Representations of the Antonine Empresses on the Nymphaeum in Olympia

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Disciplines
Ancient History, Greek and Roman through Late Antiquity | Ancient, Medieval, Renaissance and Baroque Art and Architecture | Fashion Design | Fiber, Textile, and Weaving Arts | Sculpture | Social History

Comments
This article is published as Meyers, R., Representations of the Antonine Empresses on the Nymphaeum at Olympia,” Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia, 22(2019); 37–53. Doi: 10.5617/acta.5754. Posted with permission.
RACHEL MEYERS

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Abstract

Although sculpted portraits often receive more scholarly attention than the statue bodies they were set into, the different types of statue bodies can reveal more information about the portrait statue as a whole. This paper examines the Nymphaeum in Olympia, a monument which originally included an impressive array of statues of the imperial family as well as the family of its commissioner, Herodes Atticus. By analyzing the statue type of each individual represented, I show that, although the male members of the imperial family may be easily distinguished from those of Herodes’ family according to the type of clothing worn, the female statues cannot be so readily identified. Female garments could be worn in numerous ways, producing subtle variations in the statues too. In order to differentiate the imperial from non-imperial women represented on the Nymphaeum, it is necessary to examine the hairstyle and to compare other examples of the same statue types. I argue that the statue types of the imperial women – with regard to their pose, costume, and positioning within the monument – reflect a desire of the imperial family at this time to promote the younger generations and, in doing so, to declare the continuing prosperity of the empire.

In the early 150s CE Herodes Atticus and his wife Regilla paid for and dedicated a large Nymphaeum at Olympia, which, apart from its monumental architecture, displayed statues of four generations of their own family and of the imperial family. Due to the inclusion of several Antonine women, the monument allows an analysis of how these women were portrayed together in a public setting. From a careful examination of the female statues’ dress, posture, and gesture, this paper shows that the statue types of the imperial women denote status within the imperial family and adhere to an important theme of imperial propaganda – the desire to emphasize the younger generations to signify the peaceful continuity of the empire.

While we know that similar monuments – such as Plancia Magna’s gate at Perge, the Agora Gate at Aphrodisias, the Baths of Vespasian at Ephesus – were few – that included statuary representations of the imperial family among local elite existed and were particularly common in the Greek East, the Nymphaeum at Olympia is one of the few well-published examples that preserve significant amounts of sculpture and epigraphy. The rich extant remains of the statue gallery and architecture of the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus at Olympia provide the best example to carry out a study of the portrayal of the
imperial family, allowing one to get an idea of what a complex statutory dedication
dedication might have once looked like. The so-called Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus, dedicated by his wife Regilla in 153 CE to commemorate her tenure as priestess of Demeter Chamyne, is located near the base of the Hill of Kronos at Olympia. Situated along the northern periphery of the sanctuary site at the highest point of the Altis, the Nymphaeum is nearly surrounded by the Heraion, Metron, and the row of treasuries on the west, south, and east, respectively. An aqueduct, one kilometer in length, carried water to the nymphaeum, which provided drinking water for all attendees of the games.

The Nymphaeum not only served a practical use but also created an impressive environment for statutory decoration. A lower rectangular basin, about thirty meters wide, collected water flowing through lion head spouts from an upper semi-circular basin, which was, in turn, enclosed by a two-tiered semi-circular colonnade façade (diameter of 16.80 meters) punctuated by eleven niches on each level in which statues were originally placed. The statutory program included members of the family of Herodes and Regilla, members of the imperial family, and two images of Zeus. On the barrier separating the upper and lower basins stood the marble bull with the dedicatory inscription. On each side of the exedra was a circular monopteros, which originally contained a fountain. Many inscribed statue bases and statues have been found in the Nymphaeum or in the adjoining Byzantine church. The recovered statutory materials include eighteen inscribed bases, only twelve of which are still legible, and twenty-two partially fragmentary sculptures – of the twenty-four which originally stood on display. Some of the inscriptions and portrait heads were probably lost due to subsequent renovation of the Nymphaeum undertaken by a descendant of Herodes as well as post-antique use of the materials.

Summary of securely identified inscriptions and portrait statues

According to Renate Bol, who investigated the monument, the individuals represented include: in the lower level Hadrian and Sabina, Antoninus Pius and Faustina the Elder, Marcus Aurelius and Faustina the Younger, Lucius Verus, Lucilla, Domitilla Faustina, Annia Faustina and T. Aelius Antoninus (the last 4 being children of Marcus and Faustina); forming the upper level were statues of Herodes Atticus and his wife Regilla, the father, grandfather and probably

1 Bol 1984 provides the best overall treatment of the Nymphaeum.
2 The three original publications presenting the archaeological remains of the Nymphaeum are in Olympia II (1892) 134-139, pl. 83-86 (architectonic reconstruction); Olympia III (1897) 260-278, pl. 65-69 (statutes); and Olympia V (1896) 615-640, Nr. 610-628 (inscriptions).
3 Bol 1984, 4-6
4 Bol 1984, 58-63. Later statues of Herodes Atticus and Marcus Aurelius, one in each monopteros, replaced the faun.
5 Bol 1984, 105.

mother of Regilla, the father and mother of Herodes Atticus, and four children of Herodes and Regilla. In the center of each row was a statue of Zeus. Bol made her identifications based on the extant statue bodies, portraits, and inscribed bases, but – since all three of these elements have not survived for every individual – several of the attributions were derived by inference. In fact, most of the statues of Herodes’ family were recovered without the corresponding portrait head, but the inscriptions indicate their presence. On the other hand, portraits were found for nearly all the members of the imperial family, except for Sabina and Faustina the Younger as well as the two youngest children of Faustina. However, inscriptions testify to their presence in the monument.

Five bases of Pentelic marble that originally supported statues of imperial family members are securely identified by inscriptions. The fragmentary base for the statue of Faustina the Elder was found in the early Christian church, while the almost completely intact statue base for Faustina the Younger was recovered in the semi-circular area of the nymphaeum. A burnt and fragmentary base was found for the statue of Lucius Aelius Aurelius Commodus, also known as Lucius Verus. One larger base with the names of two of Faustina the Younger’s children and a single, fragmentary base of an imperial child were recovered as well.

Seven extant bases name family members of Herodes and Regilla. They include Appius Annius Gallus, the father of Regilla; the grandfather of Regilla, M. Appius Brada, and both parents of Herodes, Vibullia Alia Agrippina and T. Claudius Atticus Herodes. Separate bases for the son and daughter of Herodes, Atticus Brada and Eppina, are also extant. Finally, just as for two children of the imperial family, a double base with two inscriptions naming children of Herodes and Regilla has been recovered in the western corner of the Nymphaeum. The inscribed front, still entirely intact, names Athenais and Regilla. Of the other bases that originally supported portrait statues, only undecipherable fragments remain.

6 It should be pointed out that no statue was found attached to its original base.
7 Olympia V (1896) 620. Nr. 618, Bol 1984, 116. This lower nomenclature is the name given to Lucius upon his adoption by Antoninus Pius in 158 and was changed to Lucius Verus when he became co-emperor in 161.
8 Bol 1984, 129-130. The fragments were found in the Byzantine church. At least four of the other statue bases suffered breaks in the same fashion. Presumably they were purposely broken.
9 Bol 1984, 124-125.
10 Bol 1984, 129-130. For Athenais: PIR II (1936) 75; RE VIII 2 A became co-emperor in 162.
11 Bol 1984, 124-125.
12 Bol 1984, 129-130. The fragments were found in the Byzantine church. At least four of the other statue bases suffered breaks in the same fashion. Presumably they were purposely broken.
Ten portrait heads, of the original twenty-four individuals represented, have survived.\(^\text{15}\) Of these, four can be securely identified as imperial family members because they follow already established portrait types: Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Lucius Verus, and Faustina the Elder.\(^\text{16}\)

**Date of the Monument**

The date of the monument can be narrowed down based upon the following evidence.\(^\text{17}\) First, in the inscription of Faustina the Elder, Antoninus Pius is designated as autokrator, which means that he was the ruling emperor at the time. Faustina the Younger is called Sebaste, the Greek equivalent of Augusta, on her inscribed base. She was given this title at the end of 147 so the installation of the monument must have occurred after 147 but before 161. In the dedicatory inscription, inscribed on the side of a marble bull, Regilla is named as priestess of Demeter. The priestess of Demeter Chamyne, who was provided an honorary seat at the Olympic Games,\(^\text{18}\) was selected at the start of each Olympiad before the commencement of the games; she served for the following three “between-games” years until the next priestess was appointed in the next Olympiad.\(^\text{19}\) The Olympiads beginning in 149, 153, and 157 offer three possibilities for Regilla’s service as priestess within the confines of the time period already established (147-161). The 232\(^\text{nd}\) Olympiad (149-152) is unlikely due to the inclusion on the monument of Lucilla and Ti. Aelius Antoninus, who were born in 150 and 152 respectively. An unrelated inscribed base celebrates an Antonia Baebia as priestess of Demeter for the 234\(^\text{nd}\) Olympiad, which began with the games of 157, thus ruling out Regilla for this period.\(^\text{20}\) Therefore, it seems most likely that Regilla held the office of priestess for the 233\(^\text{rd}\) Olympiad, whose games were held in 153. Thus the Nymphaeum was dedicated in 153 CE after Regilla was given the priesthood of Demeter.\(^\text{21}\) Such precision in determining the date of a monument is unusual, but the available evidence points quite conclusively to this time period. The constantly changing number of children of the imperial couple (through births and deaths) during the installation of the statuary group could have made it necessary to keep adjusting the plan.\(^\text{22}\) In fact Domitia Faustina had died in 151, but because the inscribed base for her statue does not survive intact, it is known whether her death would have been recorded there.

**Statue Types and Identifications**

The extant statue bodies include seven draped females, three draped girls, one himation-clad boy, four cuirassed statues, three togaed males, one himation-clad man, two statues of Zeus, and the fragment of a foot (probably that of a young boy).

The statues of women that have survived with the heads attached or that can be matched with the original portrait heads supply the most secure evidence for identifications. Three of the seven preserved statues portraying women are of the so-called Large Herculaneum body type. One of these can be identified as Faustina the Elder by the portrait head, which, though broken at the neck, certainly fits the body (Fig. 1).

Two portraits of young girls, though not identified decisively, probably represent two daughters of Marcus and Faustina. Both heads look very similar with respect to facial features and the melon-hairstyle, and, thus, they are likely to have depicted sisters. The proportions of the facial features of the two heads differ by a few centimeters, and therefore, we are probably dealing with an older and younger sister: The smaller head may represent the second oldest daughter Lucilla (born in 150), and the second head may portray the oldest daughter Domitia Faustina (born in 147).\(^\text{23}\) Neither head reproduces a known portrait type of Lucilla, but the fleshy cheeks, round eyes, and melon-hairstyle seen on both heads are similar to her first portrait type (Fig. 2).

It is striking that these children, who would have only been a few years old, were depicted not as children but rather as young adults. Although there are no remains of the statues of the youngest children, one wonders how they would have been represented. In 153 Aelius Antoninus was only about a year old and Anna Faustina was just two years old. There are not any surviving free-standing portrait statues of imperial children of such a young age to my knowledge. Rose suggests that in many dynastic groups, young children would have been represented in the arms of adults,\(^\text{24}\) but neither the extant statues nor the statue bases seem to allow for that arrangement on the Nymphaeum.

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15 The following are individuals whose inclusion is attested by inscribed statue bases but whose portrait heads do not survive: Faustina II, Amaia Galeria Faustina (or Domitia Faustina), Titus Aelius Antoninus, Exuipide, Appius Gallus, Titus Claudius Atticus, Atticus Brutus, and Regillus. Though neither portrait head nor inscription record their presence in the monument, Bol (1984, passim.) presumes that Sabina, Terentilla, and Herodias himself were also included.

16 For Hadrian: Wegner 1956, 8-26; For Antoninus: Wegner 1939, 21f. Taf. 1-3 so-called “Formia Type”; for Lucius: Wegner 1939, Taf. 42-45; For Faustina I: See Wegner 1939, 159 the “Imperiotex 36 Type.”

17 Aevitt 1975, 244-249 summarizes the problematic arguments concerning the date of the Nymphaeum and concludes that there is not conclusive evidence to prove or refute 149, 153, or 157 as the correct date.

18 The priestess of Demeter Chamyne was the only married woman allowed to watch the games in the stadium. The cult of Demeter is long known at Olympia, and it is probable that the cult was for unmarried girls to perform rites in preparation for marriage. This explanation may be the reason why unmarried girls were also allowed to watch competitions in the stadium. See Sinn 2000, 74 and Pausanias VI 20, 9.


21 Bol 1984, 100 supports this dating scheme.

22 See Bol 1984, 37.

23 Bol 1984, 182-185. The identifications of the two girls essentially depend on each other. Lucilla was not represented twice. Both statue bodies are nearly the same size, about 1.25m. Rose 1997, 82-3, Cat. 4 and 149-150, Cat. 82. See also Uetz 2005.
A portrait statue of the Small Herculaneum type was found beneath the base of Faustina the Younger, but it is not clear if the two pieces actually belong together. First, this statue is probably too small in scale (1.51m without the head) to serve as a pendant to the cuirassed statue identified as Marcus (1.76m without the head). In Bol's reconstruction, statues representing the same generation in height is due to the arrangement of statues in a somewhat symmetrical fashion about the semi-circular façade.
are approximately the same size or with the male slightly taller. This variation in height is due to the arrangement of statues in a somewhat symmetrical fashion about the semi-circular façade. In addition, the portrait head recovered near the base of Faustinia, though similar, does not reproduce a known type of Faustina’s portraits. Instead the Small Herculeanum portrait statue probably represents Athenais, the second oldest daughter of Herodes and Regilla, born ca. 144 CE. In addition to this portrait head, there are two other heads – one in Athens and the other formerly on the art market – that reproduce the same portrait type.

While it is quite unusual for non-impertinent subjects to be represented in multiple copies – except Herodes himself or other great benefactors – statues of several of Herodes’ family members have been found at sites around Greece; some were set up by Herodes, others were dedicated by other individuals.

The headless statues do not allow one to make conclusive statements about their identification, but, nevertheless, a variety of elements can be put together to formulate some hypotheses. In matching statues with their original heads, we cannot rely solely on the find-spot of the sculpted pieces because it is clear that much of the marble was moved during subsequent searches for building materials. Some of the determinations then are based upon the presence of other individuals in the monument. For example, a portrait of Hadrian was recovered, thus Sabina must have been included as well, although an inscribed base for a statue of her is not extant. An inscribed base for Faustina the Younger indicates not only that a portrait statue of her had been set up, but also that her husband Marcus Aurelius must have been represented, though neither an inscribed base nor complete portrait head of him has survived.

It is possible, based upon the size of the statues and the conjecture that the older generations of imperial females were shown in like costume, that Sabina is represented by one of the headless Large Herculeanum statues, as is Faustina the Elder. In the same vein it is possible that the third Large Herculeanum statue should represent Faustina the Younger – all three of the same type thus portraying imperial women – however, at 1.77m the statue body is nearly the same size as the statue portrayed Marcus Aurelius (1.76m), and it is unlikely that Faustina would have been represented with the same dimensions as her husband. Therefore, Bol supposes that the statue of Faustina might be the headless "Formia" type statue body (1.63m; Fig. 3), and that the third Large Herculeanum statue portrayed Regilla.

We may suppose that Regilla’s statue as wealthy patron and dedicant of this monument elevates her (at least in her own eyes) to the level of the two deified empresses, which accounts for the identical statue type. Being represented in the same format as the older imperial women serves to align Regilla more closely with her own Roman-ness when we consider that Regilla’s family was Roman and she was also a relation of Faustina the Elder. The portrait head of Regilla may also survive. Two fragments of a female head, recovered from a lime kiln in the treasury house, preserve part of the back of the head and hair and most of the face, except the nose, mouth and the right side between the ear and chin. Though the features are badly abraded, the head seems to belong to the statuary group of the Nymphaeum. The wreath, composed of a rounded band, laurel leaves, and perhaps a medallion, worn around the head is an attribute of a priestess. Since Regilla was named as a priestess in the dedicatory inscription, it seems highly likely that this portrait was intended to represent her.

Two of the remaining statues of females, whose portraits are not extant, are approximately the same scale as the Large Herculeanum statues (1.74m) so following Bol’s scheme of relative sizing that older individuals are represented by larger statues – they must have represented members of an older generation, probably the mothers of Herodes and of Regilla. This argument is supported by the remains of an old-fashioned hairstyle of the Trajanic period attached to one statue. The head had been broken in half vertically so that none of the face survives but only the back of the head and hair remains. The hair, as it can be seen behind the ears, is brushed back tightly in flat waves and twisted into a large bun fixed at the back of the head. This type of tightly rolled bun, if paired with the fan-like "touet" over the front part of the hair (popular in the Trajanic period), is similar to the hairstyle worn by Matidia in her portraits. Because this old-fashioned hairstyle suggests a member of an older generation, Bol suggests that the fragmentary head represents Vibulla Alcia, the mother of Herodes. Therefore, the other female statue body in the "Palliate" style probably represents Regilla’s mother (Atilla Caudicula Tertilla). The final remaining headless female statue type, called the "Kore,"

26 Wegner 1939, 52 identifies the portrait as Faustina II even though the Olympia head does not precisely follow an established portrait type of the young empress.
27 Harrison 1953, 45 No. 33 Pl. 21. Portrait identified as Faustina the Younger.
29 Bol 1984, 181. Once Bol amended the identification of the Olympia head in favor of Athenais, she also named these other two images, formerly considered portraits of Faustina II, as further examples of the portrait type of Herodes’ daughter. For more on the identification of this portrait head and correlating statue body, see below.
31 Tobin 1997, 58.
32 The presumed statue of Sabina is about 0.26m shorter than that of her husband Hadrian.
33 Bol 1984, 179.
34 Grainger 1930, 83.
35 Bol 1984, 172-173. The large, round eyes and drilled pupil and the demarcation of the hair line is very similar to the portrait of Faustina I.
36 M. Fuchs’ review of Bol (BfS 186 (1986) 855-866) refers to a replica of a portrait of Regilla in the Uffizi, published in Mansuelli, Gaetano degli Uffizi, La Scultura 2 (1961) 114f. No. 139. However, this head is a modern creation, according to Mansuelli and Wegner inter alia. Perhaps Fuchs meant to draw a parallel to the hairstyle, since the Uffizi head employs the same type of elongated S-waves on the sides of the head as are seen in the fragments from Olympia identified as Regilla.
37 For portraits of Matidia, see Wegner 1956, 80-83 and pls. 39-40.
38 Bol 1984, 176-177.
39 Bol 1984, 177.
probably represents Elpinike, the eldest daughter of Herodes and Regilla, born ca. 142 or 143 CE.40

Four male statues (or fragments thereof) depict the subject in military clothing. Since emperors were very commonly shown wearing a cuirass and phaludamentum, it is most likely that these statues were intended to portray Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Lucius Verus.41 That leaves the toga and himation-clad male statues for members of the donor’s family. Although the portrait heads have been separated from their statue bodies, Bol has suggested that the male members of Regilla’s family (her father and grandfather) as well as Herodes are represented wearing the Roman toga, whereas the male members of Herodes’ own family (his father and son) are depicted with the Greek himation. The use of the toga by Regilla’s father and grandfather emphasizes their status and achievement in belonging to the senatorial upper class.42 On the other hand, the Greek roots of Herodes’ family are celebrated by the use of the traditional himation. However R.R.R. Smith suggests an alternative to Bol’s identification of the statues of Herodes and his father. He prefers to see Herodes’ father in the Roman toga since he secured Roman citizenship early, when such status was unusual and noteworthy in the Greek East, thus the statue of Herodes himself is clad with the Greek himation.43 For the purposes of this paper, the pairing of the toga or himation with Herodes is not important. What is essential to understand, however, is that the three costume choices—the military cuirass, Roman toga, and Greek himation—provide an immediate visual impression about the men represented in terms of their ethnicity and status. I have determined that, while the imperial males are very clearly separated visually from the non-imperial males, the imperial females are not visually distinct from the family of the dedicatory. Upon seeing the monument, the ancient viewer could not distinguish the status of the women based upon their clothing, as can be done for the men.

**Interpretations**

The grand Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus at Olympia therefore offers an exceptional opportunity to study how the Antonine imperial women were portrayed in a public monument commissioned by someone with close ties to the

40 Bol 1984, 177-178. The “Kore” type statue measures 1.64m to the break at the neck, which actually seems larger than appropriate to represent a ten or eleven-year-old girl, considering that the statue assigned to Faustina II, who was about twenty-three in 153 CE, is 1.63m. However, statue no. 6 is the only possible statue body remaining after assigning the other female statue bodies. Statue no. 8 is smaller but more likely portrays Athenais, the younger sister of Elpinike.

41 It also would have been unusual in the imperial period for non-empirical men to be depicted wearing military dress.

42 Bol 1984, 90.

43 Smith 1998, 77. Smith points out that in this context the Roman toga would be taken for the “higher-ranking costume,” but that the Eastern elite viewed the himation as the more senior and preferred costume.
imperial house. Due to the high rate of survival of sculpture and architectural elements – making this the best preserved example of an Antonine dynastic group monument – and the recent thorough investigation at the site, it is possible to draw several conclusions about the original installation of the Nymphaeum with regard to the arrangement of the statues and to the broader significance of statue body types.

It should now be clear that several different statue body types are present in this monument. Next it will be demonstrated that the statues of the four generations of imperial women are differentiated visually by their size and pose. First, the size of the statue indicates relative age of the person represented. The statues of the youngest children in the imperial family to have been preserved, Lucilla and Domitia Faustina, measure 1.03m and 1.24m, respectively, from the feet to neck. Their mother, Faustina the Younger, is represented by a statue of 1.63m. The statue of Sabina measures 1.74m, without the head, which is missing, and the statue of Faustina the Elder, though it survives only from the waist up, must have been nearly the same size. Thus, the height of the statue varies accordingly to age of the person represented.

The costumes in which the imperial women are shown also serve to differentiate visually the four generations. Jennifer Trimble documents the use of the Large and Small Herculanenum types in early imperial Italy.44 She concludes that these body types were considered to successfully reproduce Augustan and Julio-Claudian ideas about dynastic rule and proper female behavior.45 These two statue types continue to be produced and reached their peak of popularity throughout the Empire during the mid-second century. The Large Herculanenum statue type, known by at least 153 examples,46 conveys a closed pose and gesture: the large himation covers nearly the whole body from the neck to below the knees. There is no gesture away from the body nor do the hands hold any attribute. This pose suggests a reserved, prau_type, and traditional woman and makes the Large Herculanenum statue type suitable for the two oldest imperial women in this monument, the deified Sabina and Faustina the Elder.

Glenn Davies asserts that the vast repetition of the Large and Small Herculanenum statue types demonstrates that this type of dress was viewed as a “universal imperial costume,” i.e., it depicted ordinary dress.47 She goes on to support the idea that the Herculanenum types offer a balance between expressions of “modesty, wealth, and bodily display.” The statue type is effective in portraying a modest but also beautiful and fertile woman. The same type was used to represent Sabina on the monumental gateway financed by Pricia Magna at Perge.48

The statue representing Faustina the Younger is called the “Formia” type because of an example found at that site. Here again the heavy mantle envelops almost the entire body. Both arms are closed and there is no evidence that either originally held any object. The “Formia” type is not very common. In her catalogue of Roman portrait statues, Julia LENAGHAN lists just six other examples in addition to the statue of Faustina the Younger.49 The type was used over a long span of time, ranging from a portrait statue of Livia to Trajanic and Antonine works. The geographic distribution of the “Formia” type extends from Rome and Italy to Alexandria, Cyrene, and Olympia. The large geographic spread and its long usage make it hard to draw general conclusions as to the meaning of this type, though another portrait statue found on the island of Sardes in Asia Minor represents a young girl with a Trajanic hairstyle.50 Lucilla, the daughter of Faustina the Younger, is represented by a statue type, called the “Magnesia” type because it is similar to the Augustan age statue of a young girl from Magnesia.51 While the body is, quite literally, closed, as both arms are completely enfolded in the heavy mantle, imparting a strongly passive nature. Another example of the type from near Sardes in Asia Minor represents a young girl in a Trajanic hairstyle.52 The few other reproductions of this type certainly portray young girls as indicated by the portrait and height, and so it was fitting for the statue of Lucilla who was no more than five years old at the time of the dedication.

Therefore the generations of imperial women are represented by different statue types, and I propose that the choice of statue type for each imperial woman is related to her role within this honorary monument and within imperial propaganda. Bell points out that, although the donor’s family and the imperial family are each represented by four generations in the Nymphaeum, the composition of family members emphasizes two different attitudes.53 Among the donor’s family, the ancestors dominate. Herodes’ parents, Regilla’s parents as well as her grandfather are all portrayed, and the inscribed statue bases give prominence to their honorable past and senatorial credentials. In the imperial house, more members of the younger generations are included in the arrangement: Marcus Aurelius, the current Caesar and future emperor; wife Faustina the Younger and four of their children.

Adding to Bo’s observation, I assert that, besides the larger number of younger compared to older imperial members included in the Nymphaeum, the costume choices also are a manifestation of the desire to promote the rising gen-

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44 Trimble 2000, 41-68.
45 Trimble 2000, 65.
46 Manuel 1956, cols. 115f., fig. 64.
47 Davis 2002, 236.
48 Manuel 1956, cols. 115f., fig. 64.
49 Lenaghan 1999, 238.
50 Lenaghan 1999, 29 and 316 no. 21.
51 Lenaghan 1999, 79.
Herodes Atticus and his family maintained close ties with the imperial family. Because of his father's political offices, Herodes spent time in Rome as a youth, practically being raised in the house of the grandfather of Marcus Aurelius. During the reign of Hadrian, Herodes was made Corrector of the Free Cities of Asia in the same year when the future emperor Antoninus Pius served as governor of the province of Asia. Herodes, returning to live in Rome, later became a tutor and close friend of Marcus. Their friendship lasted for decades and was what probably prompted the then emperor Marcus to write a letter to the Athenians, in which he begged them to forgive Herodes. This letter came a year after Marcus had listened to the Athenians accusing Herodes of acting like a tyrant.

Herodes was a prominent benefactor, and he and his family were well-known to the imperial court. It is certain that they, when planning such a grand monument as the Nymphæum, would have recognized the value of following the interests of the imperial family. Although the members of the imperial family might have had no voice in the particular statue types, a prominent couple such as Herodes and Regilla would have sought to follow the fashions at Rome and to please the court. Thus the choice of statue types would have been driven by these two concerns. After all, depicting the imperial males arrayed in the military uniform was the proper way to portray them. Wouldn't the planners use as much awareness in selecting appropriate statues to represent the imperial females?

This study of the statuary display of the Nymphæum at Olympia reveals certain conventions with regard to the appropriateness of statue body types and the individual. The garments of the men seem to be easily assigned to categories based upon status. The imperial men are portrayed wearing military dress, accentuating their status (past, present, or future) as holders of imperium. The use of the toga by Regilla's father and grandfather emphasizes their status and achievement in belonging to the senatorial elite. On the other hand, the Greek roots of Herodes' family are celebrated by the use of the traditional himation.

All the female statues are draped with a heavy mantle, imparting, essentially, indistinguishable appearances. In fact, at a quick glance, nearly all the statues of women — imperial and non-imperial — appear to be the same; there is not even any differentiation between Greek and Roman styles of dress as exists for their male counterparts. It is only upon closer examination that the style of female clothing takes on significance. We can discern that, in fact, the same traditional elements of clothing — tunic or chiton and mantle — are represented in several diverse fashions, though with subtle distinctions. However, this monument points out an interesting difference regarding the representation of imperial men

54 Fronto, Ad M. Cæs. iii.2.
55 Philostr. VS 2.548.
56 Philostr. VS 2.560-562; Birley 1987, 159-183.
57 S.H.A. Marc.Ant. 2.4; Vetter 2.5; Ameling 1983, 71-72. Herodes was probably tutor to Marcus
58 and Lucius from 141-146.
59 Bol 1984, 90.
60 See n. 43.
and women. The costume of the male statues immediately indicates the role or status of the man depicted by use of the cuirass (emperor or imperial heir), toga (Roman), or himation (Greek). On the other hand, the clothing of the female statues reveals very little right away about their particular status.

By taking a closer look at the Nymphaeum in Olympia, I have shown that the four generations of imperial women are represented in different manners, according to size, dress, and posture. Second, I suggest that particular costumes were appropriate to particular individuals, and they can indicate status within the imperial family. Specifically, I propose that the choice of statue types to represent Sabina, Faustina the Elder, Faustina the Younger and her children reflects the desire to emphasize the future generations of the imperial family with the intent of continuing the imperial dynasty and prosperity throughout the Empire. Although Antoninus broadly commemorated Faustina the Elder after her death in 140, he did not hesitate to promote his daughter Faustina appropriately. She was married to his heir Marcus in 145 and was bestowed the honorary title Augusta in the year 147. The path was clear for Marcus and Faustina to become the next imperial couple, and the Nymphaeum at Olympia makes concrete in visual terms this ambition.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Olympia II: Curtius E und Adler F. 1892: Die Bauwerksmaler (Olympia Bd. 2), Berlin.
Olympia III: Teub G. 1897: Die Bildwerke von Olympia in Stein und Ton (Olympia Bd. 3), Berlin.
Olympia V: Dittenberger W. und Purgeld, Karl. 1895: Die Inschriften von Olympia (Olympia Bd. 5), Berlin.

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