauzy 2009, 140.

in modern times, after its War of Independence, it became the capital of the new Greek Kingdom in 1834. Yet again, it owed this promotion solely the glory of its past.

ATHENS IN THE THIRD CENTURY

Although Gallienus was presumably the first emperor since Commodus to visit Athens⁴³¹, he reacted only slowly to the threat caused by the Herulians. Although Valerian had fortified Athens before the attack,⁴³² the East Germanic tribe sacked and destroyed the city in AD 267 after raiding its way across the Peloponnesus. It was able to conquer and destroy Athens to a large extent before its defeat, in which the historian Herennius Dexippus, who also features in the honorific evidence, played an integral role. While retreating, the Herulians were ultimately drubbed by Gallienus in AD 268.⁴³³ In AD 276-282 the defensive wall that is now popularly called the 'Valerian Wall', but should correctly be referred to as 'Post-Herulian wall', was built under Probus by the proconsul Claudius Illyrius⁴³⁴ – another man who will feature in the following. This wall did not withstand further raids but proved to be very beneficial for modern scholarship, since many of the statues and inscriptions that were destroyed during the sacking were re-used as building materials for this structure.

Discord prevails about the extent of the city's destruction and reconstruction and about the continuity of crafts and education. Either way,

⁴³¹ Armstrong 1987, 235-240.

⁴³² *Zos.* I. 29; Geagan 1979, 437. Armstrong 1987, 236.

⁴³³ *Zos I*, 39; Martin 2006, 18.

⁴³⁴ IG Sironen 2158. IG II/III, 920. 5199; Sironen 1994, 21-22, no 4. Castrén 1994, 1.

Athens did not succumb to chaos.⁴³⁵ It cannot be maintained unreservedly that 'almost all evidence of portrait sculpture, grave stelai, lamp manufacture and export of sarcophagi is lost'⁴³⁶. Despite the destruction of the Kerameikos, pottery production and the export of lamps were resumed soon afterwards.⁴³⁷ This was likely due to simple necessity. Since different kinds of pottery are required in daily life, the production it was necessary to re-established its manufacture quickly. With the means at hand export was possible and profitable. The statuary production took a little longer to recover, but it did within few years (see below).

It is not surprising that no 'new wave of building activity'⁴³⁸ occurred before the early fifth century AD. The general decrease in building activity during the third century has already been analysed in the chapter on Leptis Magna (Chapter V), in which the absence of any increase has been interpreted in terms of saturation and maintenance rather than to decline and stagnation. Martin assigns this 'almost total disruption of public building activity' in Athens and elsewhere, which is in stark contrast to the splendour of the second century, to the 'drop in economic prosperity'.⁴³⁹ As has been demonstrated, this was not the case but the recession was part of a general development throughout Empire, the attainment of normality, a saturation that rendered further expansion dispensable. It is therefore most likely neither related to the adversities of this turbulent century nor to the Herulians in particular. Moreover, Athens occupies an exceptional position insofar as many of its structures lay deserted after the middle of the century. Therefore, it

⁴³⁵ Martin 2006, 24.

⁴³⁶ Millar 1969, 27.

⁴³⁷ Castrén 1994, 1. Martin 2006, 21.

⁴³⁸ Millar 1969, 27.

⁴³⁹ Martin 2006, 19 n. 113.

was obviously paramount to rebuild, restore, and fortify⁴⁴⁰ the most relevant structures before considering new building projects. Whereas other regions lay deserted for over a century,⁴⁴¹ the Athenians were obviously financially able to swiftly re-create an adequately inhabitable city.

Cult activities also continued in the late third and early fourth centuries, fostered by the late onset of Christianisation,⁴⁴² until Theodosius abolished the Mysteries of Eleusis. Although the number of foreign *ephebes* had dropped already before the raid⁴⁴³ and although the *Diogeneion*, the *gymnasion* of the *ephebes*, was possibly only re-commissioned in AD 400,⁴⁴⁴ the tradition itself did not cease.⁴⁴⁵ The *ephebe* lists on *amphorae* from the 280s supports this notion.⁴⁴⁶ Athens also continued to attract foreign audiences and students,⁴⁴⁷ especially in the fourth century when the mystic Neo-Platonic school led the city to renewed prosperity.⁴⁴⁸ In AD 529 this finally also came to an end when the Christian emperor Justinian closed the *Academy*, the last philosophical school.

⁴⁴⁰ Frantz 1988, 60 -68.

⁴⁴¹ Martin 2006, 21-24.

⁴⁴² Frantz 1988, 68-74.

⁴⁴³ Martin 2006, 19.

⁴⁴⁴ Martin 2006, 26.

⁴⁴⁵ Castrén 1994, 4; Martin 2006, 19; SEG 33, 158.

⁴⁴⁶ Differently: Castrén 1994, 4.

⁴⁴⁷ Geagan 1979, 400-526; Martin 2006, 30.

⁴⁴⁸ Frantz 1988, 57-58.

VI. 2 HONORIFIC STATUARY – THE EVIDENCE

IMPERIAL HONOURS

As already mentioned, Athens is the only city among the case studies that provides no imperial statuary evidence for the time of Alexander Severus to that of Carinus. The same is true for the city's main sanctuary in Eleusis, whereas in Athens' harbour Piraeus at least one statue of Balbinus and fragments of a corresponding example representing his co-regent Pupienus are preserved. Although these remains from Piraeus are not extraordinary in number, they support the importance of outward display and communication of loyalty towards the emperor as is possible and necessary at hubs like this harbour city.⁴⁴⁹ Since Athens itself received so many visitors, students, and attendants of cultic festivals, it could perhaps be called a cultural hub and the total absence of imperial evidence is therefore hard to explain – especially since the imperial cult, which after it had attained broader acceptance during the reign of Claudius and Nero, was indeed a focal point in Athenian society.⁴⁵⁰

Furthermore, Krumeich highlights the strong connection between the *ephebia* and the Roman emperors.⁴⁵¹ Of course, this absence does not mean that Athens was devoid of references to the emperors. Thus the city arranged festivals

⁴⁴⁹ Differently: Wegner assumes the two statues to have been there for export. Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 243. Trummer assumes that they were not from Attica but to possibly be freight of a foreign ship. Trummer 1980, 118 n. 4.

⁴⁵⁰ Spawforth 1997, 193-1.

⁴⁵¹ Krumeich 2004, 137-138, 146.

in honour of the emperors, such as the *Alexandreia* and the *Gordianeia*.⁴⁵² Whether these kinds of attestation of loyalty were a preferred and suitable surrogate for the constant presence of a stone or metal statue of an emperor is hard to determine, but for citizens they were certainly more entertaining. Alcock pointed out the slowness with which the Athenians carried out honours addressed at Romans.⁴⁵³ This might apply even more to an era of frequently changing emperors, which is suggested by the fact that there is imperial evidence framing this period.⁴⁵⁴ It is however hardly conceivable that the annual festivals could be planned, financed, and executed much more swiftly than statues.

Moreover, a hiatus in statuary production after the raid seems understandable since the city was more likely to be interested in rebuilding and securing the city than spending money on luxury expenses such as statues – a notion that is reinforced by the lack of public statuary at the same time. The total absence of honours for Gallienus, however, seems surprising. Although his status as archon⁴⁵⁵ is not verified, he contributed to the Herulian's final defeat. Yet as will be discussed later, merits gained through the defeat do not seem to have been subject of the honours for local notables either.

A brief comparison with the inscriptional evidence for the preceding and subsequent years reveals that, apart from few explicable exceptions, the meagre number of imperial honours is not restricted to the third century and can be

⁴⁵² Follett 1976, 327-328.

⁴⁵³ Alcock 1997, 4.

⁴⁵⁴ Extant are monuments for Geta/ Caracalla (Petrucchioli, personal communication, 2012) and Diocletian (LSA 117).

⁴⁵⁵ *SHA* V. Gall. 11, 3; *Cass. Dio* 69, 16, 1; Millar 1969, 18; Martin 2006, 13.

understood as a general peculiarity of the city (cf. Tb. VI.1). As expected, the vast majority of statues represent Hadrian with 49 honours, leaving 36 further honorific imperial inscriptions for the 222 years between 30 BC and AD 192 (not including imperial family members such as wives and children).⁴⁵⁶ After Caracalla and Geta evidence for imperial statuary vanishes until Late Antiquity, to which seven bases for emperors and one for an empress are dated.

Honorand ⁴⁵⁷	Male rulers	Women and children	Bases	Source	Total number of bases
Augustus-Commodus	x	-	x	Højte	87 ⁴⁵⁸
Severans until Geta	x	x	x	Petruccioli	1 ⁴⁵⁹ (Geta)
Alexander Severus-Carinus	x	x	x	Spranger	0
Late Empire commencing with Diocletian (285-423 AD)	x	x	x	LSA	6 ⁴⁶⁰

Tb. VI.1 The imperial honorific evidence in Athens (an estimation).⁴⁶¹

The honours for Hadrian clearly signal that the financial means for an abundant adornment with statues were available. The divergence in the ratios of different emperors might therefore be due to Athens' relative independence and to a consequential preference for making investments into the representation of

⁴⁵⁶ cf. Højte 2005, 229-589. These monuments compiled have not been individually validated by me. For the imperial families Aneziri lists fifteen honours in Athens, one with a question mark, plus a further one mentioned on a decree. Aneziri 2010, 296-297, 281 n 72. Altogether Aneziri lists 87 imperial inscriptions for Athens until the end of the 3rd century AD. Aneziri 2010, 298, 281 with n. 74, 289-290, 293-294. The 'honour' for Maximinus and his son, however, is highly unlikely to belong to a statue. Aneziri 2010, 298. IG II/III (2) 3420.

⁴⁵⁷ Armstrong 1987, 235-258.

⁴⁵⁸ Consulting Højte's book we find the following number of bases: Augustus 4; Tiberius 9; Caligula 2; Claudius 8; Nero 3; Trajan 4; Domitian 1; Hadrian, unsurprisingly with the top number of 49; Antoninus Pius 4; Marcus Aurelius 2, cf. Højte 2005. Of Geta one base is preserved, as well as a portrait head of his brother Caracalla. Petruccioli, personal communication, 2012.

⁴⁵⁹ Petruccioli, personal communication, 2012.

⁴⁶⁰ The LSA database results provides the evidence for six dedications for emperors and a further one to an empress, but no statuary remains: LSA 117 Diocletian (AD 284-290); LSA-100, Constantine I (literary record of a statue); LSA-399, probably Constantine II; LSA-400, probably Constans; LSA-402, probably Constantine; LSA-4310, possibly Constantine; LSA- 139, Eudocia.

⁴⁶¹ Categories incorporated into the statistics are marked with an 'x'.

more easily seizable local benefactors rather than distant impalpable emperors. Not being the seat of the proconsul might have additionally decreased any feeling of pressure and obligation towards Rome.

The imperial statuary does, indeed, not reflect the general situation in Athens at this period. The preserved public honours are numerous. Therefore it must be assumed that this absence is not caused by a change in honorific customs but by the focus on a different 'target group', one which was more easily tangible – the local elites.

NON-IMPERIAL HONOURS

THE BASES

With 46 honorific inscriptions⁴⁶² attributed to the discussed time frame, Athens preserves the second largest quantity of datable inscriptions among the case studies (Appendix A, Graph VIa, b.). Three inscriptions were set up after the Herulian raid and approximately six during the reign of Alexander Severus. The impressive number of 37 examples that were installed for non-imperial notables in the turbulent 32 years before the attack and the subsequent drop after the attack demonstrate that the city's interest, understandably, centred around internal affairs rather than on the events that took place in the rest of the Empire.

⁴⁶² The inscriptions include two herms which are said to have been preserved with portraits belonging to them but are neither visible in the photographic evidence nor discussed any further. A 'small statue' with the name Gellia Dionysia in the nominative (At-89) is, despite its size, momentarily included for completeness. It is not discussed here any further since too little information is available, regarding the actual depiction. The assumed original set up in Eleusinion could point towards a votive offering.

The number of 12 bases related to offices of the *ephebia* suggests that the ‘teachers’ of the ephebes constituted a large proportion of the total, an assumption that is supported by the statuary. These 12 inscriptions, including both herms and statue bases, are preserved for either *cosmetai* or similar educational offices such as *gymnasiarchoi*, offices related to agonistic games, as *agonothetai*, and religious offices. Some of the herms also served as ephebes catalogues.⁴⁶³ The awarders of the honours for the educators are not necessarily always ephebes, but also proud family members and colleagues. Interestingly, although herms were a cheaper and also less space-consuming way of honouring a person and although their installation took place within a defined group and often in the defined and secluded location of the *gymnasion*, official bodies were still involved in commissioning or decreeing them. Granting honours appears to have been a state matter in any given context. First and foremostly, the *Areopagus* appears to have played a key role by awarding, decreeing or authorising a large proportion of all Athenian statues.

In seven instances, all honours to men, are the recipients praised for their accomplishments in religious duties, while distinct emphasis on the office of priest in the inscriptions is only preserved in two instances (Ath-18, 28). The four women who received statues were either honoured in their role as mother, wife or as a daughter of one of the city’s *honoratiores*, but never on account of their own

⁴⁶³ A combination also mentioned by Krumeich 2004, 136. If a clearly identifiable singular honorand could be determined they are included, even if he is, deviating from the applied methodology, in the nominative. If however a singular honoree is not distinguishable, for example if multiple names are listed in the accusative they are not included in the catalogue but listed in the separate table Tb. VI.3.

status, such as priestess or benefactress (Ath-11, 25b-c, 30).⁴⁶⁴ Moreover, they all form part of family group contexts.⁴⁶⁵

As illustrated in the overview (Tb. VIc.), some individuals and families feature rather prominently in the epigraphic evidence. This dominance is also reflected in other types of inscriptions. Thus some lives can even be traced from youth to grave, because the same name appears, as in the case of Fl. Asklepiades Diomaieus⁴⁶⁶ for instance (cf. Ath-28), on ephebes catalogues (IG II, 2239) as well as on testaments (IG II, 2773). This prominence or bias in the evidence is to some degree certainly due to the fact that these individuals' family prosopographies are better known to scholarship, which facilitates their identification.

Duties and accomplishments in Athenian society, of course, overlap and therefore titles can be complex. Men could be praised as officer, *literatus*, magistrate, benefactor, and athlete all at the same time. What is interesting, however, is which aspects are focussed on. Particularly suitable for illustrating these are the honours for Herennius Dexippus. Four bases in Athens mention his name: two belong to statues he commissioned for his father (Ath-32, 33) and two honours were commissioned for him by his children (Ath-34, 35), one of them post-dating the Herulian raid.⁴⁶⁷ On the latter base he is praised in metric verse, as a *literati* and historian who compiled the highly acclaimed *Historia*. Although his

⁴⁶⁴ Gellia Dionysia received a statuette, not a statue and the office 'priestess' is not verified.

⁴⁶⁵ Although not proven for the base of Eubiotus' mother (Ath-11) a group context with the bases for her son is very likely.

⁴⁶⁶ Priest of the imperial cult; Trummer 1980, 119. Harrison 1953, 63-64 no 49 ('possibly').

⁴⁶⁷ IG II² 3671, which mentions benefactions, might also be a base, but it is too fragmentary to be certain.

offices, even a minor priesthood in Eleusis⁴⁶⁸, are mentioned in the inscription, his highest achievement, namely his role in the successful defeat of the Herulians or indeed any military function, is not mentioned with a single word.⁴⁶⁹ The praise of his *arete* cannot be interpreted as a reference to the expulsion of the attackers, since the word served as a truism used on most of the bases. Further, there is no lack of dedications during the period after the raid but already soon after this catastrophe three new honours were installed.⁴⁷⁰ One of these is dedicated to Dexippus who played an important role in the liberation of the city, but still this subject is not addressed. This seeming lack of gratitude might originate from a difference in priorities. Since his children were the awarders, we can safely assume that this emphasis was chosen according to the wishes of Dexippus. If writing the *Historia* was esteemed higher and more important than writing shaping history himself, this might be just a further expression of the value placed on literacy and education. Brandt also expects this emphasis to be founded on self-conception and a canon of values that he associates with the family of the Herennii in particular and not with the city of Athens in general.⁴⁷¹ On the other hand, this could also suggest that Athens was in fact actively ignoring the ill fate it had suffered. Accordingly, the preserved sources, none earlier than the latter half of the fourth century⁴⁷², mention the raid indeed only just in passing.⁴⁷³ Maybe facing near defencelessness – although self-imposed by the submissiveness displayed under

⁴⁶⁸ Millar 1969, 20.

⁴⁶⁹ Millar 1969, 20, 21. 24; Brandt 1999, 171.

⁴⁷⁰ The IG considers one base to refer to the victory over the Herulians (IG II-III.2.2, 2246). But it is solely dated due to the jubilant words: *xairete kai xairomen*. If this interpretation should be correct, which is uncertain, it would be the only such reference we have on bases.

⁴⁷¹ Brandt 1999, 171

⁴⁷² Millar 1969, 26.

⁴⁷³ Martin 2006, 21.

Roman rule, but possibly conceived as third party negligence – might have constituted an unbearable humiliation for the Athenians.

The two other bases which post-date the raid, both set up by the *polis* for the proconsul Claudius Illyrius who was involved in the building of the *Post-Herulian Wall* in the late 70s/ early 80s of the third century,⁴⁷⁴ address him, amongst other titles, as benefactor (Ath-37, 38). The rhetor L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus, who will be discussed in more detail in the Ephesos study, also excelled as a benefactor of Athens and received a statue. The number of 14 instances in which *eunoiai*, benefactions the honoured has provided, are explicitly mentioned is conspicuous. They appear to have been one of the key reasons for installing honours. The benefactions mentioned are in most cases directed towards the city and only occasionally to individuals.

In the case of the consular and generous benefactor M. Ulp. Eubiotus Leurus Gargettius altogether seven inscriptions attest to statues erected for him and his family. Two bases and an arch refer to him (Ath-07 to 09), one (Ath-12) to a son of his, one double base to his parents, a further double base to his mother, and finally a decree granting generous honours to him and his sons (Ath-06a-f). On one base (Ath-11) and the double base installed for the parents (Ath-10), his *eunoiai* are not elaborated on, but they were undoubtedly the reason for the honours since they explicitly mentioned him in his role as their son. The decree, which is preserved in two copies, grants him and his sons six bronze statues in highly acclaimed places, such as the *synhedrion* of the *sacred gerusia* and in the *prytaneum*. Moreover, these

⁴⁷⁴ Castrén 1994, 1; Sirronen 1994, 20. 21-22.

were to be financed by public expense. Further honours granted to him, such as a marble seat in the theatre of Dionysos⁴⁷⁵ and tax exemption, illustrate that there were manifold possibilities to display gratitude and that these were not constrained to statues. This also illustrates that achieving 'immortality' through imagery was not the only asset of being a benefactor of the city. The main reason why Eubiotus Leurus was showered with such generosity was the grain supply he provided the city with. Awarders were the council, the polis, and a priest of Apollo, who set up two monuments, one of them the abovementioned arch. On two more bases by two of his clients (Ath-12, 13), Eubiotus' son M. Ulp. Pupenius Maximus received statues. Unlike in the case of his grandparents, they were granted not in acknowledgement of his father's merits, but for his role as a patron and benefactor in his own right. Despite this seemingly exuberant mutual gratitude, it is necessary to bear in mind that *eunoiai* were not necessarily awarded for idealistic reasons. The 'system' of euergetism that had developed in Hellenism,⁴⁷⁶ within which men 'gave their money instead of their life',⁴⁷⁷ was a well-established⁴⁷⁸ institution by imperial times. This was certainly necessary as buildings and festivals became increasingly splendid.⁴⁷⁹ The independence of a *civitas libera* entailed domestic responsibilities of a jurisdictional and financial nature. The elites, both the long established and nouveau riche, were expected to take care of a large proportion of the community's financial affairs. In turn they were granted the privilege to staff the most important offices. Thus social prestige and financial liquidity were

⁴⁷⁵ IG Min II-III.III.I, 3700.

⁴⁷⁶ Veyne 1976, 230-271.

⁴⁷⁷ MacMullen 1976, 61; cf. Eck 1997a, 324-331.

⁴⁷⁸ Veyne 1976, 230-271.

⁴⁷⁹ Martin 2006, 3.

mutually dependent.⁴⁸⁰ In this vicious circle money and the so-called *liturgies* enabled access to certain political offices and these offices in turn demanded more *liturgies*. The moral obligation to share one's wealth⁴⁸¹ and the citizens' career obsession was paired with the competitive mindedness ('*agonale Grundhaltung*')⁴⁸² of cities as well as of individuals.

Therefore allocating benefactions was striking a balance between donating voluntarily and being compelled to do so, between gift and obligation. In this context, Eck cites the instances in which people had to be forced into an office because the financial burden it brought along was so heavy.⁴⁸³ Yet this system of *euergesiai* is not only concerned with supporting the community by providing food, as for example Eubiotos did, and by guaranteeing maintenance, but also by sponsoring religious festivals, celebrations, and philosophical schools. This in turn secured both further incoming funds and foremostly Athens' cultural pre-eminence.

In conclusion, of the numerous praises the honoured received certain merits appear noticeably frequently (cf. Tb. VIc.). The *euergesiai*, the benefactors, are explicitly mentioned 13 times; two further bases were surely commissioned in appreciation of benefactions as well (see above). Besides the tangible gain of a person's financial investments, culture and education were central points of interest in the Athenian society. Thus the qualities of *literati* – the educated – are praised four times, and even just being the descendant of a *rhetor* or philosopher

⁴⁸⁰ Martin 2006, 2. 8.

⁴⁸¹ Veyne 1976, 230-231.

⁴⁸² Veyne 1976, 330-331; Martin 2006, 3; McMullen 1976, 62.

⁴⁸³ Eck 1997a, 324-331. Martin 2006, 3.

was worth mentioning. *Cosmetai*, the ‘educators’, and other officials related to the *ephebia*, for instance *anticosmetai* and *gymnasiarchoi*, and participants in religious games, for example, the function as a referee, are addressed 16 times. Two of three non-allocable inscriptions could fall into this group as well, since they are written on herm shafts. Four ephebe catalogues, presumably dating to the third century and inscribed on herms preserve no honorands and are therefore excluded; they are listed in Tb. VIId.

It is interesting to note that, first, only once a *cosmetes* is honoured on a base instead of a herm shaft (cf. Ath-02) and that, second, herms were not only used for *cosmetai* (cf. Tb. VIc). Thus the office of *keryx*, (herald), for instance, appears several times. Furthermore, herms for *cosmetai* (as well as said base) never address benefactions. Possibly the office of the *cosmetes*, unlike that of a *gymnasiarchos*, for instance, did not encompass such costly liturgies as the ones mentioned above. Herms, on the other hand, would most likely not have been suitable as a reward for generous benefactions and, moreover, did not constitute an attractive incentive for further *eunoiai*. The beneficiaries of education, namely the competitors in agonistic games, scarcely feature as honorands and only one of five examples states this as its sole appellation. The office of priest is addressed four times among the honorands’ titles and members of the temple personnel twice. The cultural and educational role that religious agonistic games played, not only in Athenian society, discourages us from regarding priests as a separate group of honorands. Yet as mentioned above, the number of bases that refer to only one function of the addressed individual is nominal. Political offices alone must have been a minor motivation for commissioning statues to an individual, because only

in five instances are officials listed without any reference to the subjects above. Among all titles *eponymos archon* appear most frequently for honorands: five instances. References to being a relative of a *hypatikos* (*vir consularis*) are almost more frequent for honorands than holding this rank themselves. The governor and benefactor Claudius Illyrius received two honours, as did the *cosmetes* Polyzelos. The family of *hypatikos* and benefactor Eubiotos received several dedications and so did the family of the historian Dexippus. Besides a focus as regards content, which I will address momentarily, this suggests another prerequisite. The Athenians were willing and able to afford and produce as many statues as were conceived necessary. It was obviously not only feasible but deemed necessary to add a second statue to Dexippus' original example after the raid. It is highly unlikely that the first one was destroyed and the second was a substitute, since in this case the base could have been reused. To install not one but two statues to Illyrius after the raid was, again, obviously not only feasible but conceived as necessary. The unabated esteem of statuary is therefore not to be underestimated.

Cat.	Honorand	Status/ achievement/ reason for the hon.	Dedicator/ administrator	Monument	Date AD	Lit. (cf. cat.)
Ath-01	Claudios Polyzelos	<i>cosmetes, strategetes of the polis</i>	[...]	herm shaft	post 180 p. (IG); 212/3-225/6 (Follett)	IG II ² , 2109
Ath-02	Tib. Claud Polyzelos	<i>archon of the ephebes, gymnasiarch, agonothes (referee), cosmetes</i>	Tiberius Claudios Apollororus Archaneus, the father, - by demand of the synhedrion	statue base	post 180 p. (IG); 212/3-225/6 (Follett); according to the one above	IG III 747
Ath-03	Flavius Apollonios A[...]	<i>cosmetes, agonothes, gymnasiarchon</i>	[...] another cosmetes	statue base with ephebes catalogue	after 212/3 (IG); 221/2-231/2 (Follett)	IG II ² 2219.
Ath-04	Aurelius Pollois	<i>hypopaidotribes</i>	Aurelios Mousaios, <i>hoplomachos</i> ; Aurelios Onesimos, <i>hypogrammateus</i> (sub-secretary)	presumably a base	ca. AD 230 (IG); 225/6-236/7 (Follett)	IG II ² , 2232.

Ath-05	Aurelius Appianus Marathonius, son of the <i>cosmete</i> Chrestus.	<i>arete</i>	The council of the Areopagus	statue base	First half of the 3 rd cent.; 226/7-234/5 (see below)	Harrison 1960a, fig. 37;
Ath-06a-f	Ulpus Eubiotus and his two sons	<i>hypatikos</i> , etc. (see below); numerous benefactions	the council; financed by public expense	two copies of a decree for six bronze statues	ca. 2 nd quarter of the 3 rd century; reign of Alex. Severus ; ca. mid 3 rd (when he was <i>archon</i>); ca. 230 (SEG)	Oliver 1941, nos. 31, 32 (32 a + IG II ² , 1064; Oliver 1951, 350-354; IG, II ² , 1064. SEG 21, 506.
Ath-07	Ulpus Eubiotus Leuros Gargettius	<i>hypatikos</i> , eponymous <i>archon</i> , benefactor, <i>prostates of the koinos</i> - donor of grain	Publius Aelius Zenon Berenikides, priest of Apollon Patroos -by the 'dogma' of the Areopagus	honorific arch	ca. mid 3 rd (when he was <i>archon</i>)	IG II ² , 3697.
Ath-08	M. Ulp. Eubiotus Leuros Gargettius	- see above	- see above	stele	ca. mid 3 rd (when he was <i>archon</i>)	IG II ² , 3698; same text as above.
Ath-09	M. Ulp. Eubiotus	<i>hypatikos</i> , eponymous <i>archon</i> , benefactor	Aur. Hermonax, herold, by the 'dogma' of the council and the entire <i>polis</i>	base	before mid 3 rd	IG II ² , 3699.
Ath-10	a, b) Ulpus Leuros and Flavia Habroia	parents of M Ulpus Eubiotus Leuros Gargettius	no dedicator	double statue base	before mid 3 rd	IG II ² , 3695.
Ath-11	Flavia Habroia	mother of M. Ulp. Eubiotus (<i>hypatikos</i>)	the <i>polis</i>	base	before mid 3 rd	IG II ² , 3696
Ath-12	M. Ulp. Fl. Teisamenos	<i>thesmotet</i> , son of the <i>euergetes</i> M. Ulp. Eusebiotus; benefactor	the <i>polis</i>	base	before mid 3 rd	IG II ² , 3701.
Ath-13	M. Ulp. Pupenius Maximus	son of the <i>hypatikos</i> M Ulp. Eubiotus, <i>thesmothet</i> , <i>euergete</i> , former <i>synarchon</i> of the fatherland, <i>anatrophos</i> and benefactor of Ulp. Elpidephoros	Ulp. Elpidephoros,	base	before mid 3 rd	IG II ² , 3702
Ath-14	M. Ulp. Pupenius Maximus	patron of Ulpus Nikias	Ulpus Nikias, his client	base	before mid 3 rd	IG II ² , 3703
Ath-15	L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus	<i>rhetor</i> , benefactor of Athens	the council of the Areopagus	base	230 AD	IG II ² , 4217.
Ath-16	Pomponianus	son of Dionoysios; <i>arete</i> and <i>eunoia</i>	demand by the <i>boule</i> and Areopagus	no information	ca. 230 (?)	IG II ² , 4006;
Ath-17	Aurelius Appollonius	Herald of the council and <i>demos</i>	set up by an action of the council of the	prytanical herm (with badly damaged	after 235/6	Geagan 2011, 213

			500; on request of Aur. Onesimus and the fellow officers	portrait)		
Ath-18	M. Aurelius Melpomenos	<i>agonothet</i> in Olymia, priest		base	238/9-243/4	IG III, 3878.
Ath-19a-b	Hepaphrodeitos Phlyeus and Aristodemos	<i>archontes</i> of the <i>phyles</i>		double base	238/9-243/4	IG II ² , 3691.
Ath-20	[...] from Steiria	<i>hierokeryx</i> , panathenide, <i>gymnasiarchon</i> , <i>archon</i> of the ephebes	[...]	herme	238/9 or 242/3	IG II ² , 2241; III 1194.
Ath-21	Markos Aurelios Kalippos	<i>cosmetes</i>	Markus Aurelius [...]	herm	238/9-243/4	IG II ² , 3766.
Ath-22	[...]	<i>cosmetes</i>	Kallippos Antiphon - decreed by the <i>synephebes</i>	herm	238/9-283/4	IG II ² , 3767.
Ath-23	Marcos Aurelios Telesphoron Kephisieas	<i>cosmetes</i> , <i>synstrem-matarchos</i> , <i>archon</i> of the ephebes, sophronist	L[...] and the systatai on account of all <i>cosmetai</i> Telephoros, (ephebe for his sophronistes), the <i>demos</i> of Athens, (Aur.) Nero (hypo-sophronist)	herm	after 243/4	IG II ² , 3768.
Ath-24	T. Domitios Prometheus Oathen	athlete (<i>paradoxos</i> , <i>periodoneikes</i>), <i>anticosmetes</i> multiple victories at the various Great Games	T Domitius Promethes Oathen and T Domitius Narkissons (his sons)	herm	after 243/4	IG II ² , 3769.
Ath-25a-c	Aurelius (?) Perinthos and Aurelia [...d]oras ? his wife and [Aurelia?] Dionysia their daughter		The father of Perinthos	tabula	245	IG III.1, 827
Ath-26	Appianus Marathonius, son of Chrestus	<i>magistrorum epheborum</i> , <i>cosmetes</i>	- the <i>synarchontes</i> of the Diogeneion - decree of the council of the Areopagus	herm	226/7-234/5	IG II ² , 3765 (III 751 et add. p.502)
Ath-27	Hegias, son of Timokrates	<i>clarissimus</i> rank, benefactor of Athens, generous former eponymous archon, former panegyriarch	the (entire) <i>polis</i>	base	before mid of 3 rd cent.	IG II ² , 3692.
Ath-28	Aphrodeisios, son of Stephanos Marathonios	priest of Triptolemos, eponymos der Phyle Aiantidos, priest of A [...]	- his friend? - dogma / decree of the areopagites - induced by the eponymos archon Fl.	base	mid 3 rd cent	IG II ² , 3705 (III 704).

			Asklepiades Diomaieus			
Ath-29	Iulios Theodotos Meliteus	sophist	his pupils	no information	mid 3 rd cent.	IG II ² , 3813.
Ath-30	[...] Annia Statilia (?)	[...] (<i>hypatike</i>) descendant of the rhetor Apsines (?) descendant of [Tib. Claudius] Lyciadus and [Tiberius Kl]audius Sospidos	[...] very fragmentary	Marble plate	mid 3 rd cent.; shortly before 238 (Maaß)	IG II ² , 4007; cf. cat. Kirchner; Maaß
Ath-31	Chariton, Marathonios, son of Neikios	former temple servant of Asklepios and Hygeia	- by demand of the council of the 500.	herm	mid 3 rd cent. (?)	IG II ² , 3815,
Ath-32	Quintus Statius Themistokles Chollida	<i>kleidouchos</i> (key holder of the temple) of Asklepios, son of a priest of Asklepios, descendant of philosophers, <i>hypatikoi</i> and asiarchs	Titus Flavius Glaukos Marathonios, rhetor and philosopher, by the demand of the council of the Areopagus		mid 3 rd ; 240-260 ? (SEG)	IG II ² , 3704.
Ath-33	Publius Herennius Ptolemeios Hermeios	<i>keryx</i> (herald) of the council of the Areopagus	Herennius Dexippos, his son - decreed by <i>synhedrion</i> of the Areopagus	herm	mid third cent (father of Dexippos)	IG III.1, 714. = II ² , 3667; Aneziri 2010, 295
Ath-34	Publius Herennius Ptolemeios Hermeios	<i>polemarch</i> , <i>agonothet</i> of the Great (Games)[...], <i>keryx</i> of the council of the Areopagus	the Areopagus and the council of the 500	herm (fragment) / base (SEG)	mid 3 rd cent (Aleshire); 200-250 (SEG) (father of Dexippos)	IG II ² , 3668/ no 5 Aneziri 2010, 295.
Ath-35	Publius Herennius Dexippos	former basileus, eponymous archon, <i>hiereus panages</i>	Herennius Dexippos and Herennia Hermonakteia, his children	base	before 266/7 (died 275); 269/70 (SEG)	IG II ² , 3670.
Ath-36	Publius Herennius Dexippos	rhetor, historian, sacrosanct priest former basileus, among the <i>thesmothetes</i> , former eponymous <i>archon</i> , former <i>panegyriarch</i> , (president) and financier of the Great Panathenais son of rhetor and writer; <i>arete</i>	Herennius Dexippos and Herennia Hermonakteia, his children with the approval of the Areopagus, the council of the 750 and the people and <i>demos</i> of Athens	base for a marble statue	ca. 270 AD (or later); c. 269/70 (IG); after 270.	IG II ² 3669; II ² V 13262;

Ath-37	Claudius Illyrius	provincial governor (<i>anthypatos</i>), <i>clarissimus</i> rank, governor, member of the Areopagus, benefactor	the polis (of Athens); carried out by: Marcus Iunius Minucianus	base; testamentary ? dedication	during the 270ies/280ies med s III p) around A.D. 253/60 (Follett); 270-290 (LSA)	IG II ² 3689; II ² 13263.
Ath-38	Claudius Illyrius	<i>vir clarissimus</i> , proconsul (of Achaia); provincial governor, member of the Areopagus, and benefactor	the <i>polis</i> (of Athens) - carried out by: Marcus Iunius Minucianus	Statue base	Ca. A.D. 270's/280's ((Att. – Athens: Akr. – med s III p)) 270-290; 225-250; 253/60 C (Erkelenz) cos mid thid Folet	IG II ² 3690; II ² , V 13264.
Ath-39	[...]	<i>presbys</i> of two legions; <i>antistrategos</i> , <i>praetor politikon</i> , <i>praefectus frumentum dandi</i> , agoranomos, tamias of Cyrrus, <i>antistrategos</i>	[...]	'dedication'	3 rd cent.	IG II ² 4220.273, no 39.
Ath-40	Dexippus	benefactor of the city	Lysicles (his father); with the consent of Athens	capital of a column/ cylindrical base	3 rd cent. ; mid 3 rd to 5 th , possibly late 4 th to early 5 th century (LSA)	IG II ² , 4008. LSA-141.
Ath-41	L. Vettius I[juvenus?/Iuventianus?] Mes [...]	<i>arete</i> and benefactions for the city	the <i>boule</i> of the Areopagus and the <i>demos</i>	base	3 rd cent. (?)	IG II ² , 4221.
Ath-42	M [...]	eponymous <i>archon</i>	[...]	base	3 rd cent.	IG II ² , 3711.
Ath-43	Kasianos Synesios son of Antius	highly educated man; <i>archon</i> of the <i>Panhellenes</i>	The Areopagus, the <i>boule</i> and the <i>demos</i>	base	3 rd cent.	IG II ² , 3712.
Ath-44	[...]	<i>cometes</i>	the ephebes	herm	3 rd cent.	IG II ² , 3770
Ath-45-46	[...] as above	[...] as above	set up by an action of the most vernerable <i>areopagites</i> as above	herm shaft (preserves parts of the portrait) as above	3 rd cent (as above)	Geagan 2011, 269, H 522; Geagan 2011, 269-70, H 523;
Ath-47	Gellia Dionysia (nominative)	(assumed to be a priestess)	no more information,	small statue / statuette		Geagan 2011, 214 H 394.

Tb. VI.2. The non-imperial honours. (For a better insight into the dynastic coherences, the family relations take precedence over chronology in the sequence.)

Monument	Date (AD)	Literature	Comment
fragments of three herms	Ca 230 p 223/4 (Hesperia)	IG II ² , 2233 (fragments of three herms 'as it seems') + 2259 (tabula marmoraea) + 2236 (tabula marm.)	
fragment of an ephebe catalog on a herm	3 rd century	IG 2234 III 1191	multiple names of <i>hoplomarchoi</i> and <i>paidotribes</i> in the accusative
two herms with ephebe catalogs	3 rd century	IG II ² , 2238 (III 1196; 1196), 238 A;	
ephebe catalogue on herm	3 rd century	IG II ² , 2255 (III 1239)	multiple names in the nominative

Tb. VI.3. Ephebe catalogues addressed as herms but without any preserved reference to a honorand.

The inscriptional evidence suggests that the values and focus of Athenian society were directed at preservation: On the one hand, a certain living standard had to be maintained through the financial effort of the benefactors, for instance food supply, building measures and games had to be provided. On the other hand, and closely entwined with the former, the preservation of their culture and history had to be secured by passing both on through education and games. Tracing humanistic values in stray fragmentary statuary can prove rather difficult, yet the nature of the Athenian evidence allows us to pinpoint at least some of the subjects addressed.

THE STATUARY

Looking at Athenian honorific statuary of the second and third centuries AD certain peculiarities leap out. Yet despite the city's exquisite craftsmanship and despite being a benchmark and occupying the leading role in art, Athenian statuary under the Roman regime does not deviate significantly from the rest of the Roman Empire in style and execution⁴⁸⁴. On the contrary, customary fashions whether in

⁴⁸⁴ Fittschen 2006, AA 43-53. Schröder 2012, 502-3.

the coiffures or the rendition of the faces were promptly and willingly incorporated into the craftsmen's portfolio.⁴⁸⁵ Yet certain local characteristics can be detected in part of the statuary. These peculiarities comprise features such as leaving rasp marks instead of the smoothing them out⁴⁸⁶, which consequentially conveys the impression of a reworking, but which probably allowed a better adhesion of the colour that was applied later in the process.

A large group of statuary from Athens attributed to the second and third centuries presents a further local idiosyncrasy, which has made a precise dating rather difficult.⁴⁸⁷ Yet in this case the reasons are different in nature to the ones in the other case study cities discussed. Extensive reworking, as was mentioned before, may blur the stylistic traits of a certain era beyond recognition, creating portraits with a peculiar combination of traits. Yet in Athenian statuary we can also detect a merging of epochs. In this specific case, however, we are not witnessing the incidental mix of styles only several decades apart, which is unavoidably created by the re-use, re-design, and re-attribution of a portrait head. Instead we encounter a seemingly anachronistic but indeed very deliberate borrowing of elements derived from different centuries. The clash of these epochs is not only intentional but is also meant to convey a message, as will be discussed below.

⁴⁸⁵ Schröder 2011, 50.

⁴⁸⁶ Goette 2003, 193-194, 555. Schröder 2009, 35, Schröder 2012, 501.

⁴⁸⁷ As Bergmann has shown the portraits are difficult to pinpoint to secure dates. Bergmann 1977, Hence scholars do not always agree on their chronological assignment. Therefore I will state in the catalogue a dating suggested by myself, but will include some other opinions as well.

The very distinct style of some of the statuary display takes the contemporary ‘fashionable’ traits and rendition used in portraiture, including the abovementioned local characteristics, and combines them with traits adopted from the city’s past. By borrowing typological features of the iconography used in the famous and still omnipresent⁴⁸⁸ portraits depicting famous intellectuals of the Classical era and their Early Hellenistic copies⁴⁸⁹ and applying them to the portraits of local notables, the spectator is immediately reminded of Athens’ most venerable times and its most illustrious intellectuals. By alluding to hair and beard style or countenance paradigmatic of men such as Plato, Aischylos or Pericles with a few modified but still characteristic features the virtue and education of the local honorand is stated without claiming the same actual greatness or genius.⁴⁹⁰ The very distinct and characteristic styling of the eyes, which features, most prominently, adapting the almond shape of the Archaic period, now used in its correct frontality and combined with deeply drilled bean-shaped pupils, should possibly be counted to these reminiscences as well (cf. for instance (Ath-48; Pl. VI.4).⁴⁹¹

This hybrid style was applied on the above discussed herm portraits of the *cosmetai*. As established in scholarship, the uniform appellation *cosmetai* will be retained for the all monuments discussed, although, as the preserved inscriptions have suggested, some might also depict men of related offices such as

⁴⁸⁸ Krumeich 2004, 147.

⁴⁸⁹ Krumeich 2004, 132.138. et.al. Cf. the respective literature of *cosmetai*’s catalogue entries individually.

⁴⁹⁰ Krumeich 2004, 140; Schröder 2012, 499.

⁴⁹¹ F. for instance, Bergmann 1977, 84; Goette 2003, 193-194; Schröder 2009, 36; Schröder 2012, 500.

gymnasiarchoi and anticosmetai (for example Ath-20, 24, cf. Tb.VI.2.).⁴⁹² The drawing on dated features, however, seems to be limited to the actual *cosmetai* and their herms. This stylistic feature cannot be found in other media, such as grave reliefs,⁴⁹³ which is interesting for three reasons: sarcophagi pose one of the most prominent means of self-representation in the third century; during this time they focus distinctly on the *paideia*; and they were one of Athens' most successful exports.⁴⁹⁴

Of the 13 portraits that can be seen as *cosmetai* within the timeframe under investigation, this kind of reminiscence can be found in two, both stemming from the Late Severan period (Ath-20, 48; Pl.VI.1; 2a-b.).⁴⁹⁵ In two other instances the attribution to this office is, however, not completely certain. The remaining 36 both herm and statue portraits, comply with the contemporary Roman fashion.

In Roman Greece, herms, initially originating from Athens,⁴⁹⁶ turned, presumably under the influence of Roman customs, only considerably late into a means of depiction for individuals with portrait features.⁴⁹⁷ The usage of this medium to honour men in the civilian office of *cosmetes* is reasonable, since the god Hermes, eponymous for these portrait-crowned pillars, was closely connected to the *gymnasion*.⁴⁹⁸ Being in charge of sports, he served as a paradigm for athletes

⁴⁹² Krumeich 2004, 135.

⁴⁹³ Schröder 2011, 56.

⁴⁹⁴ Schröder 2011, 35.

⁴⁹⁵ Ath-20, 48-50, 52, 54, 56, 59, 62, 63, 69, 70.

⁴⁹⁶ Wrede 1985, 73.

⁴⁹⁷ Wrede 1985, 72-74.

⁴⁹⁸ Krumeich 2004, 139.

and *palaestrites*.⁴⁹⁹ Therefore, herms of the god himself, as patron of the *gymnasion* were omnipresent in this specific location all along.⁵⁰⁰ Science and the art of rhetoric were also associated with the god, as was the education and care of the children of the gods.⁵⁰¹ Therefore *cosmetai* in charge both of the intellectual and physical education of the *ephebes*, the elite youth, could be considered his mortal successors; hence their identification in statuary.

Hermes were comparatively cheap and practical to produce.⁵⁰² This inexpensiveness and the overtone of mass production made them an unsuitable medium for emperors and, as Wrede points out, benefactors.⁵⁰³ Originally the *ephebes* venerated their *cosmetai* with bronze statues.⁵⁰⁴ This for an annual office rather costly salute was moderated in imperial times with the use of herms. A possible reason for this 'downgrading' could be the development of the *ephebia* from an institution with an initially strongly military aspect into an athletic and culturally prestigious education for the offspring of the elite, including rhetoric, poetry and similar sophisticated subjects. Under the new regime of the Romans, who had brought the *pax romana* and who took charge of securing the borders themselves, less effectively so against the Herulians, festivals, agonistic competitions, and guarding the procession to Eleusis had now taken priority for the pupils.⁵⁰⁵ Yet the *ephebia* was no purposeless leisure activity. Owing to the

⁴⁹⁹ Wrede 1985, 72.

⁵⁰⁰ Wrede 1986, 34.

⁵⁰¹ Wrede 1986, 34.

⁵⁰² Wrede 1985, 73.

⁵⁰³ Wrede 1985, 73-74. Monuments such as the portrait of Titus (Naples, Museo Nazionale, Inv. 110 852 or 110 892, said to be from Rome) on a herm shaft-like bust cannot be taken into account, since the piece is monumental and of high quality and therefore certainly not budget priced. For an encompassing literature regarding the head cf. Wegner 1966, 89.

⁵⁰⁴ Krumeich 2004, 136.

⁵⁰⁵ Martin 2006, 15.

second sophistic, education was a ticket into the elite with its privileges and career opportunities, similar to financial means or a reputable family.⁵⁰⁶ Martin has astutely pointed out how much these changes in the *gymnasia* indeed mirror the development of the city itself: from the ‘downgrading’ of the military function to the consequential change of importance resulting in a stronger focus on intellectual and cultural values, right up to the proud maintenance of traditional offices and titles in hierarchies that had lost their significance and potency long ago.⁵⁰⁷

The appropriation of the classical iconography can be attributed to a rather clean-cut timeframe. It only commences in about AD 130/40,⁵⁰⁸ running alongside the common contemporary pan-Roman current, with which it could also be blended in various degrees,⁵⁰⁹ and it disappears in about AD 230/40.⁵¹⁰ This disappearance coincides with what is seen as the cessation of the second sophistic, which is surely no coincidence, since rhetoric and literary culture were not only a crucial part of education, they *were* the *paideia*.⁵¹¹ Its advent coincides conspicuously with Hadrian’s travels in Greece and his establishment of the *Panhellenion* in AD 131/132,⁵¹² a prestigious *synhedrion* for Greece, Asia Minor and the Cyreneica, installed in Athens together with an assembly building and games both by the same name. This raises the question of whether the onset of the stylistic references and the substantiation of the intellectual heritage might be

⁵⁰⁶ Martin 2006, 8.

⁵⁰⁷ Martin 2006, 14. 15.

⁵⁰⁸ Wrede 1985, 74; Martin 2006, 15.

⁵⁰⁹ Schröder 2012, 502.

⁵¹⁰ Schröder 2012, 505-9. Latest exemplum according to him: Ath-20.

⁵¹¹ Second Sophistic: 60 AD - ca. 230 AD. Cf. e.g. Borg 2004; DNP *Second sophistic* 1998, 185-186.

⁵¹² Follet 1992, 245-246, 248; Cramme 2001, 124.

linked to, prompted by, or fortuitously concurrent with Hadrian's attempt of a cultural revaluation of the city. The notion that it might be, at least in the beginning, either inspired by Hadrian's action or maybe even addressed to him in order to receive further benefactions, does not seem completely absurd, since, as has been mentioned, the Athenians had no problem about asking Hadrian to intervene in one of their most fundamental achievements by reforming the Solonian laws. That this kind of representation was conceived as suitable and desirable by the honorand is, of course, assumed as a given.

Since it has already been stated that the classical quotes seem to be occurring only on *cosmetes* herms, it seems redundant to point out that they have only been used for the depiction of men. It is still necessary to highlight at this point that concurrent female portraits, except for the abovementioned Athenian stylistic gimmickry such as the almond eyes, followed the 'Zeitstil' or 'Reichsstil'⁵¹³ of the Empire without further recourses (Pl. Ch VII.7.8.). Not surprisingly so, because there are hardly any paradigms of intellectually renowned females and no offices comparable to that of a *cosmetes*, and ergo, no exemplary statuary for either. Thus the office of a priestess was not opportune for such a depiction, because of the concrete predicate of such quotes. Instead the depiction of women complied, as elsewhere, with the contemporary fashion. To reiterate, contemporary fashion – executed in the stylistic taste of the time – can include references to the coiffure and sometimes the physiognomy of the empress and might additionally refer to mythological or divine female protagonists. The latter can only be achieved by means of posture, dress, and attributes, since mythological

⁵¹³ Goette 2003, 556.

or divine protagonists have, due to their idealized appearance, no distinct discernable facial features. The three preserved female portraits, laid out evenly over the period investigated, solidify the claim that Athens' portrait habit followed the Roman guidelines closely at all times.

Of course, rework and reuse was common in Athens as well – for both portraits and bases. Bergmann has already drawn attention to this issue for the *cosmetai*.⁵¹⁴ This time the Herulian raid even provides a *terminus antequem*. Traces of such reworking can, for example, be found on the portraits G31/32 (= Ath-72), G17/L20, G31/32, G13/L14, G30/L31, G29/L29, G12/L13, and G10/L 9. Due to its surviving inscription, the herm Ath-58 set up for Chrysippos can be dated to AD 142/3. The man's prolonged jaws and naso-labial area, the too flat cheeks, and the coarse execution of the short beard suggest, however, that the preserved face has been re-cut from a more heavily bearded one. The treatment of the hair with its 'Flämmchen' (little flames) places him within the first half of the third century, most likely within the Late Severan era. For this purpose the inscription will have been modified with the use of plaster and colour.

Although the *ephebia* was highly valued this overlap in favour of the *cosmetes* depictions has to be interpreted in relation to the circumstances of their preservation, being spoliated collectively from the nearby Gymnasium and immured together in the near-by defensive wall, which are as fortunate as uncommon. This raises another issue that had been eluded to earlier: the setting. The evidence presents us with an assembly of monuments dating from the

⁵¹⁴ Bergmann 1977, 87-88.

Trajanic⁵¹⁵ to the pre-Gallienic era, conveying the impression that since herms were spoliated together after the Herulian raid, they were co-existing in one setting before their destruction. This is, of course, true and since not all of them carry traces of reuse, these monuments confirm the maintenance and appreciation of the older monuments. What is even more noteworthy is that they attest to the fact that the ancient viewers had a mind-set that is not confused by but used to the juxtaposition⁵¹⁶ of different styles and hence aware of their development. Yet the reuse suggests that the alteration and reemployment of the honours was accepted just as willingly. It would be interesting to know how this practice was conceived by the honorand, who was being ‘immortalised’⁵¹⁷ with such a recycled monument.

Altogether 38 portraits have been preserved.⁵¹⁸ The 13 Late Severan portraits (Ath-50 to 61, 64, 86) – some of them were re-worked before or after this display – continue the large Severan/High-Severan-group of 22 pieces (Cf. Tb. VI.4.). Ath-62 could be assigned to either Late Severan to Gordianic times, while Ath-63 is presumably Gordianic. These portraits already include nine of the 13 *cosmetes* depictions, which, however, end only with the Herulian raid, decades after their return to the Empire-wide consistent style with the onset of the ‘soldier emperors’ (cf. Ath-65, 72, 73, 90). The portraits Ath-60, 65, 78 can only be broadly estimated as belonging to the first half of the third century, while Ath-90 belongs to the second.

⁵¹⁵ Schröder 2011, 36.

⁵¹⁶ Krumeich calls it a ‘museale[s] Ambiente der Kulturmetropole Athen’. Krumeich 2004, 147.

⁵¹⁷ Eck 1997a, 324-331 n. 18.

⁵¹⁸ Two inscriptions refer to preserved portrait heads (Ath-45-46) but not further reference is given. The photos provided show no statuary remains.

7 portraits (Ath 66-70, 72, 74-77, 79-83, 87, 88) are around the middle, respectively, the beginning of the second half of the third century. They incorporate all five images of priests. Another one, possibly displaying a priestess (Ath-84), presumably belongs in the third quarter of the century. The priests are designated as such through their wreaths. Although wreaths could also be worn by givers of games, this office also included some priestly duties. These portraits also reflect very well the development the portraits of the emperor Gallienus underwent. The assimilation becomes most obvious in the portrait Ath-81, which is slightly predated by two heads depicting the same individual. One of the wreathed priests (Ath-81) displays signs of burning, together with Ath-83 (Pl. Ch. VI.5) and Ath-67 been assigned to the latest portraits predating the raid.⁵¹⁹ The head Ath-82 (Pl. Ch. VI.4) as well as the priest (Ath-81; Pl. Ch. VI.3.) belong to a group of portraits that is frequently identified as Iamblichus.⁵²⁰ Although the Museum of Athens holds several male and one female portrait that can be attributed to the years about the onset of the tetrarchy, they are not included here since all of them lack provenance.

The portraits Ath-71, 85, the re-worked Ath-73, and the small statuette Ath-47, inscribed with the name Gellia Dionysia,⁵²¹ possibly a priestess, only allow a very broad dating to the third century. In conclusion, the following offices and ranks can be attributed: 13 *cosmetai* (one with youthful features could be an *ephebe*), five priests, three wreathed boys who were presumably initiates of the

⁵¹⁹Bergmann 1977, 85.

⁵²⁰ For the discussion on the Iamblichus priest, see Gehr 2014 forthcoming or the respective LSA entries. Cf. LSA 110, 'further discussion'. The other exempla in the museum of Athens are, except for a later one, of unknown origin and therefore excluded in this study.

⁵²¹ Geagan 2011, 214 H 394; SEG XXI 811.

Eleusian Mysteries, and two possible priestesses out of five women altogether. Two boys, possibly ephebes, bear no distinct attributes and so do eleven of the men (one of them is possibly a *cosmetes*⁵²²).

Cat.	Honorand	Date AD ⁵²³	Lit.
Ath-48	<i>cosmetes</i>	Late Severan (?); first half third century (Kaltas); 2 nd - beginning 3 rd cent. (Romipoulou); Late Hadrianic /Early Antonine (Schröder); Bergmann discourages a distinct dating (Septimius. Severus to Pupienus; or even 2 nd cent.)	G 28/ L 30;
Ath-49	<i>cosmetes</i>	Late Severan	G19/L21
Ath-50	<i>cosmetes</i>	Late Severan	G 25/L28
Ath-51	boy	Late-Severan	Kavvadias 330
Ath-52	<i>cosmetes</i>	Late Severan-Gordianic	G24 /L 27
Ath-53	boy	Late Severan	Harrison 1953, 55-56 no 42.
Ath-54	<i>cosmetes</i>	Late Severan (?); reworked in the 3 rd cent. from a 2 nd cent. Portrait	G29/L29
Ath-55	female portrait	Late Severan	Datsulis-Stavridis 1975, 189-190.
Ath-56	<i>cosmetes</i>	Late Severan	G21/L23 'counterpart' of G 20/L 22
Ath-20 (!)	<i>cosmetes</i>	AD 231-232	G20/L22
Ath-57	male portrait	Late Severan	Alexandridi 1967, 40-43.
Ath-58	male portrait	Late Severan	Kavvadias 63.5
Ath-59	<i>cosmetes</i>	Late Severan, AD 222-235 (Datsouli-Stavridi, Kavvadias); AD 142/143 (Romipoulou); Antonine (Bergmann)	Kavvadias 1890-1892, 256, 384-416, 386;
Ath-60	male portrait	first half of the 3 rd cent. AD	Alexandridi 1967, 109-110, pl. 95.
Ath-61	boy / (ephebe ?)	Severan head later reworked (fourth quarter of the 3 rd cent. AD); not datable (Kaltas?); second third of the 3 rd c. AD (Bergmann); second quarter third (Romipoulou); 285-337 (Stavridi); Constantinian (L'Orange)	Kavvadias 262
Ath-62	<i>cosmetes</i> (?) / ephebe (?) young man	Gordianic (Spranger); Late Severan (222-235) (L'Orange); around mid-third (Romipoulou)	G 22/ L 26
Ath-63	<i>cosmetes</i>	first half of 3 rd cent (Kaltas); Maximinus-Decius (L'Orange); mid-third century AD (Romipoulou)	G 15/ L 24
Ath-64	female portrait, young woman	after Otacilia ca AD 240-260; third fourth of the 3 rd cent. (Romipoulou)	Kavvadias 289
Ath-65	boy, initiate of the Eleusinian mysteries	2 nd quarter of the 3 rd cent.	Harrison 1960a no.40.
Ath-66	male portrait	first half 3 rd cent, presumably reworked in the Tetrarchic era	Bergmann 1977, 85. pl 25, 3.
Ath-67	male portrait, young man	Reworked; Early-Gallienic (Bergmann); Maximinus-Decius (L'Orange); mid 3 rd c. AD (Kaltas)	Kavvadias 243
Ath-68	young man	AD 230-260	Harrison 1953, 59-60 no 45,
Ath-69	<i>cosmetes</i>	mid-third cent. AD; early-Gallienic (reworked)	G 31/ L 32
Ath-70	<i>cosmetes</i>	reworked in the third cent. (Bergmann); first three decades of the 3 rd cent. AD (Harrison)	G 30/ L 31;
Ath-71	male, wreathed/ (priest?)	Early Gallienic (?)	Harrison 1953, 53-54 no 40 pl. 27.

⁵²² Ath-62.

⁵²³ For the literature cf. the respective catalogue entries.

Ath-72	male portrait	mid-third cent. AD	Harrison 1960a (Anc. Port), no 15.
Ath-73	middle aged man	ca. early Gallienic (Bergmann); era of the soldier emperors	Bergmann 1977, 84 n. 339; L'Orange 1933, no 5, pl. 17.
Ath-74	priest	253-268 AD / (Early-) Gallienic; 250-260 (Romipoulou).	Kavvadias 1890-92, 347.
Ath-75	priest (same as above)	AD 253-268 AD / (Early-) Gallienic	Kavvadias 1890-92, 432
Ath-76	young man	Gallienic / AD 253-268 (L'Orange)	L'Orange 1933, 13. 111 no 13.
Ath-77	priest	60ies of 3 rd cent. AD (Late- Gallienic); AD 267 (Kavvadias);	Kavvadias 1890-92, 428.
Ath-78 Ath-78	female portrait	AD 253-268	http://www.dainst.org/de/press-release/überraschender-fund-auf-dem-kerameikos (13.05.2013)
Ath-79	female portrait	AD 253-268	http://www.dainst.org/de/press-release/überraschender-fund-auf-dem-kerameikos (13.05.2013)
Ath-80	<i>cosmetes</i> (?)	2 nd half of the 3 rd cent. AD (Bergmann)	Bergmann 1977, 83 n. 325/
Ath-81	priest	before 267 AD/ Gallienic; third quarter of the 3 rd cent AD (Harrison); 70ies of 3 rd (L'Orange?); one of the latest portraits before the raid (Bergmann).	Harrison 1953, 63-64, no 49, pl. 31.
Ath-82	male port	mid-third century AD (Gehn); 260-300 (LSA)	L'Orange 1933, 40-43. 125 no. 62.
Ath-83	male portrait	shortly ('one of the latest') before the raid (Bergmann); Early Gallienic; mid 3 rd cent. AD (245-255) (Harrison)	Harrison 1953, 57-59, no 44 pl. 30;
Ath-84	Priestess (?)	third quarter of the 3 rd cent. (Riccardi)	Riccardi 2009, 55-56.
Ath-85	male port	3 rd century AD; reworked	Harrison 1953, 62-63 no 48.
Ath-86	boy, initiate to the Elusinian mysteries (?)	3 rd cent. AD	Harrison 1953, no 46.

Tb. VI.4. Non-imperial honorific statuary (approx. AD 222-285).

VI. 3 CONCLUSION

Although Athens shared the priorities in their honorific customs with the other case study cities, it placed the emphasis slightly different. Set-off by the initially stable state of the *pax romana*⁵²⁴ and the city's loss of political importance, accompanied, however, by a certain liberty and a distinct encouragement by certain emperors, Athens neglected its military heritage and political ambitions and focussed on its cultural status instead. This is variously expressed in the honours. The immense interest and pride in its own history and the heightened appreciation of the *paideia* are expressed by the large number of *cosmetai* herms.

⁵²⁴ Millar 1969, 14.

The coexistence of both the Roman and the Athenian portrait and depiction styles as well as their amalgamation is, at this, rather proof of Athens' loyalty to the Roman regime than a renunciation. These herm monuments are numerous, but they are also considerably cheaper to produce than full body statues. Yet besides the herms there is also rich evidence for regular statues, and they also mirror Athens cultural claim.

The appreciation of the *literati*, as well as the indifference, even if only feigned, towards political or military goings-on, is foremost expressed by the example of Dexippus who receives greatest praise for his written work, while his military achievement for the benefit of the city seems to have been deliberately ignored. As if the raid had been either an embarrassment or a negligible event, in any case, not near as noteworthy as his compiling of the *Historia*. Whether this indifference also induced the absence of imperial honours in the years under investigation or whether it might be attributable, as was suggested, to Athens' general sluggishness in these matters⁵²⁵, which in the light of ever-changing emperors would almost necessarily have to result in precisely this absence, is hard to determine. Especially, since, at the same time, the installation and organisation of emperor-related festivities was obviously feasible.

The further aim pursued with a large proportion of the statuary erections is very obvious: financial support. Although already imperatively coupled with a certain status and certain offices, further benefactions were desirable and possibly also necessary for the maintenance of Athens' aspiration, which did not conceive

⁵²⁵Alcock 1997, 4.

itself as a provincial city⁵²⁶ but as a cultural capital. The set-up of a statue was not marking the end of a *do ut des*-process, gaining an honour for a singular good deed, but merely a waypoint. By making one man stand out and praising his *eunoia*, this man was encouraged, even morally forced, to cultivate his patronage. Moreover, in a society as competitive and agonistic as Athens, peers would have felt compelled to emulate deeds. As has been pointed out, it is significant that statue dedications were also not the only amenity that could be expected. It must, however, not be forgotten that certain offices demanded the financial support as a condition and that some people were indeed financially ruined by this and it led to some people declining offices and others to being forced into office.

Athens' focus, the education it conveyed to the young, and its admiring glance, were directed backwards, appreciating the past, celebrating old victories, but not new ones. Although the benefactors' immortalisation in stone and metal did work for some, they are presented to posterity as venerable preservers (e.g. Dexippus) and transferor (*cosmetes*) of their glorious past, as mediators, but not as protagonists in their own right.

After the invasion of the Heruli, as could be expected, a distinct drop in the number of honours occurs, yet the production does not come to a complete standstill. Although the city was still partly in ruins, the commissioning of statues did not cease, even if it only continued to a much lesser degree. Nevertheless, although the city had to be restored this kind of representation of both honorand and awarder was seemingly not only conceived as both requisite and worthwhile

⁵²⁶Millar 1969, 21. 24.

investing in, but it was also still financially and technically possible. The prominence of certain individuals among the evidence as well as the decrees, which testify that multiple statues were being commissioned at once proves that statuary honours were still very desirable during the third century.

CHAPTER VII

CASE STUDY: EPHEOS

Any account given on ancient Ephesos in Asia Minor commonly makes abundant use of superlatives, especially regarding its size, its population, the extent and significance of its harbour, its economic importance, and its wealth⁵²⁷. Proudly, the city referred to itself as the ‘first and biggest city of Asia’ (cf. 03-148). This primacy in prestige and wealth was founded on the city’s nodal location along one of the main shipping and trading routes towards the east, its renowned Artemis sanctuary which served as the ‘bank’ and treasury of Asia, and its acquisition of *metropolis* status under Roman rule.

Although not the ‘first and largest’ in terms of preserved non-imperial honours within the discussed case studies, Ephesos (bases: 40, statuary: 25) ranks second after Athens (51 honours in 47 inscriptions; statuary: 40) in the total number of pieces preserved, but only third in the number of bases (cf. Appendix A, Graph VIa, b.).⁵²⁸ However, the intensive study of prosopography and specifically, often cross-generational offices⁵²⁹, as well the consistent execution of the portraits accomplished by the antique stone masons allow for a much more decisive identification and allocation than the monuments from Athens. Just like in Athens, one office stands out remarkably in the evidence, in this case the *grammateis*. Although it is not an Ephesos-specific office, at this site it occurs with

⁵²⁷ Seneca, *Ep.* 17,2,21; Brill NP *Ephesos*.

⁵²⁸ Cf. Chapter VIII, Aphrodisias (bases: 52, statuary (incl. boxers): 4 (+2 fragments)).

⁵²⁹ For example, Eck 1974a; Eck 1974b; 1980. Schulte 1994.

extraordinary frequency on the bases, and it can be found in any function, as honorand, dedicator, administrator, but predominantly in reference to progenitors and family members. Furthermore, it needs to be borne in mind that the publication of the statuary of Ephesos has not yet been completed and that future processing will surely further augment the numbers considerably.

Ephesos was very directly affected by some of the adverse factors that coincided in the third century AD, as a port depending on trade on the one hand, and more directly as a victim of the natural catastrophes as well as raiding tribes on the other. Can a direct impact of these events on the statue production be detected? Furthermore, the preserved imperial honours are addressed to one family almost entirely. Can a reason for this strong bias in the bestowed favours be determined? Did Ephesos' status as neokorate have any impact on the honours granted?

VII.1 HISTORICAL SUMMARY⁵³⁰

At Asia Minor's west coast, at the mouth of the silt and gravel heavy river Kaystros (Küçük Menderes), bound into a setting of the two hills Lepre/Prion (Bülbüldağ) and Pion (Lepre Atke) spread the city the Romans knew as Ephesus.⁵³¹ Over time the silting caused by the river led a relocation of the city twice. Today the archaeological site Efes is not situated adjacent to the sea anymore but has been shifted slowly but steadily further and further inland.

⁵³⁰ Since there are surprising differences in the accounts on the history of Ephesos, this summary is largely based on the information provided by Knibbe 1998.

⁵³¹ Knibbe 1998, 15.

Ephesos' status as a trading hub and its economic importance was backed by the new port that the Diadoche King Lysimachos, built after relocating the city for the second time in ca. 300 BC, and which he secured with a protective wall.⁵³² During Hannibal's flight to the city and the subsequent blockading of the harbour⁵³³ Ephesos caught Rome's attention. In the Apamaic treaty of 188 BC the Seleucids ceded the city to the king of Pergamon, Eumenes II, and in 133 BC Attalus III signed it over to the Romans in his testament.⁵³⁴ In 129 BC Ephesos became *civitas libera atque foederata* in the newly founded Roman *provincia* Asia.⁵³⁵ Still it remained under the administration of the Pergamene kings, until, under Augustus, the Romans finally took over the administration themselves.⁵³⁶

Ephesos, suffering under an excessive tax burden chose, just as Athens, to side with Mithridates and created carnage under the Italics in the Vespers of Ephesos 89/88 BC; and just as the Athenians, Sulla made them pay.⁵³⁷ Augustus seems, however, to have treated Ephesos more favourably than he had treated Athens. The restructuring undertaken by the *princeps* included the promotion of the city to the seat of the proconsul and *metropolis* of Asia in 30/29 BC, an event that was accompanied by extensive building measures.⁵³⁸ Its economic importance led Ephesos to prosperity, which peaked in the second century AD and is attested by the continued extensive building activity.⁵³⁹ Nevertheless, Ephesos experienced several of the factors attributed to the so called 'third century crisis' as well as

⁵³² Knibbe 1998, 15; 93-94.

⁵³³ Willer Laale 2011, 132-133, 136.

⁵³⁴ Knibbe 1998, 97.

⁵³⁵ ILS 34; Willer Laale 2011, 144; Knibbe 1998, 99.

⁵³⁶ Knibbe 1998, 114-116.

⁵³⁷ Erdemgil 1987, 18; Knibbe 1984, 104.

⁵³⁸ Knibbe 1998, 112-114, 116.

⁵³⁹ Knibbe 1998, 113-114.

political shifts very directly – and this already in the second century. Plague spread when the soldiers returned from the Parthian war,⁵⁴⁰ the devaluation of the currency – which always goes hand in hand with economic decline – started as early as AD 174-5 and imperilled one of Ephesos' mainstays, trade. The actual onset of Ephesos' struggle is controversial (see below).

Despite being repeatedly shaken by earthquakes and wars through subsequent centuries Ephesos managed to maintain its rank and status⁵⁴¹ and remained one of the most important cities, with a crucial role in the history of the early Christian church. In the seventh and eighth centuries AD the city was sacked three times by the Arabs and finally fell under Seljuk rule in 1090-96, when it was reduced to the size of a village.⁵⁴²

EPHESOS IN THE THIRD CENTURY

In the third century the future emperor Pupienus held the office of governor of Asia under Alexander Severus, a time which Knibbe regards as the weak last recurrence of the former golden days.⁵⁴³ The consequences of the military activities in the east were more directly palpable than those in the west⁵⁴⁴ since the city served as military hub for the returning troops in Philipp's Persian wars.⁵⁴⁵ It can be assumed that when the Empire's progressively devaluating

⁵⁴⁰ Knibbe 1998, 160.

⁵⁴¹ Knibbe 1998, 195.

⁵⁴² Brill NP *Ephesos*.

⁵⁴³ Knibbe 1998, 172.

⁵⁴⁴ Knibbe 1998, 174.

⁵⁴⁵ Keil 1955, 160-170.

currency hit rock bottom under Gallienus,⁵⁴⁶ the solid fundament of Ephesos' wealth, the trade, became unsteady. A devastating earthquake hit Ephesos in AD 262 and emboldened marauding Goths to raid the stricken city and its sanctuary. Prior to the attack the protective wall around the city had been renovated⁵⁴⁷ and Knibbe assumes that the damage done to the city was minor, while it was the morale of its citizens that suffered the main blow.⁵⁴⁸ Although the Artemision complex they struck was not the one that was counted among the Seven Wonders, which had already been burned down in the fourth century BC, it nevertheless constituted the treasury for Asia, and had been an important guarantor for Ephesos' wealth and reputation.⁵⁴⁹

One modern interpretation considers AD 230 as the inception point of a downward spiral⁵⁵⁰ for Ephesos yet 'the unrestricted growth of the city did not run out until the middle of the 3rd cent.'⁵⁵¹ Again the recess in building activity has been attributed to a '*slow material decline*'.⁵⁵² The modification of the Prytanaeion⁵⁵³ in the third century, suggests however, that the renovation and remodelling of existing buildings was preferred to the erection of new ones. As already discussed for Leptis Magna, the city also appears to have reached a state of 'saturation' regarding buildings and to have made the maintenance of existing structures a priority.

⁵⁴⁶ Knibbe 1989, 185,

⁵⁴⁷ Keil 1937, 204-205 no 10; Knibbe 1989, 184

⁵⁴⁸ Differently : Brill NP *Ephesos*.

⁵⁴⁹ Knibbe 1989, 184-5; also Erdemgil 1987, 19.

⁵⁵⁰ Knibbe 1998, 172-175.

⁵⁵¹ Brill NP *Ephesos*.

⁵⁵² Knibbe 1989, 171.

⁵⁵³ Knibbe 1989, 29.

VII. 2 HONORIFIC STATUARY – THE EVIDENCE

The items discussed in this chapter do unfortunately not represent the entire evidence that has been unearthed at Ephesos to date. The publication of the comprehensive evidence has been deferred for several decades now, with only occasional references in papers to certain finds. It can, however, be assumed that no identified imperial heads are among these, since these would certainly have found their way into journal articles. Hence, no indications about the actual quantity and thematic or chronological emphases can be provided. It is, however, rumoured that the numbers are substantial.

IMPERIAL HONOURS

Ephesos held the prestigious and therefore vigorously sought after status of *neokoros*. This status could be achieved by holding the patronage for a certain cult,⁵⁵⁴ primarily for the local deity (see below); since the second century AD, however, it referred especially to the imperial cult.⁵⁵⁵ The competition of ambitious cities over this status did not simply end with its bestowal, since this distinction could be obtained multiple times, increasing the glory with each additional title. The appeal had to be granted by both the Roman senate and the emperor himself, and seems to have been applied for by the *koinon* of Asia rather than by cities themselves.⁵⁵⁶ Whether the cult to the local deity was counted in this competition, neokorate or not, has been evaluated differently (see below). On coins

⁵⁵⁴ Brill NP *Neokoros*.

⁵⁵⁵ Friesen 1993, 50.

⁵⁵⁶ Burrell 2004, 71-72.

and in inscriptions Ephesos was able to proudly boast the fact that it was *neokoros* several times. Yet due to the inglorious end of many of the emperors that the city deemed worthy of veneration, and the resulting *damnatio memoriae*, it also lost some titles again and exerted itself to regain them for subsequent emperors.

To be able to recognize any possible relation between Ephesos' status of *neokoros* and the extant honorific imperial statuary, the *neokoroi* bestowed onto the city shall briefly be summarized. The opinions on the consecutive numbering of the *neokoroi* at Ephesos is divided. Concerning the first neokorate, one view holds that it was for Artemis,⁵⁵⁷ and that the second one was created for Domitian ('twice *neokoros*'), but that the latter was withdrawn at a later point. Burrell attributes the first one instead to Nero⁵⁵⁸, which was then rededicated to Vespasian but only finished under Domitian and dedicated to "the *sebastoi*".⁵⁵⁹ Knibbe ascribes the first one to Domitian, together with his divinized father and brother, which was rededicated to Vespasian alone.⁵⁶⁰ The second one was definitely for Hadrian and was maintained throughout. According to Burrell, the third should be attributed to Geta, while Caracalla turned the one offered to him into one for Artemis.⁵⁶¹ Knibbe assumes only one neokorate directed at both brothers that was converted by Caracalla into a Artemisian one, and that, since it was less prestigious than an imperial one, from this point it was not counted anymore.⁵⁶² Another one was installed for Macrinus⁵⁶³ ('three times *neokoros*', withdrawn). A further one was

⁵⁵⁷ For example: Brill NP *Neokoros*; cf. also Friesen 1993, 52.

⁵⁵⁸ Burrell 2004, 60.

⁵⁵⁹ Burrell 2004, 60; cf. also Friesen 1993.

⁵⁶⁰ Knibbe 1998, 132-133.

⁵⁶¹ Burrell 2004, 70-72.

⁵⁶² Knibbe 1998, 168-169.

⁵⁶³ Knibbe 1998, 170; Karwiese 2000; not listed by Burrell 2004.

established for Elagabalus which was withdrawn under Alexander Severus,⁵⁶⁴ and which Burrell counts as the fourth neokorate.⁵⁶⁵ Finally, a last one was installed for Valerian,⁵⁶⁶ which was either turned into a *nekoros* for Artemis by Gallienus – which again constituted a downgrade since the goddesses’ *nekoros* either already existed as the primary one⁵⁶⁷ or, since it was not imperial, it did not count anyway.⁵⁶⁸ Burrell assumes a joint installation for Valerian and Gallienus and no rededication, but that the custom of using this term simply ceased.⁵⁶⁹ In any case, for the time frame relevant to this study all scholars agree on the – if only intermittently - established neokorate for Valerianus/Gallienus.

With seven bases Ephesos provides the highest number of imperial honours in Asia Minor. Except for the base in front of the Artemision, all bases seem to be stray finds and so they cannot be put into any verifiable relationship. Three were erected for Gordian III, two for his wife, and a double base⁵⁷⁰ for both of them. The statues possibly formed three or four groups. Only on two of the bases the awarder, the *polis* of Ephesos, survives. Knibbe assumes that this multitude of inscriptions displays the city’s gratitude for the restitution of peace, since Gordian’s reign was possibly conceived as the restitution of normality after a violent but passing interlude.⁵⁷¹ Yet it is very obvious that re-use and spoliation have a major impact on the amount of surviving evidence. The double base, for example, is, just as countless other pedestals, immured in the structure of the

⁵⁶⁴ Knibbe 1998, 170-171.

⁵⁶⁵ Burrell 2004, 76-78.

⁵⁶⁶ Knibbe 1998, 184.

⁵⁶⁷ Karwiese 2000; Brill NP *Neokoros*.

⁵⁶⁸ Knibbe 1998, 168-169.

⁵⁶⁹ Burrell 2004, 78-79.

⁵⁷⁰ Sokolicek identifies a further one for Maximinus, which has not been included here due to the grammatical case.

⁵⁷¹ Knibbe 1998, 177; IE 302.

Byzantine aqueduct; but not all of the inscriptions are visible on the face of the walls. The evidence hidden on the joining surfaces of the stone cuboids could certainly be sufficient to fundamentally change the overall numbers and therefore the ratio. Therefore it might be mere chance that despite being neokorate for Valerian and Gallienus, if only briefly, honorific evidence is preserved for neither of them, while for Domitian (AD 81-96), despite facing the *damnatio memoriae*, the evidence is abundant.⁵⁷² With 14 bases he is preserved in the same number as Hadrian. For Vespasian, again, no base is listed.⁵⁷³ The sustained solidarity towards the Roman emperors is, even during the instability of the third century, frequently emphasised in the inscriptions on the bases of local notables by addressing individuals as *philosebastoi* (for example Eph-I-12).

In the three preserved instances the dedicator is only the *polis*. One of each for Gordian and his wife was supervised by Decimus Iunius Quintianus,⁵⁷⁴ ‘the most illustrious man of the city’, who is further specified as consul and curator (*hypatikos logistes*) on the one for Tranquillina. Another one for Gordian was supervised by six *grammateis* of the demos. At this juncture, it might be sensible to also bring back to mind the base 03-051, mentioned in Chapter III, which an *asiarch* of the Ephesian sanctuary has commissioned for Tranquillina in Rome.

A further base is preserved for the emperor Tacitus, who in this entire study is only represented by three bases, the other two being from Italy. The head of the imperial cult and the province of Asia Iulius Proculus (*vir perfectissimus*,

⁵⁷² Højte 2005, 359-362.

⁵⁷³ Højte 2005.

⁵⁷⁴ PIR 2 J 803.

procuratore agens vice proconsulis) dedicated the honour to the emperor's *numen* (12-03). The 'divine volition of the emperor', which appears in the formulaic closing sentence of most Latin bases (*devotus numini maiestatique eius/eorum*), was unlike other virtuous aspects or as for example the genius, most likely presented in Tacitus' likeness and not as a generic personification with unspecific, generalized features.⁵⁷⁵ Therefore and since this monument was uniformly referred to as base and not as altar, it has been included here. Having reigned from AD 275-276 Tacitus is not merely the only other emperor represented for the time discussed, but his is also the only evidence which can unequivocally be attributed after the catastrophes of the 60ies and before Diocletian;⁵⁷⁶ Eph-28, 32, 35, 36 are all dated only by approximation. Inferring that statue production might have gained new impetus during this time is not supported enough by this sporadic evidence. Pupienus was honoured twice in this city, yet not in his function as an emperor, but before, when he was proconsul of Ephesos (Eph-07, 08, see below.).

Cat.	Honorand	Status	Dedicator	Date AD	Literature	Comment
03-152	Gordian III	emperor	[...]	238-244	IE 303.	
3-153	Gordian III	emperor	the polis of Ephesos	238-244	IE 304.	
3-154	Tranquillina	wife	the polis of Ephesos	241-244	IE 304A.	
3-155	Tranquillina	wife	[...]	241-244	AE 1982, 883.	
3-156	Gordian III	emperor	[...]	238-244	AE 1930, 78.	
3-157-158	Gordian III & Tranquillina	emperor & wife	[...]	241-244	IE 302.	double base
12-03	Tacitus	emperor	Iulius Proculus	276	IK 17, 3020.	

Tb. VII.1 Imperial honours in Ephesos (AD 222-285).

Concerning the chronological development of the overall surviving evidence, the years AD 222-285 seem to present a remarkable decline. However,

⁵⁷⁵ The following statement could be taken both for the support or the refutation of this assumption: "Neither his person nor his *genius* was meant, but the divine power inherent in the emperor, and the force of the gods that manifested itself in and through the emperor" Brill NP *Numen*.

⁵⁷⁶ Cf. also Friesen 1993.

with 42 examples more than half of the bases from Ephesos for the emperors from Augustus to Commodus were installed for only three men: 14 each are directed towards Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, as might be expected, while the same number, rather surprisingly, survived for Domitian,⁵⁷⁷ the first and the last being emperors under which *neokoroi* were established, while Antoninus Pius indulged the city with his munificence.⁵⁷⁸ Accordingly, only 28 bases can be assigned to all the remaining emperors from Augustus to Commodus.⁵⁷⁹ Finally, the remarkable number of 22 bases from Late Antiquity stretches over two centuries.

Honorand	Male rulers	Family members	Statuary	Bases	Including double bases as double entries	Literature	Number of identifiable individuals ⁵⁸⁰
Augustus – Severan ⁵⁸¹ (excl. Late Severan)	x	x ⁵⁸²	x	- ⁵⁸³	not applicable	Inan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum 166/1979.	16
Augustus-Commodus	x	-	-	x	? / -	Højte 2005.	70
Severans until Geta	x	x	- (see above)	x	x	Petrucchioli ⁵⁸⁴	19
Alexander Severus-Carinus	x	x	x (0)	x (8)	x (1)	Spranger	8
Late Empire commencing with Diocletian (AD 285-423)	x	x	x (3)	x (18)	x (1)	LSA ⁵⁸⁵	22 (unidentified ones included)

VII.2. General overview of the attested imperial honours in Ephesos.⁵⁸⁶

⁵⁷⁷ Højte 2005, 448-450 (Hadrian), 498-500 (Ant. Pius), 359-362 (Domitian).

⁵⁷⁸ Willer Laale 2011, 247.

⁵⁷⁹ Højte (2005), however, included objects marked as 'altar (?)' or 'cippus,' which have been excluded in my study. While the LSA catalogue entries were largely pre-filtered, the Højte and Petruccioli numbers were taken over unaltered.

⁵⁸⁰ Only listing identifiable individuals; except LSA.

⁵⁸¹ One head for Caracalla Inan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 221-122 no 69.

⁵⁸² Including Antinous (1) Inan – Rosenbaum 1966, 73-74 no 37, including Sabina (1), Inan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 100-102 no 49.

⁵⁸³ Ignored due to overlaps with Højte 2005.

⁵⁸⁴ Petruccioli, personal communication, 2012.

⁵⁸⁵ LSA-715, LSA-718; LSA-743 (Diocletian); LSA-716 (possibly Maximian); LSA-717; LSA-720 (Galerius); LSA-719 (Constantius I.); LSA-2079 (Constantius II); LSA-739, LSA-744 (Constans); LSA-1122, 1123 (Constans or Constantius II); LSA-721 (Theodosius I); LSA-723, LSA-745 (Aelia Flacilla); LSA-711 (Honorius); LSA-721Theodosius (father); LSA-687(Licinius); LSA-751; LSA-710; LSA-685 (?).

NON-IMPERIAL HONOURS⁵⁸⁷

THE BASES

Altogether 40 bases immortalise the *illustri* in Ephesos, of which seven were set up for women. Three are described as possible ‘*Totenehren*’⁵⁸⁸ (funerary monuments), but since neither the wording nor the find spots unambiguously support such a function, they might belong to honours granted posthumously instead of actual grave statuary (Eph-26; 38; 39).⁵⁸⁹

Cat	Honorand	Status/ Achievement/ Motive	Dedicator/ Curator:	Date ⁵⁹⁰ AD	Lit.	Comment
Eph-01	G. Iulius Philippus	<i>epitropikos</i> (<i>procuratorius</i>)	[...] - curator: M. Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus (also appears in Eph-3 to 5.)	222-235	IE 3049	
Eph-02	G. Iulius Philippus	<i>presbeutes</i> (<i>legatus proconsulis</i>), <i>logistes</i> (<i>curator rei publicae</i>) benefactor of the fatherland	the fiscal authority of the temple	222-235	IE 3050	
Eph-03	Calpurnius Verus	financial procurator of Asia, benefactor and supervisor of the awarder	M. Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus, <i>advocatus fisci</i>	222-235	IE 632	already set up a statue for his supervisor under Elagabal (IE 739)
Eph-04	M. Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus	<i>asiarch</i> , <i>prytanis</i> , <i>grammateus</i> of the <i>demos</i> , <i>agonothet</i>	not preserved	218-235	IE 679	
Eph-05	M. Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus	<i>asiarch</i> , <i>prytanis</i> , <i>grammateus</i> of the <i>demos</i> , <i>agonothet</i> , benefactor (of the fatherland)	the clothes-sellers of the Agora	222-235	IE 3063	<i>adorning the fatherland with many 'great' works</i>

⁵⁸⁶ Categories incorporated into the statistics are marked with an 'x'.

⁵⁸⁷ Alexander Sokolicek kindly provided me with his results for comparison in Dec 2012. The few divergences (deliberate omissions and inclusions of bases) and any possible resulting misinterpretation are caused by my culpability.

⁵⁸⁸ IE 648, 667, 714.

⁵⁸⁹ Cf. the respective IE entry in the catalogue.

⁵⁹⁰ Please cf. the respective catalogue for the detailed quoted literature.

Eph-06	P. Gavius Balbus	procurator, <i>eques, iudex de selectis</i> , former <i>prefectus cohortis</i> , <i>tribunus legionis</i> , <i>prefectus alae</i> , <i>procurator ad census accipiendos</i> in Galatia and Paphlagonia, curator of the Via Cornelia and the Via Triumphalis, procurator of Chersonesus (Egypt), <i>euergetes</i> of the fatherland (during a famine)	the Municipium Aelium Coila (Koila), by decree of the <i>boule</i>	222-235	IE 3048.	large base for a bronze statue
Eph-07	M Clodius Pupienus Maximus	procosonsul, benefactor	Cl. Themistokles, son of Cl. Frontonianus	before 234, ca. 230 /	IE 655	under A. Severus
Eph-08	M Clodius Pupienus Maximus	procosonsul	[...]	before 234, ca. 230	IE 656	under A. Severus
Eph-09	Tiberia Claudia Frontoniane	mother of Fl. Stasikleos Metrophanos, daughter of Claudius Frontonianus, asiarch	[...]	ca. 230	IE 635B	sister of Cl. Themistokles (cf. Eph-07)
Eph-10	a) Annius Annulinus Percinnianus b) Aur. Pinarius Gmellus (?)	a) procurator <i>praefecturae annonae</i> in/of Rome, <i>ducenarios</i> b) <i>[kleronomion epi]tropos</i>	Zotikos, <i>neopoios</i>	ca. 231-239	IE 4330	double base?
Eph-11	M. Aurelius [...]	<i>protos grammateus</i> of the demos, <i>archiereus</i> , <i>gymnasiarchos panton ton gymnasion</i> , <i>protos strategos</i> , <i>eirenarchos monos</i> , <i>agonothet</i> , <i>ergepistates</i> (supervisor of public buildings), benefactor donation (price reduction) of oil, cleaning of the canal	[...]	era of A. Severus or Maximinus 'without doubt mid third century' Robert 1972, 195 no 199	IE 3071	father, giver of gladiatorial games and animal hunts; probably related to Eph-12
Eph-12	[Marcus Aurelius]	<i>gymnasiarchon protos (panton ton gymnasion)</i> <i>grammateus protos</i> of the demos, <i>agonothet</i> donated 5000 drachmas to a certain body	[...] according to Keil (FIE III, p 143) the body who received 5000 drachmas	first half of the 3 rd (Keil)	IE 3058; Keil FIE III, 143 no 58	son of M. Aur. Artemidoros, asiarch, [descendant of M. Aur Methrodoros, <i>grammateus</i> of the demos]; probably related to Eph-11
Eph-13	Gn. Pompeius [...]	main reference to the illustrious family	the boule and demos	3 rd cent., post A. Severus	IE 710B.	
Eph-14	T. Clodius Aurelius Saturninus	<i>vir clarissimus</i> , <i>comes Augusti</i>	[...]	under Maximinus, not before 236	IE 657	
Eph-15	[...] T. Clodius Aurelius Saturninus?	senator, with entire <i>cursus honorum</i>	[...]ianus, <i>centurio</i> of the <i>legio XXX Ulpia Severiana</i> , <i>agens curam custodiarum</i> (soldier in charge of the guard posts)	not before 236, under Maximinus	IE 817	
Eph-16	Flavia Phaedrino	benefactress	Aurelius Artemas Moschionos, <i>hymnodos</i> , <i>grammateus</i> of the	era of Gordian III or slightly earlier	IE 3081	

			<i>demos</i>			
Eph-17	Arunceius Veditus [...]	<i>hierokeryx</i> of Artemis, <i>prytanis</i> , <i>gymnasiarchon</i> (<i>panton ton gymnasion</i>) <i>grammateus</i> of the <i>demos</i> (son and grandson of <i>grammateis</i> , etc.)	[...] curator: Flavius Alexandros, grandfather, <i>grammateus</i> of the <i>demos</i> , <i>protos strategos</i> , <i>neopoios</i> , liturgist <i>koures</i> (cult attendant, office for life)	era of Gordian III (?)	IE 724	
Eph-18	L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus	<i>proconsul</i> (<i>iustitia, sinceritas, innocentia</i> towards all his subordinates)	Aur. Augendus, <i>strator officii</i>	244-247	IE 664	<i>procos Asiae</i> ca. 244-247
Eph-19	L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus	<i>proconsul Asiae</i> (see above)	[...]	244-247	IE 3089	
Eph-20	L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus	<i>proconsul</i>	[...]	244-247	IE 664a	procosonsul for the third time
Eph-21	L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus	<i>proconsul</i> ; (<i>anthypaton</i>) benefactor	the <i>boule</i> and <i>demos</i> and the city magistrates: - M. Aur. Faustus, <i>hymnodos</i> , <i>strategos protos</i> , <i>eirenarchos monos</i> , <i>grammateus</i> of the <i>demos</i> - M. Aur. Halophoros, <i>hymnodoos</i> , <i>eirenarchos monos</i> , <i>strategos protos</i>	244-247	IE 3088	
Eph-22	L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus	<i>proconsul</i> of Asia; benefactor	the <i>boule</i> and <i>demos</i> and the city magistrates: - M. Aur. Faustus, <i>hymnodos</i> , <i>strategos protos</i> , <i>eirenarchos monos</i> , <i>grammateus</i> of the <i>demos</i> - M. Aur. Halophoros, <i>hymnodoos</i> , <i>eirenarchos monos</i> , <i>strategos protos</i>	244-247	IE 3091	
Eph-23	Tiberius Claudius Dynatus	<i>archiereus</i> of Asia	[...]	era of Philippus Arabs	IE 643b	
Eph-24	Tiberius Claudius Moschas	<i>hymnodos</i> , <i>boularchon</i> , <i>protos strategos</i> , <i>eirenarchon</i>	the <i>synhedrion</i> of the <i>hymnodoi</i> and <i>theologoi</i> and <i>thesmodoi</i> (of Artemis)	era of Philippus Arabs	IE 645	explicit mentioning of his brother's achievements (Tiberius Claudius Dynatus)
Eph-25	[...] Vibius Seneca	<i>dux</i> (?) (<i>cheliarchon [douka]</i>), <i>vir egregius</i> , <i>tribunus ducenarius</i> of the <i>Cohortis X praetoriae Philippianae</i> , <i>dux vexillationis</i> of the <i>fleet</i> of Misenum and Ravenna	the <i>synhedrion</i> of the <i>gerousia</i> , - by edict of the <i>synhedrion</i>	era of Philippus Arabs	IE 737	admin.: Tib.Cl. Moschas, asiarch [...], reference to brother, see above Eph-24
Eph-26	Tiberius Claudius Severus	<i>mnemes protos</i> (first of the consuls)	Claudia Caninia Severa, <i>hypatike</i> , the daughter	3 rd cent.	IE 648.	'funerary honours.'

Eph-27	Claudia Caninia Severa	<i>hypatike</i> , priestess and <i>kosmeteria</i> ('retired' priestess) of Artemis, <i>prytanis</i> , <i>theora tōn megalōn Olympiōn</i>	<i>boule</i> and <i>demos</i>	era of Philippus Arabs	IE 892	admin.: Tib. Cl. Moschas, reference to his brother Tib. Cl. Dynatus, <i>asiarch</i>
Eph-28	Claudia Caninia Severa	<i>hypatike</i> (consular rank)	[...]	after the middle of the 3 rd century	IE 635c	
Eph-29	Claudia [Drakontida]	patroness	Flavius Zoticus, her client	mid 3 rd cent.	IE 1562.	
Eph-30	Fl. Montanus Maximilianus	proconsul, benefactor of the <i>polis</i>		253-254	IE 698	
Eph-31	Tiberius Claudius Artemidorus	proconsul	Cl. Canina Severa, <i>hypatike</i> , his aunt	mid 3 rd cent.	IE 639	
Eph-32	Marcus Cornelius Aurelius Zenon	(senatorial rank, son of <i>hypatikoi</i>)	the <i>polis</i>	mid or late 3 rd cent.	IE 659	
Eph-33	Valerius Festus	proconsul, benefactor	the silversmiths of Ephesos	ca. 260	NiE IX 130-131.	
Eph-34	[...]	wife of the procurator Asiae Scaurianus	Iulius Heraclius, centurio of the <i>Legio XI Claudia Princeps</i>	after (?) mid 3 rd cent.	NiE X 140-141.	(cf. for Scaurianus IE 452)
Eph-35	[---]	<i>hypatikos</i> , <i>legatus dioeceseos Ephesiaca</i> , proconsul of Lycia and Pamphylia, <i>iuridikos</i> of Picenum and Apulia prefect in charge of the <i>alimenta</i> and <i>viae</i> . pretor, <i>logistes</i> [of the <i>polis</i> ?, quaesto]r	[---]	262-70	IE 805	
Eph-36	Claudius Acilius Iulius	<i>prostaten</i> of the silversmiths	the <i>synhedrion</i> of silversmiths	second half of the 3 rd cent.	IE 636	
Eph-37	M Aurelius Secundinus	<i>quaestor provinciae</i>	Cl. Athenaios, friend	3 rd cent.	IE 3039	
Eph-38	Favonius Stratonicus	not mentioned	the <i>koinon</i> of the province	3 rd cent.	IE 667	possibly funerary honours.
Eph-39	[...]	wife, daughter <i>anephesia</i> , <i>hypatike</i> , arch priestess of the temple	L. Rupillius Alexander, <i>asiarchon</i> , the husband	3 rd cent.	IE 714	'presumably funerary honours'
Eph-40	Aurelius Hermophilus	<i>procurator augusti</i> , benefactor	Aurelios Philoneikos, centurio	3 rd cent.	IE 628	

VII.3. The non-imperial honours (inscriptions; approx. AD 222-285).

Chronologically, the approximately ten inscriptions attributed to the Late Severan era constitute the main share (Eph-01 -10; one woman). Schulte assigns Eph-11 to the time of Alexander Severus or Maximinus, yet I am inclined to agree with Keil and Robert, who suggest a mid-third century date, since the *epineikia*, triumphal games, that the recipients' father arranged, were presumably staged for

Alexander Severus⁵⁹¹, which shifts this inscription to a later date. Eph-12 is dated roughly to the first half of the third century; an affiliation with the individuals mentioned in Eph-11 is possible but not ascertained.⁵⁹² Furthermore, two bases were set up under Maximinus Thrax (Eph-14, 15), roughly two are Gordianic (Eph-16, 17; one woman); five could be dated on the basis of the honorand, the proconsul L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus between AD 244-247⁵⁹³ (Eph-18 to 22); four are assigned to the reign of Philip the Arab (Eph-23 to 25, 27; one woman); and two further more broadly dated bases refer to individuals addressed in the latter as well (Eph-26; 28; one woman). Approximately four are dated around the middle of the century (Eph-11 (see above); Eph 29 to 32; one woman), after the middle (Eph-33 to 36; see above Eph-28) and broadly to the third century (Eph-13 'after Alexander Severus'⁵⁹⁴; Eph-37 to 40; see above, Eph-1-26).

The roles in which the honoured women are addressed (regarding the only or most prominent 'title' indicated) is once each as benefactress, patroness, and *hypatike* (being of consular rank), twice simply as a member of an honourable family, and twice as priestess. Claudia Caninia Severa is honoured once as a priestess and once as a *hypatike*, but on the statues she set up for her father and her nephew, she refers to herself solely with the latter status. These are also the only apparent instances in which honours were set up by a woman (Eph- 26, 31). Statues for men in sacerdotal offices were granted two times for an *archiereus* and three times for an *asiarch*.

⁵⁹¹ Schulte 1994, nos 27, 28, 36; Keil 1923, 154 no 71; Robert 1972, 195 no 199.

⁵⁹² Keil 1923, 154-155 no 71.

⁵⁹³ Dietz 1980, 153; Erkelenz 2004, 101-104.

⁵⁹⁴ IE 710B.

Tiberius Claudius Dynatus, the *archiereus* of Asia, is mentioned in four instances: once on a statue base set up in his honour, and three times, very explicitly, as being the brother of Tiberius Claudius Moschas (once on a statue base set up for his brother, and twice on bases of statues administered by his brother). This does not only demonstrate the high social rank of the arch priest Dynatus in particular, the affiliation to whom obviously was a promotion and cachet in itself, but also that the duty of administrators must not be underestimated as they could put such emphasis on their own background. One of the latter two bases was set up to Claudia Canina Severa (see above).

The fact that certain established families dominate the evidence is surely due to the fact that members of the known families can be chronologically allocated more easily than a successful *homo novus*, for instance, and also that their bases are potentially less likely to be removed or reused in later years. The inscriptions further demonstrate very well the interaction of the individuals involved in the installation of statues. Names recur as dedicators, administrators or honorands and reveal a network of what seems to be co-dependences of members of certain circles within the elite. Of course, it was said that it was constant re-iteration that allowed the chronological allocation in the first place. Yet it would be conceivable that within certain circles a certain mutual patronisation and promotion did occur.

In twelve instances the statues were explicitly set up for a benefactor, which takes up a third of the total epigraphic evidence, and in one further instance to a patroness. In the case of the fragmentary base Eph-12 on which a donation of

5000 drachmas is mentioned, the term *euergete*, which is often placed in the last line, might have broken away. As mentioned before, these benefactions being *liturgies* constituted an expected and required part of certain offices rather than being acts of heartfelt generosity.⁵⁹⁵

The example of the benefactor, *advocatus fisci* and *asiarch* Nicephorus demonstrates how an individual is active over a longer stretch of time and also the various roles one could play: receiving, giving and administering statues. He can be found on inscriptions ranging from the time of Elagabalus when he awarded a statue for a *curator civitatis*, his superior (IE 739) up until the reign of Maximinus Thrax (IE 1087A).⁵⁹⁶ On four bases (Eph-1, 3 to 5) Nicephorus appears once as administrator, twice as honorand and once as awardee; in Eph-03 he receives praise for his benefactions. The inscriptions IE 444, 445, 2076-2082, 3086 state some of these great works, such as wine donations, donations of several diastyles, intercolumnia used as shops within the Servillius stoa,⁵⁹⁷ the halls along the 'North street' he had repaired, and also this sponsorship of the southern harbour gate with his bequest.⁵⁹⁸ Among the beneficiaries are the *askomisthoi* (hiring out wine and oil skins, auxiliary fire service)⁵⁹⁹, the guild of owners of private baths, nut vendors, cobblers, *kannabarioi* (hemp- and tow workers), and the guild of *pyrenades* (*knob-turners*⁶⁰⁰). Further beneficiaries include the providers of cultic meals and holy wine, and the aspic producers/traders.⁶⁰¹ Since *himatiopolai* (clothes-sellers) of the Agora erected a statue for him they are likely to have

⁵⁹⁵ Knibbe 1989, 176.

⁵⁹⁶ Nicephorus further appears in IE 1080 and 1087 A, both of which are likely to be plaques from bases, but are too fragmentary to determine beyond doubt that they are parts of a base.

⁵⁹⁷ Knibbe 1989, 105 n. 225, 171-172; similarly IE 61-62.

⁵⁹⁸ Knibbe 1985, 73; Knibbe 1989, 105, 172.

⁵⁹⁹ IE 4440; Wahrmann 1933, 42-46.

⁶⁰⁰ Liddell-Scott 1935, 1556 'π ρηνάδες'.

⁶⁰¹ Knibbe 1985, 71-72 no 1, 2.

received a donation of a somewhat larger value.

Nicephoros was also a *grammateus* in Ephesos. On thirteen of the private bases this office is mentioned, again either as honorand, awarder, administrator or extensively-praised relative or progenitor, demonstrating the high esteem the office held in the city. *Grammateus*, however, is merely a hypernym that subsumes several administrative offices, such as the *grammateus* in charge of the finances of the temple (for example Eph-11); or the *grammateis* of the *boule*, the *gerousia* and other institutions.⁶⁰² The *grammateus* of the demos, the city scribe – the office held by Nicephorus and in AD 23 even by the emperor Titus⁶⁰³ – was the most reputable among them.⁶⁰⁴ The office of scribe is by no means Ephesos-specific, ⁶⁰⁵ in the Latin speaking areas they are the ‘*ab epistulis*’ (03-048) or ‘*ab libellis*’ (e.g. CIL VI, 1088 (+31375 (frag.) = 36884), which do appear in honorific inscriptions, albeit very sparsely. In Ephesos this status entailed greater responsibilities, foremostly several financial and political functions, but also the supervision of building activities, as well as the installation, the maintenance, and cleaning of imperial and non-imperial statuary⁶⁰⁶. Therefore their recurring appearance in this medium is unsurprising. As honorand and awarder of statues re-appear also two of the six *grammateis* who were in charge of a base for Gordianus (03-154): Aurelius Artemas, who honoured Flavia Phaedrina (Eph-16), and Arunceius Vedius, who received a statue himself (Eph-17). Altogether *grammateis* feature six times as honorands.

⁶⁰² For the different offices see Schulte 1994, 18-19.

⁶⁰³ Schulte 1994, 7-10.

⁶⁰⁴ Schulte 1994, 7.

⁶⁰⁵ In Jerusalem the term *grammateus* is used for an entirely different office, that of religious instructor of Jewish Law (for example *Matthew* 2.4; 23.13; *Mark* 2.6; 1.22).

⁶⁰⁶ Schulte 1994, 40-41. 131.

In her monograph on *grammateis* Schulte points out two interesting aspects. First, that the statues relating to *grammateis* were set up mainly in the second and early decades of the third century and were then discontinued around the time of Philippus Arabs⁶⁰⁷, which reflects the general trend in their preserved inscriptions.⁶⁰⁸ Second, she highlights the notable circumstance that honours dedicated to them are always financed by private means and set up by family and friends, despite the fact that they were civic officials.⁶⁰⁹ Indeed, in none of the eight instances in which the councils of the city – the *polis* (1), the *boule* and *demos* (4), the *gerousia* (1) and the *koinon* of the province (1) – award statuary is the recipient a *grammateus*. Instead, on the ones where the name of the awarder is preserved, the councils commissioned three honours to proconsuls, one each to a senator, a military man, a priestess, a citizen descending of a family of priests and benefactors, and one without further specification. In addition, the *Municipium Aelium Coila*, by decree of the *boule*, honoured a procurator who had a former military career. The remaining inscriptions consist of three honours by ‘guilds’ – two by the silversmiths, one by the clothes-sellers – and one by the fiscal authority of the temple, while all others, where preserved, are set up by individuals such as clients, subordinates, militaries, and in three instances, family members.

Two of the mentioned honours for proconsuls show exactly the same wording in Greek and are dedicated to L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus jointly by the *boule*, *demos* and two city magistrates, Aur. Faustus, *grammateus* of the *demos*, and

⁶⁰⁷ Schulte 1994, 14. 121; IE 724.

⁶⁰⁸ Schulte 1994, 118.

⁶⁰⁹ Schulte 1994, 118.

M. Aur. Halophoros. On two further Latin ones⁶¹⁰ directed at him, also in corresponding wording, one is commissioned by a *strator officii*, his cavalry officer and the other is lacking the awarder; a fifth one, in Greek, does not preserve the awarder either. He received the honours in his function as proconsul, an office that he held at least three times.⁶¹¹ The ones by the city bodies explicitly address him as benefactor, whereas the Latin ones praise his formidable virtues. The honours for this man in the Greek-speaking world are abundant, as mentioned in the respective chapters, one base each was set up in Athens (Ath-15) and Aphrodisias (Aph-07). Further ones are preserved in Metropolis,⁶¹² Tralleis,⁶¹³ Prusa ad Olympum,⁶¹⁴ two each in Thebes⁶¹⁵ and Miletus,⁶¹⁶ and three each in Koroneia⁶¹⁷ and Smyrna.⁶¹⁸ The *pronsul Asiae* L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus, coming from the reputable consular family of the Egnatii, was presumably the brother of Egnatia Mariniana Augusta, the wife of the emperor Valerianus.⁶¹⁹ This, however, does not suffice as a reason for this overwhelming number of honours since his brother-in-law was not yet in power by the date attributed to these monuments.

In addition to Lollianus' five honours, four more were erected to proconsuls of Ephesos, two for the emperor-to-be Pupienus and one each to Fl. Montanus

⁶¹⁰ The inscriptions address him in the accusative as Greek inscriptions would, instead of the dative commonly used in Latin inscriptions.

⁶¹¹ Idem Dietz 1980, 153.

⁶¹² SEG 32, 1158; IE 3436.

⁶¹³ IK 36.1, 55.

⁶¹⁴ IGR 3, 33.

⁶¹⁵ IG 7, 2510, 2511. Erkelenz 2003, no 1351-1353.

⁶¹⁶ Rehm 1924/1997, 268; Herkenrath 1919, 71.

⁶¹⁷ Of the three referred to, I was only able to trace SEG 36 427, SEG 41, 456.

⁶¹⁸ AE 1923, 41; Hermann – Malay 2003, 1-4 no 1, no 2; IK 23-24, 635; AE 2003, 1670-1671.

⁶¹⁹ Mennen 2011, 103; Christol 1986, 191; cf. Leunissen 1989, 186, n. 250; Dietz 1980, 152 (Dietz assumes Egnatius Victor Marinianus to be Lollius younger brother and father of Valerianus' wife); PIR² E36.

Maximillianus and Tiberius Claudius Artemidorus; furthermore, a proconsul of Lycia and Pamphylia and two *legati proconsulis* received statues. Hence, the Ephesian proconsuls amount to a fourth of the evidence, while the seven procurators, with different main duties, form less than a fifth.

The preserved, datable evidence from Ephesos provides us with the image of a city that had developed its very own administrative and political structures and hierarchies and suggests a closely-knit web of families and individuals that bestowed each other with honours and presumably also with offices. The 40 non-imperial inscriptions are spread over a period of about forty years, in which there is a break that coincides with the disasters of the early sixties. This development is very closely mirrored in the statuary.

THE STATUARY

The portraits from Ephesos display a very strong conformity to the prevailing contemporary Roman portrait style. Therefore it is possible to confidently attribute 23 portrait heads to the years AD 222-285.⁶²⁰ Further, a headless male himation statue (Eph-64) can, due to the styling and arrangement of the falls, be dated to the third century in general. The aspect of reworking, which, for example in Athens hampered the dating of several heads, in Ephesos comes more strongly into effect only in the later Empire (LSA-679, LSA-681, LSA-682, LSA-699); only

⁶²⁰ Eph-S-14b possibly depicts the same individual as Eph-S-14a. Yet since it was found on the road between Ephesus and Kuşadasi it is not included in the statistics. Cf. for example Bammer – Fleischer – Knibbe 1974, 13.

Eph-S-02 (Severan), and presumably also Eph-S-21 (Gallienic) were re-cut from Antonine predecessors.

Cat.	Honorand	Status	Monument	Date AD ⁶²¹	Literature ⁶²²
Eph-41	boy		portrait head, fragment	Late Severan/ period of Alex. Severus (222-235)	Inan – Alfoeldi – Rosenbaum 1979, 179-180 no 140.
Eph-42	male		portrait head	Late Severan (reworked?)	Inan – Rosenbaum 1966, 140-141 no 176.
Eph-43	female	priestess of Artemis	portrait head, fragment	period of Alexander Severus / first quarter 3 rd c.	Inan – Rosenbaum 1966, 136 no 165.
Eph-44	female	imperial priestess	portrait head fragment	period of Alex. Severus (?)	Inan – Rosenbaum 1966, 137 no 169.
Eph-45	female		portrait head	period of Alexander Severus	Inan – Rosenbaum 1966, 135-136, no 164 .
Eph-46	female		portrait head	period of Alexander Severus	Inan – Rosenbaum 1966, 136 no 166.
Eph-47	female		portrait head	period of Alexander Severus	Inan – Rosenbaum 1966, 136 no 167.
Eph-48	female	priestess of Artemis (?)	portrait head	period of Alexander Severus	Inan – Rosenbaum 1966, 137 no 168.
Eph-49	male		portrait head	period of Alexander Severus	Inan – Rosenbaum 1966, 130 no 157.
Eph-50	male		portrait head	Late Severan	Efes Müzesi Inv. 3/32/87.
Eph-51	male	priest	portrait head	first half 3 rd cent.	Inan – Rosenbaum 1966, 141-142 no 178.
Eph-52	male	priest	portrait head	ca. 230-240	Inan – Alfoeldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 180-181 no 141.
Eph-53	boy		portrait head	period of Gordianus III (238-244)	Inan – Rosenbaum 1966, 161.
Eph-54	male		portrait head	235-250	Inan – Rosenbaum 1966, 130-131 no 158.
Eph-55a	male		portrait head, bronze	235-240; 230-250; era of Pupienus (Bammer – Fleischer – Knibbe)	Inan – Rosenbaum 1966, 132-133, no. 160.
Eph-55b	male	possibly the same as above	portrait head	3 rd cent AD	Inan – Rosenbaum 1966, 131-132 no 159.
Eph-56	female		portrait head	245-250	Inan – Rosenbaum 1966, 137-138 no 170.
Eph-57	female		portrait head	245-250	Inan – Rosenbaum 1966, 138 no 171.
Eph-58	male	priest	portrait head	Gallienic era	Inan – Rosenbaum 1966, 140-141 no 176.
Eph-59	male	priest	portrait head	Late Gallienic	Inan – Rosenbaum 1966, 143 no 180.
Eph-60	male		portrait head	ca. mid 3 rd cent.	Inan – Alfoeldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 303 no 301.
Eph-61	male		portrait head	Gallienic, 260-270 (Fittschen) ; Late Antonine (Inan-Rosenbaum)	Inan-Rosenbaum, 1966 126 no 147.
Eph-62	male		portrait head, <i>capite velato</i>	Gallienic era	Inan – Rosenbaum 1966, 141 no 177.
Eph-63	male		double herm	ca. middle of the 3 rd cent. (235-250/	Inan – Rosenbaum 1966, 133-134 no 162.

⁶²¹ Dates accepted by the author, followed by further suggestions. For the literature see catalogue.

⁶²² Selected for quick comparison in the respective volumes. Cf. the more detailed literature selection in the catalogue.

				Late Severan? (Bergmann))	
Eph-64	male		headless statue	3 rd cent.	Bammer –Fleischer – Knibbe 1974, 167-8.

VII.4. Non-imperial honorific statuary (approx. AD 222-285).

Ten of the portraits belong to the Late Severan era, seven date to the reigns of Gordian III and Philippus Arabs, and six bear features typical of the Gallienic period/the mid-third century. From this point onwards the evidence discontinues until Tetrarchic times (commencing, for example, with LSA-681, LSA-683, LSA-699)⁶²³ from when it continues with 44 examples⁶²⁴ until the fifth or maybe even sixth century (LSA 695).

Exactly a third of the pieces belong to female representations, with the vast majority of six out of eight being Late Severan. These heads seamlessly follow the preceding Early and High Severan female portrait heads which are preserved in a considerable number and which are precisely allocatable due to their distinct coiffure.⁶²⁵ The continued development and evolution as well as the accurate adaption of the coiffure of the imperial paradigms within a rather short time span are very well traceable in Ephesos' evidence – from Julia Domna's coiled circular bun (Leptis, museum Inv. 498.) to the bird's nest coiffure of Julia Mamaea (Eph-45 to 48; cf. Pl. Ch. VII.2, 5.), with its precursor, in which, under Julia Paula, some 'escaped' strands frame the forehead (Selçuk, museum inv. 1566 59-60; Pl. VII.1, 4). This illustrates how quickly Ephesos was able and willing to comply with the

⁶²³ The portrait head Eph Inv. 440 is most likely from a relief. Lenaghan, personal communication, January 2013.

⁶²⁴ LSA internet page Feb. 2013, keyword 'Ephesus', evaluated according to the established methodology.

⁶²⁵ Cf. for instance Inan – Rosenbaum 1966, 130 no 156; Inan – Alfoeldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 178 no 138, IR no 153 no 154; Inan – Rosenbaum 1966, 138 no 172; 134- 135 no 163, Inan – Alfoeldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 182-3 no 145.

new Roman fashion. A fact which could be explained with the appreciation of the *derniere cri Romaine*,⁶²⁶ but which more importantly displays the city's quick adjustment and compliance to the political circumstances and its overt display of loyalty (cf. also Pl. Ch. VII.3.; AD 245-250).

One of these female heads relevant for this study is preserved only as a fragment but the characteristic headgear marks her as an imperial priestess (Eph-44), and two further ones were presumably priestesses of Artemis (Eph-43, 48l). The remaining Severan portraits as well as the two dated to AD 245-250⁶²⁷ show no diagnostic attributes. Concerning male portraits, four examples are provided with headgear that suggests a position as priests. Two could be dated within AD 220-240/49 (Eph-51, 52) and another two are Gallienic (Eph-58, 59). It could be argued that the rolled diadem might indicate a role as giver of games, yet within this office they would still have held priestly duties by performing the sacrifices. So, for almost a third of the honoured a special emphasis was placed on their priestly offices. Furthermore, two images of young boys are preserved, one Severan and one Gordianic, which find no distinct reflection – for example, as young athletes or *ephebes* – in the preserved bases.

Additionally several miniature portraits have been preserved. Although they are presumably not strictly honorific,⁶²⁸ they shall be mentioned anyway, since they again, illustrate the chronological spread of the statuary in Ephesos quite well. Five are marble: One is a Late Severan female portrait head, most likely

⁶²⁶ R. R. R. Smith 2013, paper on 'The Greek East under Rome: Some Monuments' in the *Ancient History Sub-Faculty Seminar: The High Roman Empire* (19 February 2013, Oxford).

⁶²⁷ Eph-56, 57.

⁶²⁸ According to the methodology, cf. Chapter II.

for a bust or statuette (Eph-64-1sm),⁶²⁹ further a male marble-alabaster bust which is also presumably Late Severan (Eph-64-2sm),⁶³⁰ a fragment of a male portrait head for a bust or statuette from the second quarter of the third century AD (Eph-64-3sm),⁶³¹ a small marble male bust dating to ca. AD 240 (Eph-64-4sm),⁶³² and a head of the era of Gallienus,⁶³³ which might possibly even depict the emperor himself (Eph-64-5sm; Pl.Ch. VII.6.).⁶³⁴ Three further miniatures are made of ivory:⁶³⁵ a female head⁶³⁶ can be dated roughly to the reign of Decius, while the two male heads allow for multiple interpretations within the set time frame. Seven of these miniatures are from the same late antique find context in Slope house 2 ('Hanghaus 2').⁶³⁷ According to Dahmen, this kind of miniature depiction is common in the second half of the third century AD, especially around AD 250/60 and before that in the Augustan and Claudian eras.⁶³⁸ Yet the remains in Ephesos concur with the evidence for honorific statuary, ceasing approximately in the 60s of the third century.

Although, with very few attributes preserved, the portraits can tell us little more than the possible priestly status of an individual as well as sex and age, they are still able to substantiate the impression gained from the bases on the chronological development of Ephesos in the third century.

⁶²⁹ Inan - Alfoeldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 181 no 142, pl. 115, 1.2.

⁶³⁰ Inan - Alfoeldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 181-182 no 143, pl. 116.

⁶³¹ Inan - Alfoeldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 182 no 144, pl. 115, 3.4.

⁶³² Auenhammer – Sokolicek 2011, 55, 53 fig 7.

⁶³³ Inan - Rosenbaum 1966, 140 no 175, Pl. CII, 3-4.

⁶³⁴ Fittschen 1973, 62.

⁶³⁵ Auenhammer 1983 105-108; Dahmen 2001, 194-195 cat. 190-192.

⁶³⁶ Dahmen 2001, cat. 19.

⁶³⁷ Cf. the respective catalogue entry; Dahmen 2001, 194-195 cat. 190-192.

⁶³⁸ Dahmen 2001, 61.

VII. 3 CONCLUSION

In the first half of the third century and then again approximately from Diocletian and the Tetrarchy onward, as the imperial statuary suggests, a steady statue production in Ephesos prevailed. In the styling of the portraits Ephesos conforms very closely and swiftly to the contemporaneous influences coming from Rome, which is illustrated in the development of the coiffure in female portraits. The cessation of honours that can be assigned reliably to certain dates coincides with the earthquake of AD 262 and the raid in AD 263.

These dire circumstances render a 'gap' in the evidence comprehensible if not inevitable. Just as discussed in the preceding case studies, foremost in the one on Athens, the re-establishment of the basic prerequisites and standards had to be accomplished first. Even if the city had not suffered such an extensive damage that Athens had, the financial resources had to be distributed wisely. Yet statuary practice resumed rather quickly; ca. 12 years later the honour for Tacitus (AD 275/6) is the first reliably datable item. Statuary practice only fully resumes approximately 22 years after the disasters. The Late Gallienic portrait Eph-59⁶³⁹ as well as the bases Eph-34, 35 might further suggest that, to a minor degree, even in these dire years in-between sporadic honours were installed.⁶⁴⁰

Although benefactions do play an important role in the conferment of statues this aspect does not seem pivotal since they represent a third of the total

⁶³⁹ Cf. also Eph-64-5sm.

⁶⁴⁰ It has to be borne in mind, however, that this is based on the published and accessible evidence only. Further bases immured in the aqueduct might tilt the proportional distribution.

evidence. The main emphasis on the inscriptional honours is on individuals holding political offices, while proconsuls specifically constitute a fourth. In this context, the *grammateis* occupy a special position, not only due to the fact that this office enjoyed exceptional prestige in Ephesos, but also judging by the number of honours they were involved in and the frequency in which they are referred to as relatives. Mutual bestowal and administration of honours suggest an associated and maybe interdependent elite. Moreover, as was to be expected the office of priest and priestess feature rather prominently, as well. The high number of female depictions seems, however, not directly linked to this office, as only in three instances the crowning attributes suggest such identification.

Ephesos does not convey the impression of a city actively struggling with decline. Benefactors invested in conservation and repair⁶⁴¹ instead of new buildings, a fact which can be explained as simply dealing with the given necessities. The efforts of the city to regain their third nekorate during the middle of the third century⁶⁴² illustrates how the unabated striving for prestige and promotion and the competitive attitude remain unbroken in the first half of the third century. The Ephesians' aspiration to erect and receive statuary, the high reputation of such honours, and the habit itself did not change dramatically, and was never completely substituted for different, more private, means of self-representation. Instead it seems that it is rather the outward influences that should be held accountable for what is a mere gap that is presented in the evidence.

⁶⁴¹ Knibbe 1989, 171-172; IE 2041-2042, 3009.

⁶⁴² Cf. Knibbe 1989, 184.

CHAPTER VIII

CASE STUDY: APHRODISIAS

The city of Aphrodisias in Anatolia provides an invaluable comparison for this study. This is founded in its role as one of the most outstanding centres of statuary production in Asia Minor and indeed the entire Roman Empire, with marble resources of the finest quality and renowned sculptors' workshops that were active for 600 years.⁶⁴³ The reference 'from Aphrodisias' after a sculptor's signature was regarded as a certificate for outstanding quality. Therefore not only their works but also the craftsmen themselves who were trained in the city were as successfully 'exported' throughout the Empire.⁶⁴⁴ Moreover, both the sculptural and the epigraphic evidence from Aphrodisias constitute indeed the best processed, evaluated, and published material of all the cities investigated in the case studies.⁶⁴⁵

Aphrodisias was best known for its famous Aphrodite sanctuary. Through this association with the goddess, the city was already in Rome's favour under Julius Caesar, who himself claimed descent from Venus. This sympathy finds expression in the financial facilities granted to the city, which allowed it to flourish.⁶⁴⁶ The good relationship with the emperors was also maintained during the turbulent third century AD and the city's scope of importance was even

⁶⁴³ Erturg – Kocabiyik 2009, 14.

⁶⁴⁴ Erım – Roueché 1982, 103.

⁶⁴⁵ The statuary remains have been assembled and dated by Smith and Lenaghan, the inscriptions by Smith and Roueché. The fundament of this analysis is constituted by Roueché 2004 and 2007; Smith 2006; Smith – Lenaghan 2008.

⁶⁴⁶ Erturg – Kocabiyik 2009, 11.

amplified by acquiring the role of administrative centre of *Caria et Phrygia*⁶⁴⁷. Yet can we trace this favoured status Aphrodisias enjoyed through the Roman emperors also in its statuary practices? Further, does the newly acquired political status prompt any changes to the honorific statuary habit of the city in either numbers, offices addressed, or both?

VIII. 1 HISTORICAL SUMMARY

The area in Caria which was to host the city, later known as Aphrodisias, attracted settlers from 5800 BC onward, on account of its lush vegetation, an abundance of mountain streams and 'good flint sources'.⁶⁴⁸ It was set back from the main roads from the north-west and south-east, and it was this distance that granted it a certain security against attacks and raids, but was still close enough to facilitate trade and travel.⁶⁴⁹ The location's original name Ninoë presumably stems from Nin/Nanai, which is the Akkadian equivalent for the goddess Ishtar, in charge of love and war.⁶⁵⁰ It was undoubtedly the rich vegetation and fertile soil that led to the installation of the cult for the goddess on this site.⁶⁵¹ The obvious connection of love and fertility is maintained when in late Hellenistic times the goddess, and with her the city, adjusts her name to the Greek equivalent: Aphrodite and Aphrodisias.⁶⁵²

⁶⁴⁷ Wesch-Klein 2008, 270; Erim 1986, 27. 32. 168.

⁶⁴⁸ Erim 1986, 19-20.

⁶⁴⁹ Erim 1986, 20-21.

⁶⁵⁰ Erim 1986, 26-27.

⁶⁵¹ Erim 1986, 27-28.

⁶⁵² Erim 1986, 26-27; Brody 2007, 1.

With a sanctuary to Aphrodite/ Venus, the mother of Aeneas, Aphrodisias immediately gained Rome's favour. The Julio-Claudians, affiliating their pedigree to the *Venus Genetrix* as well, promoted the city generously.⁶⁵³ Its loyalty towards Octavian was rewarded with tax exemptions which led to prosperity both financially, allowing generous adornment of the city with both buildings⁶⁵⁴ and statuary honours, and culturally, not only as artistic centre, but also in literature, the sciences, and philosophy.⁶⁵⁵ Political relevance was added to this portfolio, when the new province of *Caria et Phrygia* was split off the province of *Asia* between AD 245-249 and Aphrodisias presumably became capital and seat of the newly assigned *legatus Augusti pro praetore*.⁶⁵⁶ This, however, lost the city its autonomy. During or shortly after the reign of Diocletian, Aphrodisias was now officially vested with the status of capital of another newly established smaller province: Caria.⁶⁵⁷ As we will see, these two events had a crucial effect on the statuary habit in the city.

Through its role within the young Christian church Aphrodisias amplified its reputation and importance for another 400 years.⁶⁵⁸ Yet it had to endure several catastrophes to which the inhabitants finally surrendered during or after the 14th century and simply left.⁶⁵⁹ Recurring earthquakes destroying their buildings, threats by the Persians and later the invasion by the Seljuks and raids by

⁶⁵³ Erim 1986, 29. 30; Brody 2007, 97; Reynolds 1982 41-48 doc. 6.

⁶⁵⁴ Erturg – Kocabiyik 2009, 11.

⁶⁵⁵ Erim 1986, 30-32.

⁶⁵⁶ Wesch-Klein 2008, 270; Erim 1986, 27. 32. 168.

⁶⁵⁷ Erim 1986, 28. 168

⁶⁵⁸ Erim 1986, 34.

⁶⁵⁹ Erim 1986, 35. 169. 170. 172.

the Turkoman horsemen had disheartened and eventually drove the people out.⁶⁶⁰ The natural amenities of the land, however, eventually brought occupants back, and at the latest in the 17th century, the modern Geyre, stemming from the appellation Caria for Aphrodisias, was again inhabited.⁶⁶¹

APHRODISIAS IN THE THIRD CENTURY

Aphrodisias experienced during what was for elsewhere a troublesome third century an amplification of its influence. The era brought along sustained confirmation of its privileges as well as the mentioned new status as capital (?)⁶⁶² of *Caria et Phrygia*. Further, the city was, at least at that time, spared from both natural disasters and the direct impact of the raids which haunted the other cities discussed here.⁶⁶³ Its tax-free status increased the city's wealth, which was already substantial due to the income generated by the temple through the numerous visitors, pilgrims, donations and festivals,⁶⁶⁴ and allowed for a generous adornment of the city with statuary honours as representation and rank demanded. Aphrodisias' inscriptional evidence attests for the continuation of competitions staged by certain cities and the unimpaired relevance of the *paideia*.

Throughout the third century, Aphrodisias maintained good relations with Rome. Although the city's loyalty is at that time not necessarily reflected in the number of surviving statuary erected in honour of the emperors, favourable

⁶⁶⁰ Erim 1986, 35.

⁶⁶¹ Erim 1986, 35; Brody 2007, 98.

⁶⁶² Wesch-Klein 2008, 270; Erim 1986, 27. 32. 168.

⁶⁶³ Reynolds 1982, 109.

⁶⁶⁴ Reynolds 1982, 108; Erim 1986, 28. 30. 31; Brody 2007, 98.

imperial correspondences are preserved and testify to the close and continued 'relationship with the central authority in Rome':⁶⁶⁵ among the preserved items are letters from the emperors Alexander Severus,⁶⁶⁶ Gordian III,⁶⁶⁷ Traianus Decius and Herennius Etruscus.⁶⁶⁸

VIII.2 HONORIFIC STATUARY – THE EVIDENCE

IMPERIAL HONOURS

The group of imperial honours is very small in the time frame under investigation. No statuary and only three bases are preserved and all of them were erected for members of the family of Gallienus by the *polis*. The well-evaluated and documented evidence allows a quick comparison of the overall imperial inscriptional evidence to be drawn, which reveals that this is not a phenomenon only of the third century. From the first to the sixth century 40 imperial bases have been preserved:⁶⁶⁹ 23 bases for twenty imperial individuals installed in the first century,⁶⁷⁰ three in the second century, and four for the family of Septimius Severus/Caracalla, which mark the transition to the third century.⁶⁷¹ Furthermore, there are the abovementioned three for the family of Gallienus, one in Tetrarchic

⁶⁶⁵ Reynolds 1982, 129-143.

⁶⁶⁶ Reynolds 1982, doc. 19.

⁶⁶⁷ Reynolds 1982, doc. 20. 22. 23. 24

⁶⁶⁸ Reynolds 1982, doc. 25.

⁶⁶⁹ Numbers corresponding to InAph,

<http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007/inscriptions/toc/text/I.html> (last accessed 01.02.2014).

⁶⁷⁰ InAph 9.40 Atia, mother of Augustus; 9.26 Antonia Augusta ; 9.36 Aemilia Lepida; 9.37 Agrippina; 9.38. Germanicus Caesar ; 12.515 Claudius; 12.614 Titus Caesar; 8.236 Domitian.

⁶⁷¹ InAph 2.110. Septimius Severus; 12.642. Julia Domna; 12.326. Caracalla; 12.641. Caracalla.

times,⁶⁷² six in the fourth century (dedicated to different individuals but three of them erected by the same dedicator; one of them reused in the same century),⁶⁷³ and one belonging to the sixth century.⁶⁷⁴

Honorand (male rulers & family members)	Statuary	Bases	Source	Total number of identifiable individuals
Julio-Claudian	3 (Claudius (2); Germanicus (bust))	19	Smith 2006, 229-230 no 109 (bust); 257-258 no 158-159; 77-78 no 1-19.	22 (not including Smith 2006, 258-259, no 160-161 (unidentified))
Flavian	2 (Vespasian, Titus (?))	4	Smith 2006, 259 no 126; 259-260 no 1631; 2006, 78 no 20-23.	6
Antonine	1 (Nerva)	3	Smith 2006, 78 no 24-26; 260 no 164.	4
High Severan (until Geta)	0	4	Smith 2006, 778 no 27-30.	4
Alexander Severus-Carinus	0	3	Smith 2006, 78-79 no 31-33.	3
Late Empire commencing with Diocletian	0	7 (+3?)	cf. LSA numbers in the respective footnotes	7 (+3?)

Tb. VIII.1. Statistical overview of the imperial evidence in Aphrodisias (Cf. Appendix A, Graph VIIIa).

Honorand	Status	Dedicator	Findspot	Date AD	Cat./lit.
Salonina	Augusta	the <i>polis</i>	South Wall	253-260	08-128; Smith 2006, 78 no 31.
Son of Gallienus	Caesar	the <i>polis</i>	temple of Aphrodite	256-260	08-129; Smith 2006, 79 no 32.
Licinius Valerianus	brother of Gallienus	the <i>polis</i>	theatre, stage	253-260	08-130; Smith 2006, 79 no 33.

Tb. VIII.2. The imperial evidence AD 222-285.

This body of preserved evidence does indeed show a distinct and conspicuous decline – it seems. Yet both the ostensible peak and decrease appear more than a century too early. The honours do not display a great range of emperors but focus again on certain families. Moreover and more importantly,

⁶⁷² InAph 12.108. Emperors and Caesars (AD 293-311).

⁶⁷³ InAph 4.10, Arcadius; 4.11, Valentinian II; 5.217, Honorius; 5.216, Aelia Flaccilla; 8.405, Julian.

⁶⁷⁴ InAph 4.311, Emperor/Justinian (?)

with 13 bases, the majority of the imperial evidence in the first century can attributed to the patrons of the Sebasteion (in three instances this identification was marked with a question mark).⁶⁷⁵ Therefore they are very likely part of one large-scale honour scheme rather than a product of gradual, chronologically progressing installations. This refutes the belief that there was a steady decline for imperial honours in Aphrodisias.

The aforementioned imperial families honoured are as follows and one might be tempted to talk of the 'usual suspects': 19 honours for the Julio-Claudians, four for the Flavians, three for the Antonines, four for the Severans, three for the family of Gallienus, one for the Tetrarchs, and two for Aelia Flaccila and her son Honorius. Multiple honours for one individual occur in only four cases: three for Augustus, two for Claudius, three for Domitian and two for Caracalla. These 'family clusters' are further consolidated by four Julio-Claudian heads (one being a bust which certainly does not belong to any of the mentioned inscriptions) as well as one Flavian, and one Antonine head (the former also not attested on a base).⁶⁷⁶ Thus, only four of twenty-two bases were found without corresponding honours for family members.

The need to venerate each new emperor appears to have not been on top of Aphrodisias' agenda. The 'good emperors' are, however, represented in the evidence. Does the preservation tell us anything about the esteem in which the city held those specific families? Were unpopular emperors dismantled after their

⁶⁷⁵ Smith 2006, 77.

⁶⁷⁶ Smith 2006, 256-261.

reign? Or was it just more likely to tear down a single outdated honour than to interfere with family group displays if the ‘resources’, thus a torso or a base, were needed for reuse? At any rate, even if on a smaller scale and not in proportional ratio, the emphasis placed by Aphrodisias on some imperial families actually simply mirrors the standard state of preservation of imperial honours throughout the Empire.

NON-IMPERIAL HONOURS

THE BASES

As mentioned above, the material from Aphrodisias has been very well evaluated and published on by scholarship. For dating the inscriptions the prosopographically verifiable results acquired by Smith as well as of Roueché have been employed.⁶⁷⁷ Yet apart from find context and said prosopography their chronological evaluation is often still founded on the styling of the letters. Decisive criteria, however, which would allow for a clear distinction of second from third century inscriptions is difficult since the lettering, wording, and content are mostly consistent throughout the centuries.⁶⁷⁸ Nevertheless, the number of honorific inscriptions that do meet the criteria established for this thesis is considerable: 52 plus three imperial in the third century.

⁶⁷⁷ Roueché 2004; 2007 (IAPH database); Smith 2006. Inscriptions attributed to the third century by the IAPH due to their lettering, which could not be aligned to the prosopography determined by the chronology presented by Smith 2006 are excluded.

⁶⁷⁸ Smith 2006, 74; according to Chaniotis, personal communication, 2011; Cf. Roueché 2004; 2007 (IAPH).

Cat.	Honorand	Status/ achievement/ motive	Dedicator/ administrator	Date AD	Lit. ⁶⁷⁹	Comment
Aph-01	[...], wife of Sept. Chares Aineias	local woman; daughter of the city, flower- bearer of the goddess	[...]	222-235	H 249; Roueché 2007, 1.187	honoured by Alexander Severus with the <i>stola matronae</i>
Aph-02	Ant. Fl. Antiochos	athlete ; boy boxer, victor	[...]	ca. 226	PPA 84; H255	
Aph-03	[...]	athlete ; boy runner, victor	[...]	ca. 226	PPA 83; H272.	curator: Iul. Krateros, his father
Aph-04	[Menandros?], son of Menandros	athlete ; boy pancratiast	[boule] -financed by the <i>boule</i>	ca. 230- 240	PPA 85; H261.	from the income of whole <i>boule</i> ; Ant. Aur. Euelpistos
Aph-05	[...]	athlete ; boy boxer, victor	[...]	ca. 241	PPA 86; H270.	curator: <i>neopoios</i> of Aphrodite under <i>archineopoios</i> Ti. Iul. Candidus Cl. Hegemoneus
Aph-06	Sextus Priscus	Roman official; proconsul	<i>demos</i>	222-235	H38.	according to the instructions of Alex. Severus
Aph-07	L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus	Roman official; proconsul	<i>boule</i> and <i>demos</i>	240-250	H39.	curator: Ti. Cl. Iul. Candidus Hegemoneus
Aph-08	M. Aur. Diogenes	Roman official; <i>legatus Aug. pro praetore</i>	[<i>boule</i> and <i>demos</i>]	253-260	H41.	
Aph-09	M. Aur. Diogenes	Roman official; governor	[<i>polis</i> ?]	253-260	H42.	Walls s
Aph-10	Aur. Gaius	Roman official; <i>centurio frumentarius</i> <i>eunoia</i> and <i>storge</i> to the city	[<i>polis</i> ?]	mid 3 rd cent.	Roueché 1981, 113-4, no 7; H 46.	curator: Ant. Nikomachos
Aph-11	[...]	Roman official; <i>centurio frumentarius</i> <i>eunoia</i> and <i>storge</i> to the city	[<i>polis</i> ?]	mid 3 rd cent.	Roueché 1981, 113-4, no 78; H47.	curator: Ant. Andronikos
Aph-12	T. Oppius Aelianus Asklepiodotos	Roman official; governor of Caria and Phrygia, proconsul and <i>corrector</i> of Caria, (<i>ktistes, soter</i>)	<i>patris</i>	284-301	H43.	curator: Ti. Cl. Marcianus, first <i>archon</i>
Aph-13	P. Ael. Septimius Mannus	Roman official; governor, <i>consularis</i>	[<i>demos</i>]	III	Roueché 1996, 231-9, H40.	
Aph-14	C. Iul. Philippus	Roman official; <i>logistes</i> (curator) of the city	<i>boule</i> and <i>demos</i>	III	H45.	
Aph-15	[...]us Hieratikos	Roman official; legionary centurion	L. Aur. Zenon and L. Aur. Hypsikles, friends of the honorand	III	H48.	
Aph-16	Ael. Aur. Ammianus Paulinus	local man; <i>nomikos</i> (lawyer)	<i>boule</i> and <i>demos</i>	III	H57.	curator: Papias
Aph-17	M. Fl. Carminius Athenagoras Livianus	local man; senator <i>euergetes</i>	[<i>patris</i>]	III	H70.	son of H69, son of aconular; curator: Flavius, his friend

⁶⁷⁹ Cf. the respective catalogue entries.

Aph-18	M. Aur. Cl. Ant Dioskouros	local man; [...]	<i>boule, demos, gerousia, chrysophorio, neopoioi</i>	III	H97.	
Aph-19	Ti. Cl. Ant. Dokimianos Hermios	local man; [...]	demos	III	H98.	
Aph-20	M. Aur. Gaeticulus	local man; freedman, imperial procurator, first <i>neopoi</i> s of Aphrodite	[...] <i>psephistenta</i>	III	H102.	
Aph-21	M. Aur. Iason Prabreus	local man; <i>gymnasiarch, stephanephoros,</i> high priest of the emperors, <i>agonothetes,</i> (founding family) extensive building measures	<i>boule and demos</i>	III	H108.	
Aph-22	Ti. Cl. Kapitoleinos	local man; [...]	<i>patris</i>	III	H 114.	son of Ti. Cl. Smaragdos, Karacasu; reused
Aph-23	M. Aur. Cl. Ktesias	local man; [...]	<i>boule, demos, gerousia</i>	III	H119; IAph 12.539.	son of Diogas the son of Heliodoros
Aph-24	Ti. Cl. Aur. Ktesias = H215	local man; rhetor	<i>patris</i>	III	CIG 2797; H 120.	son of Aph-22
Aph-25 - 27	Ti. Cl. Aur. Ktesias his wife his son	family group, locals; (rhetor) money donations	[<i>boule, demos</i>], <i>gerousia</i>	(II/III) see above	H 215-217.	
Aph-28	Iul. Aur. Ktesias	local man; [...]	[by decree] of the <i>demos</i> and <i>chrysophoroi</i>	III	H121.	son of an <i>eques</i>
Aph-29	M. Aur. Zenon	local man; [...]	[<i>boule and demos</i>]	III	H153.	
Aph-30	M. Aur. Statorius Argyrios	local man; <i>euergetes</i>	<i>boule and demos</i>	III (?)	H143.	
Aph-31	[...] Zenas	local man; <i>neopoios, eirenarch,</i> liturgist	[...]	III	H157.	curator: Aur. Amazonis, his wife
Aph-32	M. Aur. [...]	local man; [...]	[...]	III	H 159.	
Aph-33	[...], son of Apollonios	local man; high priest, treasurer, <i>neopoios</i> , first <i>archon</i> , secretary of the <i>demos</i>	[...]	III	H162.	curator: M. Aur. Zenobios Iason, high priest, his in- law
Aph-34	[M. Aur. Ariston], son of Artemidoros	local man; office- holder, liturgist	[...]	III	H162a.	curator: Aur. Ammia, his mother
Aph-35	[...], son of Aur Tryphon	local man; office- holder, liturgist	[...]	III	H164.	curator: Aur. Tryphon, his father
Aph-36	[Cl. Aur. Zelos], son of Ti. Cl. Zelos (H145)= H197	local man; rhetor, sophist, high priest, treasurer, <i>neopoios</i> , founder	[<i>boule and demos?</i>]	III	H165.	

⁶⁸⁰ Smith 2006, 89 no H 165.

		'builder of great works in the city,' ('accomplished much for <i>patris</i> by speeches'). ⁶⁸⁰				
Aph-37	[Cl.] Aur. [Zelos] = H 165	local man; sophist, life-priest of Dionysos, office-holder, liturgist	[<i>boule</i> and <i>demos</i>]	III	H197.	
Aph-38	[...]	local man; councillor, <i>neopoios</i>	[...]	III	H169.	son of office-holder and liturgist
Aph-39	[...]	local man; first archon, treasurer, secretary of the <i>demos</i> , <i>archineopoios</i> , <i>agoranomos</i>	[...]	III	H180.	relative of Ti. Cl. Aur. Kapitoleinos Aph-22
Aph-40	[...]	local man; [...] donations to the <i>boule</i>	[...]	III	H185.	curator: Ulp. Cl. Aur. Menippos Aetios, his brother, and Ulp. [...]
Aph-41	[...]	local man; [...]	[...]	III	H186. (may belong to H185/Aph-40).	curator: Aur. Zenas Phosphorios, Menippos Aetios, and Attalis, his brother's children in accordance with his will
Aph-42	[...]	local man; treasurer, <i>archineopoios</i> , <i>protologos</i> archon, secretary of the <i>demos</i>	[...]	III	H188.	
Aph-43	[...]	[...]	[...]	III	H193.	curator: N. Aur. Zenon, his foster brother
Aph-44	M. Quintilius [...]anus Peducaeus Flavia, his wife	family group, locals mother	<i>boule</i> and <i>demos</i>	III	H223; H224.	of the (Roman) tribe Pomentina
Aph-45	Ael. Iul. Apphia	local woman; <i>matrona stolata</i>	<i>boule</i> and <i>demos</i>	III	H231.	
Aph-46	Aur. Fl. Messouleia Diogenia (daughter of H 245)	local woman; daughter of the city, flower-bearer of Aphrodite, high-priestess of <i>patris</i>	[...]	III	H236.	wife of Aemilianus Hypsikles, equestrian, high priest
Aph-47	Aur. Fl. Messouleia Diogenia	local woman; flower-bearer, high priestess		III	H237.	wife of Aemilianus Hypsikles, equestrian, high priest; (priest for life of Helios)
Aph-48	Aur. Frontoniana	local woman; --- (good wife)	[...] by decree	III	H239.	curator: her husband, M. Aur. Zoilos
Aph-49	Ael. Lebilla	local woman; high priestess of Asia, <i>kosmeteria</i> of the Ephesian Artemis, high priestess of the <i>polis</i>	[...]	III	H 241	wife of high priest Sept. Hypsikles; Sept. Ael. and Fl. Laebilla, her daughters
Aph-50	Aur. Achilleus	athlete (prob. pancratiast),	decree by city of Ephesos	III	PPA 72; H252.	

		victor				
Aph-51	Candidianus	athlete; circuit victor	<i>patris</i>	later III/IV	PPA 68; H257.	theatre, stage
Aph-52	Piseas, son of Piseas	circuit victor	<i>patris</i>	later III/IV	PPA75; H264.	theatre, stage

Tb. VIII.3. The inscriptional, non-imperial evidence from Aphrodisias.⁶⁸¹

The remains of inscriptional evidence can be divided, as they were by Smith⁶⁸², into several groups that remain relevant throughout the centuries.

Roman office-holders

Although the statuary remains are silent about this fact, an obvious development in the Aphrodisias' statue production during the third century is the rapid increase of Roman officials. Eleven out of 26 bases range within the third century (Aph-06 to Aph-15), five of them can be attributed to the middle of the century, the time when the city became the administrative centre of *Caria et Phrygia* (between 245 and 249 AD).

One honour is from the first century BC and two more are from the first century AD, all to proconsuls and all granted by the *demos*. A further one for a *logistes* preserves neither the dedicator nor any indication of its dating. Another *logistes* of the city was honoured by the *boule* and *demos* in either the second or the third century, and a proconsul was honoured by the *demos* under Alexander Severus. Three honours are dated broadly to the third century: a governor, a *consularis* and a *logistes* of the city (the one by the *demos*, the other by the *boule*

⁶⁸¹ The sequence is chosen according to chronology; since, however, distinctions of offices and tasks can be distinguished within this sequence the catalogue numbers Aph-05 and Aph-06 are interchanged for clarity.

⁶⁸² Smith 2006.

and *demos*) and a legionary centurion who, unique in this group, received a statue from a private dedicator.

Five honours coincide with Aphrodisias' new status around the middle of the third century. Marcus Aurelius Diogenes is honoured twice, once in his office as imperial *legat* (*leg. Aug. pr. pr.*) and once as governor. Moreover, two honours for a *centurio frumentarius* were set up by the *polis*, which could possibly address the same man, since in one case the name is not preserved and the virtues are praised with the same wording. The proconsul L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus who was discussed in Chapter VII is represented once at Aphrodisias as well. In all the mentioned cases, the dedicators are official bodies: *demos*, *boule* and *demos, patris*, and *polis*.

The last preserved inscription for the third century was erected between AD 284 and 301 for the governor of *Caria et Phrygia*, proconsul and corrector of Asia, and can be associated with Aphrodisias' new status as capital of Caria. From the fourth century AD five governors and from the fourth to the fifth century AD one governor statuary evidence has been preserved.⁶⁸³ The fifth century is represented by two governors (one with a question mark) and a praetorian prefect, and in the fifth to sixth centuries the names of two further governors have been preserved on base inscriptions.⁶⁸⁴ This preservation, which is particularly meagre in the fourth century when compared to the third, might suggest that Aphrodisias' next step on the political ladder, becoming capital of Caria, did not

⁶⁸³ Cf. Tb. VIII.4.

⁶⁸⁴ Cf. Tb. VIII.4.

have quite the same impact on statuary production as becoming an administrative centre; indeed it did not even seem to have much of a stabilizing effect on its continuation either. This development, however, seems explicable in the light of Aphrodisas' reduced sphere of influence through Caria's reduced size. Compared to the presiding *Caria et Phrygia* this might have constituted a downgrade.

Date	Number of bases
1 st cent. BC	1
1 st cent. AD	2
1 st - 2 nd cent. AD	1
2 nd cent. AD	-
2 nd - 3 rd cent. AD	1
3 rd cent. AD	11
4 th cent AD:	5 ⁶⁸⁵
4 th - 5 th century AD	1 ⁶⁸⁶
5 th century AD	3 ⁶⁸⁷
5 th - 6 th century AD	1 (double base) ⁶⁸⁸
6 th century	-
Total	26

Tb. VIII.4. Statue bases for Roman office-holders (cf. Appendix A, Graph VIIIb).⁶⁸⁹

The fact that some statues of Late Antique senators and office-holders have been preserved and that their overall evidence in the early centuries is so meagre could be the result of the dismantling of the, now obsolete, older honours for long-gone officials. Compared to the good preservation of inscriptional evidence for local men through the centuries, this raises the question whether statues of officials were more likely to be dismantled or whether the evidence substantiates the notion further that honours for Roman officials increased significantly from the third century onwards. The accumulation of bases in the middle of the century is not only apparent, but also comprehensible in relation to the city's new status, which required a testimony addressed inwardly and outwardly to communicate and to profit from the new circumstances and reap the political and monetary consequences and advantages.

⁶⁸⁵ LSA-153; LSA-220; LSA-222; LSA-234; LSA-235.

⁶⁸⁶ LSA-151.

⁶⁸⁷ LSA-224 (praetorian prefect); LSA-225; LSA-228 (?).

⁶⁸⁸ LSA-199; LSA-229; cf. also LSA-227 (epigram).

⁶⁸⁹ Smith 2006, 80 H50-162a (1st cent. BC to AD 3rd cent).

Local Notables

The evidence for local men poses a more difficult case, since unlike the Roman officials they cannot be dated by their offices. Their approximate distribution over the years is as follows:

Date	Number of bases
1 st cent. AD	36
1 st -2 nd cent. AD	1 ⁶⁹⁰
2 nd cent. AD	37
2 nd -3 rd cent. AD	42
3 rd cent. AD	26
4 th cent AD:	5 ⁶⁹¹
5 th century AD	3 ⁶⁹² (one with '?')
5 th - 6 th century AD	3 ⁶⁹³
6 th century	4 ⁶⁹⁴
Unknown	3

Tb. VIII.5. Statue bases for local notables.⁶⁹⁵

From the first century AD honours for 31 local men have been preserved. Additionally, there are five with incomplete names and a further one that is attributed to either the first or second century. For the second century, we have 29 inscriptions and a further eight with incomplete names. 31 plus eleven with incomplete names were erected either in the second or third century.

From the third century we have 12 notables and 14 more with incomplete names. Of the twelve, six have neither the office nor the dedicator preserved. The dedicators have been lost in the case of a *rhetor* and a freedman, who held the offices of imperial procurator and first *neopoi*s of Aphrodisias. The *boule* and the *demos* erected a statue for a lawyer, a man of unknown office and a *gymnasiarch*, *stephanophoros*, high priest of the emperors, and *agonethes*. Finally, a senator received an honour from the *patris*. It is striking that, where preserved, none of the

⁶⁹⁰ I chose not to appropriate this single to one or the other century base for convenience reasons, since it tips the scale.

⁶⁹¹ LSA-183; LSA-187; LSA-221; LSA-189; LSA-190.

⁶⁹² LSA-148; LSA-226 (?); LSA-193.

⁶⁹³ LSA-188; LSA-188; LSA-192.

⁶⁹⁴ LSA-186; LSA-194; LSA-232; LSA-233.

⁶⁹⁵ Smith 2006, 80 H50-49. (1st cent. BC to AD 3rd cent).

honours is again of a 'private nature'; all were erected by official bodies. In the following, it is mentioned explicitly if the name of a dedicator has been preserved in the honours of third century men whose name is incomplete. There is evidence for the statue of a (1) *senator* (?) and *agonethes*, (2) a man holding the title first *archon*, treasurer, secretary of the *demos*, *archineopoios*, *agoranomos*, (3) a sophist, life-priest of *Dionysos*, office-holder, liturgist, and (4) a *rhetor*, sophist, high priest, *treasurer*, *neopoios*, founder presumably by the *boule* and *demos*. For four further bases information regarding their offices is not given.

Since a large number is attributed to either the second or third century, and could therefore fall into the third century, no development that could be interpreted as an obvious decline before the 4th century can be determined. The distinct drop in the fourth century for local men coincides with that of all other statuary honours.

Local family groups

In Smith's classification 11 groups constitute 'family groups'.⁶⁹⁶ Under 'Local men' we find two further related pairs, which do, however, belong to the first and second century. In nine instances these honours are officially granted, predominantly by the *boule* and the *demos* with a single additional mentioning of the *gerousia*, one of them is set up by the *patris* and in one case no information is preserved. In only one instance, from the second century, the installation is of a private nature honouring a *philos* and benefactor of the dedicators together with his wife and son. This constitutes the second installation of honours for these specific members of this family in the city of Aphrodisias.

The men in these groups with statuses such as *gymnasiarchs*, senators, and priests could just as well be assigned to the groups of 'Local men'. Since, however, they are the only group belonging to the third century which does not provide any information about the offices of the honorand, the investigation of this conjuncture will not be pursued any further.

⁶⁹⁶ Cf. Tb. VIII.6.

Date	Evidence
1 st cent. BC	1 (a couple)
1 st cent. AD	2 (a couple)
2 nd cent. AD	5 (mother and son); (a couple and their son, same as the first); (the wife of the mentioned son and her brother with a further man); (two women and a man); (two siblings)
2 nd – 3 rd cent. AD	2 (two couples and their sons; one being from the late second to early third)
3 rd cent. AD	1 (a couple; set up by the <i>boule</i> and <i>demos</i> ; the man is referred to as belonging the Roman tribe Pomentina and his wife)

Tb. VIII.6. Statue bases for local family groups.⁶⁹⁷

The inferences these numbers allow are sparse. Family group honours, if the preserved reconstructable evidence allows for such a statement, were not overly popular. Their increase in the second century highlights the reputation of a certain family rather than pointing towards a new preference for this kind of display. The fact that almost all of these honours were again of an official nature, being dedicated by official municipal bodies of the city, is, however, intriguing.

Local women

27 bases dedicated to females are attributed by Smith to 'Local women'.⁶⁹⁸ These do not include the eleven women which are part of family groups, for which, in only three cases the social role is known: one is honoured as a *herois*, and two are priestesses. One of the latter is attributed to the late second to early third century, whilst the others are earlier.

Thirteen of the 27 local women figure as priestesses of different cults, of which two of them are assignable to the third century. One priestess and a woman with unknown offices are attributed to either the second or the third century. For altogether eight women, the role is not preserved, with one of them being from third century. In the early third century we have the evidence for another priestess as well as for Claudia Ant. Tatiana, honouring her as a benefactress. Hers are the only two preserved bases mentioning a female in this function.

⁶⁹⁷ Smith 2006, 91 H198-224.

⁶⁹⁸ Cf. Tb. VIII.7.

Of the altogether six inscriptions from the third century two mention women who were granted the title of *matrona stolata*. Most, but not all, women this honour was bestowed upon 'belonged to families that acquired Roman citizenship under Caracalla, [and who] were married to men of equestrian rank and came from the provinces'.⁶⁹⁹ A further woman is addressed as a daughter of the city and flower-bearer for the goddess, two titles which are joined together with the office priestess several times throughout the centuries. The preponderance of priestesses would presumably still remain if we could reconstruct the bases lacking the offices. The portrait head discussed later and a further portrait of a priestess from the second century⁷⁰⁰ encourage the notion that this sacral office was a decisive factor in the erection of statues of women. They are, however, not all serving Aphrodite as one might prematurely assume, but are concerned with different cults as they occur in every Roman city.

Date	Evidence
no date	2 (<i>one of them deceased</i>)
1 st cent. AD	2
1 st - 2 nd cent. AD	1
2 nd cent. AD	10
2 nd - 3 rd cent. AD	3
early 3 rd cent. AD	3
3 rd cent. AD	6
Total	27

Tb. VIII.7. Statue bases for local women.⁷⁰¹

Athletes and performers

Where preserved, the honour was an official one, granted by a decree of the city or the synod of athletes, or dedicated by the *boule*, *demos*, or *gerousia*. The person in charge of the conduct was often a relative, predominantly the father. The bases have seldom been found *in situ*. Van Voorhis suggests that the status of becoming

⁶⁹⁹ Smith 2006, 194 and n.5

⁷⁰⁰ Inan -Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 208-9 cat. 182; Smith 2006, 288-289 cat 207.

⁷⁰¹ Smith 2006, 93 H225-251.

capital of Caria in the mid-third century led to an intensified subvention of games and therefore to an intensified erection of honours for athletes.⁷⁰² Besides the fact that Aphrodisias had at that time become the administrative centre of the province *Caria et Phrygia* and not yet capital of Caria, the former a fact which indeed influenced Aphrodisian statuary habit, an increase of honours for athletes starting around the middle of the third century cannot be detected. The evidence rather suggests a rapid increase in the second century, the level of which was maintained throughout the third century. The architectural modifications that the theatre experienced in the second century ‘which allowed it to become the venue for gladiatorial games and wild beast fights’⁷⁰³ support the notion that the amplified interest in competitive performance has to be attributed to an earlier moment than the mid-third century. The statuary remains add no further evidence to the numerical result.

Date	Evidence
Late 1 st - early 2 nd cent. AD	1
2 nd cent. AD	7
2 nd -3 rd cent. AD	1
early 3 rd cent. AD	7
3 rd cent. AD	5
Later 3 rd - 4 th cent. AD	1

Tb. VIII.8. Honorific evidence for athletes and performers in Aphrodisias.⁷⁰⁴

Starting with one base dated to the late first or early second century AD, there are seven bases (one with a question mark) assignable to the second, and a further one that is dated within the second to third centuries. Six bases are preserved from the early third century. A further four can be placed between the years AD 222-285 due to their inscriptions, and one is generally attributed to the third century. The statues of two boxers that have been found with their inscriptions will be discussed under statuary. They are assigned to the later third or fourth century but have to be attributed, as will be stated, to the mid-third century.

⁷⁰² Van Voorhis 2008, 249.

⁷⁰³ Van Voorhis 2008, 243.

⁷⁰⁴ Smith 2006, 95 H252-274.

A 'victor', possibly a pancratiast, was honoured by the decree of the city of Ephesos. A boy pancratiast, a boy runner, and a boy boxer were commemorated as well, the former two by the *boule*, for the latter the dedicator has been lost. These three honours should be regarded not merely as honours for athletes. These boys were certainly not simply sportsmen or mere 'entertainers' in the broadest sense. In fact, they represent members of the elite youth of Aphrodisias, belonging to reputable families, and whose schooling included physical education as well as competitions.⁷⁰⁵ With these three boys, it is again the city's elite that is being honoured here; at the same time these statues are indicative of the appreciation of education in Aphrodisias.

THE STATUARY

Similarly as in the styling of the bases, Aphrodisian statues display continuity – in style, technique, and dress.⁷⁰⁶ Therefore, again, distinctive criteria which would facilitate a clear distinction of second from third century sculpture are often lacking and very little of the statuary remains of Aphrodisias can be attributed to the time frame under investigation. With a large quantity falling in the second to third centuries and some in the first to third centuries or other ranges, too broad to help the cause of this investigation, a brief overview of the chronological distribution of the finds will be given.⁷⁰⁷

Due to the fact that many of the remains are mere fragments and could possibly belong to the same statues, we cannot speak of a number of 'statues' or 'busts', but merely of the number of remains thereof. Included here are also: one statue that was found in a tomb as well as two miniature heads and fragments from the sculptors' workshop, some of which are unfinished. The allocation of the non-imperial remains, including fragments, is as follows (the assigned dates can vary slightly depending on the publication).

⁷⁰⁵ Van Voorhis 2008, 249.

⁷⁰⁶ Smith 2006, 69.

⁷⁰⁷ According to Smith 2006.

Date	Number of items
1 st cent. AD	51 (including two dated to late 1 st cent. BC - 1 st cent. AD)
1 st to/or 2 nd cent. AD	37
2 nd cent. AD	29
2 nd to/or 3 rd cent. AD	45
3 rd cent. AD	9
3 rd to/or 4 th cent. AD	3
4 th cent AD:	13 (Two of the above were re-cut and reused in the 4 th cent., and a further one in the 4 th or early 5 th cent. AD.)
4 th -5 th cent. AD	5
5 th century AD	15
5 th - 6 th century AD	4

Tb. VIII.9. Non-imperial statuary.

Even more broadly dated are:

Date	Number of items
1 st to/or 3 rd century	18
2-4 th	1
Imperial	1
High Imperial	1
4 th -6 th	1

Tb. VIII.10. Broadly dated non-imperial statuary.

The dating “to/or” puts scholarship in a difficult position regarding the evaluation of these data since any hypothetical percentile assignment to either the one or the other century can only be mere presumption and yet will alter the results significantly. It is, however, more than obvious that the number of statue dedications, or more correctly: the number of preserved statues declines significantly, especially around the third century.

The sculptural remains of the third century in Aphrodisias provide us with two unusually well-preserved honorific statue groups. In both cases not only the bodies and heads are extant but also the inscriptions belonging to them, as well as the

information about the location of their original display. The statues of Dometeinos and Tatiana predate the evidence under investigation in this thesis. They can be chronologically assigned by characteristic stylistic traits, the inscriptions belonging to them, and by two further documents.⁷⁰⁸ The latter belongs to the beginning of the third century AD, the former might be assignable already to the end of the second.⁷⁰⁹

L. Antonius Claudius Dometeinos is depicted in the *himation* and with a civic crown. He was one of Aphrodisias' noblemen, who held the prestigious title of Asiarch, 'High Priest of Asia'.⁷¹⁰ In the inscription, however, he is only called 'law-giver' and 'father and grand-father of senators', although this is possibly posthumous, in which case one would assume the mentioning of all titles.⁷¹¹ His statue is one of 45 statuary remains of men in Aphrodisias that are or can be associated with being depicted in the *himation*, seven of which belong to busts. Dometeinos' niece (?), Claudia Antonina Tatiana, is addressed in the inscription as a benefactress from a family of benefactors and cousin of two Roman senators.⁷¹² She is dressed in a *chiton* and *himation*. These two statues were erected together, flanking the entrance to the Bouleuterion, and since they were found *in situ*, they had obviously not been removed but remained in place until the abandonment of the city.

⁷⁰⁸ Smith 2006, 218.

⁷⁰⁹ Smith 2006, no 48, 96.

⁷¹⁰ Smith 2006, 175.

⁷¹¹ Smith 2006, 175.

⁷¹² Smith 2006, 218.

The honour for Dometeinos was installed by the *rhetor* Tiberius Claudius Ktesias, whilst his father Tiberius Claudius Kapitoleinus commissioned the statue for Tatiana.⁷¹³ As already demonstrated in the section on bases, honours by private individuals are rare in Aphrodisias. Neither Ktesias nor Kapitoleinus lists their profession, titles or achievements on the base, as is common on imperial inscriptions. Therefore, both men must have been able to rely on their names alone to be recognized and appreciated by the citizens.

The second 'group' was possibly originally not intended as such; it depicts the two boxers Candidianus (Aph-51; Pl. VIII.1a, c, e.) and Piseas (Aph-52; Pl. VIII.1b, d, f.). Their dissimilar technical, stylistic, and iconographic renderings suggest that they originate from different workshops and that their pairing depended on their juxtaposed set up on each side of the theatre stage.⁷¹⁴ Both are dedicated by the *patris*, honouring them as circuit victors. Piseas also displays a signature by Polyneikes of Aphrodisias.⁷¹⁵ Van Voorhis provides a reasonable and detailed approach to the dating of these statues, which needs not to be reiterated here, using stylistic and technical means as well as comparanda from other media of the third century. In conclusion, she assigns Piseas to the mid-third century, slightly after Candidus.⁷¹⁶

⁷¹³ Smith 2006, 218.

⁷¹⁴ Smith 2006, 145; Van Voorhis 2008, 237.

⁷¹⁵ Smith 2006, no 39, 40. et al.

⁷¹⁶ Stylistic details might, however, be seen as reflecting the image of Carinus, e.g. the rendering of the eyes, brows and lips of Candidianus and the bearded chin of Piseas, which would place the statues slightly later. A possible Late Antique reworking is assumed by Lenaghan (personal communication, 2011), who also places some of Van Voorhis comparanda later. The boxing attire, however, has been convincingly distinguished by Van Voorhis as a feature typical of the third century.

The lettering of the inscriptions belonging to them, however, appears to be of a later date: the late third, and the late third to fourth century.⁷¹⁷ Two possible explanations for this discrepancy have been suggested. Both statues went through complex repair works in the aftermath of an earthquake. It is therefore conceivable that Piseas' base was fixed, while Candidus' base was replaced by a new one. A further possibility is that the statues were re-used later,⁷¹⁸ yet the time-span between the installation and the reuse seems implausibly short. This is the case particularly regarding the victorious athlete Aurelius Archilles from the first half of the third century, whose statue was not torn down together with the other High Imperial statuary placed in the Hadrianic bath, but remained there long after.⁷¹⁹ The fact that extensive repair was accepted and conducted on the two boxers after their severe damage demonstrates that these two athletes in particular and athletes in general were held in high esteem at Aphrodisias, which contradicts such a quick and fickle reuse. No matter which of the two options is true, the original setting up of the two boxers took place within the timeframe most relevant for this investigation.

In addition to the boxers, six further statuary remains can be placed confidently not only generally in the third century, but even more precisely within the timeframe AD 222-285. One that falls into the investigated time frame or shortly before is an over life-sized, re-worked portrait of a priestess with a *stephane* (Aph-53; Ch.Pl.VIII.2b). It was dated roughly to AD 210-235 (further

⁷¹⁷ Smith 2006; Van Voorhis 2008, 242.

⁷¹⁸ Van Voorhis 2008, 424.

⁷¹⁹ Van Voorhis 2008, 243.

proposals are AD 200-235 and 'Late Severan').⁷²⁰ However, the head cannot have been created before AD 219: Although the braided plait curled up to a nest in the neck did occur in the early third century, the lateral wisps, at that time, still covered the ears completely – or in some cases of Julia Soaemias' portraits, they did so to a large degree. Iulia Cornelia Paula (Pl. Ch.VIII.4a),⁷²¹ the first wife of Elagabalus was the first to display her ears uncovered by tucking the hair behind them. So did his wives after her.⁷²²

On the back of the priestess' head the hair falls in smooth, slightly pronounced waves instead of displaying an articulated, schematic ribbing. Indeed, in comparison to the looser waves of Iulia Aquilia and Annia Faustina, and to Iulia Cornelia Paula's execution of the 'Melonenfrisur', Iulia Mamaea's hairstyle (Pl. VIII.4b) is much more structured due to denser ribbing – caused by an additional wave/rib –, but also more animated ('unruhig'). In a portrait's three-dimensional execution, as opposed to the two-dimensional coins, she can, however, display a more flattened structure on the back of her head as well (Pl. Ch.VIII.3a, (01-020, Rome, Museo Torlonia 578); Pl. Ch.VIII.3b, (01-026; Vatican Museum, depot)). In conclusion, the combination of the rolled-up plait with both the 'Melonenfrisur' and uncovered ears can predate the time frame of this study by a maximum of three years. Whereas after AD 222 it was still fashionable for at least another thirteen years. This renders an inclusion of the head reasonable.

⁷²⁰ Smith 2006, 295 no 217. Smith – Lenaghan 2009 2009, 306 no 39. Inan –Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979) 126-7 cat.74.

⁷²¹ Marriage: AD mid 119 - end of 220, cf. Kienast 2011, 173-174.

⁷²² Iulia Aquilia Severa, marriage: end of 220/ beginning of 221 AD (?); cf. Kienast 2011, 174. Annia Faustina, marriage AD mid 221- end of 221; cf. Kienast 2011, 174-175.

Further, the fragment of the back of a female head has been discovered, (Aph-54; Pl. Ch. VIII.5) which because of its under live-sized scale is thought to belong to the depiction of a girl.⁷²³ The plait enveloping behind the ear instead of the neck supports this assumption. The hairstyle of the melon-like 'ribbed' hair with the plait almost reaching the centre of the cranial vault was customary under Cornelia Salonina. Before that, the plait only protruded onto the skullcap (see the coins of Otacillia Severa (AD 244-249); only after that, under Cornelia Supra in AD 253, did the plait surmount the centre.⁷²⁴ The portrait should therefore be placed between AD 253 and 268, in the reign of Gallienus.

A further female head fragment dated to the late third to early fourth century AD might also just fall into the span of our survey (Aph-55; Pl. Ch. VIII.7).⁷²⁵ Its braided plait almost reaches the forehead. This length was, as discussed above, already customary under Cornelia Supra, who wore it with a dense 'Melonenfrisur' and a thinner, rather lathy plait. The plait became shorter under Cornelia Salonina. Under Ulpia Severina, the wife of Aurelianus (AD 270-275) it reached the hairline and even protruded it in some depictions. Ulpia Severina wore it with her hair brushed back straight. The plait now showed an increased volume and an unambiguous double folding at the front, while the ears were laid bare. Under Magnia Urbica, the wife of Carinus AD 283-285,⁷²⁶ the double plait could end with, before or after the hairline. The lateral hair was worn loose and wavy as if disengaging from, but still in reference to, the 'Melonenfrisur', with more than half of the ear covered. The combination of a broad, enveloped

⁷²³ Smith 2006, 296 no 219.

⁷²⁴ Smith 2006, 296 no 219.

⁷²⁵ Smith 2006, 296-297, no 220 (Lenaghan).

⁷²⁶ Kienast 2011, 258.

plait, loosely-styled, wavy lateral wisps and covered ears suggests an attribution of the head to the years AD 283-285, although a later date is also possible, since the style was indeed still customary during the following decades.

The fragments of an over life-sized, headless female bust are dated to the third century AD due to the schematic rendering of the garment folds (Aph-56, Pl. Ch. VIII.8).⁷²⁷ As opposed to the folds of earlier centuries, its motion is uniform and largely unaffected by the contours and shapes of the body underneath. Later busts return to a more realistic rendering, but their fabric appears much heavier. The comparison of the fragment to the draping of other third century statuary, such as on the kline-sarcophagus in Side (Pl. Ch.VIII.9; Side, Museum, garden) with a flatter but equally schematic execution, further supports this dating. Two chlamys bust fragments (Aph-57, 58; Pl. Ch.VIII.6a, 6b.) are dated to the third century for the same reason.⁷²⁸ Since they probably belong together and do not provide further insights, they are subsumed in the catalogue under one entry.

To conclude, besides two chlamys bust fragments, we have the evidence of four local women, one for whom only the bust is preserved, two merely preserving hair fragments, one of them possibly of a young woman, one obviously a priestess. The priestess and the young woman fall in the beginning, the other one at the end of the time frame investigated. As the numerous bases have shown, this rather humble number of recovered statuary remains does not reflect the actual statue production in third-century Aphrodisias.

⁷²⁷ Smith 2006, 244 no 140; 260.

⁷²⁸ Smith 2006, 236 no 119; 236-7 no 120.

VIII.3 CONCLUSION

From Aphrodisias 52 non-imperial bases (including one double base) have been preserved for the time frame under discussion. This number is diametrically opposed to the city's statuary remains of the same period. If we assume that only a fifth of the items, to choose a rather small percentage, which are labelled broadly 'second to third century' (62) could also be attributed to the time frame discussed, we would have an increment of 12.4 additional bases. Although theoretical numbers will not be used for this study, the notion should still be kept in mind, as these extra numbers would alter the total result by over a quarter.

Since this thesis analyses four of the major centres with varying degrees of political, economic, religious, and intellectual impact, we can determine different objectives behind their honorific monuments regarding the dedicators and recipients. As a religious centre Aphrodisias displayed plenty of honours for priests and priestesses, as well as for individuals holding other offices related to religious practices. The honorands were, however, not predominantly related to the sanctuary of Aphrodite, but represented other cults as well. Moreover, references to familial affiliation with priests are conspicuously frequent in the inscriptions. The high esteem held for these sacred offices in the city is therefore obvious, although not surprising. Female honours were, as was to be expected, mainly linked to their cult activities and in fewer cases defined by family relations, e.g. to notable husbands or fathers.

It seems that Aphrodisias' altered status had a major impact on its statuary habit: while honours for city notables and emperors did not undergo a particularly conspicuous development, the honours for Roman officials experienced a boost which is particularly obvious around the time when the city's political rank and importance was upgraded. Officials are expected to claim the lion's share of dedications in almost every city. The common purpose of this is the voicing of patronage and gratitude, very likely with the intention of receiving further benefactions or privileges on the one hand, and a certain level of self-promotion on the other. Yet it needs to be considered that their conspicuousness amongst the other groups of honorands is closely dependent on the possibility of dating them. The evidence from Aphrodisias shows that local customs are closely linked to the city's intentions and that they will quickly and readily submit and conform to new circumstances.

The numbers of statues installed by official bodies by far outweigh those commissioned by private individuals. Although this might simply be the result of preservation – possibly 'private' dedications were more likely to be torn down – or the abovementioned easier chronological allocation of these monuments, yet in the overall picture this points more so to customary practice. The administrators of the dedications are, unsurprisingly, in most cases closely linked to the person being honoured. Thus, predominantly family members but also clients or subordinates were put in charge of setting them up and also in some cases of their payment. Without further speculating about the reasons, it should also be pointed out that titles of relatives in charge of the administration are conspicuously seldom referred to in Aphrodisias, a fact which is also true for the few private dedicators.

In the two previous case studies as well as in the imperial evidence these titles were predominantly mentioned.

As discussed in Chapter I, it is very likely that provincial cities in general did not experience the third century as an Empire-wide crisis. They were either affected directly or not at all. The newly gained political status boosted Aphrodisias' importance and wealth, and with it the need for and the means to focus on specific statuary production. Therefore, Aphrodisias presumably did not feel a keen sense of crisis, if indeed at all. While the emphasis shifted, the statue production at Aphrodisias seems to have stayed relatively steady throughout the third century AD.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

For the third century AD, commencing with what is designated as the era of the soldier emperors, a regression of honorific statuary is commonly accepted. A change in the Roman epigraphic habit and in the 'sense of the audience'⁷²⁹, a perceived abatement of building activity, an alleged decrease in the quality of the stone masons' work, and the general turbulences of the third century have been called upon to substantiate this claim. This development seems comprehensible in the context of the traceable shift of priorities, which can already be detected in the second century AD, the elites shifting from investing in ostentatious outward-directed self-representation towards a retreat into a more private sphere of display: Benefactors chose to invest into other, more ephemeral but also more individual media for the purpose of self-representation. Yet, the flaw in this explanation is that honorific statues are in fact not commissioned by the recipient himself. Moreover, in the third century the awarders of honours are predominantly local bodies as opposed to individuals. Individuals might have progressively retreated from commissioning statuary, but it is questionable that this resulted in a significant drop of numbers.

Although a decrease in the number of honorific statues during the third century is traceable, it does not reach the anticipated extent and is probably strongly conditioned by the limits of the chronological allocation of the statuary

⁷²⁹ MacMullen 1982, 246.

bases. In the four case studies, which offered a chance to juxtapose the surviving third-century material with evidence from the second-century, which is deemed the pinnacle of statuary production, the impression of a decline was diminished by the large number of bases that were not clearly allocable to either but generally attributed to 'second to/or third century'. The prominence and better prosopographic evaluation of certain families in the second century and the ascension of new, lesser-known families in the third century certainly contribute to this bias.

Cities may display local idiosyncrasies regarding the people that were awarded with statues and those in charge of the honorific installations, a comprehensive dominating motivation, however, seems to have been benefactions granted by the honorand. The backgrounds and offices of these benefactors and patrons are manifold. Another recurring factor in the installation of statues was the appreciation of education or, more generally, of *paideia* that were expressed in honours to *literati*, educators, and participants in religious and agonistic festivals. Although honours for individuals with priestly duties are omnipresent, they, unsurprisingly, have been found more frequently in cities with famous sanctuaries. What is more conspicuous, however, is the increase in honours for Roman officials commencing from the time when Aphrodisias was elevated in rank to the provincial administrative centre of Caria et Phrygia. This demonstrates the direct impact that individual circumstances had on the local statuary habit, which was adjusted accordingly.

Both the case studies and the imperial evidence suggest that neither a determined, comprehensive shift within statue production nor a distinct gradually progressing decline took place during the third century. Regarding the imperial honorific evidence in the light of the fundamentally different prerequisites from which the emperors in the third century commenced and comparing them to those of the preceding centuries, it has become apparent that a single and one-sided approach for evaluating the evidence does not suffice. The numerical results depend strongly on the method of analysis that is applied. To fathom the reasons for the development in the third century a benchmark other than mere chronology is needed. Instead, multiple factors have to be taken into account, and several mathematical approaches need to be compared in order to provide diagnostic results. The incorporation of family members plays a vital role in this. Accordingly, the number of honours for Gallienus from the mid-third century changes significantly when his wife and children are taken into account. The same is true for the family of Carus and Carinus, who constitute the end point of this investigation. That said, even without his family, the *per annum* evidence for Gordian III on bases is second only to Hadrian.⁷³⁰ So instead of a progressive decline within the third century, it is more appropriate to speak of fluctuation, a phenomenon that can also be witnessed in the previous centuries.

Furthermore, there is no gap in the imperial evidence, i.e. imperial statuary continued to be installed without interruption. The *per annum* rate even rises under Claudius Gothicus. The drop in the number of honours after Gallienus, or rather after Claudius Gothicus, only lasts for 11 years. Moreover, although in these

⁷³⁰ Højte 2005, 602. Not counting Nerva; Højte 2005, 600.

years two emperors were in power only for very short periods – one only for a couple of weeks – some honorific statuary dedicated to them is nonetheless preserved.

The results imply, especially regarding the evidence for shorter reigning emperors, that statues were set up predominantly at the beginning of a reign rather than spreading evenly spread throughout. After attending to the duty of setting up the initial honour to an emperor in their city, all further additions and ‘duplicates’ depended on individual decisions, respective interests and backgrounds of each awarder or awarding body. The introduction of new portrait types or sub-groups, especially in the cases of the maturing emperors, might have elicited an additional installation of the new type – and indeed the emperors with ‘developing’ portraits are the ones with the largest body of preserved evidence. Besides a city’s wealth, factors that may have been decisive for the commissioning of multiple honours could have been its status and importance, such as hubs of any kind, as well as a more or less direct bond to the emperor, who is often praised for benefactions or as a victorious saviour.

Variations in the preserved imperial evidence suggest that a very effective system of model portrait creation, distribution, and subsequent statue production was available to some of the emperors, namely those swiftly approved of by the senate. The efficient distribution was preconditioned by a very quick news transmission, which, of course, will have run more smoothly in the regularly frequented ports, along vital travel and shipping routes, and in trading and military hubs than in some remote town or city of lesser importance. Considering the

circumstances in the third century, such efficiency and efforts might have been doubted. Yet a departure from the established modes of imperial representation would have presumably been obstructive for the emperor's legitimation.

The findings from the analysis of extant honorific statuary evidence during the so-called 'third century crisis' suggest a society with a functioning and effective administrative apparatus that was able to maintain high economic standards despite internal and external threats. While the statuary was stylistically aligned to Rome, the cities nevertheless focussed on their own circumstances and benefits, and statues, as an expression of gratitude as well as motivation for further benefactions, were commissioned according to local customs and predominantly to local notables. A state of continued crisis was presumably not even perceived by the cities directly affected. They probably did not share the modern view of decline and stagnation for their own condition. Saturation and maintenance of the existing structures may have contributed to the fact that a further expansion in building activity was not pursued. The means were obviously available. Even laws had to be passed to persuade the citizens to stop the unfettered building measures and preserve existing monuments instead.⁷³¹ As stated before, maintenance, especially on such a high level, is an achievement and not a failure, especially during the turbulent years of the third century AD. In this context a comment on our age by the former German Federal President, Horst Köhler, seems very apt given the situation in the third century: 'Vielleicht werden sich kommende Generationen mit Verwunderung an eine relativ kurze Phase in der Geschichte der Menschheit

⁷³¹ *Dig.* I 16, 1, 1 (*Ulp.*); 50, 10 7. pr. (*Call*); *ChT* 15, 1. Witschel 1999, 130. 146 n. 142.

erinnern, in der ständiges Wirtschaftswachstum für möglich und nötig gehalten wurde.’⁷³²

It is in the nature of the things that saturation with honorific statuary is not possible. Even though there were further motivations and rewards for achievements for the *civitas* and further means of self-representation, each new emperor had to demonstrate his presence and each aspiring citizen aimed to join the illustrious notables on the fora. The instances of multiple statues commissioned in this context as well as installations determined in wills and testaments and erected by the honorand’s children refutes the notion of a decreasing esteem for such honours. Although the remains become fewer in the third century, the imperial evidence disproves both a complete halt of statuary honours at any time during the time frame investigated as well as a gradual decline, especially with reference to the statues erected in the few years under Carus and Carinus.

With the compilation of this catalogue most of the gap in the Roman imperial evidence of honorific statuary has been filled. The different studies conducted on preceding and subsequent centuries can now be considered in context and can be evaluated in terms of specific aspects. For this purpose, I plan to make the entire database available online⁷³³ and, if possible, expand it according to future findings. With this in mind, it would be helpful if scholarship collaboratively aimed to create a comprehensive database that facilitates a

⁷³² Köhler 2010, preface to I. Seidl – A. Zahrnt (eds.), *Postwachstumsgesellschaft - Konzepte für die Zukunft* (Marburg, 2010).

⁷³³ This catalogue in the appendix is the abridgement of a more extensive computer database compiled in the course of this study.

consistent search through a multi-state query function, so stipulations can be retrieved consecutively under the same prerequisites and can be considered in context.

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Abbreviations and citations are used according to the principles of the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut*, the *Epigraphische Datenbank*, *Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften* and the citation suggestions/ requests of the online pages.

Appendices

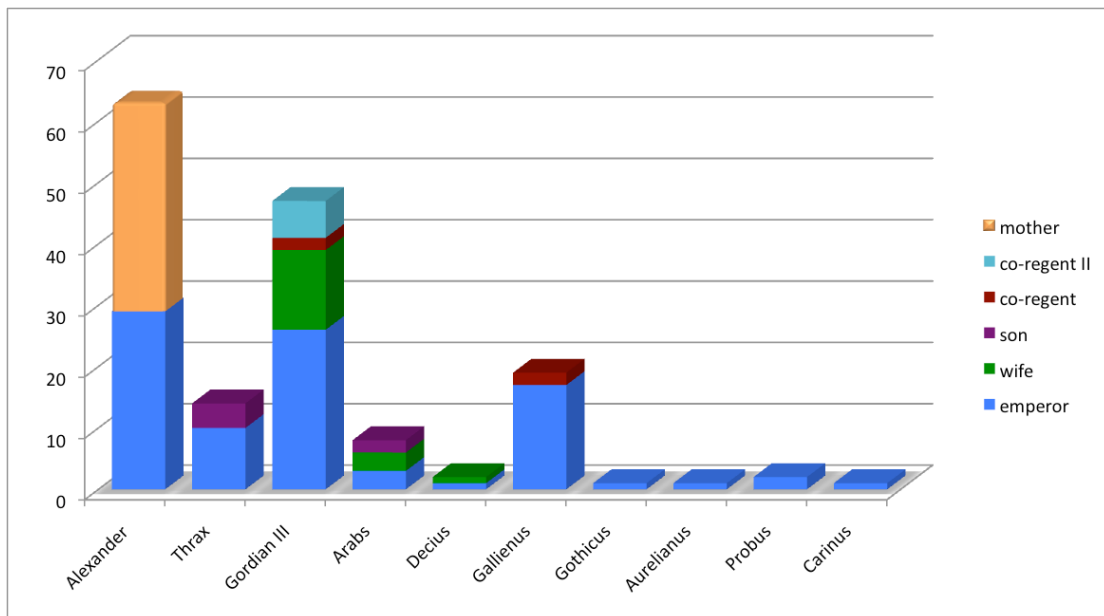
– Appendix A Graphs

– Appendix B Charts

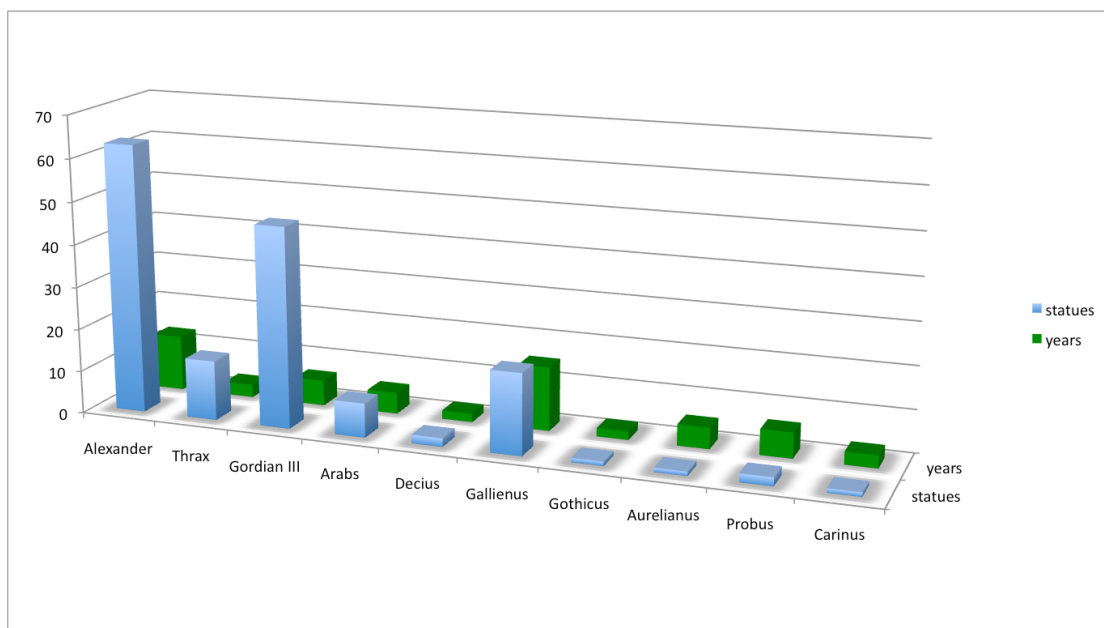
Appendix A

Graphs

Graphs Chapter II

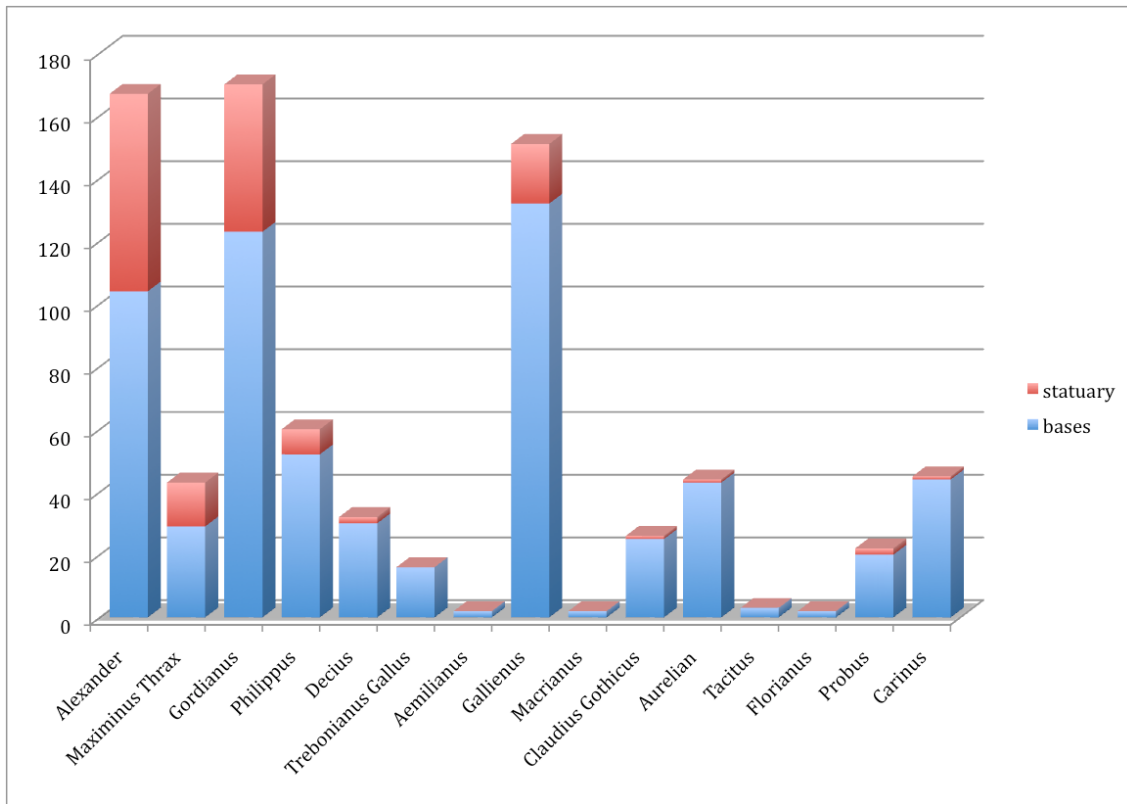


Graph IIa. Numbers of preserved imperial statues and portraits between AD 222-285.

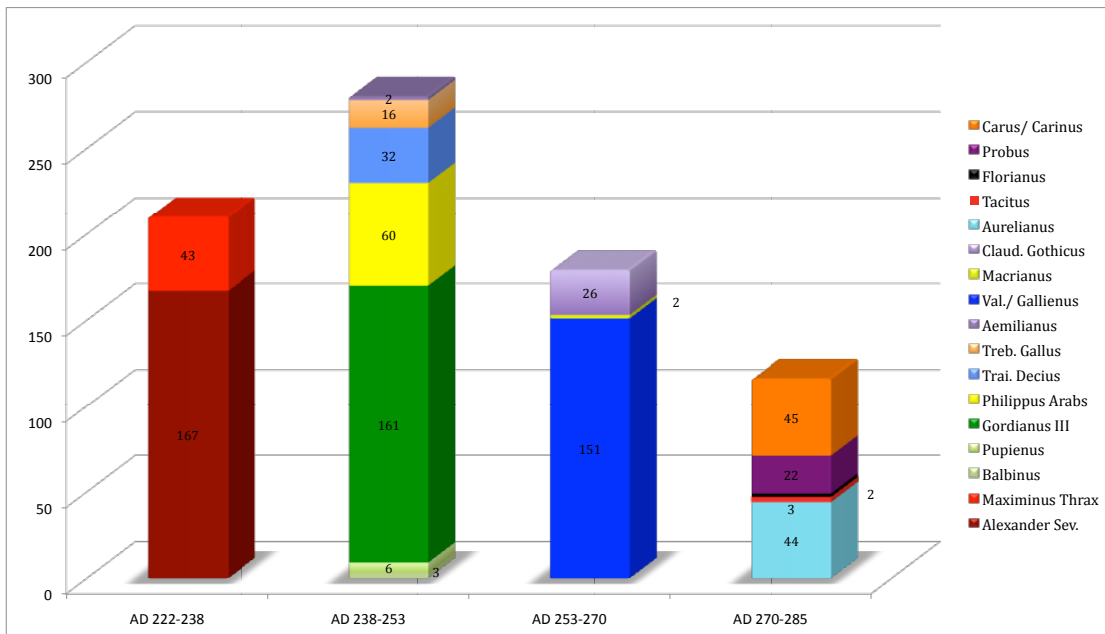


IIb. Comparison of the imperial statuary by family to the respective years of reign.

Graphs Chapter III

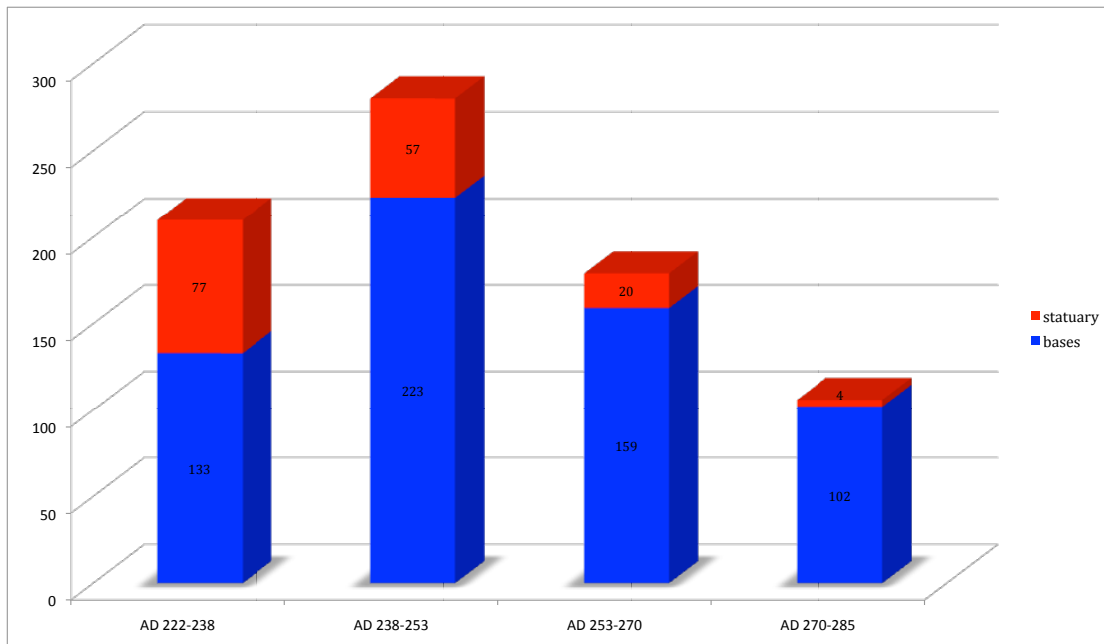


Graph IIIa. Imperial evidence by family.

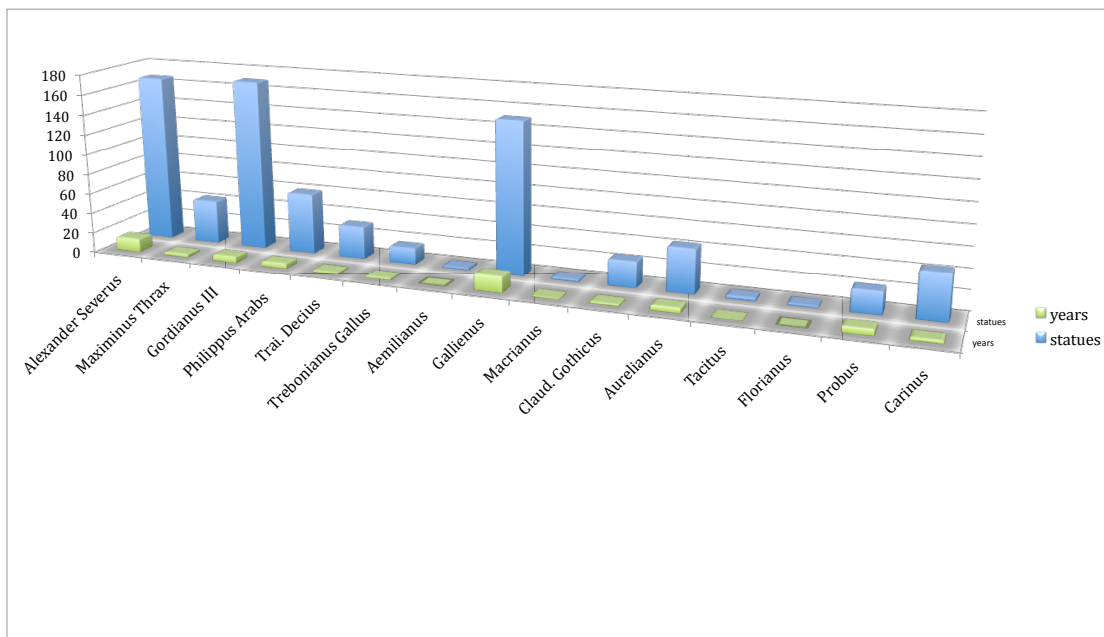


IIIb. Total evidence of the imperial statuary and bases divided into sections of approx. 15 years – by imperial family.

Graphs Chapter III



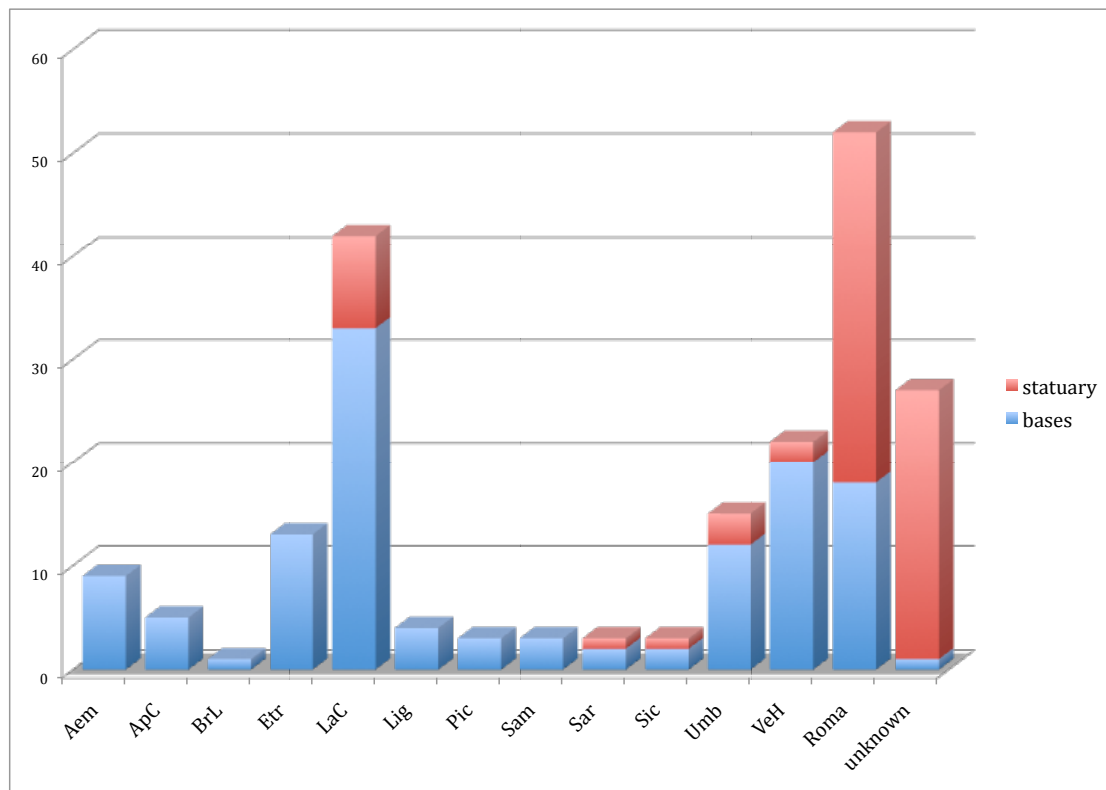
IIIc. Total evidence of the imperial statuary and bases divided into sections of approx. 15 years – statuary and bases.



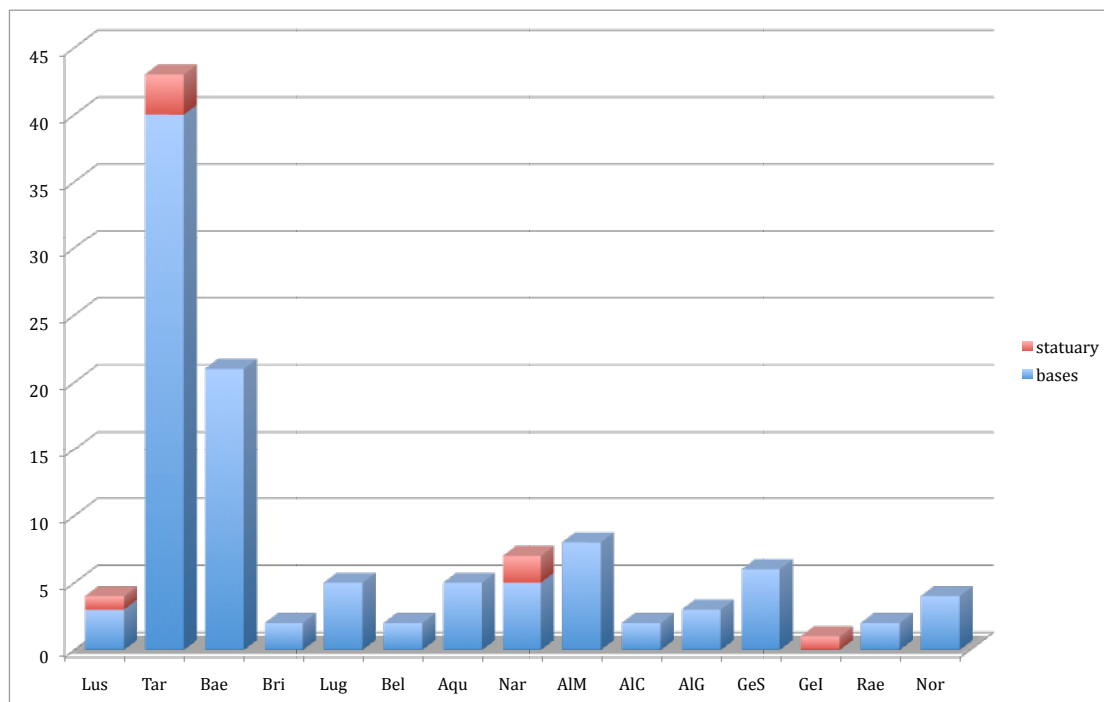
IIId. Comparison of the total imperial evidence (statuary plus bases) by family to the respective years of reign.

Graphs Chapter III

IMPERIAL STATUARY EVIDENCE OF THE THIRD CENTURY, SORTED BY PROVINCE

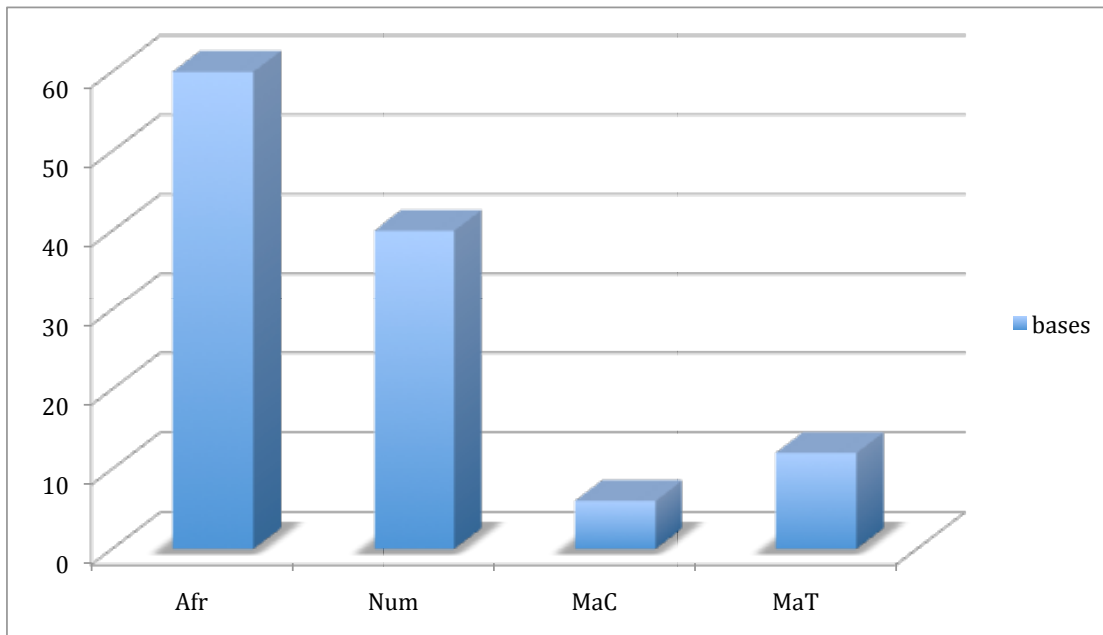


IIIe. Italy

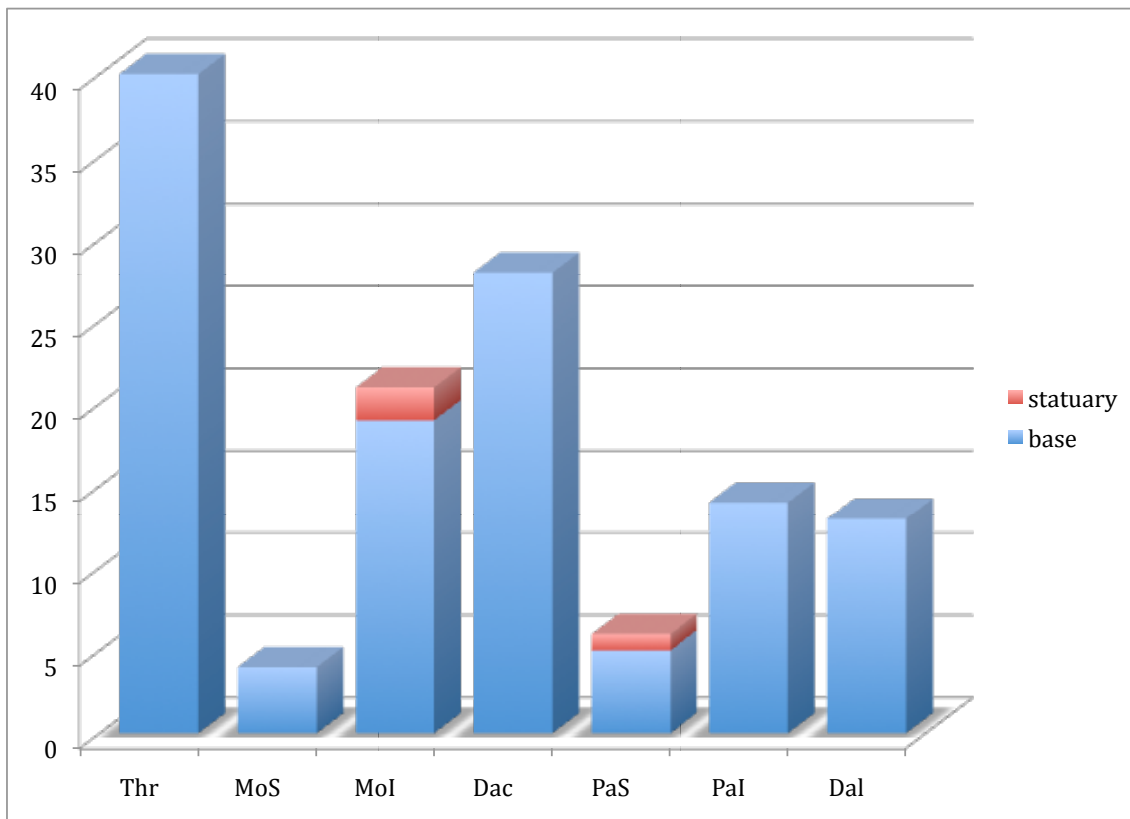


IIIe. Northern Provinces

Graphs Chapter III

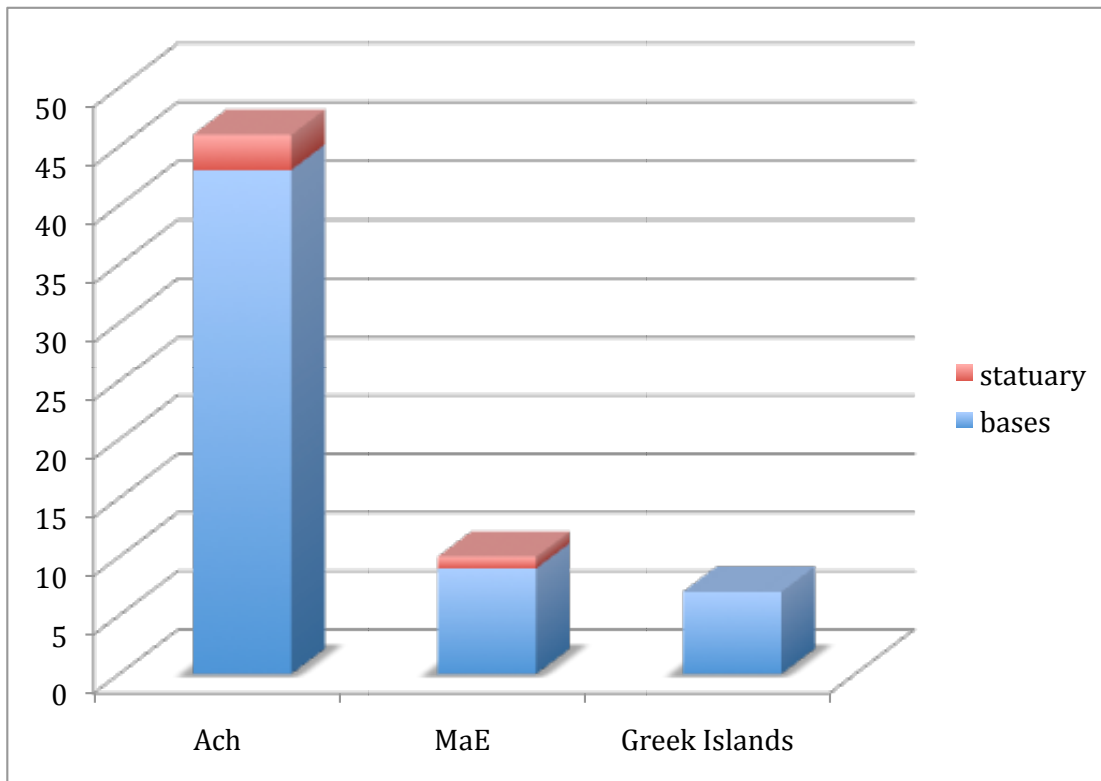


IIIg) Western North-Africa

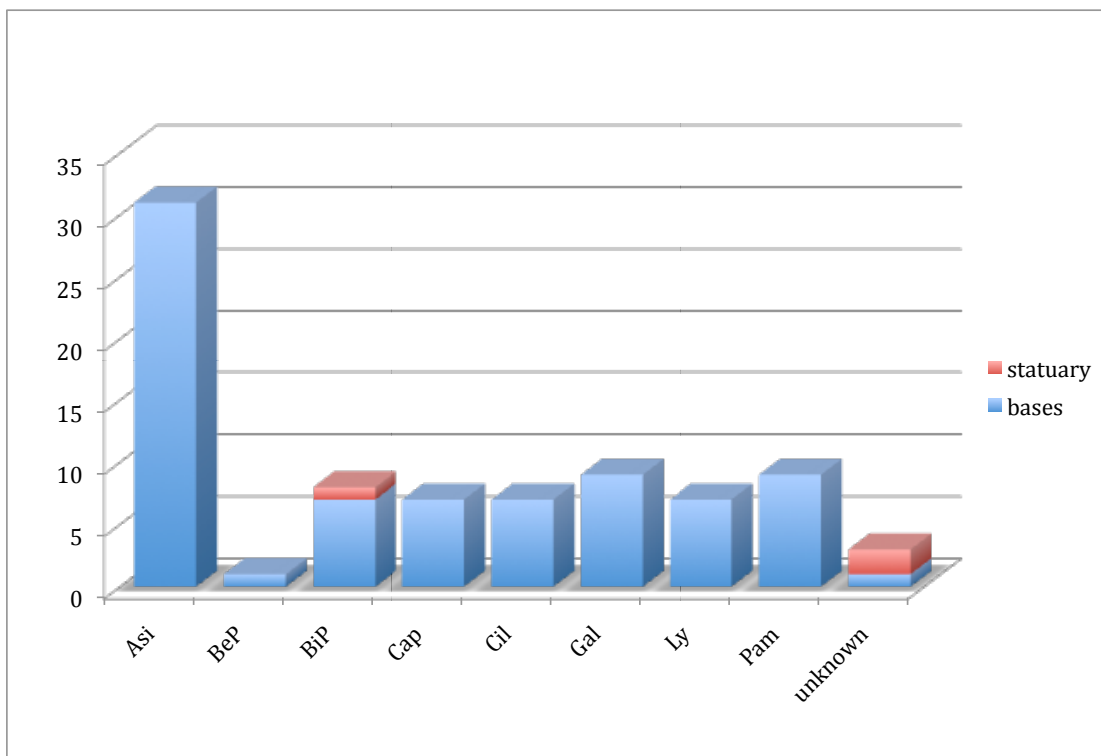


IIIh) Latin Balkans

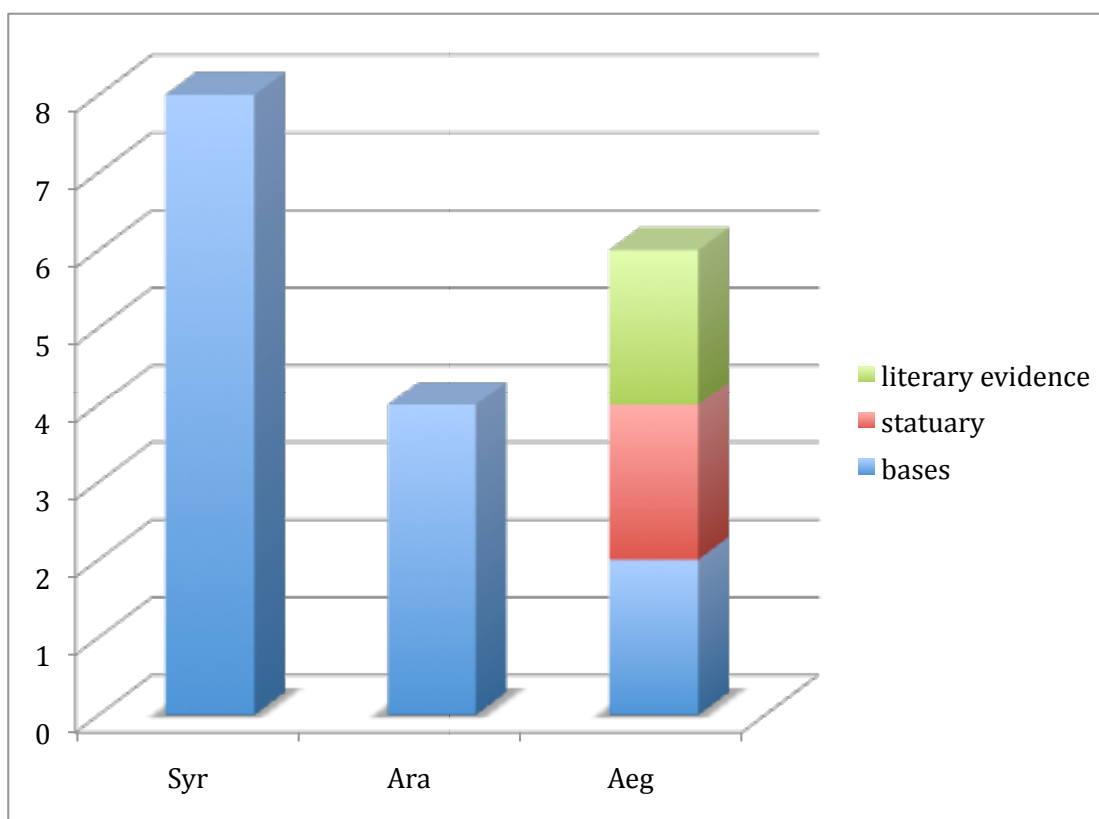
Graphs Chapter III



IIIi) Hellas

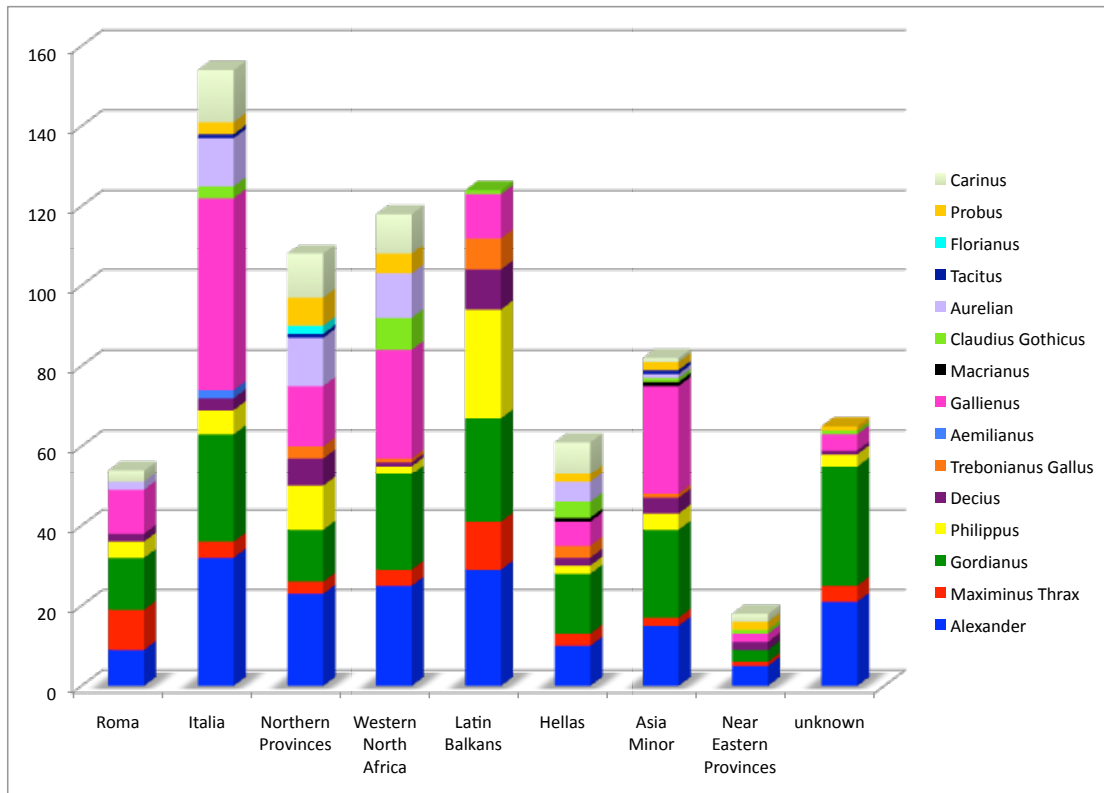


IIIj) Asia Minor

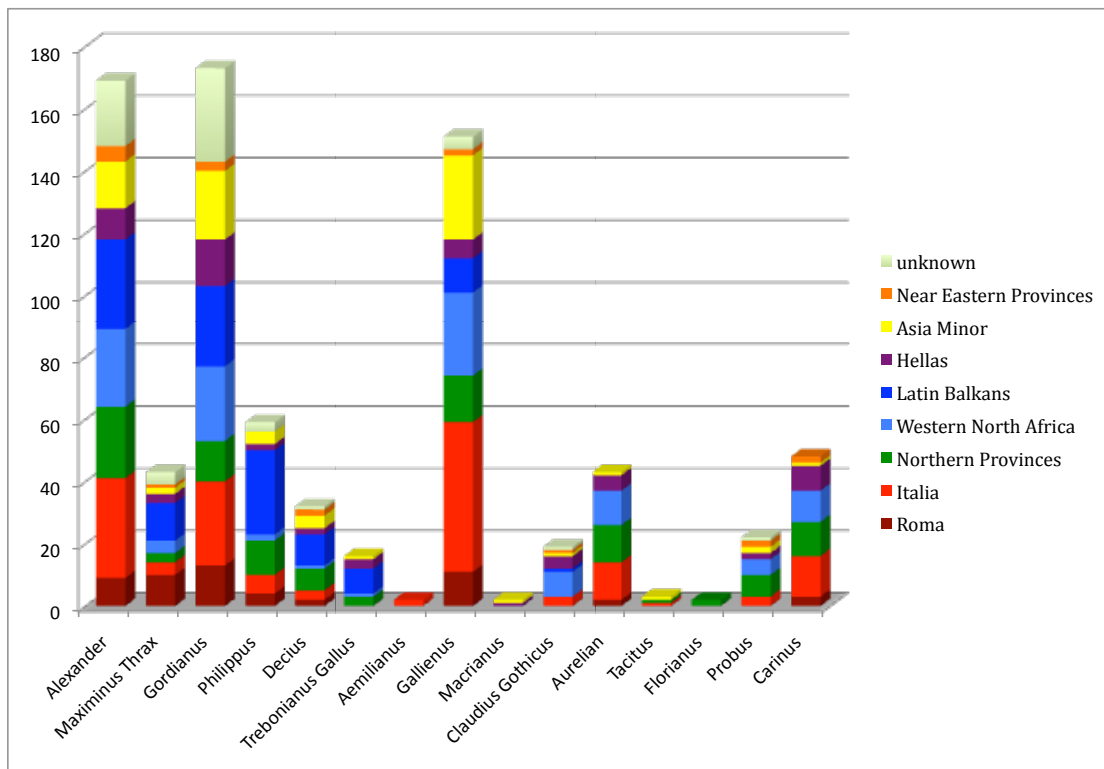


IIIk) Near Eastern Provinces

Graphs Chapter III

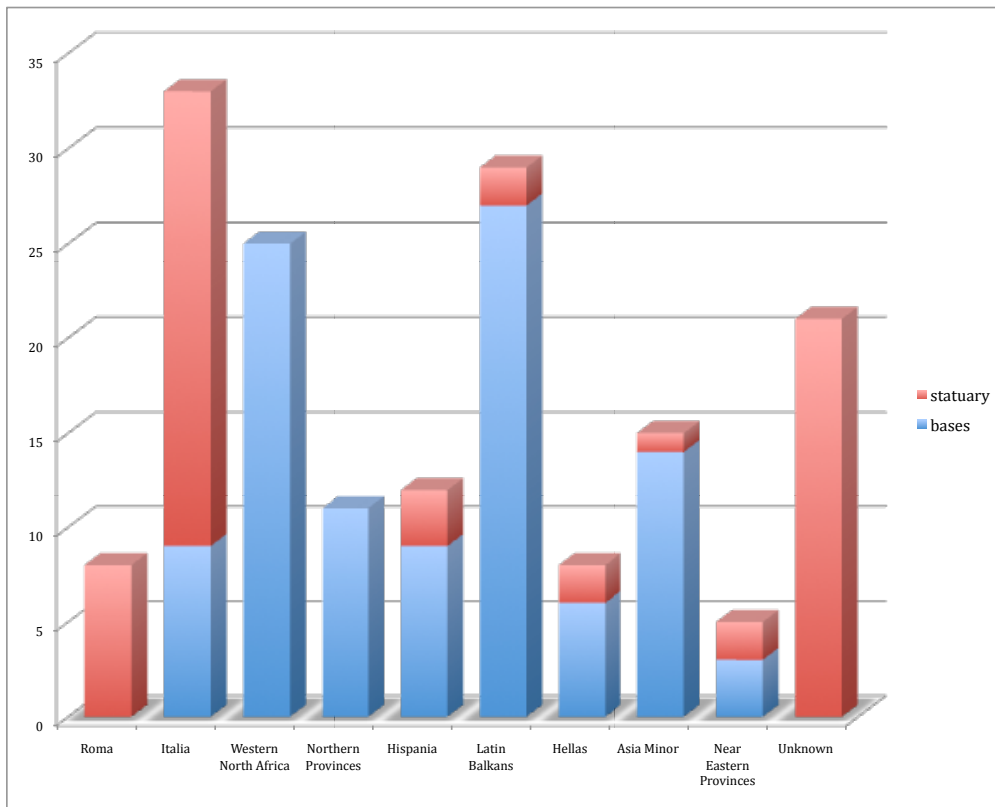


III m. Regional distribution of the imperial evidence (statues and bases; Roma displayed separately).

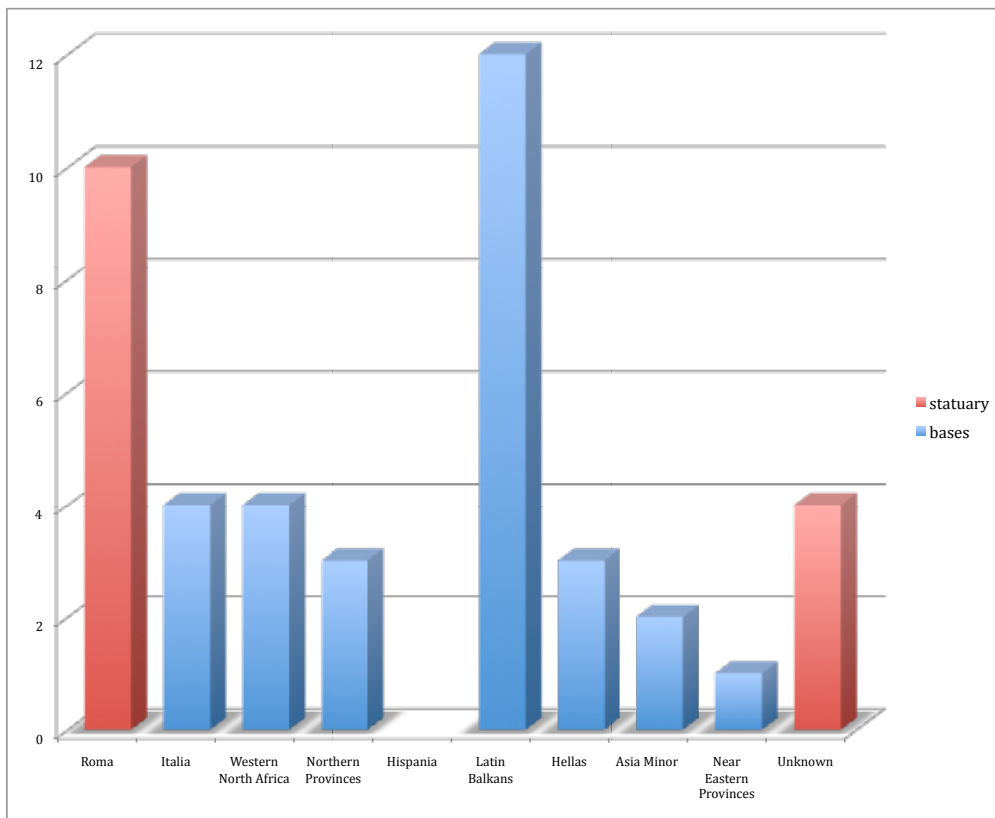


III n. Regional dispersion of the imperial families (evidence in total, Roma displayed separately)

Graphs Chapter III

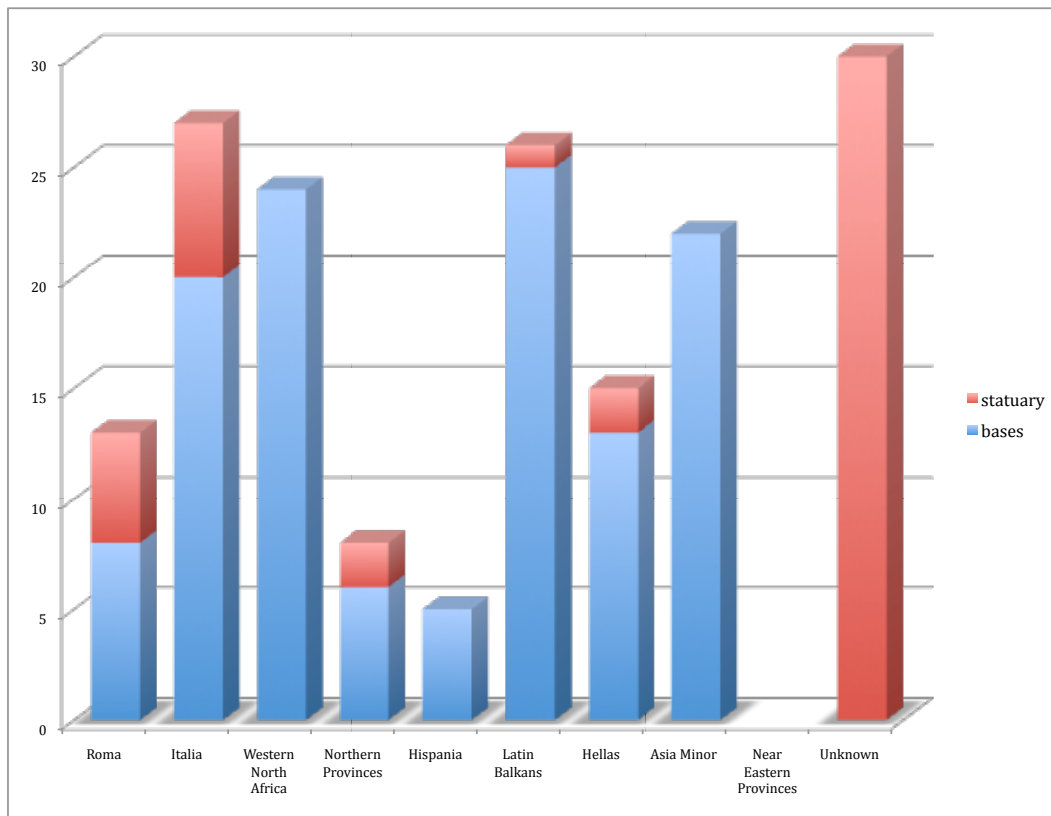


Graph III.1. Distribution of the evidence for the family of Alexander Severus.

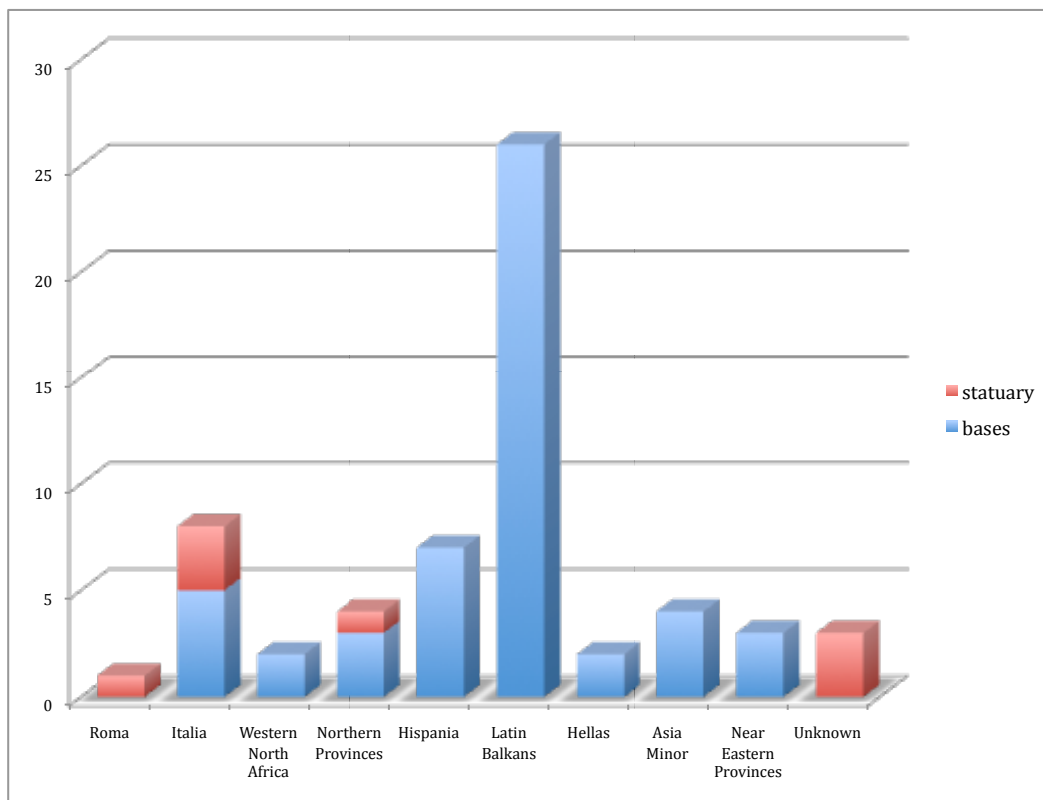


Graph III.2. Distribution of the evidence for the family of Maximinus Thrax.

Graphs Chapter III

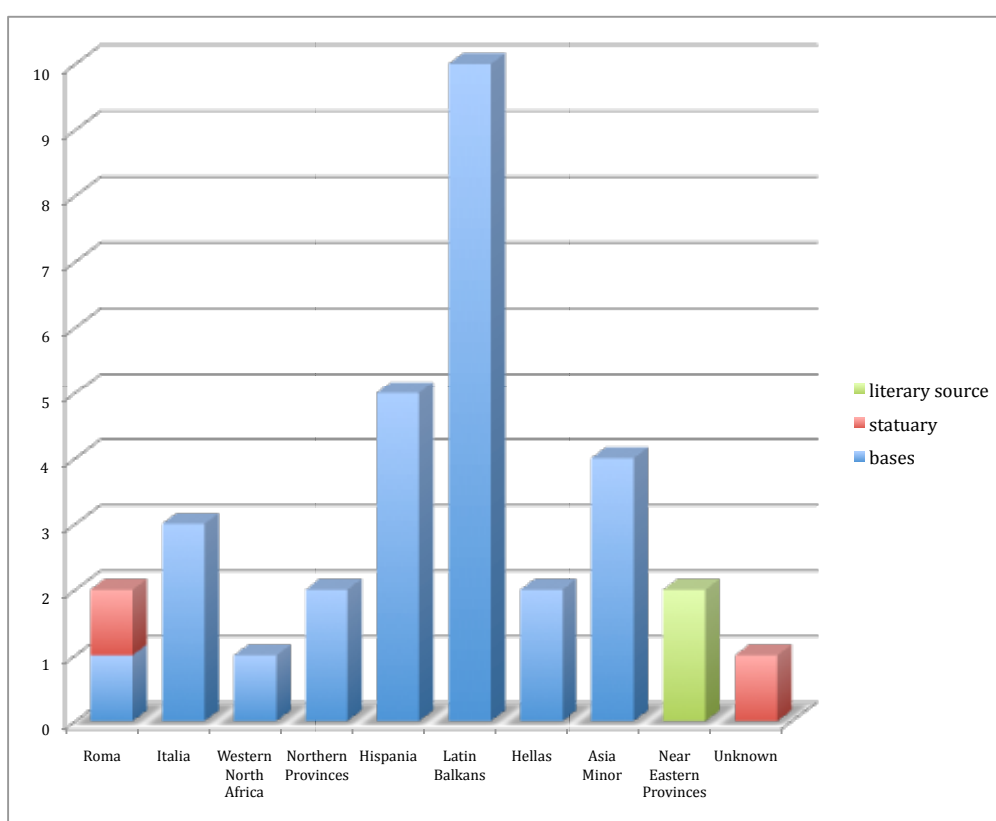


III.3. Distribution of the evidence for the family of Gordian III.

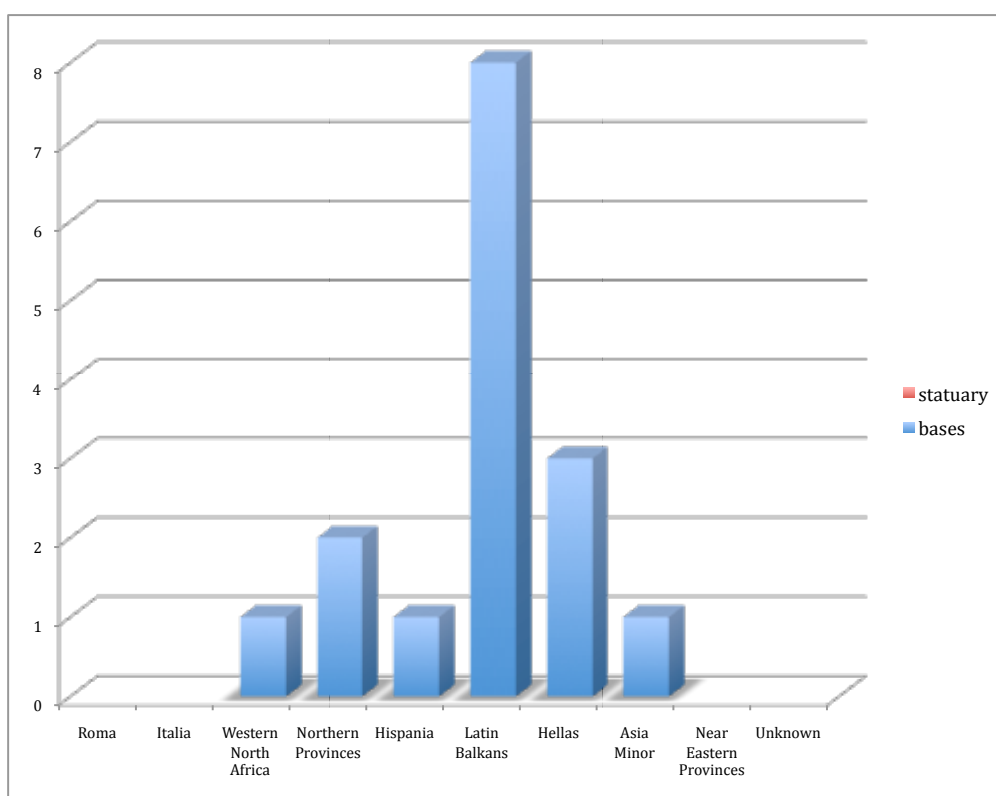


III.4. Distribution of the evidence for the family of Philippos Arabs.

Graphs Chapter III

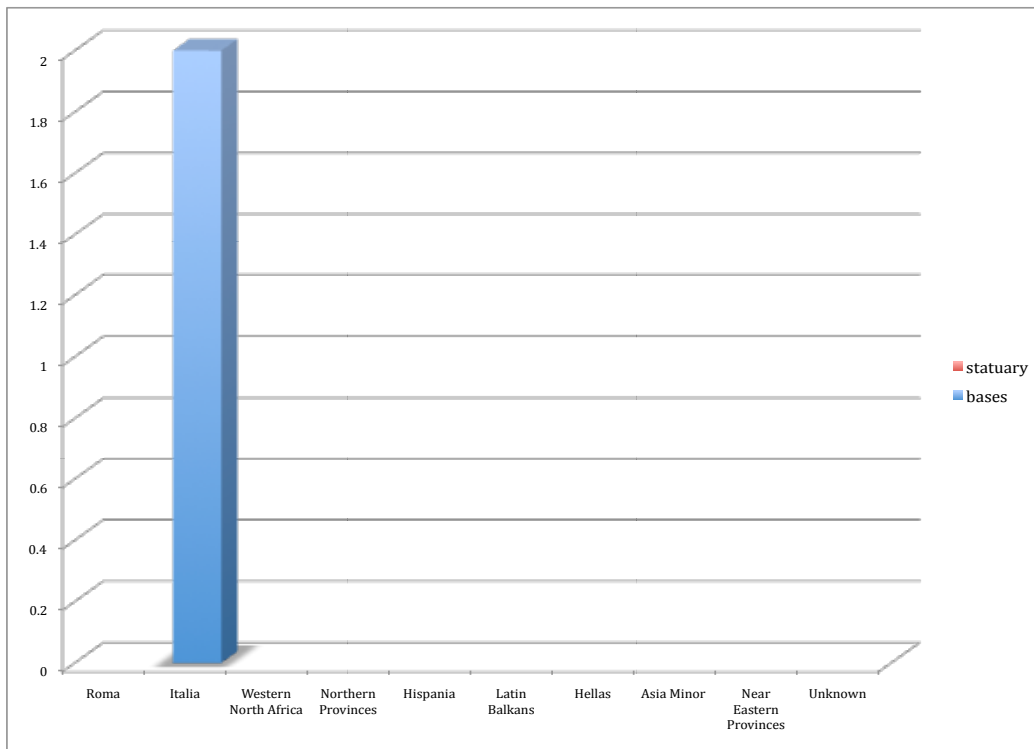


III.5. Distribution of the evidence for the family of Decius.

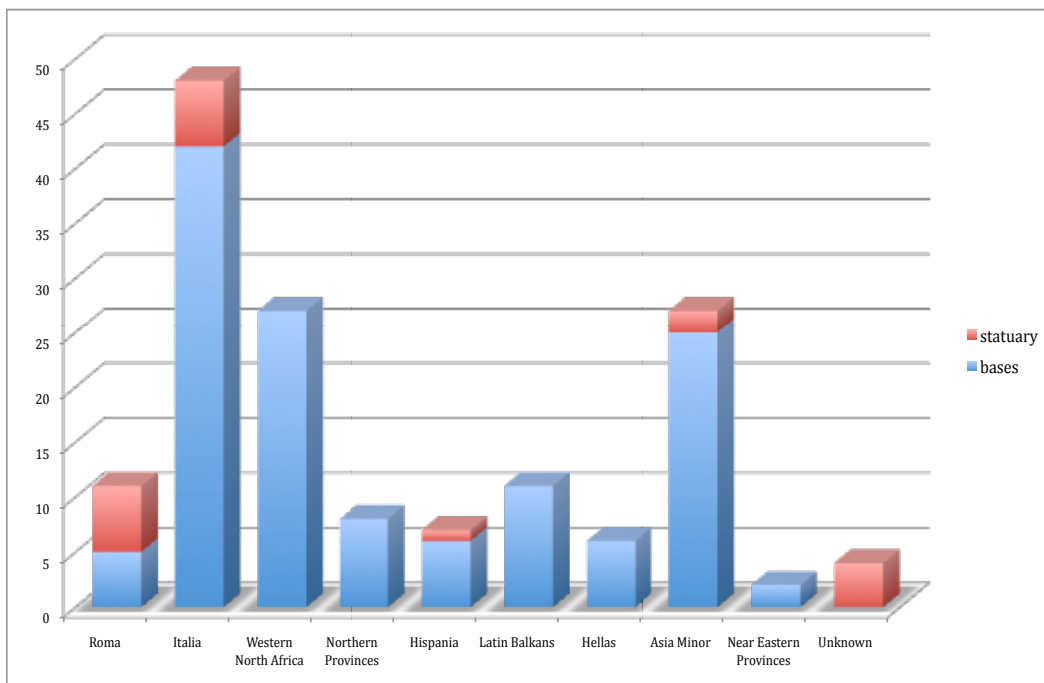


III.6. Distribution of the evidence for the family of Trebonianus Gallus.

Graphs Chapter III

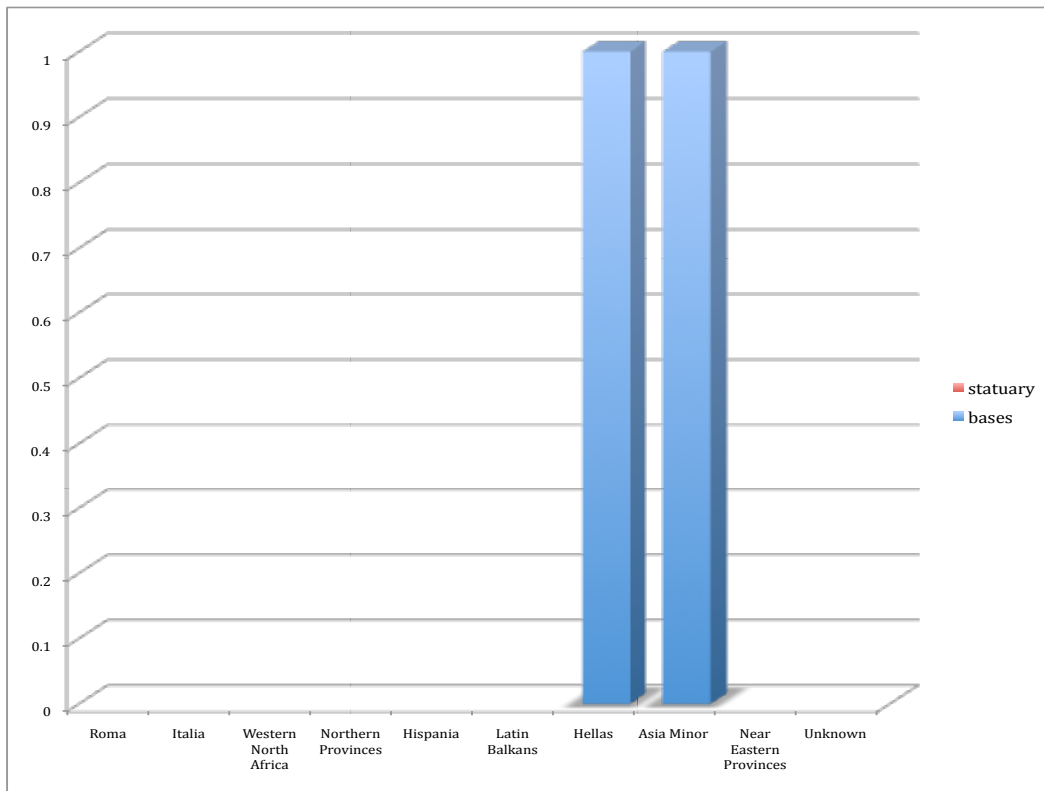


III.7. Distribution of the evidence for the family of Aemilianus.

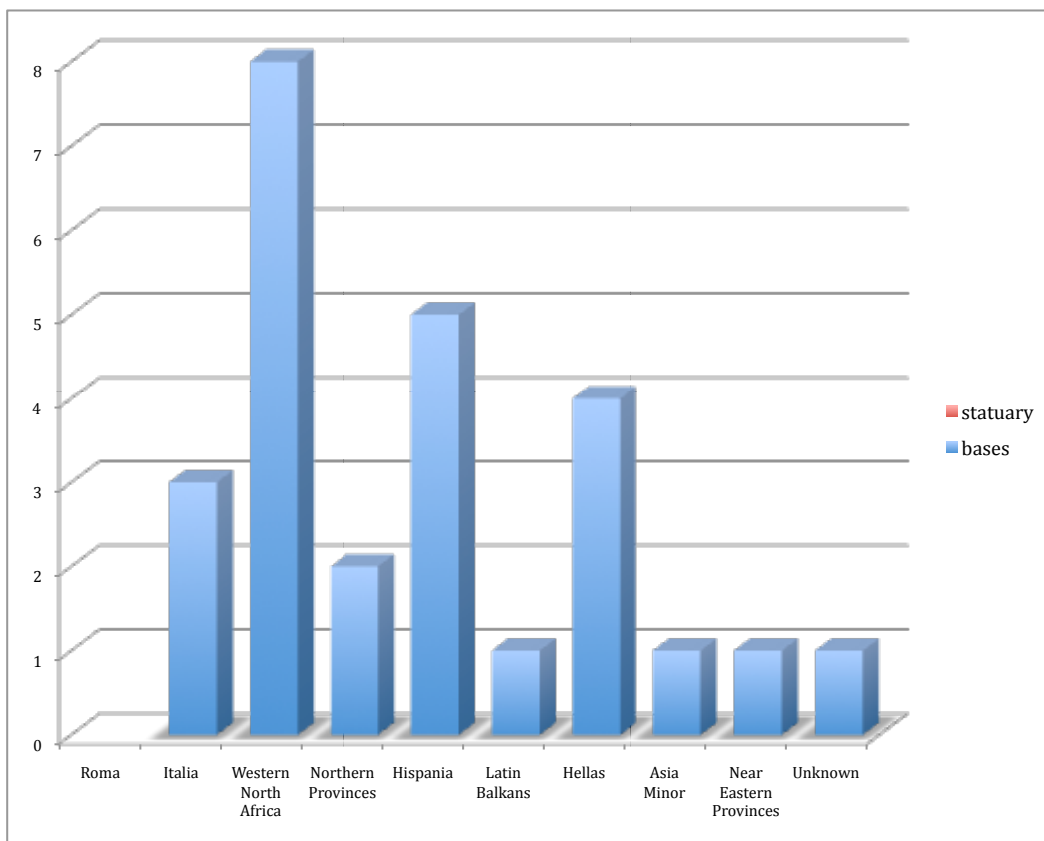


III.8. Distribution of the evidence for the family of Gallienus.

Graphs Chapter III

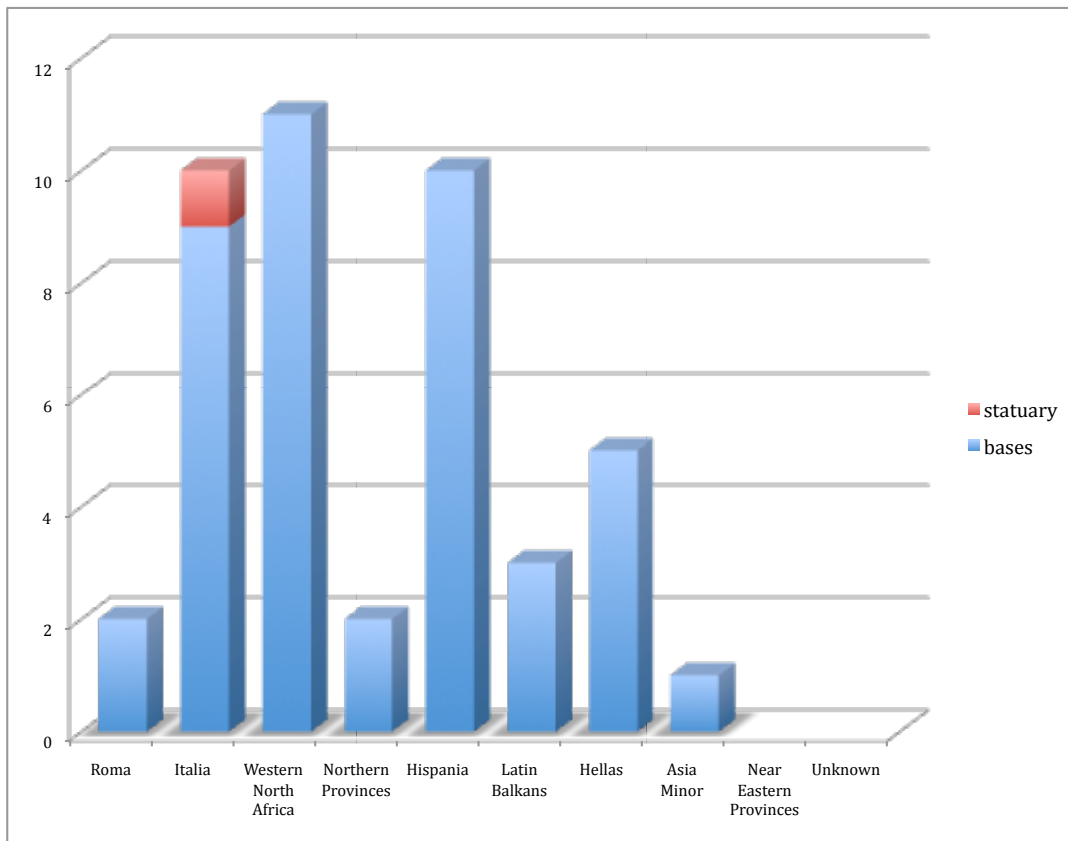


III.9. Distribution of the evidence for the family of Macrianus.

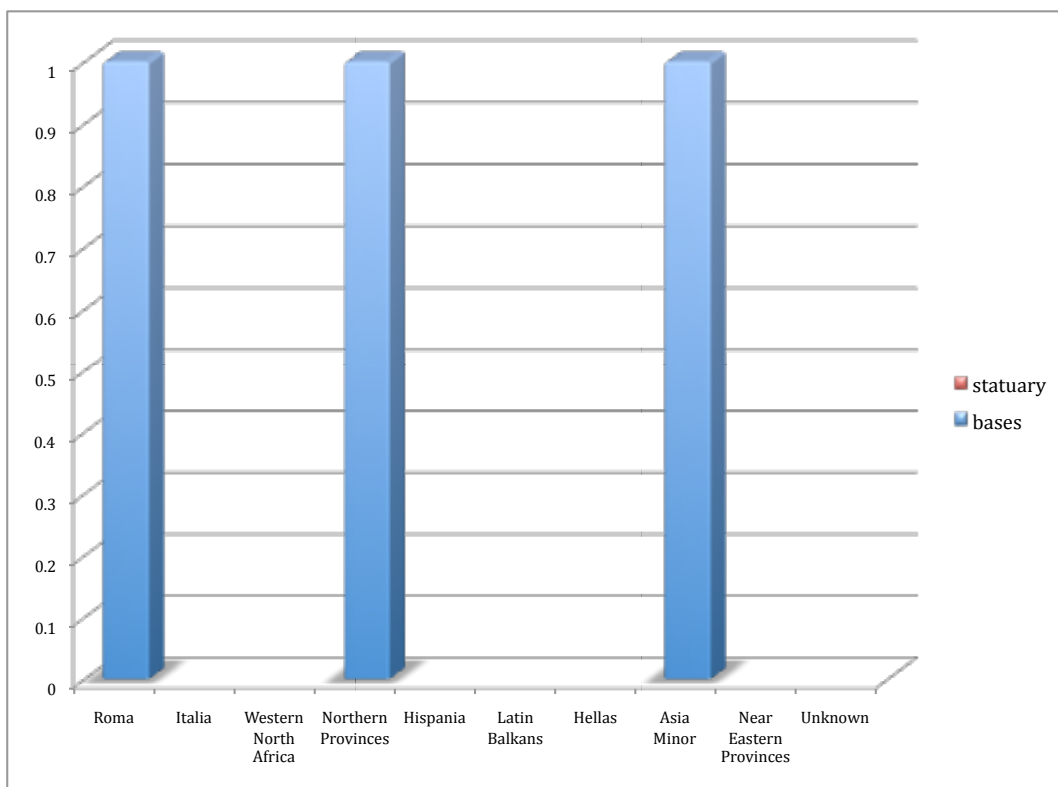


III.10. Distribution of the evidence for the family of Claudius Gothicus.

Graphs Chapter III

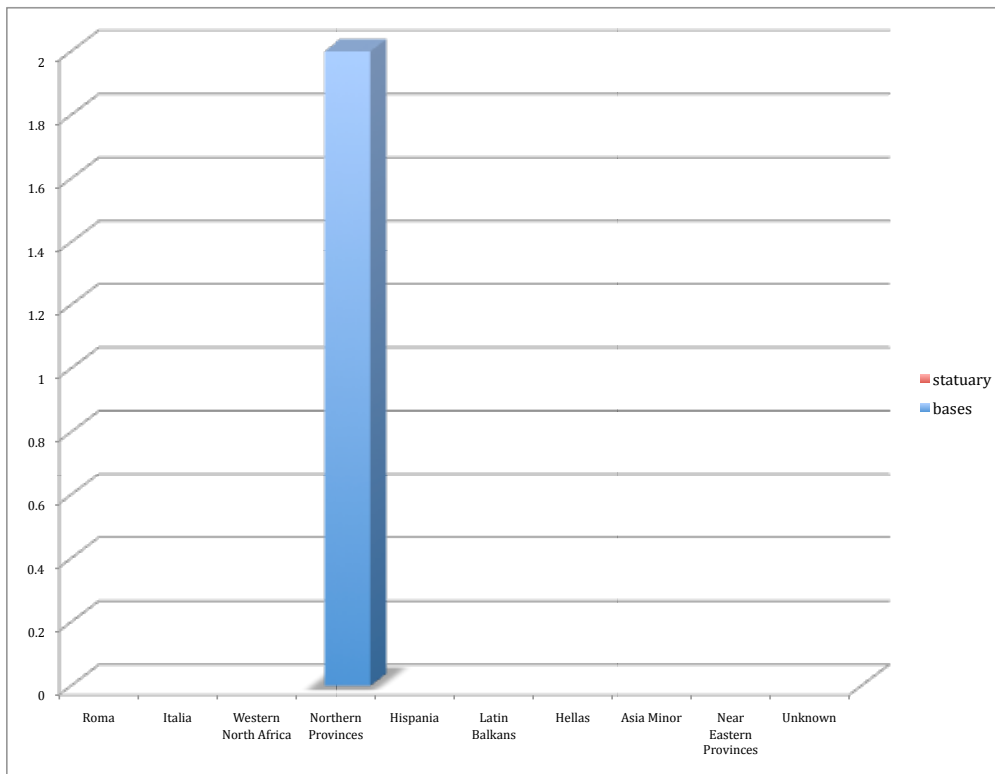


III.11. Distribution of the evidence for the family of Aurelianus.

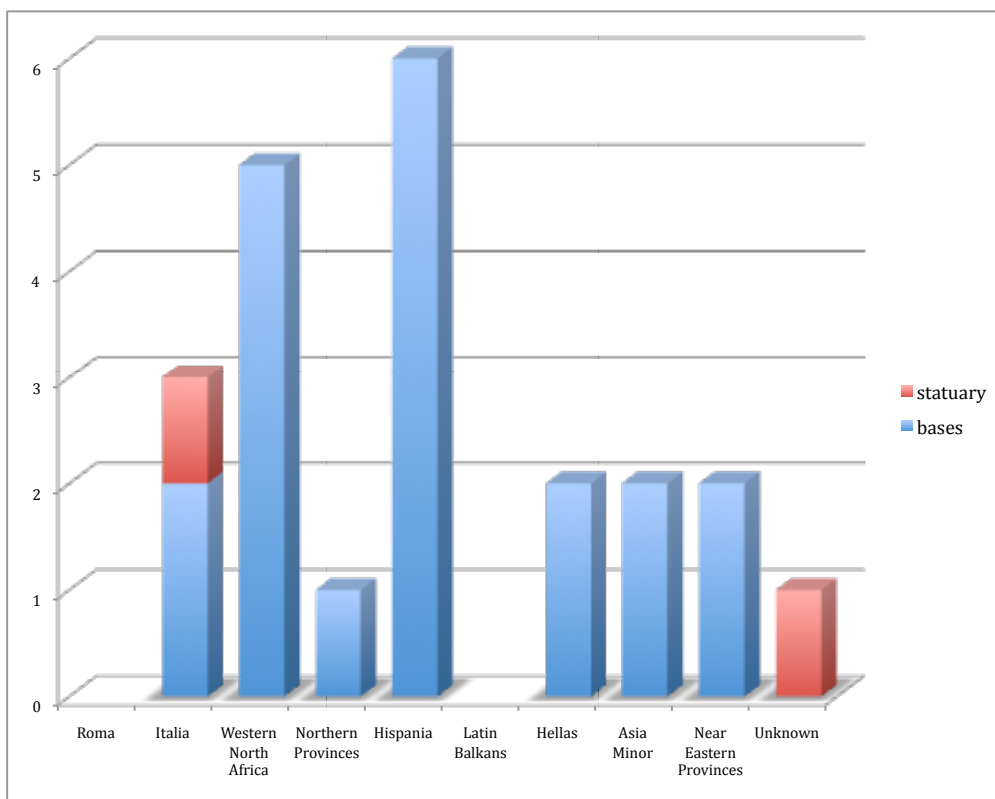


III.12. Distribution of the evidence for the family of Tacitus.

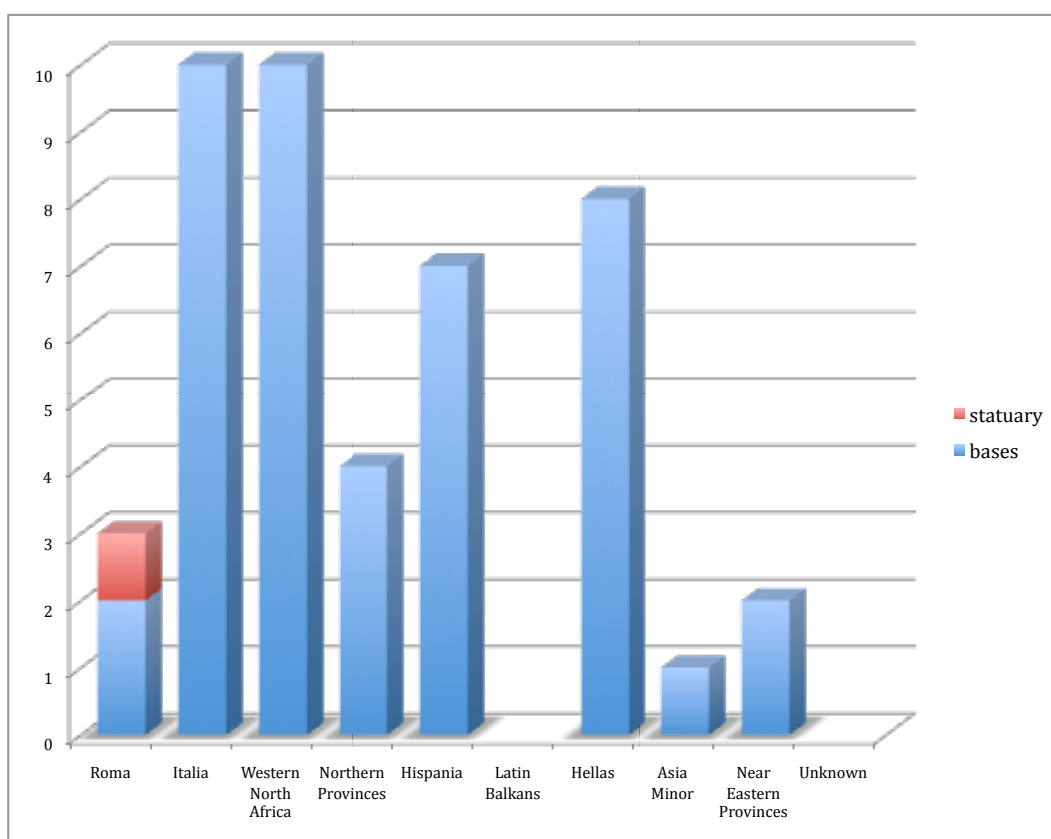
Graphs Chapter III



III.13. Distribution of the evidence for the family of Florianus.

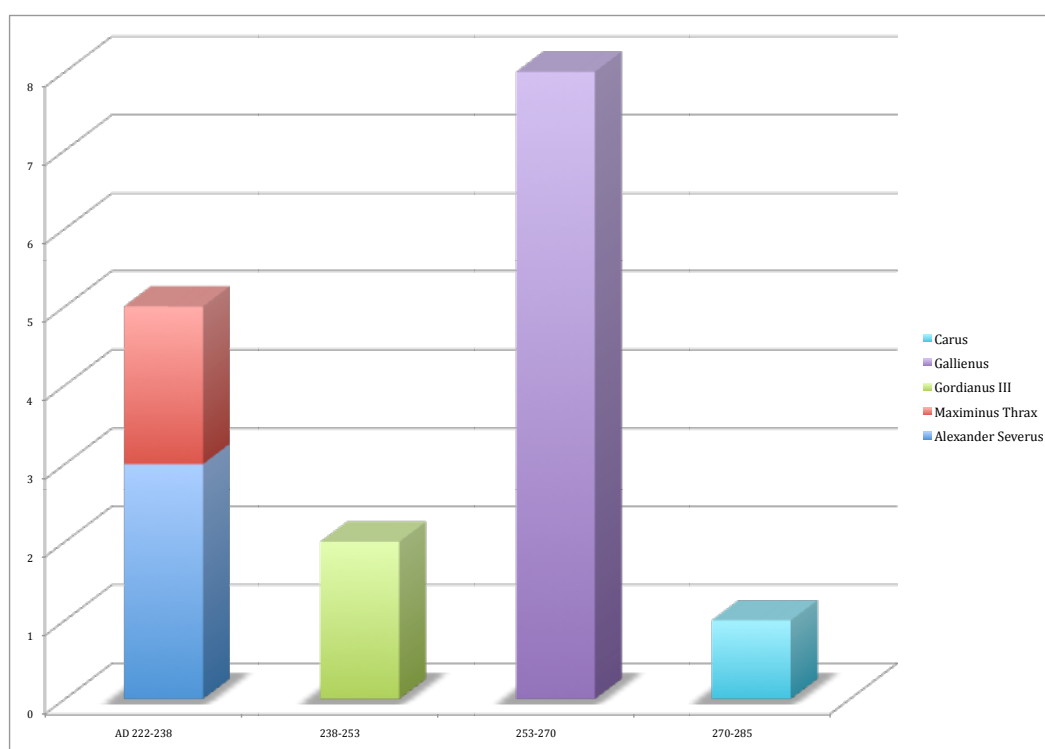


III.14. Distribution of the evidence for the family of Probus.

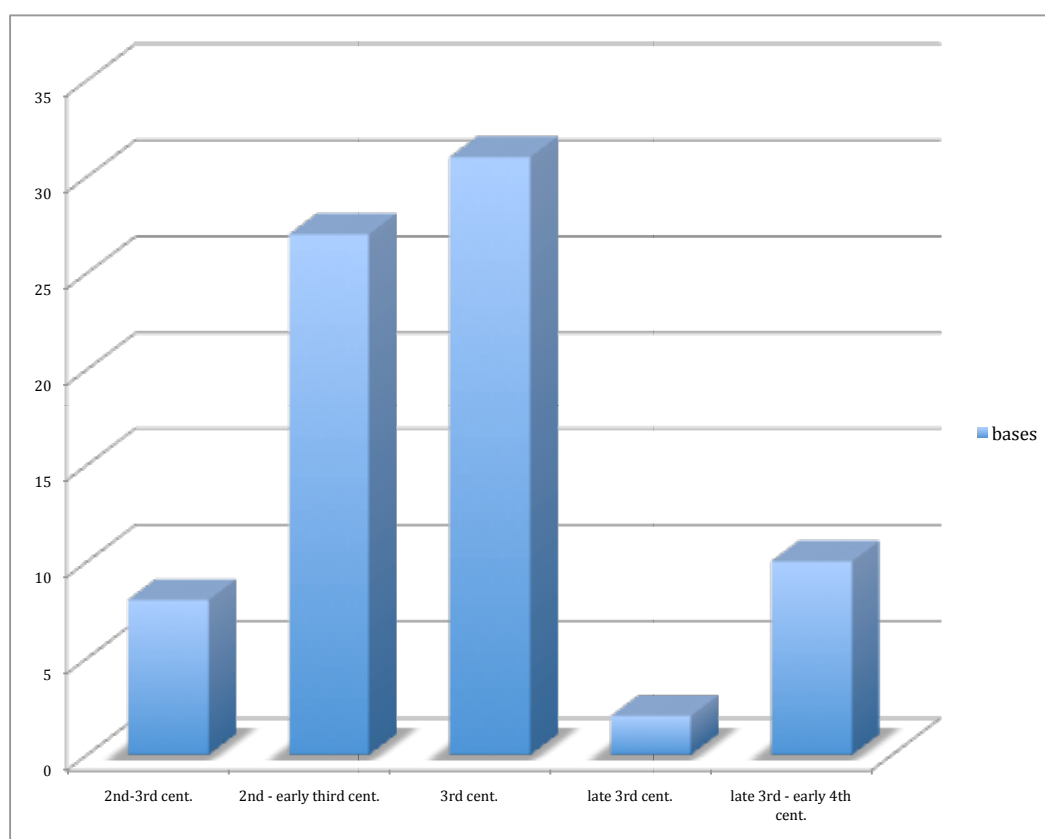


III.15. Distribution of the evidence for the family of Carinus.

Graphs Chapter V

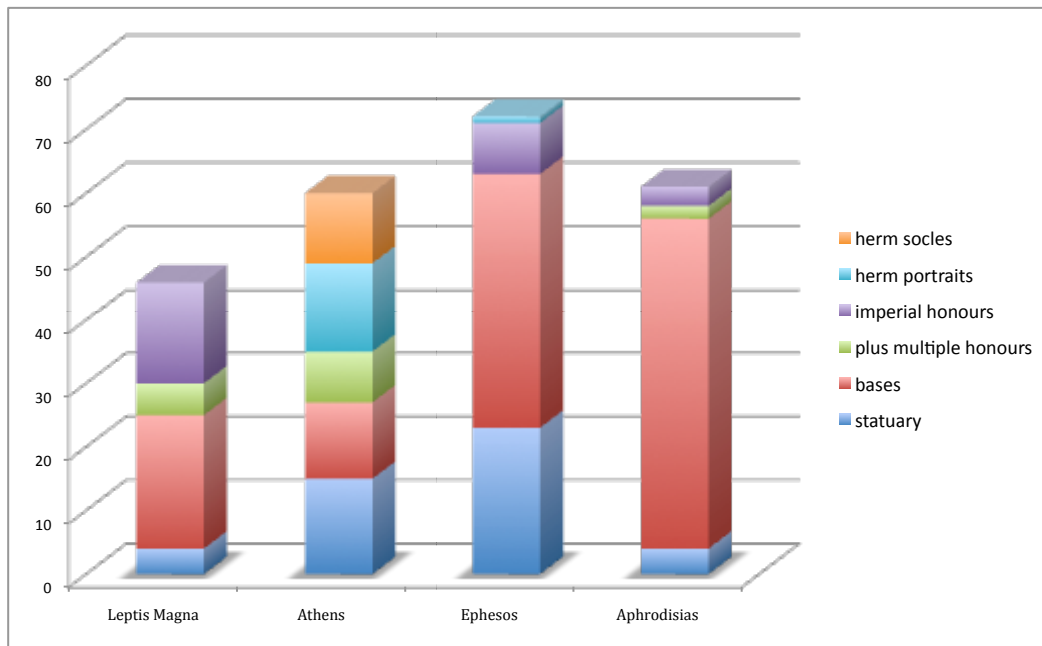


Graph Va. Honours commissioned for the imperial families in Leptis Magna (AD 222-285).

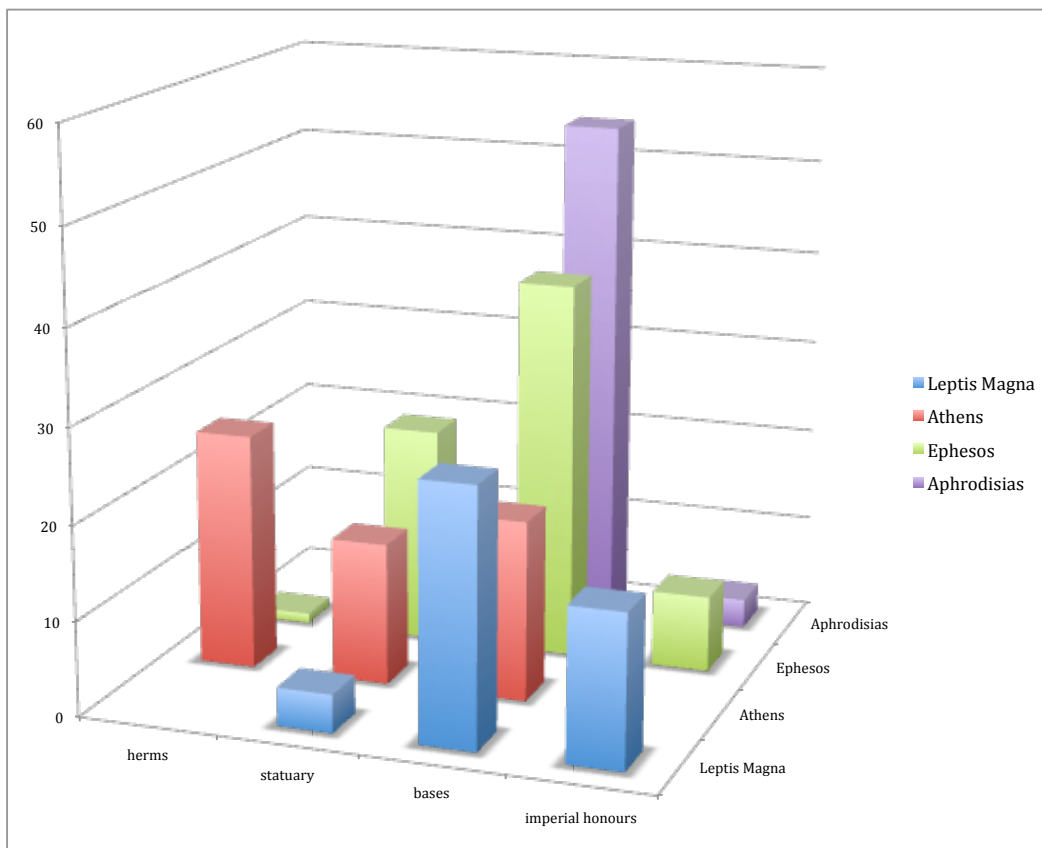


Vb. Chronological allotment of non-imperial 3rd cent. honorific inscriptions in Leptis as dated by the IRT (graph).

Graphs Chapter VI



Vla. The evidence of the four case study cities, considering the numbers.¹

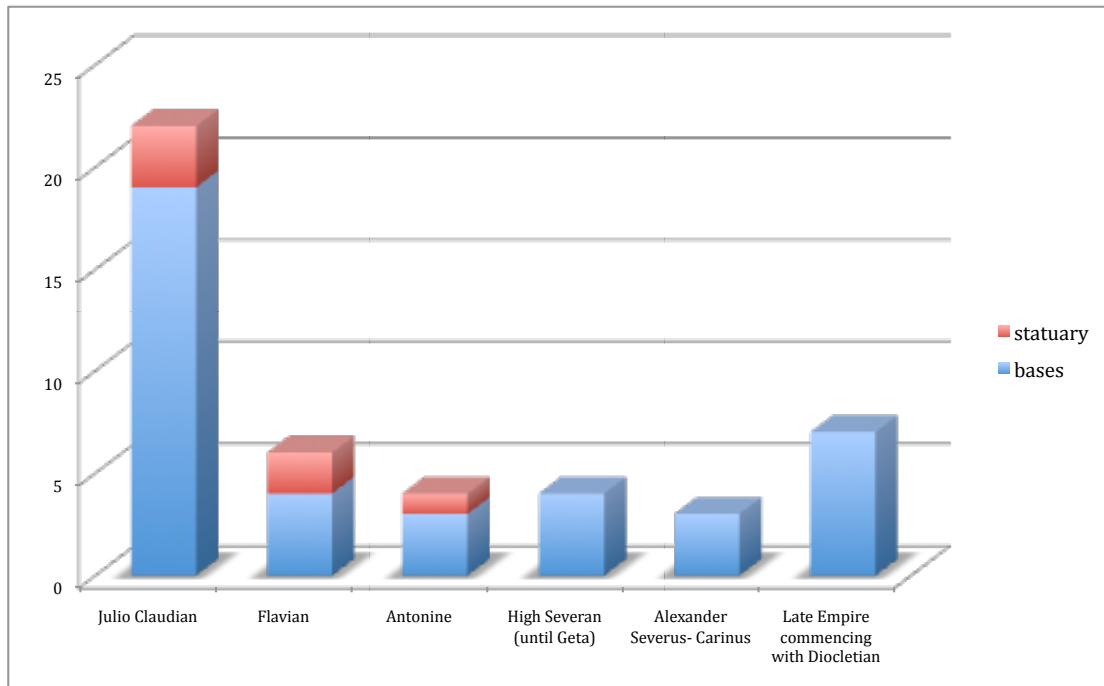


Vlb. The evidence of the four case study cities, considering the medium.²

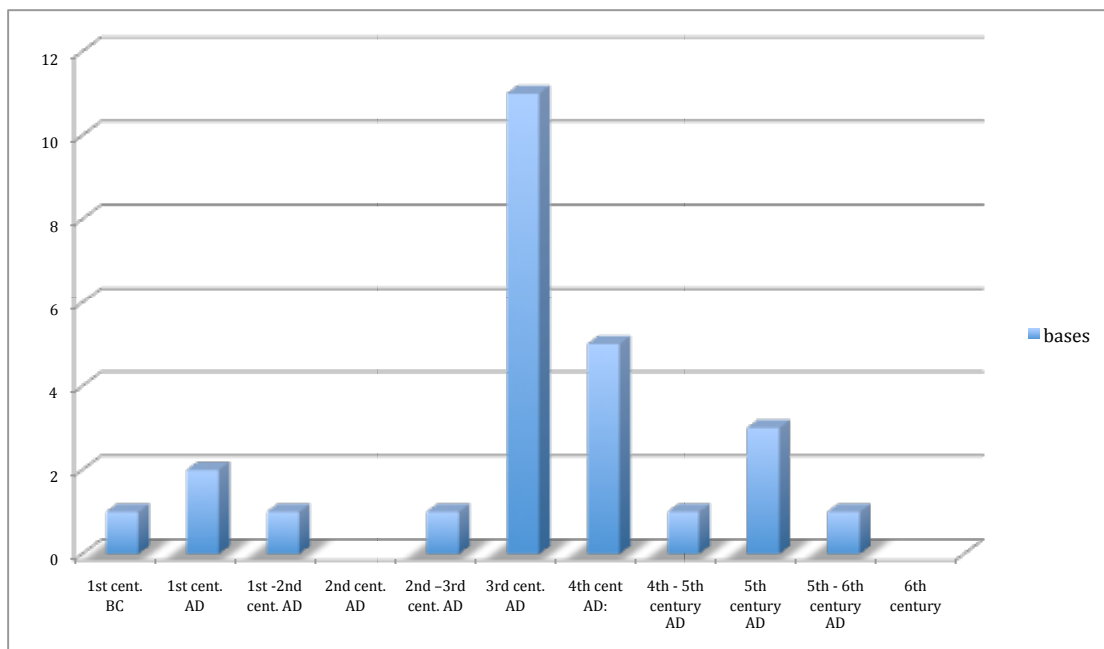
¹ Not including the miniatures and tiny fragments; statuary preserving inscriptions is listed under the bases; the second and third honours on multiple bases are listed separately.

² Not including the miniatures and tiny fragments; statuary preserving inscriptions is listed under the bases.

Graphs Chapter VIII



VIIIa. Honours commissioned for the imperial families in Aphrodisias.



VIIIb. Statue bases for Roman office-holders in Aphrodisias.

Appendix B

Charts

IMPERIAL STATUARY EVIDENCE OF THE
THIRD CENTURY, BY PROVINCE

Italian Province	Bases
Roma	18
LaC	33
VeH	20
Etr	13
Umb	12
Aem	9
ApC	5
Lig	4
Pic	3
Sam	3
Sar	2
Sic	3
Brl	1
Unknown	1

a. Italy

Province	Bases
Tar	43
Bae	21
AlM	8
GeS	6
Lug	5
Aqu	5
Nor	4
AlG	3
Lus	4
Bri	2
Bel	3
Rae	2

IIIb. Northern Provinces

Province	Bases
Afr	60
Num	40

MaT	12
MaC	6

IIIc. Western North-Africa

Province	Bases
Thr	40
Dac	28
Mol	19
Pal	14
Dal	14
PaS	5
MoS	4

d. Latin Balkans

Province	Bases
Ach	40
MaE	8
Greek Islands	7

e. Hellas

Province	Bases
Asi	31
Gal	9
Pam	9
BiP	8
Cil	7
Ly	7
Cap	6
BeP	1

f. Asia Minor

Province	Bases
Syr	8
Ara	4
Aeg	2

g. Near Eastern Provinces

HONORIFIC STATUARY IN THE THIRD CENTURY AD

PART II: CATALOGUE



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University of Oxford

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Hilary 2014

PART II: CATALOGUE

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INTRODUCTION TO THE CATALOGUE

The catalogue in the version printed here is the abridgement of a more extensive computer database compiled in the course of this research. To facilitate clarity and a swift overview, the information that seemed most relevant to the argument made in the text was chosen. The catalogue comprises sculptural remains and epigraphic evidence for statuary. The latter can encompass honorific monuments such as arches, bases, parts thereof, decrees referring to statues, and, in one instance, the account of two statues on a papyrus.

The entries

Where available the following information is provided for each entry: catalogue number, city, province, monument (for example. portrait, statue, base; the portraits are marble, if not stated otherwise), size, honorand, office, awarder (including offices and titles, as well further relevant information provided such as administrative and sourcing details), date, comment, museum/storage, selected references, and a reference number to a picture in the image catalogue.

The sequence

The catalogue lists the imperial evidence first. It employs consecutive numbers from 01 to 15, referring to the imperial families chronologically (Tb. Cat.1), followed by numbers counting the evidence. Double and pooled

monuments have received respective numbers. Evidence not included in the evaluation, such as miniatures, are in brackets and do not contribute to the consecutive numbering. The imperial evidence lists the portraits first, while the case studies commence with the inscriptions. The entries for the imperial evidence are listed by regions first, then by province (sequence and abbreviation see below) and finally alphabetical by the antique name of the city. The antique topographical names are taken mainly from the consulted corpora and in some instances from secondary literature (as stated) or the EDH. For cities with several appellations one had to be selected. If the antique name was unknown the modern appellation has been chosen. The abbreviations for the provinces have been used according to Højte¹ and the EDH to provide the basis for a consistent and comparable diachronic access to the honorific material despite the shift of provincial borders.²

The non-imperial evidence of case studies is listed in the following order with an abbreviation of the city's name: Leptis Magna – Lep; Athens – Ath; Ephesos – Eph; Aphrodisias – Aph. These are followed again by consecutive numbers which are aligned chronologically. References to multiple items, as they appear, for instance, in decrees, are accounted for by additional letters of the alphabet; as are related monuments that are not included in the evaluation, for instance, if they have not been found within the city discussed, but its vicinity. Miniatures are not counted either, but subsumed consecutively under one entry number.

¹ Højte 2005, 218-219. Corresponding to Højte *Tarraconensis* instead of *Hispania Citerior* has been used. Further, *Lycia* and *Pamphylia* are listed separately

² For the same reason the entire database, as opposed to the abbreviated print version, has been aligned to most closely correspond to the LSA database.

The date accepted or proposed by the author, which also determines the sequence, is listed first. Alternative datings suggested by other authors are listed below. Regarding the non-imperial individuals' names, it did not seem opportune to decide on either a Latin or a Greek spelling and ending for all names, therefore the spelling was chosen individually according to the origin of the names and the combination of the *tri nomina*.

The comment section provides additional information if necessary, for example on the provenance and related monuments. The literary references for the inscriptions are not sorted by the time of their publication, but to facilitate a clearer overview, the primary inscription compendia are stated first, for example CIL, IG or AE.

Photo Credits – Image Catalogue

Imperial Evidence

Plate 1

- **IMG0001** Arachne 27156.
- **IMG0002** Visconti 1884/85, 590, pl. 153.
- **IMG0003** FZ 1983, no. 35, pl. 44.
- **IMG0004** by the author
- **IMG0005** Fittschen-Zanker 1983, no 34, pl. 42.
- **IMG0006** by the author
- **IMG0007** by the author
- **IMG0008** Arachne 8755.
- **IMG0009** by the author

Plate 2

- **IMG0010** by the author
- **IMG0011** by the author
- **IMG0012** Visconti 1884/5, 365, pl. 90.
- **IMG0013** Arachne 19811.
- **IMG0014** Arachne 19804.
- **IMG0015** by the author
- **IMG0016** by the author
- **IMG0017** Arachne 8797.
- **IMG0018** by the author

Plate 3

- **IMG0019** Arachne 19810.
- **IMG0020** Visconti 1884/85, 578, pl. 149.
- **IMG0021** Visconti 1884, 134, pl. 34.
- **IMG0022** Visconti 1884/85, 595 pl. 154.
- **IMG0023** Arachne 38416.

- **IMG0024** by the author
- **IMG0025** by the author
- **IMG0026** by the author
- **IMG0027** Brummer Coll. 1979, 271 no. 651 w. pic.

Plate 4

- **IMG0028** Arachne 22906.
- **IMG0029** Arachne 7480.
- **IMG0030** Spinola 1995, pl. 6.
- **IMG0031** by the author
- **IMG0032** Andreae 1979, 99.
- **IMG0033** Junker-Willers 1983, 172 (before it was reassembled).
- **IMG0034** Arachne 2604.
- **IMG0035** Jucker – Willers 1983, 174, cat. 72.
- **IMG0036** Bordenache 1965, 91, pl. 5.

Plate 5

- **IMG0037** Wiigers-Wegner 1971, pl. 47.
- **IMG0038** © Ministry of Culture and Sports
- **IMG0039** by the autor
- **IMG0040** Arachne 8162.
- **IMG0041** Arachne 38537.
- **IMG0042** FZ 1985 no 100, pl. 24.
- **IMG0043** by the author
- **IMG0044** by the author
- **IMG0045** by the author

Plate 6

- **IMG0046** Arachne 55656.
- **IMG0047** Visconti 1884/85, 593 pl. 153.
- **IMG0048** FZ 1985, Beil. 88e.

- **IMG0049** by the author
- **IMG0050** Visconti 1876, 563, pl. 145.
- **IMG0051** Arachne 38604.
- **IMG0052** kindly provided by J. Lenaghan.
- **IMG0053** Wiggers – Wegner 1971, pl. 49.
- **IMG0054** Kersauson 1996, 419.

Plate 7

- **IMG0055** Arachne 15068.
- **IMG0056** Wiggers-Wegner 1971, pl. 60.
- **IMG0057** Wiggers – Wegner 1971, pl. 48.
- **IMG0058** <http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/130019252#fullscreen> (13.11.2014).
- **IMG0059** Roger B. Ulrich, 2010; The data base of Ancient Art; <http://ancientrome.ru/art/artworken/img.htm?id=3711> (13.11.2014).
- **IMG0060** by the author
- **IMG0061** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT448.html>
- **IMG0062** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT449.html>
- **IMG0063** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT449.html>

Plate 8

- **IMG0064** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT042.html>
- **IMG0065** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT043.html>
- **IMG0067** by the author
- **IMG0068** by the author
- **IMG0069** Arachne 8657.
- **IMG0070** Fittschen 1977, pl. 3. 4.
- **IMG0071** Fittschen 1977, 324 pl. 5. 6.
- **IMG0072** Arachne 8753.

Plate 9

- **IMG0073** Arachne 8658.
- **IMG0074** Arachne 8756.
- **IMG0075** Bergmann 1977, pl. 2,5.
- **IMG0076** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT452.html>
- **IMG0077** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT453.html>
- **IMG0078** Visconti 1884/85 588, pl. 152.
- **IMG0079** Bernoulli 1894, pl. 35.
- **IMG0080** by the author
- **IMG0081** Arachne 36150.

Plate 10

- **IMG0082** Visconti 1884/85, 620, pl. 161.
- **IMG0083** Wegner 1979, pl. 8.
- **IMG0084** Arachne 14959.
- **IMG0085** by the author
- **IMG0086** Calza 1978, pl. LXVII no 92.
- **IMG0087** Visconti 1884/85, 592, pl. 153.
- **IMG0088** by the author
- **IMG0089** Bonacasa 1964, 143c.
- **IMG0090** Arachne 36141.

Plate 11

- **IMG0091** by the author
- **IMG0092** Joulin 1901, pl. 22. 23.
- **IMG0093** by the author
- **IMG0094** Felletti-Maj 1958, pl. XXI, 66.
- **IMG0095** by the author
- **IMG0096** Wiggers – Wegner, 1971, pl. 76.

- **IMG0097** by the author
- **IMG0098** Arachne 35041.
- **IMG0099** by the author

Plate 12

- **IMG0100** by the author
- **IMG0102** Arachne 36153.
- **IMG0103** Visconti 1884/5, 606, pl. 157.
- **IMG0104** Arachne 19805.
- **IMG0105** by the author
- **IMG0106** Guereni – Gasparri 1993, pl. XXXI.
- **IMG0107** by the author
- **IMG0108** Arachne 36146.

Plate 13

- **IMG0109** <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2010/egyptian-classical-and-western-asiatic-antiquities-n08688/lot.56.lotnum.html> (last accessed Feb. 2014).
- **IMG0110** Mansuelli 1961, pl. 159.
- **IMG0111** Arachne 37935.
- **IMG0112** Arachne 31398.
- **IMG0113** Felletti-Maj 1958, pl. XX, no 64.
- **IMG0114** Arachne 7466.
- **IMG0115** Arachne 3771.
- **IMG0116** Wegner 1979, pl. 23.
- **IMG0117** Arachne 25166.

Plate 14

- **IMG0118** Arachne 8841.
- **IMG0119** Palladion 1976, 106 no. 123 w. pl.
- **IMG0120** by the author

- **IMG0121** Meischner 2001, 56 no 142. (Incorrectly assigned to p. 35 no 30).
- **IMG0122** by the author
- **IMG0123** Arachne 19198.
- **IMG0124** FZ 1983 no 36, pl. 44.
- **IMG0125** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT454.html>
- **IMG0126** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT455.html>

Plate 15

- **IMG0127** Duval 1989, 419 pl. 15.
- **IMG0129** H. Stohr
- **IMG0130** Wegner 1979, pl. 13.
- **IMG0131** by the author
- **IMG0132** Arachne 8659.
- **IMG0133** by the author
- **IMG0134** Arachne 24131.
- **IMG0135** Arachne 31253.

Plate 16

- **IMG0136** by the author
- **IMG0137** Arachne 25202.
- **IMG0138** Arachne 3776.
- **IMG0139** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT048.html>
- **IMG0140** by the author
- **IMG0141** by the author
- **IMG0142** Fittschen-Zanker 1985, pl. 142 no 115.
- **IMG0143** Arachne 14965.
- **IMG0144** Arachne 17147.

Plate 17

- **IMG0145** Arachne 27166.

- **IMG0146** Arachne 40088.
- **IMG0147** Arachne 8662.
- **IMG0148** Arachne 38372.
- **IMG0149** by the author
- **IMG0150** by the author
- **IMG0151** Wegner 1979, pl. 46.
- **IMG0152** by the author
- **IMG0153** FZ 1985, supp. 91a.

Plate 18

- **IMG0154** Sotheby's (NY) Antiquities and Islamic art, 1st-2nd March 1984, no. 75 w. plate.
- **IMG0155** FZ 1985, supp. 91b.
- **IMG0156** Inan- Alfoeldi-Rosenbaum 1979, no. 77 pl. 69.
- **IMG0157** Arachne 28518.
- **IMG0158** by the author
- **IMG0159** Arachne 3772.
- **IMG0160** Arachne 39464.
- **IMG0161** Bergmann 1977, pl. 14,1.

Plate 19

- **IMG0163** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT456.html>;
- **IMG0164** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT457.html>
- **IMG0165** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT458.html>
- **IMG0166** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT459.html>
- **IMG0167** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT460.html>
- **IMG0168** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT050.html>
- **IMG0169** Arachne 25988.
- **IMG0170** by the author
- **IMG0171** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT052.html>

Plate 20

- **IMG0172** by the author
- **IMG0173** by the author
- **IMG0174** by the author
- **IMG0175** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT461.html>
- **IMG0176** Duval 1989, 419 pl. 16.

Leptis Magna

Plate 1

- **IMG0177** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT601.html>
- **IMG0178** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT700.html>
- **IMG0179** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT701.html>
- **IMG0180** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT640.html>
- **IMG0181** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT687.html>
- **IMG0182** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT686.html>
- **IMG0183** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT542.html>
- **IMG0184** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT642.html>
- **IMG0185** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT532.html>

Plate 2

- **IMG0186** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT556.html>
- **IMG0187** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT786.html>;
- **IMG0188** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT603.html>
- **IMG0189** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT638.html>
- **IMG0190** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT579.html>
- **IMG0191** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT591.html>
- **IMG0192** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT694.html>
- **IMG0193** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT274.html>
- **IMG0194** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT622.html>

Plate 3

- **IMG0195** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT602.html>
- **IMG0196** <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT560.html>
- **IMG0197** <http://www.araldodeluca.com/DATA/POSITIVI/preview/24096.jpg>
- **IMG0198** <http://www.araldodeluca.com/DATA/POSITIVI/preview/24109.jpg>
- **IMG0199** www.araldodeluca.com/DATA/POSITIVI/preview/26929.jpg
- **IMG0200** <http://www.araldodeluca.com/DATA/POSITIVI/preview/24029.jpg>

Athenae

Plate 1

- **IMG0201** Harrison 1960, pl. 37.
- **IMG0202** Arachne 1066.
- **IMG0203** LSA-93.
- **IMG0205** Arachne 1068.
- **IMG0206** Lattanzi 1968, 54 no 21, pl. 21.
- **IMG0207** Lattanzi 1968, 60 no 28, pl. 28.
- **IMG0208** Kaltas 2002, 357, no 760.
- **IMG0209** Lattanzi 59, no 27, pl. 27.

Plate 2

- **IMG0210** Harrison 1953, pl. 27.
- **IMG0211** Lattanzi 1968, pl. 29.
- **IMG0212** Datsulis-Stavridis 1975, pl. 87.
- **IMG0213** Lattanzi 1968, pl. 23.
- **IMG0214** Alexandridi 1967, 40-43, pl. 67a.b.
- **IMG0215** by the author
- **IMG0216** Lattanzi 1968, 42-43, no 9, pl. 9.
- **IMG0217** Alexandridi 1967, 109-110, pl. 95.
- **IMG0219** L'Orange 1933, img. 20.
- **IMG0220** L'Orange 1933, img. 18.

- **IMG0221** by the author
- **IMG0222** Harrison 1960, 54-55 no 41, pl. 28.
- **IMG0223** Bergmann 1977, pl 25, 3.
- **IMG0224** by the author
- **IMG0225** Harrison 1953, 59-60 no 45, pl. 29.
- **IMG0226** Lattanzi 1968, no 32, pl. 32a.
- **IMG0227** Lattanzi 1968, 62-63, no 31, pl. 3.

Plate 4

- **IMG0228** Harrison 1953, pl. 27.
- **IMG0229** Harrison 1960, pl. 38 b, a.
- **IMG0231** by the author
- **IMG0232** Bergmann 1977 pl. 25, 4.
- **IMG0233** L'Orange 1933, pl. 3; 30.
- **IMG0234** by the author
- **IMG0235** <http://www.dainst.org/de/pressrelease/überraschender-fund-auf-dem-kerameikos> (last accessed 13.05.2013).
- **IMG0236** Deltion 1923-1924, pl. 22.

Plate 5

- **IMG0237** Harrison 1953, pl. 31.
- **IMG0238** LSA 112.
- **IMG0240** <http://www.agathe.gr/id/agora/-/2007.01.3157> (last accessed Feb. 2014).
- **IMG0241** Harrison 1953, pl. 31.

Ephesos

Plate 1

- **IMG0243** by the author
- **IMG0245** by the author
- **IMG0247** by the author

- **IMG0248** by the author
- **IMG0249** Inan - Alfoeldi-Rosenbaum 1979, pl. 114, 1.
- **IMG0250** Inan - Rosenbaum 1966, pl. CVI 2.
- **IMG0251** Inan - Rosenbaum 1966, pl. XCVI, 4.

Plate 2

- **IMG0252** Inan - Rosenbaum 1966, pl. XCVIII, 4.
- **IMG0253** Inan - Rosenbaum 1966, pl. XCVI, 2.
- **IMG0254** Inan - Rosenbaum 1966, pl. XCVII, 1.
- **IMG0255** Inan - Rosenbaum 1966, pl. XCVII, 4.
- **IMG0256** Inan - Rosenbaum 1966, pl. XCVIII, 1
- **IMG0257** Inan - Rosenbaum 1966, pl. XCIII, 1-2.
- **IMG0258** by the author
- **IMG0259** by the author
- **IMG0260** Inan - Alfoeldi-Rosenbaum 1979, pl. 114, 4.

Plate 3

- **IMG0261** Inan - Rosenbaum 1966, pl. XCIII, 4.
- **IMG0262** Inan - Rosenbaum 1966, pl. XC, 3.
- **IMG0263** by the author
- **IMG0264** Cat. Ephes. Mus. 1989, 133.
- **IMG0265** Inan - Rosenbaum 1966, pl. XCIX, 2.
- **IMG0266** Inan - Rosenbaum 1966, pl. XCIX, 4.
- **IMG0267** Inan - Rosenbaum 1966, pl. CV, 1.
- **IMG0268** Inan - Rosenbaum 1966, pl. CV, 3.
- **IMG0269** Inan - Alfoeldi-Rosenbaum 1979, pl. 213,1.

Plate 4

- **IMG0270** Inan-Rosenbaum, 1966, pl. LXXXVI, 2.
- **IMG0271** Inan - Rosenbaum 1966, pl. CIV, 3.

- **IMG0272** Inan - Rosenbaum 1966, pl. XCIV.1.
- **IMG0273** Kollwitz 1941, Pl. 28.2 (background right).
- **IMG0274** Inan - Alfoeldi-Rosenbaum 1979, pl. 115, 2.
- **IMG0275** by the author
- **IMG0276** Auenhammer – Sokolicek 2011, 53, pl. 7.
- **IMG0277** Inan - Alfoeldi-Rosenbaum 1979, pl. 115, 4.
- **IMG0278** Inan - Rosenbaum 1966, 140 no 175, pl. CII, 4.

Aphrodisias

Plate 1

- **IMG0279** <http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007/iAph010187.html>
- **IMG0280** by the author
- **IMG0281** by the author
- **IMG0282** Smith 2006, pl. 66, 2.
- **IMG0283** Smith 2006, pl. 150.
- **IMG0284** Smith 2006, pl. 151.
- **IMG0285** Smith 2006, pl. 101.
- **IMG0286** Smith 2006, pl. 94 no 119.
- **IMG0287** Smith 2006, pl. 94 no 120.

IMPERIAL FAMILIES BY CATALOGUE NUMBER

<i>Cat.</i> ³	<i>Augusti /Reign</i>	Imperial family members
01	Alexander Severus AD 222-235	- Sallustia Orbiana - Iulia Mamaea
02	Maximinus Thrax AD 235-238	- Caecilia Paulina - Maximus
03	Gordian I / Gordian II AD 238 Pupienus / Balbinus AD 238 Gordian III AD 238-244	- Tranquillina
04	Philippus Arabs AD 244-249 Philippus Minor	- Otacilia Severa
05	Decius AD 249-251 - Herennius AD 251	- Herennia Etruscilla Hostilianus (cp-regent of Treb. Gallus for 1 month)
06	Trebonianus Gallus AD 251-253 Volusianus	
07	Aemilius Aemilianus AD 253	- Cornelia Supera
08	Valerian - AD 253-260 Gallienus AD 253-268 Saloninus	- Egnatia Mariniana - Salonina - Valerianus Iunior
09	Macrianus Iunior AD 260-261	- Macrianus Senior - Quietus
10	Claudius II. Gothicus A D 268-270	
11	Aurelian AD 270-275	- Ulpia Severina
12	Tacitus AD 275-276	
13	Florianus AD 276	
14	Probus AD 276-282	
15	Carus - AD 282-283 Numerianus Carinus AD 282-285	- Magnia Urbica - Nigrinianus - Paulina

Tb. Cat. 1.

³ The catalogue entries for each family start with this number.

Regions and Provinces

- sequence and abbreviations

Italia

LaC	Latium et Campania with Roma
Lig	Liguria
ApC	Apulia et Calabria
BrL	Bruttium et Lucania
Etr	Etruria
Aem	Aemilia
Sam	Samnium
Pic	Picenum
Umb	Umbria
VeH	Venetia et Histria
Sic	Sicilia
Sar	Sardinia

Northern Provinces with Hispania

Nar	Narbonensis
Lus	Lusitania
Bae	Baetica
Tar	Tarraconensis
Bri	Britannia
Rae	Raetia
Nor	Noricum
GeS	Germania Superior
GeI	Germania Inferior
Aqu	Aquitania
Bel	Belgica
Lug	Lugdunensis
AlC	Alpes Cottiae et Poeniae
AlM	Alpes Maritimae
AlG	Alpes Graiae
(Cor	Corsica)

Western North Africa

MaT	Mauretania Tingitana
MaC	Mauretania Caesariensis
Num	Numidia
Afr	Africa Proconsularis
(Cyr	Cyrene)

Latin Balkans

PaS	Pannonia Superior
PaI	Pannonia Inferior
Dal	Dalmatia
Dac	Dacia
MoS	Moesia Superior
MoI	Moesia Inferior

Thr	Thracia
(ReB	Regnum Bosporanum)

Hellas

Ach	Achaea
MaE	Macedonia et Epirus
Greek Islands	
(Cre	Creta)
(Cyp	Cyprus)

Asia Minor

Asi	Asia
BiP	Bithynia et Pontus
Gal	Galatia
Ly	Lycia et Pisidia
Pam	Pamphylia
Cil	Cilicia
Cap	Cappadocia

Near Eastern Provinces

Aeg	Aegyptus
Ara	Arabia
Syr	Syria
(Jud	Iudaea)

Alexander Severus

01-001

Roma; LaC

Monument: portrait head on toga bust (belonging?); H: 0.62m

Honorand: Alexander Severus

Office: emperor

Date: AD ca. 225

Comment: - sub-type B - provenance: so-called Villa of the Gordians, Via Prenestina, together with Iulia Mamaea (01-002).

Museum/Storage: Rome, Museo Torlonia 589.

Selected references: Visconti 1876, 491 (Gord. III); 1880, 498; 1883, 589; 1884/85 589 pl. 152; L'Orange 1933, 946, no 6 fn. 6; Felletti Maj 1958, 87 no 4 pl. 3,7; Bernoulli 1969, 132 no 1; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 195; Bergmann 1977, 26 no 4; Wegner 1979, 27; FZ 1985, 119 no 99, repl. 9; Deppmeyer 2008 cat. 166; Arachne 27156.

Image: IMG0001

01-002

Roma; LaC

Monument: portrait head (on modern bust);

H: 0.20 m (w/o bust)

Honorand: Iulia Mamaea

Office: Augusta, mother

Date: AD ca. 225

Comment: - provenance: so-called Villa of the Gordians, Via Prenestina, together with Alexander (01-001).

Museum/Storage: Rome, Museo Torlonia 590.

Selected references: Visconti 1876, 492. 1880, 499; 1881, 503; 1883, 590; 1884/85 590 pl. 153; Bernoulli 1894, 110 no 7; L'Orange 1933, 96 no 4; Meischner 1964, 106 no 84; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 214; Felletti Maj 1977, 107 no. 50; Gasparri 1980, 225 no 590; FZ 1983, 31 no 33 repl. 12; Deppmeyer 2008, cat. 166.

Image: IMG0002

01-003

Roma; LaC

Monument: bust

Honorand: Iulia Mamaea

Office: Augusta, mother

Date: AD ca. 222-235

Comment: - hair at the neck is modern

Museum/Storage: Rome, Museo Capitolino, Depot. Inv. 871.

Selected references: Bernoulli 1894, 109 no.2; 112. 115; Stuart Jones, 1912, 123 no 85; Felletti Maj 1958, 113 no 71; Buchholz, 1963, 157; Meischner 1964, 106 no 89; Wiggers –

Wegner 1971, 217; FZ 1983, 33 no 35. 31 no 33 repl. 2. Arachne 16314.

Image: IMG0003

01-004

Roma; LaC

Monument: portrait head

Honorand: Iulia Mamaea

Office: Augusta, mother

Date: AD ca. 222-235

Comment: - stephane

Museum/Storage: Rome Crypta Balbi.

Image: IMG0004

01-005

Roma (most likely); LaC

Monument: portrait head; H: 0.23 m

Honorand: Iulia Mamaea

Office: Augusta, mother

Date: AD ca. 222-235

Museum/Storage: Rome, Antiquario Comunale sul Celio. Antiquarium-Inv. 9829.

Selected references: FZ 1983, 32-33 no 34;

Arachne 39225.

Image: IMG0005

01-006

Roma; LaC

Monument: statue; colossal

Honorand: Alexander Severus

Office: emperor

Date: AD 225

Comment: - sub-type C - head is reworked from Elagabalus

Museum/Storage: Naples, Museo Nazionale 5993.

Selected references: Alföldi 1935, 148; Felletti Maj 1958, 95; Bernoulli 1969, 99-100, no 7; L'Orange 1933, 1 fn. 1; Niemeyer 1968, 63. 112 no 124, pl. 44,2; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 189. 249; Bergmann 1977, 27; FZ 1985, 119 no 99 repl. 10; Arachne 13008.

Image: IMG0006

01-007

Roma (?); LaC (?)

Monument: bust with trabea, toga contabulata;

H: 0.7m

Honorand: Alexander Severus

Office: emperor

Date: AD 226-235

Comment: - subtype D1

Museum/Storage: Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi 198 (Inv. 1914, 245).

Selected references: L'Orange 1933, 1 fn. 1;

Felletti Maj 1958, 93; Bergmann 1977, 27; FZ 1985, 119 no 99 repl. 14; Wiggers – Wegner, 1971, 186-187.
Image: IMG0007

01-008
Tusculum (?); LaC
Monument: portrait, head; H: 0.32m
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Date: AD 222-224
Comment: - sub-type A
Museum/Storage: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 756 (Inv. 1283).
Selected references: L'Orange 1933, 94; Felletti Maj 1958, 86; Wiggers – Wegner, 1971, 188; Bergmann 1977, 26; FZ 1985, 119 no 99 repl. 2; Arachne 8755.
Image: IMG0008

01-009
Lanuvium; LaC
Monument: portrait head on trabea-bust (possibly not belonging; see below); head: H: 0.21m
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Date: AD 222-224
Comment: - bust separately worked, toga contabulata - sub-type A - found with further portraits (cf. FZ 1985, 65 fn. 1.)
Museum/Storage: Rome, Museo Capitolino, Stanza degli Imperatori 69. Inv. 480.
Selected references: L'Orange 1933, 94; Felletti Maj 1958, 85-86; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 191-192; FZ 1985, 117-120 no 99.
Image: IMG0009

01-010
Ostia; LaC
Monument: portrait head, for the insertion into a statue; colossal; H: 0.59m
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Date: AD 226-235
Comment: - reworked - sub-type D1 - provenance: area of the Tempio Rotondo with a portrait of Gordian III (03-008) and the bases (03-062 and 08-031).
Museum/Storage: Rome, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme Inv. 329.
Selected references: L'Orange 1933, 1 fn.1; Felletti Maj 1958, 92 no 16; Wiggers – Wegner, 1971, 193-194; Bergmann 1977, 27 cat 14; Calza 1978, 65-66 no 82 pl. LX; FZ 1985, 119 no 19; Deppmeyer 2008, cat. 211.

Image: IMG0010

01-011
Ostia; LaC
Monument: portrait head for insertion; over life-size
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Date: AD ca. 222-235
Comment: - provenance: near the Decumanus
Museum/Storage: Ostia, Museo Inv. 26.
Selected references: Felletti Maj 1958, 104 no 44 pl. 6, 16. 17; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 209; Calza 1978, 66-67 no 83 pl. LXI; FZ 1983, 31 no 33 repl. 19.
Image: IMG0011

01-012
Portus; LaC
Monument: statue, nude; H: 2.25m
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Date: AD 225
Comment: - sub-type C
Museum/Storage: Rome, Museo Torlonia 365.
Selected references: Visconti 1883, 365; 1884/5, 365 pl. 90; Bernoulli 1894, 100. 104; L'Orange 1933, 1 no 1 fn. 1; Felletti Maj 1958, 85 no 2 pl. II, 4; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 183.194 -195; Heintze 1974, 195; Bergmann 1977, 27 no 16; Calza 1978, 64-65 no 81; FZ 1985, 119; Felletti Maj 1958, 97.
Image: IMG0012

01-013
Otriculum; Umb
Monument: portrait bust; H: 0.8m
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Date: AD 222-235
Comment: - bust and foot worked separately, yet seems belonging; tunic and cloak - found together with Tranquillina (cat. 03-009)
Museum/Storage: Rome, Mus. Vaticano, Sala dei busti 301 Inv. 686. 94.
Selected references: Amelung 1908 (II.3) 497 No. 301 pl. 68; Felletti Maj 1958, 106-107; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 214-15; FZ 1983, 31 no 33 repl. 4; Arachne 19811.
Image: IMG0013

01-014
Otriculum, presumably; Umb
Monument: portrait head (on non-belonging bust); H: 0.78m

Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Date: AD 226-235
Comment: - sub-type D1
Museum/Storage: Rome, Musei Vaticani, SCV, Mus. Pio Clementino, Galleria dei Busti 361 (Inv. 632).
Selected references: L'Orange 1933, 1 fn. 1; Felletti Maj 1958, 94-95; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 197; Bergmann 1977, 27; Bergmann 1983, 46-47; Stutzinger 1983, 387-388; FZ 1985, 199 no 99 repl. 17; Arachne 19804.
Image: IMG0014

01-015
 unknown; unknown
Monument: bust; H: 0.445 m
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Date: AD ca. 222-235
Museum/Storage: Rome, Museo Capitolino, Stanza degli Imperatori Inv. 457.
Selected references: Felletti Maj 1958, 109; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 207; FZ 1983, 30-32 no 33.
Image: IMG0015

01-016
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head; H: 0.23m
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Date: AD ca. 222-235
Museum/Storage: Rome, Musei Vatican, SCV, Magazzino delle Corazze, Scaffale S Inv. 4285.
Selected references: Felletti Maj 1958, 107 no 48; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 216; FZ 1983, 31 no 33 repl. 7; Arachne 37799.
Image: IMG0016

01-017
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head; H: 0.22 m
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Date: AD ca. 222-235
Museum/Storage: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 742 (Inv. 1416).
Selected references: Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 207 no 33 repl. 16; Poulsen 1974, 150 pl. 239; FZ 1983, 31; Arachne 8797.
Image: IMG0017

01-018
 unknown; unknown
Monument: bust; H: 0.6m
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Date: AD ca. 222-235
Museum/Storage: London, British Museum Pourtales Collection GR 1865.1-3.8 BM Cat. 1920.
Selected references: FZ 1983, 31 no 33 repl. 17; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 208; Felletti Maj 1958, 108.
Image: IMG0018

01-019
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head; H: 0.55m
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Date: AD ca. 222-235
Comment: - remains of a diadem
Museum/Storage: Rome, Museo Vaticano, Museo Pio Clementino, Sala dei Busti 369 Inv. 622.
Selected references: Amelung 1908 (II.3) 555 no. 369 pl. 69; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 215; FZ 1983, 31 no 33 repl. 5; Arachne 19810.
Image: IMG0019

01-020
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head; H: 0,23m
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Date: AD ca. 222-235
Comment: - modern bust
Museum/Storage: Rome, Museo Torlonia 578.
Selected references: Visconti 1876, 480; 1880, 487; 1881, 419; 1883, 578; 1884/85, 578 pl. 149; L'Orange 1933, 96 fn. 4; L'Orange 1961, 71 pl. 29, 1-2; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 213-214; FZ 1983, 31 no 33 repl. 11.
Image: IMG0020

01-021
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head; H: 0.23m
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Date: AD ca. 222-235
Comment: - on modern bust
Museum/Storage: Rome, Museo Torlonia 134.
Selected references: Visconti 1884, 134 pl. 34; Felletti Maj 1958, 108 no 52; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 213; FZ 1983, 31 no 33 repl. 10.
Image: IMG0021

01-022
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head (on modern bust);
 H: 0.53m
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Date: AD ca. 222-235
Museum/Storage: Rome, Museo Torlonia 595.
Selected references: Visconti 1876, 496
 (Etruscilla; dalla coll Giustiani); 1880, 503;
 1881, 507; 1882, 595; 1884/85, 595 pl.154;
 Bernoulli 1894, 110 no 8; L'Orange 1933, 96
 no 4; Felletti Maj 1958, 107 no 51; Meischner
 1964, 106 no 86; Wiggers – Wegner 1971,
 214; Wegner 1979, 81; FZ 1983, 31 no 33 repl.
 13.
Image: IMG0022

01-023
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head (on modern bust);
 H: 0.59 m
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Date: AD ca. 222-235
Museum/Storage: Rome, Palazzo Doria,
 Private chambers (Galleria Doria Pamphilj,
 Salone Aldobrandini).
Selected references: Bernoulli 1894, 110 no 10;
 Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 216; Calza 1977,
 294-295 no 367; FZ 1983, 31 no 33 repl. 14.
Image: IMG0023

01-024
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head; H: 0.20m
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Date: AD ca. 222-235
Museum/Storage: Rome, Musei Vaticani, SCV,
 Magazzino delle Corazze, Scaffale S Inv. 4280.
Selected references: FZ 1983, 31 no 33 repl. 6;
 Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 216 (excluded);
 Arachne 37810.
Image: IMG0024

01-025
 unknown (?); unknown
Monument: portrait head; H: 0.29m
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Date: AD ca. 222-235
Museum/Storage: Spoleto, Mus. Civ.
Selected references: FZ 1983, 32. no 33 repl.
 25; Sensi 1984/85, 320-321 no. 19 pl. 15. 27,
 2-4; Arachne 56309.

01-026
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head; H: 0.32m
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Date: AD ca. 222-235
Museum/Storage: Rome, Musei Vaticani, SCV,
 Magazzino delle Corraze Scaffale S Inv. 4310.
Selected references: Wiggers – Wegner 1971,
 216 (excluded); FZ 1983, 31 no 33 repl. 9;
 Arachne 37803.
Image: IMG0025

01-027
 unknown; unknown
Monument: short bust, probably for insertion
 in a statue; H: 0.38m
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Date: AD ca. 222-235
Comment: - reworked - stephane belonging to
 the original portrait
Museum/Storage: London, British Museum
 1922.
Selected references: Felletti Maj 1958, 109-110
 no 58; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 208; FZ 1983,
 31 no 33 repl. 18.
Image: IMG0026

01-028
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Date: AD ca. 222-235
Museum/Storage: Private Collection former E.
 Brummer Collection
Selected references: Brummer Coll. 1979, 271
 no. 651 w. pic.; FZ 1983, 31. no 33 repl. 22;
 Arachne 56263.
Image: IMG0027

01-029
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head (on modern bust);
 H: 0.25m
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Date: AD ca. 222-235
Museum/Storage: Vienna Kunsthistorisches
 Museum, Antikensammlung Inv. I 8.
Selected references: Felletti Maj 1958, 108; FZ
 1983, 32 no 33 repl. 23; Stutzinger 1983, 388-
 389; Arachne 22906.
Image: IMG0028

01-030
 unknown; unknown
Monument: bust; H: 0.6m
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Date: AD ca. 222-235
Museum/Storage: Holkham Hall
Selected references: Felletti Maj 1958, 109 no 56; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 207; FZ 1983, 31 cat. 33 repl. 15; Arachne 7480.
Image: IMG0029

01-031
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait on a bust (presumably not original)
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Date: AD ca. 222-235
Comment: - face largely modern reconstruction
Museum/Storage: Milano, Palazzo Alberto Spinola.
Selected references: Spinola 1995, 25-26, pl. IV, fig. 5-7.
Image: IMG0030

01-032
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head; ca. life-size
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Date: AD ca. 222-235
Museum/Storage: Rome, Musei Vatican, SCV, Magazzino della Corazze, Scaffale S Depot Inv. 4311.
Selected references: Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 216 (excluded); Arachne 37800.
Image: IMG0031

01-033
 Carnuntum, near; PaS
Monument: insertion head, for a statue, bronze; H: 0.485; over life-size
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Date: AD 226-235
Comment: - sub-type D2
Museum/Storage: Bochum, Kunstsammlungen der Ruhr-Universität.
Selected references: Andrae 1979, 98-111; FZ 1985, 120 no 99 repl. 230; Letta 1981, 42-44; Varner 2004, 281 cat. 7.20; Arachne 55945.
Image: IMG0032

01-034
 Carthago, Col. Victrix Iulia Nova Carthago; Tar
Monument: bust, toga contabulata, fragmentary; H: (head and neck) 0,315m; (total) 0.71 m
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Date: AD ca. 225
Comment: - sub-type B - besides the mentioned portraits a headless bust with a toga contabulata was found which could point to two pairs, each showing mother and son (cf. Deppeyer; Junker-Willers)- provenance: town house, said to be found with two images of Iulia Mamaea (01-035, 036).
Museum/Storage: Munich, Glyptotek, room 11, Inv. 550.
Selected references: FZ 1985, 119 no 99 repl. 8a; Junker-Willers 1983, 172-173 no 71; Deppmeyer 2008, cat. 160; Varner 2004, 281, 7.21 and 7.24 (sic!).
Image: IMG0033

01-035
 Carthago, Col. Victrix Iulia Nova Carthago; Tar
Monument: portrait fragment; H: 0.18 m
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Date: AD ca. 222-235
Comment: - provenance: town house, said to be found with a further image of her (01-36) and one of Alexander Severus (01-34)
Museum/Storage: Bochum, Ruhr-Universität, Kunstsammlung Inv. S 1090.
Selected references: FZ 1983, 30-32. repl. no 24; Jucker – Willers 1983, 175 no 73; Varner 2004, 282 cat 7.25; Deppmayer 2008, cat. 160. Arachne 2604.
Image: IMG0034

01-036
 Carthago, Col. Victrix Iulia Nova Carthago; Tar
Monument: portrait fragment; H: 0.18 m
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Date: AD ca. 222-235
Comment: - provenance: town house, said to be found with a further image of her (01-035) and one of Alexander Severus (01-034).
Museum/Storage: Switzerland, Private Collection.
Selected references: FZ 1983, 30-32. repl. no 24a; Jucker – Willers 1983, 174-175 cat. 72; Deppmayer 2008, cat. 160; Arachne 80250.
Image: IMG0035

01-037
 Tomis; Mol
Monument: portrait head, fragmentary
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Date: AD 222-224
Comment: -sub group A - base for Iulia Mamaea found here as well 01-134
Museum/Storage: Constanța, Archaeological Museum.
Selected references: Bordenache 1965, 91 ('Gordian III'); Wegner 1997, 21-22.
Image: IMG0036

01-038
 Corinthus; Ach
Monument: portrait head
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Date: AD 222-224
Comment: - sub-type A - M. Bergmann 2012, in personal conversation: not Alexander Severus
Museum/Storage: Corinth, Archaeological Museum Inv. 42.
Selected references: FZ 1985, 119 no 77 repl. 7; Wiggers – Wegner, 1971, 188; Arachne 55658.
Image: IMG0037

01-039
 Rhyakia; MaE
Monument: portrait head, bronze; H: 0.27 m (skull- tip of the beard)
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Date: AD 226-235
Comment: - sub-type D2
Museum/Storage: Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum Inv. 4303.
Selected references: Bergmann, 1977, 27-29 no 20; FZ 1985, 120 no 99 repl. 25; Pandermalis 1972, 128-145; Balty 1980 49 ff. pl. 14, 2; Lahusen - Formigli 2001, 278 cat. 173; Arachne 55946.
Image: IMG0038

01-040
 Byzantium; BiP
Monument: head, slightly over life-size; H: 0.39m
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Date: AD 226-235
Comment: - sub-type D1 - oak-wreath/ corona civica with jewel.
Museum/Storage: Istanbul, Archeological

Museum, Inv. 4811.
Selected references: Bergmann, 1977, 27 no 11; Inan- Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 125-126 no 73 pl. 65; FZ 1985, 120 no 99 repl. 22; Arachne 38643.
Image: IMG0039

01-041
 Luxor; Aeg
Monument: portrait head; H: 0.24m
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Date: AD 226-235
Comment: - subtype D1
Museum/Storage: Cairo, Museum Inv. C. G. 27480.
Selected references: Felletti Maj 1958, 94; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 187; Bergmann 1977, 27 no 29; FZ 1985, 120 no 99 repl. 21; Arachne 8162.
Image: IMG0040

01-042
 unknown; Aeg
Monument: portrait head; H: 0.36m
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Date: AD ca. 222-235
Museum/Storage: Alexandria, Greek-Roman Museum Inv. 3225.
Selected references: Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 205; FZ 1983, 32 no 33 repl. 26; Arachne 38537.
Image: IMG0041

01-043
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait, fragmentary; H: 0,155m
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Date: AD 222-224
Comment: - subtype A
Museum/Storage: Rome, Museo Capitolino. Depot Inv. 1527 (former Antiquario Comunale).
Selected references: FZ 1985, 119 no 99 repl. 4. 121 no 100; Arachne 40083.
Image: IMG0042

01-044
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head, 'unfinished'; H: 0,255m
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor

Date: AD 222-224
Comment: - unfinished; subtype A (without beard (AD 222-224) - reworked from an older one (?) Elagabal type II
Museum/Storage: Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini (Inv. 2457)
Selected references: Bergmann 1977, 26; FZ 1985, 119 repl. 5, 121-122 no 101; Felletti-Maj 1958, 96; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 192-193; Varner 2004, 280-281 cat 7.19.
Image: IMG0043

01-045
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head; H: 0.22m
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Date: AD 222-224
Comment: - subgroup A
Museum/Storage: Rome, Musei Vaticani, SCV, Mus. Gregoriano Profano, Settore XV, Inv. 10075.
Selected references: Visconti 1876, 495 (Phil min); 1880, 502; 1881, 506; 1883, 593; 1884/85, 593 tav 153; Giuliano 1957, 69 no 81, tav. 49; Felletti-Maj 1958, 89, no 8; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 193; FZ 1985, 119 no 6.
Image: IMG0044

01-046
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head; H: 0.28m
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Date: AD 225
Comment: - subtype B
Museum/Storage: Rome, Musei Vaticani, SCV, Mus. Chiaramonti 674 (XIX 6. Inv. 1481).
Selected references: Bergmann 1977, 26; FZ 1985, 119 no 12; L'Orange 1933, 94; Felletti Maj 1958, 87-88; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 197.
Image: IMG0045

01-047
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head, fragment; H: 0.165m
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Date: AD 226-235
Comment: - subtype D1
Museum/Storage: Rome, Museo Capitolino, Depot Inv. 1431.
Selected references: Bergmann 1977, 27; FZ

1985, 119 no 99 repl. 16. 122-123. 122-123 no 102; Wiggers – Wegner, 1971, 192; Varner 2004, 281 cat 7.22; Arachne 55656.
Image: IMG0046

01-048
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head (on modern bust); H: 0.32m
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Date: AD 226-235
Comment: - sub-type D1
Museum/Storage: Rome, Museo Torlonia 593.
Selected references: Visconti 1884/85, 593 pl. 153; Bernoulli 1894, 147 no 7; L'Orange 1933, 1 fn. 1; Bergmann 1977, 27 no 15; FZ 1985, 119 no 99 repl. 18; Felletti Maj 1958, 94 no 20; Wiggers – Wegner, 1971, 195-196. 182.
Image: IMG0047

01-049
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head (heavily restored)
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Date: AD 226-235
Comment: - subtype D1
Museum/Storage: Rome, Private Collection/ Palazzo Doria/ Via del Corso, Rom. Inst. Neg. 58. 1596/6 (possibly identical with Rom. Inst. Neg. 58, 1595).
Selected references: Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 197-198; Bergmann 1977, 27; FZ 1985, 119 no 20.
Image: IMG0048

01-050
 unknown; unknown
Monument: bust, paludamentum; H: 0.53m
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Date: AD 226-235
Comment: - subtype D2 - possibly re-used
Museum/Storage: Rome, Mus. Capitolino, Stanza degli Imperatori 60 Inv. 471.
Selected references: Bernoulli 1894, 99 no1; Felletti Maj 1958, 96.; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 191; Bergmann 1977, 26.; FZ 1985, 120 no 99 repl. 24. 123 no 103; Arachne 38117.
Image: IMG0049

01-051
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head (on modern bust);

H: 0.23 m
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Date: AD ca. 222-235
Museum/Storage: Rome, Museo Torlonia 563.
Selected references: Visconti 1876, 465; 1880, 472; 1881, 476 1883, 563; 1884/85, 563 tav 145; Bernoulli 1894, 110 no 6. 112; L'Orange 1933, 96 fn 4; Meischner 1964, 105 no 83; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 201. 203. 213; Gasparri 1980, 221, 563; Felletti Maj 1958, 107 no 49; Arachne 27264.
Image: IMG0050

01-052
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head (on modern bust)
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Date: AD 226-235
Comment: - subtype D1
Museum/Storage: Milan, Castello Sforzesco.
Selected references: FZ 1985, 119 no 99 repl. 14a; Arachne 38604.
Image: IMG0051

01-053
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head; over life-size;
 H 0.27m
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Date: AD 222-224
Comment: - sub-type A - modern repair of the left side of the head
Museum/Storage: Liverpool, Liverpool Mus., Inv. 1959.148.196.
Selected references: Ashmole 1929, 75 No. 196 pl. 40; L'Orange 1933, 94 no 7; Felletti Maj 1958, 90 no 13; Bernoulli 1969, 148 no 11; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 187; Bergmann 1977, 37 fn. 115. (Philippus minor); Wegner 1979, 45; FZ 1985, 119 no 3; Fejfer 1997, 75-76 no 38; Arachne 51239.
Image: IMG0052

01-054
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head; H 0.319m
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Date: ca. AD 225
Comment: - subtype B
Museum/Storage: Oslo, Nasjonalgalleriet Inv. 1233.
Selected references: Bergmann 1977, 26;

Bergmann 1983, 46-47; FZ 1985, 119 no 99 repl. 11; Stutzinger 1983, 386-387; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 189; Arachne 55655.
Image: IMG0053

01-055
 unknown; unknown
Monument: head with neck and part of the shoulders (for insertion?); H: 0,39 m with neck
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Date: AD 226-235
Comment: - subtype D1
Museum/Storage: Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 1051; Inv. MR 407.
Selected references: Bergmann 1977, 27 no 10; FZ 1985, 119 no 99 repl. 15; Bergmann 1983, 53; L'Orange 1933, 1 fn. 1; Felletti Maj 1958, 92-93; Heintze 1962, 167; Heintze 1966/67, 220; Bernoulli 1969, 101 no 11; FZ 1970, 251; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 190; Kersauson 1996, 418-419 no 193; Arachne 24382.
Image: IMG0054

01-056
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head (on modern bust);
 H: 0.41m
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Date: AD ca. 222-235
Museum/Storage: Paris, Musée du Louvre MA 1053
Selected references: Felletti Maj 1958, 108; FZ 1983, 31 no 33 repl. 20; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 211; Kersauson 1996, 422-3 no 195; Varner 2004, 181 cat 7.27.
Image: IMG0055

01-057
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head, with fragment of the original bust; H: 0,41m
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Date: AD ca. 222-235
Comment: - reworked, diadem belonging to the original
Museum/Storage: Paris, Musée du Louvre MA 3552; Inv. MND 2137.
Selected references: Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 211; FZ1983, 31 no 33 repl. 21; Kersauson 1996, 424-5, no 196; Arachne 15055.
Image: IMG0056

01-058
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head; H: 0.26m
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Date: AD ca 225
Comment: - subtype B
Museum/Storage: Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antiken Abteilung R 100.
Selected references: Bergmann 1977, 26 no 4; Blümel 1933, 41-42 pl. 64; Felletti Maj 1958, 98; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 184; FZ 1985, 119 no 89, repl. 8.
Image: IMG0057

01-059
 Roma (?); LaC (?)
Monument: portrait bust; H: 0.74m
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Date: AD 226-235; (AD 230-235 (museum))
Comment: - subtype D1 - toga contabulata
Museum/Storage: NY Met metropolitan Gallery 169 Helbig, W. 1868. Acc. no. 2011.87.
Selected references:
<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/130019252> with reference to: Lightfoot, Christopher S. "Recent Acquisitions, A Selection: 2010-2012." The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin 70(2): p. 13. I am very grateful to G. Petruccioli for kindly making me aware of this portrait.
Image: IMG0058

01-060
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head; H: 0.356m
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Date: AD 222-235
Museum/Storage: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. L.2007.18.1.
Image: IMG0059

01-061
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head; slightly over life-size
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Date: AD ca. 222-235
Museum/Storage: Germany, Private Owner
Selected references: Unpublished; I am very grateful to M. Bergmann for kindly making me aware of this portrait.

01-062
 unknown; unknown/artmarket
Monument: portrait head
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Date: AD ca. 222-235
Museum/Storage: Art market.
Selected references: Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 217; Arachne 56254.

01-063
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Date: AD 222-235
Museum/Storage: Bonn, private owner.
Selected references: FZ 1983, 31 fn. 5; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 205-206; Arachne 56264.

(01-063small)
 Roma (most likely); LaC (?)
Monument: portrait head (miniature, therefore not included in the evaluation); far under life-size; 0.20 m
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Date: AD ca. 222-235
Museum/Storage: Rome, Musei Vaticani, SCV. Magazzino delle Corazze, Scaffale S Inv. 4294.
Selected references: Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 216 (excluded); FZ 1983, 31 no 33 repl. 8; Arachne 37805.
Image: IMG0060

01-064
 Comum, near; Lig
Monument: base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the people of Como
Date: AD 223
Comment: - *decreto decurionum*
Selected references: CIL V 5260; Hübner 1885,190 (Latin).

01-065
 Puteoli; LaC
Monument: statue base (fragment)
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: Colonia Flavia Augusta Puteoli
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: CIL X 1652. Hübner

1885,186. Steuernagel 2004, 57. (Latin).
 01-066
 Puteoli; LaC
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: Colonia Flavia Augusta Puteoli
Date: AD 226
Selected references: CIL X 1653; Steuernagel 2004, 57 (Latin).

01-067
 Puteoli; LaC
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Gnaea Seia Herennia Barbia Orbiana
Office: Augusta, wife of Alexander
Awarder: Colonia Flavia Augusta Puteoli
Date: AD 225-227
Selected references: CIL X 1654; Steuernagel 2004, 57 (Latin).

01-068
 Atena; BrL
Monument: base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Date: AD 222-235
Comment: - *decreto decurionum*
Selected references: AE 1970/1969, 171 (Latin).

01-069
 Heba; Etr
Monument: statue base (?)
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Awarder: the *res publica* of Heba - *decreto decurionum*
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: AE 1981, 340; HD0044881 (Latin).

01-070
 Veleia; Aem
Monument: tabula, for a statue
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Awarder: - *decreto decurionum*
Date: AD 222-235
Comment: - provenance: forum
Selected references: CIL XI 1175; Boschung 2002, 27 no 2.26 (Latin).

01-071
 Panhormus; Sic
Monument: base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: Colonia Augusta Panhormus - *decreto decurionum*
Date: AD 223
Selected references: CIL X 7279 Hübner 1885, 186. (Latin)

01-072
 Tyndaris; Sic
Monument: base
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Awarder: the *res publica* of Colonia Augusta Tyndaritanorum
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: CIL X 7478 (Latin).

01-073
 Alae; Rae
Monument: statue base (Stoll)
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: *Ala II Flavia Miliaria Pia Fidelis Alexandriana*
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: AE 1986, 529; AE 1989, 0586; AE 1995, 0045 ad; Weinges 1986 72, pl. 2; Alföldy 1989, 332-336 no. 16; Stoll 2001, 153 fn. 141; 154 fn. 150 (Latin).

01-074
 Civitas Taunensium, (Castrum of Feldberg); GeS
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Awarder: *Exploratio Halicanensium Alexandriana* (reconnaissance unit)
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: CIL XIII 7495; AE 1893, 37; Domaszewski 1895, 72 fn. 304; Gamer 1969, 23; Baatz 1987, 58; Stoll 1992, 293. 313-316; Stoll 2001, 153 fn. 141; 154 fn.150; HD058953 (Latin).

01-075
 Holzhausen; GeS
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *Cohors II Severina Treverorum* [...]

Date: AD 223
Selected references: CIL XIII 7618, 7619; Stoll 1992, 343-344; Stoll 2001, 153 fn. 141; 154 fn. 150; HD 060886 (Latin).

01-076
Kapersburg; GeS
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: CIL XIII 7441 a; Stoll 1992, 355-356; Stoll 2001, 153 fn. 141 (Latin).

01-077
Murrhardt; GeS
Monument: tabula; presumably base (EDH), for an over-lifesize statue
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: *Cohors XXIII Voluntariorum Severina Civium Romanorum*
Date: AD 222-235
Comment: - provenance: *castra, atrium*/ found together with one for Iulia Domna (CIL XIII 06531) by the the *Cohors XXIII Voluntariorum Antoniana Civium Romanorum*, therefore certainly not set up together (cf. Deppmayer).
Selected references: CIL XIII 6532; AE 1895, 34; Stoll 2001, 154 fn. 150; Deppmayer 2008, cat. 208; HD013837 (Latin).

01-078
Saalburg (castra), Bad Homburg; GeS
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: *Cohors II Raetorum Severiana Civium Romanorum* (amended)
Date: AD 222-235
Comment: - *praetentura* of the *castra*
Selected references: CIL XIII 7466 (add p.126); Jacobie 1897, 274, no 5; Stoll 2001, 154 fn.150; HD060544 (Latin).

01-079
Elusates, Elusa; Aqu
Monument: tabula
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the people of Elusa
Date: AD 222-235
Comment: belonging to a statue group with his mother (01-079), (Rosso).

Selected references: CIL XIII 544; Rosso 2006, 212-213 no 17 (Latin).

01-080
Elusates, Elusa; Aqu
Monument: tabula
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Awarder: the people of Elusa
Date: AD 222-235
Comment: belonging to a statue group with her son (01-079), (Rosso).
Selected references: CIL XIII 545; Rosso 2006, 213 no 18 (Latin).

01-081
Bagacum; Bel
Monument: tabula (fragment), most likely from a statue base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *civitas* of Nervii (fragment)
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: CIL XIII 3571; Rosso 2006, 258 no 52 (Latin).

01-082-83
Autessiodurum; Lug
Monument: arch (fragment)
Honorand: Alexander Severus + Iulia Mamaea
Office: emperor + mother, Augusta
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 228
Selected references: CIL XIII 2922 (Latin).

01-084
Ucubi, Colonia Calaritas Iulia; Bae
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica* of Ucubi
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: CIL II² 5, 442; CIL II 1554; HD029812 (Latin).

01-085
Ulia Fidentia; Bae
Monument: statue base, column-shaped
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica* of Ulia Fidentia
- supervisor: Q. Fabius Fabianus
- curator (?): [cu]rato[re---] (?) : ANNIO[---] or [---]IATO[---] ANNIO VE[---])

- Lucius Aelius Optatus and Lucius Clodius Trigetius [...] (senators)
Date: AD 222-235
Comment: - installed with cat. 01-086 (Iulia Mamaea).
Selected references: CIL II² 5, 493; CIL II 1533; AE 1986, 375; Hübner 1885, 223. Stoll 1992, 404-405; HD007539 (Latin).

01-086
 Ulia Fidentia; Bae
Monument: statue base, column-shaped
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Awarder: not preserved, assumedly the *res publica* of Ulia Fidentia (- supervisor: Quintus Fabius Farbianus?; curator?: [...])
Date: AD 222-235
Comment: some lines are very fragmentary, presumably they should be restored according to her son's base (01-086).
Selected references: CIL II² 5, 494; AE 1986, 376; HD007542 (Latin).

01-087
 Acci, Col. Iulia Gemella Acci; Tar
Monument: pedestal
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Awarder: Colonia Iulia Gemella Acci
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: CIL II 3393; CILA 4, 125 (Latin).

01-088
 Carthago, Col. Victrix Iulia Nova Carthago; Tar
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Awarder: the *conventus* of Carthago
Date: AD 222-235
Comment: a headless female statue is assumed to be belonging to this inscription; yet it cannot be identified among the finds anymore (Wiggers-Wegner 1971, 206.)
Selected references: CIL II 3413; Hübner 1862, 290; Hübner 1885, no 661; Bernoulli 1894, 110 no. 16; Abascal Palazón - Ramallo Asensio 1997, 180-183 no 44; IAM 50. Wiggers - Wegner 1971, 206. HD037569 (Latin).

01-089
 Tarraco, Col. Iulia Victrix Triumphalis
 Tarraco; Tar
Monument: statue base

Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *Seviri Augustales* - (freedmen (mainly), in charge of the imperial cult)
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: RIT 85; Alföldy 1975a, 47 no 85 (Latin).

01-090
 Valentia, Colonia Valentia; Tar
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: CIL II² 14, 00093b; HD024302. (Latin)

01-091
 Valentia, Colonia Valentia; Tar
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Awarder: the veterans and eldest of Valentia (*veterani et veteres*)
Date: AD 222-225
Comment: the inscription was changed from mother of the Caesar to mother of the Augustus.
Selected references: CIL II, 3733; CIL II² 14, 14; Hübner 1885, 223. HD024044 (Latin).

01-092
 Valentia, Colonia Valentia; Tar
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Gnaea Seia Herennia Barbia Orbiana
Office: Augusta, wife of Alexander
Awarder: the veterans and eldest of Valentia (*veterani et veteres*)
Date: AD 225-227
Selected references: CIL II² 14, 15; CIL II 3734; HD024047 (Latin).

01-093
 Volubilis; MaT
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica* of Volubilis - *ex decreto ordinis*
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: AE 1936, 41; IAM 2, 399 (Latin).

01-094
 Volubilis; MaT
Monument: base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica* of Volubilis - *ex decreto ordinis*
Date: AD 222-235
Comment: spoliated.
Selected references: AE 1936, 42; IAM 2, 491 (Latin).

01-095
 Volubilis; MaT
Monument: base
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Awarder: the *res publica* of Volubilis - *ex decreto ordinis*
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: IAM 2, 403 (Latin).

01-096
 Auzia; MaC
Monument: base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: CIL VIII 9038 (Latin).

01-097
 Caesarea; MaC
Monument: base (Stoll)
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: Equites Singulares - curator: Lucius Licinius Hieroclete, imperial *procurator*, *praeses provinciae*
Date: AD 227
Comment: - together with Orbiana (01-098).
Selected references: CIL VIII 9354; Stoll 1992, 293; HD033349 (Latin).

01-098
 Caesarea; MaC
Monument: base
Honorand: Gnaea Seia Herennia Barbia
 Orbiana
Office: Augusta, wife of Alexander
Awarder: Equites Singulares - curator: Lucius Licinius Hieroclete, imperial *procurator*, *praeses provinciae*
Date: AD 227

Comment: - together with Alexander (01-097)
Selected references: CIL VIII 9355; ILS 486; Pflaum 1960, 809 no 316, 4; Speidel 1978, 122 no; Heil 2001, 238 A. 46.79; HD033352 (Latin).

01-099
 Cissi; MaC
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the people of Cissi - *decreto decurionum* - financed by: *pecunia publica*
Date: AD 226
Selected references: AE 1975, 944; AE 1985, 895; HD003026 (Latin).

01-100
 Castellum Elefantum; Num
Monument: base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica* Castellum Mastarense - *decreto decurionum* - financed by: *pecunia publica*
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: ILS II, 3, 10130 (Latin).

01-101
 Cuicul, Colonia Cuiculitanorum; Num
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica* of Cuicul - *decreto decurionum* - financed by: *pecunia publica*
Date: AD 222-235
Comment: provenance: forum
Selected references: ILS II, 3, 7823; Berrendonner – Cébeillac-Gervasoni – Lamoine 2008, 118. (Latin).

01-102
 Cuicul, Colonia Cuiculitanorum; Num
Monument: block
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Awarder: - *decreto decurionum* - financed by: *pecunia publica*
Date: AD 222-235
Comment: provenance: near the arch of Caracalla
Selected references: ILS II, 3, 7829; Kleinwächter 2001, 139 no 54 (Latin).

01-103
Madauros; Num
Monument: base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: ILaI 2092.

01-104
Sila; Num
Monument: base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica* of Sila - *decreto decurionum* - financed by: *pecunia publica*
Date: AD 223
Selected references: AE 1970/ 1969, 700; ILaI II, 2, 6871; Pflaum 1969, 142-143 no 4(Latin).

01-105
Thibilis; Num
Monument: base
Honorand: Gnaea Seia Herennia Barbia Orbiana
Office: Augusta, wife of Alexander
Awarder: not preserved
Date: after AD 226
Comment: - doubtlessly at same time one was set up for her husband (ILaI)
Selected references: LAl II, 2, 4666 (Latin).

01-106
Givfi; Afr
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the citizens of Givfi - *decreto decurionum* - financed by: *pecunia publica*
Date: end of 228 AD (? -229)
Selected references: CIL VIII 23994; AE 1894, 50 (Latin).

01-107
Leptis Magna; Afr
Monument: panel
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the Lepcitanians, *publice* (publicly)
Date: AD 222-235
Comment: - a similar fragment from the same findspot might be for his mother, but is too uncertain to add (IRT 451) - provenance: theatre.
Museum/Storage: findspot (last recorded).
Selected references: IRT 448;

<http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT448.html>
(Latin).
Image: IMG0061

01-108
Leptis Magna; Afr
Monument: panel
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 222-235
Comment: - provenance: Forum Severianum
Museum/Storage: Leptis Museum
Selected references: IRT 449;
<http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT449.html>;
(Latin).
Image: IMG0062

01-109
Leptis Magna; Afr
Monument: panels
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Awarder: the Septimian Lepcitanians (publicly)
Date: AD 222-235
Comment: - provenance: Forum Vetus
Museum/Storage: unknown, last recorded, Leptis Museum
Selected references: IRT 450.
<http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT450.html>
(Latin).
Image: IMG0063

01-110
Neferis; Afr
Monument: base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: [...]
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: CIL VIII 12404 (Latin).

01-111
Sabratha; Afr
Monument: panel; H: 0.62m x W: 0.55m
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 230 or 235
Museum/Storage: Findspot
Selected references: IRT 42; Witschel 1999, 291 fn 39;
<http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT042.html>
(Latin).

Image: IMG0064

01-112

Sabratha; Afr

Monument: panel; H: 0.74m x W: 0.76m x D: 0.02m

Honorand: Alexander Severus

Office: emperor

Awarder: [...]tonius Aemilianus, proconsul

Date: AD 230-231

Comment: states a list of benefactions received (honours, money, food)

Museum/Storage: Sabratha Museum.

Selected references: IRT 43; Witschel 1999, 291 fn 39;

<http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT043.html> (Latin).

Image: IMG0065

01-113

Sufetula; Afr

Monument: base

Honorand: Alexander Severus

Office: emperor

Awarder: - *decreto decurionum* - financed by: *pecunia publica*

Date: AD 222-235

Selected references: ILAfr 132 (Latin).

01-114

Thugga; Afr

Monument: architrave/ epistyle of a honorific arch

Honorand: Alexander Severus

Office: emperor

Awarder: Municipium Septimium Aurelium Liberum Thugga

Date: AD 222-235

Comment: near the 'triumphal' arch.

Selected references: CIL VIII 1485; 26551; 26552; ILTun 1415; Kähler 1939, 226-8 V 16c; (Latin).

01-115

Thugga; Afr

Monument: 'stone'

Honorand: Alexander Severus

Office: emperor

Awarder: Municipium Septimium Aurelium Liberum Thugga

Date: AD 222-235

Comment: next to a mutilated statue

Selected references: CIL VIII 1484; 26551; 26555+26557; AE 1914, 181; ILAfr 529; HD021356 (Latin).

01-116

Uchi Maius; Afr

Monument: statue base

Honorand: Alexander Severus

Office: emperor

Awarder: Colonia Alexandriana Augusta Uchi Maius

Date: AD 222-235

Comment: - fragmentary reference to the price (?).

Selected references: AE 1997, 1675; UM 45 (Latin).

01-117

Uchi Maius; Afr

Monument: arch (?), stone (fragment)

Honorand: Alexander Severus

Office: emperor

Awarder: Colonia Alexandriana Augusta Uchi

Maius - *decreto decurionum* - financed by:

pecunia publica - in the name and under the auspices of: Caesionius Lucillus Macer, *legatus, vir clarissimus*, (interim proconsul of Africa; (*partes proco(n)sulis, pont[- -]m v(ices)*))

Date: AD 230

Comment: - *ex indulgentia* - possibly belonging to the arch therefore no separate cat. entry: fragment CIL VIII 26263; UM 47, found nearby; awarder: Uchi Maius.

Selected references: CIL VIII 26262, 2626b; AE 2002, 1680 ad; AE 2001, 2086; AE 1908, 264; UM 44; Uchi V 15 a; Horster 2001, 74 fn 192; (Latin).

01-118

Araba; Dal

Monument: statue base

Honorand: Alexander Severus

Office: emperor

Awarder: - *decreto decurionum*

Date: AD 222-235

Selected references: CIL III 03121; 10118; 03121 add. p. 2172; HD057991 (Latin).

01-119

Doclea; Dal

Monument: statue base

Honorand: Alexander Severus

Office: emperor

Awarder: the *res publica* of Doclea

Date: AD 226-227

Comment: - provenance: western gate; - very fragmentary inscription.

Selected references: CIL III 12683; Sticotti 1913, 160, no 13; HD054803 (Latin).

01-120
Domavium, Municipium Domavium; Dal
Monument: presumably a statue base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *ordo* of the Municipium
Domavium - *decreto decurionum* - financed
with: *pecunia publica* - supervisor (*dedicante*):
Iulius Tacitianus, *vir egregius, procurator*
Augusti
Date: AD 231-235
Comment: - note: very fragmentary
Selected references: CIL III 8359; CIL III 12720;
HD058377 (Latin).

01-121
Domavium, Municipium Domavium; Dal
Monument: tabula, limestone; statuebase (?)
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Awarder: the *ordo* of the Municipium
Domavium - *decreto decurionum* - financed
with: *pecunia publica* - supervisor (*dedicante*):
Iulius Tacitianus, *vir egregius, imperial*
procurator
Date: AD 231-235
Selected references: CIL III 8360. 12720;
HD061443 (Latin).

01-122
Alta Ripa (?) - camp; Pal
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: [...]
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: AE 2003, 1425 (Latin).

01-123
Brigentium; Pal
Monument: statue base ('socle')
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Awarder: the *Legio I Adiutrix Pia Fidelis*
Severiana
Date: AD 222-235
Comment: - provenance: camp
Selected references: AE 2006, 1048 (Latin).

01-124
Ulcisia Castra; Pal
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *Cohors I Milliaria Nova Severiana*
Suorum Sagittariorum
Date: AD 230

Comment: here also mother (01-125).
Selected references: CIL III 3638; Deppmeyer
2008, cat. 174; Hübner 1885, no 585.
HD038466 (Latin).

01-125
Ulcisia Castra; Pal
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Awarder: the *Coh(ors) I/(Milliaria) N(ova)*
S(everiana) S(urorum) S(agittariorum)
Date: AD 230 / AD 224-235
Selected references: CIL III 3639; Deppmeyer
cat. 174; Hübner 1885, no 586. Domaszewski
1895, 72 fn. 304; HD038467 (Latin).

01-126
Ad Mediam; Dac
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Awarder: the *Cohors III Delmatarum*
Alexandriana Milliaria Equitata Civium
Romanorum Pia Fidelis - financed: *ex*
quaestura sua - supervisor (*dedicante*):
Iasdius Domitianus *legatus Augusti pro*
praetore, three times consul of Dacia
Date: AD 226-235
Selected references: AE 1912, 5; Ackner 1865,
165 no 785; HD027840 (Latin).

01-127
Cumidava; Dac
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Awarder: either *Cohors Vindelicorum Pia*
Fidelis Cumidavensis Alexandrianae (Alföldi)
or *Coh VI Nova Cumidavensium Alexandrianae*
(sic!) (Macrea)- financed: *ex quaestura sua* -
supervisor (*dedicante*): Iasdius Domitianus
legatus Augusti pro praetore, three times
consul of Dacia
Date: AD 226-235
Comment: also in of 01-128 and 01-129.
Selected references: AE 1950, 16; AE 1969/70,
546 ad.; AE 1978, 683 (Latin).

01-128
Alsó Ilosva; Dac
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *Ala Frontoniana Alexandriana* -

financed by: *ex quaestura* - supervisor:
proconsul Iasdius Domitianus *legatus Augusti pro praetore*
Date: AD 222/236 (5)
Comment: - provenance: camp, with 01-129.
Selected references: CIL III 797; Domaszewski 1895, 71 fn. 294; Velkov 1961, 219 A. 1; HD04068 (Latin).

01-129
Alsó-Ilosva; Dac
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Awarder: the *Ala Frontoniana Alexandriana* -
financed by: *ex quaestura sua* - supervisor:
Iasdius Domitianus, *legatus Augusti pro praetore*
Date: AD 222-235
Comment: - provenance: camp, with 01-128.
Selected references: CIL III 798; Domaszewski 1895, 72 fn. 304; HD048069 (Latin).

01-130
Mezdra; MoI
Monument: statue base, limestone
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *polis* of Serdica - in governorship of: [Marcus Ulpius Senecione] Saturnius, *presbeus, antistrategos* (proconsul/ *legatus Augusti pro praetore*) of the imperial province of Thrace
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: IGRR I, 559; AE 1892, 103; IGBulg 488; Kalinka 1906, 54 (Greek).

01-131
Nikopolis ad Istrum; MoI
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *boule* of the *polis* of Nikopolis ad Istrum
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: SEG 44, 633; SEG 26, 835; AE 1986, 626 (Greek).

01-132
Nicompolis ad Istrum; MoI
Monument: block limestone, quadrangular most likely a base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *boule* and the people of the city

Nikopolis ad Istrum
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: AE 1926, 97; MDAI 1923, 112 no 23; IGBulg II, 637 (Greek).

01-133
Nicompolis ad Istrum; MoI
Monument: block, limestone most likely base
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Date: AD 222-235
Awarder: the *boule* and *demos* of the *polis* of Nikopolis ad Istrum *polis*; curator: Aurelius Theodotus Nisbenus, *archieratikos* (of high-priestly descent)
Comment: spolia; under the governorship of: Gaius Messius Quintus Decius Valerianus *leg. aug. pr. pr. moes. inf.* (future emperor; gov. MoI in AD 234),
- note: tabula with dedication from him to her in Romania, Noviodunum (AE 1977, 0761; HD020761, Latin) and for Alexander in Bulgaria (AE 1985, 752; HD006280)
Selected references: AE 1951, 9; IGBulg II 640 (Greek).

01-134
Tomis; MoI
Monument: statue base for a bronze statue
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Awarder: the *boule* and the *demos* of the *metropolis* Tomis
Date: AD 222-235
Comment: portrait head of Alexander Severus found here as well (01-037).
Selected references: IGRR I, 1437; London, British Museum GR 1864.3-31.2 (Inscription 176) (Greek).
Image: IMG0066

01-135
Anchialos; Thr
Monument: base, marble
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the council and the people of Ulpia Anchialos
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: SEG 24, 909 (Greek).

01-136
Tyras (area of); MoI
Monument: plaque, originally covering a statue base, marble, grey with blue veins

Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: M. Aurelius Artemon (probably from Istria, with citizenship in Herakleia and Tyras (possibly two cities missing) and member (*decurion*) of both councils (*boule*), granted by the sacred council and the illustrious people)
Date: AD 222-235
Museum/Storage: Kiev, private collection
Selected references: SEG 52, 748; AE 2002, 1251; AE 2004, 1288; HD042108 (Greek).

01-137
 Augusta Traiana; Thr
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *boule* and the *demos* of Traiana (Augusta) - curator: Keleros [...]
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: IGRR I, 752 (Greek).

01-138
 Augusta Traiana; Thr
Monument: base
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Awarder: the *boule* and the *demos* - in governorship of: Iulius Proseius, *presbeus* of the imperial cult, *antistrategos* (*leg. aug. pr. pr.*)
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: IGBulg III, 1561 (Greek).

01-139
 Discoduratae; Thr
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *boule* and *demos* of the *polis* (Augusta) Traiana - supervised by: Aurelius Dinedinidos, *proton archon* (chief-magistrate)
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: AE 1927, 76 (Greek).

01-140
 Egerica; Thr
Monument: statue base (remains of fixing)
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *polis* of Serdica
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: IGBulg IV 1992 (Greek).

01-141
 Germania; Thr

Monument: statue base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *Cohors II Lucensium Alexandriana*
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: CIL III 12339; AE 1892, 0007; AE 1895, 0063; AE 1970/1969, 582; Kalinka 1906, 44; HD012319 (Latin).

01-142
 Philippopolis; Thr
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: Philippopolis, the metropolis of Thrace; curator: Titus Flavius Preiskianus, chief-magistrate, *thrakarchon* (head of the *koinon Thracorum*) and pontifex of the soldiers (*archhireos di' hoplon*)
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: SEG 31, 677 (Greek).

01-143
 Philippopolis; Thr
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Awarder: the Thracian *eparchia* - curator: P. Antius Teres, *thrakarchon*
Date: AD 222-235, 'possibly before AD 224'
Selected references: AE 2006, 1254 (Greek).

01-144
 Hissar (village nearby); Thr
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *komarchia* (*conventus* of multiple *vici*) Zerinoulene and the *komarchia* Zerobastene through the villagers of Brentoparos and Mosynenos - supervised by: Aurelius Kardenthes (/as?) *phylarchos* of the *phyle* Hebraidos
Date: AD 222-235
Comment: - note: the Thracian *vici* were allocated to *tribus*, which were presided by a *phylarchos/tribunus plebis*.
Selected references: IGRR I, 721; Kalinka 106, 55 (Greek).

01-145
 Ambyssus; Ach
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: Alexander Severus

Office: emperor
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: IG IX 19; CIG 1737 (Greek).

01-146
Chaironeia; Ach
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *boule* and the *demos* of Chaironeia
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: SEG 36, 415 (Greek).

01-147
Delphoi; Ach
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: [the *polis* of Delphi]
Date: AD 221-35
Selected references: IG VIII 339; SIG 886 (Greek).

01-148
Epidauros; Ach
Monument: base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *polis* of Epidauros - financed by: the Asklepios sanctuary ('with the money of to the God')
Date: AD 222-235
Comment: - reused from Caracalla!!
Selected references: SEG 17, 184; IG IV 2,I, 612; IG IV.1 ed min. 612 (Greek).

01-149
Hermione; Ach
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *polis* of Hermione
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: CIG 1218; IG IV 708 (Greek).

01-150
Thera; Greek Islands
Monument: base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *boule* and the *demos* of Thera -

through a plebiscite of the council and the people - under the command of Markus Aurelios Leonidas Polyuchus and Markus Aurelius Epaphras (for the second time) and Markus Aurelius Hermos (for the second time), the administrators of those that made the installation
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: IG 12, 3, 484 (Greek).

01-151
Hierapolis; Asi
Monument: base
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Awarder: the council and the people - the neokoros council and the people - curator: Marcus Aurelius Charmus (?) Aurelianus
Date: AD 222-235
Comment: note: here also dedicated Iulia Maesa dated AD 222-223 (SEG 33, 1136)
Selected references: AE 1984, 857; SEG 33, 1137 (Greek).

01-152
Thyatira; Asi
Monument: base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the city Thyatira - on approval of the council - curator: the *archontes* through Gaius Aruntius, and Antonius Flavianus, equestrian
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: IGRR IV, 1207 (Greek).

01-153
Erythrai; Asi
Monument: pedestal
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the city Erythrai
Date: AD 222-235
Comment: - Supervisor: the *archontes* (board of *strategoi* or *exetastai*, acted as agent for the execution of honorific decrees) Titus Flavius Chairemonos and Aurelius Menoga and Pomponius Eirenaius/ Ireneius.
Selected references: SEG 31, 970 (Greek).

01-154
Anchilaos Pontos; BiP
Monument: base and right foot of a bronze statue
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor

Awarder: boule and demos of Achilaos
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: Blanck 1969, 90 B 62 s 90 (Greek).

01-155
Prusias ad Hypium; BiP
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the people
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: IGRR III, 53 (Greek).

01-156
Prusias ad Hypium; BiP
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the city Prusias
Date: AD 222-235
Comment: - Supervisor: the *archontes* through Marcus Aurelius Mar [...]
Selected references: IGRR III, 54 (Greek).

01-157
Antiochia; Gal
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: SEG 31, 1133 (Greek).

01-158
Neoclaudiopolis; Gal
Monument: block/stele, marble; most likely a base
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Awarder: the council and the people of Neoklaudiopolis - curator: Ant. Antoninus and Aur. Claudius (*leg. aug. pr. pr.*) (under P. Alfius Avitus, prov. gov. Pontos or Galatia)
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: AE 2000, 1446; SEG 41, 1108bis; SEG 45, 1696; AE, 1996, 1413; AE 1997, 1477 (Greek).

01-159
Ariassos; Gal
Monument: statue base on 'monument bearing statues', 'arch'

Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 222-235
Comment: - together with inscriptions for Septimius Severus? Caracalla?, and an illegible one (Iulia Mamaea?); - note: bases on the same 'grown' monument for Lucius Verus and Caracalla denotes it as a statue group to which statues, like that of Alexander have been added over the years - financed by: Diotimos from Samos (or son of Samos)
Selected references: IK 57, 114- 118 no. 111. Mitchell – Owens – Waelkens 1989, 62-67. Mitchell 1991, 159-162; IK 57, 114-118 no 109-111; Højte 2005, 528 no 125; Deppmeyer 2008, cat 183; IGSK, 57, 120 no 112 (Greek).

01-160
Pappa Tiberiopolis; Asi
Monument: architrave (most likely of a commemorative arch)
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: Pappa (Tiberpolis)
Date: AD 231-233 (or shortly after)
Selected references: AE 1968, 494 (Greek).

01-161
Side; Pam
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Awarder: the council and the people
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: IK 43, 41; IGRR III, 806; CIG 4343 (Greek).

01-162
Anazarbos; Cil
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the council and the Alexandrian *Septimian Severian Antonian Cesarean* people of Anazarbos
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: IGSK 56, 6; AE 1990, 994 (Greek).

01-163
Isauria; Cil
Monument: honorific arch, one gateway
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor

Awarder: the *boule* and the *demos* of Isauria
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: IK VII, 456 no 12 c;
Swoboda-Keil-Knoll 74 no 150; Kähler 456 12 c)(Greek).

01-164
Tarsus; Cil
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *metropolis* Alexandriana
Antoniniana Severiana Hadriana Tarsos
- curator: Ostorius [...], former consul (?),
possibly *legatus* of the province Cilicia
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: IGRR III, 879; BCH VII
(1883) 281 no 1 (Greek).

01-165
Gerasa; Ara
Monument: block; most likely a base
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *polis* - curator: Marcus Aurelius
Zobaidus
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: SEG 7, 820; Welles 1938,
429 no 156 (Greek).

01-166
Gerasa; Ara
Monument: pedestal
Honorand: Alexander Severus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *polis* - curator: Antonius Marcus
equestrian, Claudios Neikomachos, Vipsanus
Ausus, Licinius Marsus, Iustus Antonius
Date: AD 231
Comment: - found with a corresponding one
for Iulia Mamaea (01-167).
Museum/Storage: today lost.
Selected references: IGRR III, 1360; AE 1894,
167; Welles 1938, 430 no 157 (Greek).

01-167
Gerasa; Ara
Monument: base
Honorand: Iulia Mamaea
Office: Augusta, mother
Awarder: the *polis* - curator: Markus Aurelius -
admisitrated by: Antonius Marcus, *equestrian*,
Claudios Neikomachos, Vipsanus Ausus,
Licinius Marsus, Iustus Antonius
Date: AD 231

Comment: - found with a corresponding one
for Alexander (01-166).
Selected references: IGRR II, 1361; AE 1894,
168; Welles 1938, 430 no 158 (Greek).

Maximinus Thrax

02-01
Roma; LaC
Monument: portrait head (not belonging
insertion bust, *toga contabulata*); H: 0.275m
Honorand: Maximinus Thrax
Office: emperor
Date: AD 235-238
Museum/Storage: Rome, Museo Capitolino,
Imperatori 62 (46. Inv. 473).
Selected references: Wiggers –Wegner 227-
228; Bergmann 1977, 30; FZ 1985, 124-126;
Bernoulli 1894, 117; Felletti Maj, 1958, 116-
117; Varner 2004, 283 cat. 8.3.
Image: IMG0067

02-02
Roma; LaC
Monument: portrait head, fragment; H: 0.21m
Honorand: Maximinus Thrax
Office: emperor
Date: AD 235-238
Museum/Storage: Rome, Antiquarium, Palatin
Inv. 52681.
Selected references: L'Orange 1933, 3 fn.1;
Felletti Maj 1953, 140 no 278; Felletti Maj
1958, 118 no. 78; Wiggers – Wegner 1971,
228; FZ 1985, 125 no 105 repl. 2; Arachne
56312.
Image: IMG0068

02-03
Roma; LaC
Monument: insertion portrait head; H: 0.43m
Honorand: Maximinus Thrax
Office: emperor
Date: 235-238 AD
Museum/Storage: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg
Glyptotek Inv. 818.
Selected references: Schreiber 1880, no 321;
Bernoulli 1894, 107 no 1; Poulsen 1951, 517 -
518 no 744; Felletti Maj 1953, 140 no 287;
Felletti Maj, 1958, 117 no 77; Wiggers –
Wegner 1971, 226-227; Poulsen 1974, 161-
162 no 164; Bergmann 1977, 30; Fittschen
1977, 319-322; Fittschen 1978, 151; FZ 1985,
125 no 105 repl. 5; Bergmann 1981, 187;
Bergmann 1983, 46. 53; Johansen 1995, 100-
101 no 39; Varner 2004, 283 cat 8.1; Arachne

8657.

Image: IMG0069

02-04

Roma?; LaC

Monument: portrait head (on modern bust)

Honorand: Maximinus Thrax

Office: emperor

Date: AD 235-238

Comment: - provenance: unknown maybe same as cat. 02-04, presumably Rome (Varner).

Museum/Storage: Rom, Casino dell'Aurora (Villa Ludovisi).

Selected references: Schreiber 1880, 174 no 158. cf.150; FZ 1985, 125 no 102 repl. 3. Fittschen 1977, 324. Varner 2004, 284 cat 8.5. Arachne 56314.

Image: IMG0070

02-05

Roma?; LaC

Monument: portrait head (on modern bust)

Honorand: Maximinus Thrax

Office: emperor

Date: AD 235-238

Comment: - provenance: unknown maybe same as cat. 02-04, presumably Rome (Varner).

Museum/Storage: Rome, Casino dell'Aurora (former Villa Ludovisi).

Selected references: Schreiber 1880, 174 no 160; FZ 1985, 125 no 102 repl. 4; Fittschen 1977, 324; Varner 2004, 284 cat 8.6; Arachne 56313.

Image: IMG0071

02-06-10

Roma?; LaC

Monument: 5 similar insertion heads for statues; H: 0.44-0.66 m, colossal, different sizes

Honorand: Maximinus Thrax

Office: emperor

Date: AD 235-238

Comment: -lost today - maybe found together with cat. 02-04-05 possibly from a statuary programme, gallery or workshop (Fittschen).

Museum/Storage: last recorded: Villa Ludovisi; now lost.

Selected references: Schreiber 1880, 243 no 321-325; FZ 1985, 125; Bernoulli 1894, 117 no 2-5; Fittschen 1977, 319-326.

02-11

unknown; unknown

Monument: portrait head; H: 0.42m

Honorand: Maximus

Office: Caesar

Date: AD 235-238

Museum/Storage: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 745 (Inv. 819).

Selected references: Schreiber 1880, 322-325; Arndt – Bruckmann 1891-1942, cat. 558; Felletti Maj 1958, 124 no 93; L'Orange 1933, 96 fn 5; Poulsen 1951, 518 no 745; Heintze 1968, 177; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 234; Poulsen 1974, 163 no 166; Bergmann 1977, 32-33; Fittschen 1977, 322 fn 16 (not Maximus); Fittschen 1978, 151-152; Bergmann 1981, 187; Johansen 1995, 104-105 no 41; MusNazRom I, 6, 48-52 no II, 17; Arachne 8753.

Image: IMG0072

02-12

unknown; unknown

Monument: portrait; H: 0.42m

Honorand: Maximus

Office: Caesar

Date: AD 235-238

Museum/Storage: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 746 (Inv. 823).

Selected references: Schreiber 322-325; L'Orange, 1933, 96 fn. 5; Poulsen 1951, 518 no 746; Felletti Maj 1958, 123-124 no 92; Heintze 1968, 177; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 234; Poulsen 1974, 162 no 165; Bergmann 1977, 32-33; Fittschen 1977, 320 fn 7; Fittschen, 1978, 152; Bergmann 1981, 187; Bergmann 1983, 47; Johansen 1995, 102-103 no 40; MusNazRom I, 6, 52 no II, 18; Arachne 8658.

Image: IMG0073

02-13

unknown; unknown

Monument: portrait head; H: 0.34m (w. neck)

Honorand: Maximus

Office: Caesar

Date: AD 235-238

Museum/Storage: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 759 (Inv. 826).

Selected references: Poulsen 1951, 527 no 759; Felletti Maj 1958, 125 no. 96; Heintze 1968, 177; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 234-235; Poulsen 1974, 163 no 167; Bergmann 1977, 32-33 no 3 pl. 2, 6. 3, 6; Wegner 1979, 71; Johansen 1995, 106-107 no 42; Arachne 8756.

Image: IMG0074

02-14
 unknown; unknown
Monument: bust; H: 0.22m
Honorand: Maximus
Office: Caesar
Date: AD 235-238
Museum/Storage: Dresden, Staatliche Museen, Skulpturensammlung Albertinum.
Selected references: Felletti Maj 1958, 125; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 234; Bergmann 1977, 32-33.
Image: IMG0075

02-15
 Bergomum?; Lig
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Maximinus Thrax
Office: emperor
Awarder: - *decreto decurionum*
Date: AD 236-238
Selected references: CIL V 5123; Witschel 2006b, 385 no 42. (Latin).

02-16
 Formeias; LaC
Monument: base
Honorand: Caecilia Paulina
Office: wife of Maximinus Thrax, Augusta
Awarder: the people of Formeias, publicly (Formiani *publice*)
Date: AD 235-238
Comment: - *diva*.
Selected references: AE 1964, 220. Notizie degli scavi di Antichita, series 8, vol. XV 1961, 178-183 (Latin).

02-17
 Paestum; LaC
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Caecilia Paulina
Office: wife of Maximinus Thrax, Augusta
Awarder: - *deceto decurionum* - financed by: *pecunia publica*
Date: AD 236-238
Comment: - *diva*.
Selected references: AE 1964, 236 arch anz 1931 680 (Latin).

02-18
 Veleia; Aem
Monument: plaque for statue
Honorand: Maximus
Office: Caesar
Awarder: - *decreto decurionum*
Date: AD 235-238

Comment: - provenance: forum
Selected references: CIL XI 1176; Boschung 2002, 27 no 2.27 (Latin).

02-19-20
 Carrewbrough / Hadrians wall; Bri
Monument: slab belonging to a statue base/ double base (RIB)
Honorand: Maximinus & Maximus
Office: emperor + Caesar
Awarder: *Coh I Batavorum* - during the administration of the gov. [T]uccianus, *vir clarissimus, leg. aug. pr. pr.* - curator: Burrius [...]
Date: AD 235-238; 237 (RIB)
Selected references: CIL VII 621; Domszawski 1895, 71 fn. 294; EE IX p. 587; RIB 1553 (Latin).

02-21
 Zugmantel; GeS
Monument: base for a cuirassed statue
Honorand: Maximinus Thrax
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *Cohors I Antoniana Treverorum Maximiniana equitata*
Date: AD 235-238
Comment: Stoll calls it a statue base for a cuirassed statue (2001); presumably over life-size (1992).
Selected references: CIL X III 11971; Stoll 1992, 568-569. Stoll 2001, 153 fn. 141; 154 fn. 150 (Latin).

02-22
 Cuicul, Colonia Cuiculitanorum; Num
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Maximus
Office: Caesar
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 236-238
Selected references: ILAlg II 3, 7827; Zimmer – Wesch-Klein 1989, 63 C34; Kleinwächter 2001, Beil 6 (Latin).

02-23
 Tepeltense; Afr
Monument: base
Honorand: Maximus
Office: Caesar
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 235-238
Selected references: CIL VIII 12251.

02-24
 Leptis Magna; Afr
Monument: base
Honorand: Maximinus Thrax
Office: emperor
Awarder: the Septimian Lepcitanians (publicly)
Date: AD 235-236
Comment: - found with son (cat. 02-25) - provenance: Forum Vetus
Selected references: IRT 452; <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT452.html> (Latin).
Image: IMG0076

02-25
 Leptis Magna; Afr
Monument: base; H: 1.58m x W: 0.65m x D: 0.58m
Honorand: Maximus
Office: Caesar
Awarder: the Septimian Lepcitanians (publicly)
Date: AD 235-238
Comment: - found with father (02-24) - provenance: Forum Vetus.
Selected references: IRT 453; <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT453.html> (Latin).
Image: IMG0077

02-26
 Adiaum; PaS
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Maximus
Office: Caesar
Awarder: the *equites* of the *Ala III Aug(ustae) Thr(acum) / Maximiniana*
Date: AD 235-238
Selected references: UEL 13736 (Latin).

02-27
 Augusta Traiana; Thr
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Maximus
Office: Caesar
Awarder: [...]; under the governorship of: [...], priest of the imperial cult, *antistrategos* (*leg. aug. pr. pr.*)
Date: AD 235-238
Comment: - by decree.
Selected references: AE 1987, 901; SEG 37, 600 (Greek).

02-28

Augusta Traiana; Thr
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: Maximinus Thrax
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *polis* of Traiana
Date: AD 235-238
Selected references: IGRR I, 755; IGBulg III, 1560 (Greek).

02-29
 Cillae or Cillium; Thr
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Maximus
Office: Caesar
Awarder: the *metropolis* of the Thracian *eparchia* Philippopolis - curator: Aur. Apollonidos Apollodoros, chief magistrate - financed by the surplus of the communal budget - under the governorship of: (T.) Cl. Saturninus (Fidus), (prov. gov.)
Date: AD 263-238
Selected references: AE 2006, 1248; SEG 3, 509; AA 1939, Spalte 77/8 (Greek).

02-30
 Discoduratae; Thr
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: Maximus
Office: Caesar
Awarder: the *metropolis* of the Thracian *eparchia* Philippopolis - financed by: the surplus of the communal budget - under the governorship of: Titus Claudius Saturninus (prov. gov.) - curator: Aurelius Appolonidus, protarchon (chief magistrate) and Apamodotos Auros
Date: AD 235-238
Selected references: AE 1927, 74 (Greek).

02-31
 Discoduratae; Thr
Monument: base
Honorand: Maximus
Office: Caesar
Awarder: the *boule* and the *demos* of the Thracian *polis* - curator: Valerius Skeletos (?) - under the governorship of: Titus Claudius Saturninus (prov. gov.)
Date: AD 235-238
Comment: - emporium.
Selected references: AE 1927, 73; IGBulg II, 731 (Greek).

02-32
 Philippopolis; Thr

Monument: statue base
Honorand: Maximinus Thrax
Office: emperor
Awarder: the Thracian *eparchia* - curator: Markus Aurelius Stason Iason, *thrakarchon* - under the governorship of: Gaius Vibius Gallus, *provincial governor, leg. aug. pr.pr., antistrategos*
Date: AD 235-238
Comment: - the governor might be the later emperor Trebonianus Gallus (AE).
Selected references: AE 2006, 1249 (Greek).

02-33
 Philippopolis; Thr
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Maximinus Thrax
Office: emperor
Awarder: the Thracian *eparchia* - curator: Markus Aurelius Stason Iason, *thrakarchon* - under the governorship of: Gaius Vibius Gallus, *provincial governor, leg. aug. pr.pr., antistrategos*
Date: AD 235-238
Comment: - the governor might be the later emperor Trebonianus Gallus (AE)
Selected references: AE 2006, 1250 (Greek).

02-34
 Philippopolis; Thr
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Maximus
Office: Caesar
Awarder: the Thracian *eparchia* Philippopolis - curator: Aurelius Apollonidos Apollodoros, *protarchon* (chief magistrate) - under the governorship of: (D.) Simonius (Proculus) Iulianus, *provincial governor, leg. aug. pr.pr., antistrategos* - financed by: the surplus of the communal budget
Date: AD 235-238
Selected references: AE 2006, 1247 (Greek).

02-35
 Nicopolis ad Istrum; MoI
Monument: base
Honorand: Maximus
Office: Caesar
Awarder: The *polis* of Nikopolis Ad Istrum - under the governorship of: Flavius Lucillianus, priest of the imperial cult *antistrategos* - curator [...] *Date:* AD 235-238
Selected references: AE 1926, 98; IGBulg II 638; MDAI 1923, 112-113 no 24 (Greek).

02-36
 Sarmizegetusa, Col.Ulpia Traiana Augusta Dacica Sarmizegetusa; Dac
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: Maximus
Office: Caesar
Awarder: the *boule* and *demos* of Istria
Date: AD 235-238
Selected references: AE 1927, 63 (Greek).

02-37
 Matrica (?); Pal
Monument: statue bases from two joining blocks
 father or son but missing
Honorand: Maximinus or Maximus
Office: emperor or Caesar
Awarder: the *Cohors Milliaria Maurorum Maximiniana*
Date: AD 235-238
Selected references: - AE 2001, 1678 ad; CIL III 10375; RIU 6, 1428; ILS, 2552 p.51-52 no 7; Domsazewski 1895, 71 fn. 294; HD031996 (Latin).

02-38
 Anticyra; Ach
Monument: plaque from a statue base
 limestone
Honorand: Maximinus Thrax
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *boule* and the *demos* - curator: Aur. Melisos
Date: AD 235-238
Comment: when Aur. Arida was *archon* for the second time.
Museum/Storage: Delphi, Museum
Selected references: AE 1960, 308; SEG 16, 348 (Greek).

02-39
 Tegea; Ach
Monument: base
Honorand: Maximus
Office: Caesar
Awarder: the *polis*
Date: AD 235-238
Selected references: IG I 134 (Greek).

02-40
 Troezen; Ach
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: Maximinus Thrax
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *polis* of Troezen

Date: AD 235-238
Selected references: IG IV 1610 (Greek).

02-41
Cilla; Gal
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Maximinus Thrax
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *Civitas Cillanesium*
Date: AD 235-238
Selected references: MAMA 8, 348; Cramer 1832, 31 (Latin).

02-42
Phaselis; Ly
Monument: base
Honorand: Caecilia Paulina
Office: wife of Maximinus Thrax, Augusta
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 235-238
Selected references: AE 2006, 1507 (Greek).

02-43
Schedia (ancient port of Alexandria); Aeg
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: Maximinus Thrax
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *polis*
Date: AD 235-238
Selected references: IGRR I, 1100 (Greek).

Gordianus

03-001
Roma; LaC
Monument: portrait head (on modern bust);
H: 0.34m
Honorand: Pupienus
Office: emperor
Date: AD 238
Museum/Storage: Museo Torlonia 588.
Selected references: Visconti 1876, 490; 1880, 497; 1881, 501; 1883, 588; 1884/85 588 tav. 152; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 242, 245; Haarlov 1975 13-14 fn. 33; FZ 1985, 126 no 106, repl. 3; Gasparri 1980, 225 no 558; Felletti Maj 1958, 136 no 121; Arachne 27155.
Image: IMG0078

03-002
Roma; LaC
Monument: portrait head, bronze; H: 0.38m
Honorand: Balbinus

Office: emperor
Date: AD 238
Museum/Storage: Rome, Museo Vaticano, Bibliotheca.
Selected references: Bernoulli II 3 1894, 128-129 pl. 35; L'Orange 1933, 97; Felletti Maj 1958, 140-141; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 248; Bergmann 1983, 47. 54 pl. 21; Arachne 19554.
Image: IMG0079

03-003
Roma; LaC
Monument: portrait head (on a modern bust);
H: 0.28m
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Date: AD 238-ca. 242
Museum/Storage: Rome, Museo Palazzo dei Conservatori, Sala degli Orti Mecenaziani Inv. 995.
Selected references: Bernoulli 1894, 132. Fittschen 1969, 200-201; Wegener 1979, 26; FZ 1985, 128-129 no 108; Felletti-Maj 1985, 157; Arachne 36145.
Image: IMG0080

03-004
Roma; LaC
Monument: portrait head; H: 0,21m
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Date: AD 238-ca. 242
Museum/Storage: Rome, Museo Nazionale delle Terme, Inv. 4178.
Selected references: Fittschen 1969, 200-201 no 5; Felletti Maj 1985, 156-157 no 164; Wegener 1979, 27; Arachne 36150.
Image: IMG0081

03-005
Roma; LaC
Monument: portrait head (on modern bust)
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Date: AD 238-ca. 242
Museum/Storage: Rome, Museo Torlonia 620.
Selected references: Visconti 1880, 520; 1881, 524; 1883, 612; 1884/85, 620 tav. 161; Bernoulli 1894, 132 no 8; Bracker 1964, 106-107; Felletti-Maj 1953, 142; Felletti Maj 1958, 154 no 157; Fittschen 1969, 200-201 no 18; Wegener 1979, 27-28; Arachne 27171.
Image: IMG0082

03-006
 Gabii; LaC
Monument: half-torso bust; H: 0.77m
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Date: AD 242-244
Comment: - paludamentum and scale armour.
Museum/Storage: Paris, Musée Du Louvre 1063; Inv. MR 513.
Selected references: Bernoulli 1894, 131; Bracker 1964, 34. 91; Fittschen 1969, 200-201; Felletti Maj 1958, 151-152; Wegener 1979, 26; Kersauson 1996, 456-457 no 213; Sinn 2009, 141-143. 148; Arachne 14958.
Image: IMG0083

03-007
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head (on non-belonging bust); H: 0.21m
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Date: AD 238-ca. 242
Comment: - provenance: former Gabii; unknown according to the museum's catalogue.
Museum/Storage: Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 2331; Inv. MR 410.
Selected references: Bernoulli, II 3 1894, 101 no 13; Felletti Maj 1958, 98 cat. 28; Bracker 1964, 93; Fittschen 1969, 200-201 no 11; Felletti-Maj 1985, 154; FZ 1985 129 fn. 3. 5; Wegener 1979, 26; Kersauson 1996, 454-5 no 212; Arachne 14959.
Image: IMG0084

03-008
 Ostia; LaC
Monument: portrait head, for insertion into statue; colossal; H: 0.63m
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Date: AD 242-244
Comment: - provenance: northern side of the Decumanus, close to Porta Marina; area of the Tempio Rotondo with 01-010, 08-031, and 03-062.
Museum/Storage: Rome, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, Inv. 326 I 1185.
Selected references: Felletti Maj 1953, 141 no 281; Heintze 1955, 182; Felletti-Maj 1958, 155 no 161; Bracker 1964 34-35. 101-103; Wegener 1979, 27; Calza 1978, 67-68 no 84 pl. LXII; Fittschen 1969, 200-201 no 16; Varner 2004, 282 cat 7.26; Deppmeyer 2008, cat. 211; Giuliano 1979 I/190, 310 - 312 no 186; Arachne 17146.

Image: IMG0085

(03-008small)
 Ostia; Lac
Monument: miniature portrait head, fragment; H: 0,06m
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Date: AD 238-ca. 242
Comment: - found east of the 'caserna dei vigili'.
Museum/Storage: Ostia, Museum, depot, Inv. 1282.
Selected references: Calza 1978, 73 no 92 pl. LXVII; Wegner 1979, 25; Fittschen Jdl 84, 1969, 200 no 5; FZ 1985, 128 fn. 3; Arachne 36148.
Image: IMG0086

03-009
 Otriculum (near); Umb
Monument: portrait head (on non-belonging bust); H: 0,24 m
Honorand: Tranquillina
Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)
Date: AD 241-244 on non-belonging bust
Comment: - basilica; found together with Iulia Mamaea (01-013).
Museum/Storage: Rome, Museo Torlonia 592.
Selected references: Visconti 1876, 494 (Otacilia); 1880, 501; 1881, 505; 1883, 592, 1884/85, 592 tav. 153; Felletti Maj 1958, 177-178 no 213; Bergmann 1977, 39, 3-9; Gasparri 1980, 225 no 592; FZ 1983, 33 no 10; Wegner 1979, 55. 61; Deppmeyer 2008, cat. 212.
Image: IMG0087

03-010
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head (on modern bust)
Honorand: Tranquillina
Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)
Date: AD 241-244
Museum/Storage: London, British Museum 1923.
Selected references: Bergmann 1977, 39; FZ 1983, 33 no 36 repl. 6; Wegner 1979, 54; Arachne 10843.
Image: IMG0088

03-011
 Sicila; Sic
Monument: portrait head (on modern bust)
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor

Date: AD 242

Museum/Storage: Palermo, Museo
Archaeologico Inv. 739.

Selected references: Bonacasa 1964, 110-111
no 143; Wegener 1979, 25; Bracker 1964, 89-
90; Fittschen 1969, 200-201; FZ 1985, 130 fn.
6a; Arachne 36143.

Image: IMG0089

03-012

unknown (?); unknown

Monument: portrait head; slightly over life-
size

Honorand: Gordianus III

Office: emperor

Date: AD 238-ca. 242

Comment: - with laurel wreath with holes for
the insertion of metal rays .

Museum/Storage: Florence, Palazzo Medici-
Riccardi, courtyard.

Selected references: Bernoulli 1894, 132 no 9;
Bracker 1964, 36. 44-46. 75-76; Wegener
1979, 22; Fittschen 1969, 206. 210; Felletti-
Maj 1958, 160 no 175; Bergman 1997, 277-
279; Arachne 36141.

Image: IMG0090

03-013

Niederbieber (castra); Gel

Monument: portrait head, bronze; colossal

Honorand: Gordianus III

Office: emperor

Date: AD 242-244

Museum/Storage: Bonn, Rhein.

Landesmuseum Inv. 9132.

Selected references: Wegener 1979, 21;
Fittschen 1969, 204; Fittschen 1969, 200-201;
FZ 1969, 200-201; Felletti-Maj 1985, 156. no
163; Arachne 2716.

Image: IMG0091

03-014

Chiragan, road to Tolosa; Nar

Monument: portrait bust; 0.50m

Honorand: Tranquillina

Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)

Date: AD 241-244

Comment: Roman Villa

Museum/Storage: Toulouse, Musée Saint
Raymond.

Selected references: Joulin 1901, 122 cat. no.
298; 305 pl. 22. 23; Espérandieu 1908, cat.
1001; Bergmann 1977, 39, 3-9; FZ 1983, 33 no
36 repl. 12; Felletti Maj 1958, 179 cat 220;
Wegner 1979, 56. 62; Wood 1981, 60 fn. 9;
Boschung 2002, 130 fn. 737; Arachne 53222;

Image: IMG0092

03-015

Piraeus; Ach

Monument: fragments of heroic statue, no
head; colossal

Honorand: Pupienus

Office: emperor

Date: AD 238

Comment: - the statue was identified through
the find context with the corresponding statue
of Balbinus (03-016).

Museum/Storage: Piraeus, Museum 125 A
(garden and depot).

Selected references: Vermeule 1959, 109;
Vermeule 1968, 310. 403; Niemeyer 1968,
112 (discussing Balbinus no 125); Wiggers –
Wegner 1971, 244-245; FZ 1985 127 fn. 3;
Trummer 1980, 119 fn 1.

03-016

Piraeus; Ach

Monument: statue; slightly over life-size/
(‘colossal’) H: 2,02m

Honorand: Balbinus

Office: emperor

Date: AD 238

Comment: - corresponding statue of Pupienus
(03-015).

Museum/Storage: Piraeus, Museum.

Selected references: Vermeule 1959, 109;
Fellett Maj 1958, 143 no 137; Wiggers –
Wegner 1971, 248; Trummer 1980, 118-119;
Bergmann 1983, 47; Arachne 15392.

Image: IMG0093

03-017

Nicopolis as Istrum (south of); Mol

Monument: portrait head, bronze; over life-
size; H: 0.37m

Honorand: Gordianus III

Office: emperor

Date: AD 242-244

Museum/Storage: Sophia, Archaeological
Nationalmuseum Inv. 1497.

Selected references: Fittschen 1969, 200-201.
204 no 24; Felletti Maj 1958, 155-156 no 162
pl XXI, 66; Wegener 1979, 28-29 (Bracker);
Deppmeyer 2008 cat 214; Varner 2004, 285
cat 8.9; Arachne 30451.

Image: IMG0094

03-018

unknown; unknown

Monument: portrait bust with trabea; H:

0.87m

Honorand: Pupienus

Office: emperor

Date: AD 238

Museum/Storage: Rome, Museo Vaticano, Braccia Nuovo 47. Inv. 2265.

Selected references: Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 245; FZ 1985 126; Bergmann 1983, 47. 53 pl. 20; Felletti Maj 1958, 135-136; Arachne 19678.

Image: IMG0095

03-019

unknown; unknown

Monument: portrait head with naked bust; H: 0.36m

Honorand: Pupienus

Office: emperor

Date: AD 238

Museum/Storage: Paris, Musée du Louvre 1020, Inv. MR642.

Selected references: Bernoulli II 3 1894, 126 no. 3; Felletti Maj 1958, 136 no 122; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 244-245; Haarlov 1975, 13 -14 fn. 33; FZ 1985 126 no 106, repl. 4; Kersauson 1996, 450-451 no 210; Arachne 14956.

Image: IMG0096

03-020

unknown; unknown

Monument: portrait head (on non-belonging bust); H: 0,65m

Honorand: Pupienus

Office: emperor

Date: AD 238

Museum/Storage: Rome, Museo Capitolino, Stanza degli Imperatori Inv. 477.

Selected references: Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 245; FZ 1985, 126-127 no 106; Felletti Maj 1958, 136; Arachne 16068.

Image: IMG0097

03-021

unknown; unknown

Monument: portrait head; H: 0.363m

Honorand: Pupienus

Office: emperor

Date: AD 238

Museum/Storage: Hannover, Private Collection.

Selected references: FZ 1985 126; L'Orange 1967, 94; Mlasowsky 2001, 234-245; Arachne 35041.

Image: IMG0098

03-022

unknown; unknown

Monument: portrait head (on non-belonging bust); H: 0,465m

Honorand: Gordianus III

Office: emperor

Date: AD 238-ca. 242

Museum/Storage: Rome, Museo Capitolino, Sala dei Imperatori 78, Inv. 490.

Selected references: Stuart Jones, 1912, 212 cat. 78; Wegner 1979, 26; FZ 1985, 127-128 cat. 107; Fittschen 1969, 200-201 no 12; Felletti-Maj 1958, 150; Arachne 16069.

Image: IMG0099

03-023

unknown; unknown

Monument: portrait head (on amended bust); H: 0,3m

Honorand: Gordianus III

Office: emperor

Date: AD 238-ca. 242

Museum/Storage: Rome, Museo Vaticano, Chiaramonti No 699. Inv. 1232.10.

Selected references: Bernoulli 1894, 132 no 4; Amelung 1903, 788 no 699; Heintze 1955, 182; Bracker 1964, 20. 114-115; Fittschen 1969, 200-201 no 21; Wegener 1979, 28; Felletti Maj 1958, 151 no 151; Arachne 20207.

Image: IMG0100

03-024

unknown (?); unknown

Monument: portrait head (on non-belonging (?) toga statue); H 0,19m; slightly under life-size

Honorand: Gordianus III

Office: emperor

Date: AD 238-ca. 242

Museum/Storage: Rome, Villa Albani, Tempio di Giove, Inv.-no 427.

Selected references: Visconti 1883, no 612; Bernoulli 1894, 132 no 5 pl. 39; Heintze 1955, 182. Bracker 1964, 22-23, 116-117; Fittschen 1969, 200-201 no 23; Felletti-Maj 1958, 154 no 158; Wegener 1979, 28; Arachne 36152.

Image: IMG0101

03-025

unknown (?); unknown

Monument: portrait head (on non-belonging bust); H: 0.54m

Honorand: Gordianus III

Office: emperor

Date: AD 238-ca. 242

Museum/Storage: Rome, Villa Albani, Galleria

die nobili, Inv. 1023.
Selected references: Visconti 1883, no 612;
 Bernoulli 1894, 132 no 5; Heintze 1955, 182;
 Bracker 1964, 22-23, 116-117; Fittschen
 1969, 200-201 no 23; Wegner 1979, 28; Wood
 1981, 62 fn. 27; Felletti-Maj 1955, 153 no 156;
 Bergmann 1989, 441-442, cat. 139; Arachne
 36153.
Image: IMG0102

03-026
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head (on non-belonging
 bust); H: 0.22m
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Date: AD 242
Museum/Storage: Rome, Museo Torlonia 606.
Selected references: Visconti 1876, 503; 1880,
 510; 1881, 514; 1883 606; 1884/5, 606 pl.
 157; Bernoulli 1894, 132 no. 7; L'Orange
 1933, 2. 5 no 3; Bracker 1964, 17. 107;
 Heintze 1955, 182- 183; Felletti-Maj 1955,
 158 no 167; FZ 1969, 200-201 no 19;
 Wegener 1979, 27, 122; Gasparri 1980, 227
 no 606.; Arachne 36151.
Image: IMG0103

03-027
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head (on non-belonging
 bust); over life-size; H: 0,75m
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Date: AD 238-ca. 242
Museum/Storage: Rome, Museo Vaticano, Sala
 die Busti 367, Inv. 618.
Selected references: Bernoulli 1894, 175;
 Amelung 1908, 554 no 367; Heintze 1955,
 181; Felletti Maj 1958, 152 no 153; Heintze
 1959, 179 no 9; Bracker 1964, 34-35. 111-
 112; Wegener 1979, 28; Fittschen 1969, 200-
 201 no 20; Felletti Maj 1958, 153; Arachne
 19805.
Image: IMG0104

03-028
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Date: AD 242
Museum/Storage: Rome, Collection Latini –
 Rossini.
Selected references: Bracker 1964, 20. 100-
 101; Fittschen 1969, 200-201; Felletti Maj

1958, 153 no 155; Wegener 1979, 28;
 Arachne 36149.

03-029
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head (on non-belonging
 bust); H: 0.26m
Honorand: Tranquillina
Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)
Date: AD 241-244
Museum/Storage: Rome, Museo Vaticano,
 Museo Chiaramonti 233 (XXVII 21) Inv. 1626.
Selected references: Bergmann 1977, 39, 3-9;
 FZ 1983, 33 no 36 repl. 8; Felletti Maj 1958,
 178; Wegner 1979, 55-56.
Image: IMG0105

03-030
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head (on a non-belonging
 bust); H: 0,24m
Honorand: Tranquillina
Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)
Date: AD 241-244
Museum/Storage: Rome, Palazzo del Quirinale
 Inv. SM 5062.
Selected references: Bergmann 1977, 39, 3-9;
 FZ 1983, 34, fn. 2; Felletti Maj 1958, 178;
 Guereni – Gasparri 1993, 92-95. pl. XXXI.
Image: IMG0106

03-031
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head; H: 0.35m
Honorand: Tranquillina
Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)
Date: AD 241-244
Museum/Storage: Rome, Rome, Museo
 Vaticano, Museo Gregoriano Profano 10190
 (former Museo Profano Lateranense Sala X,
 No. 603).
Selected references: Giuliano 1957, 74 pl. 54;
 Bergmann 1977, 39, 3-9; FZ 1983, 33 no 9;
 Felletti Maj 1958, 178; Wegner 1979, 56.
Image: IMG0107

03-032
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head; H: 0.35m
Honorand: Tranquillina
Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)
Date: AD 241-244
Museum/Storage: Rome, Galleria di San Luca,
 Atrio.
Selected references: FZ 1983, 33 no 11.

03-033
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head (on non-belonging bust); H: 0.57m
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Date: AD 242
Museum/Storage: Rome, Museo Nuovo del Palazzo dei Conservatori, Sala 1 no 18. Inv. 479.
Selected references: Wegener 1979, 26-27; Fittschen 1969, 200-201; Felletti Maj 1958, 157-159 no 171; FZ 1958, 129-130 no 109; Arachne 36146.
Image: IMG0108

03-034
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head on bust; H: 0,546m
Honorand: Tranquillina
Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)
Date: AD 241-244
Museum/Storage: Art market, N.Y.
Selected references: Sotheby's N.Y., Auction 8.12.2010 no.56 with pl.; F. Sinn 2013, 418-422;
<http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2010/egyptian-classical-and-western-asiatic-antiquities-n08688/lot.56.lotnum.html>
Image: IMG0109

03-035
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head (on modern bust); H: 0,26m
Honorand: Tranquillina
Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)
Date: AD 241-244
Museum/Storage: Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi Inv. 1914, 265 (momentarily in the Palazzo Vecchio (?)).
Selected references: Mansuelli 1961, 122 no 159 pl. 159; FZ 1983, 33 no 2; Wegner 1979, 53.
Image: IMG0110

03-036
 unknown (?); unknown
Monument: portrait head; life-size
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Date: AD 238-ca. 242
Museum/Storage: Mantua, Palazzo Ducale, Galleria della Mostra no. 152 (Inv.-No 6812)
Selected references: Bracker 1964, 84; Wegener 1979, 24; FZ 1985, 128 fn. 3;

Bernoulli 1894, 132. 148 no 10; Fittschen 1969, 200-201; Felletti Maj 1958, 160 no 173; Fittschen 1969, 210 fn. 17; Arachne 37935.
Image: IMG0111

03-037
 unknown (?); unknown
Monument: portrait head
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Date: AD 238-ca. 242
Museum/Storage: Turin, Museo di Antichità, closed room 2 (2) 81.
Selected references: Wegener 1979, 29; Bernoulli 1894, 132-133. Fittschen 1969, 204; Fittschen 1969, 200-201; Felletti-Maj 1985, 159-160 no 172; Arachne 31398.
Image: IMG0112

03-038
 unknown (?); unknown
Monument: portrait head, for insertion; life-size
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Date: AD 242
Museum/Storage: Oslo, Nasjonalgalleriet
Selected references: Wegener 1979, 24-25; FZ 1985, 128 fn. 3; Fittschen 1969, 200-202; Felletti-Maj 1958, 152-153; Arachne 36142.
Image: IMG0113

03-039
 unknown (?); unknown
Monument: portrait head (on non-belonging bust); H: 0.21m
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Date: AD 238-ca. 242
Museum/Storage: Holkham Hall.
Selected references: Bernoulli 1894, 133; FZ 1958, 128 fn. 3; Fittschen 1969, 200-201; Felletti-Maj 1985, 154 no159; Arachne 7466.
Image: IMG0114

03-040
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head (on non-belonging bust); H: 0.197m (chin crown)
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Date: AD 238-ca. 242
Museum/Storage: Howard Castle.
Selected references: Fittschen 1969, 200-201 no 58; Felletti-Maj 1958, 159 no 170; Borg

2005, 110-111 no 58; Wegener 1979, 23;
Arachne 3771.
Image: IMG0115

03-041

unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head (on modern bust);
H: 0, 23m (with neck)
Honorand: Tranquillina
Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)
Date: AD 241-244
Museum/Storage: Liverpool, Museum
53.115.13 (former Rossie Priory).
Selected references: Bergmann 1977, 39;
Wegner 1979, 54; FZ 1983, 33 no 36 repl. 5;
Arachne 56389.
Image: IMG0116

03-042

unknown (?); unknown
Monument: portrait head (on modern bust);
H: 0.505m
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Date: AD 238 - ca. 242
Museum/Storage: Petworth, Collection
Leconfield 79.
Selected references: Bernoulli 1894, 133 no 13;
Heintze, 1955, 183; Bracker 1964, 83;
Fittschen 1969, 200-201 no 6; Wegener 1979,
26; Felletti Maj 1958, 159 no 171; Arachne
25166.
Image: IMG0117

03-043

unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head; H: 0,23m
Honorand: Tranquillina
Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)
Date: AD 241-244
Museum/Storage: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg
Glyptotek 754 Inv. 1572 (momentarily
Studiensammlung).
Selected references: Bergmann 1977, 39, cf. no
9; FZ 1983, 33 no 36 repl. 3; Felletti Maj 1958,
180 no 222; Wegener 1979, 54; Arachne 8841.
Image: IMG0118

03-044

unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head
Honorand: Tranquillina
Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)
Date: AD 241-244
Museum/Storage: last recorded/ origin: Basel,

art market.

Selected references: Palladion 1976, 106 no.
123 w pl; Wegner 1979, 53. FZ 1983, 33 no 36
repl. 4; Arachne 56388.
Image: IMG0119

03-045

unknown; unknown
Monument: trabea bust
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Date: AD 238-ca. 242
Museum/Storage: Berlin Antikensammlung,
ehm. Staatl Museum R 102.
Selected references: Wegener 1979, 21;
Bernoulli 1894, 133; Blümel 1933, 42-43 pl.
66; Fittschen 1969, 200-201; Felletti Maj
1958, 149-150.
Image: IMG0120

03-046

unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head marble (on non-
belonging bust)
Honorand: Tranquillina
Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)
Date: AD 241-244
Museum/Storage: Dresden, Staatliche
Skulpturensammlung Inv. Hm 380 (136).
Selected references: Bergmann 1977, 39, 3-9;
FZ 1983, 33 no 36 repl. 1; Felletti Maj 1958,
180; Wegener 1979, 53; Sinn 2013; Arachne
56386.
Image: IMG0121

03-047

unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head (on modern bust);
under life-size
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Date: AD 242-244
Museum/Storage: Paris, Bibliothèque
Nationale.
Selected references: Wegener 1979, 25;
Fittschen 1969, 200-201.

(03-047a)

unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head (on modern bust);
H: 0.38m
Honorand: Gordianus I (?)
Office: predating his regency
Date: AD 220-230
Comment: (on modern bust)

Museum/Storage: Mus. Capitolino, Stanza degli Imperatori. Inv. 475.
Selected references: Bernoulli 1894, 123; Heintze, 1956, 62 fn. 38; Felletti Maj 1958, 131 no 107; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 239; FZ 1985, 123-124 no 104; Arachne 16098.
Image: IMG0122

(03-047b)
 Carthago, 'Duar ech Chott'; Afr
Monument: portrait head; H: 0,29m
Honorand: Gordianus I (?)
Office: emperor
Date: AD 238 (?)
Comment: - oak- wreath with gem/cameo.
Museum/Storage: Tunis, Musée Alaoui au Bardo, Inv. 3212.
Selected references: Felletti Maj 1958, 129 no 104; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 239-240; Bergmann 1977, 33-34; Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 297 fn. 4; FZ 1985, 133 fn. 15b; Arachne 19198.
Image: IMG0123

(03-047small)
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head; under life-size, almost miniature; H: 0.165 m
Honorand: Tranquillina
Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)
Date: AD 241-244
Museum/Storage: Museo Capitolino, Depot, Inv. 83.
Selected references: FZ 1983, 33-34 no 36; Arachne 39227.
Image: IMG0124

03-048
 Roma; LaC
Monument: base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: Numisius Quintianus, *vir perfectissimus, ab epistulis latinis* (secretary, cf. the discussion on *grammateis* in Ephesos).
Date: AD 239
Comment: - note: reused for Valentius (CIL VI 1172).
Selected references: CIL VI 1088 (+31375 (frag.) = 36884 (Latin).

03-049
 Roma; LaC
Monument: base
Honorand: Gordianus III

Office: emperor
Awarder: Gordiana Severiana Alexandrian Antoniana Hadriana Tarsos
Date: AD 238-244
Comment: - provenance: Via sacra
Selected references: IGUR 80; IG XIV 1066b; IGR I 133b (Greek).

03-050
 Roma; LaC
Monument: base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: (the pretorians)
Date: AD 243 (cos)
Comment: possibly reused - provenance: Castra Praetoria.
Selected references: CIL VI 32634 (a = 3786; c = 11668) (Latin).

03-051
 Roma; LaC
Monument: plaque likely to be belonging to a base
Honorand: Tranquillina
Office: AD 238-244
Awarder: [...] asiarch of the temple of Ephesos
Date: AD 241-244
Comment: note: Tranquillina is referred to in the dative case.
Selected references: IGUR I, 41 (Greek).

03-052
 Roma; LaC
Monument: base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *Fratres Arvales*
Date: AD 241-244
Comment: - provenance: grove of Dea Dia, office of the Arval brethren, apsis.
Selected references: CIL VI 1093; Deppmeyer 2008, cat 90; Pekary 1985, 9 (Latin).

03-053
 Roma (?); LaC
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 238/241- 244
Museum/Storage: Roma, Antiq. Caelio.
Selected references: CIL VI 40691; HD027056 (Latin).

03-054
 Roma; LaC
Monument: base
Honorand: Tranquillina
Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)
Awarder: *decuriales* of the *aediles plebis* and of the *aediles plebis cerialium*
Date: AD 241-244
Comment: - provenance: Aventin.
Selected references: CIL VI 1095 (Latin).

03-055
 Roma; LaC
Monument: base
Honorand: Tranquillina
Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)
Awarder: the *decuriales* of the *geruli*
Date: AD 241-244
Comment: - provenance: S. Clemente, private street.
Selected references: CIL VI 1096 = 31239a (Latin).

03-056
 Bracciano (mod.); LaC
Monument: base
Honorand: Tranquillina
Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)
Awarder: *Cohortes Septem Vigilium Gordianae* - curator: Valerius Valente, *vir perfectissimus*, *praefectus vigilium* acting in the place of the pretorian prefect and Valerius Alexandrus, *vir egregius subpraefectus vigilium*, and Iulius Magnus, *vir egregius*, *subpraefectus annonae*, acting in the place of the *subpraefectus vigilium*.
Date: AD 241-244
Selected references: AE 1889, 106 (Latin).
 Stone Potter 370.

03-057
 Fabrateria vetus; LaC
Monument: statue base (*cippus*)
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: *Fabraterni* - *decurionum decreto*, *p(ublice)*
Date: AD 239
Selected references: AE 1979, 138; HD007693 (Latin).

03-058
 Minturnae; LaC
Monument: base
Honorand: Tranquillina

Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)
Awarder: the people of Minturnae, publicly (*Minturnes publice*)
Date: AD 241-244
Selected references: AE 1935, 19 (Latin).

03-059
 Ostia; LaC
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: a *collegio Ostiense* (perhaps the Augustales) (CIL)
Date: AD 239
Comment: - later reused.
Selected references: CII XIV 461 (Latin).

03-060
 Ostia; LaC
Monument: base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: *Cohors VI Vigilium Praeposito Vexillationis* - curator: [...] *prefectus vigilium*, *perfectissimus vir*; Aelius Specato *subpraefectus vigilium*, *vir egregius*; Aurelius Masculo tribun - *agentes*: Aurelius Diza; Atilius Vitale; L Septimius Victorinus; Marcius Quintus; Cupentius Geminianus, *cornicularius tribuni*
Date: AD 239
Comment: - provenance: the Castro - the consul Aviola is a further honorand
 - long list of individuals involved in the financing and execution.
Selected references: CIL XIV 4397; AE 1889, 0103; Ephem. epigr. VII, 1211; Domszowski 1895, 72 fn. 295 (Latin).

03-061
 Ostia; LaC
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Tranquillina
Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)
Awarder: *Cohortes Septem Vigilium Gordianae* - curator: Valerius Valente, *vir perfectissimus*, *praefecto vigilium vice agente prefectorum*, *praetorio eminentissimorum virorum*; Valerius Alexandrus, *vir egregius subpraefectus vigilium*; Iulio Magno *vir egregius*, *subpraefectus annonae vice agente*, *subpraefectus vigilium*
Date: AD 241-244
Comment: - provenance: the Castro.
Selected references: CIL XIV 4398; Domszowski 1895, 72 fn. 305; EphEp VII, 1211 (Latin).

03-062
 Ostia; LaC
Monument: statue base; fragment
Honorand: Tranquillina
Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 241-244
Comment: - provenance: the Tempio Rotondo with portraits of Alexander (01- 10), Gordian III (03-008), and a base for Valerianus II (08-031).
Selected references: CIL XIV suppl. 4399; Deppmeyer 2008, cat. 211; Steuernagel 2004, 57.

03-063
 Portus; LaC
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
 - addressed as euerget
Awarder: the *polis* of the people of Gaza -
 curator: Tib. Cl. Papairios, curator of the sanctuary of Marnas
Date: AD 238-244
Selected references: IGRR I, 387; CIG 5892; IG XIV, 926 (Greek).

03-064
 Ligures Baebiani; ApC
Monument: base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: - *decreto decurionum, publice*
Date: AD 238-244
Selected references: CIL IX 1457; Hübner 1885, 186 (Latin).
 03-065
 Ligures Baebiani; ApC
Monument: 'cippus', base
Honorand: Tranquillina
Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)
Awarder: - *decreto decurionum, publice* (publicly)
Date: AD 241-244
Selected references: CIL IX 1458; Hübner 1885, 186 (Latin).

03-066
 Rubi; ApC
Monument: base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: *decuriones et augustales* - financed: *ex aere collato* (through donations)
Date: AD 239

Selected references: CIL IX 312; Hübner 1885,186 (Latin).

03-067
 Marsi, Antinum; Sam
Monument: base
Honorand: Tranquillina
Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)
Awarder: the senate and the people of Marsi Antium SPMA
Date: AD 241-244
Selected references: CIL IX 3833; Hübner 1885,186 (Latin).

03-068
 Forum Novum; Sam
Monument: base
Honorand: Tranquillina
Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)
Awarder: the people of Forum Novum
Date: AD 241-244
Selected references: CIL IX 4780 cf. IX p. 685; cf. CIL, Suppl. Ital. 5, 1989, 159-160 no 4780 (Latin).

03-069
 Amelia; Umb
Monument: base
Honorand: Tranquillina
Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)
Awarder: - *decreto decurionum*
Date: AD 241-244
Selected references: CIL XI 4352 (Latin).

03-070
 Pitinum Pisavrense; Umb
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: - *decreto decurionum* - financed by: *pecunia publica*
Date: AD 238-244
Selected references: CIL XI 6030 (Latin).

03-071
 Cosa; Etr
Monument: base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica* of Cosa - *decreto decurionum*
Date: AD 241
Selected references: CIL XI 2634 (Latin).

03-072
 Veleia; Aem
Monument: plaque, for a statue, fragment
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: - *decreto decurionum*
Date: AD 238
Comment: - presumably next to Tranquillina (03-073) - reused for Gallienus (08-057) - provenance: forum.
Selected references: CIL XI 1177; Boschung 2002, 27 no 2.28a (Latin).

03-073
 Veleia; Aem
Monument: base
Honorand: Tranquillina
Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)
Awarder: - *decreto decurionum*
Date: AD 241-244
Comment: - presumably next to Gordian (03-072) - reused for Probus (14-04) - provenance: forum.
Selected references: CIL XI 1178 a; Boschung 2002, 27 no 2.29 a. b (Latin).

03-074
 Nesactium; VeH
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica* of Nesactium
Date: AD 238-244
Selected references: AE 1902, 51; Alfoeldy 1984, 08-82 no 15; Inscr. It. X 1, 672; Witschel 2006b, 383 no 1; HD032984 (Latin).

03-075
 Vicetia; VeH
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica* - *decreto decurionum* - financed: *ex liberalitate matidiarum* (a financing foundation from the inheritance of Matidia *minor*, emperor Hadrian's sister in law)
Date: AD 242
Selected references: CIL V 3112; Hübner 1885, no 558; Alföldy 1984a, 123 no 177; Witschel 2006b, 384 no 28; HD033398 (Latin).

03-076
 Tarvenna/ Civitas Morinorum; Bel
Monument: statue base

Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: Civitas Morinorum
Date: AD 240-241
Comment: CIL calls it 'ara'.
Selected references: CIL XIII 3560; AE 1900, 43; Rosso 2006, 257 no 50 (Latin).

03-077
 Condate Riedonum (?) Lugdunensis; Lug
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *ordo* of Riedonum
Date: AD 238
Selected references: CIL XIII 3153; Rosso 2006, 288-289, no 75 (Latin).

03-078
 Ager Vellavorum; Aqu
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Tranquillina
Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)
Awarder: *Civitas Vellavorum Libera* (the free city of Vellavorum)
Date: AD 241-244
Selected references: CIL X III 1614; Rosso 2006, 244 no 39.

03-079
 Burdigala; Aqu
Monument: 'cippus', 'block', most likely a statue base
Honorand: Gordianus I
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 238
Comment: Rosso assumes this to be a base cut for secondary use which held either a monumental or an equestrian statue or a joint dedication with the son.
Selected references: CIL XIII 592; CIL VIII 12521; Rosso 2006, 195 no 4 (Latin).

03-080
 Ora Maritima; Nar
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: *Decumani Narbonenses* (military)
Date: AD 239
Selected references: CIL XII 5366; Rosso 2006, 393 no 161 (Latin).

03-081
Vintium; AlM
Monument: base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *civitas* of Vintium
Date: AD 239
Selected references: CIL XII 9; Rosso 2006, 538 no 297 (Latin).

03-082
Baetulo; Tar
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *ordo* of Baetulo
Date: AD 238-244
Selected references: CIL II 4606; Hübner 1885, 223; HD043829. (Latin)

03-083
Baetulo; Tar
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Tranquillina
Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)
Awarder: the *ordo* of Baetulo
Date: AD 241-244
Selected references: CIL III 4607; Hübner 1885, 223; HD 043830 (Latin).

03-084
Gerunda; Tar
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Tranquillina
Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)
Awarder: the *res publica* of Gerunda
Date: AD 241-244
Selected references: CIL II 04620; IRC 3, 001; ILER 1281; HD044014 (Latin).

03-085
Tutugi; Tar
Monument: pedestal
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica* of Tutugi
Date: AD 239-240
Selected references: AE 1917-1918, 8; CIL II 3406; CILA IV, 157; Lorient 1981, 230 no 1 (Latin).

03-086
Iliberri Florentia; Bae
Monument: statue base, cylindrical

Honorand: Tranquillina
Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)
Awarder: the *ordo* of the *municipium* Florentia Iliberis - *sumptu publico posuit, decreto decurionum*
Date: AD 241-244
Comment: - the base CIL II 5505; CIL II² 5, 621; CIL II 2072 originally attributed to Gordian III, should, according to HD030452, be attributed to either A. Severus, Gallienus or Postumus instead (therefore not included).
Selected references: CIL III² 5, 620; II 2070; CILA IV, 2; Hübner 1885, 223 no 663; HD030449 (Latin).

03-087
Portus Magnus; MaC
Monument: base
Honorand: Tranquillina
Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 241-244
Selected references: CIL VIII 9758.

03-088
Cuicul, Colonia Cuiculitanorum; Num
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Gordianus I or II
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica* of Cuicul - *decreto decurionum* - financed by: *pecunia publica*
Date: AD 238-244
Comment: - *divus* - the identification as Gordian III is surely incorrect - capitol, outside the basilica.
Selected references: ILaIlg II.3 7833; Berrendonner – Cébeillac-Gervasoni – Lamoine 2008, 118; Zimmer – Wesch-Klein 1989, 59 C16; Kleinwächter 2001, Beil 6; Ballu 1911, 117 no 21; Wesch-Klein 1990, C42; Arachne 176951(Latin).

03-089
Cuicul, Colonia Cuiculitanorum; Num
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica* of Cuicul - *decreto decurionum* - financed by: *pecunia publica*
Date: AD 241
Comment: provenance: capitol, outside the basilica.
Selected references: ILaIlg II, 3, 7829; Ballu 1911, 117 no 22; Zimmer – Wesch-Klein 1990, 65 C42; Berrendonner – Cébeillac-Gervasoni – Lamoine 2008, 118; Deppmeyer 2008, cat

221; Kleinwächter 2001, 120, no 10; Beil 6; Arachne 176951 (Latin).

03-090

Cuicul, Colonia Cuiculitanorum; Num

Monument: statue base

Honorand: Gordianus III

Office: emperor

Awarder: the *res publica* of Cuicul - *decreto decurionum* - financed by: *pecunia publica*

Date: AD 241

Comment: provenance: capitol, outside the basilica.

Selected references: IAlig II 3, 7830; Ballu 1915, 131 no 18; Zimmer – Wesch-Klein 1989, 65, C43; Deppmeyer 2008, cat 221; Kleinwächter 2001, Beil 6; Arachne 176961 (Latin).

03-091

Cuicul, Colonia Cuiculitanorum; Num

Monument: statue base

Honorand: Gordianus III

Office: emperor

Awarder: the *res publica* of Cuicul - *decreto decurionum* (amended) - financed by: *pecunia publica* (amended)

Date: 241-244 AD

Comment: provenance: capitol, outside the basilica.

Selected references: IAlig II, 3, 7831; AE 1911, 117; Kleinwächter 2001, Beil. 6; Ballu 1911, CXIV; Lorient 1981, 230. 232; Zimmer Wesch-Klein 1989, 63 C34; HD028881; Arachne 176958 (Latin).

03-092

Cuicul, Colonia Cuiculitanorum; Num

Monument: statue base

Honorand: Tranquillina

Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)

Awarder: the *res publica* of Cuicul - *decreto decurionum* - financed by: *pecunia publica*

Date: AD 241

Comment: - together with three bases for Gordian III - provenance: capitol, outside the basilica.

Selected references: Kleinwächter 2001 Beil 6; Ballu 1915, 132 no 20; Zimmer – Wesch-Klein 1990, 64 C438; Arachne 176960 (Latin).

03-093

Diana Veteranorum; Num

Monument: base

Honorand: Gordianus III

Office: emperor

Awarder: not preserved

Date: AD 238-244

Selected references: AE 1993, 1772.

03-094

Gemellae; Num

Monument: base

Honorand: Gordianus III

Office: emperor

Awarder: the *Ala Equitata Pannoniorum Gordiana*

Date: AD 238-244

Selected references: AE 1950, 62; Stoll 1991, 169 (Latin).

03-095

Hippo Regius; Num

Monument: base

Honorand: Gordianus, Marcus Antonius Gordianus (III?)

Office: emperor

Awarder: not preserved

Date: AD 238-244

Selected references: Marec 1954, 77; Bejor 1987, 109.

03-096

Lambaesis; Num

Monument: pedestal

Honorand: Gordianus III

Office: emperor

Awarder: the *Vexillatio Militum Maurorum Caesariensium Gordianorum*

Date: AD 238-244

Selected references: CIL VIII 2716 (Latin).

03-097

Lambiridi; Num

Monument: base

Honorand: Gordianus III

Office: emperor

Awarder: [...]

Date: AD 238-244

Selected references: AE 1970/ 1969, 708 (Latin).

03-098

Thubursicum Numidarum; Num

Monument: base

Honorand: Gordianus I

Office: emperor

Awarder: L. Aelius [...]

Date: AD 238-244
Comment: - *divus*; - reused for Diocletian.
Selected references: IAlG I, 1267;
Kleinwächter 2001, 311, no 9. (Latin).

03-099
Tiddis; Num
Monument: base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica* of Castellum
Tidditanorum - *decreto decurionum* - financed
by: *pecunia publica*
Date: AD 238-244
Selected references: AE 1970/ 1969, 693;
Pflaum 1969, 146-147 (Latin).

03-100
Belalis Maior; Afr
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Tranquillina
Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 241-244
Selected references: AE 1978, 843; HD004297.

03-101
Leptis Magna; Afr
Monument: base; H: 1.44m x W: 0.62m x D:
0.60m
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: the people of Lepcis, publicly
Date: AD 238
Comment: - provenance: Forum Severianum
Museum/Storage: findspot.
Selected references: IRT 454;
<http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT454.html>
(Latin).
Image: IMG0125

03-102
Leptis Magna; Afr
Monument: base; H: 1.16m x W: 0.56m x D:
0.62m
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 238-244
Comment: - found: Forum Severianum, North
portico, near the entrance (original location
unknown).
Museum/Storage: findspot.
Selected references: IRT 455;
<http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT455.html>

(Latin).
Image: IMG0126

03-103
Mustis; Afr
Monument: epistyl fragment of an honorific
arch
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Date: AD 238-244
Selected references: CIL VIII 1577 = 1572
(Latin).

03-104
Segermes; Afr (later Byzacena)
Monument: base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: Municipium Aurelium Augustum
Segermes - *decreto decurionum* - financed by:
pecunia publica
Date: AD 238-244
Selected references: CIL VIII 11169 = CIL VIII
907; (Latin)

03-105
Sufetula; Afr
Monument: base; H: 1,20x54m
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: *decreto decurionum* - financed by:
pecunia publica
Date: AD 239
Selected references: CIL VIII 11325; Duval
1989, 418. 419 no 28 (Latin).
Image: IMG0127

03-106
Tepeltense; Afr
Monument: base
Honorand: Tranquillina
Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)
Awarder: the *civitas* of Tepeltense - *decreto
decurionum* - financed by: *pecunia publica*
Date: AD 241-244
Selected references: CIL VIII 12250 (Latin).

03-107
Thizica; Afr
Monument: base
Honorand: Tranquillina
Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)
Awarder: the Municipium Aelium Thizica
- *decreto decurionum*

Date: AD 241-244
Selected references: AE 1911, 9; ILAfr 432 (Latin).

03-108
Thuburbo Maius; Afr
Monument: base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: Colonia Iulia Aurelia Commoda
Thuburbo Maius - *decreto decurionum* -
financed by: *pecunia publice*
Date: AD 238-244
Selected references: CIL VIII 848 (Latin).

03-109-110
Uchi Maius; Afr
Monument: fragment, probably of an arch
(double base)
Honorand: Gordianus III + Tranquillina
Office: emperor and his wife, Augusta (AD 241)
Awarder: - too fragmentary [Cor]nelius
C[a?....]and (?) Marcus (?) Attius (?)
Cornel]ianus (?)
Date: AD 241
Comment: - described as '*fragmenta epistylia*';
inscription mentions *arcus* and statues.
Selected references: CIL VIII 26264. 1577 (= 1572). 15572; Kähler 1939, V 39 a (Latin).

03-111
Arupium; Dal
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: - *decreto*
Date: AD 238-244
Selected references: IJug 1812; HD019015

03-112
Aqua Balissae, Iasorum; PaS
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica Ias(orum)*
Date: AD 239-244
Selected references: AE 1912, 130; UEL 15443 (Latin).

03-113
Aqua Balissae, Iasorum; PaS
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Tranquillina
Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)

Awarder: the *res publica Iasorum*
Date: AD 241-244
Selected references: AE 1912, 131; UEL 15444 (Latin).

03-114
Aquincum; PaI
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *Legio II Adiutrix Pia Felix Gordiana*
Date: AD 240
Museum/Storage: now lost.
Selected references: CIL III 3520;
Domszewska 1895, 71 fn. 295; UEL 10914 (Latin).

03-115
Intercisa; PaI
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *Cohors I miliaria Hemesenorum Gordiana Sagittariorum equitata civium Romanorum*
Date: AD 238-244
Selected references: CIL III 3331; Hübner 1885, no 588; Domszewska 1895, 71 fn. 295; UEL 5244; HD037284 (Latin).

03-116
Lugio; PaI
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *Cohors I Noricum Gordiana equitata*
Date: AD 238-244
Selected references: AE 1947, 27; UEL 5219; RIU 4 no. 1044; AE 1947, 00189 (Latin).

03-117
Napoca, near/ Resculum vicus Anartorum; Dac
Monument: statuebase (?)
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 238-244
Selected references: AE 1972, 0471; HD009724 (Latin).

03-118

Napoca, near/ Resculum vicus Anartorum;
Dac
Monument: statue base (?)
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: [...]
Date: AD 238-244
Selected references: AE 1972, 0473;
HD009730 (Latin).

03-119
Tibiscum; Dac
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved; according to the AE:
*Cohors I Vindelicorum milliaria or numerus
Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium or numerus
Maurorum Tibiscensium*
Date: AD 238-244
Selected references: AE 1997, 1295;
HD043738 (Latin).

03-120
Sarmizegetusa, Col. Ulpia Traiana Augusta
Dacica Sarmizegetusa; Dac
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: *the concilium provinciarum
Dacarium III (trium).*
Date: AD 241
Selected references: CIL III 1454; UEL 15269;
HD046318 (Latin).

03-121
Municipium Dardanorum; MoS
Monument: base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: *ordo colonorum* - supervisor:
*Titienus Verus, vir egregius, procuratori
metallorum (MM) (not metallorum municipii)
Dardanicorum/ Dardanorum ? (DD)*
Date: AD 238-244
Selected references: ILJug 503; HD033718.
(Latin).

03-122
Timacum Minus (Castello Timacum Majus);
MoS
Monument: base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: *the Cohors II Aurelia Dardanorum*

Gordiana
Date: AD 238-244
Selected references: AE 1952, 191; ILJug 1287.
(Latin)

03-123
Istrus; MoI
Monument: statue base (?)
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 238-244
Selected references: AE 1934, 0101;
HD026800 (Latin).

03-124
Municipium Montanesium; MoI
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Tranquillina
Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)
Awarder: *the Cohors Gemina Dacorum
Gordiana X[---]*
Date: AD 241-244
Selected references: AE 1896, 116; CIL III
14211, 9; Kalinka 1906, 62; HD023348
(Latin).

03-125
Nicopolis ad Istrum; MoI
Monument: base for a overlife-size bronze
statue
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: *the boule and demos* of the
illustrious Nikopolis ad Istrum - curator: Pub.
Ael. P Menianus, *archiereus* - under the
governorship of: Tullius Menophilus*, priest
of the imperial cult, *antistrategos* (prov. gov.
leg Aug. pr.pr.) - during the *synarchia* of Iulius
Iulianus, *archieros, protos archon*
Date: AD 239-241 (see below)
Comment: * the name of the *legatus* is erased,
it is either Tullius Menophilus, presiding MoI
AD 238-241 (PIR 3, 441 no 281) or Traianus
Decius *leg. pr. pr. MoI* AD 234.
Selected references: AE 1902, 115; IGRR I, 580
= 1422; cf. AE 1962, 265; IGBulg II, 642;
Deppmeyer 2008, cat. 214 (Greek).

03-126-127
Nicopolis ad Istrum; MoI
Monument: statue base for two statues/
double base
Honorand: Gordianus III + Tranquillina
Office: emperor and his wife, Augusta (AD

241)

Awarder: the *boule* and the *demos* (of the people of Nicopolis) - under the governorship of: Prosius Tertullianus, *presbeutes*, *antistrategos*

Date: AD 241-244

Selected references: IGRR I, 581; Stein 1914, 101; IG Bulg II, 644 (Greek)

03-128

Nicopolis ad Istrum; MoI

Monument: statue base for a over life-size bronze statue

Honorand: Gordianus III

Office: emperor

Awarder: the *boule* and *demos* of the *polis* of Nikopolis ad Istrum - under the governorship of: Tullius Menophilus, *presbeutes seb.*, *antistrategos* (prov. gov, *leg. aug. pr. pr.*)

-curator: Antonius Felix, *archiereus*

Date: AD 239-241

Selected references: AE 1926, 99; MDAI 1923, 113-114 no 25; IGBulg II, 641; Deppmeyer 2008, cat. 214 (Greek).

03-129

Ulmetum; MoI

Monument: most likely a statue base

Honorand: Tranquillina

Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)

Awarder: the *boule* and the *demos* of the *metropolis* Tomis

Date: AD 241-244

Selected references: SEG 30,854; AE 1922, 66 (Greek).

03-130

Sostra; MoI

Monument: statue base (?)

Honorand: Gordianus III

Office: emperor

Awarder: the *Cohors I Hispania Gordiana* - supervisor: [...], *leg. aug. pr. pr.*

Date: AD 241-244

Selected references: AE 1902, 127; CIL III 14430; IGBulg 264 (ara); HD031998 (Latin).

03-131

Philippopolis; Thr

Monument: base

Honorand: Balbinus

Office: emperor

Awarder: the *metropolis* Philippopolis - financed by: the supprlus of the communal budget - under the governorship of Lucius

Vettius Iubenos

Date: AD 238

Selected references: AE 1900, 23; IGRR I, 722; Kalinka 1906, 57 (Greek).

03-132

Philippopolis; Thr

Monument: statue base (possibly double base see below)

Honorand: Tranquillina

Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)

Awarder: the *metropolis* Philippopolis - under the governorship of Pomponius Magianos, priest of the imperial cult, *antistrategos*

Date: AD 241-244

Comment: - Gordian III is mentioned in the dative connected to her (accusative) with a kai.

Selected references: IGRR I, 723; Dumont – Homolle 1892, 346 61a1 (Greek).

03-133

Aenus; Thr

Monument: no information; most likely a base

Honorand: Tranquillina

Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)

Awarder: the *boule* and the *demos* of Aenus

Date: AD 241-244

Selected references: IGRR I, 827 (Greek).

03-134

Augusta Traiana; Thr

Monument: base

Honorand: Gordianus III

Office: emperor

Awarder: the *boule* and the *demos* of Traiana - under the governorship of Quintus Attius Celere - curator: Aurelius Quintus Quintus - financed by: the surplus (of the communal budget)

Date: AD 238-244

Selected references: IGRR I, 756; AA 1939, Spalte 74-78; IGBulg III, 1565 (Greek).

03-135

Augusta Traiana; Thr

Monument: most likely a base

Honorand: Gordianus III

Office: emperor

Awarder: the *polis* of Traiana - under the governorship of : L. Vettius Iubenus, *hegemonos* of the Thracian *eparchia* (prov. gov.) - financed by: the surplus of the communal budget

Date: AD 238-244

Selected references: IGBulg III, 1564 (Greek).

03-136
Ceramiae; MaE
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *polis* of Argestaeus
Date: AD 238-244
Selected references: IG X 2.2, 208 1-7; AE 1972, 559 (Greek).

03-137
Lychnidus; MaE
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: the people of Dassarentia
Date: AD 238-244
Selected references: IG X 2.2, 362 2-7; AE 1972, 558; SEG 18, 268 (Greek).

03-138
Delphoi; Ach
Monument: pedestal
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *koinon* of the Amphiktyons/ the Amphictyonic League and the *polis* of Delphi - financed by: the means of the god (money of the sanctuary)
Date: AD 238-244
Selected references: AE 1951, 59 (Greek).

03-139
Epidauros; Ach
Monument: tabula/base
Honorand: Tranquillina
Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)
Awarder: - financed by: the money from the sanctuary of Asklepios ('with the means of the god')
Date: AD 241-244
Selected references: IG IV 1158; IG IV.1 ed minor 613 (Greek).

03-140
Sparta; Ach
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *polis* - by the decision of the *ephoroi* accompanying M. Aurelius Thaliarchus, princeps of the *ephebes* - curator: M Aurelius Astyxenus
Date: AD 238-244
Selected references: CIG 1322 = V2 613 II

(Greek).

03-141
Sparta; Ach
Monument: base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *polis*; - curator: M. Aurelius Damokrates Poseidonius, imperial *presbeus* (herald)
Date: AD 238-244
Comment: - for his benefactions.
Selected references: CIG 1382 (Greek).

03-142
Beitylos/ Oitylos; Ach
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *polis* Betylos - by the decision of the *ephoroi* accompanying Markus Aurelius Neikephoros
Date: AD 238-244
Selected references: CIG 1323 (Greek).

03-143
Taenarum Oppidum; Ach
Monument: base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *polis* - by the decision of the *ephoroi* accompanying M. Aurelius Thaliarchus, - curator M. Aurelios Lucizenos
Date: AD 238-244
Selected references: IG V 1241 (Greek).

03-144
Taenarum Oppidum; Ach
Monument: 'stele', most likely a base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *polis* of Tainarum
Date: AD 238-244
Selected references: IG V 1242 (Greek).

03-145
Thespiae; Ach
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *polis*
Date: AD 238-244

Selected references: AE 1928, 53; Plassart 1926, 453-454 no 95 (Greek).

03-146

Aedepsus; Greek Islands

Monument: plate

Honorand: Gordianus, Marcus Antonius

Gordianus (III?)

Office: emperor

Awarder: the *polis*

Date: AD 238-244

Comment: - reused from Caracalla and Geta; Marcus Antonius Gordianus, addressed by the IG as Gordian III (283-244 AD).

Selected references: IG XII.9, 1237a; IG IX.1, 289 (Greek).

03-147

Astypalaea; Greek Islands

Monument: most likely a base

Honorand: Gordianus III (?) (Marcus Antonius Gordianus)

Office: emperor

Awarder: the *damos* of Astypalaea

Date: AD 238-244

Comment: - identified as Gordian III with the date 283-244 AD, but no reasoning why.

Selected references: CIG 2496; IG XII.3, 210, IGRR IV, 1038 (Greek).

03-148

Hestia; Greek Islands

Monument: base

Honorand: Gordianus III

Office: emperor

Awarder: *boule* and *demos*

Date: AD 238-244

Comment: - reused from Caracalla.

Selected references: IG IX I 288-289; Blanck 1969, 90 B61 (Greek).

03-149

Apolonis; Asi

Monument: most likely a base

Honorand: Tranquillina

Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)

Awarder: the *polis* - curator: Aurelius Attikus, *strategos*

Date: AD 241-244

Selected references: TAM V, 2, 1191 (Greek).

03-150

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: most likely a base

Honorand: Gordianus III

Office: emperor

Awarder: not preserved

Date: AD 238-244

Comment: - provenance: train station

Selected references: IE 303 (Greek).

03-151

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: base

Honorand: Gordianus III

Office: emperor

Awarder: the *polis* of Ephesos - supervisor: Decimus Iunius Quidianus, the most illustrious of the citizens, *hypatikos*, *logistes* of the *polis*

Date: AD 238-244

Comment: - provenance: area of the Artemision.

Selected references: IE 304 (Greek).

03-152

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: base

Honorand: Tranquillina

Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)

Awarder: the *polis* of Ephesos; - supervisor: Decimus Iunius Quidianus, *hypatikos*, *logistes* of the *polis*

Date: AD 241-244

Comment: - provenance: a field at the western foot of the Ajasoluk.

Selected references: IE 304A; AE 1983, 911 (Greek).

03-153

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: honour, most likely base

Honorand: Tranquillina

Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)

Awarder: not preserved

Date: AD 241-244

Selected references: AE 1982, 883; ÖJh 52 1978-80, 32 no 33.

03-154

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: plaque, most likely from a base

Honorand: Gordianus III

Office: emperor

Awarder: the *polis* of Ephesos - in charge of the installation: six *grammateis*: Auruncius Mithridates, Aur. Artemas (M), Publ. Corn. Frontonianus, T. Fl. Damas, Aur. Herakleides, Aur. Artemas

Date: AD 238-244

Comment: -provenance: Basilica of St. John.
Selected references: IE 4336; AE 1930, 78; SEG 4, 523 (Greek).
Image: IMG0128

03-155-156
Ephesos; Asi
Monument: statue base / double base
Honorand: Gordianus III + Tranquillina
Office: emperor and his wife, Augusta (AD 241)
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 241-244
Comment: - two separate inscriptions on one stone - provenance: reused in the aqueduct.
Museum/Storage: immured in the aqueduct.
Selected references: IE 302; ÖJh 1976, 32 no 33; Deppmeyer 2008, 218 (Greek).
Image: IMG0129

03-157
Thyatira (near); Asi
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: Tranquillina
Office: wife of Gordian III; Augusta (AD 241)
Awarder: the *polis* - when Aur. Att [...] was *archon* - by the decision of the *achontes* accompanying Aur. Att [...]
Date: AD 241-244
Selected references: IGRR IV, 1164 (Greek).

03-158
Hadrianoi; BiP
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: The *polis* of Hadrianoi
Date: AD 238-244
Comment: - when Aur. Hipponikos was *archon proton* for the second time.
Selected references: IK 33, 45 (Greek).

03-159
Cinna; Gal
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: Gordianus, Marcus Antonius Gordianus (?)
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *archontes*, the *boule* and the *demos* of Cinna
Date: AD 238-244
Selected references: IGRR II, 235; AE 1899, 188; Ramsay 1898, 234-235 (Greek).

03-160
Ariassos; Gal
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *boule* and *demos*
Date: AD 238-242
Selected references: IK 57, 115 (Greek).

03-161
Boubon; Ly
Monument: base
Honorand: Gordianus, Marcus Antonius Gordianus (III ?)
Office: emperor
Awarder: [...]
Date: AD 238-244
Selected references: AE 1981, 790; SEG 27, 923; Inan 1993, 230; Arachne 177712 (Greek).

03-162
Idebessus; Ly
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: Gordianus, Marcus Antonius Gordianus (III ?)
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *demos* of Idebessus; the fellow citizens Akalissus and Kormus
Date: AD 238-244
Selected references: IGRR III, 646; AE 1899, 171; TAM II.3, 830 (Greek).

03-163
Perge/ Murtana; Pam
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Gordianus III
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *gerousia*
Date: possibly AD 242 or after (IK)
Comment: - identified through 'saviour of the *oikomene*'.
Selected references: IE 282; IGRR III, 792; CIG 4342 b2; Deppmeyer 2008, 219 (Greek).

03-164
Perge; Pam
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Gordianus I
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved (most likely *gerusia*)
Date: AD 238
Selected references: IK 61, 280; IGRR, III 791 a (= possibly IK 61, 283; AE 2004, 1474, although unlikely if the stated measurements

are correct) (Greek).

03-165

Perge; Pam

Monument: statue base

Honorand: Gordianus (either of the three is possible)

Office: emperor

Awarder: not preserved (most likely *gerusia*)

Date: AD 238-244

Selected references: IK 61, 283; AE 2004, 1474, (possibly IK 61, 280; IGRR, III 791 a, although unlikely if the stated measurements are correct) (Greek).

03-166

Perge; Pam

Monument: statue base

Honorand: Gordianus II

Office: emperor

Awarder: the *gerusia*

Date: AD 238

Selected references: IK 61, 281; AE 1890, 99; IGRR III, 791b (Greek).

03-167

Side; Pam

Monument: statue base, fragmentary

Honorand: Gordianus III

Office: emperor, when he was still *Caesar*

Awarder: the *Cohors I Flavia Numidiarum*

Date: AD238

Comment: IK assumes also statues for

Pupienus and Balbinus.

Selected references: IK 43, 42; AE 1966, 459; Rapport 1947m no 8 (Latin).

03-168

Aegae; Cil

Monument: statue base for bronze statue

Honorand: Gordianus III

Office: emperor

Awarder: Lucius Sergius [---]us Zeno, *legatus Augusti*

Date: AD 238-244

Selected references: AE 1990, 991; AE 2006, 1553 ad; HD025068 (Latin)

03-169

Hierapolis; Cil

Monument: statue base

Honorand: Gordianus III

Office: emperor

Awarder: not preserved

Date: AD 238-244

Selected references: AE 1990, 1000; SEG 39, 1499.

03-170

Tyana; Cap

Monument: statue base, limestone

Honorand: Gordianus III

Office: emperor

Awarder: the *duoviri*, and the decurions, and the citizens of Colonia Faustianiana

Date: AD 239/240

Selected references: IK 55, I, 118 (Latin).

Philippus Arabs

04-01

Roma; LaC

Monument: trabea-bust; H: 0.70m

Honorand: Philippus Arabs

Office: emperor

Date: AD 244-249

Museum/Storage: St. Petersburg, Ermitage Inv. A 31.

Selected references: Bergmann 1977, 34-35;

Felletti Maj 1958, 170; Wegner 1979, 36;

Arachne 18583.

Image: IMG0130

04-02

Roma; LaC

Monument: portrait head; H: 0.26m

Honorand: Otacilia Severa

Office: wife of Philipp, Augusta

Date: AD 244-248

Museum/Storage: Rome, Mus. Montemartini; (former: Museo del Palazzo die Conservatori, Braccio Nuovo, Sala III No. 23 Inv. 2765).

Selected references: Bergmann 1977, 39; FZ

1983, 34-35; Stutzinger 1983, 391-392;

Wiggers-Wegner 1971, 213; Wegner 1979, 61; Arachne 16671.

Image: IMG0131

04-03

Roma (?); LaC

Monument: portrait head; over life-size

Honorand: Philippus Arabs

Office: emperor

Date: AD 244-249

Museum/Storage: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 746 a (Inv. 3279).

Selected references: Bergmann, 1983, 34-35;

Wegner 1979, 35-36; Arachne 8659.
Image: IMG0132

04-04

Laurentinum, near Ostia; LaC
Monument: trabea bust; H: 0,71m
Honorand: Philippus Arabs
Office: emperor
Date: AD 244-249
Comment: - found at a Roman villa; - toga contabulata.
Museum/Storage: Rome, Museo Vaticano, Braccio Nuovo 121 Inv. 2216.
Selected references: Bergmann 1983, 54 Abb. 22; Bernoulli 1894, 141; Felletti Maj 1958, 170; Stutzinger 1983, 390-391; Wegner 1979, 40; Arachne 19679.
Image: IMG0133

(04-04small)

Ostia; LaC
Monument: insertion head; far under life-size; H: 0,18m
Honorand: Philippus minor
Office: Caesar (AD 244); emperor (AD 247)
Date: AD 244-247
Comment: - provenance: the Decumanus, near Porta Marina
Museum/Storage: Ostia, Museum 1129.
Selected references: Bracker 1964, 87-88; Felletti-Maj 1958, 89 no 9; Bergmann 1977, 36 no 1; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 189-190; Wegner 1979, 46; Calza 1978, 75-76 no 96 pl. LXIX; FZ 1985, 120 fn. 6; Arachne 24131.
Image: IMG0134

04-05

Chiragan, road to Tolosa; Nar
Monument: portrait head; H: 0.245m
Honorand: Philippus minor
Office: Caesar (AD 244); emperor (AD 247)
Date: AD 244-249
Comment: Roman villa
Museum/Storage: Toulouse, Musée Saint Raymond 30.128.
Selected references: Bergmann 1977, 36; Felletti Maj 1958, 91-92; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 199; Wegner 1979, 50; FZ 1985 120 no 99 fn. 6.
Image: IMG0135

04-06

unknown; unknown
Monument: bust, neck broken, belonging (?)
Honorand: Otacilia Severa

Office: wife of Philipp, Augusta
Date: AD 244-248
Museum/Storage: Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi Inv. 1914, 271 (232W 1977).
Selected references: Bergmann 1977, 39; FZ 1983, 34; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 206 (Iulia Mamaea); Wegner 1979, 59; Arachne 36162.
Image: IMG0136

04-07

unknown; unknown
Monument: insertion head; slightly over life-size; H: 0.765m (Arachne)
Honorand: Otacilia Severa
Office: wife of Philipp, Augusta
Date: AD 244-248
Museum/Storage: Petworth, Collection Lord Leconfield 46.
Selected references: Bergmann 1977, 39; Wyndham 1915, 74 pl. 46; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 211 (Iulia Mamaea); Wegner 1979, 60-61; Arachne 25202.
Image: IMG0137

04-08

unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head (on modern bust)
Honorand: Philippus minor
Office: Caesar (AD 244); emperor (AD 247)
Date: AD 247-249
Museum/Storage: Yorkshire, Howard Castle
Selected references: Bergmann 1977, 36; Felletti-Maj 1958, 91; Wiggers – Wegner 1971, 187; Wegner 1979, 44-45; FZ 1985, 120 fn. 6; Borg 113-114 no 60; FZ 1985, 188. 120 no 99 fn. 6.
Image: IMG0138

04-09

Trebula; LaC
Monument: base
Honorand: Philippus minor
Office: Caesar (AD 244); emperor (AD 247)
Awarder: - decreto decurionum
Date: AD 244-247
Selected references: CIL X 4556; Chioffi 2005, 171-172 no 214 (Latin).

04-10

Pisaurum; Umb
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Philippus Arabs
Office: emperor
Awarder: Pisaurum publice (publicly)
Date: AD 246

Selected references: CIL XI 6325; Braccesi 1969, 51-2 no 7 (Latin).

04-11

Aquileia; VeH

Monument: statue base

Honorand: Philippus minor

Office: Caesar (AD 244); emperor (AD 247)

Awarder: the people of Aquileia

Date: AD 244-246

Comment: reused (Lucius Safinius Sabellio)

Selected references: CIL V 8971, 8981; CIL I 3424; Alföldy 1984a, 94 no 73; Witschel 2006b, 383, no 12; UEL 13219; HD033140 (Latin).

04-12

Aquileia; VeH

Monument: statue base

Honorand: Philippus minor

Office: Caesar (AD 244); emperor (AD 247)

Awarder: the people of Aquileia

Date: AD 244-246

Comment: - reused

Selected references: CIL V 9071; AE 1984, 433; HD002932 (Latin).

04-13

Nesactium; VeH

Monument: statue base

Honorand: Philippus Arabs

Office: emperor

Awarder: not preserved

Date: AD 244-249

Selected references: Insc It. X 1, 673; Alföldy 1984a, 81 no 16; Witschel 2006b, 383 no 2 (Latin).

04-14

Vintium; AlM

Monument: fragment, most likely a base

Honorand: Otacilia Severa

Office: wife of Philipp, Augusta (AD 244; died AD 248 (?))

Awarder: the *civitas* of Vintium

Date: AD 244/247

Selected references: CIL XII 10; Rosso 2006, 538-539 no 298 (Latin).

04-15

Segusiavi; Lug

Monument: statue base

Honorand: Otacilia Severa

Office: wife of Philipp, Augusta (AD 244; died

AD 248 (?))

Awarder: not preserved

Date: AD 244-248

Selected references: CIL XIII 1643; Rosso 2006, 289-290 no 76.

04-16

Narbo, Col. Iulia Paterna Narbo; Nar

Monument: statue base

Honorand: Philippus minor

Office: Caesar (AD 244); emperor (AD 247)

Awarder: *Septimiani Baeterrenses* (Béziers; France)

Date: AD 244-247

Selected references: CIL XII 4227; Rosso 2006, 389-290 no 157 (Latin).

04-17

Baetulo; Tar

Monument: statue base

Honorand: Philippus Arabs

Office: emperor

Awarder: the *ordo decurionum* of Baetulo

Date: AD 244-249

Selected references: CIL II 4608; Hübner 1885, 223; HD043831 (Latin).

04-18

Edeta, Civitas Edetanorum; Tar

Monument: statue base

Honorand: Otacilia Severa

Office: wife of Philipp, Augusta (AD 244; died AD 248 (?))

Awarder: *ex decreto decurionum*

Date: AD 244-248

Selected references: CIL II², 14, 123 = CIL 6012 (Latin).

04-19

Gerunda; Tar

Monument: statue base

Honorand: Philippus minor

Office: Caesar (AD 244); emperor (AD 247)

Awarder: the *res publica* of Gerunda

Date: AD 244-246

Selected references: AE 1952, 0124; CIL II 04621; Alföldy 1984b, 247 no 2; HD019070 (Latin).

04-20

Tarraco, Col. Iulia Victrix Triumphalis

Tarraco; Tar

Monument: base

Honorand: Philippus Arabs

Office: emperor
Awarder: the *ordo decurionum* of Tarraco - by decree of the council - supervisor: Flamonius Lucus Valerus Fuscinus, *decurion*
Date: AD 244-249
Comment: - possibly reused.
Selected references: CIL II, 6083; RIT 86 (Latin).

04-21

Toletum; Tar
Monument: base
Honorand: Philippus Arabs
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *consules* of Toletum - *decreto decurionum*
Date: AD 245
Selected references: CIL II 3073 (Latin).

04-22

Corduba, Colonia Patricia Corduba; Bae
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Philippus Arabs
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *provincia* Baetica - supervisor: Flamonius Lucus Valerus Fuscinus, *decurion* - by decree of the council
Date: AD 245
Selected references: CIL II² 7, 255; AE 1989, 428; HD015489 (Latin).

04-23

Corduba, Colonia Patricia Corduba; Bae
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Philippus minor
Office: Caesar (AD 244); emperor (AD 247)
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 244-249
Selected references: CIL II/7, 256.

04-24

Cuicul, Colonia Cuiculitanorum; Num
Monument: pedestal
Honorand: Otacilia Severa
Office: wife of Philipp, Augusta (AD 244; died AD 248 (?))
Awarder: the *res publica* of Cuicul - *decreto decurionum* - financed by: *pecunia publica*
Date: AD 248
Selected references: CIL VIII 8323; ILAlg II, 3, 7834 (Latin).

04-25

Sabratha; Afr

Monument: panel; H: 0.74m x W: 0.58m
Honorand: Philippus minor
Office: Caesar (AD 244); emperor (AD 247)
Awarder: the people of Sabratha, publicly
Date: AD 247-249
Museum/Storage: findspot.
Selected references: IRT 48; Witschel 1999, 291 fn. 39;
<http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT048.html>
(Latin).
Image: IMG0139

04-26

Doclea; Dal
Monument: base
Honorand: Philippus minor
Office: Caesar (AD 244); emperor (AD 247)
Awarder: the *res publica* of Doclea - *decreto decurionum*
Date: AD 247
Comment: - provenance: western gate; cf. 04-27.
Selected references: CIL III 12686 add. p. 2252; Sticotti 1913, 160-161, no 14; HD054804 (altar) (Latin).

04-27

Doclea; Dal
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Otacilia Severa
Office: wife of Philipp, Augusta (AD 244; died AD 248 (?))
Awarder: the *res publica* of Doclea - *decreto decurionum*
Date: AD 244-247
Comment: - provenance: western gate; cf. 04-26.
Selected references: CIL III 12685; AE 1897, 6; Sticotti 1913, 161, no 15; HD022565 (Latin)

04-28

Mogetiana (?); Pal
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Philippus Arabs
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *ordo* of Mogetiana (?)
Date: AD 244-249
Selected references: AE 2003, 1375; HD037453 (Latin).

04-29

Germisara; Dac
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Philippus Arabs
Office: emperor

Awarder: the Numerus Singularium Britannicianorum Philippiani
Date: AD 245
Selected references: CIL III 12573; AE 1891, 78; AE 1967, 411; IDR 3, 3 214; HD014950 (Latin).

04-30
 Micia; Dac
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Philippus Arabs
Office: emperor
Awarder: the Cohors II Flavia Commagenorum Philippiana - financed: ex quaestura
Date: AD 245
Comment: - found in the camp.
Selected references: CIL III 1379; IDR 3, 3, 058; Domaszewski 1895, 71 fn. 296; Velkov 1961, 219; HD045040 (Latin).

04-31
 Micia; Dac
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Philippus minor
Office: Caesar (AD 244); emperor (AD 247)
Awarder: the Ala I Hispanorum Campagonum Philippiana
Date: AD 245-246
Selected references: CIL III 1380; Domaszewski 1895, 71 fn. 297; UEL no 11705 (Latin).

04-32
 Napoca; Dac
Monument: base
Honorand: Philippus Arabs
Office: emperor
Awarder: the res publica of Napoca
Date: AD 244-249
Selected references: AE 1944, 39; AE 2005, 1275; UEL 15272; HD020295 (Latin).

04-33
 Napoca; Dac
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Otacilia Severa
Office: wife of Philipp, Augusta (AD 244; died AD 248 (?))
Awarder: the res publica of Colonia Napocensis / Napoca
Date: AD 244-247
Selected references: AE 1944, 40; HD020298. (Latin).

04-34
 Porolissum; Dac
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Philippus Arabs
Office: emperor
Awarder: the Cohors V Lingonum Philippiana [...]
Date: AD 244-249
Selected references: AE 1944, 55; HD020346 (Latin).

04-35
 Porolissum; Dac
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Philippus Arabs
Office: emperor
Awarder: the res publica of the Municipium Septimius Porolissensis
Date: AD 244-249
Comment: - provenance: camp in front of the Porta Decumana, with 04-36 and 04-37.
Selected references: AE 1944, 52; HD020337 (Latin).

04-36
 Porolissum; Dac
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Otacilia Severa
Office: wife of Philipp, Augusta (AD 244; died AD 248 (?))
Awarder: the res publica of the municipium Septimius Porolissensis
Date: AD 244-248
Comment: - provenance: camp in front of the Porta Decumana, with 04-35 and 04-37.
Selected references: AE 1944, 54; HD02343 (Latin).

04-37
 Porolissum; Dac
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Philippus minor
Office: Caesar (AD 244); emperor (AD 247)
Awarder: the res publica of the Municipium Septimius Porolissensis
Date: AD 244-247
Comment: - provenance: camp in front of the Porta Decumana, with 04-35 and 04-36.
Selected references: AE 1944, 53; HD020340 (Latin).

04-38
 Sarmizegetusa, Col. Ulpia Traiana Augusta Dacica Sarmizegetusa; Dac
Monument: statue base

Honorand: Philippus Arabs
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *concilium trium (III) provinciarum Daciae*
Date: AD 248
Selected references: AE1914, 113; UEL 13228; HD021020 (Latin).

04-39
 Turres; MoS
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: Otacilia Severa
Office: wife of Philipp, Augusta (AD 244; died AD 248 (?))
Awarder: the *polis* of Sedica
Date: AD 244-248
Selected references: AE 1934, 196 (Greek).

04-40
 Troesmis; MoI
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Philippus Arabs
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *ordo* of the Municipium Troesmis
Date: AD 245
Selected references: CIL III 6172 HD043179; Körner 2002, 142 (Latin).

04-41
 Augusta Traiana; Thr
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: Philippus minor
Office: Caesar (AD 244); emperor (AD 247)
Awarder: The *boule* and the *demos* of (Augusta) Traiana - under the governorship of: [...] (*prov. gov.*) - financed by: the surplus (of the communal budget)
Date: AD 244-249
Selected references: AE 1944, 16; IGBulgIII, 1566 (Greek).

04-42
 Deultum; Thr
Monument: statue base (?)
Honorand: Otacilia Severa
Office: wife of Philipp, Augusta (AD 244; died AD 248 (?))
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 244-248
Selected references: AE 2000, 1289; HD043912 (Latin)

04-43
 Deultum; Thr
Monument: statuebase (?)
Honorand: Otacilia Severa
Office: wife of Philipp, Augusta (AD 244; died AD 248 (?))
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 244-248
Selected references: AE 2000, 1290; HD043913 (Latin).

04-44
 Discoduraterae; Thr
Monument: base
Honorand: Philippus Arabs
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *boule* and *demos* (of the *polis*) of Traiana - under the governorship of: Avidius Coresnius Marcellus, *legatus pr. pr.* of Thrace
Date: AD 244-249
Comment: - reused.
Selected references: AE1975, 765; AE 1999, 1389 (Greek).

04-45
 Discoduraterae; Thr
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: Otacilia Severa
Office: wife of Philipp, Augusta (AD 244; died AD 248 (?))
Awarder: the *boule* and *demos* of Traiana - in governorship of: Avidius Coresnius Marcellus
Date: AD 244-248
Comment: - not Iulia Mamaea (AE 1927, 75); Coresnius Marcellus (AD 244-249; PIR 185).
Selected references: IGBulg II, 732; AE 1927, 75 (Greek).

04-46
 Egerica; Thr
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Otacilia Severa
Office: wife of Philipp, Augusta (AD 244; died AD 248 (?))
Awarder: the *polis* of Serdica
Date: AD 244-248
Selected references: IGBulg IV, 1993 (Greek).

04-47
 Philippopolis (near); Thr
Monument: base
Honorand: Philippus minor
Office: Caesar (AD 244); emperor (AD 247)
Awarder: the Thracian metropolis Philippopolis - under the governorship of

Sextus Furnius Publianus, provincial governor of the Thracian eparchia
Date: AD 244-249
Selected references: IGRR I, 1480; Kalinka 1906, 66; AE 1907, 45 (Greek).

04-48
 Plotinopolis; Thr
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: Philippus Arabs
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *boule* and the *demos* of Ploteinopolis
Date: AD 244-249
Selected references: AE 1938, 139 (Greek).

04-49
 Philippopolis; Syr
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: Philippus Arabs or minor
Office: emperor or son
Awarder: the people of Saccaea
Date: AD 244-249
Selected references: IGRR, 1198 (Greek).

04-50
 Alsó Ilosva; Dac
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Philippus Arabs
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *Ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana Philippiana*
Date: AD 244-249
Comment: - provenance: principia of the camp
Selected references: Nemeti 2010, 401; 425 no 90 (Latin).

04-51-52
 Gostavățu; Dac
Monument: statue base / double base
Honorand: Philippus Arabs + Philippus minor
Office: emperor and son
Awarder: the *Ala I Hispanorum*
Date: AD 248-249
Selected references: IDR2, 500; HD047029 (Latin).

04-53
 Lebadea; Ach
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: Otacilia Severa
Office: wife of Philipp, Augusta (AD 244; died AD 248 (?))
Awarder: the *polis* of Lebadea

Date: AD 244-248
Selected references: IG VII 3104 (Greek).

04-54
 Aigina; Greek Islands
Monument: plaque, for a statue
Honorand: Philippus Arabs
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *polis* of Aegina
Date: AD 244-249
Comment: reused
Selected references: IG IV 19; CIG add 2140 a5 (Greek).

04-55
 Pappa Tiberiopolis; Asi
Monument: base
Honorand: Otacilia Severa
Office: wife of Philipp, Augusta (AD 244; died AD 248 (?))
Awarder: (the *boule* and the *demos*) of Pappa-Tiberiopolis [---]
Date: AD 244-248
Selected references: AE 1902, 168; MAMA 8, 331 (Greek)

04-56
 Perge; Pam
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Otacilia Severa
Office: wife of Philipp, Augusta (AD 244; died AD 248 (?))
Awarder: the *boule* and the *demos*
Date: AD 244-248
Selected references: AE 2004, 1485; IK 61, 293 a (Greek).

04-57
 Prusias ad Hypium; BiP
Monument: base
Honorand: Philippus minor
Office: Caesar (AD 244); emperor (AD 247)
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 244-247
Selected references: AE 1987, 917; IK 27, 41

04-58
 Sebaste; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Philippus Arabs
Office: emperor
Date: AD 244-249
Selected references: SEG XLII 1992, 1203 (IGR IV 635 (cf. SEG XL 1222)).

04-59-60
Rimea Trachonitidis; Syr
Monument: most likely a base/ double base
Honorand: Philippus Arabs + Philippus minor
Office: emperor and son
Awarder: Aurelios Antoninos [...], fragmentary
Date: AD 244-249
Selected references: CIG 4587 (Greek).

Decius

05-01
Roma; LaC
Monument: insertion head; life-size; H: 0.3m
Honorand: Herennia Etruscilla
Office: wife of Decius, Augusta
Date: AD 249-251
Museum/Storage: Rome, Palazzo Massimo Terme no 287 Inv. 121 016.
Selected references: Heintze 1957, 78-79; Felletti Maj 1958, 193 no 245; Bergmann 1977, 43; Wegner 1979, 81; Wood 1979, 304 no.7; Wood 1986, 84-85; FZ 10 fn. 2; 112 fn 2; 114 fn 1; MusNazRom I/9, 2 382-385 R287. Arachne 17281.
Image: IMG0140

05-02
unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head (non-belonging bust); over life-size; H: 0.355m
Honorand: Decius
Office: emperor
Date: AD 249-251
Comment: non-belonging bust,
Museum/Storage: Rome, Museo Capitolino, Stanza degli Imperatori 70 (no 52) Inv. 482.
Selected references: Bergmann 1977, 42; Bergmann 1983, 54 pl. 23; Wegner, 1979, 66; FZ 1985, 130-133.
Image: IMG0141

05-03
Roma; LaC
Monument: tabula or statue base (Alföldy in CIL)
Honorand: Hostilianus
Office: son of Decius; Caesar (AD 250), emperor (AD 251)
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 251
Comment: just the imperial title, fragment - provenance: Basilica S. Maria Maggiore
Selected references: CIL VI 1102; CIL VI(8), II

1102 add; Bull. Inst. Arch. 1852, 16 (Latin).

05-04
Cosa; Etr
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Decius
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica* of Cosa
Date: AD 251
Selected references: AE 1973, 235; AE 1986, 236 ad; Horster 2001, 316-317, no. VII 1, 1.; HD 007089 (Latin).

05-05
Eporedia; Lig
Monument: tabula, belonging to a base
Honorand: Decius
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 249-251
Selected references: Alföldy 1984b, 117, no 154; Hübner 1885, 190, 192 no 559.

05-06
Feltria; VeH
Monument: large statue base
Honorand: Decius
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *ordo* of Feltria
Date: AD 250
Selected references: CIL V 2068; Hübner 1885, 223, 190; Alföldy 1984a, 117 no 154; Witschel 2006b, 384, no 25; HD 033335 (Latin).

05-07
Ruessium/Civitas Vellavorum; Aqu
Monument: statue base, fragment
Honorand: Herennia Etruscilla
Office: wife of Decius, Augusta
Awarder: the *civitas* of Vellavor Libera
Date: AD 249-250
Comment: - possibly a double base (Rosso) - a further fragment of a statue base was attributed to her by the CIL (X III 1592) yet it is too fragmentary to identify the honoured (Rosso 2006, 242 no 37: Iulia Domna) - moved to the findspot
Selected references: CIL XIII 1591; ILA Vellaves 3; Rosso 2006, 241-242 no 36 (Latin).

05-08
Vintium; AlM
Monument: block, most likely a base
Honorand: Decius

Office: emperor
Awarder: the *civitas* of Vintium
Date: AD 250
Selected references: CIL XII 11; Rosso 2006, 539 no 299 (Latin).

05-09
 Colonia Dertosa; Tar
Monument: statuebase (?)
Honorand: Herennius Etruscus
Office: son of Decius; Caesar (AD 250), emperor (AD 251)
Awarder: the *ordo decurionum* of Colonia Dertosa
Date: AD 250
Selected references: CIL II 4058; CIL II² 14, 00788 tab. 12, 2; Hübner 1862, 223; HD026834 (Latin).

05-10
 Valentia, Colonia Valentia; Tar
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Herennius Etruscus
Office: son of Decius; Caesar (AD 250), emperor (AD 251)
Awarder: the veterans and eldest of Valentia (*veterani et veteres*)
Date: AD 250
Selected references: CIL II² 14, 16 = CIL II 3735; HD024050 (Latin).

05-11
 Valentia, Colonia Valentia; Tar
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Hostillianus
Office: son of Decius; Caesar (AD 250), emperor (AD 251)
Awarder: the veterans and eldest of Valentia (*veterani et veteres*)
Date: AD 250
Selected references: CIL II² 14, 17 = II 3736; HD024053 (Latin).

05-12
 Augusta Emerita; Lus
Monument: pedestal, for a bronze statue
Honorand: Herennius Etruscus
Office: son of Decius; Caesar (AD 250), emperor (AD 251)
Awarder: the *res publica* of Emerita
Date: AD 250
Comment: - the AE expects the association with a not preserved statue for the father (AE 2003, p. 278).
Selected references: AE 2003, 873 (Latin).

05-13
 Callet Aenanicorum; Bae
Monument: base
Honorand: Decius
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica* of Callenses - *decreto decurionum*
Date: AD 250
Selected references: CIL II 1372; CILA II 1219; Hübner 1885, no 664 (Latin).

05-14
 Cuicul, Colonia Cuiculitanorum; Num
Monument: base
Honorand: Decius
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 251
Comment: - *divus* - mutilated and reused - provenance: outside the basilica.
Selected references: IALg II, 3, 7835 (Latin).

05-15
 Andautonia; PaS
Monument: base
Honorand: Decius
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica* of Andautonia
Date: AD 250
Comment: - *decreto decurionum*
Selected references: CIL III 4010 (Latin).

05-16
 Aquincum; Pal
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Herennius Etruscus
Office: son of Decius; Caesar (AD 250), emperor (AD 251)
Awarder: the *Legio II Adiutrix Tertia Pia Tertia Fidelis Constans Traiana Deciana*
Date: AD 250
Selected references: AE 2003, 1455; UEL 10750 (Latin).

05-17
 Arupium, near; Dal
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Decius
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 249-251
Selected references: CIL III 10048. 15084, 2.

05-18
Apulum; Dac
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Decius
Office: emperor
Awarder: Colonia Nova Apulum
Date: AD 250
Selected references: CIL III 1176; IDR 3, 5, 431; HD 038710 (Latin).

05-19
Porolissium; Dac
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Herennia Etruscilla
Office: wife of Decius, Augusta
Awarder: Numerus Palmyrenorum
Porolissensium Sagittariorum (Civium Romanorum) (troop of archers)
Date: AD 249-251
Selected references: AE 1944, 56; UEL 13210; HD020349 (Latin).

05-20
Oescus; MoI
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Decius
Office: emperor
Awarder: too fragmentary
Date: AD 249
Selected references: CIL III 12351; ILBulg 7; AE 1891, 46a; AEM 1891, 10-11 no.4; HD042498 (Latin).

05-21
(Serd) Soneium; MoS
Monument: base
Honorand: Herennia Etruscilla
Office: wife of Decius, Augusta
Awarder: the (metro?) polis of Serdica - curator: [...]
Date: AD 249-251
Selected references: IGBulg IV, 1989; IGR I, 671 =1448; Kalinka 1906, 66, no 69 (Greek).

05-22
Heracleia / Perinthos; Thr
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Decius
Office: emperor
Awarder: the polis of Perinthos
Date: AD 249-251
Selected references: IGRR I, 788; CIG 2023; JHS 1898, 250 ad (Greek).

05-23
Philippopolis; Thr
Monument: base
Honorand: Herennia Etruscilla
Office: wife of Decius, Augusta
Awarder: the koinon of the eparchia of Thrace - curator: Marcus Aurelius Eustochius Celer, thrakarchon - under the governorship of Iulius Preiskus, priest of the imperial cult, antistrategos
Date: AD 250-251
Selected references: AE 2005, 1378; SEG 55, 761 (Latin).

05-24
Pautaliae; Thr
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: Herennia Etruscilla
Office: wife of Decius, Augusta
Awarder: the polis of Pautalinae [...]
Date: AD 249-251
Selected references: IGRR I, 671 (Greek).

05-25
Lychnidus; MaE
Monument: fragment, most likely a base
Honorand: Decius
Office: emperor
Awarder: too fragmentary
Date: AD 249-251
Selected references: SEG 49, 1999, 733; AE 1999, 1420; IG X 2.2, 363 (Greek).

05-26
Acraephiae; Ach
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: Decius
Office: emperor
Awarder: the polis of Akrophiae
Date: AD 249-251
Selected references: AE 1899, 4; JHS 1998, 250 (Greek).

05-27
Anazarbos; Cil
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Decius
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 249-251
Selected references: IK 56, 7; AE 2000, 1481 ad (Latin).

05-28

Keramos/ Ceramus; Asi

Monument: statue base

Honorand: Hostilianus

Office: son of Decius; Caesar (AD 250), emperor (AD 251)

Awarder: The *polis* of Keramos

Date: AD 250-251

Selected references: AE 1890, 130; IK 30, 33 (Greece).

05-29-30

Comana; Cap

Monument: statue base/ double base

Honorand: Decius+ Herennia Etruscilla

Office: emperor + wife

Awarder: The *boule* and the *demos* of Hieropolis - by decision of the *prytaneum* (*magistratu Comanis*) accompanying Aur. Akeilion Diodoros and Aur. Menophilos and Fl. Mithraticmes - curator: Aur. Asklepiados Antigonos and Aur. Militiades Kyrinius - when Claudius Maisolos was *logistes* (*curator urbis*)

Date: AD 248

Comment: Hieropolis (further name of Comana).

Selected references: AE 1924, 141; AE 1939, 27; SEG 6, 794; Waddington 1883, 129-30 (Greek).

05-31

Hermopolis; Aeg

Monument: testimony on a papyrus, for two statues

Honorand: Decius

Office: emperor

Awarder: unknown

Date: testimony from AD 249

Comment: - not preserved, mentioned in a letter from the (former) *cosmetes*

Hermophilos to the prefect.

Selected references: CPR 20; Mitteis – Wilcken 1912, 479-481 no 402 Col II; Pekary 1985, 131; Klein 1998, 173; Deppmeyer 2008 cat. 222 (Greek).

05-32

Hermopolis; Aeg

Monument: testimony on a papyrus, for two statues

Honorand: Herennia Etruscilla

Office: wife of Decius, Augusta

Awarder: unknown

Date: testimony from AD 249

Comment: - not preserved, mentioned in a letter from the (former) *cosmetes*

Hermophilos to the prefect.

Selected references: CPR 20; Mitteis – Wilcken 1912, 479-481 no 402 Col II; Klein 1998, 173; Deppmeyer 2008, cat. 222 (Greek).

Trebonianus Gallus

06-01

Astigi; Bae

Monument: pedestal

Honorand: Volusianus

Office: son of Gallus; Caesar, emperor (AD 251)

Awarder: the *provincia immunis* (= Hispania Baetica)

Date: AD 252-253

Selected references: AE 2005, 820 (Latin).

06-02

- probably originally from Aguntum (near Lienz); Nor

Monument: base

Honorand: Volusianus

Office: son of Gallus; Caesar, emperor (AD 251)

Awarder: Aguntenses (the people of Aguntum) - *decreto decurionum*

Date: AD 251- 253

Selected references: AE 1954, 117; Wedenig 1997, 102-103; UEL 7220; HD017939 (Latin).

06-03

- possibly purloined from Teurnia (Lurnfeld); Nor

Monument: statue base

Honorand: Volusianus

Office: son of Gallus; Caesar, emperor (AD 251)

Awarder: the *ordo* of Teurnia

Date: AD 251- 253

Museum/Storage: Lendorf, St. Peter in Holz, Römermuseum Teurnia.

Selected references: CIL III 4741; Wedenig 1997, 277; UEL 4854; HD056906 (Latin).

06-04

Volubilis; MaT

Monument: statue base

Honorand: Volusianus

Office: son of Gallus; Caesar, emperor (AD 251)

Awarder: the *res publica* of Volubilis - *decreto ordo*

Date: AD 252
Comment: - reused.
Selected references: CIL VIII 21829; IAM2, 405 (Latin).

06-05
 Adiaum; PaS
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Trebonianus Gallus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *equites* of the *Ala III Augustae Thracum Galliane Volusianae*
Date: AD 251-253
Selected references: CIL III 4270; Domszewska 1895, 71 fn. 298; RIU 0704 pl. 704; HD038149 (Latin).

06-06
 Intercisa; PaI
Monument: plaque/statue base
Honorand: Trebonianus Gallus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *Cohors I milliaria Hemesenorum*
Date: AD 252-253
Selected references: AE 1971, 335; RIU 1144; pl. 1144; HD011554; UEL 8069 (Latin).

06-07
 Lussonium; PaI
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Volusianus
Office: son of Gallus; Caesar, emperor (AD 251)
Awarder: the *Cohors I Alpinorum equitata Galliana Volusiana*
Date: AD 251- 253
Selected references: AE 1990, 824; Kovács 2005 no 168; UEL 10122 (Latin).

06-08
 Apulum; Dac
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Volusianus
Office: son of Gallus; Caesar, emperor (AD 251)
Awarder: the *ordo* of Colonia Aurelia Apulensis Chrysopolis
Date: AD 251- 253
Selected references: AE 1989, 628; IDR, 5, 5, 432; UEL 10937; HD018375 (Latin).

06-09
 Doclea; Dal
Monument: statue base

Honorand: Trebonianus Gallus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica* of Doclea - *decreto decurionum*
Date: AD 251-253
Comment: - provenance: western gate; cf. 06-10.
Selected references: CIL III 12687; Sticotti 1913, 162, no 16; HD054805 (Latin).

06-10
 Doclea; Dal
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Volusianus
Office: son of Gallus; Caesar, emperor (AD 251)
Awarder: the *res publica* of Doclea - *decreto decurionum*
Date: AD 253
Comment: - provenance: western gate; - cf. 06-09.
Selected references: CIL III 12688; Sticotti 1913, 162, no 17; HD054806 (Latin)

06-11
 Domavium, Municipium Domavium; Dal
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Volusianus
Office: son of Gallus; Caesar, emperor (AD 251)
Awarder: the *ordo decurionum* of Colonia M(unicipium /Metallum/a (?)) Domavianum
Date: AD 251- 253
Selected references: CIL III 12729; HD055822 (Latin).

06-12
 Domavium, Municipium Domavium; Dal
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Trebonianus Gallus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *ordo decurionum* of Colonia M(unicipium /Metallum/a (?)) Domavianum
Date: AD 251-253
Selected references: CIL III 12728; Wedenig 1997, 237; Birley 2000, 20; HD055815 (Latin).

06-13
 Corinthus; Ach
Monument: base
Honorand: Trebonianus Gallus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *polis*
Date: AD 251-253

Selected references: SEG 11, 122; AE 1937, 1 (Greek).

06-14

Epidauros; Ach

Monument: most likely base

Honorand: Trebonianus Gallus

Office: emperor

Awarder: the polis of Epidauros - financed by: the money from the sanctuary of Asklepios ('with the means of the god')

Date: AD 251-253

Comment: - reused from Caracalla.

Selected references: AE 1974, 612; Pekary 1985, 16 (Greek).

06-15

Tenos; Greek Islands

Monument: plaque, for a honorific statue base

Honorand: Trebonianus Gallus

Office: emperor

Awarder: not preserved

Date: AD 251-253

Selected references: IG XII 5.2, 938 (Greek).

06-16

Traianopolis; Asi

Monument: most likely a base

Honorand: Trebonianus Gallus

Office: emperor

Awarder: the *boule* and the *demos* of Traianopolis - curator: Menandros Keleros (?)

Celer and Philippus Euodros (?), Aelianus

Valerius [...] and the grammateus Gaius

Onesimus Flavius Preiskos (?)

Date: AD 251-253

Selected references: IGRR IV, 626 (Greek).

Aemilianus

07-01-02

Tergeste; VeH

Monument: statue base / double base

Honorand: Aemilianus + Cornelia Supra

Office: emperor + wife, Augusta

Awarder: the *ordo* of Tergeste

Date: AD 253

Selected references: CIL V 00530; Inscr It X 4, 26; Alföldy 1984a, 83 no 27; Witschel 2006b, 383 no 7; HD033017 (Latin).

Valerianus/Gallienus

08-001

Roma (?); LaC (?)

Monument: portrait head; slightly over life-size; H: 0.34 m

Honorand: Gallienus

Office: emperor

Date: AD 261-268

Comment: - type 'sole regent' / type I.

Museum/Storage: Rome, Museo Capitolino, Magazin Inv. 2572.

Selected references: Wegner 1979, 117; Bergmann 1977, 52 no 9; FZ 1985, 137. 139 no 115; Arachne 56453.

Image: IMG0142

08-002

Roma; LaC

Monument: portrait head (on non-belonging bust); H: 0.85m

Honorand: Gallienus

Office: emperor

Date: AD 261-268

Comment: - wreathed - type 'sole regent' / type II.

Museum/Storage: Paris, Musée du Louvre MA 1223; Inv. Cp 6422, MNE 848.

Selected references: Bergmann 1977, 52 no 11; FZ 1985, 137 no 114 repl. 8; Kersauson 1996, 484-485 no 228; Arachne 14965.

Image: IMG0143

08-003

Roma; LaC

Monument: insertion head; over life-size; H: 0.38m

Honorand: Gallienus

Office: emperor

Date: AD 261-268

Comment: - type 'sole regent' / type II.

Museum/Storage: Rome, Museo Nazionale delle Terme Inv. 644.

Selected references: Delbrueck 1912, 55-56; Felletti Maj 1953, no 304; Felletti Maj 1958, 225-226 no 294; Fittschen 1969, 218; Fittschen 1970, 136; Fittschen 1971, 245 fn. 124; Wegner 1979, 117-118; Bergmann 1977, 51 no 7; Fittschen 1979, 588; Bergmann 1983, 55 pl. 26; FZ 1985, 137 no 114, repl. 1; MusNazRom I/190, 296-297 no 181; Arachne 17147.

Image: IMG0144

08-004
 Roma; LaC
Monument: portrait head (on modern bust)
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Date: AD 261-268
Comment: - type 'sole regent' / type II.
Museum/Storage: Rome, Museo Torlonia, 603.
Selected references: Visconti 1876, 505; 1880, 512; 1881, 516; 1883, 603; 1884/85, 603 pl. 156; Bernoulli 1894, 167 no 4; L'Orange 1933, 5. L'Orange 1967, 7; Felletti Maj 1958, 226-227 no 295; L'Orange 1967, 100; Fittschen 1971, 145 fn. 124; Bergmann 1977, 52 no 12; FZ 1985, 137 no 115 repl. 2; Wegner 1979, 118-119; Arachne 27166.
Image: IMG0145

08-005
 Roma; LaC
Monument: insertion head; slightly over life-size; H: 0.29m
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Date: AD 261-268
Comment: - type 'sole regent' / type II - probably reworked.
Museum/Storage: stolen 1980 (former Rome, Depot of the Mercati Traianei. Inv. Mag. Merc. Trai. 98.).
Selected references: FZ 1985, 137-139 no 114; Bergmann, 177, 52; Arachne 40088.
Image: IMG0146

08-006
 Roma; LaC
Monument: insertion head; colossal; H: 0.53 m
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Date: AD 267-268
Comment: - type 'sole regent' / type III.
Museum/Storage: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 768 Inv. 832.
Selected references: Poulsen 1951, 534 no 768; Felletti Maj 1958, 227 no 296; Fittschen 1971, 245 fn 114; Poulsen 1974, 172-173 no 177; Bergmann 1977, 52 no 14; Fittschen 1979, 88 pl. 12; Wegner 1979, 113; Bergmann, 1981, 188; Bergmann 1983, 55 Abb. 27; Fittschen 1990, 256, A1 380; Arachne 8662.
Image: IMG0147

08-007
 unknown; unknown/Italia (?)
Monument: insertion head
Honorand: Gallienus

Office: emperor
Date: AD 261-268
Comment: - type 'sole regent' / type II.
Museum/Storage: Brussels, Musée Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire A 3558/ Musée du Cinquantenaire.
Selected references: Wegner 1979, 111; Bergmann 1977, 51; FZ 1985, 137 no 114 repl. 6; Arachne 38372.
Image: IMG0148

08-008
 unknown; unknown/Italia (?)
Monument: insertion head for a statue; over life-size
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Date: AD 253-ca. 260
Comment: - later co-reign type / type I.
Museum/Storage: Berlin, Antikensammlung (former: Staatliche Museen Inv. SK 423 (R114)).
Selected references: Blümel 1933, 47-48 pl. 74; Felletti Maj 1958, 223-24; Bergmann 1977, 51; Wegner 1979, 111; Bergmann 1983, 55 pl. 25; FZ 1985, 135 no 112 repl. 3.
Image: IMG0149

08-009
 unknown; unknown/Italia (?)
Monument: insertion head (on modern bust); H: 0.35m
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Date: AD 253-ca. 260
Comment: - type 'co-regent' / type I.
Museum/Storage: Rome, Museo Capitolino, Stanza degli Imperatori Inv. 360.
Selected references: Felletti Maj 1958, 223; Bergmann 1977, 51; Wegner 1979, 116-117; FZ 1985, 135 no 112; Arachne 16072.
Image: IMG0150

08-010
 unknown; unknown/Italia (?)
Monument: portrait head (on modern bust); over life-size; H: 0.39m
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Date: AD ca. 261 (AD 261-268)
Comment: - type 'sole regent' / type II.
Museum/Storage: Paris, Musée du Louvre. Inv. MA 512; Inv. MR 511 (depot).
Selected references: Wegner 1979, 115; Bergmann, 1977, 52 no 8, 53; Stutzinger 1983, 393-394; FZ 1985, 137 no 114 repl. 7;

Kersauson 1996, 482-3 no 227; Arachne 80301.

Image: IMG0151

08-011

unknown; unknown/Italia (?)

Monument: insertion head (on non-belonging bust); H: 0.83m

Honorand: Gallienus

Office: emperor

Date: AD 253-260

Comment: - type 'co-regent' / type I.

Museum/Storage: Museo Capitolino (former: Rome, Palazzo Braschi Inv. 487).

Selected references: Wegner 1979, 119; Bergmann 1977, 51; FZ 1985, 135-137 no 113; Arachne 28748.

Image: IMG0152

08-012

unknown; unknown/Italia (?)

Monument: portrait head (on modern bust)

Honorand: Gallienus

Office: emperor

Date: AD 261-268

Comment: - type 'sole regent' / type II

Museum/Storage: Rome, Palazzo Quirinale Inv. SM 5071.

Selected references: FZ 1985, 137 no 114 repl. 5; Guerrini - Gasparri 1993, 92-95. pl. XXXII; Arachne 56457.

Image: IMG0153

(08-012small)

unknown; unknown/Italia (?)

Monument: small portrait head; H: 0.172m

Honorand: Gallienus

Office: emperor

Date: AD 261-268

Comment: - type 'sole regent' / type II; - see also a miniature portrait head in Ephesos (Eph-64-5small), which, according to Fittschen 1973, 62, might depict Gallienus.

Museum/Storage: New York, art Market.

Selected references: Sotheby's (NY) Antiquities and Islamic art, 1st -2nd March 1984, No. 75 w. pl.; FZ 1985, 137 no 114 repl. 8a.

Image: IMG0154

08-013

Ossoinoba; Lus

Monument: insertion head; H: 0,29 m

Honorand: Gallienus

Office: emperor

Date: AD 261-268

Comment: - type 'sole regent' / type II ('Sonderbildung'); provenance: antique villa, probably imported.

Museum/Storage: Lagos, Museo Regional Inv. 1418, sección arqueol. 376.

Selected references: Felletti Maj 1958, 226 no 294; Fittschen 1971, 245 fn. 124; Bergmann 1977, 51 no 6; Wegner 1979, 113-114; FZ 1985, 137 no. 114 repl. 9; Arachne 56458.

Image: IMG0155

08-014

unknown; unknown

Monument: portrait head (w. dowel hole for attachment to a statue); H: 0.42m; over life size

Honorand: Valerianus

Office: emperor

Date: AD 253-260

Comment: - broad circlet - belonging to an equal-sized Gallienus portrait (08-15).

Museum/Storage: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 766 c Inv. 3378.

Selected references: Vermeule 1968, 312, 404; Bergmann 1977, 51; Inan-Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 130-131 no 77; Wegner 1979, 102-103; FZ 1985, 134; Bergmann 1983, 48; Arachne 28517.

Image: IMG0156

08-015

unknown; unknown

Monument: portrait head; H: 0.44m, over life-size

Honorand: Gallienus

Office: emperor

Date: AD 253-ca. 260

Comment: - small rounded circlet with holes to insert sunrays (Sol invictus) - typ 'co-regent' / type I - found together with Valerian cat. 8-14.

Museum/Storage: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 767 b Inv. 3388.

Selected references: Vermeule 1968, 312. 404; Bergmann 1977, 51; Inan-Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 131-132; Wegner 1979, 112-113; FZ 1985, 135; Arachne 28518.

Image: IMG0157

08-016

unknown; unknown

Monument: portrait head (on modern bust);

H: 0,64 m

Honorand: Gallienus

Office: emperor

Date: AD 267-268

Comment: - type 'sole-regent' / type III.

Museum/Storage: Rome, Palazzo Corsini
Selected references: De Luca 1976, 86-87 no 50 pl. 76-77; Bergmann 1977, 52 no 15 pl. 14, 3; Inan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 344 fn. 2; Arachne 29000.
Image: IMG0158

08-017
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head (on modern bust)
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Date: AD 253-ca. 260
Comment: - 'type co-regent' / type I.
Museum/Storage: Howard Castle.
Selected references: Wegner 1979, 112; FZ 1985, 135 no 112 repl. 4; Felletti Maj 1958, 229; Borg 2005, 115 no 61; Arachne 3772.
Image: IMG0159

08-018
 unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head (on modern bust);
 H: 0,255m (chin-crown)
Honorand: Valerianus
Office: emperor
Date: AD 253-ca. 260
Museum/Storage: Rome, Museo Nuovo, Sala X 12. Inv. 184.
Selected references: FZ 1985, 133-134.
Image: IMG0160

08-019
 unknown (?); unknown (?)
Monument: paludamentum bust; H: 0.73m
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Date: AD 261-268
Comment: - type II-III.
Museum/Storage: Paris, Musée du Louvre MA 1041, Inv. MR 707.
Selected references: Wigger – Wegner 1971, 115-116; Bergmann 1977, 52 no 13. 53-54, pl. 14,1; Kersauson 1996, 486-487 no 229; Arachne 14962.
Image: IMG0161

08-020
 Roma; LaC
Monument: base, 43 fragments
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: too fragmentary
Date: AD 253-268
Comment: - very fragmentary - provenance:

between Via Principe Umberto and Principe Amedeo.
Selected references: CIL VI 32561 (= 2385+2388+2393+3817)(Latin).

08-021
 Roma; LaC
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Cornelia Salonina
Office: wife of Gallienus, Augusta (AD 254 (?))
Awarder: the *centuriones deputati* and *c. supernumerarii* and the *c. frumentarii* with [...] and *Iustus, tribunus* and the commander and vice commander Aurelius [...] of the castra (*principe* and *subprincipe peregrinorum*), (*subpriceps peregrinorum*, 2nd commander of the *frumentarii*); curator: [...] *vir egregius ex kanaliclarius* (chief of the clerical staff of a legionary vexillation)
Date: AD 254-268
Comment: - provenance: Castra Peregrina.
Selected references: CIL VI 1110; Domaszewski 1895, 70 no 152; 72.

08-022-23
 Roma; LaC
Monument: arch / (as double base)
Honorand: Gallienus + Salonina
Office: emperor + wife, Augusta (AD 254 (?))
Awarder: Aurelius Victor, *vir egregius*
Date: AD 254-268
Comment: - provenance: street of S. Viti, near S. Mariae Maioris.
Museum/Storage: findspot.
Selected references: CIL VI 1106; AE 1992, 78 ad; Hübner 1885, 507; Kähler 1939, 294 I 36; Sticotti 1913, 311-312; De Maria 1988, 311-312, 93; Rodriguez-Almeida 1991, 4-7 E (Latin).
Image: IMG0162

08-024
 Roma; LaC
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Saloninus
Office: emperor, AD 258 (Caes); AD 260 (Aug)
Awarder: the three provinces of Gaul - supervisor: Sextus Acilius Fuscus, *vir egregius procuratore Augustorum nostrum trium et cen[sit(ore) (?)]*
Date: AD 258-260
Comment: - provenance: Traian's markets.
Museum/Storage: Traian's markets.
Selected references: CIL VI 40704; AE 1934, 161; AE 1971, 23; HD026947 (Latin).

08-025
 Capua; LaC
Monument: Lastra marmorea, possibly for a statue (Chioffi)
Honorand: Cornelia Salonina
Office: wife of Gallienus, Augusta (AD 254 (?))
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 254-268
Selected references: CIL X 3836; Chioffi 2005, 47-48 no 8.

08-026
 Fabrateria Vetus; LaC
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Cornelia Salonina
Office: wife of Gallienus, Augusta (AD 254 (?))
Awarder: Fabraterni Veteres
- decreto decurionum, p(ublice)
Date: AD 254-268
Selected references: AE 1912, 105; HD028122 (Latin).

08-027
 Nola; LaC
Monument: base
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the district Agrifanus (*pagus* Agrifanus)
Date: AD 253-268
Selected references: CIL X 1278, p. 421-422; AE 2001, 835 (Latin).

08-028
 Nola (near Nola in Pagus Lauri); LaC
Monument: base
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the district Capriculanus (*pagus* Capriculanus)
Date: AD 253-268
Comment: - reused.
Selected references: CIL X 1279 p. 422-423; AE 2001, 836 (Latin).

08-029
 Nola; LaC
Monument: base
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the district Lantia (*pagus* Lantia)
Date: AD 253-268
Selected references: CIL X 1280, p. 420-421; AE 2001, 837 (Latin).

08-030
 Nola; LaC
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Cornelia Salonina
Office: wife of Gallienus, Augusta (AD 254 (?))
Awarder: the district Myttianus (*pagus* Myttianus)
Date: AD 254-268
Selected references: AE 1900, 179; AE 2001, 838 (Latin).

08-031
 Ostia; LaC
Monument: base, marble
Honorand: Valerianus II
Office: son of Gallienus; Caesar (AD 255), emperor (AD 257)
Awarder: *Ostienses*
Date: AD 255-258
Comment: - provenance: the Tempio Rotondo, with portraits of Alexander (01-010), Gordian III (03-008), and a base for Tranquilina (03-062).
Selected references: CIL XIV 4401 (Latin).

08-032
 Taenum Sidicinum; LaC
Monument: base
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the people of Taenum (*Taeneses*)
Date: AD 265
Selected references: CIL X 4784; Hübner 1885, 186 (Latin).

08-033
 Trebula; LaC
Monument: limestone base
Honorand: Valerianus II
Office: son of Gallienus; Caesar (AD 255), emperor (AD 257)
Awarder: - *decreto decurionum*
Date: AD 255-258
Comment: part of a monument which held the images of the Augusti.
Selected references: CIL X 4558; Chioffi 2005, 172 no 215 (Latin).

08-034
 Trebula; LaC
Monument: limestone base
Honorand: Cornelia Salonina
Office: wife of Gallienus, Augusta (AD 254 (?))
Awarder: - *decreto decurionum*

Date: AD 253-268
Selected references: CIL X 4557; Chioffi 2005, 172-173 no 216 (Latin).

08-035
 Beneventum; ApC
Monument: 'large' base
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: no dedicator (PAG interpreted as *pac(is restitutori)*)
Date: AD 265
Selected references: CIL IX 1559 (Latin).

08-036
 Iuvanum; Sam
Monument: base
Honorand: Cornelia Salonina
Office: wife of Gallienus, Augusta (AD 254 (?))
Awarder: *decreto decurionum*
Date: AD 254-268
Selected references: AE 1990, 227 (Latin).

08-037
 Cingulum; Pic
Monument: base
Honorand: Saloninus
Office: emperor, AD 258 (Caes); AD 260 (Aug)
Awarder: the people of Cingulum (*Cingulani*)
- decreto decurionum, publice
Date: AD 258-260
Selected references: CIL IX 5683; Hübner 1885, 186 (Latin).

08-038
 Cingulum; Pic
Monument: base
Honorand: Valerianus II
Office: son of Gallienus; Caesar (AD 255), emperor (AD 257)
Awarder: the people of Cingulum; (*Cingulani*)
- decreto decurionum p(ublice)
Date: AD 255-258
Comment: - *divus*.
Selected references: CIL IX 5682; Hübner 1885, 186 (Latin).

08-039
 Carsulae; Umb
Monument: base
Honorand: Valerianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: - *decreto decurionum*

Date: AD 253-260
Comment: - presumably found with 08-040.
Museum/Storage: Acquasparta, Palazzo Cesi.
Selected references: CIL XI 4567; AE 2005, 465-467; Epigraphica 67, 2005, 473-485 (Latin).

08-040
 Carsulae; Umb
Monument: base
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: - *decreto decurionum*
Date: AD 255
Museum/Storage: Acquasparta, Palazzo Cesi.
Selected references: CIL XI 4568; AE 2000, 528 ad.; AE 2005, 465-467; Epigraphica 67, 2005, 473-485 (Latin).

08-041
 Carsulae; Umb
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Cornelia Salonina
Office: wife of Gallienus, Augusta (AD 254 (?))
Awarder: - *decreto decurionum*
Date: 253-268 AD
Selected references: AE 2000, 528; AE 2005, 465-467; Epigraphica 67, 2005, 473-485 (Latin).

08-042
 Amelia; Umb
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Saloninus
Office: emperor, AD 258 (Caes); AD 260 (Aug)
Awarder: - *decreto decurionum*
Date: AD 258-260
Selected references: AE 2000, 501 (Latin).

08-043
 Asisium; Umb
Monument: base
Honorand: Saloninus
Office: emperor, AD 258 (Caes); AD 260 (Aug)
Awarder: - *senatus consultum, publice*
Date: AD 258-260
Selected references: CIL XI 5380 (Latin).

08-044
 Castrum Novum / Col. Iulia Castro Novo; Etr
Monument: base
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: Colonia Iulia Castro Novo

- *decreto decurionum*

Date: AD 253-268

Comment: note: no reference to the bases of Salonina and Valerianus II or the find spot.

Selected references: CIL XI 3576 (Latin).

08-045

Castrum Novum / Col. Iulia Castro Novo; Etr

Monument: base

Honorand: Gallienus

Office: emperor

Awarder: the *Castronovani*

Date: AD 253-268

Selected references: Henzen 1856, 5543;

Hübner 1885, no 543 (Latin).

08-046

Castrum Novum / Col. Iulia Castro Novo; Etr

Monument: base, marble

Honorand: Cornelia Salonina

Office: wife of Gallienus, Augusta (AD 254 (?))

Awarder: Colonia Iulia Castro Novo

Date: AD 254-268

Selected references: CIL XI 3577 (Latin).

08-047

Castrum Novum / Col. Iulia Castro Novo; Etr

Monument: base

Honorand: Valerianus II

Office: son of Gallienus; Caesar (AD 255), emperor (AD 257)

Awarder: Colonia Iulia Castro Novo

Date: AD 255-258

Selected references: CIL XI 3578 (Latin).

08-048-049

Falerii, Colonia Falerii Novi; LaC

Monument: 2 plaques, from a honorific monument/ (as double base)

Honorand: Gallienus + Salonina

Office: emperor + wife, Augusta (AD 254 (?))

Awarder: a) *ordo* and *populus* of the Colonia Falerii; - curator: Tyrio Septimio [Azizo v. p. cur. r. p.] (*eques*) - b) the senate of Colonia Falerii; - curator: Tyrio Septimio [Azizo v. p. cur. oper]um et r.p.

Date: AD 254-268

Comment: - as benefactors (gratitude for their munificentia) - the plates were fixed to a monument for Gallienus and his family, the bases of Salonina were either in front of that monument, or within its context - reused later

Selected references: a) CIL XI 3089; AE 1979, 217b; CIL, Suppl. Ital. 1, 1981, 115-116;

Horster 2001, 319-320 cat. VII 2a (II v. 3-5 = VI 1109 cf. VI p. 3778 et VI p. 4324); HD004380.

b) CIL XI 3090a= VI 1108; AE 1979, 0218; CIL, Suppl. Ital.1, 1981, 134-135 no 11; Manzella 1979, 113-116, no 39; fig. 58; Horster 2001, cat VII 2b; Alföldy 2002a, 143-144; HD007834 (Latin).

08-050

Falerii, Colonia Falerii Novi; LaC

Monument: base, fragment (only dedicator; not an emperor)

Honorand: Gallienus or member of his family

Office: emperor or ?

Awarder: [...]

Date: AD 253-268

Selected references: CIL XI 3094; De Blois 1976, 134; Bakkum 2009, 42.

08-051

Falerii, Colonia Falerii Novi; LaC

Monument: statue base

Honorand: Cornelia Salonina

Office: wife of Gallienus, Augusta (AD 254 (?))

Awarder: the senate of Colonia Falerii Novi

- curator: Tyrio Septimio [Azizo v. p. cur. oper]um et r.p. (*eques*)

Date: AD 260-268

Selected references: CIL XI 3091; Horster 2001, 1319-320, VII 2c; HD032413 (Latin).

08-052

Falerii, Colonia Falerii Novi; LaC

Monument: statue base, marble white

Honorand: Cornelia Salonina

Office: wife of Gallienus, Augusta (AD 254 (?))

Awarder: *ordo* und *populus* of Colonia Falerii - curator: Tyrio Septimio [Azizo v. p. cur. r. p.] (*eques*)

Date: AD 260-268

Selected references: CIL XI 3092; CIL. Suppl. Ital. 1, 1981, 116-117 no 12; Di Stefano Manzella, 1979, 115-116; fig. 59; Horster 2001, 319-320, VII 2d; HD 032416 (Latin).

08-053

Falerii, Colonia Falerii Novi; LaC

Monument: statue base

Honorand: Cornelia Salonina

Office: wife of Gallienus, Augusta (AD 254 (?))

Awarder: the senate of Colonia Falerii -

curator: Tyrio Septimio [Azizo v. p. cur. oper]um et r.p.

Date: AD 254-268

Comment: - either in front of or part of an honorific 'monument' (08-048-049).
Selected references: AE 1982, 272; CIL, Suppl. Ital.1, 1981, no 12; Horster 2001, 1319-320 VII 2e; Alföldy 2002a, 143-144; HD 001310 (Latin).

08-054

Falerii, Colonia Falerii Novi; LaC
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Saloninus
Office: emperor, AD 258 (Caes); AD 260 (Aug)
Awarder: the senate and the people of Colonia Faliscorum
Date: AD 258-260
Selected references: CIL XI 3093; Horster 2001, 1319-320 (Latin).

08-055

Luna; Etr
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Saloninus
Office: emperor, AD 258 (Caes); AD 260 (Aug)
Awarder: not preserved
Date: after AD 259
Selected references: AE 1978, 322; Scavi di Luni I, 1 (1973), 827 no. 65; HD004631.

08-056

Visentium?; Etr
Monument: base
Honorand: Valerianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the senate and the people of Visentium
Date: AD 254
Selected references: CIL XI 2914 (Latin).

08-057

Veleia; Aem
Monument: tabula, for a statue
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: - *decreto decurionum*
Date: AD 253-268
Comment: - reused from Gordian III - provenance: forum.
Selected references: CIL XI 1177b; Boschung 2002, 27 no 2.28b; 35 (Latin).

08-058

Aquileia; VeH
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Cornelia Salonina

Office: wife of Gallienus, Augusta (AD 254 (?))
Awarder: Licinius Diocletianus, *vir egregius*
Date: AD 260-268
Comment: - found with 08-059.
Selected references: CIL V 857; Hübner 1885, 190; Alföldy 1984a, 95 no 75; Witschel 2006b, 383 no 13; Deppmeyer 2008, cat. 210; UEL 13418; HD033146 (Latin).

08-059

Aquileia; VeH
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: Licinius Diocletianus, *vir egregius*
Date: AD 260-268
Comment: - today lost - found with 08-058.
Selected references: CIL V 856; Alföldy 1984a, 94 -95 no 74; Witschel 2006b, 383 no 12; Deppmeyer 2008, cat. 210; HD033143 (Latin).

08-060

Bellunum; VeH
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Cornelia Salonina
Office: wife of Gallienus, Augusta (AD 254 (?))
Awarder: - *decreto decurionum*
Date: AD 254-268
Selected references: AE 1990, 405ad; Alföldy 1984a, 116, no 149; Witschel 2006b, 384 no 23; HD016863.

08-061

Forum Iulium/ Iulii; VeH
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica* of Forum Iulium
Date: AD 253-268
Selected references: CIL V 1762; Alföldy 1984a, 104-105 no 111; Krause – Witschel 2006, 383 no 10; HD033236 (Latin).

08-062

Tarvisium; VeH
Monument: base
Honorand: Cornelia Salonina
Office: wife of Gallienus, Augusta (AD 254 (?))
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 254-268
Selected references: CIL V 2111; Witschel 2006b, 384 no 27.

08-063
 Tridentum; VeH
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 253-268
Selected references: CIL V 05030; Alföldy 1984a, 142 no 256; HD033605 (Latin).

08-064
 Pola; VeH
Monument: base
Honorand: Cornelia Salonina
Office: wife of Gallienus, Augusta (AD 254 (?))
Awarder: the *res publica* of Pola
Date: AD 254-268
Selected references: CIL V 29; Hübner 1885, no 562 (Latin).

08-065
 Neapolis; Sar
Monument: plaque, for statue
Honorand: Valerianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: - *ex decreto decurionum* -financed by: *pecunia publica*
Date: AD 253-260
Selected references: AE 2003, 817; AE 2004, 666; AE 2007, 688; Zucca 2004, 359-361 no 4; HD053543 (Latin)

08-066
 Nuoro; Sar
Monument: Plaque / 'lastre maybe for a statue' (Epigraphica), fragment
Honorand: Saloninus
Office: emperor, AD 258 (Caes); AD 260 (Aug)
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 258-260
Selected references: AE 1971, 124; Epigraphica 67, 2005, 358-9 no 3; Sotgiu 1968-1970.12-13.

08-067
 Segusiavi; Lug
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 253
Selected references: CIL XIII 1644; Rosso 2006, 290 no 77 (Latin).

08-068
 Antipolis; Nar
Monument: probaby lower part of a base
Honorand: Cornelia Salonina
Office: wife of Gallienus, Augusta (AD 254 (?))
Awarder: no preserved (?)
 - *decreto decurionum*
Date: AD 253-254 (?)
Selected references: CIL XII 171; Rosso 2006, 315-316 no 105 (Latin).

08-069
 Vasio; Nar
Monument: base
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the people of Vasio
Date: AD 253-268
Selected references: CIL XII 1352 (Latin).

08-070
 Brig(omagus?); AlM
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Saloninus
Office: emperor, AD 258 (Caes); AD 260 (Aug)
Awarder: the *ordo* of Brigomagus
Date: AD 258-260
Selected references: CIL XII 57; Rosso 2006, 523-524 no 279 (Latin).

08-071
 Cemenelum; AlM
Monument: large base
Honorand: Cornelia Salonina
Office: wife of Gallienus, Augusta (AD 254 (?))
Awarder: the *ordo* of Cemenelum - curator: Aurelio Ianuario, *vir egregius*
Date: AD 254-260
Selected references: CIL V 7879; Rosso 2006, 534-535, 292 (Latin).

08-072
 Segusio; AlC
Monument: plaque
Honorand: Cornelia Salonina
Office: wife of Gallienus, Augusta (AD 254 (?))
Awarder: the *ordo* of Segusio
Date: AD 253-268 (?)
Selected references: CIL V 7246; Rosso 2006, 505 no 251 (Latin).

08-073
 Vintium; AlM
Monument: statue base

Honorand: Valerianus II
Office: son of Gallienus; Caesar (AD 255), emperor (AD 257)
Awarder: the *ordo* of the people of Vintium
Date: AD 257
Selected references: CIL XII 12; Rosso 2006, 539 no 300 (Latin).

08-074
 Castro de Santaver near Canaveruelas; Tar
Monument: described as lower part of a base
Honorand: son of Gallienus
Office: Caesar; emperor
Awarder: Ercaucenses - *decreto decurionum*
Date: AD 253-268
Selected references: AE 1987, 662 (Latin).

08-075
 Emerita Augusta; Lus
Monument: pedestal
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: P. Clodius Laetus Macrinus, v. c., leg. (augg.) pr. pr.
Date: AD 253-268
Selected references: AE 1993, 914 (Latin).

08-076
 Corduba, Colonia Patricia Corduba; Bae
Monument: statue base, for an equestrian statue (?)
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica* of Corduba
Date: AD 254
Selected references: CIL II² 7, 257; CIL II 2199; HD 028145 (Latin).

08-077
 Corduba, Colonia Patricia Corduba; Bae
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Cornelia Salonina
Office: wife of Gallienus, Augusta (AD 254 (?))
Awarder: Cor [---] Cor [dubensem?]; or name Cor [nelio ---flamine/flamino] (or cur[ante])
Date: AD 255/7-269
Selected references: CIL II 2200; CIL II² 7, 258; HD 028148 (Latin).

08-078
 Castulo; Tar (border to Bae)
Monument: base, parallelepipedic
Honorand: Valerianus
Office: emperor

Awarder: the *res publica* of Castulo - *decreto decurionum*
Date: AD 253-260
Selected references: AE 1973, 281; CILA III, 86 (Latin).

08-079
 Saguntum; Tar
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Valerianus II
Office: son of Gallienus; Caesar (AD 255), emperor (AD 257)
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 255-258
Selected references: CIL II² 14, 314 = CIL II 3831; HD025049 (Latin).

08-080
 unknown; unknown
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 253-268
Selected references: CIG 6830 (Greek).

08-081
 Volubilis; MaT
Monument: base
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res public* of Volubilis - *ex decreto ordinis*
Date: AD 253-268
Selected references: IAM 2, 406 (Latin).

08-082
 Volubilis; MaT
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Valerianus II
Office: son of Gallienus; Caesar (AD 255), emperor (AD 257)
Awarder: the *res publica* of Volubilis - *ex decreto ordinis*
Date: AD 255-258
Selected references: ILAfr 615; IAM 2, 407 (Latin).

08-083
 Sitifis; MaC
Monument: base
Honorand: Valerianus II
Office: son of Gallienus; Caesar (AD 255), emperor (AD 257)

Awarder: Colonia Nerviana Augusta Martialis Veteranorum Sitifensium, - *decreto decurionum* - financed by: *pecunia publica*
Date: AD 255-258
Comment: - *divus*.
Selected references: CIL VIII 8473; Hübner 1885, no 688 (Latin).

08-084
 Cuicul, Colonia Cuiculitanorum; Num
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Valerianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica* of Cuicul
Date: AD 256
Comment: provenance: east of the great temple.
Selected references: CIL VIII 20155; ILAlg II, 3, 7837; Berrendonner – Cébeillac-Gervasoni – Lamoine 2008, 118; Kleinwächter 2001, 139 no 56 no 11. (Latin)

08-085
 Cuicul, Colonia Cuiculitanorum; Num
Monument: base fragments
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: - not preserved
Date: AD 253-268
Comment: provenance: capitol, forum.
Selected references: Ballu 1915, 124 no 3; Kleinwächter 2001, 120 no 11 (Latin)

08-086
 Sila; Num
Monument: block
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 253-268
Comment: erected next to Valerian I, Gallienus, Valerian II.
Selected references: IAlg II, 2 6879; Pflaum 1969, 133-134 no 5.

08-087
 Thamugadi, Col. Ulpia Marciana Traiana
 Thamugadi; Num
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Valerianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica* of Colonia Thamugadi
Date: AD 256
Comment: - provenance: south baths.
Selected references: CIL VIII 2380;

Manderscheid 1981, 122 cat. 480; Deppmeyer 2008, cat. 224 (Latin).

08-088
 Thamugadi, Col. Ulpia Marciana Traiana
 Thamugadi; Num
Monument: base gemella
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *re publica* of Colonia Thamugadi
Date: AD 253-268
Comment: - provenance: south baths
Selected references: CIL VIII 2381; Manderscheid 1981, 122 cat. 481; Deppmeyer 2008, cat. 224 (Latin).

08-089
 Thamugadi, Col. Ulpia Marciana Traiana
 Thamugadi; Num
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Cornelia Salonina
Office: wife of Gallienus, Augusta (AD 254 (?))
Awarder: Colonia Thamugadi
Date: AD 254-268
Comment: -provenance: south baths.
Selected references: Manderscheid 1981, 123 cat 485; Deppmeyer 2008, cat. 224 (Latin).

08-090
 Thamugadi, Col. Ulpia Marciana Traiana
 Thamugadi; Num
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Valerianus II
Office: son of Gallienus; Caesar (AD 255), emperor (AD 257)
Awarder: the *res publica* of Colonia Thamugadi
Date: AD 255-258
Comment: - provenance: south baths.
Selected references: CIL VIII 2382; Manderscheid 1981, 123 cat. 483; Deppmeyer 2008, cat. 224 (Latin).

08-091
 Thamugadi, Col. Ulpia Marciana Traiana
 Thamugadi; Num
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Valerianus II
Office: son of Gallienus; Caesar (AD 255), emperor (AD 257)
Awarder: the *res publica* of Colonia Thamugadi
Date: AD 255-258
Comment: - P. Licinius Cornelius Egnatius Valerianus Nob. Caes. / P. (Licinius) Cornelius

(Saloninus) Valerianus Nob. Caes. or (P. Corn) Saloninus Gall. Nob. Caes.; - both eius, while father and grandfather eorum;
 -identification: Fittschen: 2x Valerianus, Deppmeyer: 1x Saloninus, CIL : 1x Saloninus
 - provenance: south baths, between the theatre and the *castellum* (CIL).
Selected references: CIL VIII 2383; Manderscheid 1981, 123 cat. 482; cf. Deppmeyer 2008, cat. 224; Fittschen 2009, 1130-1131 (Latin).

Date: AD 267
Comment: - probably held an equestrian statue; re-used later for a double base for Constantin II and Constantius II (IRT 469) -
 provenance: Forum Severianum.
Museum/Storage: findspot.
Selected references: IRT 457; AE 1950, 207; Bergemann 1990, 144 E82;
<http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT457.html> (Latin).
Image: IMG0164

08-092
 Aureliana Vina; Afr
Monument: base
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: Municipium Aureliana Vina, - *decreto decurionum* - financed by: *pecunia publica*
Date: AD 256
Selected references: CIL VIII 959. 12441; Pflaum 1969, 144 (Latin).

08-097
 Leptis Magna; Afr
Monument: panel, fragments
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 253-268
Comment: - provenance: Forum Severianum.
Museum/Storage: Leptis Museum.
Selected references: IRT 458; Witschel 1999, 291 fn. 39; Kleinwächter 2001, 252 fn. 1676;
<http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT458.html> (Latin).
Image: IMG0165

08-093
 Aureliana Vina; Afr
Monument: base gemella
Honorand: Cornelia Salonina
Office: wife of Gallienus, Augusta (AD 254 (?))
Awarder: Municipium Aureliana Vina
Date: AD 254-268
Selected references: CIL VIII 960; Pflaum 1969, 144 (Latin);

08-098
 Leptis Magna; Afr
Monument: 'cippus'
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: C. Servilius Marsus, consul, *curator rei publica* of Tripolitana
Date: AD 267
Comment: - provenance: Forum Severianum
Selected references: AE 1959, 271; Witschel 1999, 291 fn. 39 (Latin).

08-094-095
 Leptis Magna; Afr
Monument: doublebase / slab; H: 0.37m x W: 0.99m
Honorand: Gallienus + Salonina
Office: emperor + wife, Augusta (AD 254 (?))
Awarder: the *Lepcitani Septimiani Saloniniani, publice* (publicly)
Date: AD 265
Comment: - provenance: Forum Severianum.
Museum/Storage: Leptis Museum
Selected references: IRT 456 (Latin).
Image: IMG0163

08-099
 Leptis Magna; Afr
Monument: base; H: 1.14m x W: 0.48m x D: 0.52m
Honorand: Cornelia Salonina
Office: wife of Gallienus, Augusta (AD 254 (?))
Awarder: the *Lepcitani Septimiani Saloniniani, publice*
Date: AD 253-268
Comment: - names not distinctly clear, marked with a questionmark – yet it was possible to identify Cornelia by comparison with cat. 08 - 096-098; due to the wording it is most likely no double base - provenance: spolia used in theatre.
Museum/Storage: findspot.
Selected references: IRT 459; Pflaum 1969,

08-096
 Leptis Magna; Afr
Monument: long rectangular statue base; H: 0.72 x W: 0.51 x D: 1.75
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *Lepcitani Septimiani Saloniniani, publice*

133-134. 144;
<http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT459.html>
(Latin).
Image: IMG0166

08-100
Leptis Magna; Afr
Monument: base; H: 0.94 m x W: 0.51 m x D: 0.50 m
Honorand: Valerianus II (Publius Cornelius Licinius Valerianus)
Office: son of Gallienus; Caesar (AD 255), emperor (AD 257)
Awarder: the *Lepcitani Septimiani, publice* (publicly)
Date: AD 255-257
Comment: - provenance: near the mausoleum Gasr esc-Sciaddad, together with 08-101.
Museum/Storage: findspot.
Selected references: IRT 460a; AE 1931, 1; <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT460.html> (Latin).
Image: IMG0167

08-101
Leptis Magna; Afr
Monument: base, fragment; H: 0.45m x W: 0.52m
Honorand: Valerianus II or Saloninus
Office: son of Gallienus; Caesar (AD 255), emperor (AD 257)
Awarder: not preserved (but presumably the same as 460a)
Date: AD 253-255
Comment: - similar base as cat. 08-100
- provenance: near the mausoleum Gasr esc-Sciaddad, together with 08-100.
Museum/Storage: findspot.
Selected references: IRT 460b; <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT460.html> (Latin).

08-102-103
Sabratha; Afr
Monument: doublebase / slab; H: 0.90m x W: 1.74m
Honorand: Gallienus + Salonina
Office: emperor + wife, Augusta (AD 254 (?))
Awarder: the people of Sabratha, *publice* (publicly)
Date: AD 265-266
Museum/Storage: findspot.
Selected references: IRT 50; Witschel 1999, 291 fn. 39; <http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT050.html> (Latin).

Image: IMG0168

08-104
Thibica; Afr
Monument: base
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: Municipium Thibica, *decreto decurionum* - financed by: *pecunia publica*
Date: AD 254-255
Comment: name of the emperor erased.
Selected references: CIL VIII 766; Hübner 1885, no 687. (Latin).

08-105
Thibica; Afr
Monument: base
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: Municipium Thibica, *decreto decurionum* - financed by: *pecunia publica*
Date: AD 253-268
Selected references: CIL VIII 12229 (Latin).

08-106
Thugga; Afr
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica* of Colonia Licinia Septimia Aureli Alexexandriana Thugga
Date: end of AD 261
Selected references: CIL VIII 1487; Khanoussi – Maurin 2000, 42-44 Witschel 2006a, 204; Deppmeyer 2008, cat. 225 (Latin).

08-107
Thugga; Afr
Monument: statue base, limestone
Honorand: Cornelia Salonina
Office: wife of Gallienus, Augusta (AD 254 (?))
Awarder: the *res publica* of Colonia Licinia Septimia Aureliana Alexandriana Thugga
Date: AD 254-268
Selected references: AE 1914, 182; ILAfr 566; Pflaum 1969, 133-134.11; Deppmeyer 2008, cat. 225; HD021359 (Latin).

08-108
Acumincum, (Colonia Prap....) Acumincum; Pal
Monument: statue base, limestone
Honorand: Valerianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *Ordo* of Colonia Prap

Date: AD 254-255
Selected references: CIL III 3255; CIL III 10242; AE 1965, 304; EphEp 2, 0576; Hübner 1885, no 590; ILJug 1042; UEL 9728; HD018529 (Latin).

08-109
 Doclea; Dal
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Valerianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica* of Doclea - *decreto decurionum*
Date: AD 247
Comment: - provenance: western gate; - Sticotti assigned it originally to Philippus Arabs (CIL III 12684) but corrected this mistake - reused, two older inscriptions.
Selected references: CIL III 13823. 12684; Sticotti 1913, 164, no 18; HD022571 (Latin).

08-110
 Ad Mediam; Dac
Monument: plaque, statue base (Domaszewski)
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *Cohors III Delmatrum Valeriana Galliena miliaria equitata civium Romanorum Pia fidelis*
Date: AD 253-260
Selected references: CIL III 1577. 8010; Domaszewski 1895, 72 fn. 299; HD044786 (Latin)

08-111
 Tibiscum; Dac
Monument: statuebase (?; EDH)
Honorand: Cornelia Salonina
Office: wife of Gallienus, Augusta (AD 254 (?))
Awarder: the *ordo* of the Municipium Tibiscum
Date: AD 254-268
Selected references: CIL III 1550; IDR 3,1 132; HD046504 (Latin).

08-112
 Sarmizegetusa, Col.Ulpia Traiana Augusta Dacica Sarmizegetusa; Dac
Monument: statue base (?)
Honorand: Valerianus II
Office: son of Gallienus; Caesar (AD 255), emperor (AD 257)
Awarder: the *metropolis* Colonia Ulpia Traiana

Augusta Dacica Sarmizegetusa, *publice*
Date: AD 255-258
Selected references: CIL III 7971; HD046338 (Latin)

08-113
 Municipium Montanesium; MoI
Monument: statue base (?)
Honorand: Valerianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *Cohors III Collecta* - supervisor: Aelius Maximus, tribun
Date: AD 253-260
Selected references: AE 1957, 0340; HD017675 (Latin).

08-114
 Sostra; MoI
Monument: base, for bronze statue
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: *Cohors Secunda Reducum*-supervisor: G. Iulius Victor, *leg. aug. pr. pr.* - financed by: the means of the *questura*
Date: AD 253-260
Comment: -reused, several inscriptions
Selected references: AE 2007, 1222; Hristov 2006, 30-32, no 9; 8b; Eck - Ivanov 2009, 191-198 (Latin).

08-115
 Augusta Traiana; Thr
Monument: base
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *boule* and the *demos* - curators: Septimius Markianus and [...] Markianus [...]
Date: AD 253-268
Selected references: IGRR I, 759; IGBulg III, 1567 (Greek).

08-116
 Plotinopolis; Thr
Monument: statue base (stele)
Honorand: Valerianus II
Office: son of Gallienus; Caesar (AD 255), emperor (AD 257)
Awarder: the *polis* of Plotinopolis
Date: AD 255-258
Selected references: AE 1966, 378; SEG 19, 452; SEG 24, 647; Vatin 1966, 240-241 (Latin).

08-117
 Serdica; Thr
Monument: base
Honorand: Cornelia Salonina
Office: wife of Gallienus, Augusta (AD 254 (?))
Awarder: - administrator: Fl. Aithales and Klaudios and Diogenes and Po. Ant. Amasianos
Date: AD 254-268
Comment: - limestone (IGRR); granite (Kalinka)
Selected references: IGRR I, 697 = 1461; IGBulg IV 1912; Kalinka 1906, no 71 (Greek).

08-118
 (Serd) between Serdica and Philippopolis; Thr
Monument: base
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: very fragmentary - Iulian[os (?) ...]
Date: AD 253-268
Selected references: IGRR I, 696; IGBulg IV 1911 (Greek).

08-119
 Delphoi; Ach
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Valerianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *polis* of Delphi
Date: AD 253-256
Comment: - together with 08-Gal-I-102
Selected references: SIG³ 891 (Greek).

08-120
 Delphoi; Ach
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *polis* of Delphi
Date: AD 253-268
Comment: - together with 08-Gal-I-101.
Selected references: SIG 892 (Greek).

08-121
 Koroneia; Ach
Monument: block, 'dedication of a statue'
Honorand: Valerianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *polis*
Date: AD 253-260
Selected references: SEG 36, 426 (Greek).

08-122
 Lebadea; Ach
Monument: no information; most likely a base
Honorand: Valerianus II
Office: son of Gallienus; Caesar (AD 255), emperor (AD 257)
Awarder: the *polis* of Lebadea
Date: AD 257-260
Comment: all three sources identify him as Saloninus.
Selected references: IG VII 3105; CIG 1621; Sironen 1997, 52 fn. 9 (Greek).

08-123
 Megara; Ach
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *polis*
Date: AD 253-268
Comment: reused for Claudius Gothicus (10-20).
Selected references: IG VII 81; Blanck 1969, 90 no B 62 (Greek).

08-124
 Thespieae; Ach
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *polis*
Date: AD 253-268
Selected references: AE 1928, 54; Plassart 1926, 454 no 96 (Greek).

08-125
 Apameia/ Apamea (Phrygia); Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Cornelia Salonina
Office: wife of Gallienus, Augusta (AD 254 (?))
Awarder: the city Apamea
Date: AD 254- 257/8
Selected references: IGRR IV, 777; BCH XVII (1893), 304 no. 3; Deppmeyer 2008, cat. 216 (Greek).

08-126-127
 Apameia/ Apamea (Phrygia); Asi
Monument: statue base / double base
Honorand: Saloninus Val. Seb.+ Corn. Saloninus Val. Seb. (Saloninus + Valerianus II?)
Office: two of the sons of Gallienus (confusion of the names (?))
Awarder: the illustrious *polis* of Apamea (both

times)
Date: AD 257-260
Comment: the same inscription appears here twice - most likely a double base.
Selected references: IGRR IV, 776 (CIL III p 1257 ad n 6956/57); CIL III 6957; Deppmeyer 2008, cat. 216 (Greek).

08-128
 Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: base
Honorand: Cornelia Salonina
Office: wife of Gallienus, Augusta (AD 254 (?))
Awarder: the *polis* of Aphrodisias
Date: AD 254-260
Selected references: AE 1981, 765; Mama VIII, 453; Roueché 1981, 103-104 no 1; Roueché 2004, 2;
<http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/ala2004/inscription/eAla002.html> (Greek).

08-129
 Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base, marble, white; two fragments.
Honorand: Saloninus or Valerianus II
Office: emperor
Awarder: the city Aphrodisias
Date: AD 256-260
Selected references: SEG 1981, 907; Roueché 1981 104-106 no 2; Roueché 2004, 3 (Greek).

08-130
 Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Licinius Valerianus
Office: brother of Gallienus; benefactor
Awarder: the *polis*; supervisor: Antonius Nicomachus (father of the first *archon* Antonius Claudius Nicomachus, descendant of high-priests)
Date: AD 253-260
Selected references: AE 1981, 767; AE 1984, 884; Mama VIII, 509; SEG 1981, 906; REG 1906, 210 no 90; Roueché 1981, 104-106 no 3;
<http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007/iAph010189.html> (Greek).

08-131
 Iasos; Asi
Monument: base
Honorand: Valerianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *polis*

Date: AD 253/4
Comment: - provenance: agora (with 01-132).
Selected references: AE 2003, 1702; SEG 54, 1076- 1077 (Greek).

08-132
 Iasos; Asi
Monument: 'block (for statue)
Honorand: Valerianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *polis* of Iasos
Date: AD 253/4
Comment: - provenance: agora (with 01-131).
Selected references: AE 2003, 1703; SEG 54, 1076- 1077 (Greek).

08-133
 Iasos; Asi
Monument: base
Honorand: Valerianus II
Office: son of Gallienus; Caesar (AD 255), emperor (AD 257)
Awarder: the *polis* of Iasos
Date: AD 256
Comment: - provenance: agora
Selected references: AE 1979, 608; AE 1974, 624; IK 28, 13 (Greek).

08-134
 Meros/Merus; BiP
Monument: no information; most likely a base
Honorand: Cornelia Salonina
Office: wife of Gallienus, Augusta (AD 254 (?))
Awarder: the settlement (*katoikia*) of Meros
Date: AD 254-268
Selected references: IGRR IV, 593; JHS 17 (1897), 422-423 (Greek).

08-135
 Mylasa; Asi
Monument: no information; most likely a base
Honorand: Cornelia Salonina
Office: wife of Gallienus, Augusta (AD 254 (?))
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 253-268
Selected references: IK 34, 37 (Greek).

08-136
 Yorga (modern); Asi
Monument: base, stone
Honorand: Valerianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *polis* of Kidramenos? - financed with: the means of the *oikos*

Date: AD 253-260
Selected references: AE 1955, 282 (Greek).

08-137
Laodiceia Combusta; Gal
Monument: no information, most likely a base
Honorand: Cornelia Salonina
Office: wife of Gallienus, Augusta (AD 254 (?))
Awarder: the *boule* and the *demos*
Date: AD 254-268
Selected references: AE 1910, 166 (Greek).

08-138
Pompeiopolis; BiP
Monument: no information, most likely a base
Honorand: Cornelia Salonina
Office: wife of Gallienus, Augusta (AD 254 (?))
Awarder: the *metropolis* Paphlagonia
Pompeiopolis; - under Klaudius Ailianus,
imperia priest and first *archon*
Date: AD 255-256
Selected references: AE 1939, 25 (Greek).

08-139
Aspona; Gal
Monument: base
Honorand: Cornelia Salonina
Office: wife of Gallienus, Augusta (AD 254 (?))
Awarder: the (Galatian) *metropolis* Ankyra
Date: AD 254-268
Comment: - reused as milestone for
Constantine.
Selected references: AE 1899, 187, JHS 1899,
105-106; IGRR III, 237; Pflaum 1969, 133-134.
144; (Greek).

08-140
Andea, near; Asi
Monument: no information, most likely a base
Honorand: Cornelia Salonina
Office: wife of Gallienus, Augusta (AD 254 (?))
Awarder: the *boule* and the *demos*
Date: AD 254-268
Selected references: AE 1912, 1 (Greek)

08-141
Boubon; Ly
Monument: base, of a bronze statue
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 253-268
Selected references: AE 1981, 795; SEG 27,
925; Kokkinia 2008, 49-50 no 20 (Greek).

08-142
Boubon; Ly
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Valerianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 253-260
Selected references: Inan 1993, 230; SEG 43
1993, 967; Kokkinia 2008, 49-50 no 21.

08-143
Boubon; Ly
Monument: base of a bronze statue
Honorand: Cornelia Salonina
Office: wife of Gallienus, Augusta (AD 254 (?))
Awarder: no dedicator (fragment?)
Date: AD 253-268
Selected references: AE 1981, 794; SEG 27, 924
(Greek)

08-144
Combis; Ly
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: Valerianus II
Office: son of Gallienus; Caesar (AD 255),
emperor (AD 257)
Awarder: the council and the people of Combis
Date: AD 255-258
Selected references: IGRR II, 572 (Greek).

08-145
Sia; Pam
Monument: base
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: [...]
Date: AD 253-268
Comment: found with statue bases for
Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta
Selected references: IK 57, 143 (= IGRR III, 421,
Geta).

08-146
Side; Pam
Monument: tabula, (24 fragments), reused
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: - the gilding was commissioned by:
the *amica, socia et fidelis Romanorum*, *Side*
Mystis - financed by: the donation or bequest of
Consular Ulpianus Marcellus - inaugurated by:
(...) Antonius, priest under (...) governor,
under M. Aurelius Tr[...], archiereus of the
emperors.
Date: AD 253-268

Comment: - different reading in IK (AE: awarder: the *polis*); the IK assumes a monument which includes inscriptions and statues for Valerian and Salonina as well
Selected references: IK 43, 44; AE 1966, 460 (Greek).

08-147

Comana; Cap
Monument: likely a base,
Honorand: Gallienus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *boule* and the *demos*
Date: AD 253-268
Selected references: IGRR III, 123; BCH VII (1883), 131 no. 7 (Greek).

08-148

Comana; Cap
Monument: no information; most likely a base
Honorand: Valerianus II
Office: son of Gallienus; Caesar (AD 255), emperor (AD 257) Caesar
Awarder: the *boule* and the *demos*
Date: AD 255-258
Selected references: IGRR III, 122 (Greek).

08-149

Gerasa; Ara
Monument: block; most likely a base
Honorand: Valerianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *polis* - curator: Flavius Alrippeinos Eumenos
Date: AD 253-260
Selected references: AE 1931, 80; SEG 7, 821; Welles 1938, 430 no 159 (Greek).

08-150

outside Dumeir; Syr
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Valerianus II
Office: son of Gallienus; Caesar (AD 255), emperor (AD 257)
Awarder: the *ALA EPVO*
Date: AD 255-257
Comment: - spoliated.
Selected references: CIL III 130; Domaszewski 1895, 71 fn. 300 (Latin).

08-151

unknown origin; unknown
Monument: small base for „statuette“ (?)
Honorand: Valerianus

Office: emperor
Awarder: the village Pangoraviotos
Date: AD 253-260
Comment: - maybe from Asia Minor
- the village Pangoraviotos (the village is unknown) - note comparable: AE 1939, 265; AE 2001, 1569.
Selected references: AE 2007, 1792.

Macrianus

09-01

Chaironeia; Ach
Monument: no information; most likely a base
Honorand: Macrianus (Minor)
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *boule* and the *demos* of Chaironeia
Date: AD 260-261
Comment: - one of the *triginta tyranni*.
Selected references: IG VII 3420 (Greek).

09-02

Apamea Myrleanorum; BeP
Monument: no information; most likely a base
Honorand: Macrianus (Minor)
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *polis*
Date: AD 260-261
Comment: - one of the *triginta tyranni*.
Selected references: IGRR III, 27; CIG 3710 (Greek).

Claudius Gothicus

10-01

unknown; unknown
Monument: portrait head presumably for insertion into a statue (Stutz.); over life-size
Honorand: Claudius Gothicus
Office: emperor
Date: AD 268-270
Museum/Storage: Worcester/ Mass., Art Museum Inv. 1915. 24.
Selected references: Bergmann 1977, 105-107; Wegner 1979, 138; Bergmann 1983, 55 pl. 28; FZ 1985, 140 fn. 4; Stutzinger 1983, 396; Arachne 25988.
Image: IMG0169

10-02

Veleia; Aem
Monument: tabula for a staute

Honorand: Claudius Gothicus
Office: emperor
Awarder: - *decreto decurionum* - financed by: *pecunia publica*
Date: 269 AD
Comment: - provenance: forum
Selected references: CIL XI 1179; Boschung 2002, 27 no 2.30 (Latin).

10-03
 Augusta Bagiennorum; Lig
Monument: plaque for base
Honorand: Claudius Gothicus
Office: emperor
Awarder: *decreto decurionum*
Date: 270 AD
Selected references: CIL V 7685; Kleinwächter 2001, 322 no 28 (Latin).

10-04
 Brixia; VeH
Monument: base
Honorand: Claudius Gothicus
Office: emperor
Awarder: *Benacenses*
Date: 268-270 AD
Selected references: CIL V 4869; Inscr X 5, 1031; Witschel 2006b, 385 no 38 (Latin).

10-05
 Brig(omagus?); AlM
Monument: statue base for a bronze statue
Honorand: Claudius Gothicus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *ordo* of Brigomagus
Date: AD 268
Selected references: AE 1898, 149; Rosso 2006, 524-525 no 280; HD022541 (Latin).

10-06
 Barcino; Tar
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Claudius Gothicus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *ordo* of Barcino
Date: 269 or 270 AD
Comment: statue base
Selected references: CIL II 4505; Hübner 1885, 223; HD056750 (Latin).

10-07
 Saetabis; Tar
Monument: statue base (?)
Honorand: Claudius Gothicus

Office: emperor
Date: AD 269
Selected references: CIL II 3619; Corell 2006, 3; HD041776 (Latin).

10-08
 Saguntum; Tar
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Claudius Gothicus
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved
Date: (269 -) 270 AD
Comment: - reused column.
Selected references: CIL II² 14, 316. 93; CIL II 3834; Alföldy 2002b, 260; HD025055 (Latin).

10-09
 Valentia, Colonia Valentia; Tar
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Claudius Gothicus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the veterans and eldest of Valentia (*veterani et veteres*)
Date: 269 AD
Comment: - reused later.
Selected references: CIL II² 14, 18 = CIL II 3737; CIL II² 14, 93; Hübner 1885, 223; Alföldy 2002b, 260; HD024056 (Latin).

10-10
 Tucci, Col. Augusta Gemella Tuccitana; Bae
Monument: 'large' statue base
Honorand: Claudius Gothicus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica* of Tucci - *decreto decurionum*
Date: 10th Dec 269 - Sept 270 AD
Selected references: CIL II² 5,79; II 1672; CILA III 431; HD021411 (Latin).

10-11
 Solva; Nor
Monument: base
Honorand: Claudius Gothicus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *ordo* of Solva
Date: 269 AD/ 268-270 AD
Selected references: Alföldi 1974, 269; Illpron 1209; Wedenig 1997, 223-224; HD039144 (Latin).

10-12
 Banasa; MaT
Monument: base

Honorand: Claudius Gothicus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica* of Banasa
Date: AD 268-270
Selected references: AE 1942/43, 114 (Latin).

10-13
 Volubilis; MaT
Monument: base
Honorand: Claudius Gothicus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica* of Volubilis - *ex decrete ordinis*
Date: AD 269-270
Selected references: ILAfr 616; IAM 2, 408 (Latin).

10-14
 Thamugadi, Col. Ulpia Marciana Traiana
 Tham.; Num
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Claudius Gothicus
Office: emperor
Awarder: - not preserved
Date: 270 AD
Comment: - *divus* - provenance: forum.
Selected references: CIL VIII 17880; EphEp VII no 767 (no 358); Zimmer – Wesch-Klein 1989, 80 no T31; Arachne 176889 (Latin).

10-15
 Thubursicum Numidarum; Num
Monument: plate belonging to a base
Honorand: Claudius Gothicus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica* of Colonia Thubursicum Numidarum
Date: 270 AD
Selected references: CIL VIII, 4876; ILAlg I, 1268; Kleinwächter 2001, 322 no 28; Alföldi 1967, 203 A. 138 (Latin).

10-16
 Calama; Afr
Monument: base
Honorand: Claudius Gothicus
Office: emperor
Awarder: - *decreto decurionum* - financed by: *pecunia publica*
Date: 268 AD
Selected references: CIL VIII 5330; IALG I, 245 (Latin).

10-17
 Calama; Afr
Monument: base
Honorand: Claudius Gothicus
Office: emperor
Awarder: - *decreto decurionum* - financed by: *pecunia publica*
Date: 268 AD
Selected references: CIL VIII 5331; IALG I, 246 (Latin).

10-18
 Thagaritanum maius; Afr
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: Claudius Gothicus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the Municipium Thagaritanum - *decreto decurionum* - financed by: *pecunia publica*
Date: 269 AD
Selected references: CIL VIII 23972; AE 1894, 54; ITun 740 (Latin).

10-19
 Uchi Maius; Afr
Monument: base
Honorand: Claudius Gothicus
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 268/270
Selected references: CIL VIII 26265; UM51 (Latin).

10-20
 Aquincum; Pal
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Claudius Gothicus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *Legio II Adiutrix VI Pia VI Fidelis Constans Claudiana*
Date: 270 AD
Selected references: CIL III 3521; Hübner 1885, no 593; Domaszewski 1895, 71 no 152; 301; UEL 9729 (Latin).

10-21
 Megara; Ach
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: Claudius Gothicus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *polis*
Date: AD 268-270
Comment: reused base of Gallienus (08-124).
Selected references: IG VII 82; Sironen 1997, 52, fn 910 (Greek).

10-22

Sparta; Ach

Monument: most likely a base

Honorand: Claudius Gothicus

Office: emperor

Awarder: the *polis*

Date: AD 268-270

Selected references: SEG 11, 769; Sironen 1997, 52, fn. 10 (Greek).

10-23

Messene; Ach

Monument: statue base

Honorand: Claudius Gothicus

Office: emperor

Awarder: the *polis* of Messene

Date: AD 268-270

Selected references: SEG 54, 470; AE 2005, 1408; (Greek).

10-24

Thebai; Ach

Monument: most likely a base

Honorand: Claudius Gothicus

Office: emperor

Awarder: the *polis*

Date: AD 268-270

Selected references: IG VII, 2502; Sironen 1997, 52, fn 910; (Greek).

10-25

Kasai; Cil

Monument: base

Honorand: Claudius Gothicus

Office: emperor

Awarder: the *polis* of Kasai

Date: AD 268-270

Selected references: AE 1998, 1416, SEG 48, 1774 (Greek).

10-26

Tyr; Syr

Monument: base

Honorand: Claudius Gothicus

Office: emperor

Awarder: Saluius Theodorus, *vir egregius*, *praeses* of the province Phoenicia (governor)

Date: AD 268-270

Selected references: AE 2006, 1585; Rey-Coquais 1978, 59; 67 (Latin).

Aurelianus

11-01

Brixia; VeH

Monument: portrait head, bronze, fire-gilded; over life-size

Honorand: Aurelianus

Office: emperor

Date: AD 270-272 or posthum

Museum/Storage: Brescia, Santa Giulia Museo della città Inv. MR 353.

Selected references: Bergmann 1977, 113-116. pl. 33, 1-2; cf. FZ 1985, 141 fn. 14 (regarding the Probus head from the same context); Brixia 2003, 56-69.

Image: IMG0170

11-02

Roma; LaC

Monument: 'tabula or statue base'

Honorand: Aurelianus

Office: emperor

Awarder: Virius Orfitus, *vir clarissimus*, *praefectus urbis*

Date: ca. AD 274

Comment: - provenance: forum of Traian

Selected references: CIL VI 1112 cf. VI p. 4325; CIL VI 8, 2, 1112 ad (Latin).

11-03

Roma; LaC

Monument: statue base, marble

Honorand: Aurelianus

Office: emperor

Awarder: [...] illegible

Date: AD 274

Comment: -the name of the emperor and the awarder are illegible, the dedication wording is amended, but it is dated consistent by the CIL and EDH - provenance: Forum Romanum in front of the Basilica Aemilia.

Selected references: CIL VI 40707; CIL VI 8,2 ind. gen. 4657; HD027095 (Latin).

11-04

Gnathia; ApC

Monument: statue base

Honorand: Ulpia Severina

Office: Augusta

Awarder: - *decreto decurionum, publice*

Date: AD 274-275

Selected references: AE 1993, 504 (Latin).

11-05

Interamna Nahars; Umb

Monument: base
Honorand: Aurelianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the citizens of Interamna Nahars, *publice* (publicly)
Date: 270 AD
Selected references: CIL XI 4178 (Latin).

11-06
 Castrum Novum / Col. Iulia Castro Novo; Etr
Monument: base
Honorand: Aurelianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *Castronovani - ex decreto decurionum, publice*
Date: AD 270-275
Comment: marble (CIL); limestone (Hübner).
Selected references: CIL XI 3579; Henzen 1856, 5550; Hübner 1885, no 544 (Latin).

11-07
 Brixia; VeH
Monument: no information; *tabula marmorea* (belonging to a base; KW)
Honorand: Aurelianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *ordo Brixianorum*
Date: AD 275 (273/4)
Selected references: CIL V 4319; ILS 579; Inscr. It. X 5, 103; Witschel 2006b, 385 no 40; Bersanetti, 39 A. 1 (Latin).

11-08
 Brixia; VeH
Monument: *tabula marmorea* (for ar base; KW)
Honorand: Aurelianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: M. Au(relius?) Rufi[---] *praepositus numeri equitum dalmatarum*
Date: AD 270
Comment: only title fragment
Selected references: CIL I 4320; AE 2007, 642; Ilt, X, 5, 104; Inscr. It. X 5, 104; Witschel 2006b, 385, no 39; Migliorati 2007, 424-429 (Latin).

11-09
 Pola; VeH
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Ulpia Severina
Office: wife of Aurelianus; Augusta (AD 274)
Awarder: the *res publica* of Pola
Date: AD 270-275
Selected references: CIL V 29; Hübner 1885,

193 no 562; Ilt X, 10, 43; Alföldy 1984a, 78-79 no 7; Sotgiu 1961,79; Witschel 2006b, 383 no 3; HD032960 (Latin).

11-10
 Verona; VeH
Monument: statue base; fragment
Honorand: Ulpia Severina
Office: wife of Aurelianus; Augusta (AD 274)
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 270-275
Comment: - older monument reused as base
Selected references: CIL V 3330; Alföldy 1984a, 129, no. 200; Witschel 2006b, 385 no 33; HD033455 (Latin).

11-11
 unknown (prob. from Italy); unknown
Monument: 'marble plaque, for a statue or a bust'
Honorand: Aurelianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: - *ex preceptu*
Date: AD 275
Comment: - *divus*.
Selected references: AE 2004, 1896b (Latin).

11-12
 Veleia; Aem
Monument: base, marble
Honorand: Aurelianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: - *decreto decurionum*
Date: AD 270
Comment: - provenance: East Porticus
Selected references: CIL XI 1180; Boschung 2002, 27 no 2.31; Radke 1999, 623 (Latin).

11-13
 Alba Helviorum; Nar
Monument: plaque, from a statue base
Honorand: Aurelianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: (*decreto decurionum Albensium*; possibly, not certain)
Date: AD 274
Selected references: CIL XII 2673=5571a; Rosso 2006, 381-382 no 148 (Latin).

11-14
 Brig(omagus?); AlM
Monument: stele, pedestal of a statue
Honorand: Aurelianus
Office: emperor

Awarder: the *ordo* of Brigomagus
Date: AD 270-275
Selected references: CIL XII 58; Rosso 2006, 525 no 281 (Latin).

11-15
Ossonoba; Lus
Monument: pedestal
Honorand: Aurelianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica* of Ossonoba - *ex decreto ordinis, decreto decurionum*
Date: AD 270-275
Selected references: AE 1900, 31; AE 1897, 49; D' Encarnação 1984, 45-47 no 4 (Latin).

11-16
Corduba, Colonia Patricia Corduba; Bae
Monument: column, statuebase
Honorand: Aurelianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica* of Astigitana
Date: AD 270-275
Comment: - reused for Constantine.
Selected references: CIL II², 7, 260; 262; CIL II 2201; 2202; CIL VI 1113; Hübner 1885, 223 no 665; HD028154 (Latin).

11-17
Hispalis, Colonia Iulia Romula; Bae
Monument: pedestal
Honorand: Aurelianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 270-275
Selected references: AE 1987; 498; CILA 2, 12.

11-18
Aeso; Tar
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Aurelianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 270-275
Selected references: CIL II 04459; HD056402 (Latin).

11-19
Barcino; Tar
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Aurelianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *ordo* of Barcino
Date: AD 270-275

Selected references: IRC 4, 026; pl. 12, 26; IRC 5, p. 111; ILER 1207; IRB 027; HD056752 (Latin).

11-20
Barcino; Tar
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Aurelianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *ordo* of Barcino
Date: AD 270-275
Comment: - reused.
Selected references: CIL II 4506. 6150; IRC IV, 25; HD056751 (Latin).

11-21
Castulo; Tar (border to Bae)
Monument: base
Honorand: Aurelianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 270-275
Selected references: CIL II 335; CILA III, 89; Alföldy 1984b, no. 8172.

11-22
Saguntum; Tar
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Aurelianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 275
Comment: - *deo* - a column was reused as statue base.
Selected references: CIL II² 14, 317 = CIL II 3832; HD025058 (Latin).

11-23
Tarraco, Col. Iulia Victrix Triumphalis
Tarraco; Tar
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Ulpia Severina
Office: wife of Aurelianus; Augusta (AD 274)
Awarder: Marcus Asidonius Verus Faventinus *vir perfectissimus a studiis Augusti*
Date: AD 270-275
Comment: - possibly moved from the forum to the necropolis - possibly reused.
Selected references: AE 1930, 150; RIT 87; Sotgiu 1961, 91-92 no 56 (Latin).

11-24
Valentia, Colonia Valentia; Tar
Monument: base for a bronze statue; (ca.) life-

size
Honorand: Aurelianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the veterans and eldest of Valentia (*veterani et veteres*)
Date: AD 275
Comment: - *deus* - possibly during Ulpia Severina's 'reign' before Tacitus' accession, cf. Kienast 2011, 236.
Selected references: CIL II², 14, 19; Alföldy 2002a, 257; AE 1972, 284; AE 1938, 24; AE 2002, 851; HD009244 (Latin).

11-25
 Banasa; MaT
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Ulpia Severina
Office: wife of Aurelianus; Augusta (AD 274)
Awarder: the *res publica* of Banasa
Date: AD 270-275
Selected references: AE 1934, 44; AE 1943/42, 114 ad; IAM 2, 106; Sotgiu 1961, 79 (Latin).

11-26
 Volubilis; MaT
Monument: base
Honorand: Ulpia Severina
Office: wife of Aurelianus; Augusta (AD 274)
Awarder: the *res publica* of Volubilis - *ex decreto ordinis*
Date: AD 270-275
Selected references: ILAfr 617; IAM 2, 409; Sotgiu 1961, 79; 92 no 59 (Latin).

11-27
 Thamugadi, Col. Ulpia Marciana Traiana
 Thamugadi; Num
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Aurelianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 275 (Sept- Oct (?), see below)
Comment: - *divus* - possibly during Ulpia Severina's 'reign' before Tacitus' accession, cf. Kienast 2011, 236.
Selected references: CIL VIII 17881; Zimmer – Wesch-Klein 1989, 71 T6 (Latin).

11-28
 Thubursicum Numidarum; Num
Monument: base
Honorand: Aurelianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica* of Colonia Thubursicum

Date: AD 275 (Sept- Oct (?), see below)
Comment: - *deus* - possibly during Ulpia Severina's 'reign' before Tacitus' accession, cf. Kienast 2011, 236.
Selected references: CIL VIII 4877; ILAlg I, 1269; Kleinwächter 2001, 310 no 10 (Latin).

11-29
 Limisa; Afr (later Byzacena)
Monument: base
Honorand: Aurelianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: Municipium Septimium Aurelium
 Limisa - *decreto decurionum* - financed by: *pecunia publica*
Date: AD 270-275
Selected references: AE 2004, 1680 (Latin).

11-30
 Sabratha; Afr
Monument: panel; H: 0.53m x W: 0.38m
Honorand: Aurelianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 270-275
Museum/Storage: findspot.
Selected references: IRT 52; Witschel 1999, 291 fn 39;
<http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT052.html> (Latin).
Image: IMG0171

11-31
 Sicilibba; Afr
Monument: base
Honorand: Aurelianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the citizens (*municipes*) of Municipium Sicilibba
Date: AD 275
Comment: - *divus* - possibly during Ulpia Severina's 'reign' before Tacitus' accession, cf. Kienast 2011, 236.
Selected references: CIL VIII 25820; Sotgiu 1961, 84 no 13 (Latin).

11-32
 Sufetula; Afr
Monument: base
Honorand: Aurelianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: *decreto decurionum* - financed by: *pecunia publica*
Date: AD 270-275 (see below)
Comment: -honouring him as victor – '*divus* is

added later' (Duval).
Selected references: CIL VIII 11318; Duval 1989, 418 no 29 (Latin).

11-33
Uchi Maius; Afr
Monument: base
Honorand: Aurelianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica* of Colonia Mariana Augusta Alexandriana Uchi - *decreto decurionum* - financed by: *pecunia publica*
Date: AD 270
Selected references: CIL VIII 15450; UM 52 (Latin).

11-34
Uzappa; Afr
Monument: base
Honorand: Aurelianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *municipes* (citizens of Municipium) Uzappa - *decreto decurionum* - financed by: *pecunia publica*
Date: AD 270-275
Selected references: AE 1970/ 1969, 646; Witschel 2006a, 209 (Latin).

11-35
Vicus Annaeus; Afr
Monument: base
Honorand: Aurelianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 270-275
Comment: - *deo*
Selected references: ILTun 777(Latin).

11-36
Discoduraterae; Thr
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Aurelianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *boule* and the *demos* of *polis* of Nicopolis (ad Istrum)- curator: Klaudius Aurelius Telesphoros (*leg.*) under the governorship of: Aurelianus Sebastianus *diasemotatos* (*vir perfectissimus*)
Date: AD 270/1
Selected references: IGRR I, 1432=591; IGBulg II, 734; Velkov 1998, 165 (Cf. IGBulg V 5255; SEG 50, 679[1]; SEG 50, 679[2]) (Greek).

11-37

Kabyle; Thr
Monument: base for a bronze statue
Honorand: Aurelianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: - the *kastra* (camp) Cabyle - in governorship of: Iulius Maximus; commanding officer: Iovinus
Date: AD 270-275
Selected references: AE 1978, 728; SEG 28, 578 (Greek).

11-38
Redestos/ Rhaedestus; Thr
Monument: base
Honorand: Ulpia Severina
Office: wife of Aurelianus; Augusta (AD 274)
Awarder: the illustrious *polis* of Perinth (?)
Date: AD 270 – 275
Selected references: AE 1927, 81; Sotgiu 1961, 92 no 57 (Greek).

11-39
Heraclea Lyncestis; MaE
Monument: base
Honorand: Aurelianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *polis*
Date: AD 270-275
Selected references: AE 1999, 1415; IG X,2.2, 70 1-7; HD053403 (Greek).

11-40
Chaironeia; Ach
Monument: base
Honorand: Aurelianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *boule* and the *demos* of Chaironeia
Date: AD 270-275
Selected references: Bizard 1905, 101 (Greek).

11-41
Hermione; Ach
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: Aurelianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *polis* of Hermione
Date: AD 270-275
Selected references: CIG 1219 (cf. 1069 a); IG IV 709; Sironen 1997, 52-53, fn 11 (Greek).

11-42
Sparta; Ach
Monument: column, 'honour'
Honorand: Aurelianus

Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 270-275
Selected references: SEG 25 no 423; Sironen 1997, 52-53, fn. 11 (Greek).

11-43
 Andros, Paleopolis; Greek Islands
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: Ulpia Severina
Office: wife of Aurelianus; Augusta (AD 274)
Awarder: the *polis* of Andros
Date: AD 270-275
Selected references: CIG 2349 o add; IG XII (5) 748; Sotgiu 1961, 79 (Greek).

11-44
 Anineta; Asi
Monument: base
Honorand: Ulpia Severina
Office: wife of Aurelianus; Augusta (AD 274)
Awarder: the *polis* of Anineta
Date: AD 270-275
Selected references: AE 1900, 145; JHS 1900, 79-80; Sotgiu 1961, 79 (Greek).

Tacitus

12-01
 Mons Albanus; LaC
Monument: base
Honorand: Marcus Claudius Tacitus
Office: emperor
Awarder: *Cabenses Sacerdotes feriarum Latinarum Montis Albani* (local priesthood at the mons Albanus)
Date: AD 275-276
Selected references: CIL VI 2021 = VI 2173 cf. VI, p. 864, VI p. 3236, VI p. 3303 = XIV 2228; CIL, Suppl. Ital. 1, 155 (Latin).

12-02
 Segusio; AIC
Monument: plaque, for a base for a colossal or equestrian statue (Rosso)
Honorand: Marcus Claudius Tacitus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *ordo splendissimus* of the *civitas* Segusio - curator: [- - -], *vir egregius, praeside* (governor)
Date: AD 275-276
Selected references: AE 2000, 852; CIL V 7252. Rosso 2006, 505-506 no 252 (Latin).

12-03
 Ephesos; Asi
Monument: base, fragment
Honorand: Marcus Claudius Tacitus
Office: emperor
Awarder: Iulius Proculus, procurator of Asia, *equites* (*vir perfectissimus, procurator agens vice proconsulis*) head of the imperial cult in Ephesos respective the province Asia.
Date: AD 276
Comment: - dedicated to the *numen* of the emperor
Selected references: IE 3020; AE 1924, 70; Pond 1970, 215, 217 (Latin).

Florianus

13-01
 Arupium, near; Dal
Monument: statue base, fragment
Honorand: Marcus Annius Florianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved - *[l(ocus)? d(atus)?] - decretum decurionum*
Date: AD 276
Selected references: CIL III 15086; Sauer 1998, 201 no. 10; HD061224 (Latin).

13-02
 Italica, Colonia Aelia Augusta Italica; Bae
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Marcus Annius Florianus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica* of Italica;
 - supervisor : Aurelius Iulius, *vir perfectissimus agente vices praesidis* - curator: Aurelius Ursinus, *vir egregius, curatore* of the *res publica* Italicensium, (governor of Lusitania cf. AE 2001, 1130).
Date: AD 276
Selected references: CIL II 1115; Sauer 1998, 200 no 6 (Latin).

Probus

14-01
 Brixia; VeH
Monument: insertion head for a statue, portrait head, bronze, fire-gilded; over life-size; H: 0.41m
Honorand: Probus
Office: emperor

Date: AD 276-282
Museum/Storage: Brescia, Mus. Civico Inv. MR 353.
Selected references: Bergmann 1977, 109-113. pl. 33, 3- 4. 34, 2; Stutzinger 1983, 397-398; FZ 1983, 141 fn. 14; Arachne 38059.
Image: IMG0172

14-02
 unknown; unknown
Monument: insertion head for a statue; colossal; H: 0,46m
Honorand: Probus
Office: emperor
Date: AD 276-282
Museum/Storage: Rome, Mus. Capitolino, Galleria 33 Stanza degli Imperatori Inv. MC0493.
Selected references: Wegner 1979, 153; Bergmann 1977, 109-113, pl. 33, 5-6; Bergmann 1983, 56 pl. 29; Stutzinger 1983, 397; FZ 1985, 39-41; Arachne 16074.
Image: IMG0173

14-03
 Ostia; LaC
Monument: base
Honorand: Probus
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 281
Selected references: Laubry 2009, 275- 305.

14-04
 Veleia; Aem
Monument: base
Honorand: Probus
Office: emperor
Awarder: - *decreto decurionum* - financed by: *pecunia publica*
Date: AD 276-282
Comment: - reused from Tranquillina (03-073) - provenance: forum.
Selected references: CIL XI 1178b; Boschung 2002, 27 no 2.29b; Radke 1999, 623 (Latin).

14-05
 Asturica Augusta; Tar
Monument: most likely a base (conforms to 14-06)
Honorand: Probus
Office: emperor
Awarder: [...] us Flaminius Priscus, *vir clarissimus, legatus iuridicus* of the whole province Taraconensis

Date: AD 282
Selected references: AE 1923, 102 (Latin).

14-06
 Valentia, Colonia Valentia; Tar
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Probus
Office: emperor
Awarder: Allius Maximus, *vir clarissimus, legatus iuridicus* of the province Hispania Tarraconensis
Date: AD 281
Selected references: CIL II 3738; CIL II² 14, 20; Hübner 1885, 223; HD024059 (Latin).

14-07
 Iliberri Florentia; Bae
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Probus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *ordo* of Illiberis - *decreto decurionum*
Date: AD 276-282
Comment: - originally two or three identical monuments, which are all lost today (EDH).
Selected references: CIL II 2071; CIL II² 5, 622; CILA IV, 3; HD030455 (Latin).

14-08
 Iliberri Florentia; Bae
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Probus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *ordo* of Illiberis - *decreto decurionum*
Date: AD 276-282
Comment: - originally two or three identical monuments, which are all lost today (EDH)
Selected references: CIL II 2071; CIL II² 5, 622; CILA IV, 4; HD030455 (Latin).

14-09
 Tucci, Col. Augusta Gemella Tuccitana; Bae
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Probus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica* of Tucci - *decreto decurionum* - *curator:* Iulius Claudius [---]VE CONSS
Date: (after) AD 281
Selected references: CIL II 1673; CIL II² 5, 80; CILA III, 432; HD015387 (Latin).

14-10
 Italica, Colonia Aelia Augusta Italica; Bae
Monument: pedestal (most likely?)
Honorand: Probus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica* of Italica - supervisor:
 Aurelius Iulius, *vir perfectissimus, agens vices*
praesidis of the province Baetica and *curator*
rei publicae Italicensium
Date: AD 276-282
Comment: – note: already *agens vice praesidis*
 under Florian (13-02).
Selected references: CIL II 1116; CILA 2, 371;
 Hübner 1885, no 666 (Latin).

14-11
 Augusta Vindelicorum; Rae
Monument: part of an apsis, statue base (?)
Honorand: Probus
Office: emperor
Awarder: [...]inus, *vir perfectissimus agens,*
vices praesidis of the province Raetia
Date: AD 281
Selected references: Wagner 1956/1957, 224,
 no 30; UEL 6463; HD058015 (Latin).

14-12
 Volubilis; MaT
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Probus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica* of Volubilis -
 supervisor: Clementius Valerius Marcellius,
 governor of Mauretania Tingitania
Date: AD 276-282
Selected references: AE 1987, 1091c; I.A.M.
 410 (Latin).

14-13
 Volubilis; MaT
Monument: base
Honorand: Probus
Office: emperor
Awarder: illegible [---]O [---]VAL [---]S
Date: AD 276-282
Comment: - not in the dative
Selected references: ILAfr 618; IAM 2, 410
 (Latin).

14-14
 Segemes; Afr (later Byzacena)
Monument: base
Honorand: Probus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the Municipium Aurelium Augustum

Segemes - *decreto decurionum* - financed by:
pecunia publica
Date: AD 278
Selected references: CIL VIII 11172; Ben
 Abdallah 1986, 33 no 74 (Latin).

14-15
 Uzappa; Afr
Monument: base
Honorand: Probus
Office: emperor
Awarder: Municipium of Uzappa - *decreto*
decurionum - financed by: *pecunia publica*
Date: AD 279-80
Selected references: CIL VIII 11931;
 Beschtaouch 1985, 201; Witschel 2006, 209
 (Latin).

14-16
 Thugga; Afr
Monument: base
Honorand: Probus
Office: emperor
Awarder: Colonia Thugga - curator: Iulius
 Iulicus, *clarissimus vir (curator of Thugga)*
Date: AD 276-282
Selected references: CIL VIII 26560 (Latin).

14-17
 Aigosthena; Ach
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: Probus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *polis*
Date: AD 276-282
Selected references: SEG 3, 332; SEG 13, 335;
 IG VII 227; Sironen 1997, 52 fn 910 (Greek).

14-18
 Aigion; MaE
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: Probus
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 276-282
Comment: - three manumission records on the
 same stone.
Selected references: SEG 53, 513 A; IG IX 2, 327
 (Greek).

14-19
 Kana; Cap
Monument: 'stele'; most likely from a base
Honorand: Probus

Office: emperor
Awarder: the *boule* and the *demos* of Kana
Date: AD 276-282
Selected references: AE 1907, 55; MAMA 8, 212 (Greek).

14-20
 Comana; Cap
Monument: base
Honorand: Probus
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 276-282
Selected references: IGRR III 124.

14-21
 Caesarea Maritima; Syr
Monument: base (in the shape of a column)
Honorand: Probus
Office: emperor
Awarder: Clodius Passenianus *vir clarissimus*, *praeses* of the province Syria Palestina (governor; possibly the grandson of Pupienus and son of Cornelia Praetextata)
Date: AD 276-282
Comment: used before and after.
Selected references: AE 1998, 1440; AE 1993, 1623; Burrell 1993, 287, 292-293; Eck 1996, 141 (Latin).

14-22
 Caesarea Maritima; Syr
Monument: base in the shape of a column;
Honorand: Probus
Office: emperor
Awarder: [...] Acilius Cleobulus *vir clarissimus*, *praeses* of the province Syria Palestina
Date: AD 276-282
Comment: used before and after.
Selected references: AE 1993, 1620; Burrell 1993, 288-290; Eck 1996, 141 (Latin).

Carus / Carinus

15-01
 Roma; LaC
Monument: insertion head for a statue; colossal; H: 0,452 m
Honorand: Carinus
Office: emperor
Date: ca. AD 282-285
Comment: - provenance: Esquilin.
Museum/Storage: Mus. Capitolini, Centrale

Montemartini, Inv. 850.
Selected references: BullComm 1 (1872), 296 no 36; Wegner 1975, 158-159; Bergmann 1977, 104. 118. 131. 133-134; Bergmann 1983, 49. 56 pl. 30; FZ 1985, 141-142; Stutzinger 1983, 399; Arachne 16562.
Image: IMG0174

15-02
 Roma; LaC
Monument: base
Honorand: Carinus
Office: emperor
Awarder: [...] Chresimus, *tabularius summarum rationum cum proximis et adiutoribus* [...] (low-level civil servant in the administration of the state funds)
Date: AD 284/285
Comment: - provenance: Flavian amphitheatre.
Selected references: CIL VI 1115; Hagedorn, 1979 107, fn. 3 (Latin).

15-03
 Roma; LaC
Monument: base
Honorand: Nigrinianus
Office: son/ nephew of Carinus (?), grandson of Carus
Awarder: Geminius Festus, *vir perfectissimus, rationalis*
Date: AD 284-285
Comment: - *divus* - provenance: Forum Augusti.
Selected references: CIL VI 31380; AE 1889, 59; AE 1997, 124 ad. (Latin).

15-04
 Puteoli; LaC
Monument: plaque, belonging to base
Honorand: Carus
Office: emperor
Awarder: Rutilius Crispinus, *vir clarissimus*, *curator rei publicae* of Puteoli
Date: AD 283-284
Comment: - *divus*.
Selected references: AE 1977, 203; Alföldy 2001, 54 fn. 34. (Latin)

15-05
 Puteoli; LaC
Monument: base
Honorand: Carinus
Office: emperor
Awarder: Rufius Volusianus, *vir clarissimus*,

iuridicus, corrector Italiae for the second time (performing the duties of a provincial governor)

Date: AD 283-285

Comment: - reused twice.

Selected references: CIL X 1655; Hübner 1885, 187 no 552; Alföldy 2001, 54 fn. 34 (Latin).

15-06

Numana; Pic

Monument: statue base

Honorand: Numerianus

Office: emperor, son of Carus

Awarder: not preserved

Date: AD 283-284

Selected references: CIL IX 5889; Berrendonner – Cébeillac-Gervasoni – Lamoine 2008, 45 fn. 84 (Latin).

15-07

Carsulae; Umb

Monument: base, fragment

Honorand: Carinus

Office: emperor

Awarder: [...IT?] Carsulanus [...]

Date: AD 283-285

Selected references: CIL XI 4569 (Latin).

15-08

Sassina; Umb

Monument: base

Honorand: Carus

Office: emperor

Awarder: not preserved

Date: AD 282-283

Selected references: CIL XI 6501 (Latin).

15-09

Uruinum Hortense; Umb

Monument: base

Honorand: Magnia Urbica

Office: wife of Carinus, Augusta

Awarder: (the town) Uruinum Hortense

Date: AD 283-285

Selected references: CIL XI 5168. (Latin).

15-10

Castrum Novum / Col. Iulia Castro Novo; Etr

Monument: base

Honorand: Numerianus

Office: emperor, son of Carus

Awarder: - *decreto decurionum, publice*

Date: AD 283-284

Selected references: CIL XI 3580; Henzen 1856,

5559; Hübner 1885, no 545. (Latin)

15-11

Luna; Etr

Monument: statue base

Honorand: Carinus

Office: emperor

Awarder: the *ordo* of Luna

Date: AD 283-285

Selected references: CIL XI 6956 b (Latin).

15-12

Luna; Etr

Monument: statue base

Honorand: Magnia Urbica

Office: wife of Carinus, Augusta

Awarder: the *ordo* and the people of Luna

Date: AD 283-285

Selected references: CIL XI 6957 d (Latin).

15-13

Mutina; Aem

Monument: marble plate (CIL); base (Hübner)

Honorand: Numerianus

Office: emperor, son of Carus

Awarder: Mutina, *publice* (publicly)

Date: AD 283-284

Comment: Hübner identifies it as base for Carinus, CIL attributes it to Fl. Val.

Constantius.

Selected references: CIL IX 827; Hübner 1885, 190 (Latin).

15-14

Celeia; Nor

Monument: no information; 'presumably a statue base'

Honorand: Carus

Office: emperor

Awarder: the *ordo* of Celeia

Date: AD 282-283

Selected references: CIL III 5205 et p.1830 (sic!); AE 2001, 1592 c; Wedenig 1997, 122-123 (Latin).

15-15

Axima; AlG

Monument: statue base

Honorand: Carus

Office: emperor

Awarder: the people of Forum Claudii

Ceutronum, *publice* (publicly) - curator:

Latinius Martiniano, *vir egregius, procuratore Augusti*

Date: AD 283 (first half)
Museum/Storage: Museum St. Martin.
Selected references: AE 1948, 163; AE 1984, 642; Walser, 1985, 53-63 (fourth is a milestone); Rosso 2006, 510-511 no 260 (Latin).

15-16
 Axima; ALG
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Carinus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the people of Forum Claudii Ceutronum, *publice* (publicly) - curator: Latinus Martinianus, *vir egregius procuratore Augusti*
Date: AD 283
Comment: found with two more bases; restored by reference to CIL XII 110 and AE 1948 163.
Selected references: AE 1985, 643; AE 1985, 642 ad.; Walser, 1985, 53-63 (fourth is a mile stone); Rosso 2006, 512-513 no 262 (Latin).

15-17
 Axima; ALG
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Numerianus
Office: emperor, son of Carus
Awarder: Forum Claudii Ceutronum, *publice* (publicly) - curator: Latinus Martinianus, *vir egregius, procurator Augusti*
Date: AD 283
Selected references: CIL XII 110; AE 1985, 642; Walser, 1985, 53-63 (fourth is a mile stone); Rosso 2006, 511-512 no 261 (Latin).

15-18
 Acci, Col. Iulia Gemella Acci; Tar
Monument: base; base
Honorand: Magnia Urbica
Office: wife of Carinus, Augusta
Awarder: Colonia Iulia Gemella Acci
Date: AD 283-285
Selected references: CIL II 3394, CIL IV, 126; Hübner 1885, no. 668 (Latin).

15-19
 Barcino; Tar
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Carus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *ordo* of Barcino
Date: AD 282-283
Selected references: IRC IV, 26; IRC V, 111;

ILER 1207; IRB 027; HD056752 (Latin).

15-20
 Iesso; Tar
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Numerianus
Office: emperor, son of Carus
Awarder: the *ordo* of Iesso [...]
Date: AD 282-283
Selected references: CIL II 4452; HD056643 (Latin).

15-21
 Saguntum; Tar
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Carinus
Office: emperor
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 283
Comment: - reused column.
Selected references: CIL II² 14, 318; CIL II 3835 (Latin).

15-22
 Tarraco, Col. Iulia Victrix Triumphalis
 Tarraco; Tar
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Carus
Office: emperor
Awarder: Marcus Aurelius Valentinianus *vir clarissimus p(raesidem / raeses)* of the province Hispania citerior, *legatus Augustorum pro praetore* (governor)
Date: AD 283
Comment: - same dedicator as for his son's statue (15-23) - used once before, twice afterwards.
Selected references: CIL II 4102; RIT 89. Hübner 1885, no. 669; Niquet 2000, 90 (Latin).

15-23
 Tarraco, Col. Iulia Victrix Triumphalis
 Tarraco; Tar
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Carinus
Office: emperor
Awarder: Marcus Aurelius Valentinianus, *vir clarissimus, praeses provinciae Hispaniae Citerioris, legatus Augustorum pro praetore (governor)*
Date: AD 283
Comment: - same dedicator as for his father's statue (15-22).
Selected references: CIL II 4103; RIT 90

(Latin).

15-24

Italica, Colonia Aelia Augusta Italica; Bae

Monument: pedestal

Honorand: Carus

Office: emperor

Awarder: the *res publica* of Italica

Date: AD 282-283

Selected references: CIL II 1117; CIL A 2, 372; Hübner 1885, no 667 (Latin).

15-25

Calama; Num

Monument: base

Honorand: Carinus

Office: emperor

Awarder: the *res publica* of Colonia Calama - curator: Macrinus Sossianus, *clarissimus vir, curator rei publicae*

Date: AD 283-285

Selected references: CIL VIII 5332; ILAlg I, 247; Kleinwächter 2001, fn. 1282 (Latin).

15-26

Cirta, Colonia Iulia Cirta; Num

Monument: base

Honorand: Carinus

Office: emperor

Awarder: Marcus Aurelius Decimus, *vir*

perfectissimus praeses of the *provincia*

Numidia ex principe Peregrinorum (head of the 'secret police')

Date: AD 283-285

Selected references: CIL VIII 7002; ILAlg II.1, 576 (Latin).

15-27

Lambaesis; Num

Monument: base (judging by the photo)

Honorand: Magnia Urbica

Office: wife of Carinus, Augusta

Awarder: the *ordo* of Colonia Lambaesis

- Marcus Aurelius Decimus, *vir perfectissimus praeside* of the *provincia* Numidia

Date: 283-285 AD

Selected references: Thomasson 1996, 193, no 73; HD033586 (Latin).

15-28

Thamugadi, Col. Ulpia Marciana Traiana

Thamugadi; Num

Monument: base

Honorand: Carus

Office: emperor

Awarder: the *res publica* of Colonia Thamugadi

Date: AD 282

Selected references: AE 1948, 117 (Latin).

15-29

Thamugadi, Col. Ulpia Marciana Traiana

Thamugadi; Num

Monument: statue base

Honorand: Magnia Urbica

Office: wife of Carinus, Augusta

Awarder: not preserved

Date: 238-235 AD

Comment: - provenance: forum, near the 'triumphal' arch (CIL).

Selected references: CIL VIII 2384; Zimmer – Wesch-Klein 1989, 78 T22; Arachne 176887.

15-30

Verecunda; Num

Monument: base

Honorand: Carus

Office: emperor

Awarder: the *res publica* of the Municipium Verecunda

Date: AD 282-283

Selected references: CIL VIII 4220 (Latin).

15-31

Verecunda; Num

Monument: base

Honorand: Numerianus

Office: emperor, son of Carus

Awarder: the *res publica* of the Municipium Verecunda

Date: AD 283-284

Selected references: CIL VIII 4223 (Latin).

15-32

Leptis Magna; Afr

Monument: base

Honorand: Carus

Office: emperor

Awarder: Lucius Iulius Paulinus, *vir*

clarissimus, proconsul [...] (senatorial status)

Date: AD 281

Comment: - findspot unrecorded.

Museum/Storage: Leptis Museum.

Selected references: IRT 461 (Latin).

Image: IMG0175

15-33

Rucuma; Afr

Monument: base

Honorand: Carus
Office: emperor
Awarder: Municipium Antonium Gordianum Rucuma
Date: AD 283-284
Comment: deus
Selected references: ILTun 1197 (Latin).

15-34
 Sufetula; Afr
Monument: base; H: 1,36x0,5mx 0,5m
Honorand: Carinus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *res publica* of Colonia Sufetula - *decreto decurionum* - *pecunia publica*
Date: AD 238
Selected references: ILTun 370; Bull. Arch. Trav. 1923, CXXVII, 1; Duval 1989, 419 no 30 (Latin).
Image: IMG0176

15-35
 Delphoi; Ach
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Carus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *polis* of Delphi
Date: AD 282-283
Selected references: SIG 897; CIG 1714 (Greek).

15-36
 Gythium; Ach
Monument: base
Honorand: Carus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *polis* of Gythium
Date: AD 282-283
Selected references: IG V 1164 (Greek).

15-37
 Thisbai; Ach
Monument: base
Honorand: Carus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *polis*
Date: AD 282-283
Selected references: IG VII, 2240 (Greek).

15-38
 Thespiae; Ach
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Numerianus
Office: emperor, son of Carus

Awarder: the *polis*
Date: AD 283-284
Selected references: AE 1928, 55; Plassart 1926, 454 no 97; Sironen 1997, 53, fn 14 (Greek).

15-39
 Troezen; Ach
Monument: base
Honorand: Carus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *polis*
Date: AD 282-283
Selected references: IG IV 794; Sironen 1997, 53 fn 13 (Greek).

15-40
 Demetrias; MaE
Monument: base
Honorand: Carus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *koinon* of the people of Magnesia and the *synhedrioi* (the members of the council)
Date: AD 282-283
Selected references: IG IX 138 (Greek).

15-41
 Demetrias; MaE
Monument: base
Honorand: Carinus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *koinon* of the people of Magnesia and the *synedrioi*
Date: AD 283
Selected references: SIG³, 896; IG IX.2, 1138 (Greek).

15-42
 Neoclaudiopolis; Gal
Monument: base
Honorand: Carinus
Office: emperor
Awarder: the *boule* and the *demos* of Neoclaudiopolis
Date: AD 283-285
Selected references: IGRR III, 139; AE 1900, 146; JHS 1900, 151-152 (Greek).

15-43
 Philippi / Col. Aug. Philippensis; MaE
Monument: base
Honorand: Carinus
Office: emperor

Awarder: Aurelius Nestor, *vir perfectissimus*,
praeses of the province of Macedonia
Date: AD 283-285
Selected references: AE 1939, 191; HD022791
 (Latin).

15-44

Colonia Iulia Neapolis; Syr
Monument: base
Honorand: Carus
Office: emperor
Awarder: Colonia Iulia Neapolis
Date: AD 282-3
Selected references: CIL VIII 968; Hübner
 1885, no 692 (Latin).

15-45

Tentyris; Aeg
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Paulina
Office: daughter of Carus
Awarder: not preserved
Date: AD 282-283
Selected references: AE 1975, 858 (Greek).

Case Studies

Leptis

Lep-01-03

Leptis Magna; Afr
Monument: base; H: 0.89m x W: 0.50m x D:
 0.51m
Honorand: a) [...]; b, c) Plautius Lupus
Office: a) *flamen*, *pontifex*/ munificence, b, c)
duumvir, *optimus* of the city council, curator,
flamen; generosity; integrity; modesty;
 meritoriousness; games; adornment of the
 bathhouse
Awarder: a) city council (?); [...]*nus* according
 with his testament, at his own expense;
 b, c) city council; public expense; - financed by
 Plautius Lupus himself
Date: probably 3rd cent.
Comment: a) unknown number of statues,
 'among other things'; b) 'two-horse chariot; to

be erected wherever he chooses; - provenance
 Severan harbour, W side.

Museum/Storage: Leptis Museum.
Selected references: IRT 601;
<http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT601.html>
 (Latin).
Image: IMG0177

Lep-04-07

Leptis Magna; Afr
Monument: base; H: 0.96m x W: 0.52m x D:
 0.52m
Honorand: not preserved
Awarder: [...] and Flavius Capito, his heirs -
 paying one thousand five hundred *denarii* of
 their own (from a total cost of eight thousand
denarii)
Date: 3rd cent. (prob.)
Comment: - testamentary dedication? - his
 heirs set up four statues - provenance:
 opposite s/e- entrance of the market.
Museum/Storage: findspot.
Selected references: IRT 700;
<http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT700.html>
 (Latin).
Image: IMG0178

Lep-08

Leptis Magna; Afr
Monument: panel, fragments
Honorand: [...]
Office: not preserved
Awarder: [...] Flavius [...] Capito
Date: 2nd -3rd cent. (with reference to IRT 700)
Comment: - four (?) statues - provenance:
 theatre.
Museum/Storage: findspot.
Selected references: IRT 701;
<http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT701.html>
 (Latin).
Image: IMG0179

Lep-09

Leptis Magna; Afr
Monument: base; H: 0.59m x W: 0.24m x D:
 0.54m
Honorand: Fabricia [...] Fabricius [...]
Awarder: [...], her father; at his own expense;
 in accordance with a decree of the *ordo* (city
 council)
Date: 3rd cent. AD
Comment: - provenance: Forum Severianum.
Selected references: IRT 640;
<http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT640.html>
 (Latin).
Image: IMG0180

Lep-10
 Leptis Magna; Afr
Monument: base; H: 0.33m x W: 0.50m x D: 0.33m
Honorand: Publius Cornelius [...]
Awarder: not preserved
Date: mid 3rd cent.
Comment: - provenance: Forum Severianum.
Museum/Storage: findspot
Selected references: IRT 687; It. Cat. 61;
<http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT687.html>
 (Latin).
Image: IMG0181

Lep-11
 Leptis Magna; Afr
Monument: panel; H: 0.15m x W: 0.19m x D: 0.035m
Honorand: Cornelius M [...]
Awarder: not preserved
Date: 3rd cent.
Museum/Storage: Leptis Museum.
Selected references: IRT 686;
<http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT686.html>
 (Latin).
Image: IMG0182

Lep-12
 Leptis Magna; Afr
Monument: base, fragment; H: 0.30m x W: 0.31m x D: 0.29m
Honorand: [...]
Awarder: too fragmentary
Date: prob. 3rd cent.
Comment: - provenance: Forum Severianum
Museum/Storage: findspot.
Selected references: IRT 817; Lefebvre 1994, 239 fn. 67;
<http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT817.html>;
 disagreeing: Kleinwächter 2001, 252 fn.1675
 (Latin).

Lep-13
 Leptis Magna; Afr
Monument: base; H: 1.19m x W: 0.69m x D: 0.70m
Honorand: Lucius Silius Amicus Haterianus
Office: *clarissimus vir* (senatorial status)
 curator (of Oea), patron
Awarder: the people of Oea, *publice* (publicly)
Date: 3rd cent. (probably?)
Comment: - provenance: Decumanus
 Maximus, west of the Severan arch.
Museum/Storage: findspot.
Selected references: IRT 542; Torelli 1973, 399
 no 17;

<http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT542.html>
 (Latin).
Image: IMG0183

Lep-14
 Leptis Magna; Afr
Monument: three fragments, probably from
 the same panel or base
Honorand: too fragmentary
Office: too fragmentary
Awarder: very fragmentary (the people of
 Leptis?)
Date: probably third century
Comment: - provenance: Forum Severianum.
Museum/Storage: now: one of the *tabernae*
 in the east portico of the Forum Severianum.
Selected references: IRT 979;
<http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT979.html>
 (Latin).

Lep-15
 Leptis Magna; Afr
Monument: base; H: 0.66m x W: 0.46m x D: 0.42m
Honorand: Grania Iovina
Office: pious daughter
Awarder: Lucius Granius Sollers Paulianus,
 senatorial status, quaestor; with permission of
 the city council
Date: 2nd -3rd cent AD; ca. mid 3rd cent. AD
 (Torelli)
Comment: - provenance: port on the East
 Mole, reused.
Museum/Storage: Leptis Museum.
Selected references: IRT 642; Torelli 1973, 398
 no14, text;
<http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT642.html>
 (Latin).
Image: IMG0184

Lep-16
 Leptis Magna; Afr
Monument: curved blocks, presumably part of
 a niche; H: 0.52m x W: 0.75m x D: 0.42m
Honorand: Lucius Granius Sollers Paulianus
Office: senatorial status, quaestor
Awarder: Nummius Gaetulicus and Tuticius
 M[...], with the permission [of the
 city council ...]
Date: 2nd - early 3rd cent. (IRT); ca. mid 3rd
 cent. (Torelli).
Comment: - provenance: Forum Severianum.
Museum/Storage: findspot.
Selected references: IRT 532; Torelli 1973, 398
 no. 14;
<http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT532.html>

(Latin).
Image: IMG0185

Lep-17
Leptis Magna; Afr
Monument: panel; H: 0.31m x W: 0.29m x D: 0.02m
Honorand: [...] *Office:* not preserved
Awarder: [...] of the province of Crete and Cyrenae [...] *Date:* 3rd cent.
Museum/Storage: Leptis Museum.
Selected references: IRT 556;
<http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT556.html>
(Latin).
Image: IMG0186

Lep-18
Leptis Magna; Afr
Monument: panel/ *lastra* from a statue base, fragments
Honorand: [...] *Office:* not stated; *euergetes?*
Awarder: not preserved
Date: second half of the 3rd cent. (It. Cat.); AD 250-300 (LSA)
Comment: 3rd cent. (IRT 623)/ 2nd - 4th c. AD (IRT 786) - provenance: road w of the Hadrianic Baths and Forum Vetus.
Museum/Storage: Leptis Museum.
Selected references: IRT 786 (I); 623 (II); It. Cat. 51; LSA 2197;
<http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT786.html>;
(Latin).
Image: IMG0187

Lep-19
Leptis Magna; Afr
Monument: *tetrapylon*; statue base for a two-horse chariot; panel: H: 0.36m x 1.18m
Honorand: Porfyrius
Office: not stated; *euergetes*; lover of his country and fellow-citizens, because by the emperor's concession he presented to his fellow-citizens four living elephants
Awarder: by decree of the *ordo* (city council)
Date: second half of the 3rd cent. (see below)
Comment: - 3rd - 4th cent. (IRT); second half of the 3rd cent. (It. Cat); end 3rd - early 4th cent. (Witschel); AD 250-300 (LSA) - provenance: Punic Market.
Museum/Storage: findspot.
Selected references: IRT 603; It. Cat. 50; Witschel 2007, 147 no 21; LSA 2196;
<http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT603.html>

(Latin).
Image: IMG0188

Lep-20
Leptis Magna; Afr
Monument: panel; H: 0.90m x W: 0.47m x D: 0.485m
Honorand: [...] Cornelius Philocalus
Office: (father of the *Cornelii* Cotta and Cornelianus)
Awarder: Flavius Crescens Saloninus, with permission of the city council, in accordance with the will of the *Cornelii* Cotta and Cornelianus
Date: later 3rd - early 4th (Spranger); 1st - 3rd cent. (IRT)/ presumably 3rd cent. (It. Cat.)
Comment: - provenance: theatre, in the Temple of the Di Augusti (portico).
Museum/Storage: findspot.
Selected references: IRT 638; It. Cat. p. 225 no 84 text;
<http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT638.html>
(Latin).
Image: IMG0189

Lep-21
Leptis Magna; Afr
Monument: base; H: 1.81m x W: 0.58m x D: 0.61
Honorand: Aemilia Lychnis Clementilla
Office: - due to her outstanding morality
Awarder: Lucius Volusius Gallus, Roman *eques*, *pontifex* (priest), former *duumvir*, *perpetual flamen* (priest)
- with permission of the *ordo* (city-council)
Date: 2nd - early 3rd cent. (IRT)/ third quarter 3rd cent. (It. Cat.) / AD 250-280 (LSA).
Comment: - daughter of Aemilius Arrianus Caecilianus, former *duumvir*, *pontifex* - mother of Bassus and Cerialis (family see IRT 543, 544) - provenance: Punic Market.
Museum/Storage: findspot.
Selected references: IRT 579; It. Cat. 48; LSA 2194; Torelli 1973, 391 no 28;
<http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT579.html>
(Latin).
Image: IMG0190

Lep-22
Leptis Magna; Afr
Monument: block, fragment; H: 0.34m x W: 0.51m x D: 1.42m
Honorand: [...] ? Amilitis, son of Clement
Office: eminent man (of equestrian status) citizen and patron
Awarder: the city council of the *Lepcitani*

Date: 3rd - early 4th cent. (IRT)/ third quarter 3rd cent. (It.Cat.).

Comment: - provenance: theatre, in the Temple of the Di Augusti (portico).

Museum/Storage: findspot.

Selected references: IRT 591; It. Cat. 49; LSA 2195;

<http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT591.html> (Latin).

Image: IMG0191

Lep-23

Leptis Magna; Afr

Monument: base; H: 1.50m x W: 0.60m x D: 0.76m

Honorand: D [...] ?

Awarder: not preserved

Date: third quarter of the 3rd cent. (It. Cat.)/ AD 275-300 (LSA)/ 4th cent. (IRT)

Comment: - provenance: Forum Severianum.

Museum/Storage: findspot.

Selected references: IRT 694; It. Cat. 66; LSA 2211;

<http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT694.html> (Latin).

Image: IMG0192

Lep-24

Leptis Magna; Afr

Monument: panel, fragments

Honorand: [...]

Date: prob. 3rd cent. (IRT) / advanced 3rd cent. AD (It. Cat.).

Comment: the cases of the names which are preserved are illegible; included due to the It.Cat. entry - provenance: Forum Vetus.

Museum/Storage: Leptis Museum.

Selected references: IRT 274; It. Cat. 68;

<http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT274.html> (Latin).

Image: IMG0193

Lep-25

Leptis Magna; Afr

Monument: panel; H: 0.34m x W: 0.43m

Honorand: [...]

Awarder: the *Lepticima[genses]*

Date: 3rd cent. (IRT)/ end 3rd to beginning 4thcent. (It. Cat)

Comment: - provenance: Forum Vetus.

Museum/Storage: Leptis Museum.

Selected references: IRT 622; It. Cat. 62;

<http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT622.html> (Latin).

Image: IMG0194

Lep-26

Leptis Magna; Afr

Monument: panel; H: 0.70m x W: 0.43m x D: 1.60m

Honorand: Lucius Pompeius Cerealis

Salvianus

Office: flamen (priest)

Awarder: Silia Pompeia, wife (daughter of L., heiress), at her own expense

Date: 3rd cent. (Lefebvre; Kleinwächter), (see below)

Comment: - 2nd -3rd cent. (IRT); mid 2nd cent. (Torelli) - provenance: Forum Severianum.

Museum/Storage: findspot.

Selected references: IRT 602; Kleinwächter 2001, 252 fn. 1675; Lefebvre 1994, 239 fn. 67;

Torelli 1973, 384, no 10 text;

<http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT602.html> (Latin).

Image: IMG0195

Lep-27

Leptis Magna; Afr

Monument: base; H: 1.55m x W: 0.70m x D: 0.50m

Honorand: [...]nus Castus

Office: military tribune in Legion III Augusta

Awarder: Lepcitani (?)

Date: 1st-3rd cent. (IRT) / 3rd cent. (Torelli).

Comment: - provenance: Forum Vetus.

Museum/Storage: findspot.

Selected references: IRT 560; Torelli 1973, 395, no 12;

<http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT560.html> (Latin).

Image: IMG0196

Lep-28

Leptis Magna; Afr

Monument: portrait head, on non-belonging statue of an athlete

Office: unknown

Date: Late Severan

Museum/Storage: Leptis Magna Archaeological Museum - Sala 7 no 497.

Selected references: Floriani Squarciapino

1966, 117; Kruse 1975, 498 fn. 848;

Brouquier-Reddé 1992, 103; Kreikenbroom 2005, 87 no 4 (Late Antonine); Di Vita 2003, 287.

Image: IMG0197

Lep-29

Leptis Magna; Afr

Monument: portrait head on non-belonging statue

Date: Late Severan
Museum/Storage: Leptis Magna Archaeological Museum - Sala 7 no 507.
Selected references: Kreikenbroom 2005, 88 no 7 (early Severan); Floriani Squarciapino 1966, 117; Kruse 1975, 498. Brouquier-Reddé 1992, 103 (Severan/ early third c. AD); Di Vita 1990, 441 fig. 12 ('Severan head on 4th century body'); Di Vita 2003, 268.
Image: IMG0198

Lep-30
 Leptis Magna; Afr
Monument: portrait head
Date: Late Severan
Museum/Storage: Archaeological Museum Tripols.
Selected references: Caputo Traversari 1976, 98 no 76 pl. 84; FZ 1983, 88 no 122 fn.1b; Arachne 19095 (with photo).
Image: IMG0199

Lep-31
 Leptis Magna; Afr
Monument: portrait head
Date: re-worked in the third century
Comment: originally Antonine or Severan, reworked in the third century
Museum/Storage: Leptis Museum.
Selected references: not published yet (?)
Image: IMG0200

Athens

Ath-01
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: herm shaft
Honorand: Claudios Polyzelos (from Archane)
Office: *cosmetes*, *strategetes* of the *polis*
Date: after 180 (IG); 212/3-225/6 AD (Follett)
Comment: - brother of the *hierophant* Klaudios Appolonios (hiest priest of the temple of Demeter in Eleusis).
Museum/Storage: Museum of the archaeological society, EM 8481 (a) 8480 (b).
Selected references: IG² 2.1, 2109, III 1140; Follet 1976, 484 (Greek).

Ath-02
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Tib. Claudius Polyzelos (from Archanea)
Office: *archon* of the *ephebes*, *gymnasiarchon*,

agonothet (referee); *cosmetes* (?)
Awarder: Tiberius Claudios Apollororus, the father; - by demand of the *synhedrion*
Date: post 180 p. (IG); 212/3-225/6 AD (Follett); (corresponding to At-01)
Selected references: IG III, 747; IG² 2109 (mentioned), Follet 1976, 484 (Greek).

Ath-03
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: statue base with *ephebes* catalogue
Honorand: (Flavius) Apollonius A[...]
Office: *cosmetes*, *gymnasiarchon*, *agonothet*
Awarder: [...] another *cosmetes*
Date: after 212/3 (IG); 221/2-231/2 (Follet)
Comment: - written by the *cosmetes* of the *ephebes*
Museum/Storage: EM 1858.
Selected references: IG² 2219; ArchEphem 1973, 91-92 no 4; Follet 1976, 484 (Greek).

Ath-04
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: presumably a base
Honorand: Aurelius Pollois
Office: *hypopaidotribes*
Awarder: Aurelios Mousaios, *hoplomachos*; Aurelios Onesimos, *hypogrammateus*
Date: ca. AD 230 (IG); AD 225/6-236/7 (Follett)
Selected references: IG² 2232; III 1189; Follet 1976, 486 (Greek).

Ath-05
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: statue base base
Honorand: Aurelius Appianus Marathonius
Office: son of the *cosmetes* Aurelius Chrestus
Awarder: the *boule* of the *Areopagus*
Date: first half third century (Harrison)
Comment: - because of his *arete*; - cf. Ath-26
Museum/Storage: On site; - north of the Stoa of Attalos, I 673.
Selected references: Hesperia 4 (1935), pp. 64, 65, no. 27; Harrison 1960a, no 37;
<http://www.agathe.gr/id/agora/object/i%20673>, (last accessed Feb. 2014); (Greek).
Image: IMG0201

Ath-06a-f
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: decree (in two copies) for six bronze statues
Honorand: Ulpius Eubiotus Lerus and his two

sons

Office: *hypatikos* (*vir consularis*)

Awarder: the council

Date: ca. second quarter of the third century/
under the reign of Alexander Severus

Comment: - financed by: public expences - to
be set up: three in the *synedrion* of the Sacred
Gerusia and further three in the Prytaneum -
reason: numerous benefactions.

Selected references: Oliver 1951 350-354;
Oliver 1941, 129 no. 31, 32 (Greek).

Ath-07

Athenae; Ach

Monument: presumably a base

Honorand: M.Ulp. Eubiotus Leurus Gargettius

Office: *hypatikos*, *eponymous archon*

Awarder: Publius Aelius Zenon Berenikides,
Apollon priest (decided by the *Areopagus*)

Date: ca. second quarter of the third century/
under the reign of Alexander Severus

Selected references: IG² 3697 (III 687); Aneziri
2010, 295 (Greek).

Ath-08

Athenae; Ach

Monument: stele; 0,52 0,24 0,08

Honorand: M.Ulp. Eubiotus Leurus Gargettius

Office: *hypatikos*, *eponymous archon*

Awarder: Publius Aelius Zenon Berenikides,
Apollon priest - decreed by the *Areopagus*

Date: before mid 3rd cent

Comment: for benefactions for the *patris*

- by decree of the *Areopagus*

Museum/Storage: EM 4685.

Selected references: IG² 3698; Graindor BCH
1927), 284 no 55; Follett 1976, 30-40; Aneziri
2010 295 (Greek).

Ath-09

Athenae; Ach

Monument: base

Honorand: M. Ulp. Eubiotus

Office: *hypatikos*, *eponymous archon*, *euverget*

Awarder: Aur. Hermonax, the herold; by the
'dogma' of the council and the entire *polis*

Date: before mid 3rd c. AD

Museum/Storage: ibidem.

Selected references: IG² 3699; III Add.687a;
Oliver 1951, 3501; Follett 1976, 30-40.
Aneziri 295 (Greek).

Ath-10

Athenae; Ach

Monument: large base with fixings for two

statues (doublebase)

Honorand: Ulpus Leupos and Flavia Habroia

Office: parents of M Ulpus Eubiotus Leuros
Gargettius

Awarder: not mentioned

Date: before mid 3rd c. AD

Museum/Storage: EM 10315.

Selected references: IG² 3695; III 685/6);
Graindor 1915, no 55 Follett 1976, 39-40
(Greek).

Ath-11

Athenae; Ach

Monument: base

Honorand: Flavia Habroia

Office: mother of the *hypatikos* Eubiotos
(*archon*)

Awarder: the *polis*

Date: before mid 3rd cent. AD

Museum/Storage: EM 5923.

Selected references: IG² 3696; Graindor 1915,
no 66 cf. 55 (Greek).

Ath-12

Athenae; Ach

Monument: base

Honorand: M. Ulp. Fl. Teisamenos

Office: son of the *euvergetes*, *thesmothets* M.
Ulp. Eusebiotus (the eponymous archon)

Awarder: the *polis*

Date: before mid 3rd cent. AD

Comment: for his benefactions.

Museum/Storage: EM 10512.

Selected references: IG² 3701; III 689 (Greek).

Ath-13

Athenae; Ach

Monument: base

Honorand: M. Ulp. Pupenus Maximus

Office: son of the *hypatikos* M Ulp. Eubiotus;
thesmothetes, *euverget*, former *synarchon* of the
fatherland, *anatrophos* and benefactor of Ulp.
Elpidephoros

Date: before the mid 3rd cent. AD

Selected references: IG² 3702; III 690 (Greek).

Ath-14

Athenae; Ach

Monument: base; H: 0.035 x 0.50 x 0.47m

Honorand: M. Ulp. Pupenus Maximinus

Office: patron; righteous man

Awarder: Ulpus Nikias, this client (to his
patron)

Date: before mid 3rd cent. AD

Museum/Storage: EM 1869.

Selected references: IG² 3703; III 691; Graindor 1915, 427 no 27 (Greek).

Ath-15

Athenae; Ach

Monument: base, round

Honorand: L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus

Office: corrector Achaiae; benefactor of

Athens; rhetor; senatorial status; rhetor

Awarder: the *boule* of the *Areopagus*

Date: 230 AD

Comment: further honours Aph-07, Eph-18-

22; three in Koroneia, two in Thebes

(Erkelenz 2003, 1351-1353).

Selected references: IG² 4217; III 632; Follett

1976, 42; Erkelenz 2003, 314 no 1350

(Greek).

Ath-16

Athenae; Ach

Monument: most likely a base

Honorand: Pomponianus

Awarder: Aur. Pollio Pollionis

Date: ca 230(?)

Comment: demand by the *boule* and *Areopagus*

Museum/Storage: no information

Selected references: IG² 4006; III 824 (Greek).

Ath-17

Athenae; Ach

Monument: prytanical herm with badly damaged portrait

Honorand: Aurelius Appollonius

Office: herald of the council and *demos*

Awarder: set up by an action of the council of the 500 at the request of his *antikeryx* Aur.

Onesimus and their fellow officers

Date: after AD 235/6

Selected references: Meritt 1963, 48-49 no 71, pl. 16; Geagan 2011, 213 H392;

SEG XXI 761; Follet 1776, 100 (Greek).

Ath-18

Athenae; Ach

Monument: base

Honorand: Marcus Aurelius Melpomenos

Office: agonothet in Olymia, priest

Date: AD 238/9-243/4

Selected references: IG III, 3878 (Greek).

Ath-19a-b

Athenae; Ach

Monument: double base

Honorand: Hepaphrodeitos Phlyeus and

Aristodemos, son of Dyonyisios Halaieus Azenieus

Office: *archontes* of the phyles

Date: 238/9-243/4

Comment: under the *archon* Flavius

Asclepiade

Selected references: IG² 3691; III 790 (Greek).

Ath-20

Athenae; Ach

Monument: portrait herm with inscription;

total H: 0.70; head H: 0.31m

Honorand: [...]

Office: *cosmetes*

Date: AD 231-232 (Fittschen); dated by the

mentioned eponymous *archon* Kasianos of

Steiriain, in the year of the 29th Panathenaic

games; second quarter 3rd c. AD

(Kaltas/Stavridi); around 225 AD

(Romiopoulou); AD 238-239 (Graindor)

Comment: - possibly reworked (Bergmann) -

second quarter 3rd c. AD (Kaltas/Stavridi);

around AD 225 (Romiopoulou); 238-239

(Graindor) - provenance: 'Valerian wall', site

of Gymnasium of Diogenes.

Museum/Storage: Ath. Mus. Naz. 358; Inv. 388.

Selected references: G 20/L 22; IG II /III² 2241;

Sybel 1881, 601; Kavvadias 1890-92, 261;

Graindor 1915, 349-252 no 20, fig 24;

L'Orange 1933, 29 no 1; Harrison 1953, 61-

62.93-94; Lattanzi 1968, 55 no 22 pl. 22 a-b;

Fittschen 1969, 230-236; Follet 1976, 287.

331-333. 504; Bergmann 1977, 83-84. 87. 157

fn. 637. 212; Stavridi 1985, 100 no 388 pl.

151-152; Zanker 1995, 209 fig 117;

Romiopoulou 1997, 65 no 62; Kaltsas 2002,

333 no 701; Krumeich 2004, 114 no 61;

Fittschen 2010, 238-239; Schröder 2012, 505;

Arachne 1066 (Greek).

Image: IMG0202

Ath-21

Athenae; Ach

Monument: herm

Honorand: Markos Aurelios Kalippos

Office: *cosmetes*

Awarder: Markus Aurelius [...]

Date: AD 238/9-243/4

Museum/Storage: EM 9597-8.

Selected references: IG² 3766 (III 748)

Graindor 1915, 228 (Greek).

Ath-22

Athenae; Ach

Monument: herm

Honorand: [...]

Office: cosmetes
Awarder: Kallippos Antiphon
- by request of the synephebes
Date: 238/9-283/4
Comment: due to his kindness
Museum/Storage: EM 9599.
Selected references: IG² 3767 (III 749)(Greek).

Ath-23
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: herm
Honorand: Marcos Aurelios Telesphoron
Kephisieas, son of Tertius
Office: cosmetes; synstremmatarchos;
archon of the ephebes; sophronistes
Awarder: (M Aur.) Telesephros (also IG 2243)
to 'his' sophronistes
Date: after AD 243/4
Comment: sophronistes = the older ephebes;
hyposophronistes = the younger ephebes.
Museum/Storage: EM 8631
Selected references: IG² 3768 (III 758)(Greek).

Ath-24
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: herm acephalus
Honorand: T. Domitios Promethes Oathen
Office: paradoxon periodoneiken, anticosmetes
Awarder: T. Domit. Prometheus Oathen and T.
Domit. Narkissons (his father and son)
Date: after 243/4
Comment: corona: Olympia, Pythis, Isthmia,
[Nemea?]
Museum/Storage: EM 10334.
Selected references: IG² 3769 (III Add. 758a
p.502) (Greek).

Ath-25a-c
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: tabula
Honorand: Aurelius (?) Perinthos und Aurelia
[..d]oras(?) his synbios and [Aurelia?] Dionysia
their daughter
Awarder: his father (of Perinthos)
Date: AD 245
Selected references: IG III.1, 827 (Greek).

Ath-26
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: herm acephalus / base
Honorand: Aurelios Appianus Marathonius,
son of Chestus (cosmetes)
Awarder: the synarchontes (of the
Diogeneion); - by decree of the boule of the
Areopagus

- curator: the synarchontes - decree of the
boule and demos
Date: AD 226/7-234/5
Comment: - the second inscription: Chairete
kai Chairomen (rejoice and we rejoice) has
been dated to AD 267 and was interpreted as
a reference to Dexippus' victory over the
Herulians - prov: east stoa of Attalos cf. Ath-
05.
Museum/Storage: Oxford.
Selected references: IG² 3765; III 751 et add. p.
502 (Greek).

Ath-27
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: base
Honorand: Hegias son of Timocrates (?)
Office: Clarissimus rank, benefactor of Athens,
eponymous archon, panegyriarch; generosity
Awarder: the (entire) polis
Date: before mid of 3rd cent. AD
Comment: - on the same base as CIL 3701 (III
689), reused; by decree; matching base
Eleusis (IG 700).
Museum/Storage: EM 10512.
Selected references: IG² 3692 (III 709)(Greek).

Ath-28
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Aphrodeisios Marathonios, son of
Stephanos
Office: priest of Triptolemos and eponymos
archon and of the tribe Aiantis
Awarder: his friend (?)
Date: mid 3rd c. AD; before 212 (Follett);
238/9-243/4 AD (?) SEG
Comment: - by decree of the Areopagus.
Museum/Storage: Museum of the
archaeological society, Inv. EM 10738.
Selected references: IG² 3705 (III 704);
Follett 1976, 103, 233, 237;
SEG 33, 188 (Greek).

Ath-29
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: most likely a base/herm
Honorand: Iulios Theodotos Meliteus
Office: sophist
Awarder: his pupils
Date: mid 3rd cent. AD
Selected references: IG² 3813 (III775); Aneziri
296 (Greek).

Ath-30
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: tabula
Honorand: [...]
 Annia Statilia (Maaß)
Office: [...] very fragmentary
Awarder: [...] very fragmentary
Date: mid third cent. shortly before 238 AD (Maaß)
Comment: descendant of the rhetor Apsines (*hypatikos*) (Kirchner)
 - descendant of [Tib. Cl.] Lyciadus and [Tib. Kl.] Sospidos.
Selected references: IG² 4007; Maaß 1972, 57 fn. 4007; Kirchner 1935, 146 (Greek).

Ath-31
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: herm, acephalus
Honorand: Chariton Marathonios, son of Neikios
Office: former temple servant of Asklepios and Hygeia
Awarder: - by demand of the council of the 500.
Date: mid 3rd c. AD (?)
Selected references: IG² 3815, III Add. 780b p.505.5; Graindor 1915, 278 (Greek).

Ath-32
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Quintus Statius Themistokles Chollida - son of the Asklepios priest Quintus Statius Glaukus Chollida
Awarder: Klaudius Themistokleius
 - ded.: Klaudius Themistokleius philosopher, *hypathikos*, asiarch, Titus Fl. Glaukus Marathonius, poet, rhetor, philosopher, *advocatus fisci*
Date: mid 3rd c. AD; 240-260 AD (?) (SEG)
Comment: 3 monuments of family.
Museum/Storage: Inv. 3063.
Selected references: IG² 3704 (III Add. 721 a); SEG 39 222 (Greek).

Ath-33
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: base
Honorand: Publius Herennius Ptolemeius Hermeius
Office: *keryx* (messenger/herald) of the council of the *Areopagus*
Awarder: Herennius Dexippos (the son) and his brothers - by decree of the *Areopagus*
Date: mid third cent. AD

Comment: provenance, between the Areopagus and the Acropolis, Asclepium.
Museum/Storage: in front of the Theseus sanctuary; EM 10328.
Selected references: IG II-III² 3667, III.1 714 (Greek).

Ath-34
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: herm (fragment)/ base (SEG)
Honorand: Publius Herennius Ptolemeius Hermeius
Office: former *polemarch*, *agonothet* of the Great [...](games; ... ; the Kaisareia? Asklepieia ? Severiana?), *keryx* of the council of the *Areopagus*
Awarder: the *Areopagus* and the council of the 500
Date: mid 3rd century AD (IG); after 121/2 SEG/ Aleshire 200-250 in SEG Athenian Asklepeion 93
Comment: - provenance Asklepium.
Museum/Storage: EM 9588a.
Selected references: IG II-III² 3668 (III Add. 714a); SEG 39, 221 SEG 16, 163. AE 1972, 61 no 5; Follet 1976, 321; Martin 2006, 30; EM9628 = IG III, 965g (Greek).

Ath-35
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: herm (acephalus)/ base (SEG)
Honorand: Publius Herennius Dexippus
Office: former *basileus*, eponymos *archon*, *hiereus panages*
Awarder: Herennius Dexippus and Herennia Hermonakteia, his children
Date: before 266/7 (died 275)
Comment: Hadrians stoa.
Museum/Storage: EM 10327.
Selected references: IG² 3670 (Greek).

Ath-36
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: base for a marble statue (reused base)
Honorand: Publius Herennius Dexippus
Office: rhetor, writer, historian, sacrosanct priest, former *basileus* among the *thesmothetes*, former eponymous *archon*, former *panegyriarch* and *agonothet* of the great Panathenais; (he als financed them with his own means)
Awarder: his children: Herennius Dexippus and Herennia Hermonakteia; - with the approval of the *Areopagus*, the council of the 750 and the people / *demos* of Athens

Date: ca. AD 270; (A.D. 270 or later); ca. 269/70 (IG); before 255-6 (SEG)
 - died 275
Comment: - honoured due to his *arete* and his merits literary achievements (Xpovικὰ) and eloquence; - provenance: Asklepium; reused - cf. an honour in (Eleusis SEG 33 187).
Museum/Storage: Museum Paris, Louvre.
Selected references: IG II² 3669, (III 716); IG II² V 13262; Sironen 1994, 17-18, no. 1; Sironen 1997, 55-59, no. 4; SEG 33, 186 (Greek).

Ath-37
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Claudius Illyrius
Office: *vir clarissimus*, proconsul (of Achaea)/provincial governor, member of the *Areopagus* and benefactor
Awarder: the *polis*; - curator: Marcus Iunius Minucianus
Date: during the 270s/280s; 270-280 (SEG); mid 3rd c. (Follett); 253/60 (Erkelenz); 270-290 (LSA); 225-250 (IG)
Museum/Storage: trench next to the northern wall of the Acropolis, EM 435.
Selected references: IG II² no. 3689; IG II² V 13263; Sironen 1994, 19-20 no 2; Sironen 1997, 59-60, no. 3; Erkelenz 2003, 253 no 242; Follet 1976, 30-40, 38; LSA-93; SEG 2004, 308 (Greek).
Image: IMG0203

Ath-38
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Claudius Illyrius
Office: *vir clarissimus*, proconsul (of Achaea); provincial governor, member of the *Areopagus*, and benefactor
Awarder: the *polis* (of Athens)
Date: 270s/280s (SEG); mid 3rd c. (Follett); 253/60 (Erkelenz); 270-290 (LSA); 225-250 (IG)
Comment: - curator: Marcus Iunius Minucianus, *antypathos* (of *clarissimus* rank)
Museum/Storage: trench next to the northern wall of the Acropolis, EM 435.
Selected references: IG II² 3690 (III 705); IG II² V 13264; Sironen 1994, 20-21 no 3; Sironen 1997, 60-62, no. 7; Erkelenz 2003, S 253 no 243; Follett 1976, 38; SEG 2004, 308; LSA-94 (Greek).
Image: IMG0204

Ath-39
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: 'dedication' Graindor
Honorand: [...]
Office: commander of the 4th legion of Mysia and [...] and commander of the legion Afrika Karxedonias; *antistrategos*; *praetor politikon* (*praetor urbanus*); *eparchos t. s. t. d.*, (*praefectus frumentum dandi*); *agoranomos*, *tamias* of Cyprus and *antistrategos* (*leg. prop.*)
Date: third century
Museum/Storage: Athens, EM 3845; EM 3780.
Selected references: IG², 4220 (=III 629 + III 630); Graindor 1927, 271-273 no 39 (Greek).

Ath-40
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: capital of a doric column
Honorand: Dexippus
Awarder: Lysicles his father
Date: 3rd cent. AD
Comment: not Herennius Dexippus (!)
Selected references: IG² 4008 (Greek).

Ath-41
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: base
Honorand: L. Vettius I[juvenus?] (Iuventianus) Mess[...]
Office: *leg. pr.* of Thrace
Awarder: the *boule* of the *Areopagus* and the *demos*
Date: 3rd cent. AD
Comment: for his *arete* and benefactions.
Selected references: IG² 4221 (Greek).

Ath-42
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: base
Honorand: M [...]
Office: eponymous *archon*
Awarder: missing
Date: 3rd cent. AD
Selected references: IG² 3711 (III 711)(Greek).

Ath-43
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: base
Honorand: Kasianos Synesios, son of Antius
Awarder: the *Areopagus*, the *boule* and the *demos*
Date: 3rd cent. AD
Comment: - archon: Mousios Panellenos
Selected references: IG² 3712 (Greek).

Ath-44
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: herm
Honorand: [...] *Office:* *cometes*
Awarder: the ephebes (for their *cosmetes*)
Date: 3rd century AD (?, cf. below)
Comment: under the archon Scribonius Kapitonus
Museum/Storage: EM 10354.
Selected references: IG II-III 3770 (III 761) (Greek).

Ath-45-46
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: 2 herm shafts, upper part
Honorand: [...] *Office:* [...] *Awarder:* set up by an action of the most venerable areopagites
Date: 3rd cent. AD
Comment: -preserves parts of the portrait.
Selected references: Meritt 1944, 264 no 17 w. photo; Meritt 1963, 49 no 72 pl. 16; Hesperia 13, 210-264; Geagan 2011, 269-70 (Greek).

Ath-47
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: small statue
Honorand: Gellia Dionysia
Office: (priestess?)
Comment: no more information given - name stated in the nominative - originally probably from the Eleusion.
Selected references: H 394 s 214; SEG XXI 811.

Ath-48
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: herm portrait; H: 0.375m
Office: *cosmetes*
Date: Late Severan (?)
Comment: Bergmann discourages a precise dating, since this hairstyle could be attributed to the time from Septimius Severus to Pupienus, as well as to the 2nd c. AD; first half 3rd c. AD (Kaltas); 253-260 AD (Stavridi); 2nd - beginning 3rd c. AD (Romiopoulou); Late Hadrianic-Early Antonine (Schröder) - provenance: 'Valerian wall', site of Gymnasium of Diogenes.
Museum/Storage: Ath. Mus. Naz. Inv. 396.
Selected references: G 28/ L 30; Sybel 1881, 206; Kavvadias 1890-92, 626; Graindor 1915, 367-369 no 28, fig 29; Harrison 1953, 98; Lattanzi 1968, 62 no 30, pl. 30; Bergmann 1977, 88. 122; Stavridi 1985, 105 no 396 pl.

158-9; Zanker 1995, 209; Romiopoulou 1997, no 51; Kaltsas 2002, 334 no 706; Schröder 2011, 38. Arachne 1068.
Image: IMG0205

Ath-49
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: herm portrait; H: 0.34m
Office: *cosmetes*
Date: Late Severan
Comment: - first half 3rd cent. AD (Kaltas); AD 225-250 (Romiopoulou); second quarter of the 3rd c. AD (Stavridi) - provenance: 'Valerian wall', site of Gymnasium of Diogenes.
Museum/Storage: Ath. Mus. Naz. 395; Inv. 366.
Selected references: G 19/ L 21; Sybel 1881, 619; Kavvadias 1890-92, 262; Graindor 1915, 248-349 fig 23; Harrison 1953, 57.96; Lattanzi 1968, 54 no 21 fig. 21; Bergmann 1977 83. 84. 87 fn. 637. 212; Stavridi 1985, 104 no 395 pl.157; Romiopoulou 1997, 67 no 65; Kaltsas 2002 332 no 699; Arachne 1073.
Image: IMG0206

Ath-50
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: herm portrait; H: 0.26m
Office: *cosmetes*
Date: Late Severan / AD 222-235 (Stavridi)
Comment: - first half 3rd cent AD (Kaltas); 225-250 (Romiopoulou); Gallienic (L'Orange) - provenance: Post-herulian Wall, site of Gymnasium of Diogenes
Museum/Storage: Ath. Mus. Naz. 398; Inv. 340.
Selected references: G 25/ L 28; Sybel 1881, 654; Kavvadias 1890-92, 626; Graindor 1915, 360-362 no 25, pl 23.; L'Orange 1933, 13 no 10, fig. 24, 28; Harrison 1953, 95./ 55-56???; Lattanzi 1968, 60 no 28 pl 28; Bergmann 1977, 81. 84. 212; Fittschen 1969, 231 fn. 88; Stavridi 1985, 99-100 no 398 pl. 149-150; Romiopoulou 1997, 66 no 63; Kaltsas 2002, 333 no 704.
Image: IMG0207

Ath-51
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: portrait head of a boy / male youth; H: 0.265m
Date: 230-240; Late-Severan / era of Alexander Severus
Comment: second third of the 3rd c. AD (Kaltas, Bergmann) - provenance: south of the Acropolis.
Museum/Storage: Ath. Naz. Mus. Inv. 330.
Selected references: Kavvadias 1890-92, 330;

Bergmann 1977, 84. 211; Meischner 1984, 343 no 38; Stavridi 1985, 79 no 330 pl. 107-108; Kleiner 1992, 363. 396; Romiopoulou 1997, 119 no 125; Kaltas 2002, 357, no 760.
Image: IMG0208

Ath-52
Athenae; Ach
Monument: portrait herm; H: 0.3m
Office: *cosmetes*
Date: Late Severan-Gordian (Bergmann)
Comment: - reign Maximinus-Decius (L'Orange); second quarter of the 3rd c. AD, more probably reign of Trebonianus Gallus, 251-253 AD (Kaltas); mid-third c. AD (Romiopoulou) - provenance: 'Valerian wall', site of Gymnasium of Diogenes.
Museum/Storage: Ath. Mus. Naz. 406; Inv. 341.
Selected references: G 24/ L 27; Sybel 1881, 605; Kavvadias 1890-92, 263; L'Orange 1933, 11 no 3; Graindor 1915, 358-260 no 24 fig. 27; Harrison 1953, 59-60. 98; Lattanzi 1968, 59, no 27 pl. 27; Bergmann 1977, 85. 88. 212 fn. 337; Romiopoulou 1997, 65 no 61; Kaltsas 2002, 344 no 705.
Image: IMG0209

Ath-53
Athenae; Ach
Monument: portrait head of a boy; H: 0.23m
Office: initiate of the Eleusinian mysteries (?)
Date: Late Severan
Comment: wreathed - provenance: built into modern house near the Tholos.
Museum/Storage: Agora Mus. Inv. S 403.
Selected references: Harrison 1953, 55-56 no 42, pl. 27.
Image: IMG0210

Ath-54
Athenae; Ach
Monument: herm portrait
Office: *cosmetes*
Date: reworked in the 3rd c. AD; 2nd c. AD, reworked in the 3rd c. AD (Bergmann); mid-third (Romiopoulou); 253-260 AD (Stavridi); 253-268 AD (Kaltas)
Comment: - provenance: 'Valerian wall', site of Gymnasium of Diogenes.
Museum/Storage: Ath. Mus. Naz.
Selected references: G 29/L29; Sybel 1881, 642; Kavvadias 1890-92, 263; Graindor 1915, no 29; Lattanzi 1968, no 29; Bergmann 1977, 87; Stavridi 1985, no 403 pl. 160-161; Romiopoulou 1997, 62 no 55; Kaltas 2002, 333 no 702.

Image: IMG0211

Ath-55
Athenae; Ach
Monument: portrait head
Date: Late Severan (contemporary of Iulia Mamaea)
Museum/Storage: Athens, Nationalmuseum. Inv. 571.
Selected references: Kavvadias 1890-92, 571; Wegner – Wiggers 1971, 219; Datsulis-Stavridis 1975, 189-190 pl. 86-89; FZ 1983, 30 ff. no 33 fn. 5.
Image: IMG0212

Ath-56
Athenae; Ach
Monument: portrait herm; H: 0.33m
Office: *cosmetes*
Date: Late Severan, counterpart of G 20/ L 22 (Bergmann) / resemblance (Harrison); first half 3rd c. AD (Kaltas); 225-250 (Romiopoulou); second quarter of the 3rd cent. AD (Stavridi)
Comment: - counterpart of G 20/ L 22 (cat. Ath-52) (Bergmann) / resemblance (Harrison); first half 3rd c. AD (Kaltas); 225-250 (Romiopoulou); second quarter 3rd c. (Stavridi) - provenance: 'Valerian wall', site of Gymnasium of Diogenes.
Museum/Storage: Mus. Ath. Naz. 390; Inv. 357.
Selected references: G 21/ L 23; Sybel 1881, 617; Kavvadias 1890-92, 261; Graindor 1915, 252 no 21, pl. 21; Harrison 1953, 61. 62. 93-94; Lattanzi 1968, 56 no 23, pl. 23; Bergmann 1977, 83. 84. 87. 122. 157 fn. 637. 212; Stavridi 1985, 101-102 no 390 pl. 153-5; Romiopoulou 1997, 63 no 58; Kaltsas 2002, 333 no 703; Arachne 1072.
Image: IMG0213

Ath-57
Athenae; Ach
Monument: portrait head; H: 0.27m
Date: Late Severan
Museum/Storage: Athens, Mag. 3. Eph. 2565.
Selected references: Alexandridi 1967, 40-43 pl. 67a.b; Schröder 2012, 501.
Image: IMG0214

Ath-58
Athenae; Ach
Monument: male portrait; H: 0.34m
Date: 220-230 AD
Comment: reworked - Late Severan

(Romipoulou); AD 220-250 (Kaltas).
Museum/Storage: Ath. Mus. Naz. Inv. 635.
Selected references: Kavvadias 1890-92, 63.5; Romipoulou 1995, 75 no 112; Romipoulou 1997, 110 no 112; Bergmann 1977, 84. 211; Kaltas 2002, 357 no 759; Kastriotis 1908, 95.
Image: IMG0215

Ath-59
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: herm with male portrait and inscription; H: 1.725
Honorand: Chrysippos
Office: *cosmetes*
Date: Late Severan 222-235 (Datsouli-Stavridi, Kavvadias); AD 142/143 (Romipoulou); Antonine (Bergmann)
Comment: - dated to AD 141/42 or 142/43, due to the inscription; portrait head very likely reworked AD 210-230, new inscription possibly painted-over; inscription not belonging (Fittschen) - provenance: Athens, Post-Herulian Wall.
Museum/Storage: Ath. Mus. Naz. Inv. 286.
Selected references: Kavvadias 1890-1892, 256, 384-416, 386; Arndt – Bruckmann 1891-1942, no 384; Lattanzi 1968, 42-43 no 9 pl. 9; Bergmann 1977, 87-88; Datsouli-Stavridi 1985, 97-98 no 386, pl. 145-146; Romipoulou 1995 50, 51 no 46; Romipoulou 1997, 56-57 no 46; Kaltsas 2002, 329 cat. 692; IG II² 3740; III 740; Arachne 1067.
Image: IMG0216

Ath-60
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: male portrait head; H: 0.27m
Date: Severan-ca. 238 AD/ first half of the 3rd c. AD; 3rd c. AD (Alexandridi)
Selected references: Alexandridi 1967, 109-110, pl. 95.
Image: IMG0217

Ath-61
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: portrait of a boy; H: 0.28m
Office: *ephebe* (?)
Date: Severan head later reworked; not datable (Kaltas?); second third of the 3rd c. AD (Bergmann); second quarter third (Romipoulou); 285-337 (Stavridi) Constantinian (L'Orange)
Comment: - provenance: 'Valerian wall', site of Gymnasium of Diogenes; reworked
Museum/Storage: Ath. Mus. Naz. 399; Inv. 353.
Selected references: Kavvadias 1890-92, 262;

Graindor 1915, 378 pl. 26; L'Orange 1933, 57 no 85, fig 161-162; Harrison 1953, 90-91, 99-100 pl 46a; Lattanzi 1968, 64 no 33 pl 33; Bergmann 1977, 88; Stavridi 1985, 106 pl 162, 163 no 339; Romipoulou 1997, 66 no 64; Kaltas 2002, 334 no 708.
Image: IMG0218

Ath-62
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: herm portrait (with part of the stele); H: 0.67m
Office: *cosmetes* (?) / *ephebe* (?)
Date: Gordianic
Comment: dressed in a himation - Late Severan - Gordianic (Bergmann); Late Severan / 222-235 (L'Orange); around mid-third c. AD (Romipoulou) - provenance: 'Valerian wall', site of Gymnasium of Diogenes.
Museum/Storage: Ath. Mus. Naz. 391; Inv. 326.
Selected references: G 22/ L 26; Sybel 1881, 606; Kavvadias 1890-92, 261; Graindor 1915, no 22; L'Orange 1933, 12 no 8; Harrison 1953 51, 58-60 pl 46b; Lattanzi 1968, no 26; Bergmann 1977, 85. 122 fn. 337; Romipoulou 1997, 64, no 59; Kaltsas 2002, 334 no 707.
Image: IMG0219

Ath-63
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: herm portrait; H: 0.32m
Office: *cosmetes*
Date: Maximinus-Decius (L'Orange)
Comment: - first half of 3rd c. AD (Kaltas); mid third c. AD (Romipoulou); second quarter of the 3rd c. AD (Stavridi) - provenance: 'Valerian wall', site of Gymnasium of Diogenes.
Museum/Storage: Ath. Mus. Naz. 409; Inv. 345.
Selected references: G 15/ L 24; Sybel 1881, 613; Kavvadias 1890-92, 264; Graindor 1915, 339-342 no 15, pl. 20; L'Orange 1933, 11 no 6; Harrison 1953, 96; Lattanzi 1968, 57 no 24; Stavridi 1985, 102-103 no 409, pl. 155; Romipoulou 1995, 55 no 49; Romipoulou 1997, 61 no 54; Kaltsas 2002, 332 no 700.
Image: IMG0220

Ath-64
 Athenae; Ach
Monument: portrait head; H: 0.25m
Date: ca AD 240-260, (after Otacilia Severa, wife of Philippus Arabs)
Comment: - third fourth 3rd c. AD (Romipoulou)
Museum/Storage: Ath. Mus. Naz. Inv. 541.

Selected references: Kavvadias 1890-92, 289; Bergmann 1977, 85. 212 Pl. 24.6. 25.1; Stavridi 1985, 80-81 no 541 pl. 111-112; Romiopoulou 1997, 124 no 132 (with wrong image); Kaltas 2002, 371 no 790.

Image: IMG0221

Ath-65

Athenae; Ach

Monument: portrait of a young boy; H: 0.25m

Office: initiate of the Eleusinian mysteries

Date: second quarter of the 3rd c. AD

Comment: wreath (myrtle) Eleusinian mysteries - provenance: Agora, W-foot of the Areopagus.

Museum/Storage: Agora museum, Inv. S 1307.

Selected references: Tompson 1948, 179 pl. 58;

Harrison 1953, 54-55 no 41, pl. 28; Harrison

1960a no. 40; Wegner 1979, 20-21

(Gordianus); Hausmann, 1981, 385-386; FZ

1985, 128 fn 3.

Image: IMG0222

Ath-66

Athenae; Ach

Monument: male portrait head

Date: first half third, presumably reworked in tetrarchic era

Comment: - Gallienic (Bergmann).

Museum/Storage: Ath. Mus. Naz.

Selected references: Bergmann 1977, 85. pl. 25, 3.

Image: IMG0223

Ath-67

Athenae; Ach

Monument: male portrait; H: 0.29m

Date: reworked; early-Gallienic (Bergmann)

Comment: - Maximinus-Decius (L'Orange);

mid 3rd c. AD (Kaltas); third third of the 3rd

cent. - provenance: Kerameikos.

Museum/Storage: Ath. Mus. Naz. Inv. 34/347

Selected references: Kavvadias 1890-92, 347;

Kastriotis 1908, 72; L'Orange 1933, 11, 108

no. 4, pl. 16; Bergmann 1977, 85. 212; Kleiner

1992, 396; Romiopoulou 1997, 128 no 137;

Kaltas 2002, 370 no 788.

Image: IMG0224

Ath-68

Athenae; Ach

Monument: portrait head

Date: AD 230-260

Comment: - provenance: in a mixed Late Roman and Hellenistic deposit east of Great

Drain west of the Agora area.

Selected references: Harrison 1953, 59-60 no 45, pl. 29.

Image: IMG0225

Ath-69

Athenae; Ach

Monument: herm portrait; H: 0.31m

Office: *cosmetes*

Date: mid-third c. AD; early-Gallienic

(reworked)

Comment: - provenance: 'Valerian wall', site of the Gymnasium of Diogenes.

Museum/Storage: Ath. Mus. Naz. 400; Inv. 347.

Selected references: G 31/ L 32; Kavvadias

1890-92, 247; Graindor 1915, no 31; Lattanzi

1968, no 32 pl. 32; Bergmann 1977, 87; 212.

Image: IMG0226

Ath-70

Athenae; Ach

Monument: herm portrait; H: 0.28m

Office: *cosmetes*

Date: reworked in the third century

(Bergmann); first three decades of the 3rd c.

AD (Harrison)

Comment: - first three decades of the 3rd c. AD (Harrison) - provenance: 'Valerian wall', site of the Gymnasium of Diogenes.

Museum/Storage: Ath. Mus. Naz. 397; Inv. 348.

Selected references: G 30/ L 31; Graindor

1915, 371 no 30. Harrison 1953, 98; Lattanzi

1968, no 31, pl.31; Bergmann 1977, 83. 87.

112.

Image: IMG0227

Ath-71

Athenae; Ach

Monument: fragment of a portrait head

Office: priest (?)

Date: Early Gallienic (?)

Comment: wreathed, face fragment - provenance: 'mixed late deposit west of the 'Valerian Wall'.

Museum/Storage: Agora Mus. Inv. S 1134.

Selected references: Harrison 1953, 53-54 no

40 pl. 27.

Image: IMG0228

Ath-72

Athenae; Ach

Monument: male portrait bust of a young man

on a bust; H 0.60 m

Date: mid third c. AD

Comment: - fifties of the third century/ 260-

268 (Harrison); Gallienic (Arachne) -
provenance: north of the northern retaining
wall of the Eleusinion.
Museum/Storage: Agora Museum Inv. S 2062
Selected references: Harrison 1960a, no 15;
Harrison 1960b, 390-392. pl. 38 a, b; Arachne
39713.
Image: IMG0229

Ath-73
Athenae; Ach
Monument: portrait head
Date: ca. early Gallienic
Comment: - 'era of the soldier emperors'
(L'Orange).
Museum/Storage: Ath. Mus. Naz. Inst. Neg.
526.
Selected references: Bergmann 1977, 84 fn.
339; L'Orange 1933, no 5, pl. 17.
Image: IMG0230

Ath-74
Athenae; Ach
Monument: portrait head, colossal; H: 0,35 m
(colossal, L'Orange)
Office: priest
Date: 253-268 AD / (Early-) Gallienic; 250-
260 (Romiopoulou).
Comment: - note: same person as Ath-80.
Museum/Storage: Ath. Mus. Naz. Inv. 349.
Selected references: Kavvadias 1890-92, 347;
Bocchetti 1874/5, 399; L'Orange 1933, 13.
110 no 11, pl. 26-27; Harrison 1953, 6. 61. 64.
97-97. 100; Bergmann 1977, 85. 88. 212;
Romiopoulou 1997, 124 no 131; Kaltsas 2002,
370 no 787; Fittschen 1969, 231 fn. 89.
Image: IMG0231

Ath-75
Athenae; Ach
Monument: portrait head; 'colossal'
Office: priest
Date: AD 253-268 AD / (Early-) Gallienic
Comment: - wreathed - note: same person as
Ath-79.
Museum/Storage: Ath. Mus. Naz. Inv. 432.
Selected references: Kavvadias 1890-92, 432;
L'Orange 1933, 110 no 12 fig. 25. 29. -27;
Harrison 1953, 6. 61. 64. 97-98. 100. pl. 46;
Fittschen 1969, 231 fn 89; Bergmann 1977,
85, 88, 212, pl. 25, 4; Kaltsas 2002, 370 no
787.
Image: IMG0232

Ath-76
Athenae; Ach
Monument: portrait head for the insertion into
a statue
Date: Gallienic / 253-268 (L'Orange)
Museum/Storage: Ath. Mus. Naz. (no Inv.)
Selected references: Kastriotis 1860; L'Orange
1933, 13. 111 no 13.
Image: IMG0233

Ath-77
Athenae; Ach
Monument: portrait head, wreathed; H: 0.34m
Office: priest
Date: 60ies of 3rd c. AD (Late- Gallienic); 267
(Kavvadias)
Comment: - 253-268 (Kaltas); 260-270
(Romiopoulou) - dowel hole at the centre of
the skull.
Museum/Storage: Ath. Mus. Naz. Inv. 428.
Selected references: Sybel 1881, 312;
Kastriotis 1908, 77; Kavvadias 1890-92, 428;
Bergmann 1977, 85. 212, pl. 25, 5-6; Stavridi
1985, 82-83 no 428, pl. 115-116;
Romiopoulou 1997, 125 no 133; Kaltas 2002,
357 no 761.
Image: IMG0234

Ath-78
Athenae; Ach
Monument: female portrait head
Date: AD 253-268
Selected references:
[http://www.dainst.org/de/pressrelease/über-
raschender-fund-auf-dem-kerameikos](http://www.dainst.org/de/pressrelease/über-raschender-fund-auf-dem-kerameikos) (last
accessed 13.05.2013).
Image: IMG0235

Ath-79
Athenae; Ach
Monument: female portrait head
Date: AD 253-268
Selected references:
[http://www.dainst.org/de/pressrelease/über-
raschender-fund-auf-dem-kerameikos](http://www.dainst.org/de/pressrelease/über-raschender-fund-auf-dem-kerameikos) (last
accessed 13.05.2013).

Ath-80
Athenae (?); Ach
Monument: male portrait head; H: 0.34m
Office: *cosmetes* (?)
Date: second half third c. AD (Bergmann)
Museum/Storage: Ath. Mus. Naz. 3514z.
Selected references: Bergmann 1977, 83 fn.
325. 211; Deltion 1923-1924, 28-30 no 18, pl.

22.

Image: IMG0236

Ath-81

Athenae; Ach

Monument: portrait head, wreathed; HH

0.26m (chin-crown, w/o wreath)

Office: priest

Date: before AD 267; third quarter of the 3rd c. AD (Harrison); 70ies of third (L'Orange); one of the latest portraits before the raid (Bergmann); Gallienic (wer?)

Comment: - corresponding head in Eleusis (L'Orange 1933, no 58, pl. 108-109.) - traces of burning and the findspot support AD 267 as *terminus ante quem*.

- for the Iamblichus discussion see Gehn 2014

- provenance: in front of the stoa of Attalos

Museum/Storage: Agora Mus. Inv. S 659

Selected references: Harrison 1953, 63-64, no 49, pl. 31; Harrison 1960a, no 35; Bergmann 1977, 85. 159. 211; LSA: Mentioned in LSA 110, under 'further discussion'; Gehn 21014, forthcoming.

Image: IMG0237

Ath-82

Athenae; Ach

Monument: head, worked for insertion; H:

0.39m

Date: 260-300 (LSA); mid-third century AD (Gehn)

Comment: so-called Iamblichus.

Museum/Storage: Ath.. Mus. Naz., store rooms, Inv. 580.

Selected references: L'Orange 1933, 40-43. 125 no. 62; LSA 112; Gehn 2014.

Image: IMG0238

Ath-83

Athenae; Ach

Monument: male portrait; H: 0.272m

Date: shortly ('one of the latest') before the raid (Bergmann); early Gallienic; mid third c. AD (245-255) (Harrison)

Comment: - provenance: in medieval wall in the s-part of the Agora area.

Museum/Storage: Agora Mus. Inv. S 580.

Selected references: Harrison 1953, 57-59, no 44 pl. 30; Harrison 1960a, no 34; Bergmann 1977, 85. 159.

Image: IMG0239

Ath-84

Athenae; Ach

Monument: portrait head

Office: priestess (?)

Date: third quarter of the 3rd century A.D. (Riccardi).

Selected references: Riccardi 2009, 55-56.

<http://www.agathe.gr/id/agora/image/2007.01.3157> (last accessed Feb. 2014).

Image: IMG0240

Ath-85

Athenae; Ach

Monument: portrait head

Date: 3rd cent. AD, reworked

Comment: - AD 253-268 (Gallienic; Harrison)

- provenance: Agora, west of the Tholos.

Selected references: Harrison 1953, 62-63 no 48.

Image: IMG0241

Ath-86

Athenae; Ach

Monument: portrait of a boy, wreathed

Office: initiate to the Elusinian mysteries (?)

Date: 3rd c. AD

Museum/Storage: Agora 46.

Selected references: Harrison 1953, no 46.

Image: IMG0242

Ephesos

Eph-01

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: base

Honorand: G. Iulius Philippus

Office: *epitropikos (procuratorius)*, benefactor

Awarder: [...] - by the decision of the *patris*

accompanying M. Fulvius Publicanus

Nicephorus (curator) *grammateus* of the

demos; (also in Eph-03-05)

Date: era A. Severus (AD 222-235)

Comment: - the father of Iulius Philippus,

logistes of Ephesos (*curator urbis*) -

provenance: agora.

Selected references: IE 3049; FiE III no. 49;

Schulte 1994, no 127; Erkelenz 2003, 283 no

876 (Greek).

Eph-02

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: base

Honorand: G. Iulius Philippus

Office: *presbeutes (legatus proconsulis)*,

logistes (curator rei publicae), benefactor of

the fatherland.

Awarder: the fiscal authority of the temple

Date: AD 222-235

Selected references: IE 3050; FiE III no. 50.

Erkelenz 2003, 283 no 875 (Greek).

Eph-03

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: base for a bronze statue

Honorand: Calpurnius Verus

Office: financial procurator (*epitropos ducenarion*) of Asia, benefactor and supervisor of the awarder

Awarder: M Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus, *advocatus fisci*, to his benefactor

Date: AD 222-235

Comment: - for Nicephorus cf. Eph-01, Eph-04-05; also set up a statue for a *curator civitatis*, with another supervisor, under Elagabal IE 739 - provenance: eastern side of Domitians street.

Museum/Storage: Museum Selcccuk.

Selected references: IE 632; Schulte 1994, 127; Erkelenz 2003, 297 no 1083; cf. Eck R.E. Supp. XIV 83 no 123b (Greek).

Image: IMG0243

Eph-04

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: statue base

Honorand: M. Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus

Office: asiarch, *prytanis* (*magistratus*), *grammateus* of the *demos*, *agonothet*

Awarder: not preserved - curator: Aur.

Menodoros

Date: AD 218-235

Comment: - for Nicephorus cf. Eph-01, 03, 05.

Selected references: IE 679; FiE III no. 63;

Schulte 1994, 191 no 127 (Greek).

Eph-05

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: base

Honorand: M. Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus

Office: asiarch, *prytanis* (*magistratus*), *grammateus* of the *demos*, *agonothet*, benefactor of the fatherland

Awarder: the *himatiopolai* of the Agora (dressmakers)

Date: era of A. Severus (AD 222-235)

Comment: - praised for adorning the fatherland with many 'great works' - for Nicephorus cf. Eph-01, Eph-03-04.

Selected references: IE 3063; Schulte 1994, no 127 (Greek).

Image: IMG0244

Eph-06

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: base for a bronze statue

Honorand: P. Gavius Balbus

Office: procurator, *hippos (eques)*, *iudex de selectis*, *pref. coh. trib. leg.*, *pref. alae*, *procur. ad census accipiendos* in Galatia and Paphlagonia, curator of the *Viae Cornelia* and *Triumphalis*, procurator of Chersonensus, *euergetes* of the fatherland (during a famine),

Awarder: the Municipium Aelium Coila (Koila), by decree of the *boule*

Date: era of A. Severus (AD 222-235)

Selected references: IE 3048; FiE III no. 48;

Pflaum 3048 I 343 no 145 (Greek).

Eph-07

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: base

Honorand: M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus

Office: *anthypaton* (procosonsul); benefactor; (the later emperor)

Awarder: Claudius Themistokles, son of Claudius Frontonianus (for his benefactor)

Date: before AD 234/ ca. AD 230

Comment: - cf. Eph-08 - provenance: field w-foot of Ajasoluk hill.

Selected references: IE 655; AE 1902, 254;

Erkelenz 2003, 258 no 374 (Greek).

Eph-08

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: part of a base

Honorand: M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus

Office: *anthypaton* (procosonsul); (the later emperor)

Awarder: not preserved

Date: before AD 234 / ca. AD 230

Comment: - sister of Cl. Themistokles (cf. Eph-07) - provenance: built into Scholasticia baths.

Selected references: IE 656; Erkelenz 2003, 258 no 375 (Greek).

Eph-09

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: statue base

Honorand: Tiberia Claudia Frontoniane

Office: mother of Fl. Stasikleos Metrophanos, daughter of Claudius Frontonianus, asiarch

Awarder: not preserved

Date: ca. AD 230

Comment: - cf. Eph-07.

Selected references: IE 635B (Greek).

Eph-10
Ephesos; Asi
Monument: plaque, from a base
Honorand: a) Annius Annulinus Percinnianus
b) [Aur. Pi]narius Gem[ell(?)]us
Office: a) procurator *praefecturae annonae*
in/of Rome, *ducenarios*
b) in charge of the inheritance
Awarder: Zotikos, *neopoios* (son of
Artemidoros?)
Date: ca. AD 231-239
Selected references: IE 4330 (Greek).

Eph-11
Ephesos; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: M. Aurelius [...]
Office: *protos grammateus* of the *demos*,
archieus, *gymnasiarchos panton ton*
gymnasion, *protos strategos*, *eirenarchos*
monos, *agonothet*, *ergepistates*, benefactor
Awarder: [...] - administrators: Aur. Eugenios,
Aurelios Euphemos, both *grammateis* for the
financial administration of the temple
Date: mid 3rd c. AD (Robert, Keil); era of A.
Severus. or M. Thrax (Schulte)
Comment: - benefactions: rebate on oil,
cleaning of the canal, games - both he and his
son M. Aur. Artemidoros Metrodorianos,
hippikos are lauded for several donations;
(*ergepistates* = supervisor of public buildings).
Selected references: IE 3071; Robert 1972, 195
no 199; Schulte 1994, nos 27, 28, 36; Keil
1923, 154-155 no. 71 (Greek).

Eph-12
Ephesos; Asi
Monument: base
Honorand: [Marcus Aurelius], son of M. Aur.
Artemidoros, [descendent. of M. Aur.
Methrodoros, *grammateus* of the *demos*]
Office: *Asiarchos protos (panton ton*
gymnasion), *grammateus protos* of the *demos*,
agonothet
Awarder: [...]
Date: first half of the 3rd century AD
Selected references: IE 3058; FiE III, 58.
(Greek).

Eph-13
Ephesos; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Gn. Pompeius [...]
Awarder: the *boule* and *demos*
Date: 3rd century AD, post A. Severus
Comment: extensive reference to his

illustrious family (including among other
priestesses and benefactors).
Selected references: IE 710B (Greek).

Eph-14
Ephesos; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: T. Clodius Aurelius Saturninus
Office: *vir clarissimus* (consul), *comes Augusti*
(*expeditionis Orientalis*)
Awarder: not preserved
Date: under Maximinus Thrax, not before AD
236
Comment: served as *comes Augusti* under A.
Severus in the Persian war.
Selected references: IE 657; Erkelenz 2003,
314 no 1348 (Latin).

Eph-15
Ephesos; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: [---] (T. Claudius Aurelius
Saturninus?) (Birley)
Office: consul and *comes* of Alexander Severus
(in the Persian war), with entire *cursus*
honorum
Awarder: [...]ianus, *centurio* of the *Legio XXX*
Ulpia Severiana, *agens curam custodiarum*
(soldier in charge of the guardposts)
Date: under Maximinus Thrax, not before AD
236
Museum/Storage: Depot no 968.
Selected references: IE 817; AE 1957, 161;
Birley 2000, 106; Erkelenz 2003, 314 no 1349
(Latin).

Eph-16
Ephesos; Asi
Monument: base
Honorand: Flavia Phaedrina
Office: benefactress
(reference to her family)
Awarder: Aurelius Artemas, *hymnodos*,
grammateus of the *demos*
Date: era of Gordian III (AD 238-244) or
slightly earlier
Comment: possibly after her death (IE).
Selected references: IE 3081; Schulte 1994, no
13, no 167 (Greek).

Eph-17
Ephesos; Asi
Monument: base
Honorand: Arunceius Vedius [...]
Office: *hierokeryx* of Artemis, *prytanis*,

gymnasiarchon panton ton gymnasion, grammateus of the demos
(son and grandson of *grammateis*, etc.)
Awarder: not preserved
Date: era of Gordian III (AD 238-244) (?)
Comment: - admin: grandfather
- presumably one of the *grammateis* mentioned in 03-154 (Gordian III).
Selected references: IE 724; Schulte 1994, no 7. 39, 78-79 fn. 184 no 112; IK 47 z 112; Miltner 1960, Beibl. 52-54, no. 1; Rogers 1991, 178 (Greek).

Eph-18
Ephesos; Asi
Monument: base
Honorand: L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus
Office: proconsul in the third year (*procos Asiae* ca. 244-247 AD)
Awarder: Aur. Augendus, (his) *strator officii* (*strator* = equerry)
Date: ca. 247/ ca. AD 244-247
Comment: - referring to his virtues (*iustitia, sinceritate, innocentia* towards all his subordinates) - further honours Ath-15, Aph-07.
Selected references: IE 664; p.58; Erkelenz 2003, 259 no 377 (Latin).
Image: IMG0245

Eph-19
Ephesos; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus
Office: *procos Asiae* for the third time
Awarder: [...]
Date: ca. 247/ AD 244-247 (Dietz)
Comment: same Text as Eph-18; possibly different honorand.
Selected references: IE 3089; FiE III, 222 no 89; Dietz 1980, 153; Erkelenz 2003, 259 no 380 (Latin).

Eph-20
Ephesos; Asi
Monument: base
Honorand: L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus
Office: *anthypaton* (procosonsul) for the third time
Awarder: [...]
Date: ca. 247/ AD 244-247
Selected references: IE 664a; Erkelenz 2003, S 259 no 378 (Greek).

Eph-21
Ephesos; Asi
Monument: base
Honorand: L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus
Office: *anthypaton* (procosonsul), (three years), benefactor of the fatherland
Awarder: - the *boule* and *demos* - M. Aur. Faustus, *hymnodos, strategos protos, eirenarchos monos, grammateus of the demos* - M. Aur. Halophoros, *hymnodos, eirenarchos monos, strategos protos*
Date: ca. 247; AD 244-247 (Dietz); AD 242-248 (IE); ca. AD 244 (FiE)
Comment: same Text as Eph-22.
Selected references: IE 3088; Dietz 1980, 151 no 21, 153; Schulte 1994, no 34; Erkelenz 2003, 259 no 379 (Greek).

Eph-22
Ephesos; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus
Office: procosonsul of Asia, benefactor
Awarder: - the *boule* and *demos* - M. Aur. Faustus, *hymnodos, strategos protos, eirenarchos monos, grammateus of the demos* - M. Aur. Halophoros, *hymnodos, eirenarchos monos, strategos protos*
Date: AD 242-248
Comment: same Text as Eph-21.
Selected references: IE 3091 (Greek).

Eph-23
Ephesos; Asi
Monument: 'honorific inscription'; presumably a base
Honorand: Tiberius Claudius Dynatus
Office: *archiereus* of Asia
Awarder: not preserved
Date: era of Philipus Arabs (AD 244-249)
Selected references: IE 643b; Schulte 1994, no 60 (Latin).

Eph-24
Ephesos; Asi
Monument: base
Honorand: Tiberius Claudius Moschas
Office: *hymnodos, boularchon, protos strategos, eirenarchon*
Awarder: the *synhedrion* of the *hymnodoi* and *theologoi* and *thesmodoi* (of Artemis)
Date: era of Philippus Arabs (AD 244-249)
Comment: - see also IE 737; 892, 19 - reference to his brother Tib. Claud. Dynatos (Eph-23).
Museum/Storage: findspot.

Selected references: IE 645; AE 1956, 11; Schulte 1994, no 60 (Greek).

Eph-25

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: statue base

Honorand: [...] Vibius Seneca

Office: *dux* (?) (*cheliarchon* [*douka*]), *vir egregius, tribunus ducenarius* of the *Cohortis X praetoriae Philippianae*, *dux vexillationis* of the fleet of Misenum and Ravenna

Awarder: *synhedrion* of the *gerousia* - by the decree of the *synhedrion*

Date: 246 (AA); era of Philipus Arabs; AD 244-246

Comment: - administrator: Tiberius. Cl.

Moschas, asiarch [...] cf. Eph-24.

Selected references: IE 737; AE 1956, 10; SEG XVII, 505; Schulte 1994, no 60; Erkelenz 2003, 314 no 1356 (Greek).

Image: IMG0246

Eph-26

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: base, 'funerary honour'

Honorand: Tiberius Claudius Severus

Office: *mnemes protos* (first of the consuls of Ephesos)

Awarder: Claudia Caninia Severa, *hypatike*, the daughter

Date: 3rd century AD

Selected references: IE 648 (Greek).

Eph-27

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: statue base

Honorand: Claudia Caninia Severa

Office: *hypatike*, priestess and *kosmeteria*

('retired' priestess) of Artemis, *prytanis*, *Awarder:* *boule* and *demos* - by decree of the *gerousia* - administrator: Tib. Cl. Moschas, *hymnodos*, *boularchon*, *protos strategos*, *eirenarch*, with reference to his brother the asiarch Tib. Cl. Dynatus

Date: era of Philipus Arabs (AD 244-249)

Comment: - daughter of Tib. Cl. Severus.

Selected references: IE 892; AE 1972, 587; Schulte 1994, no 60 (Greek).

Eph-28

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: no information, base (info. provided by Sokolicek)

Honorand: Claudia Caninia Severa

Office: *hypatike*

Awarder: not preserved

Date: after the middle of the 3rd century AD

Selected references: IE 635c (Greek).

Eph-29

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: statue base

Honorand: Claudia [Drakontida]

Office: patroness, (wife, sister; daughter of a *hypatikos* and a *hypatike*)

Awarder: Flavius Zoticus, her client

Date: mid 3rd cent. AD

Selected references: IE 1562 + add. p.25 (Greek).

Eph-30

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: base

Honorand: Flavius Montanus Maximilianus

Office: *anthypaton* (proconsul), euerget of the polis

Awarder: Rupillius Alexanderus, asiarch

Date: AD 253-254

Selected references: IE 698; Erkelenz 2003, 259 no 385 (Greek).

Eph-31

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: most likely a base

Honorand: Tiberius Claudius Artemidorus

Office: *anthypaton* (proconsul)

Awarder: Cl. Canina Severa, *hypatike*, his aunt

Date: mid 3rd century AD

Selected references: IE 639 (Greek).

Eph-32

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: base

Honorand: Marcus Cornelius Aurelius Zenon

Office: Corn. Aur. Theodorus and Fl. Demetrai Flaccilla (*hypatikos*, -e), parents

Awarder: the polis

Date: mid or late 3rd century AD

Selected references: IE 659 (Greek).

Eph-33

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: base

Honorand: Valerius Festus

Office: *anthypatikos* (proconsul), saviour and benefactor

Awarder: the silversmiths of Ephesos

Date: ca. AD 260

Comment: achievements of Festus: extention

of the harbour, building activity in Ephesos and Asia, *ktistes*.
Museum/Storage: Selçuk, Museum, Inv. 4297.
Selected references: NiE IX 130-131 (Greek).

Eph-34
Ephesos; Asi
Monument: base
Honorand: [...]
Office: wife of the procurator Asiae Scaurianus
Awarder: Iulius Heraclius, *centurio* of the *Legio XI Claudia Princeps*
Date: AD 263; after (?) mid 3rd cent. AD
Comment: cf. for Scauinus IE 452;
-reused
Museum/Storage: in front of the 'Inscription Museum', on site, Inv. 2370; (former (?) Selçuk, Museum, Inv. 4365).
Selected references: AE 1988, 1022; NiE X, 140-141; Erkelenz 2003, 297 no 1084 a (Latin).
Image: IMG0247

Eph-35
Ephesos; Asi
Monument: base
Honorand: [...]
Office: *hyptikos* (consul), *legatus* of the diocese of Ephesos, *anthypaton* (proconsul) of Lycia and Pamph., *iuridicus* of Picenum and Apulia (see below)
Awarder: [...]
Date: AD 262-70
Comment: - prefect in charge of the *alimenta* and *viae, praetor, logistes* [of the *polis* ?, *quaesto*]/r.
Selected references: IE 805; Erkelenz 2003, 283 no 877 (Greek).

Eph-36
Ephesos; Asi
Monument: base
Honorand: Claudius Acilius Iulius
Office: *prostaten* (patron) of the silversmiths
Awarder: the *synhedrion* of silversmiths
Date: second half of the 3rd century AD
Selected references: IE 636; Eck 1980, 64-68 no X. (Greek).

Eph-37
Ephesos; Asi
Monument: most likely a base
Honorand: M. Aurelius Secundinus
Office: *tamias* (*quaestor provinciae*)
Awarder: Cl. Athenaios, friend

Date: 3rd century AD
Comment: praising Secundinus virtues.
Selected references: IE 3039; Erkelenz 2003, 290 no 982 (Greek).

Eph-38
Ephesos; Asi
Monument: base, possibly "Totenehren" (funerary honours) (IE)
Honorand: Favonius Stratonikus
Office: not mentioned
Awarder: (the *koinon* of the province) Asia
Date: 3rd century AD
Comment: reused.
Selected references: IE 667; NiE II-II 1-88 (Greek).
Image: IMG0248

Eph-39
Ephesos; Asi
Monument: base, 'funerary honour (?)'
Honorand: [...]
Office: wife, daughter of Pub. Ael. Tyndianus *anephesia, hypatike*, arch priestess of the temple (twice)
Awarder: L. Rupillius Alexander, *asiarchon*, the husband
Date: 3rd century AD
Comment: cf. IE 698.
Selected references: IE 714; AE 1968, 479 (Greek).

Eph-40
Ephesos; Asi
Monument: presumably a base
Honorand: Aurelius Hermophilus
Office: *procurator augusti* (*epitropon tou seb.*), benefactor
Awarder: Aurelios Philoneikos, *hekatontarchos* (*centurio*)
Date: 3rd century AD
Selected references: IE 628; Erkelenz 2003, 297 no 1087 (Greek).

Eph-41
Ephesos; Asi
Monument: portrait head; or insertion in statue; fragment; HH 0.26m
Date: Late-Severan (AD 222-235)
Comment: - boy/young teenager - provenance: near the double gate at the port
Museum/Storage: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, depot Inv. No 915.
Selected references: Inan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 179-180 no 140.

Image: IMG0249

Eph-42

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: portrait head; H: 0,251m

Date: Late Severan (see below); - re-cut from an Antonine original ?; 270-285 AD (Knibbe)

Comment: - provenance: Street of the Kuretes, Scholastikia Baths in the debris, possibly from a building east of the Baths lane.

Museum/Storage: Selçuk, Museum Inv. 749.

Selected references: Miltner 1959, 324 pl. 168; Inan - Rosenbaum 1966, 143-144 no 181; pl. CVI, 1-2. (270-285 AD); Fittschen 1973, 62; Bammer - Fleischer - Knibbe 1974, 75; Bergmann 1977, 78 (Severan); LSA 315 (AD 230-500).

Image: IMG0250

Eph-43

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: portrait head, fragment; H: 0.215m

Office: priestess of Artemis

Date: period of Alexander Severus (AD 222-235)

Comment: - fragment - heavy double wreath, laurel leaves and berry-like fruits.

Museum/Storage: London, British Museum, Acc. no 74-2-5-65.

Selected references: Inan - Rosenbaum 1966, 136 no 165; Arachne 53087.

Image: IMG0251

Eph-44

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: fragment of a female portrait head; H 0,129 m

Office: imperial priestess

Date: era of Alexander Severus (AD 222-235) (?)

Comment: - laurel wreath surmounted by draped busts (9 preserved) - provenance: Agora.

Museum/Storage: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (Depot) Inv. I 922.

Selected references: Inan - Rosenbaum 1966, 137 no 169;

Image: IMG0252

Eph-45

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: portrait head; H: 0.32 m

Date: period of Alexander Severus (AD 222-235)

Comment: - provenance: Nymphaeum near the Magnesia Gate ('Strassenbrunnen').

Museum/Storage: Izmir Museum, Inv. No 545.

Selected references: Inan - Rosenbaum 1966, 135-136, no 164.

Image: IMG0253

Eph-46

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: portrait head; H: 0.31m

Date: period of Alexander Severus (AD 222-235)

Comment: - provenance: Selçuk, found during the construction of the elementary school.

Museum/Storage: Selçuk, Museum Inv. 82.

Selected references: Inan - Rosenbaum 1966, 136 no 166; Fittschen 1973, 62.

Image: IMG0254

Eph-47

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: portrait head, fragment; H: 0.321m

Date: era of Alexander Severus (AD 222-235)

Comment: fragment

Museum/Storage: Selçuk, Museum, (no Inv.)

Selected references: Inan - Rosenbaum 1966, 136 no 167; Fittschen 1973, 62.

Image: IMG0255

Eph-48

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: seated statue, with fragmentary portrait head; H: 0.335m

Office: priestess of Artemis?

Date: era of Alexander Severus (AD 222-235)

Comment: - wreath 'probably laurel', with taeniae.

Museum/Storage: Selçuk, Selçuk Museum Inv. 386.

Selected references: Inan - Rosenbaum 1966, 137 no 168; Arachne 53090.

Image: IMG0256

Eph-49

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: portrait head, fragment; H: 0.26m

Date: era of Alexander Severus (AD 222-235)

Comment: - provenance: ancient harbour

Museum/Storage: Selçuk, Museum, Inv. 84.

Selected references: Inan - Rosenbaum 1966, 130 no 157.

Image: IMG0257

Eph-50
Ephesos (?); Asi
Monument: portrait head, for the insertion into a statue
Date: Late Severan
Museum/Storage: Selçuk, Museum, (Efes Müzesi) Inv. 3/32/87.
Image: IMG0258

Eph-51
Ephesos; Asi
Monument: portrait head for insertion; H: 0.3m
Date: first half 3rd c. AD; Late Severan/ AD 220-240 (Bergmann)
Comment: - rolled diadem and laurel wreath; Hall of Hestia, Street of the Kuretes.
Museum/Storage: Selçuk, Museum Inv. 643.
Selected references: Inan - Rosenbaum 1966, 141-142 no 178, pl. CIV, 1-2 (Gallienic); Fittschen 1973, 52. 62 (AD 195-220); Bammer – Fleischer – Knibbe 1974, 74-75, (under Gallien or later); Bergmann 1977, 80.213 (Late Severan?); 20ies-40ies of the 3rd c.; Auenhammer-Sokolicek 2011, 55.
Image: IMG0259

Eph-52
Ephesos; Asi
Monument: head; H: 0.26m
Office: priest
Date: ca. AD 230-240 AD; period of A. Severus or shortly after
Comment: - provenance: Market Basilica.
Museum/Storage: Selçuk, Museum; Inv. 11/38/72.
Selected references: Inan - Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 180-181; Auerhammer - Sokolicek 2011, 48.
Image: IMG0260

Eph-53
Ephesos; Asi
Monument: portrait head; H: 0.195m
Date: period of Gordianus / AD 235-240
Comment: - boy - provenance: terrace of the large apartment house of the Scholastikia Baths ('Hanghausterrasse').
Museum/Storage: Selçuk, excavation depot, Excav. Inv. H 60/ 1 A) Inv. 1568.
Selected references: Heintze 1959, 175-191; Inan - Rosenbaum 1966, 133 no 161 III; Bammer – Fleischer – Knibbe 1974, 61.
Image: IMG0261

Eph-54
Ephesos; Asi
Monument: portrait head; H: 0.125m
Date: AD 235-250
Comment: - provenance: apsidal room of the Scholastikia Baths - treatment of the beard comparable to a head in Athens dated by L'Orange in the period between Maximus and Decius (L'Orange).
Museum/Storage: Selçuk, Museum, Inv. 645.
Selected references: (L'Orange 1933, cat. no 5, fig 17.); Inan - Rosenbaum 1966, 130-131 no 158.
Image: IMG0262

Eph-55a
Ephesos; Asi
Monument: portrait head, for insertion into a statue, bronze; H: 0.342m
Date: AD 235-240 / AD 230-250 / time of Pupienus (B-F-K)
Comment: possibly the same individual as Eph-55a - provenance: large apartment house of the Scholastikia Baths ('Terrace/ Slope House' / ' Hanghaus').
Museum/Storage: Selçuk, Museum Inv. 1202.
Selected references: Inan - Rosenbaum 1966, 132-133, no. 160, pl. XCII, 3-4; Bammer – Fleischer – Knibbe 1974, 10-11; Bergmann 1977, 79. 213; Fittschen 1973, 61; Cat Ephes Mus. 1989, 24, 30.
Image: IMG0263

Eph-55b
Ephesos; Asi
Monument: portrait head; H: 0.242m
Office: (boxer)
Date: 3rd cent AD (see below)
Comment: possibly the same as Eph-55a - provenance: found between Ephesus and Kuşadası (road to K.).
Museum/Storage: Selçuk, Museum Inv. 728.
Selected references: Bammer – Fleischer – Knibbe 1974, 13-15 (time of Pupienus); Inan-Rosenbaum 1966, 131-132 no 159 (AD 235-240); Fittschen 1973, 61. (mid third or post Gallienic); Cat Ephes Mus. 1989, 133.
Image: IMG0264

Eph-56
Ephesos; Asi
Monument: portrait head; H: 0.27m
Date: AD 245-250
Museum/Storage: Izmir, Museum Inv. 963.
Selected references: Inan - Rosenbaum 1966, 137-138 no 170.

Image: IMG0265

Eph-57

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: portrait head; H: 0.175m

Date: AD 245-250

Comment: - provenance: Church of the Virgin (Council Church)

Museum/Storage: Selçuk, Museum, Inv. 637.

Selected references: Inan - Rosenbaum 1966, 138 no 171.

Image: IMG0266

Eph-58

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: portrait head; H: 0.251m

Office: priest? (rolled diadem)

Date: era of Gallienus (AD 253-268)

Museum/Storage: Selçuk, Museum Inv. 726.

Selected references: Inan - Rosenbaum 1966, 140-141 no 176.

Image: IMG0267

Eph-59

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: portrait head; H: 0,365m

Office: priest

Date: era of Gallienus (AD 253-268); late Gallienic

Comment: - mirroring the 2. Gallienus type (Bergmann) - provenance: in a wall at the north side of St. John's.

Museum/Storage: Selçuk, depot at St. John's.

Selected references: Inan - Rosenbaum 1966, 143 no 180; Fittschen 1973, 52; Bergmann 1977, 79. 214.

Image: IMG0268

Eph-60

Ephesos (?); Asi

Monument: male portrait head; H: 0.250m

Date: ca. mid 3rd cent. AD

Museum/Storage: Berlin, Pergamon Museum.

Selected references: Blümel 1933, 43-44 no R 105 pl. 69; Inan - Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 303 no 301.

Image: IMG0269

Eph-61

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: portrait head

Date: era of Gallienus (AD 253-268); AD 260-270 (Fittschen)

Comment: - possibly re-cut from an Antonine

predecessor.

Selected references: Inan-Rosenbaum, 1966 126 no 147 (Late Antonine); Fittschen 1973, 61.

Image: IMG0270

Eph-62

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: portrait head; H: 0.29m

Date: era of Gallienus (AD 253-268)

Comment: - *capite velato* (sacrificing) - provenance: east of Nymphaeum Traiani.

Museum/Storage: Selçuk, Museum Inv. 1032.

Selected references: Giuliano RIA 9 1959, 198 no 12; Heitze RM 73/74 1966/7 pl. 74.1; 76, 2 & 5, 1 & 9, 1 70, 1; Inan - Rosenbaum 1966, 141 no 177; Fittschen 1973, 52; Bergmann 1977, 70, 79.214; Vermeule 1968, pl.168 AB.

Image: IMG0271

Eph-63

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: double herm/ double portrait of two men; H: 0.205m

Date: ca. middle of the 3rd century (AD 235-250/Late-Severan (?)) (Bergmann)

Comment: - provenance: in a wall of the citadel of Selçuk.

Museum/Storage: Selçuk, depot at St. John's (no Inv.).

Selected references: Inan - Rosenbaum 1966, 133-134 no 162; Fittschen 1973, 61; Bergmann 1977, 79. 213.

Image: IMG0272

Eph-64

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: male statue, headless

Date: 3rd century AD

Museum/Storage: Selçuk, Museum, depot Inv. 400.

Selected references: Kollwitz 1941, Pl. 28.2; Bammer - Fleischer - Knibbe 1974, 167-8.

Image: IMG0273

Eph-64-1sm

Ephesos; Asi

Monument: portrait head, for insertion into a bust or statuette, fragment; H: 0.124m

Date: Late-Severan; (AD 222-235)

Comment: - provenance: debris of the 'Street of the Kuretes'.

Museum/Storage: Selçuk, Museum, depot 19, Inv. 1855.

Selected references: Inan - Alföldi-Rosenbaum

1979, 181 no 142.
Image: IMG0274

Eph-64-2sm
Ephesos; Asi
Monument: small portrait head on alabaster bust; H bust 0.109m, head H 0.103m
Date: Late Severan (Bergmann); AD 210-240
Comment: - provenance: Hanghaus II.
Museum/Storage: Selçuk, Museum, Inv. 2395.
Selected references: Inan - Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 181-182 no 143; pl. 116; Bergmann 1977, 79 fn 306.
Image: IMG0275

Eph-64-3sm
Ephesos; Asi
Monument: male portrait bust, small
Date: ca. AD 240
Selected references: Auenhammer – Sokolicek 2011, 55.
Image: IMG0276

Eph-64-4sm
Ephesos; Asi
Monument: small portrait head from a bust or statuette, fragment; H: 0.116m
Date: second quarter of the 3rd century AD
Museum/Storage: Selçuk, Museum depot 19, Inv. 2170.
Selected references: Inan - Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 182 no 144.
Image: IMG0277

Eph-64-5small
Ephesos; Asi
Monument: portrait head, miniature; H: 0.235m
Date: era of Gallienus (AD 253-268)
Comment: possibly Gallienus (Fittschen)
Museum/Storage: Selçuk, Museum Inv. 696.
Selected references: Inan - Rosenbaum 1966, 140 no 175; Fittschen 1973, 62.
Image: IMG0278

Aphrodisias

Aph-01
Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: [...], wife of Sept. Chares Aineias
Office: daughter of the city, flower-bearer of

the goddess
Awarder: [...]
Date: AD 222-235
Comment: honoured by Alexander Severus with the *stola matronae*.
Museum/Storage: findspot (temple).
Selected references: MAMA VIII, 514; Smith 2006, H249;
<http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007/iAph010187.html> (Greek).
Image: IMG0279

Aph-02
Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Ant. Fl. Antiochos
Office: boy boxer, victor
Awarder: [...]
Date: AD ca. 226
Selected references: Roueché 1993, 84; Smith 2006, H255 (Greek).

Aph-03
Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: [...]
Office: athlete
Awarder: [...] curator: Iul. Krateros, his father
Date: ca. 226 AD
Selected references: Roueché 1993, 83; Smith 2006, H272 (Greek).

Aph-04
Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: [Menandros?], son of Menandros
Office: boy pancratiast
Awarder: [boule]; financed by the *boule*; curator: Ant. Aur. Euelpistos, *bularchos*, second of two *andriantes*
Date: AD ca. 230-240
Selected references: Roueché 1993, 85; Smith 2006, H261 (Greek).

Aph-05
Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: [...]
Office: boy boxer, victor
Awarder: [...] cutator(s): neopoioi of Aphrodite under archineopoios Ti. Iul. Candidus Cl. Hegemoneus
Date: ca. 241 AD
Selected references: Roueché 1993, 86; Smith

2006, H270 (Greek).

Aph-06
Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Sextus Priscus
Office: proconsul
Awarder: *demos*; according to the instruction of the emperor Alexander Severus
Date: AD 222-235
Selected references: Smith 2006, H38 (Greek).

Aph-07
Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus
Office: proconsul
Awarder: *boule* and *demos*; *curator:* Ti. Cl. Iul. Candidus Hegemoneus
Date: AD 240-250
Comment: further honours Ath-15, Eph-18-22.
Selected references: SEG 44, 863; Smith 2006, H39 (Greek).

Aph-08
Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: M. Aur. Diogenes
Office: *legatus Augustorum pro praetore*
Awarder: [*boule* and *demos*]
Date: AD 253-260
Selected references: ALA 5; Smith 2006, H41 (Greek).

Aph-09
Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: M. Aur. Diogenes
Office: governor
Awarder: [*polis* ?]
Date: AD 253-260
Selected references: ALA 6; Smith 2006, H42 (Greek).

Aph-10
Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Aur. Gaius
Office: *centurio frumentarius; eunoia* and *storge* to the city
Awarder: [*polis* ?] - *curator:* Ant. Nikomachos
Date: mid 3rd cent. AD
Comment: Ant. Nikomachos
Selected references: Roueché 1981, 113-4, no

7; Smith 2006, H46 (Greek).

Aph-11
Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: [...]
Office: *centurio frumentarius; eunoia* and *storge* to the city
Awarder: [the *polis* ?] - *curator:* Ant. Andronikos
Date: mid 3rd cent. AD
Selected references: CIG 2802; Roueché 1981, 113-4 no 78; Smith 2006, H 47 (Greek).

Aph-12
Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: T. Oppius Aelianus Asklepiodotus
Office: governor of Caria and Phrygia, proconsul and corrector of Caria, (*ktistes, soter*)
Awarder: *patris*
Date: AD 284-301
Comment: Ti. Cl. Marcianus, first archon.
Selected references: ALA 7; Smith 2006, H 43 (Greek).

Aph-13
Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: P. Ael. Septimius Mannus
Office: governor *consularis*
Awarder: [*demos*]
Date: third cent. AD
Selected references: Roueché 1996, 231-9; Smith 2006, H 40 (Greek).

Aph-14
Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: C. Iul. Philippos
Office: *logistes* (*curator*) of the city
Awarder: the *boule* and the *demos*
Date: third cent. AD
Selected references: CIG 2790; Smith 2006, H45 (Greek).

Aph-15
Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: [...]*us Hieratikos*
Office: legionary centurion
Awarder: L. Aur. Zenon and L. Aur. Hypsikles, friends of the honorand

Date: third cent. AD
Selected references: CIG 2803; Smith 2006, H48 (Greek).
 Aph-16
 Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Ael. Aur. Ammianus Paulinus
Office: *nomikos* (lawyer)
Awarder: *boule* and *demos*; curator: Papias
Date: third cent. AD
Selected references: CIG 2788; Smith 2006, H57 (Greek).

Aph-17
 Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: M. Fl. Carminius Athenagoras Livianus
Office: senator, *euergetes*; curator: Flavius, his friend
Awarder: [the *patris*]
Date: third cent. AD
Comment: son of consular F. Carminius Athenagoras (Smith 2006, H 69).
Selected references: CIG 2783; Smith 2006, H70 (Greek).

Aph-18
 Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: M. Aur. Cl. Ant Dioskouros
Office: [...]
Awarder: *boule*, *demos*, *gerousia*, *chrysophoroi neopoioi*
Date: third cent. AD
Selected references: Smith 2006, H97 (Greek).

Aph-19
 Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Ti. Cl. Ant. Dokimianos Hermios
Office: [...]
Awarder: *demos*
Date: third cent. AD
Selected references: MAMA VIII, 496; Smith 2006, H98 (Greek).

Aph-20
 Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: M. Aur. Gaeticulus
Office: freedman, imperial procurator, first *neopoi*s of Aphrodite
Awarder: [...]; by decree
Date: third cent. AD

Selected references: CIG 2800; Smith 2006, H102 (Greek).

Aph-21
 Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: M. Aur. Iason Prabreus
Office: gymnasiarch, *stephanephoros*, high priest of the emperors, *agonothetes*, (founding family); extensive building measures
Awarder: *boule* and *demos*
Date: third cent. AD
Selected references: MAMA VIII, 498; AntCl 1966, 391-4; Smith 2006, H108 (Greek).

Aph-22
 Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Ti. Cl. Kapitoleinos
Office: [...]
Awarder: *patris*
Date: third cent. AD
Comment: son of Ti. Cl. Smaragdus.
Selected references: Smith 2006, H114 (Greek).

Aph-23
 Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: M. Aur. Cl. Ktesias
Office: [...]
Awarder: *boule*, *demos*, *gerousia*
Date: third cent. AD
Comment: - son of Diogas the son of Heliodoros.
Selected references: MAMA VIII, 503; Smith 2006, H119; I Aph 12.539 (Greek).

Aph-24
 Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Ti. Cl. Aur. Ktesias
Office: rhetor
Awarder: the *patris*
Date: third cent. AD
Comment: see also Aph-25-27.
Selected references: CIG 2797, Smith 2006, H120 (Greek).

Aph-25-27
 Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Ti. Cl. Aur. Ktesias & his wife & his son
Office: (rhetor);
Awarder: [*boule*, *demos*], *gerousia*

Date: third cent. AD (2nd /3rd cent, Smith)
Comment: money donations see also Aph-24.
Selected references: MAAMA VIII, 497; Smith 2006, H215-217 (Greek).

Aph-28
 Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: Iul. Aur. Ktesias
Office: [...]
Awarder: [by decree] of the *demos* and *chrysophoroi*
Date: third cent. AD
Comment: father is an honourables eques
Selected references: Smith 2006, H121 (Greek).

Aph-29
 Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: M. Aur. Zenon
Office: [...]
Awarder: [boule and demos]
Date: third cent. AD
Selected references: Smith 2006, H153 (Greek).

Aph-30
 Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: M. Aur. Statorius Argyrios
Office: *euergetes*
Awarder: the *boule* and the *demos*
Date: third cent. AD
Selected references: CIG 2799, Smith 2006, H143 (Greek).

Aph-31
 Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: [...] Zenas
Office: *neopoios*, *eirenarch*, liturgist
Awarder: [...]; curator: Aur. Amazonis, his wife
Date: third cent. AD
Selected references: MAMA VIII, 520; Smith 2006, H157 (Greek).

Aph-32
 Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: M. Aur. [...]
Office: [...]
Awarder: [...]
Date: third cent. AD
Selected references: Smith 2006, H159 (Greek).
 Aph-33

Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: [...], son of Apollonios
Office: high priest, treasurer, *neopoios*, first *archon*, secretary of the *demos*
Awarder: [...]; curator: M. Aur. Zenobios Iason, high priest, his in-law
Date: third cent. AD
Selected references: Reinach 1906, 77; Smith 2006, H162 (Greek).

Aph-34
 Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: [M. Aur. Ariston], son of Artemidoros
Office: office-holder, liturgist
Awarder: [...] - curator: Aur. Ammia, his mother
Date: third cent. AD
Selected references: CIG 2774; Smith 2006, H162a (Greek).

Aph-35
 Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: [...], son of Aur Tryphon
Office: office-holder, liturgist
Awarder: [...]; curator: Aur. Tryphon, his father
Date: third cent. AD
Selected references: CIG 2794; Smith 2006, H164 (Greek).

Aph-36
 Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: [Cl. Aur. Zelos], son of Ti.Cl. Zelos (H145)= H197
Office: rhetor, sophist, high priest, treasurer, *neopoios*, founder, 'builder of great works in the city,' ('accomplished much for the *patris* by speeches')
Awarder: [boule and demos ?]
Date: third cent. AD
Selected references: AntCl 1966, 395-8; Smith 2006, H165 (Greek).

Aph-37
 Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: [Cl.] Aur. [Zelos] = H 165
Office: sophist, life-priest of Dionysos, office-holder, liturgist
Awarder: [boule and demos]
Date: third cent. AD

Selected references: Smith 2006, H197 (Greek).

Aph-38
Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue base
Honorand: [...]
Office: councillor, *neopoios*
Awarder: [...]
Date: third cent. AD
Comment: son of office-holder and liturgist
Selected references: Smith 2006, H169 (Greek).
Aph-39
Aphrodisias; Asi
Honorand: [...]
Office: first *archon*, treasurer, secretary of the *demo*, *archinepoios*, *agoranomos*
Awarder: [...]
Date: third cent. AD
Comment: relative of Ti. Cl. Aur. Kapitoleinos (Aph-22).
Selected references: Smith 2006, H180 (Greek).

Aph-40
Aphrodisias; Asi
Honorand: [...]
Office: [...]; donations to the *boule*; councillor, *neopoios*
Awarder: [...]; curator: Ulp. Cl. Aur. Menippos Aetios, his brother, and Ulp. [...]
Date: third cent. AD
Comment: may belong to Aph-41.
Selected references: Smith 2006, H185 (Greek).

Aph-41
Aphrodisias; Asi
Honorand: [...]
Office: [...]
Awarder: [...]; - curator: Aur. Zenas Phosphorios, Menippos Aetios, and Attalis, his brother's children in accordance with his will
Date: third cent. AD
Comment: may belong to Aph-41.
Selected references: Smith 2006, H186 (Greek).

Aph-42
Aphrodisias; Asi
Honorand: [...]
Office: treasurer, *archinepoios*, *protologos archon*, secretary of the *demos*
Awarder: [...]
Date: third cent. AD
Selected references: MAMA VIII, 527; Smith 2006, H188 (Greek).

Aph-43
Aphrodisias; Asi
Honorand: [...]
Office: [...]
Awarder: [...]; curator: N. Aur. Zenon, his foster brother
Date: third cent. AD
Selected references: Reinach 1906, 114; Smith 2006, H193 (Greek).

Aph-44
Aphrodisias; Asi
Honorand: M. Quintilius [...] anus Peducaeus, Flavia, his wife
Office: local man of the (Roman) tribe Pomentina - mother
Awarder: *boule* and *demos*
Date: third cent. AD
Selected references: BCH 1885, 77-8, no 7; Smith 2006, H223; H224 (Greek).

Aph-45
Aphrodisias; Asi
Honorand: Ael. Iul. Apphia
Office: was awarded the *matrona stolata*
Awarder: *boule* and *demos*
Date: third cent. AD
Selected references: LBW 1606; Smith 2006, H231 (Greek).

Aph-46
Aphrodisias; Asi
Honorand: Aur. Fl. Messouleia Diogenia
Office: daughter of the city, flower-bearer of Aphrodite, high-priestess of the *patris*
Awarder: not preserved
Date: third cent. AD
Comment: daughter of Smith 2006, H245, priestess of the imperial cult; wife of Aemilianus Hypsikles, equestrian, high priest.
Selected references: CIG 2822; Smith 2006, H236 (Greek).

Aph-47
Aphrodisias; Asi
Honorand: Aur. Fl. Messouleia Diogenia
Office: flower-bearer, high priestess
Date: third cent. AD
Selected references: MAMA VIII, 515, 516; Smith 2006, H237 (Greek).

Aph-48
Aphrodisias; Asi
Honorand: Aur. Frontoniana

Office: [...]; good wife
Awarder: [...]; by decree; curator: M. Aur.
 Zoilos, her husband
Date: third cent. AD
Selected references: Smith 2006, H239 (Greek).

Aph-49
 Aphrodisias; Asi
Honorand: Ael. Lebilla
Office: high priestess of Asia, *kosmeteria* of the
 Ephesian Artemis, high priestess of the *polis*
Awarder: [...]; curator: Sept. Ael. and Fl.
 Laebilla, her daughters
Date: third cent. AD
Comment: wife of the high priest Sept.
 Hypsikles.
Selected references: CIG 2823; Smith 2006,
 H241 (Greek).

Aph-50
 Aphrodisias; Asi
Honorand: Aur. Achilleus
Office: athlete (prob. pancratiast), victor
Awarder: by decree of the city of Ephesos
Date: third cent. AD
Selected references: Roueché 1993, 72; Smith
 2006, H252 (Greek).

Aph-51
 Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue + base; H: 1.77m; base H:
 0.26m
Honorand: Piseas
Office: boxer, circuit victor
Awarder: the patris
Date: mid-late third century AD/ (later III/ IV
 AD; Smith)
Comment: - signature by Polyneikes of
 Aphrodisias - repaired in Antiquity.
Museum/Storage: Aphrodisias Museum Inv.
 70-508 -511; 71-374; 71-337.
Selected references: Roueché 1993, 75; Smith
 2006, 145-147, no 39. H 264; Van Voorhis
 2008, 230-252; Smith 2006, H 257 (Greek).
Image: IMG0280

Aph-52
 Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: statue + base; H: 1.49m, base H:
 0.25m
Honorand: Candidianus
Office: boxer, circuit victor
Awarder: the *patris*
Date: late third cent. AD; (later 3rd/ 4th; Smith)
Comment: repaired in antiquity

Museum/Storage: Aphrodisias Museum Inv.
 67-287-288, 67-443, 68-397, 71-338, 71-370,
 72-19, 72-20, 72-100, 76-86, 68-400.
Selected references: Roueché 1993, 74; Smith
 2006, 147-149 no 40. H 256; Van Vooris 2008,
 230-252 (Greek).
Image: IMG0281

Aph-53
 Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: portrait head; H: 0.355m
Office: priestess (?)
Date: AD 219-235
Comment: wearing a stephane.
Museum/Storage: Aphrodisias Museum Inv.
 64-509.
Selected references: Smith 2006, 295 no 217;
 Inan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979) 126-7 cat.74
Image: IMG0282

Aph-54
 Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: portrait head, fragment; H: 0.15m
Office: young (?) girl
Date: AD 253-268
Museum/Storage: Aphrodisias Museum Inv.
 74-241.
Selected references: Smith 2006, 296 no 219.
Image: IMG0283

Aph-55
 Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: portrait head, fragment
Date: AD 285-283
Museum/Storage: Inv. 70-483 (left side), 75-
 228 (top).
Selected references: Smith 2006, 296-297, no
 220 (Lenaghan).
Image: IMG0284

Aph-56
 Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: bust, fragment, headless; H:
 0.295m
Date: third century
Museum/Storage: Aphrodisias Museum Inv.
 81-100.
Selected references: Smith 2006, 244 -245 no
 140.
Image: IMG0285

Aph-57
 Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: drapery fragment; H: 0.105m

Date: third century
Museum/Storage: Aphrodisias Museum Inv.
79/6/131.
Selected references: Smith 2006, 236 no 119.
Image: IMG0286

Aph-58
Aphrodisias; Asi
Monument: drapery fragment; H: 0.225m
Date: third century
Museum/Storage: Aphrodisias Museum Inv.
79/6/132.
Selected references: Smith 2006, 236-237 no
120.
Image: IMG0287