A New Analysis of Antonine Statuary Groups in Roman Spain

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Abstract
This article bridges two fields often kept separate: the study of portrait statues and the study of the statue bases and their texts. However, the statues and their inscribed bases are complementary and necessarily must be studied together. The bases provide information about the titulature of the emperors and the dedicants. Portrait heads have been used in the creation of typologies and identification of regional variations. Too often the portrait statues of one imperial family member are studied in isolation from those of other family members and even from their original context. In this paper, I gather for the first time evidence for 11 statuary assemblages representing the Antonine family in Roman Spain. The inscribed bases and portraits are considered along with their display locations and the dedicants. I combine an investigation of visual representations with the study of imperial ideology to learn more about the life of provincial towns in Spain. Although many of these objects were uncovered without scientific excavation, patterns of dedication can, nevertheless, be assessed. This study paves the way for future inquiries into imperial portraiture in Spain and the practices of benefaction beyond dedications to the imperial family.

Disciplines
Ancient History, Greek and Roman through Late Antiquity | History of Art, Architecture, and Archaeology | Other Languages, Societies, and Cultures | Sculpture

Comments
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**INTRODUCTION**

“Scis ut in omnibus argentariis mensulis pergulis tabernulis protectis vestibulis fenestris ubique imaginiles vestrae sint volgo propositae.”\(^2\)

Those words from Fronto remind us that the image of the Roman emperor was ubiquitous.\(^3\) Since the emperor himself could not, of course, be in so many places around the empire at once or even throughout his reign, his image stood in place as a substitute for his presence. Images of the emperor also kept an eye on Roman officials as they carried out their duties in the provinces, far from the emperor’s own eyes. Several portraits of Antoninus Pius presided over the trial of Apuleius in 158 C.E.\(^4\) —a way for the emperor’s authority to be a consistent reminder to those assembled. From the literary evidence to the abundant archaeological remains, it is overwhelmingly clear

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\(^1\) I presented some preliminary aspects of this research in the session “Elites and Civic Life in the Provinces” at the 2017 Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in Toronto. I wish to thank the anonymous reviewers of the *AJA* as well as Editor-in-Chief Jane B. Carter for their helpful suggestions in improving this article. Thank you to David Hollander for creating a custom map of Roman Spain on quick notice to illustrate the towns under discussion here. All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

\(^2\) Fronto, *Ep. ad Marcus Caesar* 4.12.6: You know that at all the money-changers’ tables and in all the balconies, shops, porches, and windows—anywhere and everywhere—your images have been set before the masses (trans. van den Hout, 1999; the letter is dated to the time when Marcus was heir, between 145 and 147 C.E.).

\(^3\) Pfanner (1989, 178–79) has argued for the existence of 25,000–50,000 portraits of Augustus across the empire, based on a comparison with the mass production of portraits of Napoleon between 1809 and 1812.

\(^4\) Ando 2000, 233.
that the portrait of the emperor was a standard component in towns throughout the empire. Many aspects of imperial portraiture have already been studied, but few studies concentrate on the three provinces making up modern Spain and Portugal: Baetica, Hispania Tarraconensis (also known as Hispania Citerior), and Lusitania (fig. 1).

In this article, I examine a selection of Antonine portrait statues that offers a cross-section of evidence for the portrayal of the imperial family in the mid to late second century C.E. in the Spanish provinces of the Roman empire. This collection of portrait heads and inscribed statue bases allows us the opportunity to reconstruct how the emperor and his family were represented. Furthermore, by reinserting the images into the contexts of the cities and towns in which these remains were found, we can speculate about how local residents and visitors encountered the images. Analyzing the images of the imperial family is one pathway to grasping the development of imperial ideology. Portrait statues were a tangible reminder about the ruler and his family, whom most of those living in the empire would never see in person. Most people’s interactions with the imperial family thus were limited to the portrait statues that adorned public and private spaces in every town within the empire. In what places they were erected and by whom can, therefore, inform us about the towns as well.

Although many Roman inscriptions and portrait statues have been known in Spain for centuries—sometimes uncovered by casual discovery and built into the walls of cathedrals and other buildings—they have received little detailed attention in English-language publications. However, numerous scholars working in Spain in the last few decades have compiled catalogues of these objects as well as studies focused on different time periods. Their careful work deserves further analysis, for the evidence in the Spanish provinces can tell us more about the Roman empire as a whole, especially in the evolution of Roman art and culture. There is, indeed, a vast amount of evidence to consider, but this study is, by necessity, focused on a specific time period and line of inquiry: the interwoven threads of visual representation and imperial ideology in the Antonine period.

The Antonine period is often considered the calm before the storm of the third-century crisis. Evidence of change is visible throughout the empire, and no less so in Spain. The important position of flamen of the imperial cult of the Provincia Hispania Citerior ceases to be documented between 170 and 180 C.E., stopping a 100-year-old tradition of honoring each flamen with a statue in the provincial forum in Tarraco. Other honorific statue dedications in the provincial capital also fall off dramatically at the end of the second century, a possible indication of broader change in the province. In fact, areas of southern Spain were invaded and sacked by the Moors (Mauri) in 172–173 C.E.

Prior to this decrease in honorific monuments, however, evidence of prosperity can be seen in the Spanish provinces. After the granting of ius Latii during the Flavian era, many cities became Roman municipia, and their wealthy elite citizens became decurions on the local level. With increasing frequency, these men became Roman senators and took on military and administrative positions across the empire. Many cities experienced a flurry of building activity, such as the series of statues of city magistrates decorating the forum at Singilia Barba. No doubt because of the political and legal changes during the Flavian era and the Spanish family ties of Trajan and Hadrian, this time period has been well studied. The reigns of Antoninus Pius through Commodus, however, occupying the decades between two great periods of change, are often overlooked.

To be sure, the reigns of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius have been documented on a global scale, and the large number of portraits depicting them and their family members found across the empire have been analyzed and catalogued. Blázquez is responsi—

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1 The scholarship on this topic is substantial. A good starting point is Grant 1994.
3 Blázquez 1976, 44.
4 Rodríguez Neila 2003. The term ius Latii refers to a set of rights granted by Vespasian to all of Hispania. Some of these privileges formed the basis of the legal status given to the city-states of Latium when Rome’s victory in the Latin War brought about the end of the Latin League. During the Imperial period, several emperors used the granting of ius Latii as a political instrument. In some cases, all the decurions and their children became Roman citizens; in others, only the men who held magistracies gained citizenship. See Mackie 1983; Curchin 1990.
5 Rodríguez Oliva 1994, 355.
6 See also Grelle 1972; Navarro 2000; Navarro and Demougin 2001.
7 Hüttl 1933–1937; Wegner 1939; Birley 1966; Fittschen and Zanker 1983; Fittschen 1999; Chausson 2005.
sible for much of the groundwork on the Spanish provinces in general and during the Antonine period in particular. He has surveyed mines, agriculture, ceramics, urbanization, and city politics, among several other topics, from 138 to 235 C.E. In another publication, Blázquez focuses on the sculpture workshops in Spain during the Antonine period. Several scholars, as noted below, have begun to catalogue and comment on Antonine imperial portraits from Spain, especially as they relate to the typologies developed for official portraiture; yet, there are significant gaps in the scholarship regarding the contexts and functions of those imperial portrait statues.

In this article, I consider the evidence provided by inscribed statue pedestals and marble portraits that constitute statuary displays of primary members of the Antonine imperial family: Antoninus Pius, Faustina I, Marcus Aurelius, Faustina II, Lucius Verus, and Commodus. There are 21 statue bases and three identifiable portrait heads of Antoninus Pius. Only one statue base (and no portraits) for Faustina I has been found in all three of the Spanish provinces. Twelve statue bases and two heads are attributed to Marcus Aurelius. Four pedestals and a miniature head have been assigned to Faustina II. Fourteen statue bases and four heads of Lucius Verus survive. Just five pedestals (and no portraits) survive for Commodus, and no statue bases or heads have been uncovered for Lucilla or any other of the children of Marcus and Faustina II.

Rather than describing each of these objects, however, I have chosen to focus on clusters of inscriptions and/or portraits from eight towns (see fig. 1). Individuals, associations, or town councils undoubtedly dedicated a single statue of the emperor on occasion, but it was also very common for multiple statues to be dedicated at the same time in a particular display context. Indeed, many of the statue bases or portrait heads that were found alone were probably once part of a group display context. The evidence clearly shows that there existed spaces within the primary civic venues for the display of statues of the imperial family as well as members of the local elite, those fulfilling priesthoods, and even gods. Statues were added to these spaces over time so that viewers saw a growing imperial family and associated the current leader with the previous ones.

![Fig. 1. Map of the three Roman Spanish provinces, indicating locations under discussion (courtesy D. Hollander).](image-url)
They also saw images of people from their own town in close association with the gods, deified emperors, and the current imperial family. I return to this concept of social hierarchy below.

Only a few key studies have focused on such statue galleries in public display contexts. Rose demonstrated the value of considering portrait galleries as an entity comprised of multiple portrait statues and inscribed statue bases.14 Though he is concerned with matching portraits to names, Rose does not follow the rigid replica system of portrait identification, as developed by Fittschen and Zanker.15 Rather, Rose constructs a narrative focusing on dynastic politics and the ideological motives behind the representation of members of the Julio-Claudian family. However, he does not analyze this body of material in relation to its context or trends in the act itself of dedicating statues.

Following Rose’s study of Julio-Claudian portraiture, Boschung takes on the topic of the dynastic commemoration of the Julio-Claudians in many places around the empire.16 He is not, however, so interested in regional variations as in the types of display contexts; he organizes the statuary groups according to whether they were set up in forums, theaters, basilicas, or other locations within cities. Boschung certainly pays attention to the archaeological finds, the original display setting, and the statue bodies, but he still adheres to the replica system, which impedes his attempt to capture how ancient viewers encountered these statues in their original contexts. The inscribed statue bases, furthermore, are pushed to the margins, discussed in separate, brief sections and footnotes. In the preface of his book, Boschung expands the concept of a statuary group to allow for the addition of statues to an existing set.17

Other scholars have created a broad corpus of statue bases and portrait heads of the imperial family from Augustus into the third century that have been found in Spain. Højte, for example, catalogues 142 inscribed statue bases of the emperors (no imperial women included) from 74 different sites in the Spanish provinces.18 Garriguet Mata has studied the epigraphical and sculptural remains of the imperial families (including women) in Spain, though his studies do not consider whole monuments or context.19 No one has previously examined the overall visual representations of only the Antonine family in the Spanish provinces by considering the statue bases, portrait heads, and potential statue bodies together in a reconstructed context.

My approach, then, is more holistic in nature. After analyzing all the extant portraits and statue pedestals of the Antonines in the Spanish provinces, I have identified eight towns and cities in which there is evidence for the representations of at least two members of the family. Antonine statues in the same town were not necessarily set up at the same time or by the same people. With few exceptions, these statuary galleries or groups (as I call them) must have been part of larger assemblages of statuary that were continually in flux. These were all towns that had been part of the Roman empire for a long time. Some of them have not been excavated extensively, while others continue to be explored. Because of events and practices in the post-antique world until the 20th century in Spain, a large number of ancient architectural structures were dismantled and an overwhelming amount of material (esp. statue bases and statues) was removed from its original context without record. The original archaeological contexts cannot always be known with certainty, but crafting hypothetical venues is possible based on the countless, well-documented sites from other areas of the Roman empire. From sites such as the forum at Cuicul, we know that images of the imperial family were concentrated in a limited number of public venues.20

Honorary statues were generally placed in public areas that were vital to the functioning of the town. They were dedicated by individuals or groups that not only had the financial resources to commission

14 Rose 1997.
15 Fittschen 1971; Fittschen and Zanker 1983. According to the paradigm of the replica series, official portrait prototypes were commissioned in Rome, with some consultation by the emperor himself or someone in the court, and models were created based on the prototypes; the models were then sent to workshops around the empire. From those models, sculptors in Hispania or Asia Minor could create marble or bronze portraits of the emperor.
16 Boschung 2002.
18 Højte 2005.
19 Garriguet Mata 2005, 2008. In the latter, he catalogues 107 secure or very probable portrait heads and busts of Roman emperors and their families, including women, from the Spanish provinces; 11 of these represent the Antonine family.
costly displays but also must have had influence, at least locally. Thus, when we look at where the statues were placed, we can understand what facilities a town had and where people spent time. Analyzing who dedicated the statues informs us about the types of groups or individuals who had the money and influence to make such dedications. The name or rank of an individual reveals aspects of his or her cultural identity, and statues dedicated by groups—such as collegia—indicate what sorts of commercial pursuits or social groups were active in the town at that time. Thus, the dedications can tell us about the makeup and functioning of a town.

It should be noted that this study does not make strict distinctions between images of the emperor set up in precincts dedicated to the imperial cult and representations of the imperial family erected in other zones of the city. Since the exact findspots of most of the bases and portraits are unknown, it is impossible to know which statues might have been displayed in the sanctuaries of the imperial cult. Furthermore, it is not clear whether the people living throughout the Roman empire would have differentiated between a cult and noncult context. Revell suggests that residents, seeing one imperial portrait, would recall others and so would have “imbued all imperial statues with divine mystique, reinforcing the emperor’s power and authority.” The imperial cult is considered when the evidence for the context of portraits is especially significant. Since most of the remains cannot be dated to specific years, I proceed geographically, beginning with the groups from Baetica, followed by those from Hispania Tarraconensis.

OCURI

Perhaps the earliest datable group of Antonine statues set up in the same place is at Ocuri in the far south of the province of Baetica. The statue base of Antoninus Pius (fig. 2, left) can be dated to 142 C.E. because he was holding the tribunician power for the fifth time. The full text reads:

IMP(ERATORI) CAESARI DI VI HADRIANI F(ILI) DIVI TRA(INI)

21 Revell 2009, 84.

22 CIL 2 1336: To the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, son of the deified Hadrian, grandson of the deified Trajan Parthicus, great-grandson of the deified Nerva, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the fifth time, consul for the third time, father of the country, the town of the Ocurritani gave [this as a] gift by a decree of the decurions. (The pedestal measures 0.75 m high x 0.64 m wide.)

23 CIL 2 1337: To the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Augustus Pius Felix Germanicus Sarmaticus Pontifex Maximus, holding the tribunician power for the fourth time, having been hailed imperator 10 times, consul for the fifth time, father of the country, the town of the Ocurritani gave [this as a] gift by a decree of the decurions.

24 The others are an honorary inscription for a Postumia Honorata (CIL 2 1338; IRPCadiz 531) and a possible statue base set up “ex decreto decurionum” (from a decree of the decurions) in very fragmentary condition (IRPCadiz 532).
Scientific interventions starting in the mid-1970s have cleared an area and identified the forum, where the inscriptions for the statues of Antoninus Pius and Commodus (and that of the local priestess Postumia) were found (fig. 3). Since there is a gap of more than 40 years between the dedications to the two emperors, it can be inferred that the town set up statues of the intervening rulers (Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius) and possibly other family members as well, though no other statue bases for the Antonine family have been uncovered.

The two bases for statues of Antoninus and Commodus show a striking resemblance in the format of the inscribed face, with a double-incised border around the text. This similarity could suggest that both were produced by a workshop that was in business for decades or that the dedicators—the people of the town—aimed for visual cohesion when adding statues over time as a new ruler began his reign. Both statues were dedicated by the res publica Ocuritranorum by a decree of the decurions. A headless statue of a young man with traces of lion skin on his back was found near the bases and might have represented Commodus since he was depicted as Hercules in other portraits. While no complete buildings have been preserved in the forum, there are traces of walls, enclosures, and abundant building material.

ILURCO

About 20 inscriptions were found in Pinos Puente, a municipality northwest of Granada, and are ascribed to the ancient town of Ilurco. The few mentions of Ilurco in the ancient literary sources inform us that it was a municipium with ius Latii, owing its civic promotion to the edict of Vespasian. Some structural remains (a thermal complex, a stuccoed square building) have been identified, but most of the inscriptions are very fragmentary or not particularly noteworthy.

26 Guerrero Misa 2006, 45. The current location of this fragmentary statue is unknown; no photographs of it are available. Juan Vegazo discovered the statuary remains and the inscriptions in 1798. He records the name of the Roman town as Ocuri, with only one “s,” though the stones appear to show two. Nevertheless, the town is generally referred to as Ocuri in the scholarship.
27 González Román 2001, 282. Pliny (HN 3.3.10) lists Ilurco as an “oppidum celeberrimum” (a most renowned town), a designation he uses for numerous towns throughout the empire.
The only inscriptions mentioning members of the imperial family are an honorary inscription to Tiberius and two statue bases for Antoninus Pius and Lucius Verus that are broken and scarred.\textsuperscript{28} The two pedestals were clearly commissioned at the same time since both name the same \textit{duoviri}, Gaius Annius Seneca and Quintus Cornelius Macer. The pedestal for the statue of Antoninus has suffered more but can be reconstructed by comparison with the text from the pedestal of Lucius. The text on Lucius’ base has been constructed as follows:\textsuperscript{29}

\[ \text{[L(VCIO) A]ELIO COMMODO} \]

\[ \text{COMMOD(O)} \]

\textsuperscript{28} \textit{CIL} 2(2) 5 677–79. The pedestal for the statue of Lucius Verus was found in the countryside, though cataloguers contend that the stone was transported there from Pinos Puente, where the pedestal for the statue of Antoninus Pius had been uncovered about 30 years before. This pedestal for Antoninus had been preserved in the Museo Arqueológico y Etnológico de Granada but is now lost. The dedication to Tiberius by a Titius Papirius Severus (\textit{CIL} 2[2] 5 677) in the year 27/6 B.C.E. takes the form of a white column, now in a poor state of preservation. It has been known since at least the 16th century, but its original context has not been preserved.

\textsuperscript{29} \textit{CIL} 2(2) 5 679: To Lucius Aelius Commodus, son of the Augustus, by decree of the decurions of the Ilurci, in the year of the duovirate of Gaius Annius Seneca and Quintus Cornelius Macer. (The pedestal measures 1.59 m high x 0.71 m wide x 0.71 m long. It is in the Museo Arqueológico y Etnológico de Granada, inv. no. 2088.)

Both pedestals were set up while Antoninus was emperor, though a more specific date cannot be determined based on the titulature inscribed. While numerous inscriptions include the formula \textit{decreto decurionum}, indicating that the town’s decurions approved the installation of the statue, relatively few list the names of the \textit{duoviri}, which can be helpful in dating the monument.\textsuperscript{30} Curchin provides a date of 165–166 C.E. for the duumvirate of these men;\textsuperscript{31} this cannot be correct, for Antoninus would have been referred to as \textit{Divus} and Lucius as Imperator Lucius Aurelius Verus Macer. (The pedestal measures 1.59 m high x 0.71 m wide x 0.71 m long. It is in the Museo Arqueológico y Etnológico de Granada, inv. no. 2088.)

\textsuperscript{30} For example, another inscription (\textit{CIL} 2[2] 5 681) records the decree of a statue to Fabia Brocilla by the \textit{ordo Ilurconensis}, yet the names of the \textit{duoviri} were not included in the text.

\textsuperscript{31} Curchin 1990, 149, nos. 120–21.
Augustus. Antoninus is, instead, Augustus, and Lucius is son of Augustus. Perhaps the statues were dedicated in 139 C.E., the year in which Antoninus was awarded the honorific pater patriae, since the abbreviation “P P” is included in the text of his statue base. It is possible to speculate that the ordo, the local assembly made up of decurions, also decreed a complementary statue of Marcus, thus forming a group of the reigning emperor and his two sons, but no such inscription has been found.

**Ipolcobulcula**

About 15 inscriptions can be tied to the place name Ipolcobulcula, a town in the province of Baetica, in the area of modern Córduba. One inscription, now lost, records the dedication in Ipolcobulcula of statuae sacrae to Antoninus Pius and his two adoptive sons during his reign:

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STATVAE SAC[RAE]
IMP(ATERORIS) CAES(ARIS) TIT[I] AE
LI HADRIANI ANTONINI
AVG(VSTI) PI[I] ET M(ARCI) AVRELI
VERI CAESARIS ET L(VCI) AVRELI
COMMODI AVG(VSTI) FIL(IORVM)
AV[G(VSTI) N(EPOPOTVM)]
C(AIVS) ANNIVS PRASIVS IPOLCOBVLCV
```

32 Most of the extant inscriptions are sepulchral or too fragmentary to ascertain their function. Two that record dedications to Venus suggest the presence of a temple to her in the area. Confusion over place names in Baetica has hampered the classification of some remains in the area of modern Carcabuey, which seems to be the site of ancient Ipolcobulcula (also spelled Ipocobulcula). Citizens from this municipium have appeared in nearby communities, and *CIL* in Carcabuey as well. See Stylow 1984, 276–79.

33 *CIL* 2.1643; *CIL* 2 (2) 5 267: Sacred statues of Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius and Marcus Aurelius Verus Caesar and Lucius Aurelius Commodus, sons of the Augustus and grandsons of the Augustus. Gaius Annius Prasius, resident of Ipolcobulcula Apuacleasis (?) on account of the honor of his sevirate and the free use of water, which, though it was granted, we often sent away. (The location of the pedestal itself is not known, and the initial readings of the text indicate abrasions affecting several words; I follow the interpretation in *CIL* here. The reading *Apuacleasis* in line 8 of the inscription, possibly introducing another toponym, obscures the residence of the dedicator. Again, Stylow 1984 is the best reference for sorting out the identifications of towns in southern Baetica.)

The text of the inscription raises more questions than it answers, for we know nothing else of the dedicator, Gaius Annius Prasius (if Prasius is, indeed, his cognomen), nor where the statues were displayed, nor much else about the town. Perhaps the statues of the emperor and his two heirs were set up in the forum of the town near the start of Antoninus’ reign. It is possible that these statues were dedicated in a shrine for the imperial cult, for which there is, however, no archaeological evidence in Carcabuey. It would be extremely helpful if the dimensions of this lost stone had been recorded. The manner in which the text is reproduced in the *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum* indicates that it was inscribed on a surface with greater height than width rather than on a low, broad base that could have carried statues of the three Antonines. A horizontal base accommodating multiple statues is not a common form in Roman Spain nor generally in the western Roman empire. The dedication of Gaius Annius Prasius might have been inscribed on a plaque instead of a pedestal, with the statues erected on individual plinths in a display setting that made clear the honorary plaque and statues went together.

34 Fiske (1900, 112 n. 23) declares that other similar language “beyond doubt refers to statues of objects of worship.” In the two other examples mentioned by Fiske, however (Suet., *Tib.* 26; *CIL* 2.1569), the term used is *imago* and not *statua*. *Imago* is used more frequently to refer to cult images, though the descriptor *sacrae* does give weight to the interpretation that these *statuae sacrae* were used in the cult worship of the imperial family.

35 In Rome and in the Roman East, one finds more examples of this type of group display arrangement. An embassy from Delphi made a large stately dedication to the Antonines in Rome that included statues of Antoninus Pius, Diva Faustina I, Faustina II, Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, and Pythian Apollo, all set up on one long base (*IG* 14 1050; Moretti 1968, 25). In this case, a separate *titulus* naming the individual was inscribed below each statue, and the main dedicatory text naming the city of Delphi was inscribed along the lower portion of the stone. The inscription from Ipocobulcula instead names all three men in the same text. The Hellenistic Daochos monument set up at Delphi between 336 and 332 B.C.E. provides an extant example of such a stately display.
The inscription states that Prasius made the dedication “ob honorem seviratus” (on account of the honor of the sevirate),36 which is certainly nothing unusual when it comes to dedications of statues of the imperial family. However, the text does include one rather unusual detail, namely that the dedication was also made “ob . . . gratuidum aquae usum” (on account of the free use of water), a reference to the use of the local water supply. There is other evidence that local town councils could make concessions for the direct use of water to certain people at no cost.37 In those cases, rather complicated and costly engineering feats were undertaken to divert water from the city supply to individual homes through pipes that could then supply fountains, private baths, or other such amenities that only the wealthy could afford. Prasius must have been someone of note in Ipolcobulcula to have been granted such a special favor. As a sevir Augustalis, Prasius was someone who had become wealthy after being freed and was able to use that wealth to dispense his duties. Barred from entrance into the decurionate, he would have sought prestige by other means. Dedicating a large monument with images of the emperor and his two sons would have certainly made an impression. This particular statuary group provides some insight into the phenomenon of benefaction in this region of Spain.

**Hispalis**

Modern Seville rests upon the ancient remains of Colonia Iulia Romula Hispalis. Archaeological materials have come to light over the last several centuries. The epigraphical record spans the first century B.C.E. to the fifth century C.E., but only a very small number of the inscriptions were actually discovered in situ until more recent excavations.38 Quite a few texts record benefactions by private individuals and groups, some of whom were, in turn, honored with portrait statues in the town. Perhaps one of the most well known is the fragmentary pedestal for a statue dedicated to Fabia Hadrianilla, who gave 50,000 sesterces toward a previously funded alimentary scheme to benefit boys and girls in her town.39 There is evidence for portrait statues of several imperial family members, including the Antonines, Septimius Severus, and Aurelian.40 The dedication by the scapharri (boatmen) at Hispalis, dated to ca. 145/6 C.E., included portrait statues of at least Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius.41 The text on the pedestal for the statue of Antoninus Pius reads:

```plaintext
IMP(ERATORI) CAES(ARI) DIVI HADRIANI
F(ILI)
DIVI TRAIANI PARTHICI NEPOTI
DIVI NERVAE PRENEPOTI
T(ITO) AELIO HADRIANO ANTONINO
AVG(VSTI) PONT(IFICI) MAX(IMI)
TRIB(VNICIA) POT(ESTATE) VIII
IMP(ERATORI) II CO(N)S(VLI) IIII P(ATRI)
P(ATRIAE)
SCAPHARI QVI ROMVLAE
NEGOTIANTVR
D(E) S(VA) P(ECVNIA) D(ONVM) D(EDIT)
```

The dedicatory text on the pedestal for Marcus uses the same wording with the substitutions of his name and office (“COS II,” i.e., consul for the second time). Though they do not call themselves a collegium, dimensions, were often transported from their original contexts and reused; consequently, one must use caution in associating the appearance of particular pieces in modern times with an original location in antiquity.

36 The sevirate is generally considered the lowest priesthood of the imperial cult, filled by freedmen, though some freeborn seviri are also known. Though freedmen could not hold magistracies, they held prominent positions in public through their imperial cult activities.
37 Rodríguez Neila 1988, 227.
38 González Acuña (2011, 172) believes it is no coincidence that most of the inscriptions relating to ancient Hispalis have come to light in the cathedral (sometimes built into the fabric of the walls) and in the Iglesia del Divino Salvador, two of the most important buildings in Seville in medieval and modern times. He asserts that the Roman remains were likely stockpiled in and around these religious buildings over the centuries as they were uncovered. Inscribed statue bases, because of their rectangular
39 *CIL* 2 1174, 5544. See, most recently, Hemelrijk 2015, 152–53.
40 The pedestal of Septimius Severus is recorded in *CIL* 2 1170, and that of Aurelian is documented as *CILA* 2 12 and *AÉpigr* 1987, 498. An extremely fragmentary inscription (*CILA* 2 11; *HÉp* 5, 1995, 729) records a dedication to the Severan family by the procurators.
41 *CIL* 2 1168–69.
42 To the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadriani Antoninus Augustus, son of the deified Hadrian, grandson of the deified Trajan Parthicus, great-grandson of the deified Nerva, Pontifex Maximus, holding the tribunician power for the ninth time, hailed imperator twice, consul for the fourth time, father of the country, the boatmen who conduct business at Romula gave [this as a] gift from their own money.
this group of *scapharii* must have been a sort of association of boatment who were working in Hispalis.\(^{43}\) The type of boat they operated was called a *scapha*, examples of which were carved in relief on both inscriptions. The archaeological context of the inscriptions is unknown—they were found in modern times in the town’s cathedral—so the original display location cannot be determined exactly. It was previously believed that there existed in Hispalis a commercial forum, much like the Forum of Corporations at Ostia, where groups of men involved in commercial trade had offices, but recent analyses have argued against this interpretation.\(^{44}\) No evidence, apart from a cluster of inscriptions near the cathedral, supports the reconstruction of a commercial forum in this area of ancient Hispalis. On the contrary, the archaeological soundings in this area indicate not an open space but the presence of buildings from the beginning of the first century B.C.E. to the third century C.E.\(^{45}\)

These recent excavations suggest the existence of warehouses in the area near the port. Even if Hispalis did not have a commercial forum like that at Ostia, it was an important center of trade along the Baetis River.\(^{46}\) In addition, examination of epigraphic remains found in and near the cathedral point to honorific or votive monuments that might have been erected in scholae (meeting rooms) of collegia, whose members were integral to the economic activities of Hispalis.\(^{47}\) In this context, the statues of Antoninus and Marcus (who had been made Caesar in 145 C.E.) could be understood as honorary dedications to the emperor and his heir, paid for by the *scapharii* and set up in their schola.

The *scapharii* would have been responsible for transporting the products for the *annona*, the imperial grain supply, down the Baetis River to the ports. González, following Theodor Mommsen, infers from the text that the dedicators were not from Hispalis but resided in the town for the purposes of work and formed an association with one another.\(^{48}\) In addition to the statues of the imperial family, the *scapharii* dedicated other statues in Hispalis. During the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, they dedicated a statue to Sextus Iulius Possessor; the surviving inscribed base of the statue provides a glimpse into this man’s public life as he advanced from one office to another (figs. 4, 5).\(^{49}\) The last offices mentioned are “procurator Augg(ustorum) ad ripam Baetis,” the head of administration of the Baetis River, and local delegate (*adiutor*) of the *praefectus annonae*.\(^{50}\) As *adiutor*, he was in charge of controlling the Spanish and African olive oil supply for the *annona*, overseeing the transportation of the products, and compensating the men involved (*scapharii* and *naviculatii*, the owners or charterers of vessels) for their services. The *adiutor* therefore had a close relationship with associations of these workers.\(^{51}\) The *scapharii* in Hispalis also dedicated a statue to a Lucius Castricius Honoratus.\(^{52}\) The white marble pedestal, which has been built into the Giralda (bell tower) of the cathedral in Seville so that only the front plane is visible, dates to the mid second century and records the dedication to this man “ob innocentiam et singularem iustitiam eius [sic]” (on account of his integrity and singular fairness). Given that this last phrase was also used on the statue base of Possessor, it is likely that Honoratus also served as *adiutor praefecti annonae*.\(^{53}\)

\(^{43}\) There are several uses of the word “collegium” in Latin texts, though generally it refers to a group of people who were organized around a particular interest or profession. The essential text is Waltzing 1970, but more recent treatment can be found in Kloppenborg and Wilson 1996. Verboven (2009, 160) calculates there is evidence for 69 collegia in the Spanish provinces.

\(^{44}\) Among others, Campos and González (1987, 150–58) have argued for a commercial forum, while González Acuña (2011) offers a persuasive refutation of this hypothesis.

\(^{45}\) González Acuña 2011, 176. Furthermore, as Terpstra (2014) points out, nine of the 16 extant bases for honorary statues from the remains of the Forum of Corporations in Ostia include the phrase “L(ocus) D(atus) D(ecreto) D(ecurionum) P(ublice)” (the place was granted by a decree of the decurions at public expense), which indicates that the area was public and permission had to be given for statues to be erected there. The same phrase does not appear on the inscriptions from Hispalis, which could indicate that the statues were set up on private property.

\(^{46}\) Beltran Fortes et al. 2005, 73.

\(^{47}\) Beltran Fortes et al. 2005, 74–5.
An additional statue base of Antoninus Pius, found in use as a doorjamb in the cathedral in Seville, was dedicated by the *corpus centonariorum*, another commercial association. Like the imperial portraits dedicated by the boatmen, this statue may have occupied a schola in the vicinity of the port.54 Campos and González have most recently interpreted the text to read that this group of *centonarii* (textile dealers) was formed through the authorization of Antoninus Pius.55

suppose that Honoratus was the patron of the *scapharii* in the mid second century.

54 *CIL* 2 1167. The pedestal measures 0.84 m high x 0.41 m wide x 0.46 m long in current condition. The stone is very damaged and in a deteriorated state. It has garnered different reconstructions, none of which necessarily pertain to this paper. See the entry in *CILA* 2 19–20, n. 6, and Campos and González 1987, 131–34. On *collegia centonariorum* in general, see Liu 2009; they were craftsmen and tradesmen of cloth and clothing.

55 Campos and González 1987, 133–34, discuss the possibility that the Senate may have also been mentioned in the lower portion of the text that does not survive, as the Senate was often consulted for such authorizations. See Lo Bianco 1934,

Given the inscriptions mentioned here as well as other dedications by men involved in trade, it is clear that such workers were central to the commercial activities in Hispalis and had the resources to erect statues of the imperial family and officials.56

**TARRACO**

The modern town of Tarragona, not far from Barcelona on the east coast of Spain, was established on the site of Roman Tarraco (Colonia Iulia Urbs Triumphalis Tarraco). As the oldest Roman settlement on the Iberian peninsula and capital of the largest province (first Hispania Citerior, later reorganized as Hispania Tarraconensis), it held an important place in Roman politics and culture. A great number of ancient finds have been uncovered in two principal areas of the city: the forum of the colony on the low ground near the port and the provincial forum at a higher elevation (fig. 6).57 Based on the evidence from portrait heads and in-
scribed pedestals, statues of the Antonine family were set up in Tarraco no fewer than three different times.

The earliest group found in Tarraco is represented by statue bases for Lucius Verus and Faustina II.58 These bases were uncovered in the area near the modern cathedral, a location that suggests an original display in the upper terrace of the provincial administrative center.59 Faustina and Lucius Verus are similarly identified as the daughter and son of the Imperator Antoninus: “Imp(eratoris) Antonini filiae” (and “filio,” in the case of Lucius). The set of adoptions late in Hadrian’s reign (February 138 C.E.) brought about a series of name changes. Titus Aurelius Fulvus Boio- nius (Arrianus) Antoninus became Imperator Titus Aelius Caesar (Hadrianus) Antoninus. Antoninus, in turn, adopted his wife’s nephew (M. Annius?) Cat- ilius Severus, who became known as Marcus Annius Verus (the future emperor Marcus Aurelius), and L. Ceionius Commodus, who was called Lucius Aelius Commodus (the future emperor Lucius Verus).60 Antoninus acquired the title Augustus and the epithet Pius only in July 138 C.E. when he became emperor. Since Antoninus lacks the designation Augustus and the rest of his name in these inscriptions, these statues must have been set up after the adoption but before Antoninus became emperor later that year. It would have been odd if only statues of Lucius Verus and Faustina II were set up at that time, as they were still young children. Since the timing of the dedication falls after Antoninus was made Hadrian’s heir but before he became emperor, it is likely that the provincial council wished to celebrate the new members of the imperial family with statutory representations as quickly as possible. Whether a statue of Hadrian already existed by this time we cannot know; there is no epigraphical

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58 CIL 2 4099; RIT 74: “L(VCI) AELIO | ANTONINI FILIO | AVRELIUS COMMODO” (To Lucius Aurelius Aurelius Commodus, son of Antoninus). The pedestal measures 0.56 m high x 0.62 m wide x 0.53 m long and is in the Museu Nacional Arqueològic de Tarragona, inv. no. 678. CIL 2 4097; RIT 76: “FAVSTINAE | IMP(ERATORIS) | ANTONINI | FILIAE” (To Faustina, daughter of Emperor Antoninus). This pedestal measures 0.93 m high x 0.55 m wide and can still be found built into a wall of the cathedral.

59 For one of the most recent treatments of the complex of the provincial administration in Tarraco, see Aquilué Abadías 2004. The pedestal for the statue of Faustina II was built into a wall of the cathedral in the 16th century. Its original location is unknown, as is also the case for the pedestal for the statue of Lucius Verus.

60 Kienast 2011, 134.
or sculptural evidence of such a statue. However, the double adoption of heirs would have been a momentous occasion to commemorate.61 Faustina II’s appearance can be explained by the fact that she was not only daughter to the heir Antoninus but also betrothed to Lucius at this time. No remains of a statue of Marcus Aurelius, Antoninus’ other heir (and the eventual husband of Faustina II), have been uncovered, but his presence in such a context is expected. Considering the time involved in producing several portrait statues, the dedicators must have commissioned this grouping as soon as news of Hadrian’s appointment was known.

I suggest that the statuary group would have represented the current and future imperial families, as a strong demonstration of the peaceful continuity of the Roman empire. This message of dynastic stability is found throughout the Antonine period from one end of the empire to the other. Numerous issues of coins circulating during this time promote this concept by depicting such deities as Saeculi Felicitas, Fecunditas, and Diana Lucifera holding a lighted torch in reference to childbirth.62

During the Flavian era, construction concluded on a vast complex consisting of a circus, a large open plaza, and an imperial cult precinct rising up the terraced hillside of the acropolis. Administration, religion, and sport mixed in this large structural complex that dominated the northern half of the city. The central space, the largest porticoed forum in the Roman empire (165 x 290 m), became reserved for statues of the annually elected priests of the provincial seat of the imperial cult (flamines and flaminicae Romae, divorum, et Augustorum provinciae Hispaniae Citerioris), patrons of the province, and ambassadors of the provincial council (concilium provinciae Hispaniae Citerioris).63 Because of the presence of the imperial cult building and the discovery of several inscribed statue bases, scholars have reconstructed the provincial forum complex with numerous statues of members of the imperial family flanking the temple (fig. 7). As neither the base of Lucius Verus nor that of Faustina II includes a dedicator, the statuary group was probably dedicated by the provincial administration.

A statue base for Antoninus Pius was discovered in 1977 built into the foundation of the chapel of San Fructuoso in the cathedral.64 The text reads:

\[
\text{[IMP(ERATORI) CAES(ARI) DIVI HADRIANI F(ILIO) DIVI TRAIANI PAR THICI NEPOTI DIVI NERVAE PRONEPOTI T(ITO) AElius HADRIANO [ANTO]NIN AVG(VSTO) PIO [PONT(IFICI)] MAX(IMO) TRIB(VNICIA) POT(ESTATE) \[- - - IMP(ERATORI)] II CO(N)S(VLI) IIII P(ATRI) P(ATRIAE) C(OLONIA) I(VLIA) U(RBS) T(RIVMPHALIS) T(RIVMPHALIS) T(ARRACONENSIVM)]}
\]

Since Antoninus had held the consulship for the fourth time when the statue was dedicated, the dedication can be dated between 145 and 161 C.E. Because it was reused in the cathedral, it should be added to the reconstructed statuary gallery of imperial family members in the upper terrace of the provincial forum. A statue base inscribed “DIVAE FAVSTINAE” was also uncovered in the area near the cathedral (fig. 8).65 Since this dedication honored Faustina I as diva, it must have been made after her death in 140 C.E. and, therefore, was not part of the group dedicated in 138 C.E. Because of its findspot, it was almost certainly set up in the upper terrace of the provincial forum complex as well.

The other prime area for statuary display in the city of Tarraco was the forum of the colony (fig. 9). Remains of a basilica, Capitolium, and other buildings related to typical forums were uncovered through

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61 Certain scholars have long speculated that a panel from the so-called Parthian Monument from Ephesus commemorates this moment in 138 C.E. when Hadrian adopted Antoninus, who in turn adopted Marcus and Lucius. For the latest discussion on this suggestion, see Faust 2012.
62 A few examples among many include RIC 3, 675–77 (Fecunditas), 709–12 (Saeculi Felicitas), and 673–74 (Diana Lucifera).
63 Alföldy 1979; 2003, 163; Mar et al. 2015, 2:131–50.
Excavations in the early 20th century not far from the theater (see fig. 6). The general layout of the forum dates to the first century B.C.E., though most of the extant remains were added in the following centuries. This area was the central administration center of the *colonia* Tarraco. While the administrative complex built for the officials at the provincial level dominated the upper portion of the city starting in the Flavian era, the business of the colony was still focused on the smaller forum in the lower part of the city. A large amount of architectural material, sculptural remains, and inscribed statue pedestals have been found in this area. Among the most relevant here are a possible head of Augustus, a portrait head of Livia, a fragment of a female portrait head, a *togatus* with *bulla aurea* (golden amulet worn around the neck by freeborn sons of citizens until they reached manhood), fragments of other togate and cuirassed statues, a draped female statue of the Allia-Berlin type, and statues and fragmentary statues of the gods.68

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67 Soriano and Vielba 2014, 82.
68 Koppel 1985, 32–44. The portrait head of Livia (Tarragona, Museu Nacional Arqueològic de Tarragona, inv. no. 602) was found in 1926 in unknown circumstances. See also Lo...
Several dedications of different dates can be linked to this area. One pedestal of Lucius Verus, badly damaged by subsequent reuse, was probably set up in the theater or in the colonial forum since, when it was found in 1954, it was near the Roman port. It also dates to the time of Antoninus’ reign (138–161 C.E.), though the text is too fragmentary to narrow down the date. Because the limestone base was broken away below the third line of text, the name of Lucius can be reconstructed, but the identity of the dedicator is lost.

A subsequent dedication in the colonial forum comprised at least statues of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (fig. 10). Based on their nomenclature in the inscribed texts, the dedication can be dated to the period 161–169 C.E., when Marcus and Lucius ruled jointly. Both limestone bases have similar moldings, and the arrangement of the text on the two stones is similar. The inscriptions give only the short forms of

\[ \text{fig. 9. Proposed layout of the forum of the colony at Tarraco during the first century C.E. (modified from Mar et al. 2015, 1:fig. 160).} \]
the names with the requisite titles of Imperator and Augustus, designating them as the corulers.

On account of their probable display context and the absence of dedicants in the inscription, it is likely that the colony or, specifically, the ordo decurionum set up these statues of the emperors Marcus and Lucius.72 It was the prerogative of the decurions in any Roman town to erect statues of the emperors in the forum, presumably in the most visible location. If the portrait statues were set up in the forum, it would have been unnecessary to specify the benefactor unless it was not the ordo. While statues of Augustus and his family might have been set up in the basilica (see figs. 9, 11), an area in the southwest section of the forum seems to have served as a destination for a growing statuary gallery as well.73 Since no internal cues in the inscribed pedestals assist in dating, we might imagine that portrait statues of Marcus and Lucius were set up in 161 C.E. or within the first few years of their joint reign.74 Once in place, statues remained on display, except in instances of the deposition or the damnatio memoriae of an emperor.75

Portrait heads of Marcus and Lucius, sculpted out of Luna marble, were also found near the forum of the colony in Tarraco, though they were not discovered with statue bodies.76 These two marble heads, among the first portraits excavated in Tarragona, were retrieved from a well on Gasòmetre Street in 1864, corresponding to the south side of the basilica. Though the statue heads were found together, they were likely set up at different times, based on the portrait types represented. The portrait of Marcus (fig. 12) belongs to the fifth subtype of the second portrait type of this

72 According to Alföldy in CIL 2(2) 14 909.
73 Koppel 1985, 51, 151. Ongoing excavations and analysis by archaeologists in Tarragona continue to refine their interpretation of the layout and functions of spaces in the area of the col-
emperor (Fittschen’s Kronprinz type or the Uffizi-Toulouse type), which appeared in 152 C.E. and continued to be used until he succeeded Antoninus Pius in 161 C.E. Several replicas of this subtype show the young Marcus with a trim mustache and beard. The example from Tarraco survives in very good condition. The lower half of the nose is broken, the middle of the mustache is chipped slightly, and there are a few nicks across the cheeks and brow. The hair on the head is very thick and curly, each lock marked with a channel and differentiated from the other curls through the use of the drill. The beard, though short, is modeled with individual swirls of hair. The pupil and iris are delineated, and the subject glances to his left. The sculptor has created a strong contrast between the luxuriously dense curls across the crown and the smooth skin of the forehead and cheeks. The fine execution of this portrait and the use of Luna marble suggest that it might have been carved in Rome.

The portrait of Lucius Verus is an example of his fourth type that was used during the entire period he was emperor (fig. 13). This head, carved from Luna marble, is also very well preserved, with only a few small nicks and scratches. The portrait shows a thin mustache above full lips, the almond-shaped eyes typical of the Antonine family, and Lucius’ distinctive strong brow. The gaze is forward. The hair is very thick and curly across the top, back, and sides of the head, though the curls were apparently not created by a drill. They are starkly different from the full curls of Marcus’ portrait. Lucius’ beard is given volume, particularly below the chin, but, again, the curls are not deeply delineated. Because the appearance of the hair on Lucius’ portrait differs from other replicas of this type, some scholars have considered this head unfinished or of provincial design, though it is difficult to prove whether the appearance is due to a lack of skill on the part of the sculptor or was the desired outcome. However, a large number of the replicas of Lucius

77 Tarragona, Museu Nacional Arqueològic de Tarragona, inv. no. 386; ht. 29 cm. Koppel 1985, 33–4, cat. no. 46. See also Fittschen 1999, 26, B35.

78 Tarragona, Museu Nacional Arqueològic de Tarragona, inv. no. 387, ht. 31 cm. Fittschen 1971, 224; Koppel 1985, 34–5, cat. no. 47.
Verus’ fourth type show the hair as sections of curls but without the careful delineation achieved through the use of a drill, as on the portrait of Marcus Aurelius.79

The portrait of Marcus Aurelius was set up while he was the heir apparent. He had been given the tribunician power already in 147 C.E., while Lucius Verus did not receive this authority until he became co-emperor with Marcus in 161 C.E.80 Based on the evidence, there were already several portrait statues of members of the imperial family on display in the colonial forum.
in Tarraco, as one would expect. The representation of Lucius Verus, however, must have been added only when he became joint emperor in 161 C.E. There is no available evidence to ascertain whether the portrait head of Lucius Verus originally was associated with the statue pedestal described above in the second Antonine group from Tarraco.

A final piece associated with the forum of the colony in Tarraco is a statue pedestal for Commodus, dating to 186 C.E. (fig. 14):\textsuperscript{81}

\begin{verbatim}
IMP(ERATORI) CAESARI M(ARCO)
[AVRELIO]
COMMODO AN[TONINO AVG(VSTO)]
P[IO FELICI SA[RMATICO]]
GERMANICO M[AX(IMO) BRIT]
TANICO P(ONTIFICICI) M(AXIMO)
IMP(ERATORI) VII CO(N)S(VLI) V [PATRI
PATR(IAE)]
SEVIR[I AVG(VSTALAE)]
\end{verbatim}

It was found in 1881 in the region of the forum of the colony.\textsuperscript{82} It was likely added to the group of portrait statues of other imperial family members in the colonial forum.

The remains of these statuary groups of the Antonines are probably representative of many towns across the Roman empire, in that the practice of setting up portrait statues in honor of the emperor and his family occurred on a continual basis. As a new heir was named, statues were added to portrait galleries, and these were later updated when a new portrait type was available. The first group mentioned from Tarraco must be evidence of a group commissioned as a result of the announcement of not only a new heir but the establishment of a dynasty to continue the peace and prosperity of the empire.

\begin{verbatim}
81 CIL 2 6082; CIL 2(2) 14 912; RIT 80: To the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Pius Felix Sarmaticus Germanicus Maximus Britannicus, Pontifex Maximus, with tribunician power for the 11th time, imperator seven times, consul for the fifth time, father of his country, the seviri Augustales. (The pedestal measures 0.44 m high x 0.38 m wide x 0.28 m long in its current condition and is in the Museu Nacional Arqueològic de Tarragona, inv. no. 753.

82 The pedestal is recorded in RIT as being found on Calle de Soler, between Calle Cervantes and Calle Comandante Rivadulla.

83 Alföldy 2003, 159–63.
\end{verbatim}

That there is evidence for multiple statues of members of the Antonine imperial family in Tarraco should not be surprising. Tarraco was one of the most significant and thriving cities in all the Spanish provinces during much of the Imperial period. It has the richest epigraphical record of all the Roman cities in Spain, with most of the honorific monuments dated between the reigns of Vespasian and Commodus.\textsuperscript{83} The existence of both local and provincial government necessitated separate areas for the activities of each. Likewise, each of the governing bodies probably displayed statues of members of the imperial family in a prominent space dedicated to such honorific statuary. Residents and visitors would have seen these representations on a regular basis.
BARCINO

Not far north of Tarragona is Barcelona, where ancient Barcino was situated (see fig. 1). Three statue bases for members of the Antonine family come from the Colonia Iulia Augusta Paterna Faventia Barcino. Established during the time of Augustus, probably in the last decade of the first century B.C.E., Barcino was the only other colony apart from Tarraco in the Conventus Tarracoonensis, one of the seven districts comprising the province. While there is abundant evidence for honorific statues and the practice of benefaction in general in Barcino, there has been little discovered relating to the imperial family in the first and second centuries. One very fragmentary inscription names Hadrian.84

However, epigraphic evidence testifies to portrait statues of Faustina II, Marcus Aurelius, and Lucius Verus. The pedestal (now lost) for a statue of Faustina II was probably paired with the statue base for Marcus Aurelius, a marble pedestal now in the Museu d’Arqueologia de Catalunya in Barcelona.85 They were dedicated by the *ordo* of the town and probably were originally placed in a prominent location in the forum. The large pedestal for the statue of Marcus Aurelius, somewhat damaged on the top and bottom, is inscribed: “IMP(ERATORI) CAES(ARI) | M(ARCO) AVRELIO | ANTONINO | AVG(VSTO) | D(ECRETO) D(ECVRIONVM).”86 That for the statue of Faustina is recorded with the following text: “FAVSTINAE | AVG(VSTAE) IMP(ERATORIS) M(ARCO) AVRELI(I) | ANTONINI | AVG(VSTI) | D(ECRETO) D(ECVRIONVM).”87 Since no other titles nor Marcus’ tribunician year are given in either inscription, it is not possible to determine when during his reign these statues were set up. I do suggest, however, that the statues to the imperial couple were decreed and installed at the same time given the similarity in the inscribed texts.

While the dedications to Marcus and Faustina are succinct, just their names and “D(ECRETO) D(ECVRIONVM),” that for Lucius Verus gives his extended nomenclature linking him with the four previous emperors: “IMP(ERATORI) CAES(ARI) | DIVI ANTONINI | [F(ILIO)] | DIVI HADRIANI | [NE] POTI DIVI TRAIANI || PARTHICI PRENEPOTI | DIVI NERVAE ABNEPOTI || L(VCIO) AVRE | LIO VERO AVG(VSTO).”88 The bottom of the stone is broken, and thus, unfortunately, the dedicants cannot be determined, if in fact they were included in the inscription. No other titles or honors that might help with dating appear on the stone, so it can only be dated to Lucius Verus’ tenure as emperor, 161–169 C.E.

Statues set up at the same time often exhibit uniformity and consistency in the material, size, and decoration of the base as well as the inscribed text. While the pedestals for the two emperors are both of gray limestone, the dimensions are quite different; that for Marcus Aurelius is substantially larger, even considering the fragmentary nature of both stones. The dimensions of the now-lost pedestal for Faustina’s statue are not recorded. Furthermore, because of the significant variation in the content of the inscribed text, this statue for Lucius Verus might have been dedicated at a different time and even by a different person or group. The portrait statues of all three were probably on display in the forum of Barcino (fig. 15), which can be surmised from their findspots. The pedestal for Faustina was found near the synagogue in the 15th century and the one for Lucius Verus was found in the Plaza del Rey in 1934–1935; no findspot is recorded for the base of Marcus Aurelius.89 The synagogue is located near the northwestern corner of the forum, and the Plaza del Rey is approximately on the northeast corner of the forum. Most likely the portrait statues of the imperial family were set up in the forum where numerous other statues decreed by the decurions were also erected.90

84 *AÉpigr* 1972, 293.
85 *CIL* 2.4503–504.
86 To Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, by the decree of the decurions. (The preserved dimensions of the pedestal measure 0.56 m high x 0.51 m wide x 0.30 m long.)
87 To Faustina Augusta, [wife of] Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, by the decree of the decurions.
88 *AÉpigr* 1966, 206; *IRC* 4, 20: To Emperor Caesar Lucius Aurelius Verus Augustus, son of Divus Antoninus, grandson of Divus Hadrianus, great-grandson of Divus Traianus Parthicus, and great-great-grandson of Divus Nerva. (The preserved dimensions of the pedestal measure 0.56 m high x 0.51 m wide x 0.64 m long.)
89 Alföldy 1979, 243.
90 At least 21 inscribed bases from Barcino include the ab-
Barcino experienced substantial development during the second century, as recent excavations and the reanalysis of previous archaeological campaigns have demonstrated. The area of the forum is still not well understood, given the sparse remains in situ, though scholars have identified the architectural remains on Calle del Paradis as a temple (see fig. 15) for the imperial cult built during the Augustan era. If the forum at Barcino followed those at other cities in the province, then we would expect a rectangular plaza with the temple to the imperial cult situated at the center of one of the shorter sides. Honorary portraits of the imperial family would have stood on pedestals flanking the temple, and statues of local notables would have populated the central space of the forum.

**BRIGANTIUM**

Ancient Brigantium in northwest Hispánia Tarraconensis has remained mostly unexplored. While a necropolis has been located, most of the city center must lie under the modern city of A Coruña in northern Galicia. A study based on terra sigillata indicates urban expansion during the Flavian era, a common
occurrence in many towns in the Spanish provinces.\footnote{López Pérez 2010.} In addition, there is evidence of a statuary group from Brigantium that included representations of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. The two bases were recorded in 1897 in church property, but their original locations are unknown.\footnote{Rodríguez Colmenero 2005, 885.} The two pedestals have about the same dimensions, and the text is similar in content and arrangement, though both have suffered severe abrasion. The base for the statue of Marcus reads: "IMP(ERATORI) CAESARI | M(ARCO) AVRELIUS | ANTONINO | AVG(VSTO) || [REG-INVST] | VERN | AVGSTORVM | EXACTOR | EX VOTO."\footnote{EphEp 1899, 8, no. 307; HÉp 4, 1994, 328: To the emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus Reginus, imperial slave and exactor, [dedicated this] from his vow. (The pedestal measures 0.93 m high x 0.45 m wide and is located in the Church of Saint Jacob in A Coruña.)} The pedestal that held the statue of Lucius is inscribed: "IMP(ERATORI) CAESARI | LINCI AVRELIUS | VERO | AVG(VSTO) || REG-INV | AVGSTORVM | EXACTOR | EX VOTO."\footnote{EphEp 1899, 8, no. 308; HÉp 4, 1994, 329: To the emperor Caesar Lucius Aurelius Verus Augustus Reginus, imperial slave and exactor, [dedicated this] from his vow. (This pedestal measures 0.93 m high x 0.43 m wide and is located in the Church of Saint Jacob in A Coruña.)} Since no other honorifics are provided beyond the emperors’ usual names and designation as Augusti, the statues cannot be dated any more specifically than to the years of joint reign, 161–169 C.E.

The dedicator of this pair of statues is a man named Reginus, a slave of the imperial family (verna Augustorum) who filled the post of exactor. An exactor functioned as a tax collector in the provinces. A recently discovered inscription also in the town of A Coruña records that another exactor, named Fortunatus, set up a funeral stele in honor of his freedmen, Statorius, Princeps, and Felix.\footnote{Rodríguez Colmenero 2005, 884.} That these three inscriptions mention the post of exactor has led scholars to posit that Brigantium was the site of a maritime statio (military post) that was staffed with freedmen and slaves of the familia Caesaris.\footnote{Rodríguez Colmenero 2005, 885–86.} Brigantium, located on the coast in far northwest Tarraconensis, would have been a strategic position for commercial ships, and an altar dedicated to Neptune, dated to the joint reign of Marcus and Lucius, has been found there.\footnote{Rodríguez Colmenero 2005, 885–86.} A shrine to the sea god reflects the importance of offerings to request the safe travel of ships loaded with annona supplies. A lighthouse, first constructed in the late first century C.E. and still in use after renovations in 1789, now referred to as the Torre de Hercules, supports Brigantium’s position as an important maritime transit point between the Mediterranean and Gaul during several centuries, from the late Republican period through the second century C.E.\footnote{Fernández Ochoa and Morillo 2013, 76.}

The final line of each of Reginus’ inscriptions requires explanation, for these are the only inscriptions under study here that include the phrase “ex voto.” The inclusion of this phrase generally indicates a dedication to a god upon fulfillment of a prayer, but this is not always the case. Fishwick records several examples of inscriptions from both the western and eastern Roman empire in which the term “ex voto” or the abbreviation “V.S.L.M.” (votum solvit libens merito [he has fulfilled his vow, willingly and deservedly]) is used in a dedication to a god as well as in honor of the living emperor or members of the imperial family.\footnote{Fishwick 1990, 122.} He reasons that this sort of language did not indicate that the dedication was made as a vow to the emperor ut deo, but rather that the dedicant wished to honor the emperor in his votive to a god. Particularly good emperors such as Augustus and Marcus Aurelius were frequent recipients of this type of honor.\footnote{Fishwick 1990, 122.} In some inscriptions, the name of the deity is not even mentioned, for, if the offering was set up in the god’s sanctuary, there was apparently no need to name the deity. I propose that the honorary statues of Marcus and Lucius were set up in the sacred precinct to Neptune in Brigantium as part of Reginus’ petition to the sea god for a safe voyage.
Acci

Acci, a Roman colony founded by Julius Caesar, was situated in the Conventus Carthaginensis, originally part of Hispania Ulterior but, after Augustus’ reforms, part of Hispania Tarraconensis. More than 30 inscriptions have been found at the site of ancient Acci, now covered by the modern town of Guadix, and they provide the usual kinds of evidence for a Roman town: a dedication “ob honorem seviratus” (on account of his sevirate), statues dedicated to the Roman imperial family, a family member paying for a statue decreed by the ordo, and dedications to deities. A more exceptional find is the undated inscription on a pedestal for a statue of Isis recording the dedication of jewelry, by Fabia Fabiana in honor of her granddaughter Avita, to adorn the statue.

The Colonia Iulia Gemella Accis dedicated two statue bases provide evidence for Antonine statuary in the colony of Acci. The two pedestals from Acci that once held statues for Marcus Aurelius and his wife Faustina have been known for more than two centuries, though their exact findspots are not recorded. The Colony Julia Gemella Accis dedicated these statues of the couple sometime after Faustina was called Augusta but before Marcus became Augustus (i.e., between 147 and 160 C.E.). Both are referred to as “AVG FIL,” designating their filial relationship to Antoninus Pius, the reigning Augustus. While the spacing of the text is very similar on the pedestals, the wording itself differs. On Faustina’s pedestal (fig. 16) is the phrase “FAVSTINAE AVGSTAE ANTONINI AVG(VSTI) FIL(IO).” While Marcus’ pedestal (fig. 17) has the more succinct “AVRELIO VERO CAES(ARI) AVG(VSTI) FIL(IO).” Likewise, the name of the colony is lengthier on the base for Faustina’s statue: “COL[ONIA] IVL[IA] GEM[ELLA] ACCIS,” while on Marcus’ pedestal only the brief designation “COLONIA | ACCIS” is inscribed. These small differences in the texts could indicate that the statues were set up at different times. However, in several other cities around the empire, Marcus and Faustina were commemorated together starting with their engagement.

The third pedestal differs in two significant details: the date and the dedicator. The pedestal that held a statue of Lucius Verus was found, reused in an arch, in the military fortress (the alcazaba) in Fiñana, a small village to the east of present-day Guadix where other Roman inscriptions have been discovered. A dedication to Septimius Severus was discovered in the same location. Unlike the statues of Marcus and Faustina, which were dedicated by the colony, the statue of Lucius was dedicated by an individual, Lucius Alfenus Avitanus, who was himself honored with a statue.  

109 Marcus is also designated “COS II,” the office he was given for the first time in 145 C.E. He did not hold the consulship for the third time until 161 C.E., which makes ascertaining an exact date for this dedication impossible.

110 “To Faustina Augusta, daughter of Antoninus Augustus Pius” and “To Aurelius Verus Caesar, son of Augustus,” respectively.

111 Numerous monuments from around the empire attest to joint and family dedications that included portrait statues of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina II during the reigns of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. For example, Herodes Atticus and his wife Regilla installed statues of four generations of their own family and of the imperial family in the Nymphaeum at Olympia in about 153 C.E. See Meyers 2012 for a similar statuary display in the gerontikon (council house) at Nysa. The people of Delphi dedicated a statuary group of Antoninus Pius, Diva Faustina I, Marcus Aurelius, Faustina II, and Lucius Verus in Rome in 149 or 150 C.E. (IG 14 1050; Fritschen 1999, 110–11; Moretti 1968, 25).

112 “CIL 2 3399; see also Santero 1972, 215. Since very little excavation has been done in and around Guadix, the boundaries and extent of the ancient Roman colony are unknown. Inscriptions related to Acci have been found in several villages near Guadix, having been transported for building or other purposes.

113 CIL 2 3400. Because of the poor preservation of the stone, the dedicator name or names do not survive.

114 Inscription of Lucius Alfenus Avitanus: CIL 2 3401. The text, now illegible, was recorded in a 17th-century manuscript. The stone was found in Abla, a small town not far to the southeast of Guadix, and seems to have been dedicated by that town’s ordo.
The full text on the pedestal for Lucius’ statue reads: 115

[IMP(ERATORI)] CAES(ARIAI)
L(VCIO) AVRELIO
VERO AVG(VSTO) AR
MEN(IACO) [P]ART(HICO) MAX(IMO)
5 MED(ICO) P(O)NTIFICI M(AXIMO)
TR(IBVNICIA) P(OTESTATE) V
CO(N)S(VLI) III
L(VCIVS) ALFENVS AVI
TIANVS P(RIMVS) P(ILVS) TR(IBVNVVS)
COH(ORTIS) III VI[G(ILVM)]
[XII VRBANA]

Thus, Lucius Alfenus Avitianus, who had ascended the ranks of the army to become primus pilus (a senior commander of a legion) and then served as tribune of one of the 12 legions that protected Rome, dedicated a statue to the emperor Lucius Verus. He must have been a local man who gained prestige through his military career. The date of this dedication is problematic because Lucius is said to have held the tribunician power for the fifth time and the consulate for the third time, though he was tribune for the fifth time in 165 C.E. and consul for the third time in 167 C.E. 116 We can attribute this discrepancy to a mistake in transcribing his titles, as there is no additional space or indication in the epigraphic field for additional characters. The date of 167 C.E. is widely accepted, as Lucius would

115 To Emperor Caesar Lucius Aurelius Verus Augustus Armeniacus Parthicus Maximus Medicus Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the fifth time, consul for the third time, Lucius Alfenus Avitianus, primus pilus and tribune of the third cohort of the fire brigade and of the 12th region of the city [Rome], dedicated [this].

116 Kienast 2011, 144.
not have held the title Medicus until the summer of 166 C.E.117

Little scientific excavation has been carried out in the modern town of Guadix; the known inscriptions and construction remains have come to light from casual discoveries.118 Statue bases for other imperial family members—Julia Mammea and Magnia Urbica, wife of Carinus—have also been uncovered.119 In addition to the statue base with the dedication to Isis mentioned above, another inscription records a second dedication to Isis by a Livia Chalcedonica that also describes a set of opulent jewelry.120 Based on the extant inscriptions, we can conclude that there was a place in the center of the colony where statues of members of the imperial family were on display and also that a cult site of Isis existed here. The two dedications to Isis show that her cult was practiced by very wealthy women. Acci was situated along the Via Augusta, and residents there must have been able to import luxury goods, to judge from the variety of jewels from far-flung places that adorned the statues of Isis.

CONCLUSIONS

This cross-section of representations of the Antonine family in the Spanish provinces illustrates how imperial family members were represented and how local residents and visitors encountered those images. Three main conclusions stem from my analysis: (1) imperial imagery was pervasive even in very small towns; (2) the actual practice of setting up portrait statues of the imperial family operated differently in Spain than in some other areas of the empire; and (3) images of the imperial family are an appropriate vehicle for studying imperial ideology.

First, by analyzing a somewhat random selection of towns in two Spanish provinces, we see abundant evidence for the portrayal of the emperor, whether the town was large (e.g., Tarraco) or small (e.g., Iplocobula). There is evidence, too, for multiple images of the imperial family set up at different times and by different dedicators. It is unclear whether towns attempted to erect a new statue with each official portrait type, but it was certainly acceptable to see the emperor represented in several images in the same display context. Those display contexts were generally in the most prominent areas of town, though Hispalis provides evidence for more private statuary galleries existing within the buildings owned by collegia.

Yet even with the large amount of evidence for the representation of the emperors, there is one noticeable gap. In the Antonine period, there is very scant evidence for representations of the female members of the imperial family in the Spanish provinces. This is surprising due to the large number, over the whole empire, of surviving portrait heads, statue bodies, and pedestals attributed to Faustina I, Faustina II, and Lucilla, not to mention several representations of other children of Marcus and Faustina II.121 All the Antonine women also appeared extensively on the coinage from the time Antoninus Pius became emperor until Commodus’ death.122 Images of the Antonine women can be found throughout Italy, Greece, Asia Minor, and North Africa. The Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus at Olympia is one of the best examples of a large and well-preserved statuary gallery that included members of the imperial family, members of the dedicatore’s family, and the gods.123 The gerontikon at Nysa in Asia Minor also displayed statues of both male and female members of the Antonine family alongside those of the dedicator.124 The women of the Julio-Claudian family were included in statuary displays in various Spanish towns. The colonial forum in Tarraco, for example, provides evidence for at least the image of Livia, if not other women.125

Second, in the Spanish provinces, statues of the imperial family are usually dedicated by the town or its assembly. The colonia, ordo, or res publica is named as (or assumed to be) the dedicant for seven of the groups catalogued here. By contrast, only two of the dedications were made by individuals and one by a group. This distribution of dedicants may suggest that it was

118 Santero 1972, 219. There was a thorough restructuring of this region in the 16th century under King Philip II, so even aerial photographs do not clarify the original urban layout.
119 CIL 2 3393 and 3394, respectively.
120 CIL 2 3387. The original display context has not been recorded, nor has a temple to Isis been identified to date. Presumably, the heavily decorated statues of Isis stood within her cult precinct.
121 Fittschen 1982; Levick 2014.
122 Beckmann 2012, among others.
123 Bol 1984.
124 Meyers 2012.
125 In a future project, I will catalogue and analyze the statuary evidence for the portrayals of all imperial women in Roman Hispania, with an aim of addressing the relative scarcity of representations of these women in these provinces.
customary for cities and towns—rather than private individuals—to undertake official dedications to the emperor and his family. The same practice is in evidence in Greece and Asia Minor; however, in North Africa, individual benefactors more commonly dedicated portrait statues of the imperial family.126

The group dedication by the collective of boatmen in Hispalis also tells us something about the importance of trade and commerce in certain areas of Spain. Just from the couple of inscriptions from the Antonine period, it is possible to suggest that this group had the influence and resources to make statuary dedications. They appear to have chosen to set up statues within their association’s building in recognition of the emperor. As Hispalis was a port city, the men who operated the boats would have held indispensable jobs and helped money flow through the town.

Most of the statue groups discussed here cannot be dated precisely. In fact, just two groups (in Ocuri and Hispalis) can be assigned specific dates based on the statement in the inscription of the number of times the emperor had held tribunician power. The rest can be more approximately dated based on the reigning emperor or a particular title. For example, since Faustina II is referred to both as Augusta, a title granted to her in 147 C.E., and as daughter of Pius on the statue base from Acci, that statue was dedicated between 147 and the death of her father in 161 C.E. In fact, it is worth pointing out that, while 14 of the 21 inscribed statue bases for Antoninus Pius in Spain include the number of times he held the tribunician power and consulship, only a small number include these details for Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. Three of the 12 pedestals for statues of Lucius and three of the 11 for Marcus list the office of consul and the tribunician power in the text.127

Third, our understanding of imperial ideology is expanded by considering how the Antonine portraits fit into the broader context of imperial portraiture in Spain. I have concentrated on 11 assemblages of statue bases and portraits for which there is evidence that they were displayed in groups. However, there are numerous other inscriptions and portraits of the Antonines from Spain that, because of the circumstances of their discovery, cannot be said to have been part of a group context. Including the bases and portraits discussed here, there are at least 59 statue bases and 11 portrait heads of the Antonine family members found in Spain, not to mention several headless statue bodies that most likely represented family members as well. By way of comparison, Rose, in his study, discusses six statue groups of the Julio-Claudians in Spanish cities, most of which include two or three individuals;128 numerous other single statue bases and heads of Julio-Claudians have also been found. Augustus and other Julio-Claudians received a large number of dedications in Spain, followed by a sharp decline in the Flavian period. Given that many colonies were established in Spain during the late first century B.C.E. through the early first century C.E., it is no surprise that Augustus and his family members were honored frequently.129

Portraiture undeniably played a role in the creation and reinforcement of imperial ideology. The ubiquity of portraits of the emperor and his family ensured that local inhabitants of cities across the provinces came into contact with the imperial image on a regular basis. It is crucial to remember that representations of the emperor did not stand alone. The reigning emperor and his family were joined by statues of previous imperial family members, the local elite, and even an assortment of deities. Since images of former emperors were required by law to remain in position (except in cases of an emperor’s damnatio memoriae or

127 These figures for the statue base inscriptions of Antoninus Pius, Lucius Verus, and Marcus Aurelius represent the verified pedestals in my corpus from all three of the Spanish provinces. Three of the 21 inscribed statue bases for Antoninus are too fragmentary to determine if they included the consulship and tribunician power, and one, erected after his death, would not list these details.
129 Garriguet Mata (2008) records many portrait heads of Augustus and the Julio-Claudians. Seventy-two of the 107 portraits he catalogues represent members of this multigenerational family.
130 Navarro 2000, 45.
deposition), the association of present rulers with their predecessors through their sculptural representations buttressed the authority of the current emperor.132 A good example is the statuary group of the Antonines in and around the basilica of the colonial forum of Tarraco, which also included portraiture of the Julio-Claudians. Such display contexts were added to over the years and grew to accommodate successive members of the imperial family. Even if local viewers could not read the inscriptions thoroughly or at all, they would interpret such groups of statues as representing the imperial power at Rome. The existence of imperial portraits kept the emperor present in the everyday lives of a city’s inhabitants. People in cities across the Spanish provinces (and across the empire) saw themselves and their city as belonging to the Roman empire.

At the same time, it is important to remember that emperors did not set up portraits of themselves in provincial towns. As we have seen, individual members of the local elite or groups of residents used their own funds to pay for statues of the emperor and his family. Imperial family members would have seen only a tiny fraction of the portrait statues of themselves around the empire, an observation that leads Noreña to suggest that the primary audience of all these portraits was local.133 Portrait statues of members of the town’s elite were set up in the same or adjacent venues as those of the imperial family. The differing levels of power and authority are artfully arrayed in spaces such as a town’s forum, where residents saw images of their local leaders next to portraits of the imperial leaders. In this way, the images of the emperor and his family were integrated into the local social hierarchy, and, as Noreña argues, “these local honors for the Roman emperor served to legitimate and reinforce the power of local aristocrats.”134 Portrait statues of the imperial family are thus a crucial factor in creating and fortifying the social and political hierarchy necessary for the functioning of the empire.

The present study builds on the foundational efforts of numerous scholars studying the Roman remains in Spain. This body of evidence shows the presence of the imperial family in these provinces, but it can also help us understand the fabric of individual towns and local identities. Each group dedication presented here is analyzed in its original context, to the extent possible. Contextualizing the remains in this manner allows us to investigate how the Antonine family was represented, who was responsible for setting up the dedications, and how these statues related to the visual landscape of each town in the mid second century.

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133 Noreña 2011, 271.


