

X Reunião
Escultura
Romana
na Hispânia

X Reunión
Escultura
Romana
en Hispania

X Meeting
of Roman
Sculpture
in Hispania

X
Escultura
Roman
Romana *en*
Sculpture
na Hispânia
in Hispania

2022

Portugal

Faro e Mértola

Algarve e Alentejo

27, 28 (Faro), 29 (Mértola)

Outubro / Octubre / October



FICHA TÉCNICA

TÍTULO: Escultura Romana na Hispânia
Escultura Romana en Hispania

SUBTÍTULO: Atas do X Encontro Internacional de Escultura Romana na Hispânia,
realizado em Faro e Mértola de 27 a 29 de outubro de 2022
*Actas de la X Reunión Internacional de Escultura Romana en Hispania,
celebrada en Faro y Mertola los días 27 al 29 de octubre de 2022*

EDITORES: João Pedro Bernardes, Trinidad Nogales-Basarrate, Luís Jorge Gonçalves,
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EDIÇÃO: Universidade do Algarve – CEAACP

CONCEPÇÃO GRÁFICA – PAGINAÇÃO | ARTE-FINAL: Raquel Gil Ferreira

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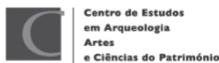
IMPRESSÃO E ACABAMENTOS: LouresGráfica

DEPÓSITO LEGAL: 537062 / 24

ISBN: 978-989-9127-89-0

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.34623/b48f-2k76>

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Esta publicação foi financiada por fundos nacionais através da FCT – Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia, IP, no âmbito do Projeto Estratégico do Centro de Estudos em Arqueologia, Artes e Ciências do Património [UIDB/00281/2020 – DOI: 10.54499/UIDB/00281/2020].

FARO / LISBOA, OUTUBRO DE 2024

The Relief from the Collection of A. Moya Moreno – some Observations

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Abstract: The historical relief (Figs. 1–14), once in the collection of A. Moya Moreno in Seville and said to be from Spain, is the subject of this article. It can be demonstrated that it was wider than preserved today because there was at least one more figure (maybe even more persons) on the left side while it cannot be secured that the right end today is that of the ancient marble slab. The three figures almost totally preserved have been substantially re-worked in antiquity: The togatus on the left side once was a representation of the emperor Caligula which has been changed to that of Augustus or of the *genius* of Augustus. The female figure's head was re-worked as well to classical forms; it has probably been the depiction of an empress, a sister of Caligula. As the personification of Concordia she connects the emperor with the seated figure on the right while both men clasp their hands. This enthroned man is characterized as a *genius*, maybe that of the *populus Romanus* or of the people of a Roman provincial capital on the Iberian peninsula. The feet of this figure and his throne have been re-worked as well, so one may assume that the changes to the secondary state of the relief extended up to the (today lost) head. The re-working of the heads of the two standing persons which once reached up higher than today indicate that the few letters of an inscription belong to the early Claudian, the secondary phase of the historical relief.

The depiction of a Roman emperor (with some Roman attendants) in connection with Concordia and a *genius* can be dated in its primary state to Caligulean times and after its re-working to the early Claudian period. The slab consists of Luna marble. It was produced from a masonry block which was part of a late Republican or very early Imperial building which most probably stood in Italy. With this background of the monument's technical history it cannot be secured if the whole block, later divided into several slabs, was transported to Spain and the relief then chiselled in the capital of the Roman province on the Iberian peninsula; theoretically the relief may have been worked in Rome or another Italian town, then brought to Spain and later re-worked to its extant, secondary appearance.

The relief (Figs. 1–14) is said to be from Southern Spain and has been in the collection of A. Moya Moreno in Seville for about six decades. The author of its first publication in an auction catalogue by Christie's in New York in 2010¹ and John Pollini in a thorough discussion only two years later² interpreted it as a three-figure relief of Tiberius, Concordia and a *genius*, probably that of the capital of a Roman province on the Iberian peninsula. Since then it has been discussed on the basis of the descriptions and illustrations in those publications³. In my view it is worth checking in detail what is preserved; on this basis the interpretation and reconstruction of the ancient monument needs to be changed⁴.

We see a relief made of a white, fine-grained marble⁵ with a reddish-brown patina with measurements of about 90 cms height and 68 cms width; it is 15.5 cms thick. The height can be measured with certainty since part of the lower surface with anathyrosis and of the upper edge are preserved. On the upper side there are remains of a dowel for fixing another marble block on top, probably part of a frame or a cover slab with a moulding. The upper right corner is broken off together with the head of a seated man who takes almost half of the space of the relief in its current state. He sits on an elaborate throne⁶, known from depictions of gods as

¹ Anonymus 2010.

² Pollini 2012, 97–101 with fig. II.31 a–b and cover; Pollini et al. 2018, 413–426.

³ Rodríguez Oliva 2020, 149–368 figs. 1; 2, 1–2; 3, 1–2; 4, 1; 5, 1–2; 6, 1–2.

⁴ I am very grateful to the J. Paul Getty Museum for the invitation to spend three months as a Museum Visiting Scholar of the Antiquities Department in 2012; and I would like to thank the curators of the Getty Villa, especially K. Lapatin and J. Daehner, for their most helpful assistance as well as for the opportunity to study the relief and present the results of my observations and discuss them in front of the sculpture. Thanks are due, too, to J. Pollini who attended the lecture and shared with me his ideas before his book was published; W. Eck and J. C. Edmondson gave valuable advice concerning the serious difficulties in reconstructing the inscription. I gratefully acknowledge that M. Bergmann commented on the manuscript and discussed issues with me.

⁵ About the marble source see below 327 with n. 29.

⁶ Richter 1966, 13–33.

well from Macedonian tombs⁷, and he puts his bare feet on a footstool; the figure is clad in a mantle covering his lower body and his left shoulder, and he holds a decorated *cornucopia* in his left hand leaning on his shoulder; his right is stretched out to clasp hands with a togatus figure on the left side, standing opposite to him. This man is wearing closed shoes, the *tunica*, the *toga* and a wreath on his head. In his left hand he holds a scroll. In addition to their *dextrarum iunctio* both men are connected by the gesture of a woman standing between them, since she has put both of her hands on their shoulders. She is wearing a chiton and a mantle – not a *stola*, the garment of a Roman *matrona*⁸ –, closed shoes and a diadem (*stephane*) in her hair which is combed in a classical fashion. As the togatus does, she turns her head to the enthroned figure. Above the heads of the two standing figures are some letters of a two lined inscription.

The right edge of the relief (Fig. 2, right) is worked to a 45° angle; there are roughly picked toolmarks of a pointed chisel to the left, the surface of the bevelled angle are preserved to the right turning to the backside. This has been interpreted as evidence for the ancient attachment of another slab in a 90° angle – maybe decorated as well with a relief. If this conclusion of the appearance of the relief's right side is correct⁹, it is clear that the relief depiction ends there with the seated figure. Together with the dowel on top of the relief we can reconstruct therefore a square or rectangular structure like a base, an altar or something alike which was revetted with marble slabs.

A close look at the left edge of the relief (Fig. 2, left) reveals that it is broken over its total height; in addition one can see that a small strip next to the backside has been cut in post-ancient times to straighten the edge,

⁷ Pollini et al. 2018, 413 f. n. 7–9; Rodríguez Oliva 2020, 352–354 figs. 5, 3–6.

⁸ Rodríguez Oliva 2020, 354. On the *stola* see Scholz 1992.

⁹ In view of the missing relief's background underneath the throne, i.e the fact that the material of the slab is broken in that area much more inwards than at the height of the *cornucopia*, it seems astonishing that the side's surface worked with a pointed chisel and the bevelled soft surface next to it are all in the same vertical line. In connection with the re-working of some part of the left edge where we see again toolmarks of a pointed chisel it may be concluded that both sides of the relief have been cut and that the bevelled side has been produced in post-antique times.

obviously for the reuse of the slab turned (see below). So on this left side the ancient end of the relief is totally lost.

A careful observation of the ancient surface demonstrates remains of another figure behind the well preserved togatus: Some folds in his back (Fig. 3–4) do not belong to that figure; his shoulder is clearly marked by the right hand of the female person, and the folds of the *sinus* fall down from the shoulder in one continuous curved line to the hip and knee. Behind the contour of that *sinus* there are two vertical folds of another textile which would, if not broken above, continue higher than the shoulder of the togatus. The lower half of these remains preserve the thumb and the index finger of a right hand (Fig. 5), which was holding the garment and was partly covered by the preserved togatus figure. So there has been – very close and partly overlapped by the standing togatus – an additional person, most probably another togatus of which we see a little part of his *umbo* falling down from his left shoulder, a part of the toga which he grasped with his right hand¹⁰.

Thus it must be concluded that the relief did not depict just three figures, as has always been stated. Instead there was at least one more person behind the preserved togatus, maybe even more figures. Was it in its original state a rectangular relief scene with several *apparitores* on the left side as known from many other historical reliefs in Roman art?¹¹

What does the ›enlargement‹ of the relief on its left side mean for the reconstruction of the inscription (Fig. 6), how many letters should be added to the left of the preserved ones? For sure the inscription was longer than

¹⁰ The position of the right arm crossing the upper body and the hand holding the vertical part of the *umbo* is a feature well-known from early Imperial depictions of togati: see the reliefs of the Ara Pacis, some other reliefs and statues in the round: Goette 1990, pls. 4, 1–3, 5; 5, 5; 9, 1; 11, 3.

¹¹ See for example Torelli 1982 discussing many examples starting with the Ara Pacis frieze and many altars of the *lares*; Zanker 1987, 127–140 with figs. 100 f. 108–111; Pollini 2012, 309–353. The portrait of the sacrificing emperor on the Suovetaurelia relief in the Louvre (Ma 1096: Pollini et al. 2018, 414 fig. 3 with bibliography) is mostly restored and therefore cannot be compared with the one on the Moya Moreno relief. But it gives a good example for the stance of the togatus and thus the positioning of its right foot which has been set behind touching the ground with the toes: It needed some space on the left side of the relief which is now, with the reconstruction of at least one more figure, proven.

supposed by earlier scholarship, but the reconstruction of the formula still cannot securely be determined because there are several possibilities. On the premise that the lines were placed symmetrically above the axis of the female figure the slab would have been at least 10–12 cms wider than preserved (instead of 68 cms ca. 80 cms). But it cannot be excluded that the relief was even larger.

The two letters TI above the depicted togatus led scholars to identify the figure as the emperor Tiberius¹². Using the well-approved method of studying the motifs of the hair (the ›hairdo‹) and comparing some of Tiberius' portrait types in regard to the order of the strands of the portrait on the relief (Figs. 7–9), it is obvious that the system of forks and pliers of the relief head does not match those of portraits of the second Roman emperor's depictions¹³. In addition the physiognomical features (Fig. 8) like the very typical form of Tiberius's mouth with the receded bottom lip and chin do not have any resemblance with the face of the relief togatus. The facial features and even more so the system of strands above the forehead on the Moya Moreno relief are those of the portrait of Augustus in his simple type called ›Louvre 1280‹¹⁴.

An in-depth inspection of this head and that of the female person, preferably with raking light (Figs. 10 a and b), reveals that both have been re-worked: Around the contour line of their hair we see toolmarks of chiselling off parts of the heads. Both heads were once larger, had more volume¹⁵, and they reached higher up to the bottom line and even into

¹² Pollini 2012, 97 with n. 139 f. The inscription's first line preserves three letters: ADO[...] (an O seems more probable than a C because there is no *apex* at the lower end next to the edge of the stone's damage; so maybe: adoptatio); the second line preserves the letters [...] S • TI • AVGVST • C[...].

¹³ Hertel 2013. The form of the downturned corner of the mouth and the small chin – both not typical for Augustus' portraits – results in the reworking of the primary appearance of that part of the face.

¹⁴ Boschung 1993, 27–37; Pollini et al. 2018, 414 admit that ›the somewhat idealized portrait features of Tiberius [are] perhaps somewhat assimilated to those of his deified father Augustus ...‹.

¹⁵ The crown on the head of the togatus figure was much thicker in its primary appearance and has been substantially reduced during the re-working of the head by cutting off the

the area of the inscription (Fig. 6); this observation leads inevitably to the conclusion that the existing letters are a secondary addition engraved in the course or after the reworking of the relief. This revision caused wrong and unsuitable proportions between the togatus' portrait (and as well the woman's one) and the body (Fig. 1). When the sculptor re-worked the portrait he had to produce a transition from the recut head over the neck down to the neckline of the tunic and toga which were left untouched. This resulted in a high and wide edge of the *tunica* and a reduced depth of the face in regard to the massive volume of the shoulder (Figs. 3 and 10 a). And – as usually to be observed on re-worked portraits – the problem arised to change the form of the ear which would have been too large and juttet out very much if left in its primary form. Here it has been cut down, so that the auricle sits now deep in the material of the hair without plasticity (Figs. 7–9).

Looking at the style of the relief figures, especially their garments' folds, the best comparison is the style that we know from representations of Caligula¹⁶. The deep folds with sharp edges of the *toga* and the *himation* of the seated male, which show clearly the form of the legs underneath the textiles, can be dated to the years around 40 AD¹⁷. And the style of the strands of hair are chiselled in the typical manner of portraits of the Caligulean and early Claudian years, best known and securely datable on sculptures depicting the emperor Caligula himself and some reworked portraits of Claudius: They show flat, empty spaces between the strands and a prismatic shape of the surfaces of the strands¹⁸.

once long laurel leaves (see the wreath on the backside of the head), as can be observed on the relief's background above the forehead at the upper contour line of the wreath.

¹⁶ Boschung 1989.

¹⁷ Boschung 1989, 109 f. no. 11 pl. 42–43; Goette 1990, 119 Ba 106 f. pl. 8, 1; 120 Ba 144–153 pl. 8, 2–3. The style of the (without their upper and lower ledges almost the same hight as our relief) ›Medinaceli reliefs‹, probably produced in 50/51 AD, is more advanced, see Schäfer 2022, 265–270.

¹⁸ The prismatic shape of the stands' surface on the relief looks a bit softer because of long time weathering. For reworked portraits of Claudius see recently Goette 2020–2022, 48–51 pls. 26–30 with further bibliography.

The result of this new assessment of the male figure on the left side of the Moya Moreno relief is the following: In a primary state there was the togatus figure of the emperor Caligula which has been altered after the end of his reign, i. e. in early Claudian times, to that of Augustus by recutting the portrait. The figure of the emperor was followed by at least one man, most probably clad as well in a *toga* and positioned closely left of the preserved togatus and partly covered by him, therefore either an official of the state or an attendant (*apparitor*) or an Imperial family member; if some more figures did exist to the left side, one may assume a combination of such persons of the court.

What does not fit with this interpretation of the relief, at least in its secondary form¹⁹, is the kind of shoe depicted on the preserved left foot of the togatus (Fig. 11): The emperor can be expected to wear *calcei* with *corrigiae*, the *calcei patricii* with four shoe straps or at least the *calcei senatorii* with two of them; but here we see the simple *calceus equester*²⁰. If we do not suppose a ›mistake‹ by the reworking sculptor – why would he change this detail when recutting a relief depiction of Caligula to that of Augustus? – a possible interpretation could be that the togatus in its present appearance is the *genius Augusti*²¹ and not the emperor himself.

With the observations of reworking in mind the two other figures on the relief need to be examined (Fig. 1). All scholars agree in the interpretation of the female figure as Concordia. Her action, embracing both men who clasp hands, and her classical features point into this direction. Because the head has obviously been substantially reduced and reworked (Fig. 10 a–b), the question arises how it did look like before: Was it a female portrait, maybe one of the sisters of Caligula later recut together with that of the primarily depicted emperor on the left side?

¹⁹ On the upper front the shoes are chiselled with a flat surface, a narrow stripe at the back contour of the shoe is without any structure, and the border of the toga above the *calceus* shows traces of reworking. All this points to a change from another type of *calceus* with *corrigiae*, therefore it was a *calceus senatorius* or *patricius* in the primary state of the relief.

²⁰ For the various types of the Roman *calceus* see Goette 1988, 449–464.

²¹ Kunckel 1974, 22–28.

Since both, the togatus and the female person turn to the seated idealized male figure, who takes more space of the relief than all others, this enthroned man should be the main figure of the image. The mantle around the lower body and the *cornucopia* fit with the iconography of the *Genius populi Romani* on Roman historical reliefs, but most of those comparable images show the personification standing, not enthroned²². But there are some similar depictions: On a coin commissioned by Q. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther in 74 BC we see such a figure seated on a folding chair²³, and on the relief base from Sorrento²⁴ the *genius* is sitting next to Mars.

Is our relief part of a special form of an altar for the *lares Augusti*²⁵ with a Concordia scene connecting the *genius Augusti* with the *genius populi Romani* instead of the usual depiction of a group of sacrificing Romans? Or should we assume that the enthroned figure looking like a *genius populi Romani* once was a representation of Caligula – similar to the depiction of that emperor on the famous Vienna cameo²⁶?

A closer look at some details of the enthroned figure and the chair again reveals some strange forms and ›repairs‹: The fringes of the cushion on the throne (Fig. 12) are re-worked as is the figure's preserved right foot (Fig. 13) which looks very weird; a curved line on the ground between the toes marks the form of a shoe's sole, and the vertical background is not

²² Kunckel 1974, 33–37. There are well-known statues of *genii* with portrait features interpreted as the *genius Augusti* or the *genius* of an Augustan prince, see the toga statue in the Vatican (inv. 259: Kunckel 1974, 78 A1 pl. 8, 1; LIMC VIII [1997] 606 no. 62 s. v. Genius [I. Romeo]; Pollini 2012, 99 with fig. I.4a–b) and the statue from Pozzuoli in Berlin (inv. Sk 157: Kunckel 1974, 27 f. 78 A3 pl. 8, 2; Scholl 2016, 107–110 no. 70; <https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/1105783>).

²³ RRC 397, 1; Kunckel 1974, 15 f. 122 MIII2 pl. 4, 2; https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_2002-0102-3770; https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1860-0328-76.

²⁴ Rizzo 1933, 1 – 108; D-DAI-ROM-2004.0608; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/mar-bilder/7124929>.

²⁵ Kunckel 1974, 22–24; Zanker 1987, 135–140.

²⁶ Kunsthistorisches Museum inv. IX a 59: Boschung 1989, 116 no. 34 pl. 30, 2 with bibliography; Rodríguez Oliva 2020, 351 f. fig. 4, 2. – But the question arises: Who was then the togatus with the re-worked portrait in its primary state?

smoothed as elsewhere on the relief but covered with uneven lines of the chiselling. The left foot (Fig. 12) which was partly worked almost in the round, is broken off, so it cannot be studied in detail, but the upper part next to the garment's edge looks modified. Thus the seated person may once have had shoes on his feet, maybe the closed high boots (*mullei*) of the *genius populi Romani*²⁷. Therefore I tend to reconstruct the enthroned figure as the *genius populi Romani*; but it cannot be excluded that this figure is the *genius* of a people of the Iberian provincial capital – the one where the monument was set up²⁸. The question, why parts of this figure have been re-worked is hard to answer and depends much on the appearance of the head and the supposition that it might have been recut as well – since it is missing today, one cannot achieve a secure interpretation.

The relief is made of Luna marble (present day Carrara in Italy)²⁹. Therefore it is possible that a block was brought from Italy to the place in southern Spain where the monument was erected, and that a metropolitan Roman workshop travelled with the block to do the job in the province. Whether that workshop was still around after the reign of Caligula (or even stayed there) to revise the relief to its present form, is a question open for discussion in the light of portraits made of Luna marble found in Mérida. One alternative could be that a well-trained local sculptor chiselled all the changes.

²⁷ Goette 1988, 403–406. – Neglecting the *cornucopia* the enthroned figure looks like Jupiter, see the Gemma Augustea in Vienna (Zanker 1987, 232–234 fig. 182; Pollini 2012, 84–93 with bibliography in n. 92) or the so-called sword of Tiberius from the Rhine, today in the British Museum in London (Zanker 1987, 234 f. fig. 183; Rodríguez Oliva 2020, 361 fig. 7.1). It must be emphasized that both emperors depicted on these reliefs, Augustus and Tiberius, are wearing shoes: sandals the one, closed shoes the other. Differently Caligula is barefoot on the Vienna cameo (see n. 26) where he is depicted (with Roma) on a sphinx throne holding a sceptre in his raised left and a double *cornucopia* in his right.

²⁸ Pollini 2012, 99 f. who suggests with good reasoning the possible location of the monument in Augusta Emerita (Mérida) in Lusitania or Colonia Patricia (Córdoba) in Baetica; see as well similar thoughts in Pollini et al. 2018, 416 and 418 where the latter provincial capital is preferred because the import of the used Luna marble would have been easier in a »less land-locked« city in Baetica.

²⁹ Analysis by the laboratory of the Getty Museum (J. Podany), see Pollini et al. 2018, 418–422 with a discussion of the consequences, phrased in four questions to be addressed.

There is an additional observation to be considered when discussing this matter: On the back side of the relief³⁰ we see that the surface is worn and very smooth (Fig. 14). This can be explained with the hypothesis that the slab was part of a lavishly paved floor in a grand villa or a church used by people for a long time, so that its surface has been polished³¹. More important for the question of the origin of the marble block is another observation on the backside: There is a pry hole preserved which once served for pushing forward the block placed on top of this one. The slot with its one broken side, i. e. the pry hole, attests to an earlier ›life‹ of the slab, namely as a masonry block in some wall, before it was probably divided in several ›slices‹ (at least 16 cms thick slabs) used to chisel a relief on the opposite side. Again we are not able to prove where the building with this Luna marble block was erected, but it seems much more probable that it was in Italy than on the Iberian peninsula since temples or other public Roman buildings commissioned during the time of the two first Roman emperors and made of marble from Carrara are unknown on the Iberian peninsula³². Therefore it should be concluded that the block has been taken from a late Republican³³ or early Imperial building in Italy and cut into slab(s) for the production of the Caligulean relief(s). Although the block – as a whole or in the form of several plates – was imported from Italy, the reliefs most probably have been carved at the place of the monument's dedication³⁴. Both, the excellent workmanship and

³⁰ Pollini et al. 2018, 416 fig. 6.

³¹ At least the relief was protected by this supposed re-use of the slab. And one may hope that there will be found other reliefs of this monument with their main sides not yet turned. Pollini et al. 2018, 418 suggest in addition two more (but in view of the polished backside less convincing) possibilities of reuse, namely as ›part of a wall revetment or as a marble screen«. – The five holes drilled into the back are modern ones to mount the relief for its exhibition in a collection.

³² Pollini et al. 2018, 422 state that in the provinces on the Iberian peninsula Luna «marble appears to have been employed more for three-dimensional sculptures and architectural elements than for figural relief sculptures».

³³ The marble quarries near Luna (modern Carrara) were exploited in a large ›industrial‹ amount from around the mid first century BC, see Attanasio 2003, 165–170; only sporadically the marble seems to have been used before, for example by the Etruscans.

³⁴ For the method of carving figures, which were reaching over the joint between two

the kind of marble support the hypothesis that a metropolitan Roman sculptor chiselled the reliefs in the provincial capital in Spain.

Searching for the occasion and motive for the commission and production of the relief one is restricted to just one of probably three (plus a side with a dedicatory inscription) or even four sides of the monument. The marble and the quality of the sculpture is that of reliefs produced in workshops of metropolitan Rome. With the chronology of the relief in mind and in regard to its special iconography an interpretation must be connected to the state's propaganda during those years and a ›message‹ about the emperor's *concordia* with the *populus Romanus* – as has been soundly emphasized by earlier scholarship. Caligula reached out to equal the representation of the first princeps, Augustus, as can be understood for example from his opening of the temple of Divus Augustus in Rome celebrated on Caligulean coins³⁵, in combination with another coin series³⁶ with his portrait minted on the one side, that of Divus Augustus on the other. The production of portraits of Caligula reached almost half of the number within four years³⁷ of the many portraits of Augustus known from his reign of 40 years³⁸. This is why one may interpret the monument in the tradition of Augustan iconography and that of Caligula imitating it. The first phase of the relief may have depicted Caligula with one or even more attendants (magistrates, *apparitores* or family members), the emperor clasping hands with a personification of the *Genius populi*

adjoining slabs, only after the set-up of the monument see already Pollini et al. 2018, 418 with n. 15. To transport finished sculptures would enlarge the risk of damages on the way.

³⁵ RIC I 36 (https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_R-6437). 44. 51 (https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1872-0709-445).

³⁶ RIC I 2; BMCRE 4; RIC I² 24; https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_R-6331; M. von Kaenel, in: Boschung 1989, 17 pl. A 2; [http://numismatics.org/ocre/id/ric.1\(2\).gai.24](http://numismatics.org/ocre/id/ric.1(2).gai.24); <https://ikmk.smb.museum/object?id=18202632>.

³⁷ There are more than 120 copies of portraits of Caligula know if one takes into account the many pieces re-worked after his death to images of Claudius and other Julio-Claudian members of the imperial court.

³⁸ See Boschung 1993 who lists 217 (and in addition some doubtful) examples; some more copies have been published since 1993.

*Romani*³⁹, connected by Concordia who may have had portrait features of an empress, otherwise a reworking would not have been necessary. In the secondary state of the relief the heads of the three (or maybe just the two standing) figures were re-worked and depicted thereafter the *Genius Augusti in dextrarum iunctio* with the *Genius populi Romani* or that of the people of a Roman provincial capital, and the portrait features of Concordia were changed to Classical ideal forms.

Still open for an explanation is the inscription, its reconstruction. With the larger width of the relief giving more space (at least) on the left side of the slab and with the new chronological premise of an early Claudian inscription hopefully epigraphists find a new basis to solve this problem.

For an idea about the other sides of the monument the four-sided base or altar from ancient Nescania in the museum of Antequera⁴⁰ may be revealing (Figs. 15–16): While on the main side there is a specific image of an imperial cult scene – the crowning of an enthroned emperor by Victoria while another female figure is clasping hands with him and offers some object to him (Fig. 15) –, the other three sides show a sacrifice (Fig. 16) as we know it from altars of lares and some historical reliefs celebrating the pietas of the emperor. Maybe we can assume that our monument, which (by now) is preserved only with one side, had similar images on the other sides as the ara in Antequera conveys; maybe the altar from Nescania was even influenced by the high quality Roman monument discussed here⁴¹.

³⁹ See above 327 with n. 28 about the hypothesis to identify the figure with the *genius populi* of the (capital of the) Hispanic province (Lusitania or Baetica). Personifications of towns are mostly female figures, see the base of Puteoli in Naples, MAN 6780: Weisser 2008, 105–160 pls. 48–67 with just two male (Tmolos and Temnos) and twelve female personifications.

⁴⁰ García y Bellido 1949, 407 f. no. 408 pl. 290, in context of the Moya Moreno relief already discussed by Rodríguez Oliva 2020, 363 f. fig. 8, 1–2 with earlier bibliography.

⁴¹ Illustration credit: Fig. 10 b and 13: J. Podany. – Fig. 14: after Pollini et al. 2018, fig. 6. – All other: Photos H. R. Goette.

Fig. 1

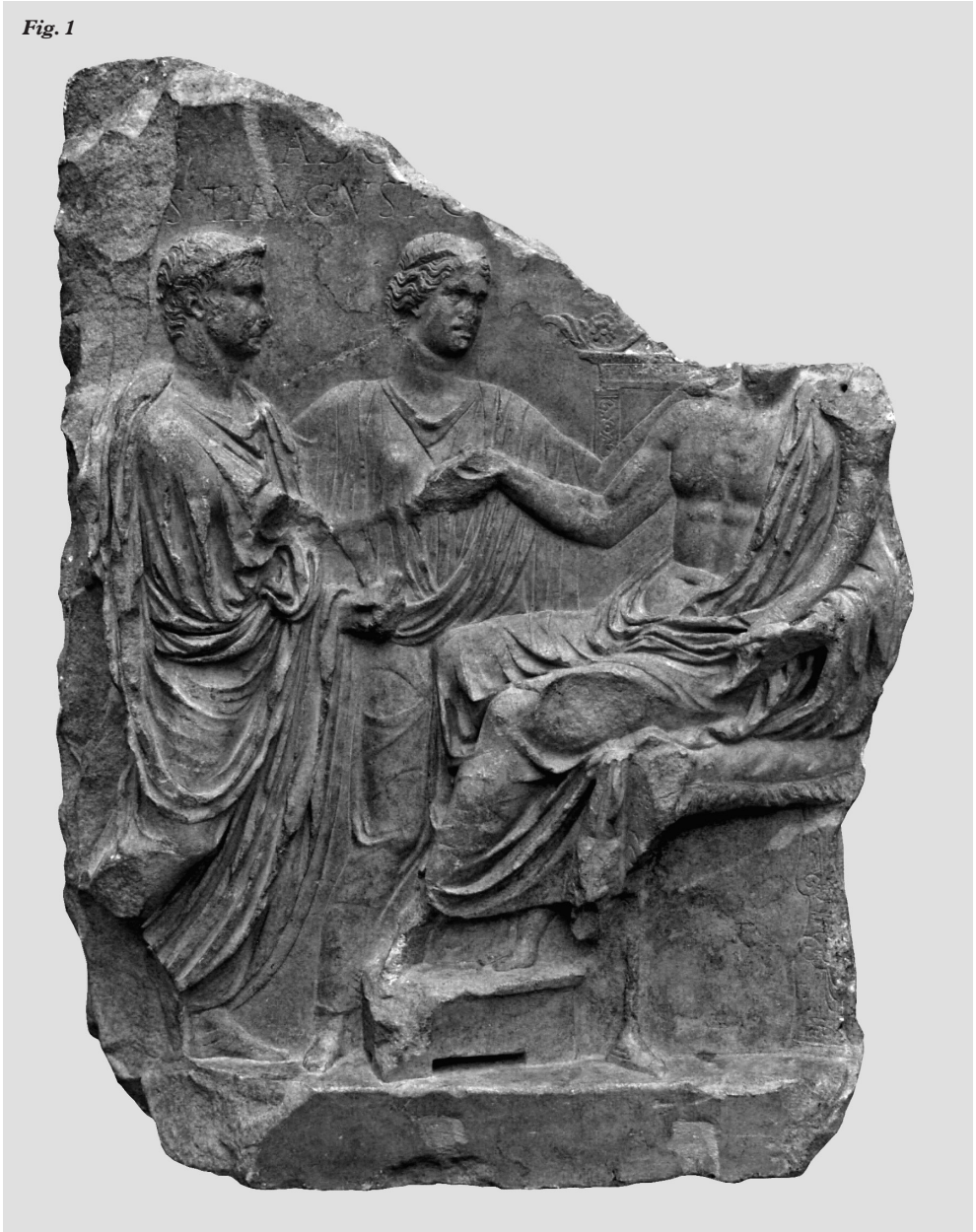


Fig. 2







Fig. 4



Fig. 5

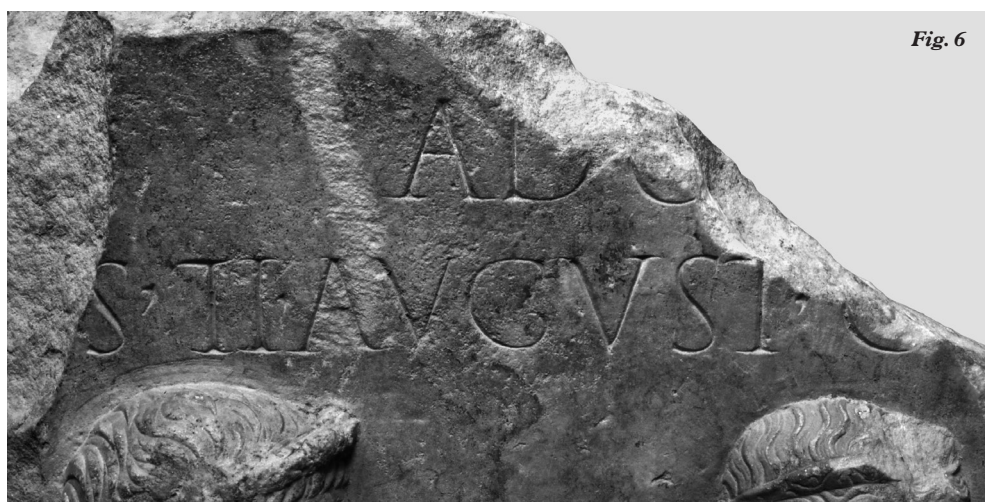


Fig. 6

Fig. 7

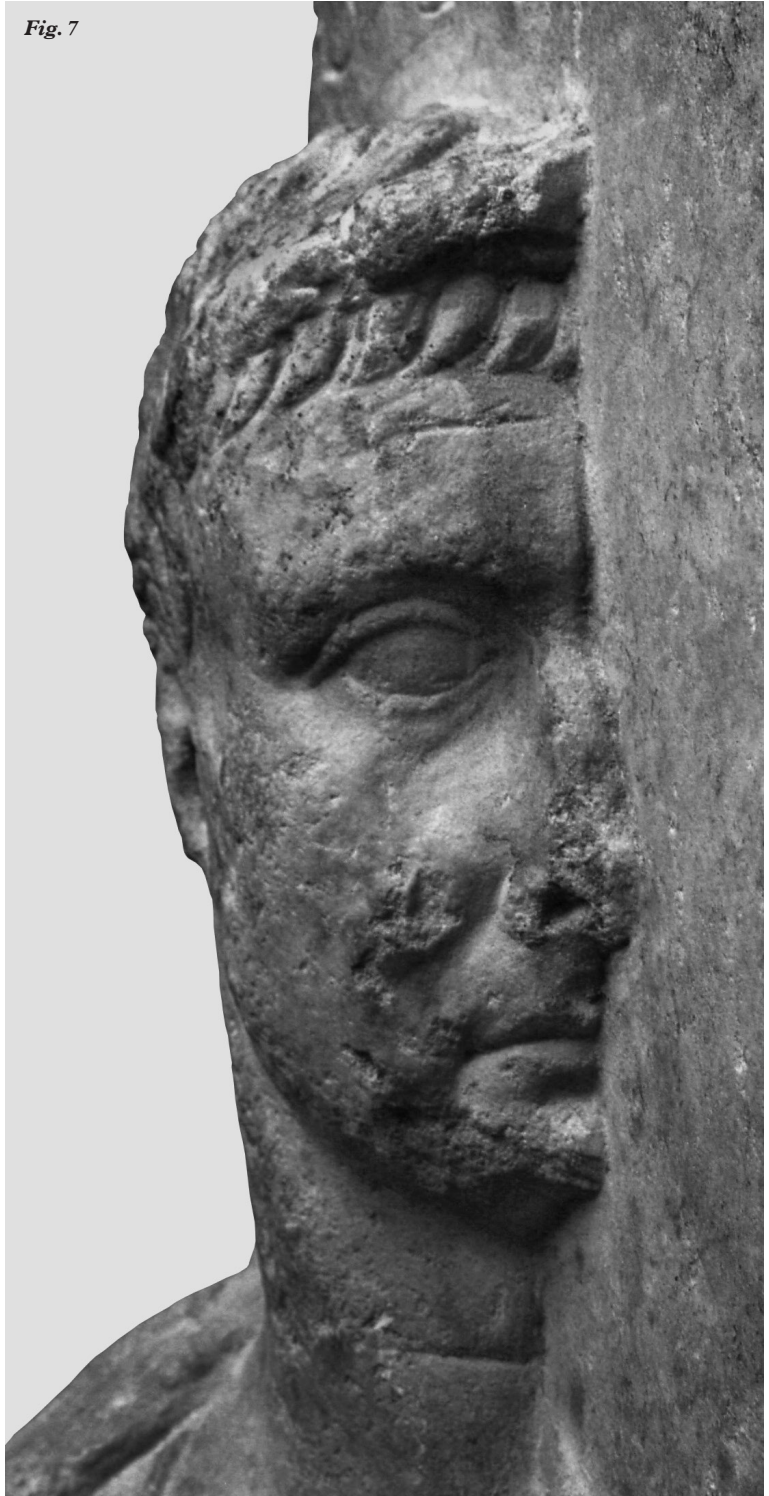


Fig. 8







Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14



Fig. 15



Fig. 16



Captions for illustrations

Fig. 1 Fragment of a historical relief, once in the collection of A. Moya Moreno in Seville.

Fig. 2 Broken left and right sides of the historical relief.

Fig. 3 Upper body of the togatus figure, view in an oblique angle.

Fig. 4–5 Details of the shoulder of the togatus figure and the broken area behind it.

Fig. 6 Remaining letters of the inscription.

Fig. 7–9 The portrait of the togatus figure.

Fig. 10 a The heads of the togatus figure and of Concordia.

Fig. 10 b Detail of the relief's background between Concordia's hair and the letters above it.

Fig. 11 The *calceus equester* of the togatus figure.

Fig. 12 The lower body of the *genius* on the throne.

Fig. 13 The right foot of the *genius*.

Fig. 14 Backside of the relief.

Fig. 15 Main side of a base or altar from Nescania, Antequera, Mus. Arq.

Fig. 16 Right, back and left side of the base or altar from Nescania (see fig. 15).



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