



---

## A Group of Portrait Statues from the Civic Center of Aphrodisias

Author(s): Christopher H. Hallett

Source: *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 102, No. 1 (Jan., 1998), pp. 59-89

Published by: Archaeological Institute of America

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/506137>

Accessed: 18-06-2016 20:33 UTC

## REFERENCES

Linked references are available on JSTOR for this article:

[http://www.jstor.org/stable/506137?seq=1&cid=pdf-reference#references\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/506137?seq=1&cid=pdf-reference#references_tab_contents)

You may need to log in to JSTOR to access the linked references.

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at

<http://about.jstor.org/terms>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



*Archaeological Institute of America* is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *American Journal of Archaeology*

# A Group of Portrait Statues from the Civic Center of Aphrodisias

CHRISTOPHER H. HALLETT

## Abstract

This paper offers the first full publication of a group of four marble portrait statues found in 1972 just to the east of the Bouleuterion at Aphrodisias. The statues are all worked to a uniform scale, though they represent figures of differing ages and heights. The group comprises an adult male figure in armor, another wearing civic costume, a youth wearing only a cloak drawn around his hips, and a young boy swathed in a thick mantle. All four figures were found headless, but careful study of the pieces themselves and the original excavation records permits portrait heads to be associated with three of them. The statues are of high quality and show a similarity in manufacture and style of carving distinctive enough to suggest that they all come from the same period, the early first century A.D., and probably from the workshop of Apollonios Aster, son of Chrysippus, who signed one of the figures. The four statues probably belong to a single dedication, made in honor of one of the leading families of the city, set up somewhere close to the Bouleuterion.\*

In August 1972, excavations carried out at Aphrodisias by K.T. Erim within a confined area directly to the east of the city's Council House, or Bouleuterion (fig. 1), unearthed five over-life-size statues, four of which clearly constitute a group. On technical and stylistic grounds, set out in detail below, the group can be dated to the Early Empire. The differing ages of the figures suggest that we are dealing with at least two generations, probably all members of a single family. The scale, quality of workmanship, and context in which the statues were found (beside the Aphrodisian Council House) make it likely that this was a public dedication. In all probability, the statues are honorific portraits of four members of a leading Aphrodisian family of the early first century A.D.

As we know from inscribed statue bases, family monuments of this sort, honoring private citizens,

\* I would like to thank the Director of the Aphrodisias Excavations, R.R.R. Smith, for the invitation to publish this group, and for his constant advice and assistance at every stage of the work. I am also grateful to Paul Zanker for much stimulating discussion and many helpful suggestions. This represents the first installment in the projected publication of all of the sculpture from the Bouleuterion at Aphrodisias, which has been in preparation since 1991, and is to appear in a volume of the new Aphrodisias series, along with a comprehensive study of the architecture of the building by L. Bier.

The following abbreviations are used:

- Aphrodisias I* R.R.R. Smith, *Aphrodisias I: The Monument of C. Julius Zoilos* (Mainz 1993).  
*Aphrodisias Papers 1* C. Roueché and K.T. Erim eds., *Aphrodisias Papers. Recent Work on Architecture and Sculpture* (*JRA Suppl.* 1, Ann Arbor 1990).  
*Aphrodisias Papers 2* R.R.R. Smith and K.T. Erim eds., *Aphrodisias Papers 2. The Theatre, a Sculptor's Workshop, Philosophers, and Coin-Types* (*JRA Suppl.* 2, Ann Arbor 1991).  
*AR* J. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (London 1982).  
*Guerrini and Gaspari* L. Guerrini and C. Gaspari eds., *Il Palazzo del Quirinale: Catalogo delle sculture* (Rome 1993).  
*IR I* J. Inan and E. Rosenbaum, *Roman and*

*Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor* (London 1966).

- IR II J. Inan and E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *Römische und frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik aus der Türkei: Neue Funde* (Mainz 1979).  
KP R. Kabus-Preishofen, *Die hellenistische Plastik der Insel Kos* (*AM-BH* 14, 1989).  
Pfuhl and Möbius E. Pfuhl and H. Möbius, *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs I-II* (Mainz 1977, 1979).  
Smith R.R.R. Smith, "The Imperial Reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias," *JRS* 77 (1987) 87–138.  
Smith and Ratté R.R.R. Smith and C. Ratté, "Archaeological Research at Aphrodisias in Caria, 1994," *AJA* 100 (1996) 5–33.  
Stemmer K. Stemmer, *Untersuchungen zur Typologie, Chronologie und Ikonographie der Panzerstatuen* (AF 4, Berlin 1978).  
Vermeule C.C. Vermeule, "Hellenistic and Roman Cuirassed Statues," *Berytus* 13 (1959–1960) 1–82, pls. 1–26.  
Zanker P. Zanker, "Brüche im Bürgerbild? Zur bürgerlichen Selbstdarstellung in den hellenistischen Städten," in M. Wörle and P. Zanker eds., *Stadtbild und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus* (Munich 1995) 251–63.

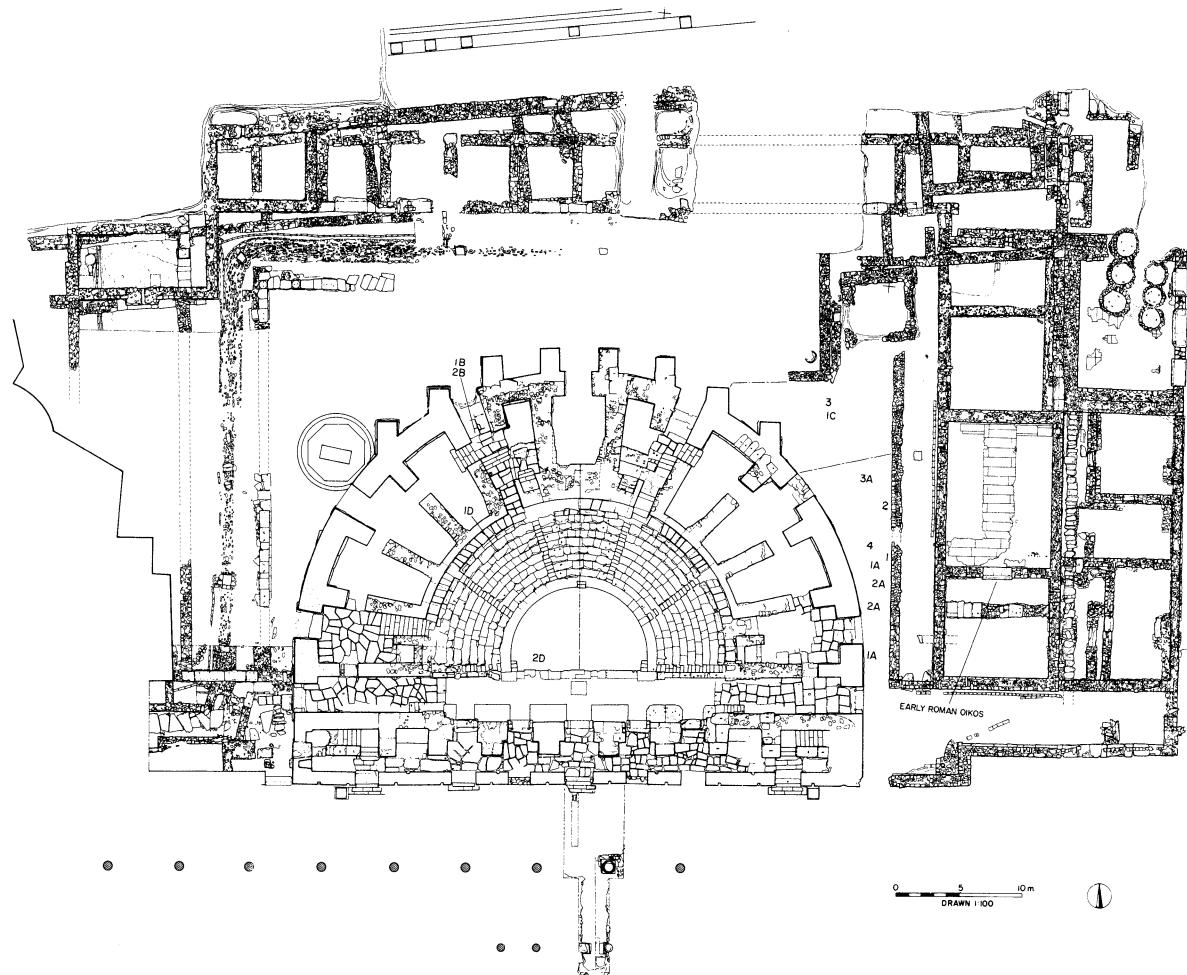


Fig. 1. Area of Bouleuterion, with findspots of statues 1–4 indicated. (L. Bier)

were found throughout the cities of the Hellenized East from the end of the fourth century B.C. onward.<sup>1</sup> This kind of monument, installed in an exedra, or set up in or beside an important public building, was one of the highest honors a Hellenistic city

could bestow on an important benefactor—whether a foreign ruler or a member of its own citizenry. Although such portrait groups probably made their first appearance in the Greek East, few are preserved.<sup>2</sup> The survival of such a group from Aphro-

<sup>1</sup> Examples from the Hellenistic period down to the Julio-Claudian period are conveniently collected by J.C. Balty, "Groupes statuaires impériaux et privés de l'époque julio-claudienne," in N. Boncasa et al., *Ritratto ufficiale e ritratto privato* (Rome 1988) 34 nos. 22–27. For the display of such groups in monumental exedrae, see now S.F. von Thüngen, *Die freistehende griechische Exedra* (Mainz 1994) 39–43. For the use of such family monuments by Hellenistic rulers, see B. Hintzen-Bohlen, "Die Familiengruppe—Ein Mittel zur Selbstdarstellung hellenistischer Herrscher," *JdI* 105 (1990) 129–54; Hintzen-Bohlen, *Herrscherrepräsentation im Hellenismus* (Cologne 1992) 4. On the whole phenomenon of group dedications, see now C.B. Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture in the Julio-Claudian Period* (Cambridge 1997) 3–10.

<sup>2</sup> From the fourth century B.C. we have a votive dedication, the Daochos Monument at Delphi: T. Dohrn, "Die

Marmor-Standbilder des Daochos-Weihgeschenks in Delphi," *AntP* 8 (1968) 33–53, pls. 10–37; and a group from a grand tomb in the Piraeus, the Kallithea Monument: (most recently) B.S. Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture 1* (Madison 1990) 31–32 and 64 n. 15; from the Hellenistic period there are the statues of Cleopatra and Dioskurides on Delos, which come from a private house rather than from a public monument: J. Marcadé, *Au Musée de Délos* (Paris 1969) 131–34, pl. 66; and from Magnesia—the single honorific group to have come down to us—the portrait statues of the mother, wife, and daughter of L. Valerius Flaccus, governor of Asia ca. 99–98 B.C.: D. Pinkwart, "Weibliche Gewandstatuen aus Magnesia am Maeander," *AntP* 12 (1973) 149–58. We can gain some idea of the general appearance of such monuments, however, from the lines of statue-like figures represented on the East Greek grave reliefs: see P. Zanker, "The Hellenistic Grave Stelai from Smyrna: Identity and Self-

disias thus provides an important addition to our knowledge.

This paper presents a brief account of the archaeological context in which these sculptures were found, a summary of their common elements of manufacture, and a thorough description of each of the four pieces in turn. An approximate date for the monument is then proposed, and finally the group is set in its broader cultural context, drawing on the large body of honorific inscriptions preserved at Aphrodisias.

#### ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

The four statues (nos. 1–4) were discovered lying beside a north–south line of foundations (fig. 1), parallel to the wall of a large and lavishly appointed public building directly to the east of the Bouleuterion—labeled the “early Roman oikos”—the function of which still remains unclear.<sup>3</sup> A few other fragments that are also to be associated with these figures were found more widely scattered. The findspots of three of the four figures can be precisely placed from the excavation records (1, 2, and 4). Statue 3 was found in a trench directly to the north of the others, but unfortunately its findspot cannot now be more closely defined. The careful alignment of 1, 2, and 4 and their relatively undamaged condition immediately suggest that they were deliberately buried. Since no statue bases were found, a natural assumption is that the figures were taken down to allow their bases to be reused as building material. Many statue bases are visible today built into the Aphrodisian city walls, so the construction of these walls in the mid-fourth century A.D. would have provided a likely occasion for the burial of the statues.

The statues are mostly intact (apart from the heads) and were found buried close together, which suggests that they have not traveled far from where they once stood. The area behind the Bouleuterion once comprised a large square flanked on the north and west by the colonnades of an L-shaped stoa (fig. 1). This square seems to have been laid out when the city center was replanned and reoriented, prob-

ably in the later first century B.C. at the same time that the original Council House of Aphrodisias was constructed.<sup>4</sup> One might interpret the line of foundations directly to the east of the Bouleuterion as having originally supported a row of columns, running north to meet the L-shaped stoa, and thus forming an open plaza, framed on three sides by colonnades (though to judge from the foundations themselves this would have to have been a rather light construction).<sup>5</sup> If the four statues stood in a line inside this putative colonnade, then at the time when they were toppled off their bases they would merely have been shifted outside into the square and buried. Another perhaps more likely possibility, however, is that the figures once stood in “the early Roman oikos” (contemporary with the L-shaped stoa) or the later building to the east of it, both of which seem to have been large public edifices suitable for the display of honorific portraits.<sup>6</sup>

#### COMMON ELEMENTS OF MANUFACTURE

The four statues clearly form a group: they were found buried close together; they were all worked to the same scale; and they show some important common elements of manufacture. The figures were all carved from similar blocks of medium to coarse-grained white Aphrodisian marble. The blocks of marble used for 1 and 2 each had two serious flaws, which (where they have not been carved away) appear as darker, reddish patches, unable to take a surface. These were deftly concealed by the sculptors. No. 3 may also have had an unsightly flaw, if that is what necessitated the marble patch (now missing) on the back of the right shoulder. The statues have all been elaborately pieced, using the same kind of joins. Statue 1 was worked in six pieces, 2 in three, 3 in (at least) four. Other versions exist elsewhere of statues 1 and 3 (see *infra*), and in these the arms were mostly carved in one piece with the body, and left connected to it by struts. In the Aphrodisian figures, on the other hand, the sculptors were able to do without struts because they were prepared to attempt such ambitious joins in the marble (e.g., the

Image in the Polis,” in A.W. Bulloch et al. eds., *Images and Ideologies: Self-Definition in the Hellenistic World* (Berkeley 1993) 215–17; and Zanker 251–53. In contrast to the situation in the East, a large number of such groups have come to light in the Roman West: see Balty (*supra* n. 1) 45 nos. 97–109.

<sup>3</sup> The area to the north and east of the Bouleuterion is currently a focus of intensive study by the present excavation team (cf. Smith and Ratté 9–13); the following is a preliminary account.

<sup>4</sup> For the date of the earlier Bouleuterion, see Smith and Ratté 9; R.R.R. Smith and C. Ratté, “Archaeological

Research at Aphrodisias in Caria, 1995,” *AJA* 101 (1997) 1–6; for the construction of the square, see Smith and Ratté 11–12 (phase 2 in their fig. 6). The present Bouleuterion certainly represents a much later enlargement of an earlier building, which probably took place in the late second or early third century A.D. This enlargement encroached on this square behind the building, considerably reducing its dimensions, and probably also robbing it of much of its earlier prestige.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Smith and Ratté 13: East Bouleuterion area.

<sup>6</sup> On these buildings see Smith and Ratté 1997 (*supra* n. 4) 3–5, with fig. 4.

join running through the right elbow of 3, fig. 18). Identical cuttings are visible on 1, 2, and 3 for large rectangular iron dowels that were employed for connecting the arms (e.g., figs. 5, 18), and on 1 and 2 for large iron clamps, with deep pour holes that have been drilled down to connect with the dowel holes (for 1 see fig. 3: these clamps would have had to be concealed with stucco). Statues 2 and 4 both seem to have sustained damage to the ankles that required substantial repairs, and the front of the plinth of 2 also broke off and had to be fixed back in place. Very similar iron clamps were used for these repairs. Finally, 1 and 2 each have the same large but shallow cuttings for the insertion of the portrait head.

The closeness of the figures in style is perhaps best seen in the carving of the drapery. The folds of the garments on all of the statues form highly unusual, irregular patterns, from which all traces of the drill have been carefully removed. One may cite the bunching of the chlamys on the shoulder on 3 (fig. 18) or the peculiar pouch of drapery over the groin of 2 (fig. 12). Folds tend to be wide and irregularly shaped, with flat, shallow forms, as seen, for example, on the chlamys of 1 and 3 (figs. 3, 18); or where the himation of 2 and the chlamys of 3 are drawn around the hips (figs. 12, 18). One might also compare the generous, luxuriant folds of the himation of 2, where the heavy cloth spills down on the left-hand side of the figure (fig. 13), with some of the doughy, rather mannered folds of the himation of 4, where the end of the garment hangs down below the left hand (fig. 21).

Each of the four statues has been given the same distinctive matte finish, used for all the surfaces (whether flesh, embossed metal, leather, or drapery), which is produced by deliberately stopping short of a smooth polish, and refraining from removing the last traces of the rasp. This technique is combined with a crisp attention to detail, but an absence of hard, clear lines, which lends a subtle and lively quality to the carving. The effect is quite different from that of the more highly polished (High Imperial) sculptures from the site, where outlines often appear as hard edges.

#### CATALOGUE

##### 1. Portrait in armor (figs. 2-7).

Inv. 72-439. Statue preserved in one piece with plinth. Statue: H. 2.06 m (with plinth); 1.96 m (without plinth); W. 0.775 m; D. 0.52 m. Plinth: H. 10 cm; W. 99 cm; D. 68.5 cm.

Missing: five separately worked pieces—head, right arm, left arm, top of left shoulder, front of crest of helmet statue support (see *infra*, under "Technique"); part of the fibula fastening the chlamys on the right shoul-



Fig. 2. Portrait in armor, no. 1 (with neck fragment 1B seen set in socket)

der; several pieces from the curving lower edge of the chlamys where it crosses the chest; the right nipple of the breastplate; the right-hand loop of the knot of the sash; the ends of several lappets on the right shoulder; a section of the vertical folds of the tunic on either side of the figure; the bottom of the large central group of folds of the tunic that bunch between the legs; part of the first toe of the left foot; a small section of the plinth below the left foot.

Nonjoining fragments: 1A: two joining fragments of head, inv. 72-173 (figs. 8-9): H. 0.21 m (pres. fragment); W. 0.26 m; D. 0.25 m. The larger fragment was found some 6 m to the south, but the smaller piece was found directly beside the statue (fig. 1). The lower part of the head is lost, so the piece cannot now join the surviving fragment of the neck (1B), but the findspot, scale, and workmanship show that it belongs: the flesh surfaces



Fig. 3. No. 1, three-quarter left view

(worked smooth without being polished) are wholly compatible with the neck and the surviving limbs of the figure. **1B:** fragment of neck worked for insertion, inv. 64-31 (fig. 10), found in 1964 during the clearing of the rear chambers of the Bouleuterion (fig. 1). In 1996 it was recognized as compatible in terms of its scale and workmanship, and the curved surface of the tenon was found to fit the socket at the neck of the statue (fig. 2). **1C-1D:** two joining fragments of raised right arm, inv. 72-444 (hand) and inv. 73-27 (forearm) (fig. 11). The hand (**1C**) was found slightly to the north of the statue, in the same trench with **3** (fig. 1); in 1994 it was joined with the fragment of an arm (**1D**) found some distance to the east in 1973. Scale and workmanship indicate that the arm probably belongs to this figure. The hand is bored through in order to receive a spear.

Flaws in the marble: large flaw visible high up on back of right shoulder; it appears as a large gash in the surface, length 30 cm. A series of hollows on the join surface on top of the left shoulder reveal that another flaw was carved away here. This may have been what necessitated the addition of a separate piece of marble at this point.

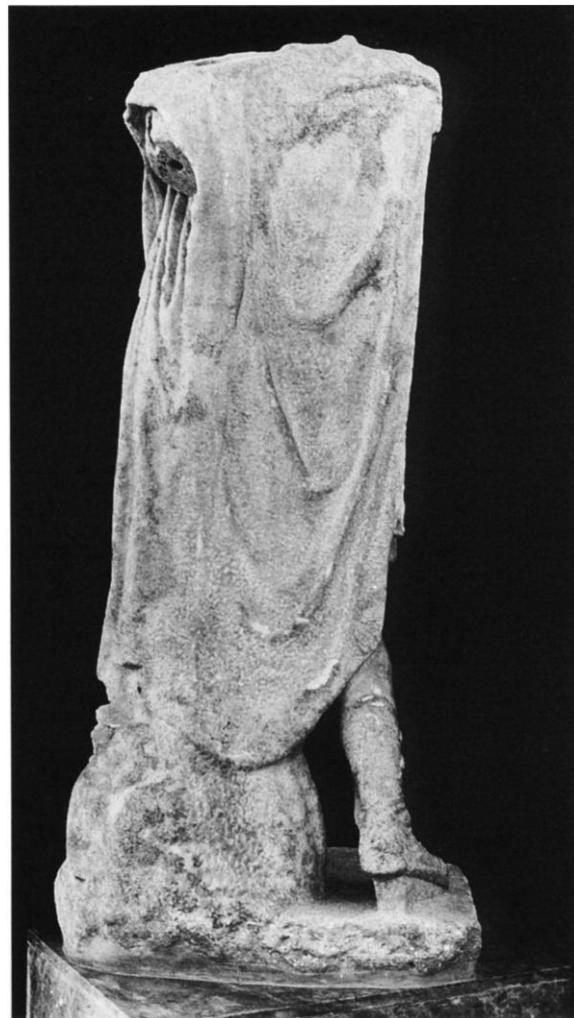


Fig. 4. No. 1, rear view

*Technique: ancient piecing.* Five pieces worked separately: 1) The portrait head was set into a wide but rather shallow socket at neck: 19.5 × 20 cm, 16.5 cm deep at deepest point. 2) The raised right arm, together with short sleeve of tunic, was added to a flat worked surface, roughly 17 cm in diameter, with a rectangular dowel hole in its center: 4 × 3 cm, 11.5 cm deep. A channel was cut at the top edge of the join surface for an additional clamp, 9.5 cm long (approximately half the original length), 3 cm wide, 2 cm deep (fig. 5); the hole at the far end of this clamp was drilled down some 12 cm to connect with the dowel hole, so that it could double as a pour hole. 3) The lowered left arm was doweled in at the point where the arm emerges from the sleeve (fig. 3). Join surface: 16 × 15 cm; dowel: 3 cm<sup>2</sup>; clamp cutting: 3 cm wide, 2 cm deep, 8 cm long. Again the two were linked by a deep pour hole. 4) The part of the chlamys piled up on the left shoulder: join surface: 34 × 28 cm; dowel hole: 5 × 8 cm, 5 cm deep. 5) The front of the horsehair crest of the helmet (statue support), where it emerged from behind the chlamys, was doweled horizontally into the cloak, and rested on top of a sphinx-shaped ornament (cutting visible in



Fig. 5. No. 1, detail of cuirass, right side



Fig. 6. No. 1, detail of cuirass, front



Fig. 7. No. 1, detail of krepides, helmet, and inscription

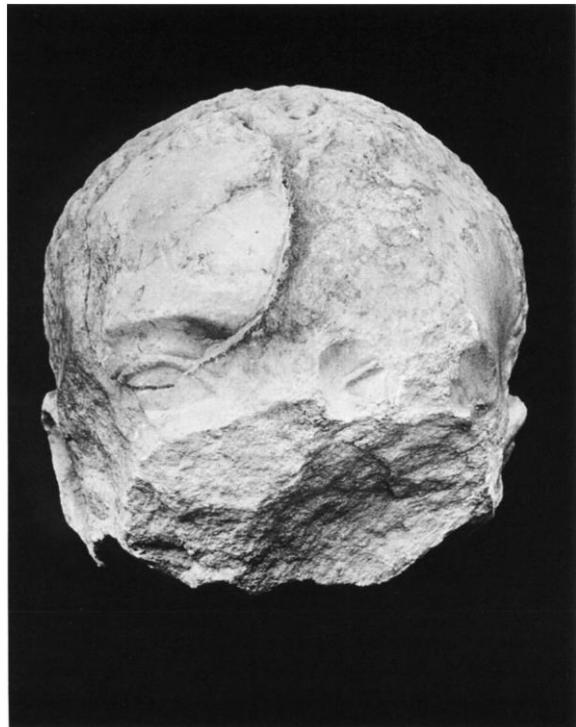


Fig. 8. No. 1A, fragment of the head, front

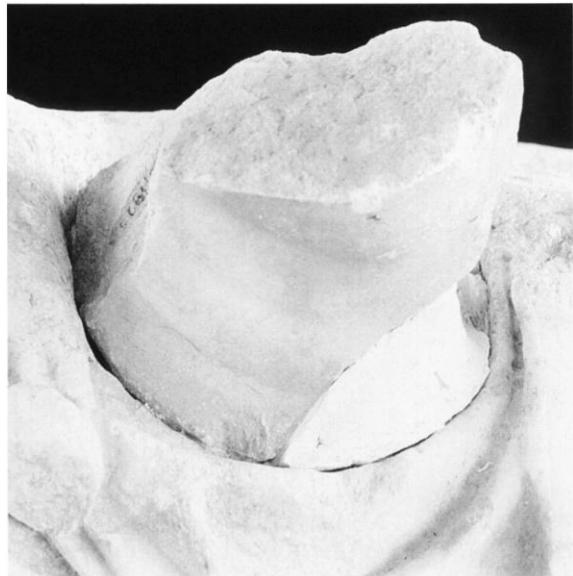


Fig. 10. No. 1B, fragment of neck worked for insertion, seen set in socket

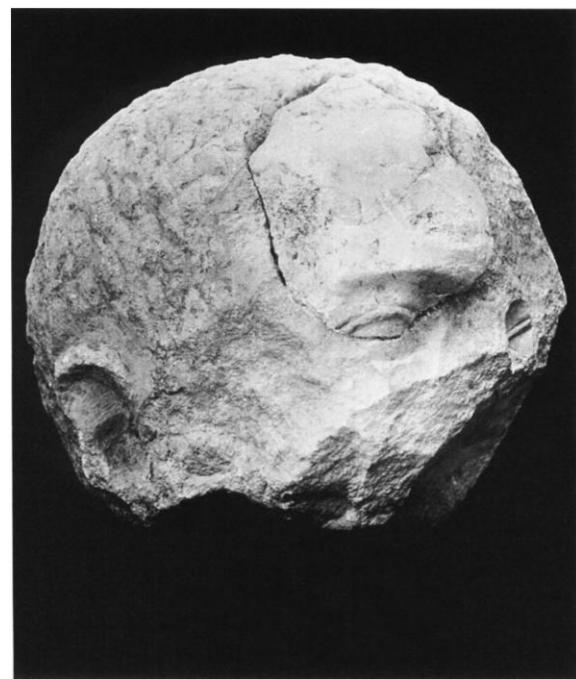


Fig. 9. No. 1A, fragment of the head, three-quarter right view



Fig. 11. Nos. 1C and 1D, right forearm and hand

fig. 4); join surface: 9 × 12 cm; dowel hole: 1 × 1 cm (lead casing for iron dowel still in place).

*Tooling and finish.* Front: surface finish very consistent: clothing, armor, and flesh all given a similar surface—smooth but not polished; traces of the rasp not fully removed (this is especially clear inside drapery folds and on the fringes of lappets), leaving a distinctive matte finish. Areas of flesh a little more finely smoothed, but the difference is slight. Details—the straps of sandals, ornamentation of cuirass, joints of toes, and so on—are all very finely worked, but there is a surprisingly soft, restrained quality to the carving, a lightness of touch, so that the various elements are modeled without sharp lines or hard divisions (see, e.g., the gorgoneion and Nike on the cuirass: fig. 6). Considerable traces of paint are visible on the crest of the helmet, and on the straps of the sandals. These now appear red, but this may only represent the undercoat of the original polychromy. The straps of the sandals at the back of the left foot are not carved, but only indicated in paint (just visible in fig. 3).

Back: much more cursorily worked (fig. 4); the folds of the chlamys and the back of the helmet are only schematically indicated, roughed out with a fine point (though the bottom of the chlamys and the back of the crest are slightly more carefully shaped). Sides of the figure show a rapid transition to surfaces that would be visible from the front, though the back of the sandaled right foot is fully carved and given the same finish as the front.

Plinth: even the upper surface was produced using a fine point and claw chisel (tool marks clearly visible); the back and sides are left very rough, worked only with a large point.

*Bibliography.* K.T. Erim and J. Reynolds, "Sculptors of Aphrodisias in the Inscriptions of the City," in N. Basgelen and M. Lugal eds., *Festschrift für Jale Inan* (Istanbul 1989) 523, no. 5 (signature); Erim in IR II, 206–207, no. 180 (portrait head); Erim, *Aphrodisias: A Guide to the Site and Its Museum* (Istanbul 1989) 78, no. 10, fig. 112 (body).

The statue depicts a powerful mature figure wearing a military uniform, who is shown vigorously striding forward. The back of the plinth has a straight edge, which forms an approximate right angle behind the right foot, and gives us the intended front view of the statue (that seen in fig. 2). The figure thus stood obliquely on its base, the weight carried on the left leg, the right leg set to the side and slightly withdrawn, the body turning to its left. The fragment of the inserted neck (figs. 2, 10) reveals that the portrait head would have turned sharply to the figure's right. The body is thus represented as twisting one way, while the head faces the other—a momentary pose intended to convey something of the energy and dynamism of the man of action. The figure's right arm was raised, and he held a spear, as may be inferred from the right hand (fig. 11) that has been bored through to receive the weapon (probably added in bronze). The angle at which the hand

is held also makes it clear that the right arm was not extended vertically, above head height, but brought forward (see fig. 25, below). The left arm was slightly withdrawn (as can be seen from the cutting back of the drapery behind), flexed, and extended forward; the left hand probably held a sheathed sword, reversed and in the "parade grip," as do other statues of this type (see infra).

The figure wears highly ornate parade armor, consisting of a metal breastplate (a "muscle cuirass") and a short kilt of leather lappets, worn over a light sleeved tunic, which extends to just above the knee. More fringed lappets emerge from beneath the cuirass at the shoulder. The upper legs of the figure are carved to a considerable height underneath the tunic, as is the inside of the skirt of the tunic, which suggests that the statue was designed to stand on a high base. At the shoulder the cuirass has an embossed rayed border (figs. 5–6), while a leather flap with a similar rayed design emerges below the arm and serves as padding, to protect the underarm from the rim of the cuirass (fig. 5). On the very side of the cuirass there seems to be represented the mechanism for joining front and back breastplates: a double strip runs all the way down the side of the cuirass, and about halfway down some sort of fastening is shown (this can be seen clearly in fig. 5, where part of this fastening crosses the tail of the griffin), and another, identical in form, emerges from under the leather flap below the armpit. Besides the regular anatomical features of the muscle cuirass (navel, pectorals, and nipples), a small embossed aegis and gorgoneion decorates the center of the breast, with two facing griffins set directly below, one spotted, one not. There is also a flying Victory on the upper right-hand side of the breast (no wings are indicated, but the floating drapery and flying pose indicate the figure is intended as a Victory). In addition, wound twice around the cuirass is a sash with fringed ends, tied in a Herakles knot.

The statue wears a chlamys fastened at the right side with a brooch (*porpe*). The chlamys is drawn obliquely across the chest and then allowed to fall freely down behind the back of the statue. This arrangement would, under normal circumstances, have completely hidden the left arm; but the figure has thrown the lower part of the chlamys up onto his left shoulder to uncover the arm (this can best be observed on the back of the statue, where the resulting large "overfold" has been roughed out: fig. 4). There would originally have been a considerable pile of drapery bunched on the left shoulder, which was carved separately and pieced, and which is now missing. The hem of the chlamys is clearly indicated at

the bottom edge on the left-hand side, and the corner is also visible, with attached drapery weight (fig. 2).

The figure wears elaborate tall sandals (*krepides*), the standard military footwear of the Hellenistic world (fig. 7). Underneath he wears a leather sock, open at the toes, with two sets of ornamental fringes at the top. The result is something more like a half-boot than a sandal. It has a large central thong decorated with a small heart-shaped ornament, which runs between the big toe and the first toe; the sole is also indented at this point. There is a small strut set beneath the sole of the raised right heel (fig. 4). The figure was bareheaded, but set beside the left foot there is a helmet, of ideal, "unreal" type, with scalloped visor and large horsehair crest.<sup>7</sup> The crest emerges from the top of an ornamental mounting taking the form of a sphinx (fig. 2), which is considerably distorted, however, by being carved to be viewed both from the front and from the side (best seen in fig. 3). The crest flows behind the left leg and joins with the lower part of the chlamys to provide a thick sheet of stone lending strength to the legs. The sculptor has placed his signature on the top right-hand side of the helmet (letters 1.5 cm in height): Ἀπολλώνιος Χρυσίππου Ἀστὴρ ἐποίησεν: "Apollonios Aster, son of Chrysippus, made (it)" (fig. 7). It reveals that the sculptor had assumed the name Aster ("the star" or "the brilliant"), which serves as a kind of cognomen. The plinth is now cemented onto a modern stand and no cuttings are visible to indicate how the statue was originally attached to its base. The plinth is irregular in shape, curving round in front of the feet, and cutting sharply back under the statue support. In front of the figure's right foot the front face of the plinth has been carefully smoothed, and guidelines were incised for the inscribing of three lines of text, which were never carved. The length of this

smoothed area is, in total, approximately the same as the length of the sculptor's signature.<sup>8</sup> This suggests that the sculptor originally intended to place his signature on the plinth (as is often the case at Aphrodisias), but then decided it should occupy the more conspicuous area on top of the helmet.

There are some clear indications that the statue is early in date. It does not wear a cuirass of regular Imperial type, and instead of Roman shoes or military boots (*calcei* or *mullei*) the figure wears tall Hellenistic krepides,<sup>9</sup> which suggests that the statue belongs to the period before Roman ceremonial armor became fixed, i.e., the Late Hellenistic period or Early Empire. The breastplate that becomes standard for the Roman period was generally fitted with one or two rows of metal flaps (*pteryges*) and a long skirt of leather lappets, although it could still be worn in the Early Empire without pteryges but with two rows of lappets, as, for example, on the statue of Augustus from Primaporta (a design that again becomes fashionable in the second century A.D.). Very unusually, the Aphrodisias figure shows no pteryges, and only a single row of short lappets—an arrangement that can be paralleled on Hellenistic monuments (e.g., the Telephos frieze from the Great Altar at Pergamon) but which disappears in the Roman period.<sup>10</sup> How this kind of armor was perceived at Aphrodisias in the early first century may be inferred from its use in the relief panels of the Sebasteion (under construction during the middle years of the first century, and only completed under Nero). There it is employed for the antique armor of the Greek hero Menelaus, and for the Trojan Aeneas, the legendary founder of Rome. (It is worth recalling that also on the Pergamene Telephos frieze it is worn by figures from the Heroic Age.) But the cuirasses worn by the emperor himself and by the figure of Roma on the same monument are, in contrast, wholly up

<sup>7</sup> The helmet seems to be a hybrid: the scalloped visor is perhaps loosely based on the Boeotian cavalry helmet, and the high domed upper part belongs to the Classical Corinthian helmet. See Smith 129 (panel no. 11) with n. 124.

<sup>8</sup> The signature on the helmet consists of four lines, each approximately 14 cm in length, giving a total of 56 cm; the area prepared for an inscription on the plinth consists of three lines of 19 cm each, giving a total of 57 cm.

<sup>9</sup> On the mulleus and calceus, see H.R. Goette, "Mulleus-Embas-Calceus," *Jdl* 103 (1988) 401–64; for various examples of military krepides from Hellenistic Greek monuments, see K.D. Morrow, *Greek Footwear and the Dating of Sculpture* (Madison 1985) 97–114, especially the details of the feet of soldiers from the Pergamene Telephos frieze (figs. 88–89).

<sup>10</sup> For the close parallel on the Telephos frieze, see R.R.R. Smith, *Hellenistic Sculpture* (London 1991) fig. 199.4; some of the giants from the Gigantomachy on the same

monument also wear a muscle cuirass with a single row of long lappets. The earliest-known Roman cuirassed portraits all show two rows of lappets, and are basically indistinguishable from Hellenistic (Macedonian) armor: e.g., the statue of C. Billienus from Delos: Marcadé (supra n. 2) 329–31, pl. 75 (late second century B.C.); an equestrian portrait also from Delos, from the Agora of the Italians (Delos A 2229): Marcadé (supra n. 2) 329–31, pl. 75 (of similar date); the statue from Tusculum, now in Munich: F. Felten, "Römische Panzerstatue in München," *AA* 1971, 233–46 (mid-first century B.C.); cuirassed torso from Naxos, possibly Roman: V. Lambrinoudakis and G. Gruben, "Das neuentdeckte Heiligtum von Iria auf Naxos," *AA* 1987, 608–10, figs. 47–49 (mid-first century B.C.); and the Julio-Claudian prince from Sulcis: Vermeule 35 no. 22 (with earlier literature), pl. 5, fig. 16 (Early Imperial).

to date: they have pteryges that are worn with a long skirt of lappets.<sup>11</sup> In other words, by the Early Imperial period, this armor seems to have possessed an *antique* flavor, with more or less the same heroizing connotations as the helmet used by the Aphrodisias figure as a statue support (or that set beside the emperor Nero's feet in the Sebasteion panel).

A number of other versions of this statue body survive that are sufficiently close that all of them must be regarded as reproducing a type:

- a. Benevento, Museum inv. 508: headless statue from the area of the Arch of Trajan; M. Rotili, *L'arco di Traiano a Benevento* (Rome 1972) 112–17, fig. 82.
- b. Berlin, Pergamon Museum: torso from the theater at Miletos; Vermeule no. 235 (with earlier literature).
- c. Miletos, Museum (?): badly damaged torso from the theater at Miletos; formed a pair with b; Vermeule no. 234.
- d. Istanbul, Archaeological Museums, Garden (Mendel no. 1109): headless statue from the plateau of Tralles, found reused as part of a wall; Vermeule no. 231; Stemmer 126–28; R. Özgan, *Die griechischen und römischen Skulpturen aus Tralleis* (*Asia Minor Studien* 15, Bonn 1995) 105, TR 55, pl. 28.2.
- e. Pola, Museum: torso found in the area of the orchestra of the theater at Pola; Vermeule no. 236; M. Fuchs, *Untersuchungen zur Ausstattung römischer Theater* (Mainz 1987) 109; G. Fischer, "Das römische Pola," *AbhMünch* 110 (1996) 168 n. 996, pl. 44a–b; 170–71, n. 1012.
- f. Pergamon, Museum Garden: found in the area of the Temple of Trajan on the Pergamene acropolis, together with a statue base, inscribed for a portrait of Hadrian; W. Radt, *AA* 1982, 558 and fig. 28.
- g. Istanbul, Archaeological Museums inv. 2453: from Ephesos; portrait of Ti. Iulius Aquila Polemaenus (?) found in the Celsus Library; Vermeule no. 208; Stemmer 101–102, cat. no. VIII.6, pl. 70.3 (with earlier literature).
- h. Naples, National Museum inv. 6039: findspot unknown? Vermeule no. 304.
- i. Rome, Conservatori Palace: Roman torso reworked into a 17th-century portrait of Don Carlo Barberini, brother of Pope Urban VIII, by Bernini and Algardi; Vermeule no. 99.
- j. Aphrodisias, Excavation House (inv. 80-25a–e): headless colossal portrait of Antoninus Pius, from the "Agora Gate" at the eastern end of the South Agora (identified by its inscribed base); unpublished. Illus-

trated in K.T. Erim, *Aphrodisias: City of Venus-Aphrodite* (New York 1986) 128.

There are a number of reasons to believe that these versions are all later in date than the Aphrodisias statue. First, they were all either carved out of a single block, or pieced using far fewer pieces.<sup>12</sup> The arms of a, for example, were both carved in one piece with the body: the missing left arm was connected to the body by a strut (still visible on the chlamys); and the right arm was *lowered*, presumably so that it would not require piecing. Even the raised right arm of f seems to have been carved in one piece with the body, while the fall of the chlamys over the left arm of d was deliberately adjusted so that the left arm could be pieced more easily (just above the wrist rather than at the end of the sleeve). In b, c, f, and j, even the portrait head was worked from the same block as the body.

Second, in almost every case the armor has been "updated." The basic design has always been recognized as of Hellenistic origin.<sup>13</sup> Of the other versions, only a reproduces the exact form of the cuirass with a skirt consisting of a single row of leather lappets; b–e have all been given two rows of lappets (the more usual arrangement in Hellenistic armor, and that worn by the Primaporta Augustus). The cuirasses of f and h have been supplied with a single row of pteryges, and g and j have two rows. The embossed ornamentation also shows some variation. The figures a, b, and perhaps the badly damaged c show exactly the same elements as the Aphrodisias statue—although a Nike crowning a trophy has been added to the cuirass of a (placed in the bottom center, below the griffins; h has an eagle added in the same place). On d–j, on the other hand, the wingless Nike on the right shoulder is replaced by a shoulder strap (*epomis*). All of these changes attempt to standardize the armor, bringing the type more into line with contemporary Imperial fashions.

Although the existence of basic types among portraits in civic costume has long been recognized,<sup>14</sup> to find such a series among Roman cuirassed portraits

<sup>11</sup> Evidence for the date of the Sebasteion is summarized in Smith 90. The panel with Menelaus is as yet unpublished; for the figure of Aeneas, see *Aphrodisias Papers* 1, 98 fig. 9 (central panel); for the cuirassed portrait of Nero, see Smith 127–29 no. 11, pl. 24. Also from the monument are two figures in the guise of the Dioskouroi, who wear up-to-date Imperial armor with pteryges and even senatorial calcei (i.e., with one set of ties), and who are thus probably intended to be read as imperial princes; the panel with the figure of Roma is also unpublished.

<sup>12</sup> The elaborate piecing of marble statues is most common in the Hellenistic period and continues into the Early

Empire, but thereafter it gradually declines in favor of producing whole figures from a single block. See *infra* n. 62.

<sup>13</sup> See *supra* n. 10. A. Hekler, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der antiken Panzerstatuen," *Öjh* 19–20 (1919) 237–41 first identified this armor as of Hellenistic type, and made a collection of the extant examples known to him. He dated them all to an Antonine revival of Hellenistic armor, and was followed in this by C.C. Vermeule (see Vermeule nos. 225–49, "Antonine Hellenistic-type cuirasses").

<sup>14</sup> See, e.g., the study of A. Lewerentz, *Stehende männliche Gewandstatuen im Hellenismus* (*Antiquitates* 5, Hamburg 1993).

is surprising; and this has important consequences for the interpretation of Aphrodisias no. 1. The closeness of all these versions in pose and details shows that they all reproduce a model. Thus, Apollonios Aster and his workshop were not inventing the portrait bodies that they used for this honorific group. As we shall see below, they also seem to have reworked a well-known statue type for the youth wearing a chlamys (3), though in that case they altered the model quite radically. The more complete examples in the series provide evidence for the reconstruction of the figure as a whole (fig. 25, below): g and j both have their left arms preserved, and each is holding a sheathed sword in the "parade grip"; the portrait head of g also survives, and it is also turned sharply to the figure's right. Finally, we may observe that most of the series come from the East. With the two Aphrodisian pieces, there are seven versions in all from western Asia Minor (Miletos [2], Tralles, Ephesos, and Pergamon); and only four, rather scattered, from elsewhere (Benevento, Naples, Pola, and Rome—all notable ports or trading posts). This distribution would make an Eastern origin for the type seem likely.

The surviving fragment of the portrait head (1A) is very battered, but enough is preserved to recognize the image (figs. 8–9). The individual portrayed wears his hair cropped short in military fashion, revealing his receding hairline. The cropped hair has merely been roughened with a point to simulate thick, very short curls, and the back of the head is left rough. Here, as in many Roman portraits, the effect of this hairstyle (very like the modern military crewcut) is caught simply by the application of color to a roughly textured surface. The features of the face that can still be made out show, in contrast, a quite subtle modeling. The forehead has been carefully modeled, and the brow seems to have been unfurrowed. The eyes are very shallow, without any hard lines marking the brows or eyelids, and the pupils and irises are not incised. These features yield important evidence for the date. This individual is represented with the "look" that had been the principal authoritative image for Roman military leaders and politicians in the Late Republic—a style of self-presentation not otherwise found at Aphrodisias. The shallowness of the eyes and the narrow, not too stylized form of the eyelids make it convincing as a work of the later first century B.C. or early first century A.D. Of course, some individuals remained loyal to this Roman military image long after the beginning of the Empire, and portraits of this kind certainly continued to be produced. But the style of the head, like that of the body, seems early.

Finally, if we want to ask what sort of individual

might have chosen for himself this kind of image, inscriptions inform us that there was at Aphrodisias a "strategos in charge of the territory" (*στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας*; MAMA VIII, no. 408); for a local man who had held this position, a portrait in armor might be the natural choice.

## 2. Portrait in civic costume (figs. 12–14).

Inv. 72-440. Statue preserved in one piece with plinth. Statue: H. 2.04 m (with plinth); 1.91 m (without plinth); W. (at shoulders) 0.75 m; D. 0.50 m. Plinth: H. 13 cm; W. ca. 70 cm; D. 57.5 cm. Statue support: H. 37 cm; W. 34 cm (at bottom); 25 cm (at top); D. 20 cm.

**Missing:** two pieces worked separately—the head and right arm (see infra, "Technique": both survive in fragments); a section of the front of the plinth, together with the front of the right foot (break runs from front of statue support diagonally across right foot to just beyond middle of plinth; this part of the plinth originally broke off in antiquity and was repaired, see infra); the rim of the plinth directly beside the left foot; part of the curving lower border of the himation above the figure's right foot, where it is carried up toward the left knee (fig. 12); the lower part of the fall of drapery over the left foot (traces are still visible in two places on the left shoe); the surface of the knuckles; small finger and end of thumb on the left hand.

**Nonjoining fragments:** 2A–2C: three fragments of the right arm (fig. 15): 2A: hand and wrist (two joining fragments, inv. 72-208) from the same trench as the statue; 2B: forearm (inv. 64-15) from one of the rubble-filled back rooms of the Bouleuterion; 2C: elbow and part of upper arm (inv. 63-27) from the fill of the western part of the cavea (fig. 1). The pieces were discovered to belong together in 1996. Scale and workmanship are compatible with the body. The figure is restored with this arm in the reconstruction drawing (fig. 25). 2D: Portrait of a priest of Aphrodite, inv. 63-55 (figs. 16–17), found in 1963 in the sunken orchestra of the Bouleuterion; H. 0.47 m (total preserved); 0.25 m (from chin to lower edge of crown); W. 0.23 m. Arguments are advanced below that this head belongs to statue 2 on the grounds of its scale, style, and workmanship. Since the head is mounted and on display in the Aphrodisias Museum it has not yet been possible to try to join the two, though this is planned. The figure has been restored with this head in the reconstruction drawing (fig. 25).

**Flaws in the marble:** a minor flaw visible above the left elbow, appearing as a simple gash in the surface (ca. 9 cm in length) (fig. 13); a larger one appears on the back of the neck as an orange-reddish mass (ca. 24 × 26 cm) pitted with holes and unable to take a proper surface.

**Technique: ancient piecing.** Two pieces worked separately: 1) The portrait head was set into a wide shallow socket at the neck: 22.5 × 18.5 cm, 14 cm deep at its deepest point. 2) The right arm was joined where it emerged from the short sleeve of the chiton; join surface: 16 × 16 cm; dowel hole: 3 × 2.5 cm, 8 cm deep; clamp cutting: 8 cm long (approximately half of original length), 2.5 cm wide, 2.5 cm deep; hole: 8 cm deep.

**Ancient repairs.** 1) Cuttings are found about half-way up the plinth for two clamps that originally held

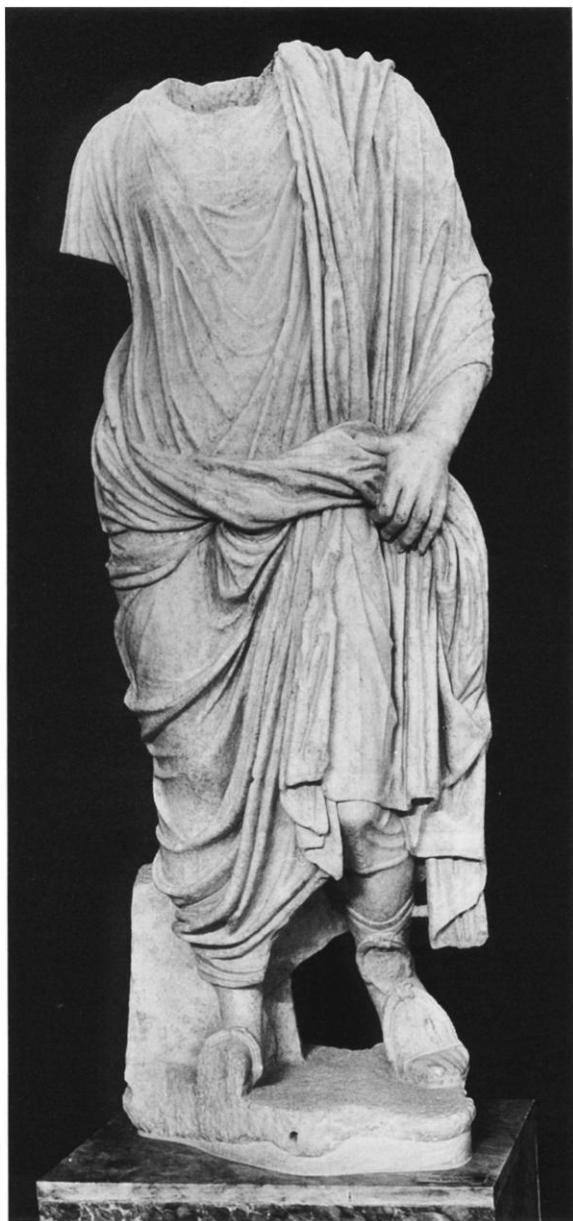


Fig. 12. Portrait in civic costume, no. 2

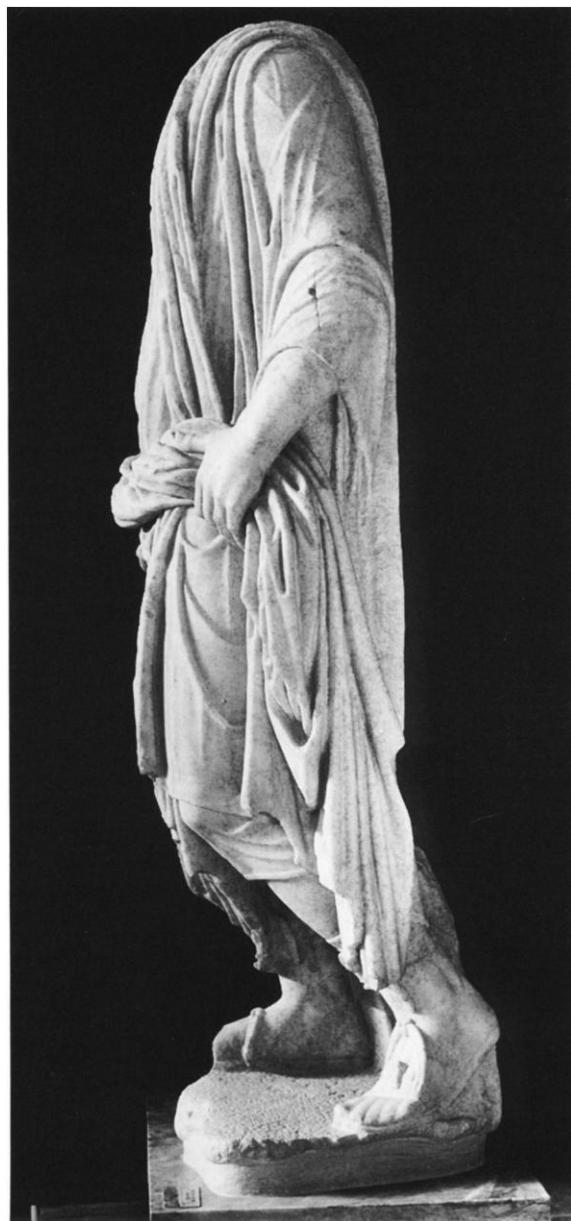


Fig. 13. No. 2, left side

the broken fragment from the front of the plinth in place. One runs along the outside of the statue support: length of channel 8 cm (which is half of the original length), width 3.5 cm, depth 1.5 cm; hole: 2.5 × 2.5 cm (cutting just visible in fig. 12); and the end of a similar cutting can be seen on the break at the front of the plinth (fig. 14): no channel preserved; hole: 2 × 2 cm; preserved depth: 3.5 cm. The surface of the break shows tool marks; it has been smoothed and tidied up, so that it in places resembles an intentionally worked join surface. 2) A large crack runs through the left leg just above the ankle: it cuts through the boot and laces at the front, circling round just below the level of the back of the himation. Two long clamps were inset into the marble in antiquity to prevent further cracking. The

cutting for the first, in the back of the left leg, has been reused in modern times for inserting a clamp in order to strengthen the ankle for the statue's reerection in the museum; this cutting is now largely concealed by modern filler. There is a second large ancient clamp still in place on the outer side of the statue support: length 14.5 cm; width 2.5 cm; depth unknown. The purpose of this clamp is more difficult to discern, but it seems to be centered at exactly the height of the crack in the left ankle, and was perhaps intended to strengthen the statue at this point. Another crack runs directly up the support from the break in the plinth to join with the clamp cutting (visible in fig. 14). This crack is most likely to be modern—the result of the expansion of the iron clamp.



Fig. 14. No. 2, detail of half-boots and border of himation

*Tooling and finish.* Front: precisely the same matte surface finish as no. 1, though here the left hand and arm are preserved, and they show a slightly softer and more glossy surface than do the legs. On the garments the elaborate pattern of folds has been extraordinarily well finished, with all traces of drilling carefully removed. As before, there is a swift transition visible front to back.

Back: drapery design simply roughed out with a fine point; signs of the claw chisel in the transitional sector behind the right hip.

Plinth: the flat surface of the top of the plinth produced by fine pointing and vertical strokes of the claw chisel.

Statue support: back and top with very rough point work; a flat chisel was used to smooth the inside of the statue support behind the right leg. The outside face is more comparable to the top of the plinth, while the front has been smoothed like the rest of the statue.

*Bibliography.* IR I, 171–72 (head), no. 228.

The statue is an imposing portrayal of a man in civic costume, identical in size with, and clearly conceived as a pendant to, the cuirassed portrait (1). Paired with a man wearing full armor, the figure has been endowed with a broad, massive frame: his prominent chest and belly are clearly revealed by the fine fabric of the undergarment (chiton). The heavy, complex folds of the thick cloak (himation) in which the figure is enveloped afford the statue an impressive weightiness and monumentality.

The back corner of the plinth below the statue support forms an approximate right angle, giving us the original alignment of the plinth on its base, and the intended front view of the figure (that seen in fig. 12). The man steps forward, throwing his weight onto his right foot, while his left foot is set back and to the side, the heel raised from the plinth, conveying an unusually strong impression of forward movement for a portrait in civic costume. The right hip is powerfully thrust out, and the right shoulder pulled back a little, so that the body is turned slightly toward the figure's right. This produces a slight forward lean when seen from the side (fig. 13). The left arm is lowered, the hand grasping the himation, which is drawn around the waist, lifting it up to reveal the left thigh thrusting forward. This action raises the left shoulder, and suggests that the head would have turned sharply toward the figure's left. The pose of the statue thus mirrors that of no. 1 (see fig. 25). The right arm was lowered and extended away from the body, the hand held open (see figs. 15, 25).

The figure wears a short-sleeved chiton of a fine, clinging material, with a mass of folds that model

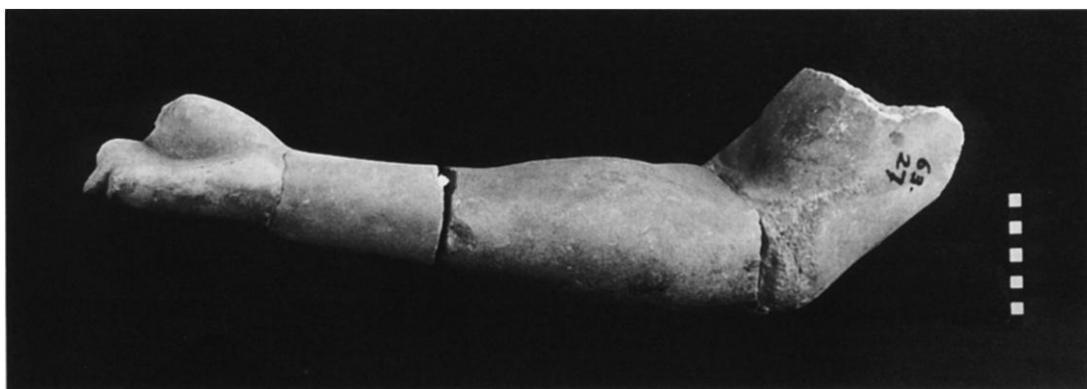


Fig. 15. Nos. 2A, 2B, and 2C, three fragments of right arm and hand

the lines of the body beneath it. Two sets of press folds are visible in the chiton, running across the chest and belly, respectively. A hem is shown at the neckline, and another where the bottom edge of the chiton is revealed just below the left knee (fig. 14). In contrast to the thin chiton, the himation is characterized as thick and substantial. It is worn over the left shoulder and drawn around the body, emerging just above the right hip, where it is twisted into a thick roll and held by the left hand, leaving an unusual pouch of drapery over the groin. The end of the garment then hangs down beside the left leg, and a tasseled drapery weight resting on the left foot reveals that it fell almost all the way to the floor (fig. 14). On this side the himation shows not only a hem, but also a border, which would originally have been indicated in paint, now merely visible as a light line carved parallel to the edge (figs. 12, 14). The himation also shows a set of press folds running across the right thigh.

The figure wears closed but toeless sandals over a leather sock (a line across the toes marks the front of the left sandal). Each sandal has laces with two sets of ties: one over the instep and one above the ankle just below the top of the sock. For each knot the two ends of the laces hang down on either side. The upper fastening of the right sandal is not visible in the front view, but was carefully carved beneath the himation—another sign that the statues were once mounted on high bases, where such details would have been visible. Behind the right foot is a tall rectangular block that serves as a statue support. It is set obliquely on the plinth behind the right leg and is partly concealed on both sides of the foot by the folds of the himation. There is a strut under the raised left foot (fig. 13) and a small strut connects the fall of drapery with the top of the left boot (fig. 14). The front of the plinth originally extended out in front of the withdrawn left foot as far as the very front of the right foot (as was the case with 1). The lower part of the plinth seems to have been so dam-

aged on all sides except the right that it had to be built up with filler when the plinth was cemented onto its modern base in the museum. As a result, the lower surface of the plinth is not visible anywhere, and there are no indications as to how it was originally attached to its base.

As with no. 1, there are indications that this statue is early in date. Hellenistic statues in chiton and himation became standardized into types relatively early; and the established repertoire did not become noticeably more varied in the Roman period—rather the reverse.<sup>15</sup> But in comparison with works of the Imperial period, our figure is idiosyncratic, both in the costume it wears (particularly the ornate half-boots), and in its dynamic, momentary movement. Under the Empire honorific portraits in civic costume tend toward the calm and majestic, rather than the assertive and energetic. The Aphrodisian statue has more in common with the series of colossal himation statues from Kos, dating from the mid-Hellenistic period, which also wear rich, elaborately draped garments, and twist and turn their bodies in vigorous movement.<sup>16</sup> This comparison is made even stronger by the probable association of a portrait head with this statue.

The head (2D, figs. 16–17) was found nearby in 1963, in the sunken orchestra of the Bouleuterion (fig. 1). It represents a priest of Aphrodite of Aphrodisias. He wears a crown that has a clearly recognizable bust-length representation of the goddess's cult image set in the center, flanked by two other busts, one male, one female (most likely Helios and Selene, as originally suggested by Erim). Such crowns with busts of divinities are known to have been worn by priests and priestesses in the eastern Mediterranean from the Hellenistic period onward.<sup>17</sup> The base of the neck and the tenon worked for insertion are lost, but there are strong circumstantial arguments in favor of attributing this head to statue no. 2. The scale is appropriate, and the head is turned dramatically to its left, which well suits the pose of

<sup>15</sup> See the typology of standing himation statues offered by Lewerentz (*supra* n. 14) and the discussion of the figure types that appear on grave stelae in Zanker 251–53.

<sup>16</sup> The Aphrodisias figure wears the himation in a manner reminiscent of Pfuhl and Möbius's (I, 62) Typus Kos (Lewerentz [*supra* n. 14] Typus II), though it differs from the figures of this sort on the grave reliefs in two important respects: 1) the more dramatic turn of his body and wide stride; 2) the action of his left hand, which does not carry the end of the himation wrapped around it, but instead holds the garment in place around his waist, more like figures wearing the hip mantle (Lewerentz's Typus VI).

Nevertheless, the best examples for comparison with the Aphrodisias figure are still the over-life-size portrait figures found in the Odeion at Kos, which give their name to the type. In particular: 1) KP no. 33; Lewerentz (*supra* n. 14) no. II.1: dated ca. 160 B.C.; 2) KP no. 34: dated ca. 150 B.C. (who even wears similar tall sandals); 3) KP no. 40; Lewerentz no. II.7: dated ca. 100 B.C. (with a comparable semi-transparent chiton).

<sup>17</sup> See IR II, 46, citing Ath. 5.211b and an inscription from Iran preserving an edict of Antiochos III, published by L. Robert, "Encore une inscription grecque de l'Iran," *CRAI* 1967, 284 n. 1.

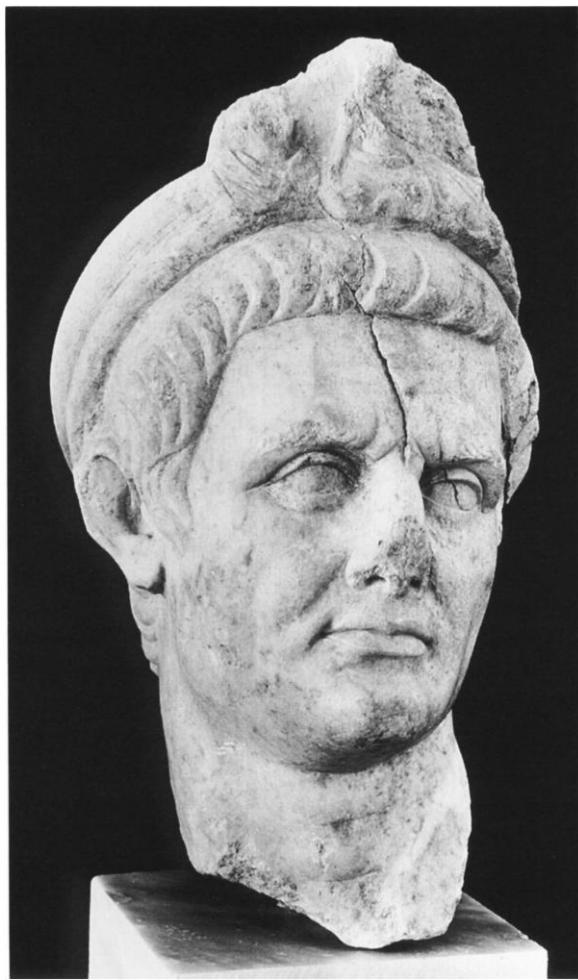


Fig. 16. Portrait of a priest of Aphrodite, no. 2D, three-quarter right view

our figure—the raised left shoulder demands such a turn of the head.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, this statue was clearly made as a pair with no. 1. The neck of 1 (1B, fig. 10) shows a close resemblance to the neck of this portrait (fig. 16): the surface finish is very similar, as are the rather fleshy folds and engraved lines that emphasize the powerful turn of the head. The style of the carving also seems compatible: the relief decoration of the bust-crown has the same restrained indication of detail as is seen, for example, on the

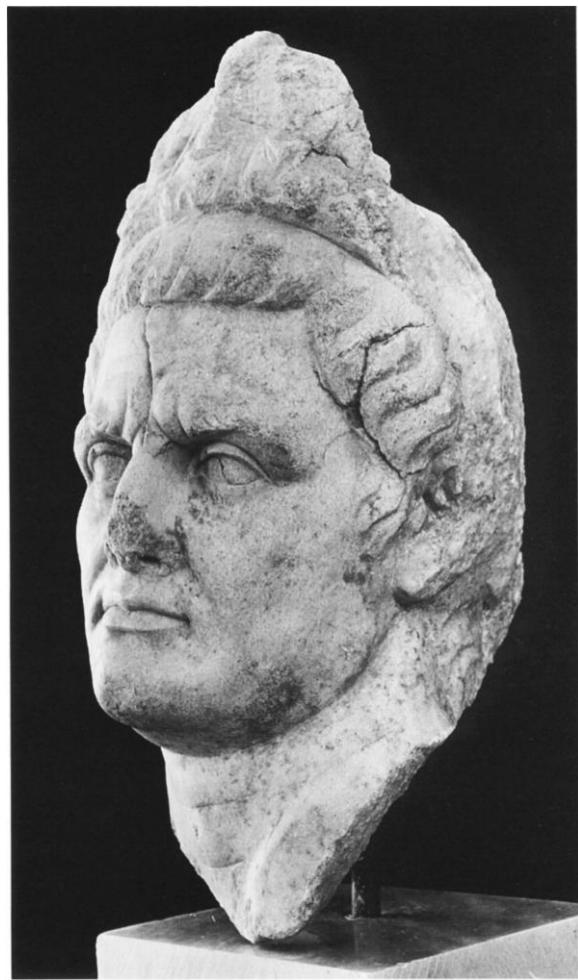


Fig. 17. No. 2D, three-quarter left view

ornament of the cuirass of no. 1. A similar reticence may be observed in the rendering of the hair, which is merely suggested by a few schematic curving lines. As in the hairstyle of 1, the sculptor relied mostly on color to set the hair off from the face. Although the head was found some distance from the body, there is ample evidence at Aphrodisias that smaller fragments like heads, hands, and arms can easily travel in this way. The neck fragment of 1, for instance, was found some distance to the west, in the back of

<sup>18</sup> At first sight the head looks a little small. But the figures for the relative heights of head and body, when compared with other, similar statues from the site, show that it is quite compatible. The height of head 2D (chin to lower edge of diadem) = 0.25 m; the height of body 2 = 1.91 m (without plinth). If we compare these figures with those for two other completely preserved statues of priests from Aphrodisias, they are extremely close: priest

from inside the Bouleuterion (IR I, no. 239): head (chin to crown) = 0.26 m; body = 1.82 m (without plinth); priest from the Theater (IR II, no. 194): head (chin to crown) = 0.26 m; body = 1.85 m (without plinth). For good illustrations of these two statues, see *Aphrodisias Papers* 2, 83, figs. 20a–20b (photo captions reversed). Prevailing taste clearly favored tall figures with relatively small heads for such portraits.

the Bouleuterion (fig. 1). The two largest fragments of the head of Claudia Antonia Tatiana were also unearthed, like this head, in the fill of the Bouleuterion's sunken orchestra, while Tatiana's statue body was found outside the building, where it had formerly stood on its base in the North Stoa of the North Agora.<sup>19</sup>

The highly animated face, with its expression of concentration and concern, and the dramatic turn of the head emerge directly out of the Hellenistic portrait tradition—as does the formula for pent-up energy used for the body.<sup>20</sup> In these terms, head and body seem well matched (fig. 25). But the portrait style of the priest does not at first sight look as early as that of the cuirassed portrait (1), which must push the date of the monument as a whole somewhat later. The locks of the hair, though very schematic, are basically Julio-Claudian (or sub-Polykleitan) in form, and the portrait might comfortably be placed anywhere in the Early Imperial period. But the fragmentary portrait of C. Iulius Zoilos from his funerary monument shows him wearing a hairstyle very reminiscent of this head, with a rather squarish cut fringe. The knit brows of the priest, his rather more deeply set eyes, and his plastically rendered eyebrows compare very well with the rendering of these same features on the face of "Aion" on another panel of the same monument. Zoilos's tomb probably dates sometime shortly after his death—in the 20s B.C.<sup>21</sup>

Unlike the cuirassed statue (1), there are no other surviving versions of the body of this portrait—it belongs to no known type. For head and body taken together, however, the series of honorific portraits from Kos, with their vigorous movements and ele-

gantly draped garments, offer informative parallels. The Koan figures have been variously interpreted; but the heads that are preserved, like that of the Aphrodisian figure, all wear large crowns.<sup>22</sup> These crowns identify the figures either as holders of civic magistracies or holders of prestigious honorific posts or priesthoods (often one and the same, for important priesthoods could also serve as honorific offices and could be awarded to benefactors in acknowledgement of their gifts or services).<sup>23</sup> In fact, the most dynamic of the crowned portrait figures from Kos (KP no. 33), given his extreme youth, is almost certainly to be interpreted as a priest or a holder of an honorific office, thus as a wealthy young benefactor of the city rather than a civic magistrate. It is surely not unnatural that important benefactors of the Hellenistic polis came to be celebrated in their portraits with something of the charismatic image of the greatest of all benefactors of the age—the Macedonian rulers. Hence, we find the dramatic turn of the head and vigorous movement of the body, which are derived from the iconography of the Hellenistic kings.<sup>24</sup> The statue of the priest shares his distinctive, animated style of self-presentation, then, with a whole series of honorific portrait statues from the eastern Mediterranean. This kind of portrait clearly seeks to portray the honorand in a very particular way, which celebrates specific qualities. We shall consider first his costume, and then the way in which he has been characterized.

The priest wears the standard civic costume worn by all members of the citizen body, and the way he wears it is quite conventional.<sup>25</sup> But the sculptor has given the approved costume a striking bravura treat-

<sup>19</sup> For the lower head and hair of Tatiana, found inside the orchestra of the Bouleuterion, see IR I, no. 233; for a fragment of the face and the statue body, found in the North Agora, see IR II, no. 187.

<sup>20</sup> Perhaps the closest parallel for the portrait—for the facial expression, turn of the head, modeling of the long fleshy neck, and hairstyle—is the fragment from Rhodes: G. Hafner, *Späthellenistische Bildnisplastik* (Berlin 1954) 23, R18, pl. 7. For a list of other (more complete) Late Hellenistic and Early Roman heads that provide parallels for the facial expression, see *infra* n. 34.

<sup>21</sup> For the portrait of Zoilos, see *Aphrodisias* I, pl. 14; for the head of Aion, pl. 20; for the date of the monument, 7–8.

<sup>22</sup> Of the list of Koan statues given *supra* n. 16, only the first, KP no. 33, retains his portrait head, and he wears a large crown. To this may be added KP nos. 37 and 42, both dated to the middle of the first century A.D., who also wear large crowns. For the importance of the crown within the iconography of honorific civic portraiture, see the discussion in *Aphrodisias* I, 38–39, with bibliography.

<sup>23</sup> At Aphrodisias, for example, C. Julius Zoilos, who made lavish gifts to the city, was voted priest of Aphrodite for life: *Aphrodisias* I, 12 T6; as an example of a distinguished but strictly honorary office, one can cite the prestigious

post of stephanophoros at Aphrodisias, also held repeatedly by Zoilos (see J. Reynolds, "New Evidence for the Social History of Aphrodisias," in E. Frézouls ed., *Sociétés urbaines, sociétés rurales dans l'Asie Mineure et la Syrie hellénistiques et romaines* [Strasbourg 1987] 110 n. 26; *Aphrodisias* I, 7, 11 T2). The many crowns that Zoilos wore as holder of this office seem to be represented hanging in the background of the frieze that encircled his monument, *Aphrodisias* I, 41, pl. 33.

<sup>24</sup> This helps explain the attempt made by Kabus-Preisshofen to interpret her statue no. 33 as a ruler portrait, despite his civic dress. For further discussion of this type of civic portrait, see *infra*.

<sup>25</sup> As already mentioned (*supra* n. 16), the way the priest wears his himation is quite close to Pfuhl and Möbius's Typus Kos. Lewerentz (*supra* n. 14) has collected all the extant statues belonging to this type, which she considers Hellenistic in date (see Lewerentz, Typus II, 58–80 and 252–59), and there are many more of Roman date. Many figures can also be found on the grave stelae who stand much more quietly than the Aphrodisias figure, but nevertheless show that this way of draping the himation was wholly traditional (e.g., Pfuhl and Möbius nos. 110, 141, 149, 276, 647, 664, 868, 869, 1069, 1070, 1096, 1097, 1102, 1475, 1476).

ment that endows it with a special flamboyance. The chiton, with its welter of crisscrossing folds, is depicted as so light as to be almost transparent (the right nipple is indicated through the cloth), while the complex, generous folds of the himation characterize it as of a heavy, rich material.<sup>26</sup> When these garments had their original paint on them there would have been an attractive contrast of color between the two, particularly conspicuous above the left knee, where the himation is lifted to reveal the chiton beneath it. We are also intended to see that it is the first time that these clothes have been worn—the garments still have creases in them from where they sat folded on the shelf. (This is a standard feature of Hellenistic portrait costume, taken from life; its commonplace status guarantees its importance.) In addition, he wears a large ring (originally probably gilded) prominently displayed on the fourth finger of his left hand. All of this creates an overtly prosperous and respectable appearance, expressing what a Greek would have termed *kalokagathia*—the fact that the priest is “a gentleman,” a man of quality.

In Greek society distinctions of class were not normally marked by special kinds of clothing. This statue, however, is identified as a priest of Aphrodite (a very important local office) by his crown, and there are other elements of his costume that seem to have a bearing on his status. First, he wears a pair of closed sandals extending up over his ankles, like a half-boot, which have two sets of ties conspicuously marked by long laces, which he carefully lifts up his himation to reveal (fig. 14). Such shoes are extremely unusual, especially on a portrait in civic costume: they are unique at Aphrodisias. They resemble Roman *calcei* (closed boots of soft leather that rose up above the ankle), and the *calcei patricii* in particular, which were fastened by two large sets of ties—one over the instep, one higher up on the shin.<sup>27</sup> In Roman society high status was clearly marked by one's costume, and only patricians were entitled to wear *calcei patricii*. The priest's shoes look like a local imitation of this standard Roman status symbol, and

this may encourage us to look more closely at a further element of his costume.

The priest's himation has a narrow border of a different color (carefully set off in the carving, figs. 12, 14). At Rome public magistrates were permitted (and expected) to wear the *toga praetextata* (a white toga with a wide purple border), which at once set them off from the other senators. Very little is known about the color (or colors) of the Greek himation, or whether marble statues in civic costume commonly wore himatia with painted patterns or different colored borders. But the only other instance known to me in which the colored border of a garment on a marble statue was thought important enough to be *sculpturally* indicated is the portrait of a Late Republican Roman magistrate in Copenhagen, who wears the *toga praetextata* and senatorial *calcei*.<sup>28</sup> Thus the two special features of this priest's costume—his high closed sandals with two sets of ties and his himation with its wide colored border—may well indicate that he thought of himself as belonging to the “patrician” class of Aphrodisias. A kind of “patrician” class appears in a fairly extensive series of Aphrodisian inscriptions—referred to as “founders' kin” (*γένους . . . συνεκτικότος τὴν πόλιν, προγόνων συνεκτικότων τὴν πατρίδα*).<sup>29</sup> It has been observed that the inscriptions of Aphrodisias show an unusual concentration of ennobling epithets for prominent families, which lend them a distinctly aristocratic character.<sup>30</sup>

Since the special features of the priest's garb occur on no other statue from Aphrodisias, we should probably surmise that this costume was specified to the sculptor by the individual portrayed, and was most likely worn by him in life. One other extant statue, a Hellenistic honorific portrait from Kos, also shows elaborate high sandals with two sets of ties, which the sculptor has been at pains to reveal.<sup>31</sup> This may suggest that these two features of the Aphrodisian statue, which look like imitations of Roman costume, are not merely the affectation of one individual. It is tempting to speculate that sometime in the Late Hellenistic period some members of

<sup>26</sup> This is also true of some of the statues from Kos: KP nos. 34 and 40 show especially thin undergarments and thick himatia with sumptuous folds.

<sup>27</sup> For an account of all the different kinds of toga, distinguished by different colors, see now H.R. Goette, *Studien zur römischen Togadarstellungen* (Mainz 1990) 4–6; for a strongly argued case for distinguishing the various kinds of *calcei*, see Goette (supra n. 9) 449–64.

<sup>28</sup> V. Poulsen, *Les portraits romains* 1 (Copenhagen 1962) no. 28, pl. 40.

<sup>29</sup> AR 164, appendix VI, with a list of attested names. Reynolds would identify these as belonging to the leading

families of the city either at the time of the creation of the sympolity with Plarasa, or just possibly at the time of the city's acquisition of privileges within the Roman world in the later first century B.C.

<sup>30</sup> F. Quass, *Die Honoratiorenenschicht in den Städten des griechischen Ostens* (Stuttgart 1993) 51–52, and n. 155.

<sup>31</sup> KP no. 34; dated ca. 150 B.C.; for a thorough description of his elaborate sandals, see KP 213. A figure on a grave relief from Kahrat, of Koan type, is also shown wearing high sandals with elaborate ties: Pfuhl and Möbius no. 110.

the Eastern civic elites began to imitate the style of the ruling class at Rome—not only in their style of self-presentation (cf. 1A, figs. 8–9), but also in their distinctive national costume.<sup>32</sup>

What separates the portrait of this priest from so many other statues in civic costume is its dynamic movement and the animated expression of the face. Sweeping forward, grasping his himation in his left hand, the priest turns his head decisively to his left, and knits his brow in an expression of concentration and concern (fig. 25). The posture and the turn of the head give an impression of driving energy,<sup>33</sup> while the expression on his face appears both caring and resolute. If we compare the portrait figure as a whole with the various parallels we have cited for it, then at least one of the statues from Kos (KP no. 33) shares the dramatic turn of the head and the momentary movement of the posture. But the portrait head from Kos is very youthful and the features are relatively untroubled (though there too the brow is slightly furrowed). There is a striking similarity, however, between the head of the priest and a series of Late Hellenistic heads, most of which have, unfortunately, come down to us without their bodies.<sup>34</sup> These portraits have recently been connected by Zanker with the “vigorous benefactors” (*angestrengte Wohltäter*), the “polis-activists” or “polis-patriots,” who are known to us from inscriptions.<sup>35</sup> He has advanced the attractive suggestion that this kind of portrait may have been intended to express in visual terms

some of those special qualities that we find highlighted in the honorific decrees.<sup>36</sup> On this analysis the dynamic energy of the pose would seek to convey that such benefactors are ζηλωταὶ τῶν καλλίστων, champions for the common good, individuals who ἐν ἄπασι . . . σπεύδων ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, exert themselves in every way on behalf of the *patris*.<sup>37</sup> While the facial expression—the determined gaze, and the knit and furrowed brow—would be intended to evoke the πρόνοια and κηδεμονία, the watchfulness and solicitude on behalf of the common good, of the man who is ἐπὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ πράγματα φιλόπονος, that is, who welcomes toil on behalf of the polis, and who provides assistance to his fellow citizens πολειτικῶς καὶ ἀνθρωπίνως, in a spirit of civic philanthropy.<sup>38</sup> The terms σπουδή (urgency, vigor) and ἔκτενεια (assiduity, earnestness) occur frequently in the decrees, and perhaps best sum up the readiness for action embodied in the pose and the exertion and concern made visible in the face.

Honorific portraits of this kind are not particularly common in the archaeological record, though in the Hellenistic period most were of bronze, and consequently very few survive. But figures on Hellenistic grave stelae sometimes show the same kind of sharp turn of the head and a shifting, tense stance, so the image of the “vigorous benefactor” was at least familiar enough to have become a widely understood part of the repertoire.<sup>39</sup> This Aphrodisian portrait fills an important gap in our knowledge in that it

<sup>32</sup> Compare also the appearance of C. Iulius Zoilos on his monument wearing a Roman toga: *Aphrodisias* I, pl. 7. The local elites of the Roman municipia in the West may also have taken over the distinctive “status clothing” of the upper classes at Rome: cf. K. Fittschen, “Der ‘Arringatore’: Ein römischer Bürger?” *RM* 77 (1970) 183–85, pl. 76.2; Goette (supra n. 9) 456.

<sup>33</sup> The formula of holding the himation at the hip is used for the Poseidon from Melos, for example, and for a number of figures who wear a military cloak (chlamys) draped around their lower bodies; but it is highly unusual for a statue in civic costume. For the Poseidon of Melos, see J. Schäfer, “Der Poseidon von Melos (Athen, N.M. 235),” *AntP* 8 (1968) 55–67; for figures who grasp the end of a long military cloak in a similar way: stele of Polybius: M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (New York 1961) 161–63, fig. 691; series of heroic horsemen from the East Greek grave reliefs: Pfuhl and Möbius 1430–33, 1455, 1535.

<sup>34</sup> E.g., the over-life-size bearded head, now in the Getty Museum: A. Herrmann, “A Hellenistic Portrait Head,” *GettyMus* 21 (1993) 29–42 (for the correct interpretation of the head, see Zanker 258–60); the bronze head from the “Granite Palaestra” on Delos: *Delos* IX, pls. 1–6; and the (mostly later) heads collected by Hafner (supra n. 20) R16, R18, MK2 (the Delian bronze), MK3, MK4, MK5, MK9, MK10, MK23, NK3, A6, A8, A14, A15, A18, A22, A23; for an analysis of the expression worn by these heads, see L. Giuliani,

*Bildnis und Botschaft* (Frankfurt 1986) 160–62.

<sup>35</sup> The image of these polis-fanatics, as it appears in the honorific decrees, is treated by M. Wörrle: “Vom tugendsamen Jüngling zum ‘gestreßten’ Euergeten: Überlegungen zum Bürgerbild hellenistischer Ehrendekrete,” in M. Wörrle and P. Zanker eds., *Stadtbild und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus* (Munich 1995) 241–50, esp. 244–46.

<sup>36</sup> Zanker 258–60. Zanker also suggests (256–57) that the posture of figures that belong to the Typus Kos should be connected with the more flamboyant “Asiatic” style of speaking. The gesture of the Aphrodisian priest, with his empty right hand, would seem to fit well with this suggestion.

<sup>37</sup> Honorific decrees for Menas of Sestos: *OGIS* 339; J. Krauss, *Die Inschriften von Sestos und der thrakischen Chersones* (Bonn 1980) no. 1, line 90; for Eireniyas of Miletos: P. Herrmann, “Neue Urkunden zur Geschichte von Milet im 2. Jahrhundert v. Chr.,” *IstMitt* 15 (1965) 73, II–III, lines 6–7. See Wörrle (supra n. 35) 241, 247.

<sup>38</sup> Honorific decrees for Thrasybulous of Priene: F.F. Hiller von Gaertingen, *Inscriptions von Priene* (Berlin 1906) no. 99, line 5; for Moschion of Priene: no. 108, lines 64–65; 69–70; 76–77; 104–105; for Polemaios of Colophon: L. Robert and J. Robert, *Clarendon I: Décrets hellénistiques* (Paris 1989) 14, col. III, lines 25–35. See Wörrle (supra n. 35) 244–47.

<sup>39</sup> Pfuhl and Möbius nos. 156, 159, 161, 168, 169, 250, 543, 554.



Fig. 18. Youth wearing a chlamys, no. 3

provides the first instance of a complete statue of this type with a reconstructible civic context.

### 3. Youth wearing a chlamys (fig. 18).

Inv. 72-441. Recomposed from three fragments: 1) torso from neck to hips; 2) left upper arm from just below the shoulder to just below the elbow; 3) right upper arm from just below the shoulder to just below the elbow. H. 1.01 m; W. 0.69 m (at shoulders); 0.95 m (widest preserved, at arms); D. 0.40 m.

Missing: head, broken off at the neck (the line of the break runs from the nape of the neck to just above the larynx); lower left arm, broken off just below the elbow; lower right arm, originally worked separately and doweled on; the whole lower part of the statue, comprising the left hip, both legs, and the plinth; a flat marble patch, added behind the right shoulder; the lower edge of the left flank of the torso, together with the adjacent drapery folds to the right; the left nipple, due to abrasion of the surface.

Nonjoining fragments: 3A: palm tree trunk statue support (inv. 72-245) (fig. 19). Found together with nos.



Fig. 19. No. 3A, palm tree trunk statue support

**1, 2, and 4** (fig. 1), it is of the same scale, and the form of the plinth and the tooling are compatible with the plinths of **1** and **2**.

*Technique: ancient piecing.* The statue was probably worked in four pieces: 1) The torso was carved in one piece with the head, left arm, and upper right arm. 2) The lower right arm was pieced across the forearm just below the elbow; join surface: 12 × 10.5 cm; dowel hole: 2 × 2.5 cm, 8 cm deep. 3) A small marble patch was added behind the left shoulder, probably to conceal a flaw in the marble, though some kind of damage sustained to the piece during transportation, or a sculptor's mistake are also possibilities; the join surface forms an approximate quarter circle 20–23 cm in diameter. 4) The underside of the torso shows evidence of having been roughly taken back at the front with a large point, though the surface toward the back looks much more regular. Despite the apparent irregularity of this surface, it has probably been worked to effect a join. The entire lower part of the statue was probably worked separately and pieced along an irregular oblique line, running from the middle of the right thigh up to the left hip. Normally one would expect either that a join would have been effected along a straight line running through the drapery (the standard Hellenistic practice for a statue of this type)<sup>40</sup> or that the nude torso would have been inserted into the drapery of the lower part of the figure (the more normal practice in the Early Roman period).<sup>41</sup> In this case we have a compromise between these two procedures: the statue was pieced through the drapery, but was apparently also cut back at the front (the roughly tooled area on the left directly below the torso) so that it could be partly inserted into the lower section of the statue.<sup>42</sup> This process seems to be the best explanation for the tooling visible on the front and underside of the torso.

*Tooling and finish.* Front: the same matte finish as was noted on **1** and **2**. The flesh has been very subtly modeled; the surface is more reminiscent of the legs of **1** than of the arm and hand of **2**, which are much smoother. The anatomy is rendered without hard lines and there is very little indication of detail—only the circular navel. The right nipple has been left merely as a raised surface and given no clear, modeled form (in contrast, for example, to the stylized metal nipple seen on the left breast of the cuirass of **1**, fig. 6). The finish of the chlamys is very close to that of the himation of **2**: deep, irregularly spaced folds with wide channels, and flat areas of bunched cloth, in which all traces of the drill have been removed by chisel and rasp. The areas of drapery have been offset from the nude torso by a wide drill channel, carefully hollowed out and smoothed, which runs around the whole torso like a dark outline. A similar line, though narrower, has been used to delineate the line between the arm and the chest below the left armpit.

<sup>40</sup> As is the case, for example, on the statue of Poseidon from Melos: Schäfer (*supra* n. 33).

<sup>41</sup> As was done, for example, for the portraits of Augustus wearing this costume found in the theater at Arles and near the Serapaeum in Thessaloniki: H.G. Niemeyer, *Studien zur statuarischen Darstellungen der römischen Kaiser* (Monumenta artis romanae 7, Berlin 1968) 101–102, no. 71, pl.

Back: considerably smoother than that of **1** and **2**, though, as there, the drapery has only been roughed out. The finish is carried further around to the back on this figure—especially behind the left shoulder and behind the right hip and right buttock. The backs of both arms were also finished as finely as were the front. Many tool marks are visible on the back of the statue, especially on the drapery and on the back of the neck and behind the shoulders—mostly from the flat chisel. The surface prepared for the patch behind the right shoulder was flattened by a fine point and vertical blows of a claw, but not smoothed. The surface prepared for the join at the right forearm, however, was perfectly smoothed.

#### Bibliography. Unpublished.

The remaining fragment is a sensitive portrayal of the nude torso of a youth, again in a highly animated posture, who wears only a chlamys wrapped around his lower body. He was represented as striding forward, with his weight thrown onto his right leg, the left shoulder drawn back. The left arm was set assertively on his left hip, the hand grasping the cloak and holding it in place, while the right arm was lowered and extended away from the body. The right hand may originally have held a weapon, or it may have been empty (see *infra*). From the modeling of the sternocleidomastoids (the tendons of the neck), it is clear that the head was turned dramatically to the left.

The figure wears a chlamys bunched over the left shoulder, which hangs down behind the back and is then drawn around the hips to conceal the genitals. The drapery is given a dramatic and naturalistic rendering with large uneven folds of heavy, thick material. The nude body is subtly modeled. Instead of the muscles, ribs, line of the groin (and so on) being given a crisp, clear definition, anatomical detail is indicated by gentle undulations, resulting in a highly plastic rendering of a well-developed masculine physique. It is clearly intended as a very youthful body, for there is no indication of pubic hair, and no veins are visible on the arms (in contrast to the arms of **1** and **2**, figs. 11, 15).

When complete, the figure reproduced a type quite often used for portrait statues (fig. 25), though in this case a major change was made in the design: all the other known examples are nude, the chlamys being merely wrapped around the left arm. All the reproductions of this type have recently been col-

23; 102–103, no. 76: for illustration of the piecing of this statue, see O. Walter, "Archäologische Funde in Griechenland von Frühjahr 1939 bis Frühjahr 1940," *AA* 1940, 265, figs. 70–73.

<sup>42</sup> For a comparable example (though with even more complex piecing), see KP 197–98, no. 24, pl. 41 (dated to the early second century B.C.).

lected, and may be briefly listed to show the range of the series:<sup>43</sup>

- a. Istanbul, Archaeological Museums: fragment from Magnesia on the Maeander; F. Carinci, *StMisc* 20 (Rome 1972) 31 (with earlier literature); first century B.C.
- b. Formia Antiquarium, Late Republican portrait statue from Formiae; Guerrini and Gaspari 60 (with earlier literature); late first century B.C.
- c. Paris, Louvre: portrait of Octavian from Tusculum (head may not belong); P. Zanker, *Studien zu den Augustus-Porträts I: Der Actium-Typus* (Göttingen 1973) 24–25 (with earlier literature); much restored; the sculptor who signed the piece belongs to a family of Late Hellenistic Rhodian sculptors; late first century B.C.
- d. Antalya, Museum: colossal portrait of a Julio-Claudian emperor, from Perge; M. Edip Özgür, *Skulpturen des Museums von Antalya I* (Istanbul 1987) no. 41.
- e. Paris, Louvre: portrait statue ("Otho") from Terracina; F. Carinci, *StMisc* 20 (Rome 1972) 31 (with earlier literature), pl. 39b; K. de Kersauson, *Musée du Louvre: Catalogue des portraits romains II* (Paris 1996) 22–23; much restored; the head has been reworked and may not belong; first century A.D.
- f. Munich, Glyptothek: portrait of Domitian, perhaps reworked from a portrait of Nero; F. Carinci, *StMisc* 20 (Rome 1972) 32 (with earlier literature); M. Bergmann and P. Zanker, "Damnatio Memoriae," *JdI* 96 (1981) 370 no. 22.
- g. h. Castello di Baia: portraits of Vespasian and Titus; from the sacellum of the Augustales at Misenum; M.R. Boriello in *Domiziano/Nerva: La statua equestre da Miseno* (Naples 1987) 17 figs. 9–10; Domitianic.
- i. Antalya, Museum: statue of Apollo (?) from Perge; M. Edip Özgür, *Skulpturen des Museums von Antalya I* (Istanbul 1987) no. 11; second century A.D.
- j. Rome, Palazzo del Quirinale, Garden: provenance unknown; Guerrini and Gaspari 58–63; much restored; second century A.D.

The most important differences between the Aphrodisian youth and the examples in the above series are the unusual piecing and the draping of the chlamys. In the series of Attic grave reliefs, which

continue at least until the end of the fourth century B.C., and which depict figures of all ages, youths are most often represented nude. Their nudity marks them out as youths—of an age to participate in athletics and to attend the local gymnasium. In the East Greek grave reliefs of the Hellenistic period, however, youths are shown nude relatively rarely.<sup>44</sup> Instead they are represented fully clothed (like the young boy from Aphrodisias, no. 4, fig. 20). If reference is made to a youth's education and attendance at the gymnasium, it is done by including in the composition a herm, or a slave carrying athletic equipment. A few young men are represented nude on their gravestones, but in these cases they are normally represented as "heroic horsemen," and they are shown with the full heroic iconography (carrying weapons; a large snake coiled around a tree in the background; horse, squire, and hunting dogs in attendance).<sup>45</sup> This iconography, however, obviously belongs only in a funerary context. Where a more dynamic image of a youth was required—wearing a chlamys (the garment of action, instead of the more usual civic costume)—there are indications that the inhabitants of the cities of the eastern Mediterranean often preferred the garment to be drawn around the waist (in what archaeologists call the "hip-mantle" draping) to conceal the figure's nudity. Many such statues are preserved from the Hellenistic East,<sup>46</sup> and the hip mantle is also found both in Hellenistic monumental relief sculpture and, more rarely, in grave stelae.<sup>47</sup> Thus the change of costume performed on the Aphrodisian figure should probably be seen not as an idiosyncratic or random choice on the part of those who commissioned the group, but rather within this larger context of a broad cultural preference. There was also a constituency at Rome and in Italy that favored the hip-mantle portrait in place of the fully nude por-

<sup>43</sup> Guerrini and Gaspari 60 no. 17.

<sup>44</sup> Pfuhl and Möbius list only 11 cases: nos. 91, 98, 107, 120, 121, 124, 125, 127, 138, 146, 147.

<sup>45</sup> Pfuhl and Möbius list two examples of nude youths with weapons: nos. 286–87; and nine with the full heroic iconography: nos. 1439–43, 1460–61, 1467, 1477.

<sup>46</sup> From Kos there are fragments of at least seven Hellenistic statues with hip mantle: KP nos. 21–26, 28; Kabus-Preisshofen dates the earliest example to the third century B.C. Fragments of at least two more come from Rhodes: G. Merker, *The Hellenistic Sculpture of Rhodes* (Göteborg 1973) no. 106; and a piece now in the British Museum: A.H. Smith, *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum III* (London 1904) 195, no. 2033; see also Lewerentz (*supra* n. 14) Typus VI ("Hüftmanteltypus"). There were probably also portraits of Hellenistic rulers draped in this manner: cf. the Alexander from Magnesia-by-Sipylos: M. Bieber, *Alexander the Great in Greek*

*and Roman Art* (Chicago 1964) 63–65, fig. 71; A.F. Stewart, *Faces of Power* (Berkeley 1993) fig. 133; and the fragmentary diademed portrait now in the Sala Rotonda of the Vatican, probably originally from a standing figure: R.R.R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* (Oxford 1988) 174–75, no. 104.

<sup>47</sup> On the friezes from the Temple of Hekate at Lagina: A. Schober, "Der Fries des Hekateions von Lagina," *IstForsch* 2 (1933) nos. 202, 217 (second century B.C.); and from the Temple of Apollo Smintheus in the Troad: H. Weber, "Zum Apollon Smintheus-Tempel in der Troas," *IstMitt* 16 (1966) 100–101, pl. 15.1; F. Rumscheid, "Die Ornamentik des Apollon-Smintheus-Tempels in der Troas," *IstMitt* 45 (1995) 25–55 (late third or second century B.C.). Grave stelae from Samos: Pfuhl and Möbius no. 1455; from Tralleis: R. Özgan, *Die griechischen und römischen Skulpturen aus Tralleis* (Asia Minor Studien 15, Bonn 1995) 35, TR 11, pl. 7.1; and from Kos: KP no. 20, pl. 31.

trait, both during the Republic and under the Early Empire. An interesting parallel for the Aphrodisias youth is provided by a grave relief of the late first century B.C. from the Via Salaria in Rome, unfortunately now lost.<sup>48</sup> This shows a life-size portrait figure, which closely resembles this type, also adapted to wear a hip mantle.

The meaning of this choice of costume within the group is difficult to determine now with any confidence. Figures of this type often hold weapons in the extended right hand, so that is at least a possibility for this figure. However, in the absence of any weapons (e.g., a swordbelt, like that worn by **f** above, or by the relief figure from the Via Salaria), we should probably interpret the partial nudity of the youth as athletic—and a mark of his age.<sup>49</sup> A good parallel would be a well-known grave relief from Kos, which has an over-life-size representation of an athletic victor holding his crown in front of him, who is similarly half-draped.<sup>50</sup> This would also suit the choice of palm trunk for the statue support.<sup>51</sup>

#### 4. Young boy wearing a himation (figs. 20–24).

Inv. 72-438. Statue preserved in one piece, with part of plinth; H. 1.15 m; W. 0.35 m (at shoulders); 0.44 m (at arms); D. 0.29 m; original dimensions of plinth now impossible to discern.

Missing: most of neck, from collar bone to chin; the right sandaled foot, below the ankle; the lower end of the himation, where it fell to the ground beside the left foot (traces are still visible in two places on the plinth); most of the plinth (a new cement plinth has been constructed around the surviving fragment for the modern mounting; all that remains of the original plinth is the part below the left foot and the statue support, together with the area just in front of these).

Nonjoining fragments: **4A**: Head of young boy wearing his hair in a ponytail, or “Harpokrates lock” (inv. 70-556) (figs. 22–23); H. 0.22 m; W. 0.15 m; D. 0.195 m. The head was found in the theater, and cannot now join because almost the whole of the neck has been broken away. In 1996 the strands of hair that comprise the long Harpokrates lock were found to line up with the long locks on the left shoulder and back of the statue, proving that the head belongs (fig. 24).

*Technique: ancient piecing.* Unlike **1–3**, this (much smaller) statue was carved from a single block.

*Ancient repairs.* On the back of the right leg just above the ankle there is a large cutting (5 × 1.5 cm)

that still retains the ancient lead with an iron pin just visible at the center; on the underside of the break, where the foot has broken off, a small iron pin protrudes from the surface. It is rather eccentrically placed, too close to the outer edge. The explanation for the cutting and for the pin seems to be as follows. The ankle probably cracked before the statue was properly in place, and in order to strengthen this point of vulnerability in the figure, the sculptor then drilled down obliquely through the ankle and into the foot below, set an iron pin inside, and then poured in the lead. This would explain both the size of the cutting in the back of the ankle, and the eccentric position of the iron pin, which runs slightly forward from the back of the ankle.

*Tooling and finish.* Front: the same as on **1–3**. There are two pairs of drill holes on the tongue of the surviving sandal—probably for the addition of an ornament. Back: As before, the back is only roughed out with a flat chisel, although this figure is fully finished much further around the sides than are the larger statues. The statue support is merely roughed out with a point.

*Bibliography.* IR II, 206–207 no. 180 (K.T. Erim) (head); *Aphrodisias Papers* 2, 88, no. 28 (head).

The statue represents a very young boy who wears a Harpokrates lock, and who is heavily swathed in a himation. Both his arms and hands are held under his garment and completely covered, yet they are superbly modeled through the thick drapery by means of just a few well-chosen folds. The boy stands in a variation on a well-known Late Classical and Hellenistic pose, with his weight carried on his left leg, his right leg relaxed and set slightly to the side. His right arm is pressed against his chest, and wrapped tightly in the folds of his cloak, his hand pushing out against a thick roll of material. His left arm is pulled slightly back, flexed, and set by his side where the left hand grasps his himation; but here too the hand is concealed under the folds of his garment. The end of the himation is drawn about the boy’s neck and shoulders in a thick roll, which then hangs vertically down his back, weighted down with a tasseled drapery weight (the latter only cursorily worked since it would not have been seen). The himation comes down to just above the ankle on the boy’s right, hangs in a bunch below the left hand (fig. 21), and once fell to the ground beside the left foot, as is revealed by two traces of drapery on the plinth. The himation shows a thick hem at the bottom, and very

<sup>48</sup> H.G. Frenz, *Römische Grabreliefs in Mittel- und Südalien* (*Archaeologica* 37, Rome 1985) no. 10, pl. 5.

<sup>49</sup> Accordingly, in the restored drawing (fig. 25) the right hand has been drawn empty like **g** above—the “Apollo” from Perge.

<sup>50</sup> Stele from Kos: KP no. 20, pl. 31; Smith (*supra* n. 10)

fig. 311.

<sup>51</sup> On the palm trunk as statue support, see F. Muthmann, *Statuenstützen und dekoratives Beiwerk an griechischen und römischen Bildwerken* (Heidelberg 1951) 110–12, who regards it as an innovation of the Augustan period.

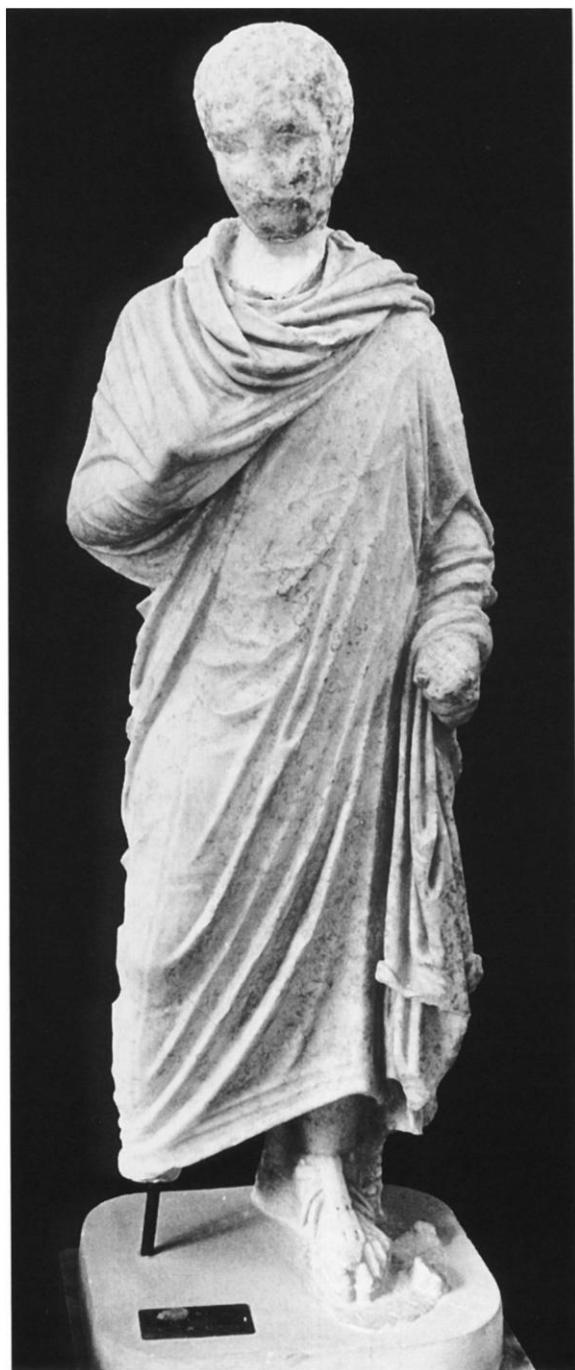


Fig. 20. Young boy wearing a himation, no. 4 (with head fragment 4A restored)

clearly indicated press folds running horizontally across the thighs, arms, and midriff. There are also vertical press folds running up the right leg and up the side of the right arm. The drapery is given a very lively and even mannered rendering, especially

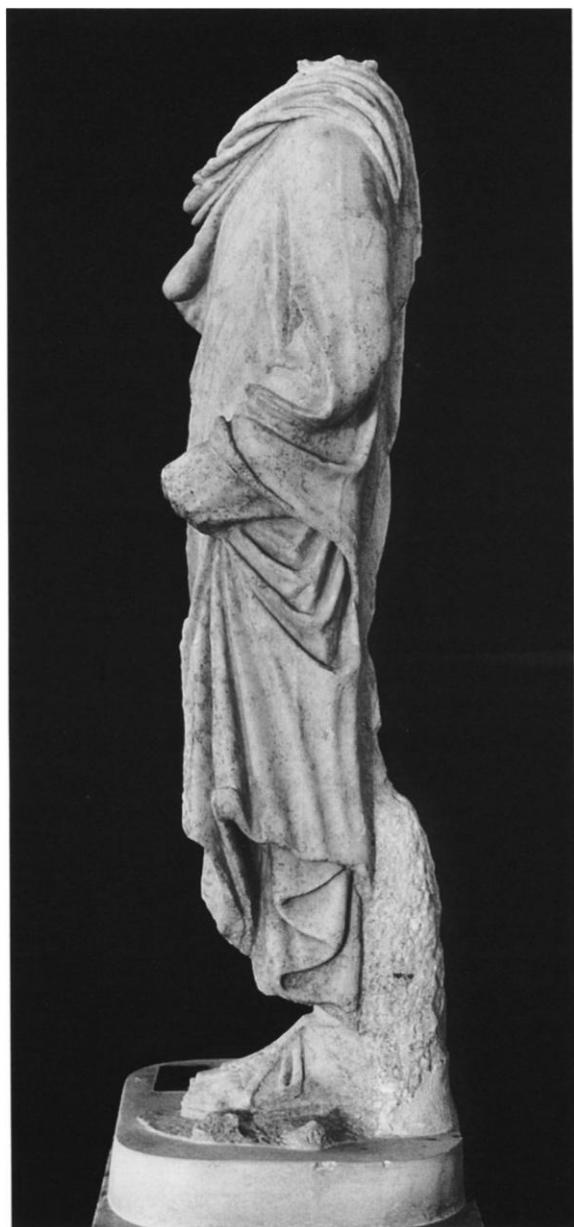


Fig. 21. No. 4, left side

around the neck, and where it hangs down to the ground on the left-hand side. On his feet the boy wears an elegant pair of sandals. Three long locks of hair lie neatly—almost symmetrically—arranged on the boy's left shoulder, and there is another to be seen on the back above the right shoulder blade.

The three long locks spilling onto the left shoulder of the statue clearly indicate that the portrait figure once wore a "youth lock" (*Jugend-lock*), like that worn by figures of the young Horus (Harpocrates) and young boys dedicated to the service of the

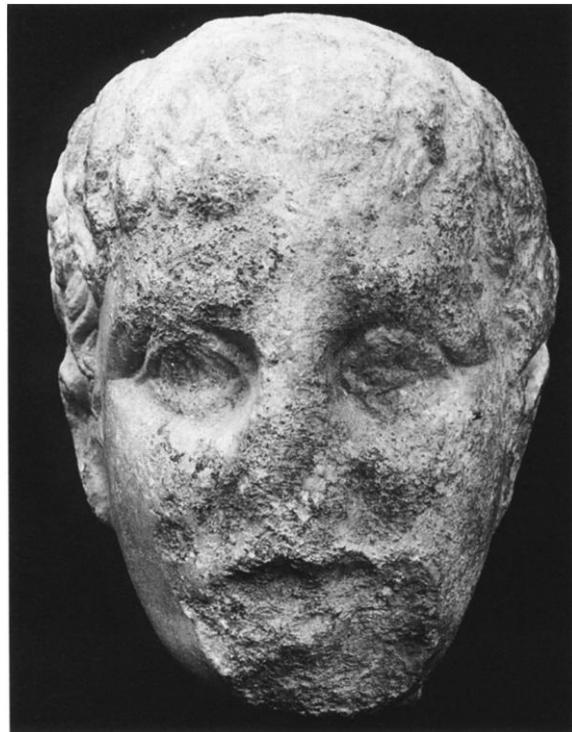


Fig. 22. Head of young boy with Harpokrates lock, no. 4A

goddess Isis.<sup>52</sup> The head (4A, figs. 22–23) was found far from the Bouleuterion in the fill from the upper cavea of the theater.<sup>53</sup> Although the neck is almost completely missing, the head is of the same scale (fig. 20) and the separate strands of the Harpokrates lock can be seen to line up with those on the shoulder (see fig. 24). There is also a recognizable continuity of style with the other figures. Although the eyes are damaged, they were evidently fairly shallow,



Fig. 23. No. 4A, right side

and close in form to those of 1 (figs. 8–9). Here too the hair is only sketchily indicated, and left rough toward the back, most of the effect being obtained through the addition of color.

The boy wears full civic garb, both hands concealed beneath his himation. This kind of draping is extremely popular for small boys in East Greek grave reliefs, and it is probably to be associated with contemporary ideas about what constituted a respectful and modest demeanor.<sup>54</sup> Thus, while 4 does not reproduce any known statue type, the figure repeats a standard formula within the Hellenistic reper-

<sup>52</sup> Portraits of young boys who wear the "Horus lock" were first collected and studied by V. von Gonzenbach, *Untersuchungen zu den Knabenweihen im Isiskult der römischen Kaiserzeit* (*Antiquitas* ser. 1, *Abhandlungen zur alten Geschichte* 4, Bonn 1957); and von Gonzenbach, "Der griechisch-römische Scheitelschmuck und die Funde von Thasos," *BCH* 93 (1969) 885–87; but the most up-to-date collection of examples is now provided by H.R. Goette, "Römische Kinderbildnisse mit Jugend-locken," *AM* 104 (1989) appendix, 210–17.

<sup>53</sup> For a plan of the entire city center of Aphrodisias, see R.R.R. Smith and C. Ratté, "Archaeological Research at Aphrodisias in Caria, 1993," *AJA* 99 (1995) 33–58, pl. II. This is not the only instance of a head discovered in the fill of the cavea of the theater being found to belong to a body from quite another area of the site. An inscribed shield bust of the philosopher Pythagoras, from a house to the north of the Sebasteion, was found in 1990 to join with another head unearthed in the fill of the theater: see

*Aphrodisias Papers* 2, 88 no. 29; and 159–61.

<sup>54</sup> This form of representation was perhaps felt to be appropriate for *paides*, the youngest pupils in the Greek gymnasium. For the various age divisions of the Hellenistic gymnasium, see M.P. Nilsson, *Die hellenistische Schule* (Munich 1955) 34–42. For the basic meaning of the covering of both hands, see Giuliani (supra n. 34) 159–60, 302 n. 233. Zanker 255 has recently argued that in the society of the Hellenistic polis, the strict code of conduct urged on citizens from their childhood is clearly reflected in the ways in which statues wear their garments: "Im ordentlich drapierten Mantel und im Vermeiden jeder Vernachlässigung oder Extravaganz der Kleidung kommt bürgerliche Korrektheit zum Ausdruck. Zurückhaltung bzw. Selbstbeherrschung werden darüber hinaus durch die Immobilisierung der Arme ins Bild gesetzt." Modesty and restraint are also intended to be expressed by the boy's downcast gaze. See Zanker (supra n. 2) 221.



Fig. 24. No. 4 with head (no. 4A) restored: detail of locks on head and shoulder

toire.<sup>55</sup> What makes the boy a little more unusual is his youth lock, which he wears on the back of his head.<sup>56</sup> This sort of Harpokrates lock is normally worn on the right. Boys from all over the Greek East begin to wear such youth locks from the early first century A.D. onward; by the second century portraits with this type of hairstyle can be found throughout the Roman empire. As noted above, it has been argued that those who wear them are boys dedicated to the cult of the goddess Isis.<sup>57</sup> But the boys do not all wear the youth lock in the same way as Harpok-

<sup>55</sup> The statue resembles a very fine Late Hellenistic bronze portrait of a boy from Hierapytna in Crete, though he wears his himation in a slightly different way: E.G. Raftopoulou, *L'enfant d'Hierapétra* (Paris 1975), dated there to the Julio-Claudian period; another version of this work also exists in Budapest: 25–26, pls. 14–15; Raftopoulou 17–18 also collects a series of parallels in other media. For a good discussion of the bronze, see Giuliani (supra n. 34) 159–60; some of Giuliani's observations are perhaps also applicable, though to a lesser degree, to the Aphrodisian statue.

<sup>56</sup> There are no other examples of freestanding statues of boys in full civic costume who wear a long youth lock, although we have a number of such representations on grave stelae. For a particularly close parallel for the Aphrodisias boy, see the grave stele of Diodotos, son of Diodotos: Goette (supra n. 52) appendix A, no. 3 (with earlier

rates does (on the right), and this may be significant. In more recent studies it has emerged that these portraits sometimes also display the paraphernalia of other well-known mystery cults: that of the cult of Dionysos, for example, and of the Eleusinian mysteries.<sup>58</sup> What this means for the interpretation of this class of portraits as a whole is not yet clear, but it raises some interesting possibilities.

There is some evidence, for example, for the assimilation of the goddess Isis to Demeter.<sup>59</sup> Thus, it is possible that some sort of syncretism of the two goddesses could have occurred at Eleusis, so that young boys dedicated to the service of Demeter took to wearing the Harpokrates lock. One might even postulate that there was extensive borrowing from one mystery cult to another during this period, so that young boys dedicated by their parents to the worship of Dionysos, or boys in Athens initiated into the mysteries, also began to wear the long youth lock as a sign of their special status—without any reference to the worship of Isis. Up to now there is no evidence for the worship of Isis at Aphrodisias. Could the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias have been assimilated by some with Isis? Or is this young boy wearing a long lock to indicate that he has been dedicated to the service of Aphrodite? In any case, for a young boy to display a long lock in this way is probably a mark of prestige. Like the young boys who wear the myrtle crown of the mysteries at Eleusis, this boy's hairstyle proclaims the honor he has received in being dedicated to the cult of the goddess—whether Isis or Aphrodite.

The long lock probably also reveals something about the boy's age. By collecting the inscriptions that sometimes accompany the images of these boys, Goette has established that in most cases the boys are not yet 10 years old, and are frequently only in-

literature); the young Diodotos, shown frontally like a statue, is likewise swathed in a himation with both hands covered, and also wears a youth lock at the back of his head. Thus, he has long locks flowing out from behind his head both to the right and to the left; Goette inexplicably lists him among boys who wear a youth lock only on the right side of the head.

<sup>57</sup> This is the interpretation of von Gonzenbach 1957 (supra n. 52), whose analysis has recently been reviewed and supplemented by Goette (supra n. 52) 203–10.

<sup>58</sup> For allusions to the worship of Dionysos in these portraits, and for a series of portraits from Athens and Eleusis that wear the myrtle crown of the Eleusinian mysteries, see Goette (supra n. 52) 207–209 (with earlier literature).

<sup>59</sup> Goette (supra n. 52) 207 n. 21.

fants.<sup>60</sup> The Aphrodisias boy is probably under 10—between 5 and 10 is likely. His diminutive scale when set beside the larger figures from the group (fig. 25) might have led us to expect that he was younger than his adult dress suggests. In fact, seen in the company of the other statues, he is very similar in scale to the figures of small children on Hellenistic grave stelae, who frequently appear in group compositions as tiny adults. As Goette points out, the fact that such boys are generally so young also confirms von Gonzenbach's original surmise, that these boys did not undertake any priestly duties, but were merely placed in the goddess's service or protection.

One assumption about the function of these portraits must now be modified, however. Observing that most of the preserved examples with a known context come from tombs, Goette concluded that portraits wearing the youth lock probably possessed an explicit *funerary* function, even when they were set up as votives in the sanctuary of the divinity to whom the boys were dedicated.<sup>61</sup> This statue, coming from a context in the city center of Aphrodisias, and part of an honorific family group, suggests that the youth lock should be understood as a mark of status as well as of religious devotion, and just as appropriate for a portrait of a living boy as for one dead before his time.

#### DATE OF THE GROUP

Within Aphrodisian sculptural production, these sculptures seem early in date. The sculptural technique and distinctive surface finish may be compared with the technique and finish of more closely datable material from the site. The preference of this workshop for complex piecing has already been mentioned, and broadly speaking this may be regarded as a general indicator of an early date. This prefer-

ence derives from Hellenistic sculptural practice, and the best parallels for the piecing of these statues are to be found in the Greek island workshops of the Hellenistic period, notably those of Kos, Rhodes, and Delos.<sup>62</sup> Although elaborate piecing of marble figures continues into the Early Imperial period,<sup>63</sup> later on it tends not to involve as many joins (this can be clearly observed at Aphrodisias). With the Imperial reorganization of the marble quarries, and a dramatic increase in the availability of large blocks of high-quality marble throughout the empire, sculptors gradually moved toward producing whole bodies sculpted out of a single block, the limbs strengthened by struts.

At Aphrodisias the most obvious comparison for these four portrait statues is with the relief figures from the monument of C. Julius Zoilos.<sup>64</sup> The surface finish preferred by the sculptors of the frieze is reminiscent of that seen on the portraits: finely smoothed, yet not polished. The carving of many of the figures represented on the frieze shares the crisp attention to detail, eschewing hard lines that can be seen in the portrait figures. One may compare, for example, the gorgoneion on the Andreia's shield in panel 1 (*Aphrodisias I*, pl. 5a) where the wings, feathers, hair, and Medusa's features all have the same soft, rather blurred modeling seen in the ornament of the cuirass of 1 (fig. 6). The rendering of locks of hair also shows the same kind of restraint: the beard of the herm in panel 3, for example (*Aphrodisias I*, pl. 8), or the hair of the youthful head in the background on panel 8. One might say that while the sculptors' grasp of the overall composition is very strong, and the lines of the design are always clear, the surfaces are allowed to flow into one another, and there is everywhere an absence of hard edges.

For flesh surfaces and the forms of the body, we

<sup>60</sup> Goette (supra n. 52) 209 n. 27; as Goette notes, the serious, thoughtful expressions of the boys has frequently led scholars to overestimate the age of these figures.

<sup>61</sup> Goette (supra n. 52) 209–10.

<sup>62</sup> For the elaborate piecing practiced by the Greek island workshops of the Hellenistic period, see KP (Kos); Merker (Rhodes, supra n. 46), esp. 8–9; Marcadé (Delos, supra n. 2) 109–12. For good discussions of the whole phenomenon of piecing, see A. Claridge, "Ancient Techniques of Making Joins in Marble Statuary," in *Marble: Art Historical and Scientific Perspectives on Ancient Sculpture* (Malibu 1990) 135–62; and on block sizes and chronology, see Claridge, "Roman Statuary and the Supply of Statuary Marble," in J.C. Fant ed., *Ancient Marble Quarrying and Trade* (Oxford 1988) 139–52.

<sup>63</sup> Cf., for example, the statue of Augustus in Thessaloniki: Walter (supra n. 41) 265, figs. 70–73; and the head-

less imperial portrait of similar type found in the same area and now displayed with it in the Archaeological Museum in Thessaloniki; cf. also the Julio-Claudian figure with hip mantle from the area of the Theater at Corinth: T.L. Shear, "Excavations in the Theatre District and Tombs of Corinth in 1929," *AJA* 33 (1929) 531, fig. 13; C.E. de Grazia, *Excavations of the American School of Classical Studies at Corinth: The Roman Portrait Sculpture* (Diss. Columbia Univ. 1973) no. 109.

<sup>64</sup> On the frieze of the monument of Zoilos there are depicted a series of almost life-size figures, intended to be seen close up and given a statuary finish. The architectural panels from the Sebasteion, on the other hand, set high up on the building, are not comparable in style or technique. For a discussion of their manufacture, and the level of finish and lack of finish to be seen in them: *Aphrodisias Papers* 1, 101–18.

may compare the nude upper torso of Timé in panel 2 (*Aphrodisias I*, pl. 7) with that of the half-draped youth (3, fig. 18). In both we see the forms of the body suggested by gentle modulations in the surface rather than by any more emphatic articulation. One may compare, for example, the modeling of the fleshy areas under the arms; or the mannerism of leaving the nipples as raised unarticulated surfaces—a treatment that contrasts strongly with the crisp rendering of the navel on both pieces. We find the same shallow eyes, and narrow, finely drawn eyelids on Roma in panel 6 (*Aphrodisias I*, pls. 18–19) and the Medusa (on Andreia's shield) in panel 1 (*Aphrodisias I*, pl. 5a) as we find on heads 1A and 4A (figs. 8–9, 22–23), while the rendering of the eyes of 2 (figs. 16–17) shows a much greater similarity to the single preserved fragment of Zoilos's face in panel 4 (*Aphrodisias I*, pl. 14); and his facial expression, with his knit brows and more deeply set eyes, is more reminiscent of Aion's in panel 7 (*Aphrodisias I*, pl. 20).

The drapery of the figures from the Zoilos frieze shows the same irregularly shaped folds, wide and rather shallow, with all trace of the drill carefully removed. One may compare the unusual design of the folds of Zoilos's toga in panel 2, where it bunches over Zoilos's upper arm (*Aphrodisias I*, pl. 7, and details pl. 6a–b), with the bunched chlamys on the left shoulder of 3 (fig. 18). From the same panel, the wide, shallow folds of Timé's himation, where it is drawn around her hips, are very similar to those of the chlamys of 3. The arrangement of the folds of Zoilos's chlamys in panel 4, on the other hand, where it is fastened around his neck and passes around his left shoulder (*Aphrodisias I*, pl. 13), is very close to that found in the same part of the chlamys of 1 (fig. 6); and the chlamys worn by the soldier from the Zoilos frieze is also given a strikingly similar treatment (*Aphrodisias I*, pl. 27b). Lastly, the pattern of thick folds of Zoilos's himation in panel 10, where they coil around his neck (*Aphrodisias I*, pl. 26a–b), provides a good parallel for the rendering of the same part of 4's himation (fig. 20); and the rather mannered, doughy rendering of the folds hanging down from the left arm of both figures is again very similar (cf. fig. 21).

These correspondences with the frieze of the Zoilos monument merely give a general indication of early date. Comparison with another portrait from

the site, a superb bust of Germanicus from the Sebasteion excavations, which shares the same distinctive matte finish and restrained style of carving, provides a more specific basis for the dating.<sup>65</sup> The bust naturally shows somewhat finer workmanship than the portrait bodies since—unlike the huge statues on their high bases—it was meant to be seen close up. But sculptural technique and surface finish are nonetheless very close.

Consideration of the manufacture and style of the pieces would therefore indicate an early date—either within or just after the earliest period of marble sculpture from the site, the period of Zoilos (the 30s and 20s B.C.). But the remarkable technical similarities shown by the bust of Germanicus argue for a somewhat later date, sometime in the early years of the first century A.D. This date might also be more acceptable for the portrait of the priest (2D), with his Augustan or Julio-Claudian-looking hairstyle.

#### RECONSTRUCTION OF THE GROUP

The reconstruction drawing (fig. 25) shows the four statues arranged according to their findspots, and some features of the figures themselves make this an effective group composition. The two figures on the right turn their heads to the left, while the two figures on the left turn to the right. In this way all the movement implicit in these figures seems to gravitate back toward the center. The older and younger figures in the group alternate, forming interlocking, balanced pairs. The two figures that frame the group each stand with the straight, weight-bearing leg providing a strong vertical accent at each end. What is the relationship of these figures to one another? They most likely represent members of a single family.<sup>66</sup> A glance at the epigraphic record at Aphrodisias helps us determine the sort of family with which we are dealing and the kind of individuals who were honored in this way, the positions and offices that they held within the city, and the types of benefactions for which they were honored.

Two adult male figures of identical size are shown, so the first possibility that we might consider is of a monument erected in honor of two brothers. Such a case is provided by Menippos and Zeno, two sons of Zeno, son of Kallias, who were both honored with portrait statues set up on identical bases, inscribed with identical texts, and clearly intended to be seen

<sup>65</sup> *Aphrodisias Papers* 1, 156, fig. 6. A full publication of this bust, together with a series of others found with it, is in preparation by J. Lenaghan.

<sup>66</sup> For the rationale by which honorific decrees were ex-

tended during the Hellenistic period to include members of the honorand's immediate family—the origin of the honorific portrait group—see Quass (supra n. 30) II.2, 40–56.

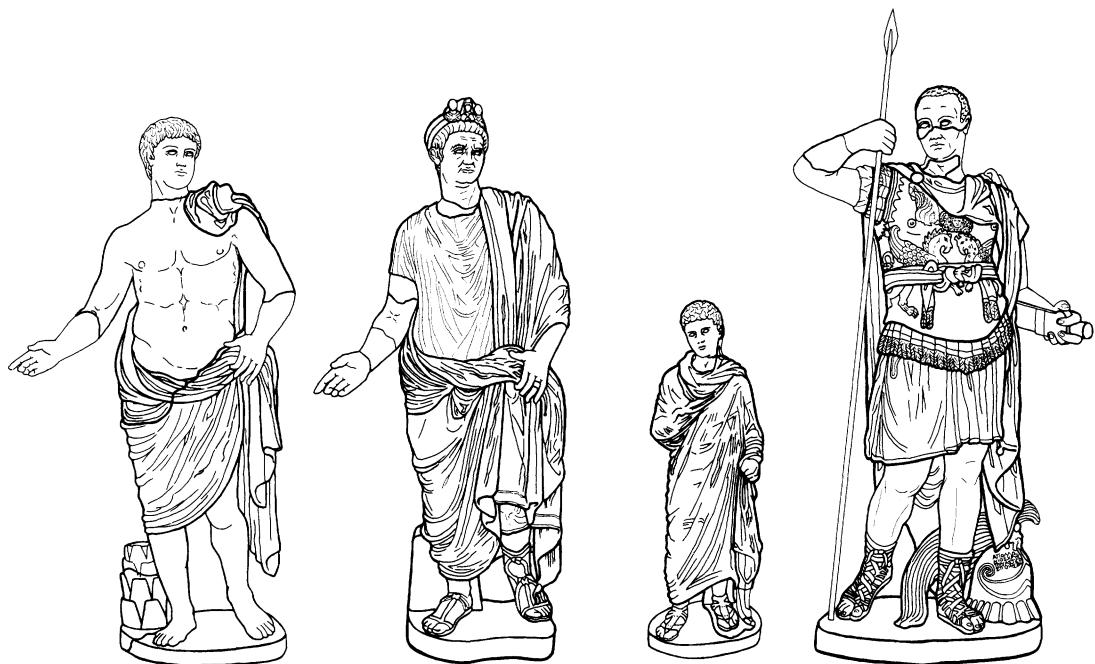


Fig. 25. Restored drawing of group (figures arranged according to their findspots). The most important restored parts that do not survive (rendered in a lighter line) are for no. 1: the lower part of the face, with most of neck, left arm and sword, most of right arm, front of crest of helmet, top part of chlamys bunched on left shoulder; no. 2: the lower part of the neck; no. 3: head and neck, left forearm below elbow, right forearm below elbow, entire lower body, legs, feet, and plinth; no. 4: neck, right foot, and most of plinth. (C.H. Hallett)

together.<sup>67</sup> They each held the office of high priest (*archiereus*), steward (*tamias*), and temple warden (*neopoios*), offices that their father had also held before them. From what we have observed in the two mature portraits themselves, however, in our group we may be dealing not with two brothers, but with father and son.<sup>68</sup> The group itself probably dates to the early part of the first century A.D. Yet on the panels of the Sebasteion, erected at approximately the same time (or not long afterward), the type of Hellenistic armor worn by the cuirassed figure was only used for heroes out of the legendary past; in other words, at the time this portrait was set up it was clearly designed to look "old fashioned."<sup>69</sup> The hairstyle and style of self-representation seen in the portrait head is immediately recognizable as Late Republican (figs. 8–9), while the hairstyle of the priest would perhaps be better described as Augustan or Julio-

Claudian (figs. 16–17). Thus, it might be argued, the priest has a "contemporary" portrait image, while the figure in armor has the characteristic portrait image of the previous generation.<sup>70</sup> One might hypothesize, then, a monument to the son in which the father was also honored.

#### *Strategos*

I noted earlier that there was at Aphrodisias a "strategos in charge of the territory"; but by the Early Imperial period this office—if it still existed—would presumably not have required many military responsibilities. In the preceding generations, however, there had clearly been a number of Aphrodisians who had distinguished themselves in military operations, in the fighting that swept across the region during the Roman civil wars. One thinks of Artemidoros the stephanophoros, leader of the auxiliary forces

<sup>67</sup> Aphrodisias statue base catalogue: I-42 and I-61; both are unpublished texts from the corpus of Aphrodisian inscriptions currently being prepared for publication by J. Reynolds. The more complete of the two texts (inv. 88-9) comes from statue base I-61.

<sup>68</sup> For the honoring of fathers (and *proxenoi*) jointly with their sons in honorific decrees, see Quass (supra n. 30) 40–44.

<sup>69</sup> See supra n. 11.

<sup>70</sup> The result is something like the combination of different kinds of portrait images that one finds in the funerary reliefs of Roman freedmen of the Augustan period. See, e.g., D.E.E. Kleiner, *Roman Group Portraiture* (New York 1977) nos. 3, 41. Older individuals were often portrayed in Late Republican style, while the young (and especially children) more readily take over the new portrait style created for the imperial family; see, e.g., Kleiner nos. 36, 69, 88.

from Aphrodisias that in 88 B.C. went to the aid of Q. Oppius, besieged at Laodicea by the army of Mithridates of Pontos (*AR* 11–16, doc. 2); or of Kallikrates, son of Pythodoros, who was honored by the Aphrodisians as “savior and benefactor, having saved his country from many great dangers, having fought bravely in all the wars that beset his country, having guarded the forts entrusted to him by the city, and having preserved faith to the common interest in the most difficult circumstances”<sup>71</sup> and who set up a figure of victory, which he inscribed (*AR* 154, doc. 31): “Kallikrates, son of Pythodoros, dedicated to the Demos the victory that accompanied him in all the wars and dangers in which he strove on his country’s behalf.” Kallikrates is described in another inscription as “having held offices not subject to account during the wars,” “having been ambassador to the authorities in Rome,” and “having struggled against the enemy and killed 60 of them.” In recognition of his outstanding public services, he was accorded burial in the gymnasium, an honor that ranked him as a founder of the city (*ktistes*) (*AR* 151, doc. 28).

The battles in which Kallikrates fought are not specified in the epigraphic record, but it is likely that his main exploits belonged to the war of Labienus (41 B.C.), when it is known from other sources that there was fighting in Aphrodisian territory. It is also possible, however, that he fought against Brutus and Cassius in Asia in the triumviral period. It is someone of Kallikrates’ generation, then—one who played this sort of role for the city during those turbulent times—whom one might naturally commemorate with an armored portrait, even years later. It would also be someone like him, whose close connections with Rome (he served on embassies to Rome and was priest of the goddess Roma) might have led him to adopt for himself the assertive military appearance of a Roman Republican leader, with short-cropped hair.

#### *Priest*

According to this hypothesis, the focus of the honorific group would then be the priest, a man of the following generation. He would appear at the center flanked by his two sons, with the portrait of his famous father balancing the group on the far right. We know from his crown that he was priest of the

local cult of Aphrodite (as had been C. Iulius Zoilos before him); and, as we inferred earlier, he was probably a “vigorous benefactor” of the city, who thought of himself as belonging to the “patrician class” of Aphrodisias. The inscribed statue bases in the city wall offer good examples of the kind of man with whom we are dealing and what one might expect his career in civic life to have been like. Adrastos, son of Nikotimos Hierax (*MAMA* VIII, no. 484), is a case in point:

The young men [οἱ νέοι] honor with the highest and greatest honors Adrastos, son of Nikotimos Hierax, son of Artemidoros, son of Zeno [ὑὸν νέων], a man great in his love of the patris and his love of the citizen body [ἄνδρα μέγαν φιλόπατριν καὶ φιλοπολείτην], being a benefactor and founder of the demos through his ancestors, having served as a high priest of the divine emperors, gymnasiarich twice, making abundant distributions of olive oil without end, having been stephanophoros twice, agonothetes three times, agoranomarch four times, founder, having frequently served as ambassador on behalf of the patris, being a public advocate for civic affairs, having given public banquets and distributions of cash from his own pocket with great extravagance, both on account of his constant goodwill toward the patris, and because of his benevolent disposition toward the young men, living as a pattern of virtue.

Adrastos was clearly a man for whom civic euergetism was a way of life. He was a member of the local nobility—he belonged to one of the founding families of the city. He is described as philopatris and philopolites and had shown unstinting generosity toward the patris (*πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα δημεκῆ εὔνοιαν*). In no other way could he have won the distinguished titles euergetes and *ktistes* (founder)—the latter title being so prestigious that it implies that Adrastos was eligible for burial within the city, as Kallikrates was.<sup>72</sup> He held a prestigious priesthood (that of the divine emperors) and had performed all the major civic offices several times—running the gymnasium, staging the contests that accompanied the local festivals, regulating the public markets—each one of them an expensive proposition, requiring considerable outlay of one’s own funds. He had been active as an advocate on behalf of public causes, and had gone on diplomatic missions as an ambassador representing the interests of the city. Finally, he had feasted the citizens at his own expense, and on occasion given out distributions of cash to the whole

<sup>71</sup> *AR* 153, doc. 30, pl. 23.1; for the identification of the individual described here and in several other similar texts as Kallikrates, see *AR* 154–55.

<sup>72</sup> For an Adrastos who was accorded intramural burial at Aphrodisias, see now J. Reynolds, “Benefactors at Aph-

rodisias and a New Inscription of Adrastos,” in C. Roueché and R.R.R. Smith eds., *Aphrodisias Papers 3. The Setting and Quarries, Mythological and Other Sculptural Decoration, Architectural Development, Portico of Tiberius, and Tetrapylon* (*JRA Suppl.* 19, Ann Arbor 1996) 121–26.

populace. In short, he was a true “polis-patriot.” We may imagine that the priest in the sculptural group played a role at Aphrodisias not unlike that of Adrastos, son of Nikotimos.

#### *Older and Younger Sons*

There is a second case at Aphrodisias of portraits of two brothers being set up together, which perhaps corresponds to the situation of the two minors in our group. Adrastos and Hierokles, sons of Hierokles, the son of Adrastos, were both honored by the gerousia (the council of elders) in very similar terms, on similar bases.<sup>73</sup> Very unusually, each is named in the inscription only as ἄνερ καλὸς καὶ αγαθὸς διά προγόνων, “a gentleman”—a man of respectable background—“through generations,” without reference to any office held or service performed. No further reason is given for honoring Adrastos, and Hierokles is only honored in vague terms for “having shown goodwill toward the gerousia” (φιλαγάθως διατεθέντα τῇ γερουσίᾳ). If these men had actually held public office, it would be unusual for this to have been omitted on the occasion of the award of an honorific statue. But if we are dealing with young men who have not yet begun to take a role in civic affairs, then the reticence of the inscription would be explained. In addition, the bases are of different sizes: although they are identical in height, the base of Adrastos is ca. 94 cm across the top, while that of Hierokles is only 73 cm. They are thus probably made to support statues of slightly different sizes (though of larger scale than our two young brothers). The gerousia may have been honoring their father, Hierokles, son of Adrastos, and at the same time also set up these two statues of his sons, one elder, one slightly younger—in which case the parallel with the sculptural group would be close. In any case, the inscriptions that accompanied the two minors must have been something like those inscribed for Adrastos and Hierokles. For they are not being honored for themselves, or for any services or benefactions that they have performed, but as part of a larger tribute to their father.

Although their presence in the group is subordinate, the two sons *do* embody certain aspects of

civic ideology that form part of the larger picture of this exemplary family. The youth is shown nude, with only a chlamys draped loosely around him. Like so many sons in portrait groups, his nudity probably marks him out as an athlete.<sup>74</sup> It indicates his age, and shows that he is receiving a public education in the gymnasium. The young boy, on the other hand, is represented in full civic costume, tightly wrapped in his himation, with both hands covered. This embodies an ideal of personal conduct, and expresses the correctness of the boy’s upbringing. Both costumes underline the family’s adherence to the norms of civic life, and its participation in the shared culture of the polis. In addition, the presence of the two boys celebrates the continuity of this important local family.<sup>75</sup> They are included in the monument, one suspects, in part to give them—from the very beginning—a place in the family’s public role, and to start them off early on the path of civic euergetism. A continuity in roles is also being subtly foreshadowed in these portraits. The youth is portrayed, like both his father and grandfather, in a very active posture; and he wears the chlamys, the garment of action (whether for hunting or warfare). He is given an image that is associated in Greek art with leadership (the dramatic turn of the head, the dynamic movement). He is meant to be seen as a young man who aspires to emulate his forefathers’ prominence in the city and their vigorous activities on behalf of the state, while the young boy wears in his hair a youth lock, which dedicates him to the service of a divinity. We may infer that the family’s leading role in public religion at Aphrodisias is also intended to continue, and to be passed from one generation to the next.

#### CONCLUSION

We will almost certainly never know precisely whom among the local elite these four statues represent. But the sculptors, Apollonios Aster and his workshop, characterized the portraits so skillfully that, as we have seen, much of the general meaning of the monument can still be reconstructed.

The endless repetition of the words of thanks in honorific decrees sometimes seems to rob them of

<sup>73</sup> Aphrodisias statue base catalogue I:76 (Adrastos), I:77 (Hierokles); unpublished inscriptions inv. 87-371 and 87-372.

<sup>74</sup> One may compare figures of sons seen in two portrait groups of the fourth century B.C.: 1) Sisyphos II, son of the dedicatory himself, from the Daochos group at Delphi, whose nudity is clearly characterized as athletic since he is leaning on a herm, symbol of the gymnasium: for the

group, see Dohrn (*supra* n. 2); 2) Polyxenos, son of Nikeratos, from the Kallithea Monument in the Piraeus Museum, whose nudity is shown to be athletic by the small slave boy who accompanies him and carries his folded cloak and a small oil bottle: see Ridgway (*supra* n. 2).

<sup>75</sup> For the stressing of family tradition in honorific decrees, and heirs inheriting the role of public benefactor from their forefathers, see Quass (*supra* n. 30) 46–56.

their emotional force. In the same way, the lofty ideals of Greek civic life, when expressed in the bombastic artificial language of "chancery style," can come to seem like empty phrases: trite formulas routinely deployed. But these portrait statues were made to embody those same civic values directly, so that the admired qualities of real individuals could be made visible and serve as a model for others.<sup>76</sup> The award of an honorific statue was one of the highest honors to which the citizen of a Greek city could aspire. For many the public recognition it signaled marked the crowning achievement of their lives, the goal toward

which all their efforts and personal expenditure had been directed.<sup>77</sup> In these dramatic portraits we behold the "polis-patriot" and his family as they saw themselves, and as they wished others to see them. The ideals of a whole way of life are brought vividly before our eyes.

DIVISION OF ART HISTORY  
SCHOOL OF ART  
UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON  
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON 98195  
CHALLETT@U.WASHINGTON.EDU

---

<sup>76</sup> Hence the formula found on so many Aphrodisian statue bases: πρὸς ὑπόδειγμα ἀρετῆς: "a model of virtue" (e.g., MAMA VIII no. 484).

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Zanker 253: "Eine Ehrenstatue war der Inbegriff für die Anerkennung von Verdienst und Leistung durch die Polis. Sie stellte in der allgemeinen Vorstellung der Gesellschaft offenbar einen so überragenden Wert dar, daß es . . . kein größeres Lob für den Toten gegeben zu haben scheint als die bildliche Versicherung, er habe eine

---

oder mehrere solcher Ehrenstatuen erhalten oder aber, wenn dies nicht der Fall war, er hätte sie zumindest verdient gehabt . . . Die Grabreliefs bezeugen hier zweifellos kollektive Vorstellungen: Nicht nur die politischen Aktivisten gierten nach Ehrenstatuen, die ganze Gesellschaft sah in ihnen höchst erstrebenswerte Zeichen der Anerkennung für eine erfolgreiche und moralisch vorbildliche Lebensführung."