

**ROMAN SCULPTURE IN ASIA MINOR**

**Proceedings of the International Conference to celebrate the  
50th anniversary of the Italian excavations at Hierapolis in Phrygia,  
held on May 24-26, 2007, in Cavallino (Lecce)**

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Proceedings of the International Conference  
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## Preface

The conference “Roman Sculpture in Asia Minor,” held on May 24-26, 2007, was designed to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Italian excavations at Hierapolis of Phrygia. In 1957, following an invitation extended by A. H. Mansel, P. Verzone, then an engineer from the Turin Polytechnic teaching at the Teknik Üniversitesi in Istanbul, planted his tent on the plateau of Hierapolis. That moment marked the beginning of field activity that has continued uninterrupted to the present day. The Hierapolis excavations are presently conducted with the cooperation of 7 Italian universities: Salento (Lecce), the Turin Polytechnic, Napoli “Federico II”, the Catholic University of Milan, Venice “Ca’ Foscari”, Roma “La Sapienza”, and Messina. Recently, we welcomed members of two foreign institutions, the Frontinus-Gesellschaft and the University of Oslo. The publication of the conference proceedings in the *JRA* Supplementary Series constitutes an important complement to the volumes produced in recent years by the Missione Archeologica Italiana a Hierapolis (MAIER) with Ege Yayınları in Istanbul. Those volumes present results of the ongoing study of Hierapolis and its surroundings: an archaeological guidebook of Hierapolis-Pamukkale by F. D’Andria, an epigraphic handbook by T. Ritti, a guide to mediaeval Hierapolis by P. Arthur, excavation reports (*Hierapolis di Frigia* I and IV), the *Atlante di Hierapolis (Hierapolis di Frigia II)*, and monographs such as the Doric architecture at Hierapolis (*Hierapolis di Frigia III*) by T. Ismaelli.

The excavation and restoration programme at Pamukkale represents an important instance of cooperation and scientific exchange between Italian and foreign scholars, including Turkish colleagues and authorities. Thus the conference warmly welcomed the President of the Pamukkale University, Denizli, N. Fazil Ardiç, who emphasized the relevance of the joint research taking place at Hierapolis and Laodikeia and in the Lykos valley as a whole. Turkey is now the meeting place of several privileged archaeological missions, and their activities are made possible through the generous support of the Turkish Ministry of Culture, represented at the conference by M. Ayaz, Director of the Excavation Service. We also welcomed H. Baysal, Director of the Denizli Museum, who is actively engaged in efforts to preserve and enhance the cultural heritage of the territory of Denizli.

A congenial environment for our conference was found in the newly restored gallery of the Palazzo Ducale at Cavallino (Lecce), which is adorned with striking frescoes and “pietra leccese” statues by Carlo D’Aprile, a 17th-c. artist from Palermo, that illustrate Cesare Ripa’s *Iconology*. The conference brought together major scholars in the field of Roman sculpture in Asia Minor in order to discuss key aspects of the discipline, present new data, and explore recent scholarly trends. One *leitmotif* was the contextualization of sculptural finds within the topographic and social landscapes of cities such as Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Hierapolis, Ilion, Laodikeia, Pergamon, Perge, and Sagalassos. Another focal point was the construction of local identity and especially how cultural memory could be expressed visually against a background of diverse power relationships between Rome and the communities of Asia Minor. A third theme concerns modes of production, trade, and technical aspects of workshop activity, for which epigraphic evidence offers assistance. The existence of “schools of sculpture” was challenged and debated in a stimulating fashion.

The conference was made possible through the generosity of several institutions and friends: the Italian Ministry of Education; Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs; T. C. Kültür vz. Turizm Bakanlığı; the Region of Puglia, and its Assessore al Mediterraneo, Prof. S. Godelli; the Province of Lecce and its President, Sen. G. Pellegrino; the Municipality of Lecce and its Mayor, Hon. A. Poli Bortone, the Presidente dell’Agenzia Patrimonio Culturale Euromediterraneo; the Municipality of Cavallino and its Mayor, Avv. M. Lombardi; the Hon. G. Gorgoni, Assessore alla Cultura di Cavallino and our kind host; O. Limone, Rettore of the University of Salento, with its Facoltà and Dipartimento di Beni Culturali; the Scuola di Specializzazione in Archeologia “Dinu Adamesteanu”; and the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche — IBAM, Istituto per i Beni Archeologici e Monumentali. Our warmest thanks go also to the Banca Popolare Pugliese; to C. Tafuro of RI Costruzioni e Prefabbricati for his instrumental contribution to the logistics of the conference at the Perla Hotel in Marina di Casalabate; and to L. Memmo of Castello Monaci, wine-makers in Salento.

Above all, the organizers welcomed the opportunity to bring to Lecce so many old and new friends of Turkey and of Hierapolis in particular. Beyond its scholarly success, we hope the conference will be remembered as a time of conviviality and a celebration of camaraderie, appropriately sanctioned as we danced the "pizzica" together in the Salentine countryside of the Museo Diffuso in Cavallino, one of the most important archaeological sites of Messapia.

Francesco D'Andria

Iliaria Romeo

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# The “Beautiful Tomb” and civic identity in Julio-Claudian Hierapolis

Ilaria Romeo

The so-called *Tomba Bella* is a monumental *heroon* located in the N necropolis of Phrygian Hierapolis, immediately outside the N Byzantine gate. The tomb was excavated by P. Verzone in 1960 but never fully published.<sup>1</sup> Until the Byzantine period, the monument stood within the residential quarter which occupied the area after the destructive earthquake of A.D. 60.<sup>2</sup> This indicates the importance conferred upon this *heroon*, which must have belonged to a prominent member of Hierapolitan society. The inclusion of the tomb in the residential quarter indicates that it must pre-date A.D. 60. The Claudian date for the tomb and its sarcophagus, first advocated by V. M. Strocka but challenged by recent studies,<sup>3</sup> can now be confirmed.

## The *heroon*

The tomb was located in a wide precinct paved by white marble slabs (fig. 12.1). Today only the travertine core of the quadrangular podium, originally clad in marble,<sup>4</sup> is preserved in its original location.<sup>5</sup> A number of marble mouldings, travertine blocks and other architectural elements are preserved either *in situ* or around the monument. A detailed analysis by D. Panariti and R. Ungaro, which will be fully presented elsewhere, has produced a graphic reconstruction and architectural study of the *heroon*.<sup>6</sup> The tomb featured an inaccessible travertine podium reveted in marble and articulated by *lesenae* on the corners. The S front featured an Ionic pronaos with two columns between the antae. On the upper storey, a Corinthian pronaos led to a wide *cella* where the monumental sarcophagus was displayed. The tomb featured a sloping roof with marble tympana on both sides. Its Julio-Claudian date is confirmed by comparison of its architectural details with those attested on contemporary monuments of Asia Minor.<sup>7</sup> Because of its architectural type and the high quality of its decoration, the “Beautiful Tomb” stands out in the general context of Hierapolitan and contemporary Asia Minor necropoleis.<sup>8</sup>

## The sarcophagus

The sarcophagus’ elevated position on the upper storey of the tomb indicates that it was meant to be partially visible from the exterior in order to exalt the illustrious personality of the deceased, his ancestral pride, and his privileged relationship with Rome. Now very fragmentary, the sarcophagus featured an architectural lid, a tall base, and a chest decorated on 4 sides by a continuous narrative frieze framed by angular pillars and surmounted by fruit garlands hanging from bucrania (fig. 12.2). The reconstructed chest’s size was impressive: length 2.43 m, or *c.*3.00 m including the podium, and height of *c.*2.50 m with the lid.

- 
- 1 Verzone 1960-61, 640. Also: Berns 2003, 127-28, 215, 12A2; Cormack 2004; cf. D’Andria 2003, 86-88. On the N necropolis, see Ronchetta and Mighetto 2007.
  - 2 De Bernardi Ferrero 1963-64, 391-92.
  - 3 Strocka 1978, 900-5. Accepted by: Waelkens, *Dokimeion* 1982, 17 (Hierapolis G1); Gliwitzky 2005, 104. Rejecting a Claudian date: Pülz 1989, 100 ff., pl. 36.1-4, who proposed a Trajanic-Hadrianic chronology, subsequently accepted only by Berns 2003, 215. Köster (2004, 151, n.1135) tentatively advances a Flavian date.
  - 4 Total podium length 6.60 m (including the antae); width 5.50 m; max. pres. height 1.80 m.
  - 5 On the urban layout of Julio-Claudian Hierapolis, see Scardozi 2008, especially 31-34. On the exact location of the Tomba Bella, see *ibid.* fig. 1, and Romeo 2008.
  - 6 A preliminary study in Panariti 2008; Ungaro 2008.
  - 7 Ungaro 2008, 72-77.
  - 8 Panariti 2008, 91-100.

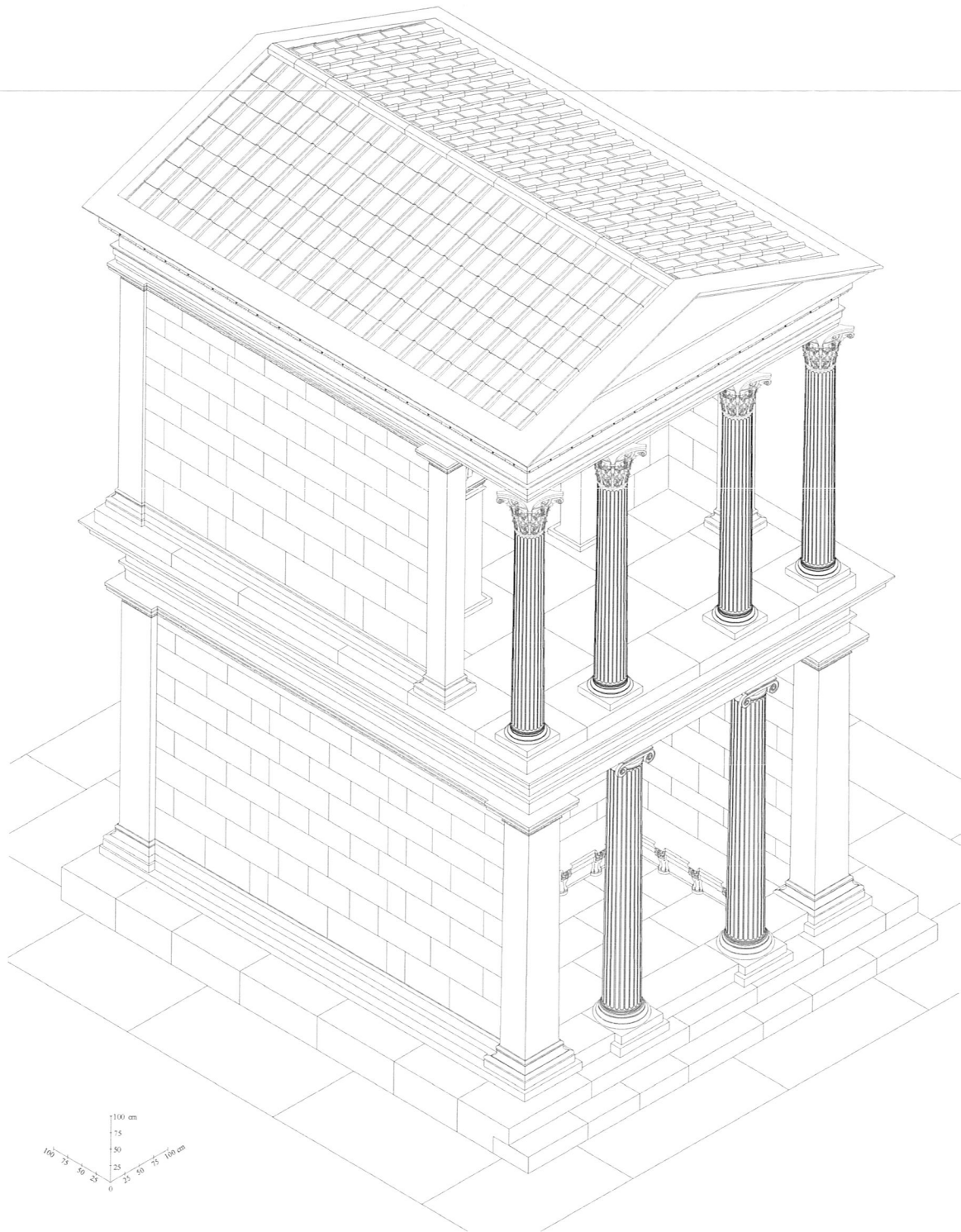


Fig. 12.1. "Tomba Bella", Hierapolis: reconstructed axonometry (D. Panariti).

Due to its scale and the complexity of its iconographical program, the sarcophagus occupies an exceptional position in the Asiatic series. Especially noteworthy among contemporary examples is the unique use of a narrative frieze. For this reason, the sarcophagus cannot immediately be ascribed to either the garland or the frieze series. Its originality and innovative character suggest that it was specially commissioned. M. Waelkens notes how this monument anticipates by about two generations the decorative conventions which became typical of the school of Dokimeion, to





Fig. 12.2. Reconstruction of sarcophagus (1978) (Hierapolis Museum; M. A. Döğenci).

which he attributed the piece. It must be noted, however, that the white marble used for the chest and its podium display medium-size crystals with rare grey veins and a yellowish patina: from visual examination and on the basis of scientific tests, this kind of marble does not seem to originate from the quarries at Dokimeion.<sup>9</sup>

A preliminary restoration of the sarcophagus was displayed in 1978 by F. D'Andria in the Pamukkale Museum, where it still sits today (fig. 12.2). The new graphic reconstruction presented here (figs. 12.3-6) was made possible by the identification in the local storerooms of new fragments belonging to the chest. They all feature the same marble type, scale, technical details, and high quality of workmanship.

<sup>9</sup> Waelkens (*Dokimeion* 1982, 17) believed it be from Dokimeion, even though this is generally fine-grained (Pensabene and Attanasio 2002, 68). D. Attanasio kindly tells me that a preliminary test on the marble, which appears middle-grained and of low intensity, excludes a Dokimeion provenance. For a different proposal, see below. On the marbles used for the sarcophagi of Hierapolis, see Frate 2007.

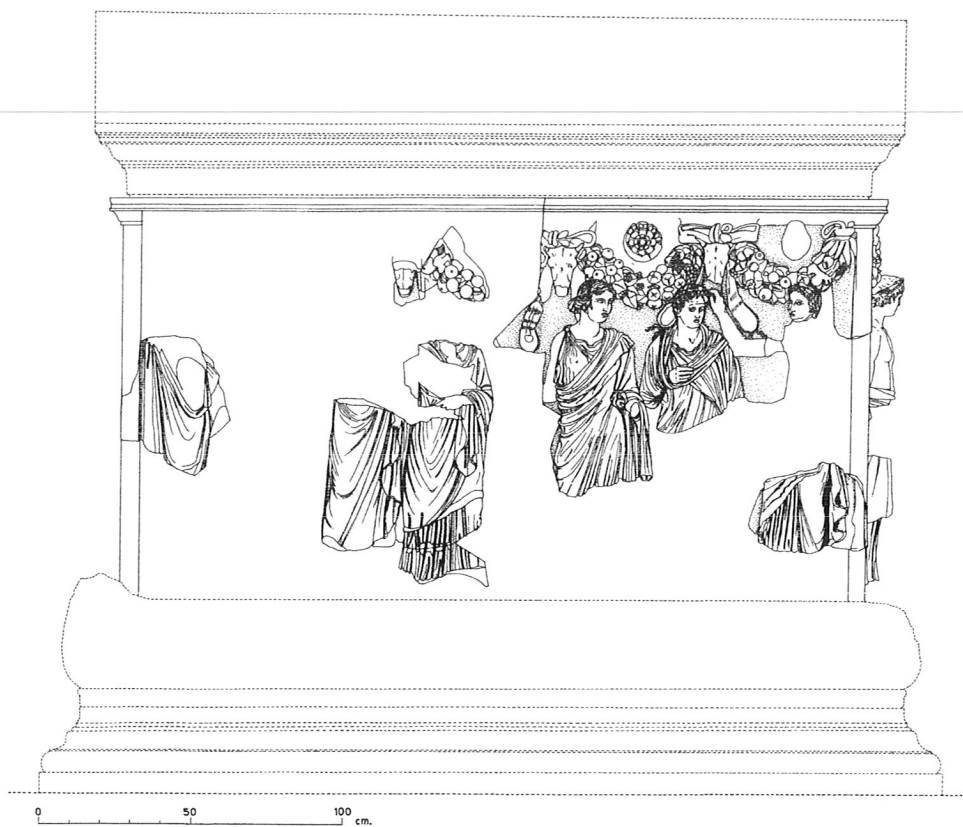


Fig. 12.3. Proposed reconstruction of side A (R. Rachini).



Fig. 12.4. Proposed reconstruction of side B (R. Rachini).



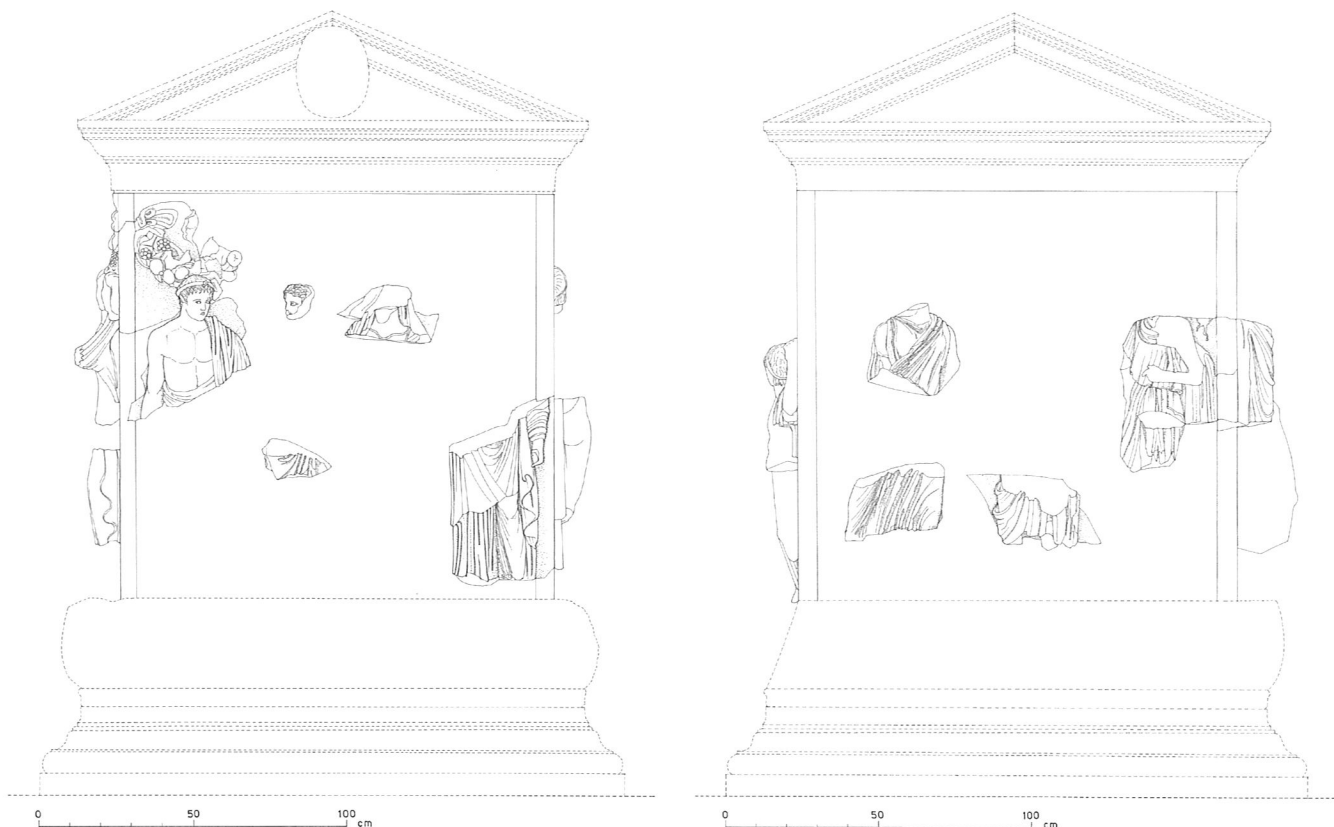


Fig. 12.5 [above]. Proposed reconstruction of side C (R. Rachini).

Fig. 12.6 [above right]. Proposed reconstruction of side D (R. Rachini).



Fig. 12.7 [right]. Detail of sarcophagus base (Hierapolis Museum; author).

### *The base*

The base, made of adjacent rectangular blocks carved in the same marble as the chest, ranks among the most monumental supports for Early Imperial Asiatic sarcophagi (fig. 12.2).<sup>10</sup> Its elaborate profile, as well as the use of corner acanthus tufts, betrays its high quality compared to most contemporary Asiatic products. The base is decorated with a complex series of mouldings: the most useful chronological indicators are the Lesbian kymation and the torus decorated by acanthus scrolls emerging from angular tufts (fig. 12.7). A Claudian date is suggested by comparison with architectural decorations of independently-dated Asiatic buildings. The stylized eyes of the acanthus lobes find a parallel on the pulvinus of the Ionic capitals in the N porticus of the S agora at Aphrodisias (the Portico of Tiberius).<sup>11</sup> The same motif can be identified at Hierapolis on the

10 H. 0.66 m; l. at the base 2.98 m; w. at the base 1.98 m.

11 Waelkens 1987, 123-24, pl. II.2-3.

Corinthian capitals from the Julio-Claudian pseudo-monopteros in the sanctuary of Apollo.<sup>12</sup> On the Ionic capitals in the Portico of Tiberius we find the same kind of Lesbian kymation, and an identical example exists at Hierapolis on the Ionic capitals from the Julio-Claudian pseudo-monopteros.<sup>13</sup>

The acanthus frieze is one of the most noteworthy examples from Asia Minor due to its exquisite freshness and the variety of its workmanship. It is difficult to find parallels for it in the realm of architectural decoration, which can often be rather coarse. The scrolls originate from powerful acanthus tufts and spread in a series of medallion-like volutes ending with vegetal flower-like motifs. The stems are faceted, and the lively bractea emerge crisply from the background. During the Claudian period, examples of similar design and workmanship are attested at Rome.<sup>14</sup> R. Köster rightly points out that the scheme of the Hierapolitan scrolls is not Asiatic.<sup>15</sup> Close parallels from Asia Minor are quite rare.<sup>16</sup> The best comparison is with Base 3 from the E front of the Didymaion, dated to the reign of Caligula.<sup>17</sup>

#### *The lid*

The sloping marble lid of the sarcophagus is monolithic and barrel-vaulted inside. Traces of repair are visible on one of the lion spouts of the long side. The marble used for the lid originated from a different source than the one used for the chest and base: it was probably quarried locally at Denizli.<sup>18</sup> The local marble chosen for the lid may have been less costly than that used for the rest of the sarcophagus. Yet the association between lid and sarcophagus appears likely given their corresponding dimensions and the typological and stylistical affinity of the lid's friezes to the architectural mouldings of the *heroon*.<sup>19</sup> The architectural decoration of the lid is highly classicizing. The center of the pediment featured a head of the Rondanini Medusa type (fig. 12.2). Such a motif rarely occurs in a similar position and this seems to be the earliest instance in Asia Minor.<sup>20</sup> The corners of the lid were originally occupied by vegetal acroteria, now largely lost.

#### *The chest*

Around the chest runs a figurative frieze surmounted by fruit garlands, bucrania and paterae (fig. 12.2). The colossal size of the chest (l. 2.43 m; w. 1.38 m) can be reconstructed from the distribution of the garlands, five on each long side and three on the short ones. The corners are occupied by thin pillars in relief. The originality of the layout is evident from its decorative scheme: the association between a figurative frieze, fruit garlands, and bucrania lacks exact parallels among Asiatic sarcophagi.<sup>21</sup> The realistic bucranium, with the indication of the semi-circular jawbone, is very different from the stylized conception of Hellenistic examples and fits the typology common in the East only after the completion of the Ara Pacis. The bucrania were evidently modelled on metropolitan prototypes.<sup>22</sup> The association of bucrania and fruit garlands does not appear before the end of the Hellenistic period and may also have been modelled on the Ara Pacis.<sup>23</sup> The evident

12 Heilmeyer 1970, 85-86, fig. 22.3; De Bernardi Ferrero 2002, 22, fig. 36; Semeraro 2007, 203, fig. 48 a-b.

13 Semeraro 2007, 180, fig. 14; Ismaelli 2009, 148, n.34.

14 Schörner 1995, cat. no. 212, pl. 34.4; cat. no. 200, pl. 34.5; cat. no. 211 a-b, pl. 35.1-2.

15 Köster 2004, 194, cat. no. BH11. His Flavian date for the sarcophagus is based on doubtful comparisons.

16 A later echo of the scrolls from the "Tomba Bella" appears on a frieze from the vicinity of the gate of Frontinus at Hierapolis: see De Bernardi Ferrero 2002, 10-11, figs. 18-19. Her Flavian dating might, however, be too late: see now D'Andria *et al.* 2008, 83.

17 Gliwitzky (2005, 102, figs. 8-9) rightly rejects the Trajanic-Hadrianic dating proposed by Pülz (1989, 100).

18 D. Attanasio, pers. comm.

19 Ungaro 2008.

20 İşik 1988, 285. Another example: Berns 2003, cat. no. 17 A1, pl. 17.6. Cf. Stročka 1996, 466, fig. 30. On the typology: LIMC IV (1988) 347, s.v. "Gorgones Romanae" (O. Paoletti) no. 25.

21 The similarity with the Karacaviran *ostheoteka* is only partial: İşik 1982, 78, fig. 23.

22 Berges 1986, 23 ff., especially 30 f. and 43 with bibliography; Köster 2004, 17. In general, EAA II Suppl. (1971-94) 770-71, s.v. "bucranio" (C. Börker).

23 Berges 1986, 103 ff.; id. 1993, 24. For some doubtful precedents from Ephesus, dated to the second half of

looseness of the festoons (fig. 12.2), together with a certain coarseness in the rendering of surface details, is very typical of Claudian garlands.<sup>24</sup> The festoons on the plinths of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias and those on the N colonnade of the Portico of Tiberius display the same stylistic features, as well as a similar shape and disposition of the taenia.<sup>25</sup>

#### *The figurative frieze*

On the basis of the newly-identified fragments of the chest, it is possible to offer a new reconstruction of the frieze (figs. 12.3-6).<sup>26</sup> Admittedly, the data on which our reconstruction is based is limited: the figures are highly fragmentary, not identified by inscriptions, and for the most part lack distinctive attributes.<sup>27</sup> The reconstruction presented here is therefore tentative, but some important elements can be discerned.

1. The largest fragment on side A shows an aged male (A1), dressed in *tunica* and *himation*, who is being crowned by a figure on his left. He must be identified with the deceased (figs. 12.2, 12.8).
2. The lack of religious attributes makes it difficult to identify divine figures; in some cases this points towards their identification as abstract personifications. The whole scene seems to belong to a civic, rather than a cultic or mythological, context.
3. Several seated or standing figures wearing a diadem (B1, B2, B3) are present (figs. 12.12-15). One holds a spear or a long scepter in his left hand (B2). From the Hellenistic period the diadem was an attribute of royalty. It therefore suggests that the frieze is one of historical commemoration.

The closest model of reference, despite the chronological and stylistic differences, is C. Julius Zoilos' *heroon* at Aphrodisias, dated c.20 B.C.<sup>28</sup> On its 4 sides run a frieze honoring Octavian's *libertas*. He is celebrated also by personifications of his personal virtues. Those who commissioned and those who carved the Hierapolitan sarcophagus must have been familiar with Zoilos' relief.

#### Reconstruction of side A

**A1.** The main character here is the deceased, who wears a tunic covered by the *himation*, the typical attire of notables in the Roman East (figs. 12.2, 12.3, 12.8).<sup>29</sup> His individualized features betray the signs of age. He wears a leafy crown with a central medallion, probably decorated by a floral motif. He belongs to the typology of *palliati*, often found in funerary monuments and derived from Late Classical prototypes.<sup>30</sup> A useful chronological parallel for his *Zeitgesicht* is the portrait of Claudius on a relief from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias:<sup>31</sup> the rather flabby complexion and general pictorial quality, as well as the voluminous and individualized treatment of the locks, can be compared to our figure.

**A2.** To the right of the deceased is a strongly classicizing female with very idealized portrait features (figs. 12.2-3; 12.8). Her hair is drawn into a simple chignon, and she wears a *chiton* with a *himation* gathered near her left elbow. Iconographically, the figure can be traced back to the so-called Berlin-Kaudos type, dated to the first quarter of the 4th c. B.C.<sup>32</sup> Popular in funerary and honorary portraiture of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, this type was well known at Hierapolis since at least 4 variants may come from the sanctuary of Apollo.<sup>33</sup> The iconography is also attested in Aphrodisias, where it was used for the portrait of Agrippina Minor in the relief

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the 1st c. B.C., see Outschar 1990, 76, fig. 13; Rumscheid 1994, 163 f.; Chaisemartin 2001, 149; Köster 2004, 19, pl. 106.3-4.

24 Parallels from Rome: Honroth 1971, 23-29, nos. 35-48; Sinn 1987, 26 ff., nos. 51-87; Herdejürgen 1996, 18, fig. 110.2 and 4. On the stylistic development of garlands in Asia Minor, see Köster 2004, 19.

25 Chaisemartin 1987, 135 ff., especially figs. 1-2, 5-6, 11-13 and 19-22; Smith 1988a, tav. 8.1-9; Strocka 1996, 462, fig. 1; Gliwitsky 2005, 104 f., fig. 12. For the taenia, cf. Smith 1988a, pl. 8, especially figs. 1-3 and 7-8.

26 Until now, it has not been possible to locate in the Pamukkale Museum an additional head belonging to the frieze.

27 For a detailed catalogue of the new fragments, see Romeo forthcoming.

28 Smith, *Zoilos* 1993.

29 On the civic meaning of the *himation* in the Roman East, see Smith 2008.

30 Bieber 1959, 218; ead. 1977, 129 ff. On the celebrative meaning of such attire, see Zanker 1993, 216.

31 Smith 1987, 106-10, no. 3, pls. 8-9.2; Smith *et al.*, *Roman portrait statuary* 2006, 47, pl. 152.6.

32 Kabus Jahn 1963, 17 and 99, n.66 (list of replicas); Hitzl 1991, 64-66, and n.379. Cf. *LIMC* VIII (1997) 958, s.v. "Persephone" (G. Güntner) no. 16.

33 Bejor, *Le statue* 1991, nos. 25-28, tav. 29-33.1.



Fig. 12.8. Detail of side A (A1-A3), including festoons, rosettes and bucrania (Hierapolis Museum; M. A. Döğenci).

from the Sebasteion<sup>34</sup> as well as for the personification of *Mneme* on the Zoilos frieze.<sup>35</sup> On our sarcophagus, one could expect that the type was used to represent the wife of the deceased, but she can be identified with a different figure (A4). The distinctive idealization of A2, together with her slightly larger size when compared to the male character next to her, points towards an interpretation as a personification. The analogy with Aphrodisias would suggest an identification with *Mneme*, the eternal memory of the deeds of the deceased.<sup>36</sup>

**A3.** The male figure A1 is being crowned by a figure to his left, of which only one arm is preserved (figs. 12.3 and 12.8). It can be identified with the Tyche of Hierapolis by attributing to it a veiled head (fig. 12.9) which features on its back a pinhole to fasten a metal crown or a diadem.<sup>37</sup> The lower part of a corner figure standing next to a pillar can also be associated with this figure (fig. 12.3). As reconstructed, the iconography corresponds to the Late Hellenistic typology of Fortuna, the so-called "Claudia Justa" type.<sup>38</sup> A cornucopia was presumably held in her left arm. On Hierapolitan coins Tyche is shown in similar attire.<sup>39</sup> Through the presence of Tyche the city is honoring a prominent citizen.

**A4-A5.** It is possible to identify the spouse of the deceased with a female figure represented according to the Pudicitia scheme, in an allegory of modesty and moderation (fig. 12.10). An association between *palliatus* (A1) and Pudicitia is frequently attested for the depiction of married couples on Asiatic funerary reliefs.<sup>40</sup> On the frieze Pudicitia is accompanied by another female (A5). This may be a personification of virtue (*Arete*), often associated with *Mneme* in heroic and funerary contexts.<sup>41</sup> Representing civic virtue *par excellence*, but

34 Supra n.29.

35 Smith, *Zoilos* 1993, 49 ff., no. 8, fig. 11, pl. 22.

36 On the rare representations of *Mneme*, see *LIMC* VI (1992) 628-29, s.v. "Mneme" (O. E. Ghiandoni).

37 Inv. no. 792 (H394/B).

38 Guerrini and Gasparri 1991, 41-44, no. 11, pls. 12-13 (E. Ghisellini). Cf. *LIMC* VIII (1997) 128, s.v. "Tyche-Fortuna" (F. Rausa) IIb, especially nos. 28b and 30. Cf. Lichocka 1997, nos. 336-37 and 352.

39 *LIMC* VIII (1997) 629, s.v. "Hierapolis I" (T. Ganschow) nos. 1c-d (bust with a diadem), 2a and 4a (whole figure). In the theater reliefs a different scheme is used for Tyche, while an identical one is used for Agonothesia: Ritti, *Hierapolis I*, 1985, 63, 75, pls. 2a, 2b and 7a.

40 Zanker 1993, 222. On the iconographical type, see Bieber 1977; Linfert 1976, passim.

41 *LIMC* II (1984) 581-82, s.v. "Arete" (J.-C. Balty).



Fig. 12.9. Head of *Tyche*, attributed to A3 (Pamukkale, MAIER storeroom; author).



Fig. 12.10. Wife of the deceased and personification of *Arete* (A4-A5) (Hierapolis Museum; M. A. Döğenci).

also typically pertaining to the feminine sphere, *Arete* generally lacks specific attributes. Without an inscription her identification generally depends on the context. On the Zoilos frieze she is attested by a fragmentary inscription, while a niche on the façade of the Library of Ephesus contained an inscribed statue of the personal *Arete* of Celsus.<sup>42</sup>

**A6-A7.** At the left end is a corner fragment with a pillar featuring a male figure in profile. His upper half and both legs above the knee are missing (fig. 12.3). He wears an Early Imperial toga with a small *umbo* and probably without a *sinus*, a type much favoured in the Roman East; its folds fall back from the left shoulder.<sup>43</sup> Next to him are the scanty remains of another character, whose state of preservation prevents identification. The attitude of the togate figure is reminiscent of the *Demos* on the Zoilos frieze, there half-draped according to the Classical scheme.<sup>44</sup> The *Demos* of the Romans may be represented here. In the East he sometimes wears a toga, as can be seen on the Sebasteion relief<sup>45</sup> and on the coinage of Synnada.<sup>46</sup>

The presence of the *Demos* of the Romans as a pendant to the *Tyche* of Hierapolis can be interpreted as an allusion to both communities to which the deceased proudly belonged — Rome and Hierapolis. It could also signal that the deceased enjoyed the status of Roman citizenship, a conclusion supported by other elements on the frieze (see below). Side A therefore honors a notable married couple for having served their local community with integrity and generosity, while underscoring their membership within an élite circle of Roman citizens.

#### Reconstruction of side B

The reconstruction of side B (fig. 12.5) is tentative given the paucity of pertinent fragments. Nevertheless, an interpretation can be put forward which accounts for most of the existing evidence and appears coherent with the general programme of the frieze.

42 For Zoilos: Smith, *Zoilos* 1993, 55-56, no. 13, fig. 14, pl. 28b. On Celsus: *LIMC* II (1984) 582, s.v. “*Arete*” (J.-C. Balty) no. 3.

43 Goette 1990, 41; cf. Smith *et al.*, *Roman portrait statuary* 2006, 104-7, no. 2, pl. 6.

44 Smith, *Zoilos* 1993, 32-33, no. 3, pls. 10-11.

45 Smith 1987, 107-8, no. 3, pl. 8; and 114, no. 5, pl. 12.

46 Head 1906, 394, nos. 15-16. On the *Demos* of the Romans in the East, see Fayer 1978.



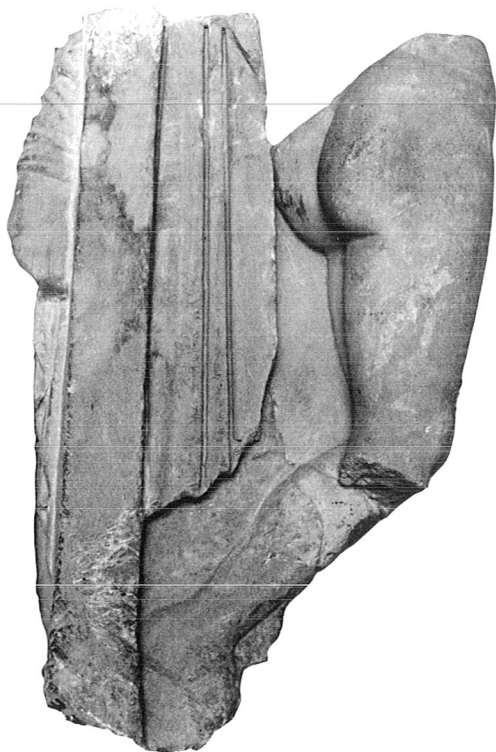


Fig. 12.11. Hellenistic prince wearing a *chlamys*, Fig. 12.12. Male head wearing a diadem, attributed to B1 (Pamuk-lower half (B1) (Hierapolis Museum; M. A. Döğenci). kale, MAIER storeroom; author).

**B1.** A corner fragment including the pillar and the lower half of a male figure, entirely naked except for a short *chlamys*, can be located at the left of this side (fig. 12.11). The mantle falls back from the shoulders and the figure rests on the right leg, while the left is lightly bent and retracted. The *chlamys* was typically worn over a naked body by specific groups such as hunters, warriors, and athletes.<sup>47</sup> The heroic connotations of this attire explains its adoption for the representation of Hellenistic kings: together with the diadem, the *chlamys* was a characteristic attribute of royalty.<sup>48</sup> This observation has consequences for the interpretation of the frieze. I believe that we can attribute to this figure a male head with short hair, wearing a diadem (fig. 12.12). The face is somehow individualized, and it was intended to be viewed from its right profile. The figure's diadem and *chlamys* link it to dynastic iconography.

**B2.** A better preserved fragment, located at the opposite end of the same side, shows a seated character in a three-quarters view (figs. 12.13-14). He wears a mantle over his legs (now lost); a portion of it was folded over the left shoulder in the *Schulterbausch* motif. He wears a diadem over his voluminous short hair. His left arm was originally raised to hold a metal scepter or spear. His features (fig. 12.14) are strongly individualized and a short beard is lightly carved on his cheeks. Similarities can be noted between this figure and dynastic Hellenistic portraiture. In particular one notes the remarkable affinity with the royal portrait P130 in the Pergamon Museum of Berlin which is generally identified with Attalos I or Seleucos I.<sup>49</sup> Features shared by the two include: the disposition of the hair on the forehead, the plastic rendering of the forehead as seen especially in the profile, the short fleshy mouth, and the wide chin. Differences exist in the construction of the eyes, which are more strongly overshadowed by the eyelids in the Pergamene example.

**B3.** The relief fragments include another male head wearing a diadem. The figure was originally displayed in a three-quarters view towards the right (fig. 12.15). His long hair features a slight *anastole*. The carving style is basic, and rather hard when indicating sharp details such as the eyebrows or the wrinkles on the forehead: for a similar kind of workmanship, one may compare the portrait of Tiberius on the Sebasteion relief at Aph-

<sup>47</sup> Smith, *Roman portrait statuary* 2006, 132 ff.

<sup>48</sup> Smith 1988b, 34-38.

<sup>49</sup> Attalus I: Winter 1908, 144 ff., no. 130; Özgan 1981, 502 ff.; Smith 1988b, 79 ff., no. 28, pls. 22-23.1; Queyrel 2003, 95 ff., C1, pls. 12-14 with bibliography. Seleucos I: Delbrück 1912, 38-41; Fleischer 1991, 1-15 (*contra* Queyrel 2003, 104). See now Gans 2006, 20-42, cat. no. 4 (Attalus I).



Fig. 12.13 [left]. Seated Hellenistic prince (B2) (Hierapolis Museum; M. A. Döğenci).

Fig. 12.14 [below left]. Detail of male head (B2) (Hierapolis Museum; M. A. Döğenci).

Fig. 12.15 [below right]. Male head wearing a diadem (B3) (Pamukkale, MAIER storeroom; author).



rodiasias.<sup>50</sup> The heroic character of the head, clearly inspired by Alexander’s iconography, suggests it was set over a fragment of a half-draped torso belonging to a seated male<sup>51</sup> facing the same direction as figure B2 with a similar posture and attire. We may therefore reconstruct a group of three half-draped male figures with diadems on side B (fig. 12.4).

**B4-B5.** Between the standing figure on the left and the two seated on the right, one may position a group of two interlocked females (fig. 12.4). The one on the right wears the *peplos* over the *chiton* and a heavy mantle, and is not veiled. The other partly overlaps her companion, lifting her left arm in front of her chest.

The presence on side B of three diademed characters connects the frieze with the realm of Hellenistic royalty. One might recognize here royal ancestors and their wives, from whom the deceased was proud to claim descent. Hierapolis was probably a Seleucid *katoikia* re-founded by Eumenes II

50 Smith 1987, 121-23, no. 8, pl. 19.

51 Inv. no. 947 (H97).

with his brother Attalos I.<sup>52</sup> Attalid eponyms inserted among the names of the city tribes inscribed on the seats of the *cavea* of the Severan theatre attest to the refoundation,<sup>53</sup> and the Seleucid and Attalid eponyms were preserved into the Roman era.<sup>54</sup> To the Severan phase of the theatre also belong the inscribed *clipei* portraying Eumenes and Attalos.<sup>55</sup> The recollection of illustrious *progonoi* is a recurrent feature in decrees honoring prominent citizens of Roman Asia.<sup>56</sup> A few explicitly claimed descent from royal dynasties, including the Attalids and Seleucids. An exemplary case is that of senator Gaius Julius Severus from Galatia who claimed to descend from Celtic and Macedonian royalty, as well as from Attalos II himself.<sup>57</sup> Similarly, Julia Severa from Phrygian Acmonia asserted both royal descent and her status as mother of a Flavian senator.<sup>58</sup> Many other examples could be added.<sup>59</sup> Royal ancestors are sometimes represented on funerary monuments, such as on the famous Athenian *heroon* of Gaius Julius Antiochos Philopappos featuring statues of Antiochos IV of Commagene and Seleucos I Nicator.<sup>60</sup> I provisionally suggest that the family which commissioned the “Beautiful Tomb” wished to commemorate, on side B of the sarcophagus, their royal ancestry and that these royal ancestors may have included the Attalid or Seleucid founders of Hierapolis.

#### Reconstruction of side C

Amongst those who conceived the Hierapolitan *heroon*, civic pride and celebration of the Hellenistic past did not conflict with a loyal, close relationship to Rome. Rather, the monument visually suggests a strong connection between these two spheres, particularly through the representations on its short sides. Once again the remains supporting our reconstruction are very fragmentary (fig. 12.5).

**C1.** A corner fragment depicting a young and idealized male figure belongs to the left end (fig. 12.16). He turns toward his left and is crowned by a figure of whom only a hand and part of an arm survive. His oval face is strongly classicizing and he wears a foliate crown with a round central medallion, identical to the one worn by the deceased (A1), except for the semi-lunate elements which fall from its lower edge in imitation of metal pendants. His idealized traits, together with the adoption of the classical scheme of the *Hüftmanteltypus*, seem more appropriate for a personification than a portrait. This character may be identified with the *Demos* of Hierapolis, frequently depicted on the local coinage as a young laureate figure.<sup>61</sup>

**C2.** A head represented in left profile and a fragment of drapery belong to the figure situated to the left of C1, an idealized male in the act of crowning (fig. 12.17). Based upon numismatic parallels, the figure may be identified with *Synkletos*, the eastern personification of the Roman Senate.<sup>62</sup>

**C3.** On the right corner of side C may be positioned a frontal female resting on her left leg. She is clad in a *chiton* and mantle, which folds around her left arm to drape beside her (fig. 12.18).

52 On the Attalid re-foundation of Hierapolis, see F. Guizzi in Ritti, Miranda and Guizzi 2007, especially 597-600.

53 Kolb 1974, 255 ff.; Ritti, *Hierapolis I*, 1985, 120 f.; Schalles 1985, 47, n.305; 112 f., n.673; Kolb 1990.

54 Kolb 1974, 259-60, nos. 2-3.

55 Queyrel 2003, 185 ff., D9, pl. 31.1-2.

56 Quass 1993, 40 ff.; Chaniotis 2004, 277 ff., no. 1. On an ancestral statue group from Aphrodisias, see Hallett 1998. Ancestors are mentioned as city founders in an honorary inscription from the same city: *I Aph* 12.306.

57 Halfmann 1979, 151, no. 62; Quass 1993, 74. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> 573; *OGIS* 543 (=IGRR III 174); *OGIS* 544.

58 *MAMA VI* 254; cf. Halfmann 1979, 31, 102 under no. 5a.

59 E.g., the claimed descent from Seleucos Nicator in *IGLSyr IV* 1264 (=IGRR III 1011; *OGIS* 263). See also *IGRR III* 191-92 (cf. Halfmann 1979, no. 5); *IGRR III* 208. More examples in Quass 1993, no. 279. On the connections between the progeny of Asiatic royal families and the representatives of Roman power, see Sullivan 1977; Frézouls 1992; Remy 1993.

60 Kleiner 1983, 90-92, pls. 22-23. This custom could go back to the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus: see Jeppesen 2002. On this phenomenon, see Fleischer 2002. For the Hellenistic royal masks on the frieze of the porticus of Tiberius at Aphrodisias, see Chaisemartin 1987, 90-92, pls. 22-23. Diademed heroes or kings are also attested on the unpublished reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias, currently under study by R. R. R. Smith.

61 Head 1906, 238, nos. 66-75, pl. 30.7; Johnston 1984, 74-75, nos. 57-65.

62 Head 1906, 241-42, nos. 82-95, pl. 30.10; Johnston 1984, 75-76, nos. 67-75; cf. *LIMC VII* (1994) 828-29, s.v. “Synkletos” (F. Canciani). In general, see Forni 1953.





Fig. 12.17 [above]. Head of *Synkletos* (C2) (Pamukkale, MAIER storeroom; author).

Fig. 12.16 [left]. *Demos* of Hierapolis (C1) (Hierapolis Museum; R. Ungaro).

C4. In the interest of symmetry, one could add next to C3 the fragment of a veiled female figure being crowned by someone on her left, of whom only part of a naked arm survives (fig. 12.19). Part of a *taenia* is preserved on the right of the veiled woman. She may be identified with *Boule*, who generally is veiled in numismatic depictions.<sup>63</sup>

On side C (fig. 12.5) are two couples in a scene expressing the privileged relationship of the civic body of Hierapolis with Rome. On the left, *Demos* is being crowned by *Synkletos*, the personification of the Roman Senate,<sup>64</sup> while on the right the veiled *Boule* is crowned by *Gerousia*, the local assembly of elders.

#### Reconstruction of side D

This highly fragmentary side (fig. 12.6) also appears to celebrate the loyal relationship between Hierapolis and Rome.

D1. Two fragments represent a female moving rapidly to the right (fig. 12.20). Her head must have been bare with her hair drawn up at the back. She wears a sleeveless *chiton* covered by the *himation* which crosses the chest diagonally.<sup>65</sup> One may identify her as *Pistis*, the Eastern *Fides*<sup>66</sup> and a personification of loyalty towards Rome, whose military power was evidently embodied by the soldier to the right (D3). *Pistis* is also attested by an inscription on the Zoilos frieze,<sup>67</sup> where she represents his faithful allegiance to Rome. The only preserved

63 Head 1906, 240 f., nos. 75-78, tav. 30.8; Johnston 1984, 73, no. 56. In general, see *LIMC* III (1986) 145 f., s.v. “Boule” (V. Komninos).

64 Head 1906, 241, nos. 79-81, pl. 30.9. In general, see *LIMC* VIII Suppl. (1997) 608, s.v. “Gerousia” (S. Schultz).

65 The lower half of this figure is certainly inv. 665 (H 86.150).

66 *LIMC* VII (1994) 412-13, s.v. “Pistis” (M. Caccamo Caltabiano); Hölkeskamp 2000.

67 Smith, *Zoilos* 1993, 58-59, no. 14, fig. 15, pl. 28c.

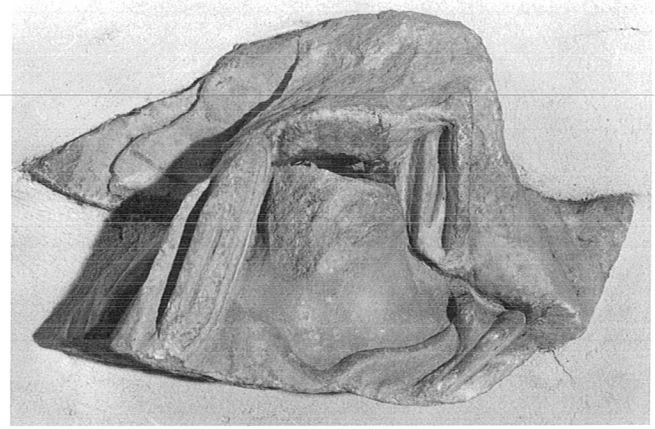


Fig. 12.19 [above]. *Boule*, fragment of neck (C4) (Hierapolis Museum; M. A. Döğenci).

Fig. 12.18 [left]. *Gerousia*, lower half (C3) (Hierapolis Museum; M. A. Döğenci).



Fig. 12.20. *Pistis*, fragment of torso (D1) (Hierapolis Museum; M. A. Döğenci).



Fig. 12.21. Soldier, fragment of torso (D3) (Hierapolis Museum; author).

representation of *Pistis* is found on a Locrian coin of the Hellenistic period,<sup>68</sup> and its iconography is consistent with this figure.

D2. Positioned between D1 and D3 is a male wearing the *himation*, tentatively identified with the deceased.<sup>69</sup> Only a fragment of the draped legs survives.

D3. On the right end is a figure turned towards the observer (fig. 12.21). He wears military attire: a belted tunic and a *paludamentum* that falls backwards towards the corner pillar.<sup>70</sup> In his retracted left hand, the soldier held a stick or a spear as a symbol of his rank.<sup>71</sup> His right arm stretches forward in a gesture of greeting or alliance. A similar figure, also interpreted as a soldier, appears on the Zoilos frieze.<sup>72</sup> Here this figure might generically symbolize the Roman army.

Side D underlines the rôle of the owner of the tomb in brokering the loyal relationship between the military power of Rome and his own city of Hierapolis.

### The "Beautiful Tomb": an hypothesis concerning its attribution

For whom was this *heroon* destined? Though epigraphical data is absent, its exceptional design and workmanship, as well as iconographic details, suggest that its owner was a prominent member of Hierapolitan society. He was probably granted Roman citizenship in reward for some exceptional service towards his community.<sup>73</sup> On the basis of prosopographical testimonia from Julio-Claudian Hierapolis, an hypothesis as to its ownership can be put forward. Despite its tentative nature, it at least illustrates the social milieu to which the owner belonged.

Local numismatic issues from the reign of Claudius, dated between A.D. 50 and 54, are signed by a Marcus Suillius Antiochos, *grammateus*. He signed monetary issues for Claudius, Britannicus and the young Nero,<sup>74</sup> before disappearing from the record with the accession of Nero to the Imperial throne. One of his issues depicts a hexastyle temple with the legend GENEI SEBASTON, 'to the Imperial family', on the obverse.<sup>75</sup> This temple dedicated to the Imperial cult may have been constructed with Antiochos' aid. It would have enrolled Hierapolis in the competition between Asiatic cities for the *neocoria*.<sup>76</sup>

Marcus Suillius Antiochos is one of the few Roman citizens known from Julio-Claudian Hierapolis.<sup>77</sup> Prosopographical analysis suggests that he might have received citizenship through the intercession of a member of the prominent Roman family of the Suillii, whose close relationship with Asia Minor is well attested. The most likely candidates are Publius Suillius Rufus (*cos. suff.* A.D. 41 or 44; *procos. Asiae* A.D. 53-54)<sup>78</sup> or his son Marcus Suillius Nerullinus (*cos.* A.D. 50; perhaps *procos. Asiae* A.D. 69-70).<sup>79</sup> In order to receive the patronage of such an important family, whose fluctuating fortunes at the Imperial court are recorded by Tacitus (*Ann.* 13.43), Antiochos must have performed an exceptional service towards Hierapolis. What may have prompted such generosity?

68 LIMC VII (1994) 412, s.v. "Pistis" (M. Caccamo Caltabiano) no. 1; Smith, *Zoilos* 1993, 59, pl. 30a.

69 Inv. no. 1442.

70 Brilliant 1963, 140 ff.; Hallett 2005, 334-35.

71 Polito 2007; I am grateful to the author for his valuable suggestions about this figure.

72 Smith, *Zoilos* 1993, 55 f., cat. no. 11, pl. 27.

73 On "double citizenship" in Roman Asia, see Smith 2008.

74 Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992, nos. 2969-73.

75 Ibid. no. 2973.

76 Ritti 2003, 179.

77 Holtheide (1983, 66) believed this to be the only instance, but a recently-discovered fragmentary inscription mentions a Gaius Iulius (T. Ismaelli, pers. comm.).

78 PIR S700; RE 4A.1 (1931) 719-22, s.v. "Suillius" (M. Flüß) no. 4; Syme 1970, 27-39; Vogel-Weidemann 1982, 387-97, no. 52; Stumpf 1991; Weiser 1998, 279; Tortoriello 2004, 570-72, no. 64.

79 PIR S699; RE 4A.1 (1931) 718-19, s.v. "Suillius" (M. Flüß) no. 3; Vogel-Weidemann 1982, 394-95; *Neue Pauly* 11 (2001) 1091, s.v. "Suillius" (W. Eck) no. 2; Tortoriello 2004, 569-70, no. 63.

Natural catastrophes offered members of the élite the motivation to embark upon extensive programmes of public beneficence. In the 1st c. A.D. Hierapolis was hit by several earthquakes: before that of A.D. 60<sup>80</sup> were two more earthquakes, one in A.D. 17, felt from Phrygian Laodiceia to the island of Chios,<sup>81</sup> and another under Claudius in A.D. 47. According to Syncellus, Hierapolis, Laodiceia and Colossae were all affected by the destructive events of 47.<sup>82</sup> In light of the chronological coincidence, euergetism might be expected from Antiochos after the earthquake of 47 and his reward would have been a grant of Roman citizenship. We do not know how he might have contributed, but recent work in the area of the sanctuary of Apollo at Hierapolis reveals an hitherto unsuspected extension of the Julio-Claudian building programme in the area.<sup>83</sup>

### The workshop

The decoration of the sarcophagus must have been influenced by the Zoilos frieze. The extensive iconographical coincidences between the two monuments can hardly be attributed to mere chance. Further, preliminary tests carried out on the marble of the chest rule out an origin at Dokimeion. The oxygen isotopic values tend to be negative, which supports an attribution to Aphrodisian quarries.<sup>84</sup> Analysis of the decorative elements and portraits reveal a series of stylistic and iconographic affinities with the decoration of the Portico of Tiberius and the Sebasteion, both Julio-Claudian in date. An extensive knowledge of metropolitan models is also attested by the adoption of decorative motifs such as the bucranium and fruit garlands of Ara Pacis type, as well as the acanthus frieze on the base. The "school" of Aphrodisias may have played a rôle in the monument's planning and execution, or possibly in the training of the local workshop. Similar conclusions have been reached about the architectural decoration of the *heroon*.<sup>85</sup> The early phases of activity of the Roman-Asiatic "schools" await further investigation, and this preliminary analysis of the Beautiful Tomb is intended as a contribution to their understanding.

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80 Guidoboni 1989, 664.

81 *IGRR* 1237; Suet., *Tib.* 8; *Orac. Sybill.* 5, 290. Cf. Guidoboni 1989, 657-60.

82 Philostr., *VA* 4.6; Malalas 246; Georg. Sync. 632. Cf. Guidoboni 1989, 662 f.

83 For excavation reports dedicated to the central area of town, see D'Andria and Caggia, *Hierapolis* 2007.

84 D. Attanasio, pers. comm. Other possible sources such as Paros or Proconnesos can be ruled out due to the appearance of the marble, which is medium-grained with rare gray veins and moderately transparent.

85 Ungaro 2008.



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