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Politics and Religion in Late Antique Honorific Monuments:
Portrait Heads, Statues, and Inscriptions of the Administrative Elite

by

Elizabeth Anne Wueste

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

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in

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in the

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University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Christopher H. Hallett, Chair

Professor Carlos F. Noreña

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Professor J. Theodore Peña

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Politics and Religion in Late Antique Honorific Monuments:
Portrait Heads, Statues, and Inscriptions of the Administrative Elite

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ABSTRACT

Politics and Religion in Late Antique Honorific Monuments:
Portrait Heads, Statues, and Inscriptions of the Administrative Elite

by

Elizabeth Anne Wueste

Doctor of Philosophy in Classical Archaeology

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Christopher H. Hallett, Chair

This dissertation examines the material evidence of honorific statue monuments of the administrative elite throughout the Roman world from the third through sixth centuries CE. This includes the extant portrait heads, statue bodies, and inscribed bases, and their significance as indicators of and participants in the larger socio-cultural conversation about the relationship between religion and politics during Late Antiquity. What was the effect of Christianity on local and imperial politics during this transitional period? Were members of the administrative elite pressured to convert to Christianity and advertise their conversion because of imperial pressure? What social benefits and/or liabilities were involved in publically proclaiming religious affiliation? How is material evidence involved in the projection of religious self identity, especially in public arenas and visual form? How were these visual messages communicated, understood, and received by the viewing audience? I argue that the honorific monuments of the late antique elite reveal a surprising tension between politics and Christianity, and while neither the honorands nor the honorers fully proclaim their religious affiliations, they are not entirely silent either. I argue we should adopt a more nuanced conception of Christianity's role in the political landscape during this transitional period precisely because ambiguity, religious fluidity, and a broad, if vague, public appeal was politically and socially useful.

Previous scholarship has tended to isolate either the sculptures or the inscribed bases of honorific monuments and examine them separately, that is, art historically or epigraphically, respectively. Removed from the archaeological, spatial, and historical contexts, these approaches are fundamentally flawed in that they ignore at least half of the monuments as a whole, and therefore do not consider the most immediate display context. When components are found and studied in isolation, as is overwhelmingly the case, it may indeed appear that portrait heads are divinely inspired by a Christian god, statue bodies are wearing priestly costumes and holding attributes loaded with religious meaning, and honorific inscriptions are overrun with Christian crosses and direct appeals to God. However, the components of honorific monuments were deliberately combined by a single agent and were intended to be received as a single statement, and thus should be similarly studied together for full comprehension.

This project draws its dataset of portrait heads, statue bodies, and inscribed bases from the excellent database of the *Last Statues of Antiquity* project, directed by R.R.R. Smith and Bryan Ward-Perkins at Oxford University. My dataset includes evidence from across the Roman world, dating from 284 to 550 CE. This chronological range encompasses the primary core of the late antique statue habit. In order to more closely study the interactions between politics and religion, the identity of the honorands has been restricted to isolate the main players in late antique politics. Therefore, monuments honoring women, athletes, deities, personifications, and heroes, emperors, and the imperial family have been excluded.

My examination of the religious and political imperatives communicated by late antique honorific monuments is divided into three sections. In the first section, I examine the physical evidence independently by component: portrait heads (Chapter II), statue bodies (III), and inscribed bases (IV). This is appropriate as they are most often found alone and detached from the other parts of the honorific monument, and very few of them can be positively and reliably reattached to their constituent components. While similar studies have already been conducted on portraits and bodies, the compilation of the honorific inscriptions from this period is novel, and has yielded surprising insights into late antique administration, linguistics, and social structure. In the second section, I examine the only six monuments Empire-wide that can be reliably reconstructed with head, body, and base as test cases against the much larger corpus of disassembled pieces (V). The combination of complementary and contrasting identities, the mix of new and reused materials, and the varied historical and social contexts they represent produce complex and surprising composites. In the last section, I extend the results of the six test cases to the larger body of disarticulated elements in order that they might be understood and examined as a cohesive body of evidence, within their literary, archaeological, and especially historical and religious contexts (VI).

This dissertation reaches three main conclusions: 1) while the disparate components of honorific monuments are almost always found separately, sheer numbers indicate that they were all part of the same honorific dialogue and should therefore be studied as a cohesive whole; 2) when the components are recombined, the late antique honorific monument was overwhelmingly political in nature, and was not concerned with openly telegraphing religious affiliation, but rather tends to avoid the question; and 3) elite players may not have immediately chosen sides because they were not actively devoted to one religion over another, or more interestingly, because religious ambiguity was socially and politically useful. Contrary to the traditional scholarship that still posits religious extremism and the cultural crush of Christianity across all realms of life, I argue that the landscape was less polarized and more mediated, and that religious identity was more fluid than we once might have thought.

in memoriam
Allan John Wueste

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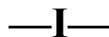
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List of Abbreviations

<i>ALA</i>	<i>Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity</i> , by Charlotte Roueché (1989)
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptorum Latinorum</i>
<i>ILS</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i>
<i>IvE</i>	<i>Inschriften von Ephesos</i>
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
<i>LSA</i>	<i>Last Statues of Antiquity</i> Project (http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk)
<i>PLRE</i>	<i>Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i>



Introduction

The question of religion looms large in Late Antiquity, and especially so during the fourth and fifth centuries CE. The advent of Christianity as a socially accepted and state sponsored religion produced far-reaching and long-lasting political, social, administrative, and cultural consequences for the Roman Empire and the rest of history. It is natural for one to assume that such effects would similarly influence the material and artistic evidence, and therefore, the honorific sculpture as well. While recent work is beginning to take a more nuanced view, the more persistent traditional scholarly narrative of Constantine's conversion to and endorsement of Christianity depicts political alignment of imperial and local elites with the Christian emperors as sudden, distinct, and definite, and most crucially for the modern scholar of archaeology and art history, discernible in the material evidence.¹ My research examines the late antique monuments of the imperial and local political elite to shed light on the complicated social, political, and religious environment of Late Antiquity. Broadly, the disruptive and powerful effect of the advent of Christianity as a major religion within the Roman world is not in question, but the resulting changes were not as sudden, distinct, or definite as has been commonly understood. Alternatively, the religious-political climate should be understood as nuanced and uncertain.

Previous and current research have tended to isolate either the sculpture or the inscribed bases and study them art historically or epigraphically, respectively.² When found and then studied in isolation, as is overwhelmingly the case, it may indeed appear that portrait heads are divinely inspired by a Christian god, statue bodies are wearing priestly costumes and holding attributes loaded with religious meaning, and honorific inscriptions are overrun with Christian crosses and direct appeals to God. In isolation of the contextual information that the associated honorific components, the archaeological framework, or a full comparative data set can provide, these assertions of late antique religious fervor, allegiance, and proclamation are difficult to disprove. However, these approaches are also fundamentally flawed in that they ignore at least half of the monuments as a whole, and therefore do not consider the most immediate display context. The components of honorific monuments were deliberately combined by a single agent and intended to be interpreted as a single statement, and as such they should be similarly studied together for full comprehension.

The aim of this project is to reexamine observable expressions of late antique honorific monuments as indicators of both religious and political intent. In order to examine these socio-

¹ For an example of a more nuanced understanding of late antiquity as a period of transitional Christianization, see Salzman (2002).

² For recent, primarily art historical studies of honorific monuments, see Smith (2006) or Gehn (2012); for primarily epigraphical studies, see Højte (2005) or Ma (2013).

political and religious imperatives, I am examining portrait heads, bodies and costumes, and inscribed statue bases in concert with each other as a cohesive and intentional public statement. By compiling a data set of all three honorific monument components, it becomes clear that: 1) while the disparate elements (portrait heads, statue bodies, and bases) of honorific monuments may be found separately and there are only a few examples of certain matches, sheer numbers indicate that they were all part of the same honorific dialogue and should therefore be studied as a cohesive whole; 2) when combined, the late antique honorific monument was overwhelmingly strategically political in nature, and was not concerned with openly telegraphing religious affiliation, but rather avoids the question all together; and 3) major elite players may not have immediately chosen sides because they were actually undecided or at least not actively devoted to one religion over another, or more interestingly, because religious ambiguity was socially and politically useful. Contrary to recent scholarship positing religious extremists, fierce pagan hold outs, and the undeniable cultural crush of Christianity across all realms of life, I argue that the landscape was less polarized and more mediated, and that religious identity was more fluid than we once might have thought. Careful examination of both the artistic and epigraphic continuity and innovation in honorific monuments points to tense and complicated allegiances and motivations within a societal upheaval in which the dust still had yet to settle and sides had yet to be declared.

A. Three Reasons Why We Label Evidence as “Christian”

There are implicit and explicit tendencies in academic circles to automatically categorize any post-Constantinian late antique material or artistic evidence as “Christian.” This label is applied inconsistently and it is often unclear whether “Christian” is intended to describe the fabricator/artist, the eventual user/customer, the cultural or utilitarian use of the object, the subject depicted, or in the case of honorific sculpture, the dedicator or honorand of the statue. As will be explored below, the differences between these categories are not always easily distinguished. However, the impetus to categorize material and artistic evidence as “Christian” may still be potentially warranted for three reasons:

Firstly, much of the most famous artistic and material evidence from this period is in fact identifiably Christian. Portraits of the emperor and the imperial family provide subjects of portraits who can be reliably identified as Christian through historical records and external evidence. Constantine himself, Valentinian I, and Valentinian II (or Arcadius?) (Figures 1-3) were publically declared Christians, and their portraits are readily identified as examples of early Christian portraiture. Furthermore, because it is much easier to assign firm dates to imperial portraiture than to nameless marble heads, these portraits have become the most secure benchmarks we have for dating other late antique portraiture, and we have subconsciously or otherwise also transferred their Christian affiliation on to other portraits of the same period.

Similarly, intricate late antique sarcophagi provide us with some of our best and most prolific sculptural evidence of the period. Many are covered in Christian symbols, biblical stories, and even Christian inscriptions, and can therefore also be positively identified as “Christian” pieces. For example, the famed sarcophagus of the “Two Brothers” in the Vatican features several easily identifiable scenes from the Old Testament, the Gospels, and the life of St. Peter, including Christ raising Lazarus from the dead, the Healing of the Blind, and Pilate Washing his Hands (Figure 4). Likewise, a mid-fourth century sarcophagus from the Cemetery of Domitilla depicts Simon of Cyrene carrying Christ’s cross, Christ crowned with thorns, the Symbolic Resurrection, the Arrest of Christ, and the Judgment of Pilate, as well as a very

prominent Chi-Rho in the center (Figure 5). In cases such as these, it is safe to assume that the deceased, his family, or both, were Christian. Christian sarcophagi provide a wealth of pictorial relief sculpture depicting the artistic style of Late Antiquity, and often provide more datable features than more fragmentary and isolated late antique sculpture forms. Our overall understanding of late antique art and sculpture is thus heavily influenced by these Christian funereal pieces. However, as with imperial portraiture, we have a tendency to ascribe the artistic sculptural style to the deceased's Christian affiliation, and then go on to transpose that religious affiliation onto other works of art of the same period without any justifiable reason beyond stylistic similarity.³

Secondly, archaeological and art historical scholarship on Late Antiquity often looks forward into the Byzantine period, when Christianity was firmly and legally entrenched as the official religion. Byzantine figural art is stylistically and historically identifiable from the sixth century CE onwards. The mosaic of Justinian and his court in the basilica of San Vitale in Ravenna is exemplary (Figures 6-7): the human forms are characterized by increased abstraction, linear compositions, and a notable interest in depicting the inner piety and spiritualization of the subject. Particularly, the primarily frontal position and large, intense, imposing eyes are said to reveal one's concern for his eternal soul, as contrasted against the temporary lifespan of the physical body. As Ernst Kitzinger explained of mid-sixth to mid-seventh century holy images:

A key element in the defense of holy images as it was evolved in the course of the seventh century, and more systematically during Iconoclasm, was the claim that the image stood in a transcendental relationship to the holy person it represents. No longer was it merely an educational tool, a means of instruction for the illiterate or edification for the simple-minded, as earlier writers had claimed. It was a reflection of its prototype, a link with the invisible and the supernatural, a vehicle of transmission for divine forces.⁴

Kitzinger's analysis is a reasonable stylistic and interpretative reading for the Ravenna mosaics, given that the historical and archaeological contexts of these church images are reliably Christian. Even without the Christian indicators included in the mosaics, such as the cross in the Bishop Maximianus's right hand, the Chi-Rho on the shield, or the textual label over Maximianus's head (Figure 8), we know that the architectural frame of San Vitale was always a Christian church, and historical records tell us that Justinian was a devout Christian.

This type of portrait is familiar in Byzantine mosaics, which are accurately identifiable as Christian through their contexts. Hence, we have come to identify the linear features, mop-hairstyles, and wide, oversized eyes as indicative of Christianity in themselves. The explicitly Christian connotations of this Byzantine portrait style are often projected onto earlier periods, immediately identifying material from the third and fourth centuries, which is notoriously more difficult to date and contextualize historically, as "Christian." Moreover, art historical scholarship has traditionally viewed Christianity as the root cause of "the dematerialization" of late antique art, to be further discussed in Chapter II.⁵ While this does seem to be the case for

³ It should be noted, however, that the same tendency permeates the study of sarcophagi as well: "The desire (understandable but not always appropriate) to label images and sarcophagi as 'Christian' or 'non-Christian' is an example of [ideology coloring assessment], as are the snap identifications of female praying figures as 'souls', of philosophical looking-men as 'apostles', or of a male and female couple as necessarily 'man and wife'" (Huskinson 1999, 191-2). See also Malbon (1990), Chapter 8.

⁴⁴ Kitzinger 1980, 106. Kitzinger bolstered his interpretation of these early Byzantine religious images with literature on the Iconoclastic controversy from the eighth and ninth centuries, as such images began to play "an increasingly central role in Christian worship."

⁵ See Trilling (1987) for a succinct explanation of the central role of Christianity in the late antique artistic style.

painted images, mosaics, and relief sculptures of Christian saints and churchmen in the sixth and seventh centuries, it is simply anachronistic to force such a reading onto sculpture of the third through fifth centuries. Moreover, the identities of the subjects displayed in much of the portrait sculpture in the round are overwhelmingly members of the political elite and not holy men, as we will see in Chapter IV.

Thirdly, the long-held historical understanding of the spread of Christianity into the political structure of the Roman Empire leads us to believe that by the end of the fourth century Christianity was an increasingly dominant aspect of social, political, and religious life. Therefore, it is understandable that some would automatically assume that the elites commissioning late antique art would be Christian as well. Especially in the East, the Empire seemed to be religiously unified by at least the fifth century.⁶ Epigraphic studies show that, even in the West, public inscriptions honoring the old polytheistic gods cease by about the year 250.⁷

A quick review of the imperial involvement in legal statutes and laws of the fourth and fifth centuries supports this idea. At his death in 311, the emperor Galerius ended the Diocletianic persecutions of Christians with his Edict of Toleration, which freed Christians to worship and reopen their temples.⁸ At the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312, Constantine allegedly adopted the sign of Chi-Rho following a dream or a vision in the sky, becoming the first Christian emperor.⁹ In 313, the so-called “Edict of Milan” offered full tolerance to all religions of the Empire, Christianity included. Christians were henceforth no longer punished for outwardly professing their religion and confiscated Church property was to be restored.¹⁰ Immediately after his victory over Licinius in 324, Constantine enacted a number of laws in favor of Christians’ status, property, churches, and buildings. He decreed that pagans could no longer be provincial governors, and forbade pagan idolatry and the erection of cult statues.¹¹ Scholars have proposed 324 as the year in which Constantine “established Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire, [and] carried through a systematic and coherent reformation.”¹² The First Ecumenical Council at Nicaea in 325 was convened by Constantine, who lent an air of state-sanctioned authority to its decisions, in appearance if not in actual

⁶ Cameron (2011) juxtaposes the apparent religious unity of the East against the more pagan West. See especially Chapters 1-3.

⁷ Cameron 2011, 67.

⁸ Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum* 34.35.

⁹ The early Christian writers Lactantius (*De Mortibus Persecutorum* 44.4-6) and Eusebius (*Vita Constantini* 1.27-29) give differing accounts of exactly which sign is in question, how it appeared to Constantine, and how his armies came to bear it in battle. Eusebius records that the sign appeared in the sky, bearing the message, “*In hoc signo, vinces*” (VC 1.28). For analysis of the two accounts, see Barnes (1981), 42, notes 146-150, and also Drake (2006), 113-115. According to Lenski (2006), the Chi-Rho does not appear in imperial propaganda and imagery until the 320s, strongly suggesting that its use and meaning derive largely from Constantine’s experience in 312 (71). Of course, the motives and sincerity of Constantine’s conversion have been hotly debated for years, and have been discussed by scholars ranging from Gibbon and Grégoire, to A.H.M. Jones, and most recently, David Potter in 2013, 150-159. See Lenski (2006), 6-10 for a brief account of the historiography.

¹⁰ Again, Lactantius (*De Mortibus Persecutorum* 48.1-12) and Eusebius (*EC* 10.5.2-14) offer differing accounts of how official the “edict” was. The form we have is actually a letter sent to provincial governors in the East by Licinius, outlining an agreement between the two emperors. See Drake (2006), 121-123. Barnes (1981) maintains that Christians already enjoyed such privileges by 306 (318, note 4.) Other scholars believe that the policies of religious toleration were already enacted by Galerius’ Edict of Toleration in 311, and that the 313 Edict of Milan only added Constantine’s new orders concerning the restitution of the Christian church’s property (Potter 2013).

¹¹ Eusebius, *VC* II.20-46.

¹² Eusebius, *VC* II.45.1. Barnes 1984, 70. See also Barnes (1981), 210 ff., and 245-247.

word.¹³ Constantine's concessions to Christians and the Christian faith are substantial, notwithstanding his reputation as a "secular legislator" working within the Roman legal tradition.¹⁴

Following the reign of Constantine, the pagan altar of Victory was removed from Rome's Curia in 357 by the emperor Constantius II.¹⁵ Christianity was declared the sole state-authorized religion in 380, and Rome lost its rights to public subsidies for polytheistic state cults in 382.^{16,17} In 391-2, Theodosius "issued his celebrated law" which banned pagan sacrifice, and eventually pagan worship in general.¹⁸ Finally, the Theodosian Code records a law of 416 that *required* imperial employees to be Christian.¹⁹

Leaving aside questions of theological importance or the religious sincerity of the drafters, these anti-pagan, pro-Christian legal benchmarks demonstrate that Christianity was firmly entrenched within the legal structure of the late antique state. Increasingly harsh and restrictive laws against pagans, coupled with favorable protective legislation for Christians, suggest that growing portions of the general population, members of the political elite, and civil servants were likely Christian.

This conclusion is hardly surprising given Rome's centuries-old conflation of the sacred and secular spheres. It has oft been repeated that the division between the sacred and the secular is our own modern concern, and would have had no such significance within the ancient mind.²⁰ We can see the fusion between the Roman religious and political easily just in the name of the *rex sacrorum*, or in the fact that the emperor was always simultaneously the *pontifex maximus*. Indeed, from Numa to Augustus to Constantine, members of the aristocracy held the traditional (polytheistic) Roman priesthods, often concurrently with political offices. Alan Cameron even stresses that by the fourth century CE, priesthods were practically equivalent to political office, and were "regarded as political rewards rather than religious responsibilities."²¹ He goes on, "For centuries, most aristocrats listed their priesthods along with all their other *honores* on *cursus* inscriptions as a matter of course, with no thought of 'advertising...their religious activities'" but rather for political advantage.²²

As the aristocracy converted to Christianity, the structure of government also became enmeshed with the Christian religion. As the honorific monuments in this study are primarily dedicated to members of the political elite, especially those within the imperial administration

¹³ Eusebius, *VC* II.64.1-72.3.

¹⁴ His concessions to Christians are substantial and well documented, if perhaps oversold, by Eusebius' *VC* (esp. 4.26-33). See Harries (2010), 75, 79-81.

¹⁵ The Altar was apparently restored, most likely during the reign of Julian (361-363), and then removed again in 382 by Gratian. See Cameron (2011), 33-51, who details how the subsequent "debate" between the pagan Symmachus and Ambrose, the bishop of Milan, provides us with detailed evidence of the removal in 382.

¹⁶ For a detailed account of the removal of the altar of Victory and the loss of cult subsidies, see Cameron (2011), chapters 2.1 and 4.

¹⁷ "The Edict of Thessalonica," jointly decreed in 380 by Theodosius, Gratian, and Valentinian II specifically established Nicene Christianity as the official religion of the state, rejecting Arianism. It was intended more as an intra-Christian statement against the heretics of Arianism, rather than against pagans and polytheism. However, it clearly shows us how deeply Christianity was ingrained within the structure of the state. *Cod. Theod.* 16.1.2.

¹⁸ Cameron 2011, 57 and chapter 2.3-4. For an excerpt of the preserved laws, see *Cod. Theod.* xvi.10.10-12. Cameron presents the laws as specific reactions tailored to a local situation, and not a large-scale dramatic shift in imperial policy toward pagans.

¹⁹ *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.21.

²⁰ See Price (1984), 15-16, Markus (1990), esp chapter 1, and Sandwell (2007), 122-123.

²¹ Cameron 2011, 133.

²² Cameron 2011, chapter 4.1, especially 135-6.

(i.e. provincial governors), it stands to reason that many honorific monuments, or at least their honorands, could justifiably be categorized as “Christian,” especially those dating after 416 when imperial employees were required to be Christian.²³

In summation, the tendency to identify all honorific monuments as “Christian” simply because of their late antique date is not always baseless. The apparently overwhelming influence that Christianity enjoyed legally within the Empire and the well-integrated position that religion in general had historically enjoyed within Roman culture, in combination with identifiably Christian imperial portrait heads and funerary art, make a seductive argument that honorific monuments from this period, and by association the magistrates they celebrated, must have been Christian.

However, to automatically extend this conclusion to all late antique honorific monuments is, I believe, mistaken. Growing numbers in the general population and among the imperial and local elite may have indeed been Christian, but positively identifying their religious affiliation through their honorific portraiture, epigraphy, and monuments is not at all easily demonstrated. To the contrary, the monuments are more often curiously ambiguous regarding religion, and do not clearly proclaim either their pagan or Christian affiliation as we might expect. In a period characterized by outspoken Christian emperors, a growing Christian church and administration, and numerous Christian communities throughout the Empire, the conspicuous lack of unequivocal religious declarations in honorific monuments should give us pause. The monuments seem to deliberately stay quiet on religion in this most public of venues. It appears that members of the administrative elite were hesitant to advertise either their paganism or their Christianity, suggesting that they faced potentially conflicting incentives from both sides of the religious divide, and either affiliation could be socially costly. And thus, perhaps the stark lines we have drawn between pagan and Christian don’t accurately describe the complex realities of late antique society and culture, in what was evidently a long and gradual period of transition.

B. Methodology of Curating the Dataset and Recent Scholarship

This project draws its dataset of portrait heads, statue bodies, and inscribed bases from the excellent database of the *Last Statues of Antiquity* project. The Project, directed by R.R.R. Smith and Bryan Ward-Perkins at Oxford University and funded by the United Kingdom’s Arts and Humanities Research Council, purports to have collected all of the known evidence of new, newly dedicated, or newly-reworked statuary and inscribed bases set up in the period from 284-650 CE from across the Empire. It produced a searchable online database of these objects with other 2,600 entries in May 2012, and has just published a print volume describing and analyzing the findings.²⁴ My main body of evidence was curating primarily from this database, and I found it to be exceptionally comprehensive and complete in including all known statues and inscribed bases, (extant, lost, and mentioned in literary sources alike).

My own dataset includes evidence from across the Roman world, irrespective of geographical location, dating from 284 to 550 CE. This chronological range intends to encompass the primary core of the late antique statue habit. Extending the range to 650 CE, as the *LSA* project does, added only a very few additional outlying inscriptions and no reliably dated statues. Both the number of inscribed bases and statues reach their height in the fourth century, and then sharply drop off in the late-fifth century. Additionally, by the seventh century,

²³ *Cod. Theo.* 16.10.21.

²⁴ Smith, R.R.R. and Bryan Ward-Perkins, eds. 2016. *The Last Statues of Antiquity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. The print volume was released on April 11, 2016, and thus not in time for incorporation in this dissertation.

the gradual (and sometimes abrupt) changes the Empire had undergone resulted in a culture and society so thoroughly mutated and evolved from its Late Roman predecessors that it is less productive to consider them in a continuous sequence. By the death of Justinian I in 565 CE, the Western Empire has been lost for almost a century, and the Eastern Empire is firmly within the date range of Byzantine history. Moreover, while the conclusions of this project are socio-cultural and historical, the aim is to track these developments and trends through the honorific monuments, and not historical periodization. The dates recorded for each component are those given in the *LSA* database, which are largely derived from the references listed. If there is a large or notable debate on the date, this is generally noted in the footnotes.

In order to more closely study the interactions between politics and religion, the identity of the honorands has been somewhat restricted to isolate the main players in late antique politics. Therefore, women and athletes have been excluded, and indeed the number of honorific monuments dedicated to them is proportionally almost negligible. Monuments honoring deities, personifications, or heroes, more appropriately categorized as votive dedications, have also been excluded. Finally, honorific monuments dedicated to the emperor and members of the imperial family are not included. This is obviously a potent choice, as this category of “imperial monuments” is proportionally large, and also likely the most interesting and complicated. As post-Constantinian emperors literally embody the imperatives of both politics and the Christian religion within the same person, I have only reluctantly omitted this extremely thought-provoking group for the sake of a tight and coherent dissertation project. Initial research suggests that even the use of religious language in the honorific epigraphy of emperors was by far more prevalent than in other categories of honorands, especially with the use of the words “divine” and “most dear to god” (θεοφιλέστατον). Even these terms, however, point to a potential issue to be explored: are emperors more likely to be associated with religious references in their monuments because they are seen as being especially pious, or as being literally divine themselves? And yet one might be surprised to see that even in imperial cases, religion in general and Christianity in particular are still referenced far less often than might be expected in a post-Constantinian world. Emperors are regularly styled as “rulers of all of the earth under the sun,” “eternally triumphant lords,” or “rulers of all races of men,” though any sort of references to a singular, Christian god are far more rare. The case of the Emperor Julian the Apostate, in particular, will provide an especially valuable pagan contrast to the language of monuments honoring Christian emperors. While work on the honorific epigraphy of emperors exists for the preceding periods, I am not aware of any comparable work on Late Antiquity, and certainly not in consideration with the entire corpus of elements (heads, bodies, and bases).

Within each chapter of the physical evidence, (II portrait heads, III statue bodies, and IV inscribed bases), the bibliography is treated separately as a matter of necessity as they have been largely studied in isolation up to this point. On honorific monuments as a comprehensive whole, R.R.R. Smith’s series of *JRA* articles, and I suspect the recently released *LSA* print volume, discuss some of the relationships between late antique politics and religion, though only for a select number of monuments from Aphrodisias.²⁵ Similarly, Carlos Machado, occasionally working in concert with Bryan Ward-Perkins and the *LSA* Project, has extensively studied the western, and particularly Italian and Roman, material, which is published in a series of articles.²⁶ Smith’s and Machado’s interests in the social communications of honorific monuments align closely with my own, although their current conclusions are more narrowly defined

²⁵ Smith 1990, 1997, 1998, 1999, and 2002. For the 2016 print volume, see note 23.

²⁶ Machado 2006, 1009, 2010a, 2010b, 2011, and Machado and Ward-Perkins 2012.

geographically. Ulrich Gehn's 2012 book *Ehrenstatuen in Der Spätantike* has compiled late antique honorific monuments and, where the components are all available, treats each monument as a whole. However, the book is more a descriptive catalog of the physical evidence, and is especially interested in the statue bodies and costumes rather than any socio-cultural analysis. Outside the late antique periodization, John Ma's 2013 *Statues and Cities: Honorific Portraits and Civic Identity in the Hellenistic World* is the most comprehensive work on Hellenistic honorific monuments, including chapters on categorization, statuary, inscriptions, and even the more theoretical study of portrait statuary and visual communication. Finally, the best and most recent work on the larger social, political, and religious questions of Late Antiquity is Alan Cameron's 2011 magnum opus *The Last Pagans of Rome*. Cameron's actual topic, the (purportedly) large and politically active and powerful pagan aristocracy in Rome, is circumscribed, but his research is impressively referenced and broadly compared, and his conclusions about the final battles between Christianity, paganism, and the imperial administration are widely applicable.

C. Religious Intent

This paper focuses on publically observable expressions of religious intent. Taking a strong cue from Simon Price and his study of the imperial cult, I am not concerned about the 'real beliefs,' 'emotion,' or 'religious sincerity' of the individuals involved in honorific monuments, including the honorands, workmen, dedicators, or even the emperors.²⁷ As Price explains:

The problem with emotion as the criterion of the significance of rituals is not just that in practice we do not have the relevant evidence but that it is covertly Christianizing [in our modern understanding of the religion.] The criterion of feelings and emotions as the test of authenticity in ritual and religion is in fact an appeal to the [modern] Christian virtue of *religio animi*, religion of the soul, that is, the interiorized beliefs and feelings of individuals. . . . It lays an improper emphasis on the individual, which is part of the more general issue of the status of the individual in historical explanation.²⁸

Price solves this problem by choosing to "treat ritual as a public cognitive system," rather than as a result of individual decisions. Likewise, individual religious conviction will have very little place in this study. Instead, we will examine religious affiliation as a function of social atmosphere and political ambition. This is not only because of the theoretical importance of the community, but also because personal religious alignment turns out to be a much smaller component of political honorific monuments than one might assume.

D. Terminology: Christian and Pagan

A final note about terminology: entire chapters of scholarship have been devoted to the best way to refer to the non-Christians of Late Antiquity. It has been accurately noted that the Latin word *paganus* has a very specific and evolving definition, and its modern meaning is markedly different from its original use.²⁹ The word first appears to denote a "villager" or "civilian," as opposed to "military" personnel.³⁰ It was not until the fourth century CE that *paganus* began to be used to describe non-Christians and non-Jews. Greek-speakers used a

²⁷ Price 1984, 7-11

²⁸ Price 1984, 10-11.

²⁹ See Lee (2006), 164-168, Cameron (2011), chapter 1, and Jones (2012).

³⁰ Jones 2012, 250.

range of terms meant to compare and contrast Christians from non-believers and Jews alike, including ἔθνικός (the Greek equivalent of the Latin *gentile*), εἰδωλόλατρης (idol-worshipper, as distinct from Jewish aniconism), πολύθως, and ἄθεος.³¹ Modern English has not clarified the shades of meaning or reduced the range of possible terms. Recent scholarship has argued over the use of terms such as “non-Christian,” “polytheist,” “secular,” “so-called pagan,” “conventional,” “Hellene,” and even polemic terms such as “heathen.” Given the already ambivalent and coded nature of religious affiliation in honorific monuments, further specificity between “Christian” and “non-Christian” will rarely be necessary in this study.³²

However, my hesitancy to engage in this semantic debate does not have the intention of turning a blind eye to issues of self-identification, religious sincerity, or the construction of religious allegiance.³³ Indeed, how one should refer to Christians and others was of central importance even to early church leaders. Texts and the written word “play a central part not just in the documentation of what it meant to be Christian, but in actually shaping Christianity.... In the worlds of Averil Cameron, ‘[I]f ever there was a case for the construction of reality through text, such a case is provided by early Christianity.’”³⁴ And yet because our material is mostly visual, and even epigraphically refrains from expressly naming religious affiliation, unlike textual sources, the simplified labels of “Christian,” “non-Christian,” and occasionally “pagan” are sufficient for our purposes.

Broadly, this examination of the religious and political imperatives communicated by late antique honorific monuments to members of the imperial and local political elite is divided into three sections. In the first section, I examine the physical evidence independently by component: portrait heads (Chapter II), statue bodies (III), and inscribed bases (IV). This is appropriate as they are most often found isolated and detached from the other parts of the honorific monument, and very few of them can be positively and reliably reattached to their constituent components. While similar studies have been conducted on portraits and bodies, the compilation of the honorific inscriptions from this period is novel, and has yielded surprising insights into late antique administration, linguistics, and social structure. In the second section, I compare the only six monuments Empire-wide that can be wholly and reliably reconstructed with head, body, and base as test cases against the much larger corpus of disassembled pieces (Chapter V). The combination of the complementary and contrasting identities, the mix of new and reused materials, and the varied historical and social contexts they represent produce complex and surprising composites. In the last section, I extend the results of the six test cases to the larger body of disarticulated, and often poorly provenanced, elements in order that they might be understood and examined as a cohesive body of evidence, within their literary, historical, and archaeological contexts (Chapter VI). This is an uncommon approach to understanding the statue habit in any time period, as previous and current research has tended to isolate either the sculpture or the inscribed bases and study them art historically or epigraphically, respectively.

Within the full literary, social, archaeological, and historical contexts, the honorific monuments of the late antique elite reveal a surprising tension between politics and Christianity,

³¹ Jones 2012, 252.

³² See Ando (1996), 175-6, for a similar argument.

³³ For studies on self-identification, especially in the ancient world, see Johnson (1994), Amory (1997), Bourdieu (1997), Miles (1999), Lieu (2004), Sandwell (2007), and Cameron (2011).

³⁴ Lieu 2004, 7-8, quoting Cameron (1991), 21. See also Lieu (2004), chapter 2, and Sandwell (2007), 11-13, on the importance of sacred texts within Christianity.

and while neither the honorands nor the honorers fully proclaim their religious affiliations, they are also not entirely silent. I argue for a more nuanced adoption of Christianity on the political stage precisely because during this transitional period, ambiguity, religious fluidity, and a broad, if vague, appeal was politically and socially useful. Thus, the “struggle” between paganism and Christianity in late antique society may not have been as sensational and visible as we have long assumed, but was far more subtle, and its processes more gradual, and difficult to detect.

—II—

The Transcendental Gaze in Late Antique Portraiture: Piety, Divine Inspiration, and Religion

A. The 20th Century Concept of “Spiritualized Portraiture” within a New Christian World

In the later third century CE, the complex networks of the High Imperial political bureaucracy, military organization, imperial patronage, and social cohesion were undergoing a period of dramatic evolution and transition into their late antique and Byzantine forms. Christianity’s growing presence as the major religion in Late Antiquity had undeniably major effects on the political and cultural landscape, in addition to the obvious long-lasting religious tradition it left behind.

Likewise, late Roman portraiture was simultaneously changing, in particular evolving away from the standards of high imperial self-representation. Around the late-third century and especially into the fourth, representational art, including portraits, began to exhibit a highly stylized treatment of physiognomy along with schematic facial features. This is in noticeable contrast to the earlier preference for a convincing naturalism, which adhered closely to the representational norms of the Greco-Roman tradition.¹ We can look at both the idealized portraits of Augustus and even the more individualized portraits of the Antonine emperors to see that in earlier imperial portraiture there was a strong and long-lasting interest to the plastic modeling, three-dimensionality, and organic realism of Classical art (Figures 9 and 10). Late antique portraiture, however, sharply departs from Classical norms, as heads become more schematically rendered, with frozen facial features, deeply drilled grooves and incised lines replacing the earlier plastic molding (for example, Figures 1-3, 16-19, 41-50, 92, 97-98, 103, 111-112, 130-131). The eyes, in particular, of late antique portraits now came to include incised and drilled detailing of the pupils, irises, tear ducts, and even highlights of reflected light. This new sculptural emphasis lent an air of heightened intensity to the characteristic expression of the late antique face, which was lacking in the smooth, unarticulated eyes of more Classical portraiture.

These aesthetic and stylistic changes have not always been positively regarded by art historians. Early scholars viewed this new style of portrait as the pitiful and degenerative deterioration of the Classical sculptural tradition. In his introductory textbook published in 1980, Ernst Kitzinger describes this process as “the assault on the classical canon,” and James Trilling, quoting Bernard Berenson, refers to the whole phenomenon as “the decline of form.”²

¹ Trilling 1987, 469.

² Kitzinger 1980, 18; and Trilling 1987. In this dedicatory essay to Kitzinger, Trilling attempts to refute that it is actually a “decline,” but still adheres to theory that the late antique style of “dematerialization” is primarily caused by the advent of Christianity.

H.P. L'Orange called it a "withdrawal into the realm of abstraction," indicating that "immediate sensory perception has lost its strength and joy."³

By the early-to-mid-20th century, scholars came to see the new stylized and schematic late antique portrait style as more than a regressive and depressing aesthetic change of taste or the lamentable result of a lack of funds, materials, patronage, and artistic skill. In rejecting an earlier generation's oversimplified reduction of the emergent late antique artistic style to the waning dregs of the Classical tradition, these scholars instead sought to connect the perceived changes to the larger social history of the culture in which they were created. Christianity, therefore, was an obvious and credible disruptive social change to which scholars could attribute these artistic developments. When considered within the historical context of the widespread adoption of Christianity, the novel late antique treatment of the face, especially the new sculptural detail of the eyes and the schematic, axial composition of the facial physiognomy, would support quite a different interpretation than "artistic decline and decay."

The new late antique style was instead a deliberate and carefully meditated expression of inner piety and spirituality because of its rejection of anatomical naturalism and curvilinear plasticity. In the mid-20th century, the Norwegian art historian H.P. L'Orange established this position best when he found earlier correlates of this late antique "immateriality" in the portraiture of "the mighty of this world: kings, statesmen, and military leaders, who appear as such inspired men of God."⁴ From Hellenistic kings through the late antique "Pneumatic Men of God," in L'Orange's view, this kind of portrait was intended to display their connection and communion with divine powers, pagan and Christian alike. This connection was communicated in features such as the "heavenward gaze," "eyes filled with passion and tears," the upward bend in the neck, "the luxuriant growth of hair," and the "saintly countenance." L'Orange cited portraits of Alexander (Figure 11), Pompey (Figure 12), Nero (Figure 13), Marcus Aurelius (Figure 14), Septimius Severus (Figure 15), and Constantine (Figure 1) as examples of the divinely-inspired and "heavenward-straining" ruler who was in direct contact with the supernatural.⁵

Applying his findings more broadly, L'Orange asserted that most late antique portraits were of men with a "divine spiritual life":

The development of portraiture throughout the third century is characterized by the fading of the physical features while the spiritualizing traits are given ever stronger prominence. In the end the body serves merely as a foil to a profoundly expressive physic formula. In this soul-picture the eyes play the most important part... Theosophists and saints gaze before them with eyes phosphorescent with inner life and light; divine σοφία and daemonic power radiate from them.⁶

His work went on to heavily influence subsequent studies on all late antique Roman portraiture, and even found its way into the narrative of late antique art as presented at its most basic level in textbooks. As George Hanfmann explained in his 1964 survey of Roman art:

For visual art, abstract compositional arrangements must serve to symbolize [the celestial hierarchies of a Christian cosmos]. The human form, and indeed, all forms of nature, are now the realm of the unreal;

³ L'Orange 1965, 30.

⁴ L'Orange 1947, 16.

⁵ L'Orange 1947, 19-38, 49-53, 57-63, 73-86, and 90-94, respectively.

⁶ L'Orange 1947, 97.

hence their flattened shadowy quality; hence, too, the decline the sculpture, which by its three-dimensional concreteness resists this reduction to a symbol of a dematerialized world.⁷

Likewise, Ernst Kitzinger's, in his influential 1977 textbook *Byzantine Art in the Making*, argues that fifth century portrait sculpture was "radically made over and redefined to convey with great power the consuming intensity of [one's] awareness of the supernatural world."⁸ And in her 1993 book on Theodosian sculpture, Bente Kiilerich describes several male portrait heads as "intellectual, spiritual men with 'transcendental' gazes." For a certain head in Constantinople, she identifies the honorand as "a *homo spiritualis*, poet or philosopher... a well-known man of spirit in the Greek East," stemming primarily from the portraiture's appearance or style (Figure 16). Others before her identified the same portrait as "a Christian or pagan *sophos*", "a Neoplatonic philosopher," "a philosopher or a poet," "a priest," and "a seer."⁹ What is most significant about these proposed identities is that they are almost entirely based on the facial expression alone, which has been universally characterized as "spiritual." This theory made such an impression on art history that it is even now included in virtually all introductory art historical textbooks.¹⁰

The Rise of the Late Antique Sage

Outside the realm of art history, the idea of inner piety and spiritualization as reflected in portraiture influenced even the larger historical narrative of Late Antiquity. Scholars such as Peter Brown wove the idea of spiritualized portraiture into their accounts of the revival of Western paganism, oriental Eastern cults, Neoplatonism, "Hellenes," monasticism, asceticism, and the rise of Christianity in general. The Neoplatonist philosophical treatises of Plotinus, Eunapius, and Damascius provide textual evidence of thinkers roughly contemporaneous with the portraits. In the mid-third century, for example, Plotinus rejected the physical materiality of art, and instead emphasized the inner world over external perception. He wrote:

Let us try to see and to say to ourselves, as far as it is possible to say such things, how it is possible for anyone to contemp the beauty of Intellect and of that higher world... If art makes its work like what it is and has—and makes it beautiful according to the forming principle of what it is making—it is itself more, and more truly, beautiful since it has the beauty of art which is greater and more beautiful than anything in the external object... For Pheidias too did not make his Zeus from any model perceived by the senses, but understood what Zeus would look like if he wanted to make himself visible.¹¹

Likewise, in the fourth century, Eunapius connected the intellectual and thoughtful mind even more closely to the features of the face and eyes when he wrote of certain Maximus:

The very pupils of his eyes (αἱ τῶν ὀμμάτων κόραι) were, so to speak, winged; he had a long grey beard, and his glance revealed the agile impulse of his soul. There was a wonderful harmony in his person, both to

⁷ Hanfmann 1964, 42.

⁸ Kitzinger 1977, 80.

⁹ Kiilerich 1993, 108-9.

¹⁰ Gardner 2001 edition of 1926 original (240, 248-51, and 266-8), and Janson 1991 edition of 1962 original (199-200, and 223-4). Other scholars of Roman art who were similarly heavily influenced by L'Orange's theory of spiritual inspiration are Inan and Rosenbaum (1966), 40-43, and (1979), Ramage and Ramage (2005 edition of 1991 original), 296-303, and 325-6, Wright (1987), 507, Trilling (1987), Breckenridge (1979), 2-60, MacCormack (1981), Kiilerich (1993), and Breckenridge (1969), Chapter V.

¹¹ *Enneads* V.8.1. LCL 444 (1989), English translation by A.H. Armstrong.

the eye and ear, and all who conversed with him were amazed as to both these faculties, since one could hardly endure the swift movements of his eyes or his rapid flow of words.¹²

Of the philosopher Chrysanthius, Eunapius wrote that “his eyes [testified] that the soul within him was leaping and dancing around the opinions that he expressed,” and included mention of his long unruly hair and advanced age.¹³

Indeed, such descriptions of late antique philosophers and holy men do seem well-suited to help explain the perceived change in late antique portraiture, especially given the new emphatic treatment of the eyes. Moreover, crediting the new portrait style to the contemporary philosophy is not a flimsy account considering the historical reality of the surge of intellectualism in Late Antiquity. While the complex religious and political environment of Late Antiquity will be more fully engaged with in Chapter VI, it is sufficient here to point out that in both the Eastern and Western Empires, intellectual and religious inquiry of all colors and persuasions was on the rise. The visibility of pagan, Jewish, and Christian intellectuals all increased during this period in both the written, historical, and archaeological records. In the fourth century, the city of Sardis in the province of Lydia in present-day western Turkey, for example, simultaneously boasted a Jewish synagogue, a new Christian basilica, and a Neoplatonist philosophical school in the fourth century.¹⁴

Unlike his fifth century B.C.E. Greek counterparts, a late antique philosopher was viewed as “a spiritual teacher, not a mere *érudit*.”¹⁵ Personal holiness, not just specialized intellectual knowledge, became important to the late antique philosopher. Eunapius portrays the sophist Iamblichos as “a spiritual father and a man of supernatural powers, possessed of penetrating insight into the thoughts of others, and able to work miracles, summon spirits, and even soar aloft into the air and be transfigured with light when he prayed to the gods.”¹⁶ Beyond being a spiritual advisor, the late antique “holy man” was also often a prominent community leader. He frequently came from a prosperous background, was usually a landowner and perhaps a noble, and sometimes served as an ambassador, negotiator, diplomat, or mentor in local politics.¹⁷ Brown, writing on the roles of various holy men in Late Antiquity, even draws sharp distinctions between the asceticism of Christian monks and the luxurious, upper-class lifestyle of pagan philosophers.¹⁸ Unlike the Classical philosopher who stood outside of society, the late antique philosopher was very active in public life, perhaps because of the influence and social prestige bestowed by a prosperous family name. The late antique philosopher also was a social benefactor, contributing to the cost of city maintenance, beautification, festivals, and even city walls.¹⁹ This fusion of the “holy man’s” religious, intellectual, and active political interests lend

¹² Eunapius, *V. Soph.* 473. LCL 134 (1921), English translation by Wilmer. C. Wright.

¹³ *V. Soph.* 502. Eunapius also writes of a certain philosopher who would stand affixed with his eyes raised like a statue when encountered with a question about the divine (*V. Soph.* 472).

¹⁴ See Hanfmann (1983) for the synagogue and basilica, and Foss (1976) and Fowden (1982) for the Neoplatonist school. An offshoot of the school of Pergamum, the Neoplatonist philosophical school at Sardis was founded by Chrysanthius, a native of Sardis and one of Julian the Apostate’s teachers. This school also produced the philosopher Eunapius, who is best known as the author of *Lives of the Sophists*, written around 400 C.E. Chrysanthius and Eunapius were both followers of a certain Iamblichos from Syria, and “Sardis clearly remained a centre of Iamblichian Neoplatonism throughout the reign of Theodosius, and into the fifth century” (Fowden 1982, 42).

¹⁵ Fowden 1982, 35.

¹⁶ Fowden 1982, 37.

¹⁷ Brown 1978, 2. See also Fowden (1982), 48-51. See Brown (1992) and Fowden (1977) for a more in depth analysis of the role of the philosopher in Late Antiquity.

¹⁸ Brown 1992, 71

¹⁹ Fowden 1982, 51.

plausibility to L'Orange's liberal interpretation of most late antique honorific portraiture as depicting spiritual and other-worldly men. With their wealth and social standing, it is plausible that late antique philosophers belonged to a milieu in which it was normal and expected to have an honorific portrait.

Thus, these sources strongly suggest that the late antique "holy man" was indeed a viable and real figure in society. And in the absence of any archaeological witness to contradict this notion, unprovenanced portrait heads from all over the empire could conceivably depict these intellectuals. This textual evidence makes easy work of substantiating what appeared to be happening artistically in late antique portraiture.²⁰ As early as 1971, Peter Brown wrote:

This art is not 'otherworldly': it is 'innerworldly'. Far from abandoning the grace and individuality of the body, the portraits of the later empire gather up this body round the doors by which one can pass straight from the body into a man's mind. Their emphasis is on the eyes. The eyes flash out to us, revealing an inner life hidden in a charged cloud of flesh. Late Antiquity is an age of gripping portraits.²¹

Interpreting schematized portraiture as primarily religious in nature and intent became an integral part of the master narrative of Late Antiquity in the 1970s and 1980s, when late antique studies were enjoying a particularly strong revival of interest and scholarly attention. The "spiritual portraits" conform to the concept of the late antique holy man.²² If the perceived change in portrait style were explained by a correlated societal change, then the surge of late antique philosophical intellectualism, and Christian spirituality and piety in particular, would be a compelling and well-substantiated interpretation. Consequently, the artistic style of late antique portraiture has been almost inextricably tied to religion. But while a wealth of philosophical literature could be cited to validate the figure of the late antique sage, this interpretation of the portraits themselves is supported by little-to-no archaeological or epigraphic evidence.²³

B. Articulation of the Eyes: Artistic Continuity or Christian Change

The main criterion for adducing "divine inspiration" and identifying pagan philosophers and Christian saints in sculpture was the presence of expressive, often over-schematized, "heaven-gazing" eyes in the portrait. And if we look only at reliably identified portraits of late antique emperors, who are Christian as attested by external historical and epigraphic evidence, it appears that the dramatic upward gaze and deeply drilled eyes could signify divine inspiration. Portraits of Constantine (Figure 1), Constantius II/Constans (Figure 17), Valens (Figure 2), Valentinian II (Figure 3), Arcadius (Figure 18), and Theodosius II (Figure 19) all exhibit a gaze of this type.

The prominence of uplifted eyes and deep drilling admittedly do lend a heightened sense of emotion to a portrait. When we, either as modern or ancient viewers, can see where the portrait appears to be looking, we feel better equipped to intuit what he or she may be thinking or

²⁰ *Vitae sophistarum* (pg. 343-565 in the 1921 Loeb edition) by the fourth century sophist and historian Eunapius, and *Vita Isidori* by the sixth century philosopher Damascius are the texts most commonly cited used as evidence for the inner spiritualization of portraiture. See Breckenridge (1993) (especially chapter V), who cites Plotinus, and Smith (1990), 145-146, who cites Eunapius and Damascius.

²¹ Brown 1971, 74.

²² See Brown 1980 and Fowden 1982.

²³ Other historians of Late Antiquity who also incorporated the theory of "spiritualized portraiture" include Alföldi (1949), 87, and even the textbooks by Ward, Heichelheim, and Yeo 2003 edition of 1962 original (418, 477-8, and 536) and Boatwright, Gargola, and Talbert (2004), fig. 13.4.

feeling. Of the facial muscles that control expression, a great majority of them available for conscious manipulation shape the eyes, thus showing a range of emotion and responsive activity.

However, the emphatic articulation of the eyes is not a peculiar late antique stylistic development. Bronze and marble sculpture—cult statues and portraits alike—frequently imprecisely indicated the eyes and the direction of the gaze. The eyes were either inlaid with precious materials like ivory and semi-precious stones, or brightly painted along with other chosen details, such as lips, hair, eyelashes, and jewelry.²⁴ A few surviving examples help to demonstrate the powerful effect of the eyes in earlier sculpture, even though the colors and contrasts we experience today are different from their effects in antiquity due to corrosion, fading, and wear. The Delphi Charioteer (Severe style), the Riace Bronzes (Classical), and the Meroë Augustus (Early Imperial) (Figures 20-22), which all have their ancient eyes preserved, provide illustrative examples of the normal, expected appearance of an ancient statue.

Likewise, the eyes of Roman marble portraits are also similarly characterized with etched, drilled, and chiseled details on the surface of the eyeball. As early as the beginning of the second century, late Trajanic portraiture featured a very shallow scoop dipped into the surface of the eyeball. Sometimes circular, sometimes more bean-shaped, this dip was often placed off-center and slightly higher than the exact center of the exposed eyeball, where one might expect that the pupil would be placed. Moreover, the dip was often not large enough or perfectly circular enough to resemble the iris. Therefore, it is probable that this was intended to represent the reflective shine or highlight of an eye exposed to light. See portraits of Hadrian, Antinoos, and for a female portrait, Faustina Minor (Figures 23-25) for examples of this dipped “highlight” on the eye. Into the Antonine period, more and more chiseled detail was added to the eye, as the iris was lightly incised and the pupil was shallowly drilled in a circular shape in portraits such as those of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (Figures 26-27). Unfortunately, the articulation of the eye does not follow a neat linear progression through time, and it is likely that the practice varied widely according to artist, workshop, and location, with congruent traditions and styles evolving independently of each other. However, at its most general, the drilling becomes deeper and more dramatic throughout the third, fourth, and fifth centuries. As in earlier periods, it becomes increasingly difficult to discern what the drilled eyes are meant to depict: the iris, the pupil, the reflected highlight, or some combination of all three. For example, in the early-to-mid third century portraits of Elagabalus (218-222), Maximinus Thrax (235-238), and Trajan Decius (249-251) (Figures 28-30), the iris is still only lightly incised as a simple circle, with an off-center bean-shaped cavity within it of ever-increasing size, in a style similar to the earlier Antonine portraiture.

Beyond these small details drilled into the marble, one must not forget the impact that added pigment and painted color would have had. As has been well-demonstrated in recent scholarship, the ideal of pristine creamy white marble is a construct of the modern scholarly imagination that has been imposed upon the Classical material evidence due to both overzealous modern cleaning and poor preservation of the added pigment. This phenomenon well explains the reason why we similarly have been presented with marble sculptures with no definition to the

²⁴ For studies on ancient sculpture and polychromy, see Panzanelli’s *The Color of Life* (2009) and Bradley (2009), who points out that the use of added color is done with an eye toward increasing the realism and naturalism of a sculpture, not just for aesthetic or artistic emphasis. For more on uses of both color and added embellishments (like metals or gems) during various time periods, see Lapatin (2001), Hemingway (2004), Palagia (2006,) and Mattusch (1996), 21-26. The use of added materials and decorative emphasis is especially interesting in the case of cult statues, which, unlike honorific portraits of living and historical mortals, were meant to literally stand in for deities.

eyes and have not illogically concluded that the original intended effect was of smooth, blank, unseeing, and unfeeling eyes: because the added painted detail has faded away. The fine-drilled and chiseled lines would pop with all the more vibrancy and depth once added color and pigment were rubbed into the incised surface and allowed to settle into light grooves. The incisions and the pigment alike would be accentuated by each other, with the incisions appearing deeper and the pigment appearing darker. There are several examples of portraiture sculpture with only a lasting few vestiges of added pigment on the eyeball. The portrait of Caligula in Copenhagen is the most famous, and features traces of pigment on the face and hair (Figure 31). Most famously, the pigment on the left eye is preserved, delineating the eyelashes, iris, and something of a pupil.²⁵ The pigment of the black pupils and irises can similarly be seen very clearly on the damaged portrait of a Roman woman, also in Copenhagen (Figure 32).²⁶

Consequently, the marble sculpture left to us today is simply not entirely representative of the final product in Antiquity, and we should not interpret it as such. The Neoclassical approach to Roman sculpture so fully accepted the convention of the blank eye that the difference between a late antique portrait and an earlier one became grossly exaggerated in our eyes. The loss of added pigment from most marble portraiture has led us to believe that the eyes of all Roman sculpture were smooth and blank. We were over-sensitized to smooth, blank eyes of the Neoclassical ideal. Therefore we believed we were recognizing artistic change instead of continuity when confronted with the deep drilling of Late Antiquity, which appeared to be lacking in earlier material.

Once we accept that added emphasis to the eyeball is not a third or fourth century CE innovation, but was rather a centuries-old tradition of details in inlaid bronze work, drilled and chiseled features, and added pigment, then the deeply drilled gazes of late antique portraiture no longer look nearly as startling, emphatic, or otherworldly. Instead, drawing on contemporary traditions of the inlaid eyes of bronze portraiture, painted details of Classical marble sculpture, and increasingly intricate and schematic rendering of anatomical details, the eyes in late antique portraiture fit seamlessly into the wider corpus of sculptural evidence. Furthermore, if the late antique style of articulating the eyes represents more artistic continuity than change, it becomes far less likely that such continuity needs to be explained by a profound and widespread social, spiritual, and cultural change like Christianity. Because we find detailed eyes in portraits dating across periods of Roman history that are not especially known for their religious fervor and commitment, this same feature is similarly unlikely to represent heightened spiritual awareness in the early Christian era.

C. Interpreting Sculptural Intensity: The Case of Third Century Soul Portraits

We have demonstrated that the main criterion for a spiritualized portrait, emphatically drilled and detailed eyes, is in fact not confined to Late Antiquity, and therefore cannot be indicative of Christian piety or indeed any inner spiritualism. Similarly, another strong argument for avoiding the religious-interpretation of late antique portraiture is the suspiciously similar portrait style of the third century CE. As earlier scholarship accepted the official adoption of Christianity to be the reason for the increased physical presentations of the inner psychological

²⁵ Pollini 2011, using reconstructions by Brinkmann and Scholl (2010) and pigment analysis by Sargent and Therkildsen (2010).

²⁶ Johansen 1995, no. 40. More recently analyzed by the NY Carlsberg Copenhagen Glyptotek “Tracking Colour” Project, inv. No. IN 747 and IN 614, www.trackingcolour.com/objects/137#.

state in the fourth and fifth centuries, the presence of the same “divinely inspired” late antique traits in much earlier portraiture is therefore problematic in this earlier period before the widespread adoption and imperial acceptance of Christianity.

Even a cursory examination of the so-called “soul portraits” of the third century reveals a significant resemblance to our later fourth and fifth century evidence. Portraits of Caracalla (198-217 CE), Elagabalus (218-222), Maximinus Thrax (235-238), Pupienus (238), Balbinus (238), Trajan Decius (249-251), and Gallienus (253-268) (Figures 28-30 and 33-36) all exhibit the deeply drilled and expressive eyes, furrowed brow, and dramatic side and upward turn of the head that had been heretofore characterized as “divinely inspired” late antique traits. These third century emperors were unambiguously pagan, and thus their drilled eyes and upturned heads cannot be indicative of Christian spirituality, as is the interpretation for the same features on our later fourth and fifth century portraits. Instead, it has been explained in the third century portraits as physical manifestations of the worry, uncertainty, and fragility of the fraught period of the soldier emperors. So-called ‘soul portraits’ displayed the “intense spiritualization of human personality during the transition from the Roman to the Byzantine Age.”²⁷ As Diana Kleiner wrote in her 1992 Roman sculpture textbook:

It is actually anxiety and introspection that are the hallmarks of third-century portraiture. Third-century portraits of a series of short-lived emperors may lack the classical composure and unwavering confidence of imperial portraiture of the first and second centuries, but those that have survived are moving human documents which capture the brooding intensity of their subjects and the reflective mood of the times.²⁸

Thus, Caracalla’s portrait reveals his “inner psyche,”²⁹ Maximinus Thrax “is pondering some unknown fate,”³⁰ Philip the Arab’s “worried eyes... look upward, as if for divine inspiration,”³¹ and Trajan Decius’ portrait “captured [his] concern for both the state of the empire and for his own and his family’s fate” and his “shifting facial planes and anxious expression [are] a visual symbol of unstable times and human apprehension of the unknown.”³² Gallienus’ portraits in particular are hailed as especially psychological, with “a timelessness [of] expression, and a deep thoughtfulness, characteristic of the philosopher portraits that go back to the fourth century BC.”³³ Hanfmann related how Gallienus’ portrait shows us “the shadowed glance of a man who expects no assured blessings from his appeal to heavenly powers” and “the psychic element of a soul and mind that searches nervously, uneasily for some meaning beyond a world that lives by the sword.”³⁴

All of these quotes about third century portraiture should sound suspiciously akin to the descriptions of later portraiture, and in turn deserve to be questioned as well. What emperor, especially with a tenuous and short-lived grasp on power, would ever choose to be portrayed as “doubtful” and “worried”? What politician would ever commission a portrait primarily

²⁷ Hanfmann 1964, 100, in reference to a ‘soul portrait’ found at Sardis and dated to the mid-to-late-third century CE. In my 2009 Master’s Thesis, I submit that the correct date should instead be the late-fourth century CE, based on style, the deeply drilled eyes, the treatment of the hair, and the Christian inscription behind the hair.

²⁸ Kleiner 1992, 361. See also Ramage and Ramage (2005), 311-318, MacCormack (1981), 106, and Breckenridge (1968), 205-216.

²⁹ Kleiner 1992, 324.

³⁰ Kleiner 1992, 365.

³¹ Ramage and Ramage 2005, 314.

³² Kleiner 1992, 369.

³³ Ramage and Ramage 2005, 317.

³⁴ Hanfmann 1964, 32 and 99.

characterized by its tense and apprehensive expression? For that matter, is there any ancient honorand who would conceivably want to be depicted in this light? Moreover, if we draw out the arguments of previous interpretations, the expressions of Neoplatonist holy men, Christian spiritualists, and now worried soldier emperors are now one in the same and are said to be characterized by deeply drilled eyes and a furrowed brow. Yet it is most unlikely that the same expression can be interpreted in three entirely different ways across centuries of portraiture. Furthermore, the argument that this portrait style is as a direct result of Christianity's influence is seriously undermined if the same style is found a century earlier in the portraits of unambiguously pagan emperors.

It is far more likely that, as is also the case in later centuries, we have grievously misinterpreted this third century portrait style as revealing some psychological introspection. Given that the identities of the soldier emperors and several of the fourth and fifth century portraits are known, we should interpret their expressions based on what we know of the presentation of their public personae, rather than on some assumed inner contemplation. Through a combination of numismatic comparison and the associated honorific epigraphy (Chapter IV), we know that these honorands identified themselves as soldiers, emperors, civil administrators, and local and imperial magistrates. The intensity of the eyes and the uplifted head are more rationally interpreted as the drive, attention, and alertness of the dedicated and vigilant magistrate, military general, or emperor.

The argument that the intense stare, furrowed brow, and deep naso-labial folds are intended to depict the dedication and austerity of the Roman civic magistrate is observable much earlier than the third century CE, as far back as the "veristic" portraiture of the late Republic. In fact in 1953, Hanfmann directly compared the expressions of Republic portraiture with that of the third century CE:

In the "Late Severan" (200-250 A.D.) period, the individual is thrown back upon himself in the turmoil of a crashing world, as he was during the late Republic. Once again the specific appearance of personality is asserted with uncompromising honesty. . . . Some of these portraits may be interpreted as a form of defiant self-assertion, not unlike that of the condottieri and other individualists of the Quattrocento. . . . Late Republican sculptors accepted ugliness, age, and decay as an objective fact; the late Severan sculptors use the same physical traits to underline the dominant theme of worry, uncertainty, and distrust. . . . That late Severan portraits deal with the general feeling of men about a world which frustrates and stultifies all. The individual personality is but a specified example of a general mood."³⁵

In this passage, Hanfmann acknowledges the striking similarities in physical facial expression between Late Republican and third century CE portraiture, though he attributes them to "the turmoil of a crashing world." The famously "veristic" portrait head of the Tivoli General (c. 80 BCE), and a Republican head from Palestrina are exemplary of this Late Republican portrait style, with a thickly furrowed brow, wrinkles, and deep folds (Figures 37-38). Once again, irrespective of technical execution or stylistic considerations, the same facial features are interpreted differently.

It seems to me unlikely that a furrowed brow, wrinkles, and intense stare should be read first as Republican "defiant self-assertion," and then again as anxiety in third century portraiture, and finally as late antique divine inspiration. Instead, it is far more probable that the similar solemnity and intensity of expression across time is indicative of some constancy of sculptural intent. Religious or spiritual inspiration, as has been proposed for the late antique evidence, is

³⁵ Hanfmann 1953, 48.

simply not applicable to the historical contexts of Republican or third century portraiture. The only thing the honorands of such chronologically disparate portraits have in common is that they all depict active men within the social and political elite. Thus, it stands to reason that the so-called Republican “veristic tradition” is in fact traceable through the subsequent centuries as a regular indicator of the dedicated and motivated civic magistrate. The portrait style is not meant to convey worry, frustration, uncertainty, or spiritual communion.

Beyond depicting the desirable qualities of a civic magistrate, it is also possible that this expressive portrait style includes some connotation of military prowess and muscle. The successful Roman magistrate was very often also a decorated veteran and leader of military troops, as in the examples of the Tivoli General (Figure 37), Maximinus Thrax (Figure 29), and the quintessential Marcus Agrippa. The overlap between political strength and military authority is readily apparent in the three chronological periods surveyed here: in the bloody civil wars of the Late Republic, the military coups and conflicts of succession in the third century, and in the militarization of political offices of late antique bureaucracy, which were often described as *militia*, or military duty abroad.³⁶ Portraiture, then, could be portraying not only the upstanding and respected civil servant, but also the austerity and determination of a military commander.

Because of what we know about the historical pressures and anxieties of both Late Republican Rome and the ‘Third Century Crisis,’ it may have once been tempting to characterize the furrowed brow and uplifted eyes as indicators of the same distress and uncertainty. But the fact is that this was, and still is, a message that is politically indefensible and inconceivable for a magistrate at any and all levels of prominence. Surely we are imposing our own luxury of hindsight and historical distance onto portraiture, without considering the contemporary goals and political contexts of such images. Thus, stripping away the psychological and “divinely-inspired” readings of third century portraiture leaves us with a portrait style with primarily secular motivations, as is also the case for fourth and fifth century portraiture. The Republican and third century portraiture of solemn, ardent, and focused magistrates thus provides apt parallels and likely predecessors for late antique portraiture, and demonstrates that the furrowed brow, penetrating stare, and stern expression should not be interpreted as indications of psychological state or “inner worldliness.” The style is indeed impressive and expressive, but we have been reading it incorrectly when reading it in isolation. Instead, it is more likely the visual communication of the virtuous and dedicated civil magistrate.

D. The Identity of Honorands: Following Imperial Models in Non-Imperial Contexts

The greatest problem in accepting the interpretation of “divinely inspired” portraiture is when it is applied to unidentified and non-imperial portraits, which constitute a majority of those found. At its base, interpreting late antique portraiture according to its “transcendental gaze” is based upon earlier portraits of “the mighty of this world: kings, statesmen, and military leaders, who appear as such inspired men of God”³⁷ who strained towards the heaven in direct communion and communication with the supernatural. As explained in the previous chapter, late antique imperial portraiture is not the focus of this project due to the inherent difficulties in separating the political versus the religious imperatives combined *by definition* within the single

³⁶ Smith 2002, esp 142-143.

³⁷ L’Orange 1947, 16.

person of the Christian emperor.³⁸ But even within the parameters of this discussion, the data set of post-Constantinian imperial portraiture is all the more exceptional in that the honorands are not only easily identifiable as “Christian” (the emperor’s actual level of religious piety notwithstanding), but are also far easier to date than the hoard of isolated nameless and inscriptionless marble heads which comprise most of the evidence. For while comparable versions of a “master portrait” and literary and textual evidence may provide a context, though highly inadequate and often oversimplified, for known imperial personages, such evidence rarely exists for portraits of those who were not emperors.

However, thanks to art historical and archaeological sleuthing of previously excavated material as well as newly excavated portraits, especially from the site of Aphrodisias, we are now better able to reveal the identities of a growing number of non-imperial portraits with richer accompanying archaeological and historical contexts. The associated epigraphy is particularly enlightening in identifying honorands (Chapter IV), and we will look at composite identities of six complete honorific monuments later in Chapter V. It suffices here to say that the honorand’s identity *matters*, especially if we are attempting to ascribe their thoughts and psychology to their portrait style. Based on the evidence of non-imperial portraiture, two things become immediately apparent that argue against interpreting the late antique portrait style as one of Christian inspiration: 1) Christians and pagans alike exhibit the upward gaze and drilled eyes; and 2) secular individuals regularly employ these techniques as well.

1. Used for Christians and Pagans Alike

While very few scholars ever explicitly argued that all of the late antique holy men were Christians, the material did date to the fourth through sixth centuries, and there was a wide (now proven to be drastically oversimplistic) scholarly consensus that Constantine represented a dramatic breaking point not only historically, administratively, and religiously, but artistically as well. Therefore, all post-Constantinian art was automatically most-likely “Christian.” In this way, most of the late antique portrait heads were tacitly Christian as well. The dramatic lift of the head and the deeply drilled eyes therefore were divinely inspired by and looked heavenward toward a specifically Christian god. While L’Orange does deign to include Neoplatonists in his category of “pneumatic men” or *homines spirituales* of early Late Antiquity, he constantly refers to the power of saints, the Holy Spirit, the early church Fathers, and other specifically Christian persons and powers. As he argues:

Pneumatic portraiture is an outcome of the transcendentalism of late antiquity, contemporaneous with the inspired preaching of Fathers, Saints and Neoplatonists, and the creation of the Church cult of martyrs and saints. Here, then, emerges the “holy” countenance developing into the medieval saint-type and an immense gallery of Byzantine icons. . . . *After the fifth century, those concealed behind the “holy face” are always Christian men of god.*³⁹

³⁸ This is not even to engage with problem that the recognition of Christian divine inspiration is predicated on the portraiture of Hellenistic monarchs, yet there is not even an identifiable Hellenistic formula for what a divine king might look like. In reality, one can only identify markers such as the Hellenistic diadem and attributes of a specific god, which point to *comparison to a god*, but not actual *identification as a god*. How then, can we possibly know what a divine Christian ruler might look like, if even the Hellenistic model is not clearly recognizable?

³⁹ L’Orange 1947, 100-104. Italic emphasis is my own. See the entire chapter “The Saviour-portrait of late Antiquity” (95-129) for L’Orange’s argument in full, with particular emphasis on the relationship between “pneumatic transcendentalism” and portraits of the emperors.

However, the discovery of a group of late antique marble shield portraits and two closely associated busts from excavations of Aphrodisias' Sebasteion in 1981-2 definitively demonstrates that Christianity was not the only religion to use the transcendental gaze in its portraiture.⁴⁰ The nine life-size portrait medallions were found deliberately beheaded and dumped "in a barely accessible alleyway" between the Sebasteion's north portico and the back of an apsidal building (Figures 39-40). Archaeological stratigraphy of the apsidal building suggests that the basic structure was originally built in the first century CE, and underwent a series of renovations and alterations in the following centuries. In the fourth to fifth century, the building was equipped with a series of niches that most likely held the shield portraits. The portraits were removed and dumped behind the building in the sixth century.⁴¹ Based primarily on the philosopher identities of the shield portraits, Smith suggested that the apsidal building, with its town-house style layout and its "open, gymnasium-like space and a richly appointed hall" was plausibly a philosophical school.⁴² The shield portraits are each composed of the bust, the roundel, and a rectangular background. The busts' shoulders are carved in high relief, thus creating the impression that the philosophers are straining and leaning vigorously out of their round tondo frames. Most critically for our purposes, many of the shields retain their identifying inscriptions "on the lower part of the shield rim in large, well-cut quadrate letters, designed to be legible from below."⁴³ Of those with surviving inscriptions, seven represent "long dead, 'classic' figures of the past,"⁴⁴ including Pindar (Figure 41), Alexander (Figure 42), Alcibiades, Socrates (Figure 43),⁴⁵ Aristotle, Pythagoras, and Apollonius.⁴⁶ By "classic" we mean famed Greek thinkers and leading men of the fifth century BCE and onwards, who were unmistakably recognized pagans. The remaining shield portraits (Figures 44-45) and two associated busts (Figure 46) lack inscriptions, and Smith has identified them as Neoplatonic philosophers and pupils "of the recent [i.e. fifth century CE] past", based on contemporary hairstyles, individualized features (versus the general idealization of the 'classic' figures), and in the case of the two busts, the choice not to use shield portraits.⁴⁷ The uninscribed shield portraits and busts are most likely of the same Hellenic philosophical tradition as the classic figures, and are therefore likely pagan as well.

⁴⁰ Smith's 1990 *JRS* article fully details their discovery, individual characteristics and identities, and archaeological, historical, and philosophical contexts. While some of them were individually published as catalogue entries, this is the first and only publication of the group as a whole. Smith notes that at least six of the nine portraits display noticeable similarities in scale, technique, and execution and were most likely made at the same time for a single commission sometime in the fifth century, based on both stratigraphic and stylistic evidence (131). The two associated busts were found in the same dumped group as the shield medallions, and are also of the same scale. Smith posits that they are most likely part of the same display in the philosophy school, but represent potentially more contemporary and still-living philosophers as compared with the venerated, exulted, and dead philosophers of the shields (147-150).

⁴¹ Smith 1990, 130.

⁴² Smith 1990, 130. If the building was indeed a pagan philosophy school, Smith suggests that the shields were removed, broken up, and dumped behind the building's apse in the face of Christian pressure, potentially in the mid to later sixth (155).

⁴³ Smith 1990, 131-2.

⁴⁴ Smith 1990, 132.

⁴⁵ Admittedly, no inscription remains to identify this shield portrait, but it is easily recognizable as the late classical type of Socrates' portrait (Smith 1990, 139-140).

⁴⁶ The shield portraits of Pythagoras and Apollonius are now headless, but their shield tondi and identifying inscriptions remain (Smith 1990, 141-143).

⁴⁷ Smith 1990, 144 and 147-150.

What is notable is that although the group of philosophers from Aphrodisias is definitively *not* Christian, they still exhibit the same “saintly countenance” and “transcendental” facial features of the emperors and saints inspired by the Christian god. Take the shield portrait of Pindar (Figure 22), for example. While arguably of better artistic quality and a more Classical style than some of the imperial portraits, the Pindar portrait has the same etched irises, deeply drilled pupils, schematic eyebrows, tense lips, lightly furrowed brow, and arched neck as the colossal marble head of Constantine in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, (Figure 1)⁴⁸ or the colossal bronze head of Constantine in the same museum (Figure 47).⁴⁹ Clearly the scale, style, physiognomy, workmanship, and even material (in the case of the bronze head) of these imperial portraits are not comparable to the shield portrait of Pindar, but the exact features which are interpreted as signifying Constantine’s *Christian* piety and inspiration⁵⁰ are also present in the shield portrait of Pindar, who is definitively *pagan*. We can now look at the portraits of later Christian emperors, such as Constantius II/Constans (Figure 17), Valens (Figure 2), Valentinian II (Figure 3), Arcadius (Figure 18), and Theodosius II (Figure 19) and realize that although they may indeed be Christian, their dramatic eyes and the tension in their necks alone are not sufficient proof of Christian piety. Likewise, the same features in the shield portraits of Alexander, Socrates, the ‘Philosopher’, the ‘Young Pupil’, and the bust of the ‘Sophist’ then do not alone indicate pagan inspiration.

The case of Alexander, of course, and the characteristic and dramatic upward turn of the head in the shield portrait of Alexander carries its own stylistic history and interpretation, dating all the way back to its Hellenistic original. Clearly the turn of the head and the uplifted eyes of Alexander are not merely a late antique stylistic choice, as perhaps are they in the other shield portraits. This collective artistic memory of the portraiture of Alexander is considered more fully by Smith, and he concludes that the Aphrodisian shield portrait in question combines several different portrait types of Alexander in a characteristically late antique interpretation.⁵¹

Contrary to L’Orange’s interpretation, we must conclude then that there is nothing inherently Christian about deeply drilled eyes and an upward gaze. These features are used in portraiture for both known-Christians and known-pagans alike, and their mere presence is therefore not indicative of any specific religious affiliation.

2. Used by Holy Men and Local Elite Alike

Secondly, contextual archaeological and historical evidence further invalidates the theory of divine inspiration in that the portraits of members of the imperial administration also all employ the same sculptural facial features as the “holy men.”

Thus far, we have primarily looked at the portraits of emperors, and most recently, a few pagan philosophers from Aphrodisias. Both of these groups enjoy the benefits of contextual evidence, historical in the case of the emperors and archaeological in the case of the philosopher portraits, and one could argue that both groups might reasonably belong under the heading of “holy men” (or at least men who had an interest in appearing divinely inspired in their portraiture). The case of emperors, of course, is a complicated one and not the focus of this project. Though for the sake of argument, a case could be made that late antique emperors are

⁴⁸ LSA-558.

⁴⁹ Constantine I, or arguably Constantius II. LSA-562.

⁵⁰ See especially L’Orange (1947), 188-120 and 126-129.

⁵¹ Smith 1990, 135-138. For more on Alexander’s image and its possible meanings and purposes, see Andrew Stewart’s *Faces of Power: Alexander’s Image and Hellenistic Politics* (1993).

potentially “holy men” as following Constantine, they became the leaders of at least the Christian administration of the state, if not the church.⁵² As explored earlier, one could argue that the upward-turned eyes helped to communicate the emperor’s direct connection with and divine sanction by the Christian God. Meanwhile, the “transcendental gaze” could be appropriate for portraits of Neoplatonic philosophers as proof of both their intellectual and spiritual superiority and their concern for matters of the metaphysical rather than the physical world. Either way, the late antique portrait style used for emperors and philosophers could still be reasonably explained as an artistic representation of “divine inspiration,” as the honorands have some tie to the “other-worldly.”

However, when one attempts to also classify unprovenanced portraits without a context as “holy men,” as scholars attempted to do in the 1960s and ‘70s, religious inspiration is a far less compelling explanation. As R.R.R. Smith explained, “Enlarged eyes [came] to mean the same thing for emperors, philosophers, generals, governors, and anybody else. . . . In themselves these aspects of the images have little meaning until contextualized.”⁵³

Fortunately, the corpus of late antique portraits has substantially expanded within the last 20 years, by both new finds excavated under modern and well-documented techniques, and also by careful reexamination of previously excavated pieces. We are now able to study a large number of portraits with much fuller archaeological, historical, and epigraphic contexts than was previously possible. What is remarkable is that most late antique portraits are not at all “holy men,” but are more likely imperial officials, provincial governors, proconsuls, local benefactors, and the provincial elite; in a few words, administrative magistrates. They all still exhibit the artistic features that had been previously been appraised as indicators of divine inspiration—the deeply drilled eyes, the upward turn of the head, the furrowed brow, and the abstracted and schematized linear style. As we alluded earlier, it is undeniable that this style is much more expressive and emotional than earlier Roman portraiture; but given the identities of the political honorands, it is unlikely that the emotion expressed is spiritual inspiration. In fact, in light of the epigraphic reasons listed for the erection of an honorific monument (Chapter IV) and political aspirations of the honorands, it is far more likely that this portrait style is instead meant to convey the intense vigilance, concern, diligence, and watchfulness of the committed and devoted civil servant.

Detailed case studies of the six complete honorific monuments will be discussed below in Chapter V, but suffice it to say that all of the portrait heads showcase the same deeply drilled eyes and intensity of expression—supposed hallmarks of the “holy man” (Figures 92, 97, 103, 111, 122, 130). However, their accompanying honorific inscriptions definitively identify each of them as magistrates, rather than holy men. Excluding imperial portraits, these six monuments are the only known examples of late antique honorific monuments of contemporary men for whom the portrait head, body, and inscribed base have all been identified: these portraits are the only ones that we can definitively know the honorand’s identity and occupation. And all of these monuments honor their subjects for their political accomplishments and positions—as local

⁵² Constantine’s identity as a Christian emperor or a secular one, regardless of his own personal conversion and beliefs, is a hotly debated issue and not one that will be solved here. However, it is undeniable that both during and following his reign, the Empire became more and more closely associated with and powerful over the Christian faith. David Potter notes that Constantine (and later emperors) was necessarily dominant over the Christian Church and its bishops in order to establish his preeminent personal favor with and sanctioned authority by God (Potter 2004, 423-35, esp. 435, and 486-488). For more detailed studies of Constantine’s role as head of the state and/or of the Church, see Barnes (1981), Fox (1986), Elliott (1996), and Lenski (2006).

⁵³ Smith 1999, 185.

benefactors, as a deputy of the city prefecture, as high-ranking senators, and especially as governors—and not for any sort of spiritual or religious commitment.⁵⁴

Portraits of emperors, however, present a complicated case, which falls outside of the boundaries of the typical late antique civil servant. While most pagan emperors were posthumously deified and worshipped as divinities in the context of the imperial cult, Post-Constantinian emperors especially embody the imperatives of both politics and the Christian religion within the same person. While they may have never been officially ordained as the head of the Christian church, it is undeniable that the emperors often took on a leading role in the growing religion by virtue of their responsibilities as the head of the empire. Thus, unlike our lower-level civil servants, one could conceivably categorize the emperor as a “Holy Man,” and many, including L’Orange, have indeed read imperial portraiture within the vein of divine inspiration and piety. Furthermore, the body of material evidence from emperors and the imperial family is often easily recognizable and identifiable, more securely dated, and constitutes a disproportionate share of the extant evidence. Imperial influence, wealth, and reach meant more statues, more honors, and more inscriptions. A search within *The Last Statues of Antiquity* database reveals that almost one-fifth of the 500-odd extant portrait heads are of emperors.⁵⁵ Because of their disproportional representation amongst late antique honorific monuments, already securely known religious affiliations, and especially because of their complicated relationship with divinity, the imperial portraits and honors have been deliberately omitted from the curated data set of magistrates used in this project. Their absence is not at all to suggest that emperors were not a part of the nuanced dialogue between politics and religion—the exact opposite in fact, as they embodied the two spheres within a single institution. Rather, they are excluded from this study specifically because of this unique status, because their public persona is deliberately and openly intended to speak to both political and religious goals and therefore does not need to be proved. However, I believe that they do fit the criteria, and thus even in imperial portraiture, the schematized intensity and dramatic eyes are meant to convey the desirable qualities of a watchful and energized statesman, and not the spirituality of a church leader. Thus, the philosopher and holy man portraits are borrowing a predominant political style of portraiture, and not the other way around.

E. Conclusion

Thus, regardless of their technical and stylistic similarities, we often interpret highly comparable portrait heads quite differently depending on what we believe the honorand’s profession and identity to be. Of course it is entirely common for the same stylistic features to have different loaded connotations in different archaeological, historical, and artistic contexts. However, the scholarship has yet to even admit that the features detailed above are in fact the same between “holy men” and civil servants, let alone between portraits of other time periods. The intense and emotional facial expressions of portraits of holy men and civil servants are one in the same, though employed for different purposes. However, it is far less obvious that such

⁵⁴ To be further discussed in Chapter V, but briefly: Dogmatius (high-ranking senator and deputy of the city prefecture), Aemilianus (governor), Oecumenius (governor), Eutropius (local benefactor), Pytheas (high-ranking senator and local benefactor), and Palmatus (governor).

⁵⁵ 90 out of 523, to be exact, of all portrait heads dating to between 250-550 CE. They have been categorized as such because they are recognizable as a specific emperor, or because they wear the *corona civica* or a diadem, late antique crowns reserved specifically for imperial persons. This figure is intended to demonstrate only the disproportionate prevalence of imperial portraits in the corpus.

emotion should necessarily be interpreted as particularly saintly, holy, or divinely inspired, especially considering it was not similarly interpreted so during earlier, non-Christian periods.

While this expression may signify the superior intellect, spirituality, and inner-worldly aspirations and promise of a holy man, as in the philosopher shield portraits from Aphrodisias, the exact same facial features more likely connote the vigilance, intensity, fair judgment, and virtue of the high level political and administrative magistrate.

However, having an accompanying inscription is a luxury that not many portraits enjoy. Even so, simple numbers strongly suggest that most of our disembodied portrait heads must belong to the ranks of similarly unidentified headless statue bodies, and that these sculptures must in turn belong to the detached inscribed statue bases honoring local and imperial civil servants, magistrates, and governors. In the chapters immediately following, we will examine the disassembled statue bodies and costumes and then the inscribed bases of these political honorific monuments to better understand what religious and political connotations they might be explicitly or tacitly communicating to their audience. Even without the benefit of the context of a full monument, each component is able to subtly influence the audience's perception in its own right, though, as modern scholars have often fallen prey to, the isolated messages may not be entirely consistent with the overall effect of a complete monument.

—III—

Portrait Statues, Costumes, and Attributes: Conformity and Divergence

A. Introduction

"Ego", inquit, "nihil foro, nihil campo, nihil curiae debeo; nihil officio aduigilo, nulla rostra praeoccupo, nulla praetoria obseruo; canales non odoro, cancellos non adoro, subsellia non contundo, iura non conturbo, causas non elatro; non iudico, non milito, non regno: secessi de populo. In me unicum negotium mihi est; nisi aliud non curo quam ne curem. Vita meliore magis in secessu fruare quam in promptu.

I owe nothing to the forum,' [the pallium] says, 'nothing to the Campus Martius, nothing to the Senate-house. I do not watch for a magistrate's function, do not occupy any platform for speakers, do not attend to the governor's office; I do not smell the gutters, nor adore the bar in court, nor wear out benches, nor disturb proceedings, nor bark pleas; I do not act as a judge, a soldier, or a king: I have withdrawn from public life. My only activity concerns myself; I do not have any care, except for this: to have no care. A better life can be enjoyed in seclusion than out in the open. (Tertullian *De Pallio* 5.4.2)

Sed ista pallium loquitur. At ego iam illi etiam diuinae sectae ac disciplinae commercium confero. Gaude pallium et exulta! Melior iam te philosophia dignata est ex quo Christianum uestire coepisti.

But these are words of the pallium. I will go further and also grant it communication with that divine sect and discipline! Rejoice, pallium, and exult! A better philosophy has deigned you worthy, from the moment that it is the Christian whom you started to dress. (Tertullian, *De Pallio*, 6.2.4)¹

Writing in the early third century CE from Carthage, the Christian author Tertullian defended his choice to wear the Greek *pallium* (ἰμάτιον) rather than the Roman toga in his strange and controversial treatise *De Pallio*. This aggressive and acerbic short work appears to be Tertullian's direct response to those who criticize him for wearing the Greek *pallium* of philosophers instead of taking up the Roman toga, which was customary for a Roman lawyer in third century Carthage.² Setting aside its theological and rhetorical aims and devices, *De Pallio* is one of the most important texts we have that directly engages with late Roman attitudes toward different costumes and their possible interpretations as markers of status, occupation, personal aspirations, and especially relevant to our interests, politics and religion. In a way that behavior, speech, and general countenance do not, clothing requires a series of *deliberate* choices and decisions, and therefore is a crucial indicator of self-perception and identity. What one wears

¹ Translation and text by Hunink (2005).

² Although it is Tertullian's shortest work, *De Pallio* has proven to be somewhat of an enigma for the modern scholar. Its intended sincerity, delivery, audience, tone, date, and even genre are still open to debate. See McKechnie (1992) Hunick (2005), and Brennan (2008) for analysis.

can signify social status, religion, gender, age, occupation, occasion, politics, ethnicity, culture, economic status, and personal aspirations, as well as more general social attitudes such as non-conformity, rebelliousness, indifference, and rejection of stylistic, religious, cultural, ethnic, etc. norms. For the Romans especially, clothing was closely bound up in their sense of cultural and ethnic identity. After all, they were, in the words of Virgil, the *gens togata*,³ the race who wore the toga, as distinct from the *palliati*, those who wore the pallium (i.e. Greeks) or even the *bracati*, those uncivilized barbarians who wore trousers.⁴

Thus, if the toga was the traditional costume of civic engagement and public life for citizens, as exemplified by Tertullian, one would expect that all of the subjects of honorific monuments would only be depicted in the traditional high imperial toga, seeing as they are largely members of the imperial or local elite being praised for their public involvement, accomplishments, and contributions. However, by Late Antiquity, the decision to portray oneself in the immediately recognizable style of a Roman imperial or civil magistrate (the toga) was not an unthinking reversion to the normative default. In particular, late antique honorific sculptures display a large range of appropriate garments, demonstrating that the negotiation of costumes and attributes was a potent instrument of self representation. A comprehensive dataset of the 54 extant non-imperial statues from Late Antiquity includes six possible costumes: the high imperial toga, the *toga contabulata*, the late antique toga, the pallium, the chlamys, and the cuirass. When combined with a number of possible shoe choices, jewelry, attributes held in the hand, and attributes used as statue supports, the late antique honorific monument enjoyed a considerable breadth of costumes and accessories. These smaller accessories help us to identify not only the general occupation of the honorands, but also their specific status, aspirations, ranks, and personal histories. However, even within the choice of appropriate garments, all of the possible costumes were still overwhelmingly civil in nature and sought to emphasize the qualifications, respectability, and moral character befitting a magistrate. These possibilities communicated a range of offices held, social statuses, and shades of meaning that speak simultaneously to both the diversity of political magistrates and qualifications, as well as to the conformity of abstract public goals.

B. The Current Scholarship on Costumes and the Late Antique Data Set

In scholarly literature, recent decades have seen increasing interest in clothing as a meaningful indicator of class, gender, ethnicity, and cultural identity, rather than as representations of simple changing fashions.⁵ In the case of the Roman world, early scholarship necessarily worked to describe and identify the different articles of clothing. The seminal works by Lillian Wilson, Leon Heuzey, Mary Houston, and more recently for Byzantine dress, Jennifer Ball, are essential to our ability to accurately recognize the costume and fashion styles of antiquity.⁶ Only recently has scholarship progressed beyond “costume history” and has begun to attempt more anthropological and cultural analyses of what such clothing choices might signify

³ Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.282.

⁴ *palliati* from Tertullian, *De Pallio* 6; *bracati* from Pliny III.4.5 and Cicero, *Fam.* IX.15.2.

⁵ For an excellent and succinct summary of the evolution of “dress studies,” especially as it is relevant to classical studies, see the introduction in Edmondson and Keith (2008). See also the introduction in Sebesta and Bonfante (1994) for a brief compilation of some of the more important ancient texts on contemporary clothing.

⁶ For example, see Heuzey (1922) on both Greek and Roman costumes; Wilson (1924) on the Roman toga; Houston (1947) on Greek, Roman, and Byzantine costumes; and Ball (2001) on Byzantine costumes.

about the wearers.⁷ Late Antique clothing, in particular, has only recently been well identified and adequately categorized within the scholarship. The most in-depth catalogs of detailed observations of the minute differences in Late Antique clothing have been produced by German scholars, especially Richard Delbrueck's 1929 *Die consulardiptychen und verwandt denkmäler*, Hans Goette's 1990 publication *Studien zu römischen Togadarstellungen*, and Ulrich Gehn's 2012 *Ehrenstatuen in der Spätantike: Chlamydati und Togati*.

Using Oxford's online database *The Last Statues of Antiquity*, it is possible to compare the body sculpture of late antique honorific monuments dating after 284 (see Table 1). The reuse of statues, to be discussed throughout this chapter, obviously complicates this deceptively simple chronological distinction. However, "late antique" here signifies sculptures either created in Late Antiquity or reused in Late Antiquity, recognized by the evidence of recutting, association with late antique portrait heads and inscribed bases, or inclusion within late antique archaeological contexts and display venues. In accordance with the bounds of the larger project, the sculptures are limited to those between 284 and 550 CE, and fragments whose dates and iconographic identities can be determined are included as representative of their own sculptures. Only male bodies are considered.⁸ Of 136 total male statues from this time period, 58 fall within our parameters for publically displayed honorific monuments, plausibly representing members of the local and imperial elite.

Statues of emperors (28 sculptures) have been excluded, identifiable based on their material (i.e. porphyry or more rarely bronze),⁹ colossal size,¹⁰ accoutrements (globes, corona civica, bejeweled belts, etc.),¹¹ costume (especially the cuirass),¹² or recognizable portrait head.¹³ They are, however, listed in a separate table (Table 2) for reference and comparison. It is notable that a higher proportion of imperial statues wear the cuirass (39%) versus the non-imperial honorific monuments (7%). This reflects the widely held understanding that the cuirass, and consequently, triumphal parades and military supremacy, were primarily reserved for the emperor. It also increases the significance of the few instances in which a cuirassed sculpture cannot be confirmed as that of an emperor, to be explored below.

Statue busts (46 sculptures) were also excluded, because they were more typically displayed within private, domestic contexts, and our interests are primarily in the intentional public communication of honorific monuments. Of course, the distinction between busts and full statue bodies is an imperfect indicator of their display contexts, as proven by the publicly displayed Eutropius bust and accompanying honorific epigram (to be examined in Chapter V). However, the costumes of the busts are identifiable, and they have been recorded in Table 3. It is interesting to note how the predominant costumes types of the busts compare with those of the standing sculptures, with 32% of busts in the toga, 30% in the chlamys, 18% in the pallium, 10%

⁷ I have borrowed the term "costume history" from Edmonson and Keith's excellent introduction to their 2008 edited volume on Roman clothing. Edmonson and Keith are careful to point out that both the term and the exercise of "costume history" is in no way pejorative, and that establishing what Roman dress was *must* be the first step in any sociological or anthropological analysis of what Roman dress meant, which they call "dress studies" (see especially page 6).

⁸ Even this stipulation is not without some ambiguity, especially with fragments of drapery and those sculptures which were originally female bodies, but recut to represent men (*LSA*-22, -2311, and a rare example of imperial sculpture in porphyry, *LSA*-1132).

⁹ For example, *LSA*-445, -562, -1007, -1010, etc.

¹⁰ For example, *LSA*-559, -1005, -2384, etc.

¹¹ For example, *LSA*-456, -1029, -556, -562, etc.

¹² For example, *LSA*-456, -1029, -558, -1008, etc.

¹³ For example, *LSA*-558, -163, -165, etc.

in the cuirass (likely emperors), and 11% unidentifiable. One might note the higher proportion of busts wearing the pallium (18%) versus standing sculpture (13%). While perhaps not statistically significant, this difference may still be of interpretive importance, as the pallium was conceived of by the Romans as the costume of private and domestic *otium*, compared with the public, civil life indicated by the toga. It therefore confirms our expectations that to see a higher proportion of sculptures wearing the pallium in a medium meant for domestic display, as is the case with the bust.

Finally, one over-life-size sculpture that is identified by an inscription on its plinth as “*δῆμος*”¹⁴ and two full (inscription, body, and portrait head) monuments dedicated to the boxers Piseas and Candidianus were excluded.¹⁵ As with the case of emperors, the confirmed identities (a personification and athlete, respectively) of these sculptures put them outside the boundaries of this project.

After excluding emperors, busts, the personification, and the pair of boxers, the 58 remaining pieces form a sizable set of statues that likely belonged to the honorific monuments of members of the local and imperial elite. Found in regions across the empire, from North Africa to Asia Minor, and from Rome to Constantinople, they are often headless (64%), and even more often, inscriptionless (78%);¹⁶ 39% show obvious signs of reuse.¹⁷ Despite the diversity of locations, artisans, honorands, and honorers that must have been involved in their production, the sculptures exhibit only four main costumes: the toga (54%), the chlamys (20%), the pallium (19%), and the cuirass (7%) (Graph 3).

As indicated by the title of this chapter, the statue bodies have been divided and studied primarily by costume in order to highlight the honorand’s potential occupations and the resultant social messages that such occupations were eager to visually embody. Unfortunately, conceiving of the dataset in this way somewhat obscures two equally instructive methods of categorizing the statues: 1) newly-carved versus reused statues; and 2) statues in the Greek East versus the Roman West.

The prevalence of reuse and reappropriation of honorific monuments in Late Antiquity is nothing short of overwhelming. A statue body wearing any one of the four honorific costumes was particularly general and unspecific enough that it could be reused without the need of any personalizing alterations, provided it was already clothed in a costume appropriate to the honorand’s position and context. This is unlike the portrait head and inscribed base, which required direct reference to an individual’s face and name and therefore necessitated at least some modifications to look like or refer to the honorand. For this reason, the statue was the mostly commonly reused component of earlier monuments, to which a newly configured portrait

¹⁴ *LSA*-2583. Smith 2006, no. 44, pl. 34.

¹⁵ Piseas: *LSA*-531 (sculpture and head) and -532 (base); and Candidianus: *LSA*-545 (sculpture and head) and -547 (base).

¹⁶ When the head is not still attached or there is no clean break, the association of the head to the body can be a contentious one, as is very often the case with late antique honorific sculpture. Especially given the high incidence of recutting and reuse of either or both of the head and the body, proving the association is usually conjectural even with the best of monuments. When there are no definitive or perfectly aligned breaks, association is usually based on archaeological find spot proximity. Without the benefit of the ability to carefully inspect each of the sculptures in person, I have deferred to the interpretation of the *LSA* database or to the consensus of the major publications. The six case studies in Chapter V, however, were individually examined in full detail.

¹⁷ Again, I have deferred to the *LSA* database to determine signs of reuse. A 2013 conversation with Julia Lenaghan and R.R.R. Smith revealed that reuse is far more prevalent than they had expected, is actually traceable on a significant majority of the late antique sculpture, and that a complete discussion of the phenomenon is included in the 2016 print volume dedicated to *The LSA Project*.

head was often attached. This complicates the dating of such monuments, especially of *palliat* statues, as unlike the toga, neither the iconography nor the physical draping of the pallium evolved substantially throughout the centuries of Late Antiquity. Therefore, *palliat* of the second century BCE look frustratingly similar to *palliat* of the fourth century CE, and the only indicative differences are technical and stylistic ones, which can be notoriously difficult to recognize and date¹⁸. Still, when we can recognize that a statue has been reused, whether thanks to technical joins and tool marks or more subtle stylistic differences, there is a wealth of potential information. Reused statues can indicate the relative life span of a monument, of an honorand's legacy and relevancy, and of a costume's popularity. It can speak to craft production and supply, and how artistic skill, materials, technologies, and access ebbed and flowed throughout Antiquity, as well as to the economic models of supply, demand, and the transactions involved in the marketplace of honorific monuments. Most interesting to our purposes, reused statues can suggest the continuation, evolution, or cessation of visual and cultural messages encoded within clothing, and how the viewing audience might receive the communication of both traditional and innovative values. A statue's costume certainly expressed any number of culturally-coded communiqués, which are potentially even more complicated and value-laden when they carry additional historical weight and reference.¹⁹

Similarly, the statues could have also been divided according to provenance: that is, statues from the Greek East versus the Roman West. As will be more thoroughly discussed in the following section, statues wearing the toga hail primarily from the Roman West, while statues wearing the pallium and the chlamys hail *exclusively* from the Greek East. This geographical divide further complicates the complex political and cultural messages communicated by an honorand's costume. It becomes clear that a Roman citizen would never think of wearing the pallium in his honorific monument in Rome, for its connotation within Greece (an appropriate civil costume), was vastly different from that in Rome (appropriate only for a Hellenizing philosopher). And yet, it is not unthinkable that the same citizen might choose the pallium for a statue in Greece. However, the relationship between location and clothing is not absolute, particularly into the later fourth and fifth centuries, as statues in Greece and Asia Minor begin to adopt the late antique toga as an appropriate costume. Where and when was a choice available, versus where and when did conventions of any given context prescribe a single uniform? Thus, the lines between geography and costume are not static, and our task is equally to separate which costumes were appropriate to which honorands at which points in time, as well as to interpret why.

Throughout this chapter, I have included such analyses where I have recognized patterns of either reuse or geographical distribution to exist. However, as stated earlier, my primary division of data is by costume type, as I believe this best describes the variety of honorands and their intended cultural messages.

C. Costumes of Late Antique Honorific Monuments

1. The Toga: 31 statues total (including 2 now lost)

¹⁸ The difficulties in dating the pallium have resulted in unwieldy date ranges for several sculptures. *LSA-2361* (3rd-4th c?), -2112 (possibly mid-3rd c, possibly recut in 4th c?), and -847 (late-2nd-3rd c.?) all wear the pallium, but have regrettably been excluded from this study because of their date ranges are potentially too early.

¹⁹ For more on reuse of sculpture and statues, see Deichmann (1975), Varner et al. (2000), Varner (2004), Coates-Stephens (2007), Shear (2007), and Prusac (2011).

high imperial toga: 11 statues (Goette Types A b, A c, A d, B a, and B b)²⁰
toga contabulata: 2 statues (Goette Type C b and D)
 late antique toga: 16 statues (Goette Type E)

By far the most prevalent costume choice for late antique honorific monuments was some form of the toga. Of the 58 statues included in this study, 11 wear the heavy and voluminous high imperial toga, 2 wear the shorter and precisely-arranged *toga contabulata*, and the remaining 16 wear the tightly-draped late antique toga.²¹

The high imperial toga, so named because of its development and popularity during the Principate, consisted of a semi-circular length of fabric, and is identifiable by the *sinus* (over fold) and the *umbo* (knot).²² *LSA-907* is an excellent example of the voluminous high imperial toga, featuring both a sinus that reaches down to the knees, and a centrally-placed umbo (Figure 48). Its early-third century successor, the *toga contabulata*, or banded toga, resulted from the tightening of the sinus, creating a triangular umbo. *LSA-2133*, for example, features a semi-contabulated toga, with the characteristically flat, triangular umbo at the upper left shoulder (Figures 49, 69). Tertullian specifies that this type of toga required that a servant press, fold, and stack “*totum contracti umbonis*, the whole mass of the contracted umbo” in advance, and then pin it in place.²³

Of the eleven statues wearing the high imperial toga, and the two statues wearing the *toga contabulata*, all are examples of reuse, indicating that the reuse of earlier statue bodies held a certain cache beyond their old costumes, as we have no examples of newly carved (i.e. made in Late Antiquity) statues wearing either.²⁴ While this is perhaps unsurprising as its height of popularity was centuries earlier, it also signals that these earlier incantations were still relevant as an indicator of traditional Roman values, even though there existed other styles of toga appropriate for an honorific statue. However, it was also apparently not an acceptable choice to carve a new statue wearing either of the high imperial or the contabulated togas, further demonstrating that the appeal was in the deliberately archaizing visual effect, and not just the specific costumes. However, this cache eventually declined over time, as no statue wearing either style appears after early-fifth century, and instead the great majority date roughly to the early-fourth century.²⁵ It is possible that sculptors and honorands exhausted the available supply of earlier statues to reuse by the early-fourth century, thereby necessitating the creation of new statues. However, given the concurrent rise of new statues that wear the late antique toga, it is also possible that the demand for secondhand statues wearing the high imperial and contabulated togas fell in response to the new costume (Graph 1). Finally, it is notable that both statues in the *toga contabulata* are from “peripheral” provinces (Africa Proconsularis and Carthaginensis), so

²⁰ Goette 1990.

²¹ Two more wear some type of toga as identified by earlier records, but are currently lost and so their exact style of toga cannot be determined.

²² Modern studies on reconstructing the drapery and shape of the toga can be found in Wilson (1924) and Stone (1994). Stone estimates that the earlier Republican *toga exigua* measured around 12 feet.

²³ Tertullian, *De Pallio* 5.3. My own translation.

²⁴ Within the *LSA* database, only four sculptures total feature a fully contabulated toga: *LSA-1109*, -1110, -2130, and -2133. *LSA-1109* and -1110 are busts, and *LSA-2130* dates to the earlier third century, and they are therefore excluded from our study. This is unsurprising as the style was only popular during the early third century, and the database and this study both only include monuments later than 284 CE.

²⁵ *LSA-1082* dates to the early-fifth century, but even this is a late outlier.

perhaps already even in the late-third to fourth centuries, this costume was no longer in style for more centrally located honorands.

The last stage of development in the wearing of the toga featured a relative loosening of the flat and pressed umbo of the *toga contabulata*, resulting in a triangular umbo pulled over the left shoulder.²⁶ Sometimes called “the late antique toga,” it was significantly shorter than its predecessors, often reaching only to the mid-shins.²⁷ Perhaps given the shorter length, it became increasingly common to wear two tunics, as well as leggings reaching to the ankles, underneath the drapery: an undertunic with long sleeves to the wrists (*tunica manicata*), and an overtunic with shorter sleeves (*colobium*) (Figure 50, 68). Mary Harlow has suggested that the increasing popularity of the visible tunics and leggings are a result of the heightened influence that “barbarian” peoples (i.e. previous “foreigners” whose lands had been gradually incorporated into the Roman Empire) had on the military and bureaucratic population.²⁸ The *colobium* was often belted at the hip, and although the belt is seldom visible, we can assume its presence when the tunic blouses out at the sculptures’ sides (Figure 51).²⁹ The Late Antique toga first appears in 388-392 CE, and is most prevalent in the late-fourth/early-fifth century, just as the imperial toga and *toga contabulata* appear to decline.³⁰ It may be that the costume is emanating from the Constantinopolitan court, as the evidence is overwhelmingly from the Eastern Empire, Asia Minor particularly. However, to interpret this as a primarily “eastern” costume might be premature, as sculpture in all costumes declines sharply in the West during this time period.

Thus, the continuously evolving variation, along with the static persistence of some style of toga as the costume of choice in the honorific landscape, attest to its lasting cultural and social resonance in the late antique visual dialogue. Given that our interest is in members of the empire’s political elite, including both imperial magistrates and the local notables, and that every effort has been made to isolate their monuments from that of other honorands, the choice to be depicted in the toga, the official garment of the publicly involved Roman citizen, is hardly surprising.

It is difficult to overstate the importance of the toga in the self-conception of Roman identity. The phrase *gens togata* is far more than Virgil’s whimsical way of saying “Romans,”³¹ as the toga was also cited by ancient authors as a way to designate Italians and Roman citizens in contrast to foreigners.³² The ancient literature that references the toga is plentiful, and it is clear

²⁶ Stone (1994), 24 dates the triangular shoulder umbo to the Trajanic period, though she stresses that changes in fashion are fickle, and to arrange them in some sort of linear chronological evolution is dangerous. She points to several sculptural frieze examples in which several styles of toga appear simultaneously. See in particular the Brothers Sarcophagus (ca. 270 CE), which features the same man wearing the imperial toga, the toga with the shoulder umbo, the banded toga, and a toga with an undraped sinus. See also the Decennalia base in Rome (303 CE) for multiple toga styles on the same monument.

²⁷ For examples, see *LSA*-154.

²⁸ Harlow 2004, 44-54.

²⁹ That a belt was worn with the toga is mentioned by Tertullian, *De Pallio* 1.3.1.

³⁰ J. Lenaghan and the *LSA* database insist that the earliest statues wearing this style of the late antique toga are from Aphrodisias and date to 388-392 CE (*LSA*-163, -164, -165, and -166).

³¹ Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.282. See Stone (1994), note 1 on other ancient authors who “refer to the *romanitas*” of the toga.

³² See Bonfante-Warren (1973), 612-613, quoting Mommsen (1868) on the meaning of the *formula togatorum*. See also Cicero *Philippics* 5.5.14 and *De Oratio* 1.24.

that the toga's identity was not only cultural, but also legal.³³ It was indeed the legally required costume, as stipulated by Augustus himself:

negotium aedilibus dedit, ne quem posthac paterentur in Foro circave nisi positis lacernis togatum consistere.

[He] gave the duty to the aediles that no one should appear in the Forum or its environs unless, having set aside their cloaks, they were wearing the toga.³⁴

Non-citizens were similarly legally forbidden from wearing the toga.³⁵

The toga defined the way the Romans referred to themselves, and thus heavily shaped both their cultural and historical self-image as public, formal, and civic. The particular importance of the toga to the civic sphere is especially clear in Quintilian's treatment of the appropriate costume for the rhetorician. As he points out, the clothing of the orator is noticed more, and furthermore it ought to be *splendidus et virilis*, "distinguished and masculine."³⁶ Not maintaining one's toga indicated *neglegentis aut pigri aut quo modo debeat amiciri nescientis est*, "carelessness, laziness, or ignorance of how clothes should be worn."³⁷ However, far from being a standardized costume of some singular homogenous mass of wearers, the toga provided considerable room for variation and distinction. The sheer number of types of togae known to us through the ancient sources speaks to the degree of possible differentiation: *toga praetexta*,³⁸ *toga virilis*,³⁹ *toga candida*,⁴⁰ *toga pura*,⁴¹ *toga pulla*,⁴² *toga picta*,⁴³ *toga trabea*,⁴⁴ *toga purpurea*,⁴⁵ *toga contabulata*,⁴⁶ etc. Adornments of stripes, colors, and embroidered panels further served to differentiate class and status. While the evolution of the volume and shape of

³³ See Goette (1990), 10-19 for a comprehensive list of both the Greek and Latin ancient sources. The term appears in Vergil, Cicero, Horace, Macrobius, Suetonius, Seneca, Tacitus, Servius, Tertullian, Quintilian, Juvenal, Martial, etc.

³⁴ Suetonius, *Augustus* 40.5. Loeb 31, page 212. English translation is my own.

³⁵ Suetonius, *Claudius* 15; and Pliny the Younger, *Epistles* 4.113. See also Stone (1994), note 1.

³⁶ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* 11.3.137. Translation by Donald A. Russell (2002) Loeb edition.

³⁷ Idem, 11.3.149.

³⁸ *Toga praetexta*: toga with a purple stripe on its border, worn by magistrates, priests, and young aristocratic boys. Isidore, *Orig.* XIX.24.16; Pliny the Elder, *Historia Naturae* 8.74.195; Livy 34.7.2. See also Wilson (1924), chapter 2.

³⁹ *Toga virilis*: toga adopted by aristocratic boys upon reaching manhood (fourteen to sixteen years of age), also sometimes called the *toga libera*. Ovid, *Fasti* 3.713 and 3.771; Propertius 4 (5).1.132; Cicero, *Philippics* 2.18.44, *De amicitia* 1.1, *Pro Sestio* 69.144, *Epistulae ad Atticum* 5.20.9 and 6.1; Livy 26.19.5 and 42.34.4; Suetonius, *Claudius* 2.2; and Seneca, *Epistulae* 4.2.

⁴⁰ *Toga candida*: white toga (artificially brightened), worn by candidates running for political office. Isidore, *Orig.* XIX.24.6;

⁴¹ *Toga pura*: naturally colored toga of undyed wool, given to men at their investiture, as a symbol of both manhood and citizenship. Cicero, *Ad. Att.* IX.61, V.209, and VI.1.

⁴² *Toga pulla*: dark toga, worn during mourning. Festus (236 M); Cicero, *In Vatinius* 12.30 and 13.31; and Sidonius, *Epistles* 5.7.

⁴³ *Toga picta*: elaborately decorated togas worn originally by Etruscan kings, then triumphant generals and emperors. Florus, *Epitomae* I.5.6; Plutarch, *Romulus* 25; Livy 10.7.9, 28.4.11, and 30.15.11; SHA *Tres Gordiani* 4.4. See also Hallett (1999), Appendix L for the *toga picta* worn by consuls.

⁴⁴ *Toga trabea*: purple and white toga worn by augurs. Servius *Ad. Aen.* 7.612 and 7.188; Dionysius II.70; Claudius, *In Rufinum* I.249; Ovid, *Fasti* 2.503; Pliny, *Historiae Naturae* 8.48, 74, 195 and 9.63

⁴⁵ *Toga purpurea*: purple toga, worn exclusively by kings and emperors. Cassius Dio, XLIX.16; Livy 28.4.11, 30.15.11, and 31.11.12; and SHA *Severus Alexander* 40.6.

⁴⁶ *Toga contabulata*: banded toga. A modern Latinization, though an easily recognizable style.

the toga may be easy to identify in sculpture, unfortunately these details of color and decoration can be more difficult, and often impossible, to identify. I know of no examples of late antique honorific sculpture with any traces of pigment. Color representations are more often found in wall paintings and mummy portraits, and especially in later periods, mosaics.⁴⁷ Furthermore, unlike the consular diptychs of Late Antiquity that record variations in fabric, decoration, and pattern in minute details, no honorific monuments include incisions or variation in decoration. Whatever identifying information the toga's fabric and decorative panels or stripes may have conveyed is lost to modernity.

Finally, the toga also embodied religious possibilities, as evidenced by the two togate *capite velato* statues (Figure 52).⁴⁸ To cover one's head was to avoid distraction while making a sacrifice and was a particularly Roman practice.⁴⁹ The shift between that the religious and the civic is slight, as the traditional *capite velato* costume consisted of pulling the back end of the toga, or the draped umbo, up over the crown of the head, emphasizing how the toga could easily once again become a civic costume as the suppliant left the sacred pomerium of the temple. It should be noted that wearing the toga *capite velato* was a specifically *pagan* practice, as the Apostle Paul prohibited Christians from praying with their heads covered.⁵⁰ What is especially interesting is that both of these *capite velato* statues are wearing the high imperial toga, and thus were reused. Apparently, no one was carving new statues in this religious style in Late Antiquity, although it must have still been socially and potentially even religiously relevant if it was still appropriate for reuse. It is possible that this limited reuse attests to the gradual decline of polytheistic sacrifice, wherein even though its prevalence was waning, the practice and its relevance as a cultural indicator were still somewhat relevant.

The toga was so laden with historical, social, cultural, and political value that it was able to communicate its wearers' intentions even in Late Antiquity. In their most permanent, public, and highly visible representations as marble sculptures in the midst of urban centers, a strong majority of honorands chose to immortalize their persons and positions in the toga. It must be said that this is not to discredit additional identities an honoree must have held. No doubt any member of the imperial or local elite could also variously be a husband, son, landowner, military veteran, amateur philosopher, rhetorician, athlete, Christian, pagan, etc. What is significant is that these identities are glossed over in favor of the civic and political. Perhaps more than the austerity of their expressions or the laudations of their inscriptions, the fact that a strong majority of the late antique honorific monuments wear the toga should be enough to signal their identities as members of the imperial and local elite involved in the public and civil sphere.

2. The Pallium: 11 statues

The pallium (Greek: ἱμάτιον) accounts for 19% of the costumes worn in honorific monuments. The primary distinction between the Roman toga and the Greek pallium was shape: when laid out, the toga was semi-circular, and the Greek himation, rectangular or "*quadrangulus*,

⁴⁷ Wilson (1924) and Stone (1994) make particularly persuasive use of the visual evidence to demonstrate the variation of colors. For mummy portraits, see Borg (1999).

⁴⁸ *LSA*-1555 and -852. Another possible interpretation for the veiled head is modesty, though this is primarily in reference to sexually mature women. See La Follette (1994), 55-56 for more on the costumes of Roman women.

⁴⁹ Schilling 1991, 78. This is in contrast to both the Etruscan and the Greek practice of making a sacrifice *capite aperto*. See also Fantham (2008).

⁵⁰ 1 Corinthians 11.2-16. Gill 1990, 246. Gill does point out, however, that this is more likely intended to denounce the Roman preoccupation with social status than "shunning the worship of idols" or emulating Jewish practice.

quadrangular” as Tertullian noted.⁵¹ As a rule, Greek clothing tended to be made of a lighter fabric and consisted of a single piece of cloth, versus the Roman toga, which evolved to consist of several different shapes and pieces of cloth joined together.⁵² The result was a more fluid and less tightly bound garment (Figure 53). Especially in the Greek East, the pallium was the most popular choice of costume for honorific monuments during the Principate, and it is unsurprising that the late antique evidence includes this costume as well, given the aforementioned widespread practice of reuse.⁵³ However, this also makes dating sculptures wearing the pallium difficult, more so than dating the (comparatively) clear and regimented evolution of the toga. Without the diagnostic help of a portrait head, the difference between a second century CE and a fourth century CE pallium is slight at best.⁵⁴ A majority of the pallium sculptures show evidence of reuse, and the shaky range of dates for each piece reflects this. Most generally, the pallium sculptures date to around the fourth century. As expected, the evidence is concentrated within eastern provinces, especially within Asia Minor where the pallium was so common in the honorific landscape a few centuries earlier.⁵⁵

From the biased perspective of members of the Roman elite, the toga was the costume of the Romans, civic duty, and public austerity, while the pallium was the costume of the Greeks, *otium*, and the private household. As Tertullian extolled at the beginning of this chapter, the pallium “owe[s] nothing to the forum, nothing to the Campus Martius, nothing to the Senate-house... I have withdrawn from public life. My only activity concerns myself.”⁵⁶ Given this perception, we might expect that the pallium might be less significant within the honorific landscape of rigidly erect and elaborately draped togate statues. The honorific monuments were located in the civic arenas of public involvement; therefore it reasons that the monuments, and their chosen costumes, would espouse those same virtues.

And yet close to one-fifth of the statues are clad in the loose and leisurely pallium, indicating that the pallium was not only the costume of leisure, but also of Greek civic engagement and participation. Both interpretations are possible and indeed correct, but one cannot supplant the other, and the contextual geographical location is key to interpretation. The eastern proveniences of *all* of the pallium sculptures in this study support this interpretation. Within an Italian context, the pallium might have communicated privacy and leisure; however within the context of the Greek world, it communicated civic engagement, as did the toga in the Roman world. Indeed, the precise form of pallium worn by the late antique honorific statues was more formal, conservative, and dignified. Unlike their bare-chested Classical, Republican, and High Imperial precedents, all of the free-standing late antique statues wear an undertunic (*chiton*, Greek: χιτῶν), which was representative of the pallium as a civil costume (Figure 53).⁵⁷ For example, within the evidence from Aphrodisias, the pallium was overwhelmingly the costume of choice for local aristocrats and benefactors (versus imperial civil servants or governors, who more commonly wore the toga or chlamys).⁵⁸ These men were far from recluses, but were often

⁵¹ Tertullian, *De Pallio* 1.1.4. Verified by Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* 11.3.139.

⁵² Bonfante-Warren 1973, 585.

⁵³ Smith 1998, and 2006, 150.

⁵⁴ The difficulties in dating the pallium have resulted in unwieldy date ranges for several sculptures. *LSA*-2361 (3rd-4th c?), -2112 (possibly mid-3rd c, possibly recut in 4th c?), and -847 (late-2nd-3rd c.?) all wear the pallium, but have regrettably been excluded from this study because of their date ranges are potentially too early.

⁵⁵ Smith 1998 examines the honorific sculpture habit in the Imperial period throughout the East.

⁵⁶ Tertullian, *De Pallio* 5.4.2. Translation by Hunink (2005).

⁵⁷ Smith 1999, 181 and 1998, 65-66.

⁵⁸ Smith 1999, 181.

“landowners, conservative, pagan, attached to the old ways, and perhaps philosophically interested” and exercised their power locally in the vacuum left by the decline of the *boule*.⁵⁹ And thus because all of the *palliati* sculptures were found in the East, the pallium should be interpreted here not as a garment of privacy, but as one of public engagement within the Greek world. In fact, the pallium’s connotation is more ethnic and cultural (Greek versus Roman) than political.⁶⁰ The pallium is, Tertullian notes, “*Graecum magis, more Greek.*”⁶¹

Beyond being a costume of Greek civil engagement, the pallium was also a garment heavily associated with learning, *paedeia*, and philosophy.⁶² The pallium directly hearkened back to Classical Greek civilization, and was thus conceived of as old-fashioned but also cultured.⁶³ In Late Antiquity, the adherents of the Second Sophistic in particular wore the pallium as a tribute to their fifth century BCE philosophical forbearers, and thus it became the garment of intellectuals and philosophers. Particularly, the *τρίβων*, a variation of the pallium that was typically worn without any undertunic, was the characteristic garment of the Cynics, and is ridiculed as such by both Horace and Juvenal.⁶⁴ Especially when seated, statues wearing the pallium often depict “men of culture,” and when identifiable in earlier centuries, are poets or dramatists.⁶⁵ Especially when combined with a beard and/or long hair, the pallium is the classic signal of the philosopher.⁶⁶ However, this need not be at odds with the civic character of the pallium, as especially in Late Antiquity the intellectually-minded magistrate found rhetoric and learning to be useful skills in the public and political realm.⁶⁷

Although the pallium may have been more neutrally civic within an eastern context, versus its connotations of leisure and within a western one, it did not have exactly the same meaning as the toga, even in the East. Two seated honorands (Figures 54 and 55), both wearing the pallium, prove that the pallium did not mean the same thing as the toga. By Late Antiquity, chariot groups and equestrian statues were the exclusive domain of the emperor, and seated sculptures were becoming increasingly uncommon in non-imperial contexts as well. Despite the Republican precedent of seated magistrates, sitting on the *sella curulis* of a Roman magistrate holding *imperium*, there are no late antique seated togate sculptures.⁶⁸ Smith suggests that seated sculptures wearing the pallium invoked full-time, professional scholars and intellectuals, while standing sculptures seemed more ready for action.⁶⁹ Given the lack of seated sculptures overall, and their total absence in any other costume, we must assume that the choice of a seated sculpture wearing the pallium was entirely deliberate and carried communicative value, and that a seated togate figure was not appropriate. Contrary to most of the other evidence presented in this chapter, these two seated sculptures appear to be purposefully rejecting a purely political

⁵⁹ Smith 1999, 182. These generalizations are based on known local leading aristocrats.

⁶⁰ For more on the Roman conception of the pallium as a Greek costume, see Cicero *In Verrem* 5.86-87 and *Pro C. Rabirio Postumo* 25-27

⁶¹ Tertullian, *De Pallio* 3.7.

⁶² See von den Hoff (1994), 90-129.

⁶³ Smith 1999, 182. See also Smith (1990).

⁶⁴ Horace, *Epistulae* 1.17.25 and Juvenal *Satires* 13.122.

⁶⁵ Smith 2006, 157, citing examples of Menander and Poseidippos.

⁶⁶ See Chapter II for discussion of the beard, long hair, and inner intensity that is the hallmark of the philosopher, though not necessarily a Christian.

⁶⁷ Smith 1990, 150.

⁶⁸ There are, however, a number of seated sculptures of emperors from Late Antiquity: *LSA*-455, -558, -1003, -1026, and -1118. There are literary references and inscriptions of several more: *LSA*-107, -492, -2709, -2710, -2711, -2712, and -2814. There are also two seated female sculptures: *LSA*-741 and -965.

⁶⁹ Smith 1998, 64. See also Smith (2006), 150.

civil identity in favor of an intellectual one. Instead of a costume and pose that conveys vigilance, engagement, and responsibility, they have chosen to be depicted in ones that communicate Greek education, leisure, repose, and scholarly life. The emphasis is not on the accuracy of these depictions, and likely these men also had some degree of social and public status, as members of the local elite approved the erection of such civic commemoration. Instead the focus is on the choice to emphasize the intellectual and philosophical over the political within these monuments. Whether they had statues elsewhere within the honorific landscape, perhaps clad in the civic toga or the military chlamys to highlight other aspects of their achievements, is impossible to know.

However, despite the pallium's connotations of domestic *otium* and freedom of movement, it is when it is worn bare-chested that the pallium openly becomes the costume of the philosopher and was meant to represent a physical manifestation of a more ascetic way of life. The first century orator and philosopher Dio Chrysostom makes reference to the cultural association between the philosopher and the chiton-less pallium:

ἐπειδὴν δέ τινα ἴδωσιν ἀχίτωνα ἐν ἱματίῳ κομῶντα τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὰ γένεια, οὐχ οἱοί τε εἰσι πρὸς τούτους τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν οὐδὲ σιγῇ παρέρχεσθαι... καὶ ταῦτα εἰδότες ὅτι τοῖς καλουμένοις φιλοσόφοις ξυνήθης ἐστὶν ἡ στολὴ αὕτη καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἀποδεδειγμένη.

But when [the public] see someone in a cloak but no tunic, with flowing hair and beard, they find it impossible to keep quiet in his presence or to pass by in silence... they know that the garb he wears is customary with the philosophers, as they are called, yes, as one might say, has been prescribed for them.⁷⁰

To further disassociate the late antique *palliati* sculptures from the stereotype of the philosopher, it is notable that all but one of them wear the pallium in the “arm sling” fashion, with the right arm bound up loosely across the chest by the fabric’s drapery (Figures 53 and 56-7).⁷¹ The alternative was to leave the right arm free to gesticulate, a position of speaking, addressing, and actively philosophizing. By contrast, the arm sling was a “public posture of reserve and discipline, waiting to speak or act... [and] more self-contained and ideologically more ‘modest.’”⁷² Certainly, to wear the pallium was to connect the wearer to a strong intellectual and educational background and good traditional (Hellenic) civic values. But to wear the pallium with an arm sling was to display classical modesty, restraint, and thoughtful discipline, and to actively disassociate oneself from the reputation of the bedraggled and yet elitist and disdainful philosopher.⁷³

Finally, and most enticingly, Tertullian himself presents a third possible connotation of the pallium outside of the civic and philosophical: a Christian costume.⁷⁴ The possibility that the honorific monuments of Christians might be simply identified by clothing is especially interesting to this project. At the end of *De Pallio*, Tertullian wrote:

⁷⁰ Dio Chrysostom, *Discourses* 72.2. Translation by H. Lamar Crosby (1951), Loeb Classical Library 385.

⁷¹ The exception is *LSA-172*, which features a seated honorand with the arm extended. Seated sculptures are particularly uncommon in this period, especially for non-imperial honorands, and so this particular sculpture is an anomaly in more ways than one.

⁷² Smith 1998, 66. Smith cites Dio Chrysostom 36.7, who says that wearing the arm within the pallium’s sling is “very proper fashion.”

⁷³ Dio Chrysostom 72.2.

⁷⁴ Another author who connects Christianity and the pallium is the Christian bishop Gregory of Nazianzus (*Or.* 25.5). See also Urbano (2014).

Gaude pallium et exulta! Melior iam te philosophia dignata est ex quo Christianum uestire coepisti.

Rejoice, pallium, and exult! For philosophy thought you became better when you began to dress the Christian!⁷⁵

This statement has haunted scholars, as the sincerity of Tertullian's work is hotly debated.⁷⁶ The current consensus is that this was a work of satire; surely to wear the Greek pallium rather than the Roman toga was neither uncommon nor controversial in the third-century Greek east.⁷⁷ Tertullian's aim is to introduce philosophy and morality as an alternative to Roman-ness, not to definitively identify the appropriate (and only) costume of Christian worshippers. In fact, directly before mentioning Christians as wearers of the pallium, he makes a substantive list of many other non-religiously-appropriated wearers: writing teachers, mathematics teachers, grammar teachers, rhetors, sophists, doctors, poets, musicians, astrologers, diviners.⁷⁸ Thus, the pallium is more closely linked with intellectuals, as discussed previously, than with Christians. Christians may in fact have worn the pallium, but they were not the only ones. Any honorific statue wearing the pallium, therefore, should certainly not be identified as Christian based on costume alone.

Thus, while it is not impossible that a *palliatus* sculpture depicts a philosopher or even a Christian, it is far more likely that it represents a civil magistrate. Without the indicative attributes of a seated pose, bare chest, or obviously Christian inscription, the pallium should not be misinterpreted as a costume of intellectual or religious identity, or even as one of domestic leisure or societal withdrawal. Indeed, the associated epigraphic evidence corroborates this interpretation, as only 3% of honorific inscriptions celebrate such intellectuals, including doctors, poets, philosophers, teachers, and orators, and only a few paltry inscriptions are openly dedicated to Christian honorands (see graph 9). How then to account for the discrepancy between the minimal epigraphic evidence with the almost 20% of late antique sculptures that wear the pallium? Our conception of the pallium as the costume of leisured scholars and begraggled philosophers is a romantic projection, by modern scholars and Tertullian alike, unsuitable for the late antique evidence. The difference was not between private leisure versus public engagement, but more of regional variation. We must logically assume that the pallium was more accurately the costume of dignified, public, and conservative costume of civic engagement and participation within the context of traditional Greek civil society, and not just a symbol of leisured paedeia. The eastern proveniences of *all* of the *palliati* sculptures supports this interpretation.

3. The *Chlamys*: 12 statues

Unlike the toga and the pallium, the *chlamys* (Latin: *paludamentum*) was a distinctly Late Antique costume that had no civic or honorific legacy in earlier periods. It was a long, thick cloak with a curved edge that reached to the ankles, and was worn with a tight, long-sleeved tunic (*tunica manicata*) and straight-legged trousers or leggings underneath.⁷⁹ The tunic was belted by a *cingulum* that was worn beneath the tunic, and was occasionally visible at the slim

⁷⁵ Tertullian, *De Pallio* 6.1.4. Translation is my own.

⁷⁶ See note no. 2.

⁷⁷ Vout 1996, 216-217. Instead, the controversy is introduced by allegiance to Christianity over Roman rule as the morally superior example. For the recent consensus, see McKechnie (1992), Hunink (2005), and Brennan (2008).

⁷⁸ Tertullian, *De Pallio* 6.2. See also McKechnie (1992).

⁷⁹ The *LSA* database suggests that *LSA-19* might be wearing a short-sleeved tunic (*colobium*) as well as the *tunica manicata* underneath his *chlamys* (A. Brown and U. Gehn). However, none of the other *chlamydati* appears to wear two tunics.

opening of the fabric on the right side of the sculpture (Figures 58-9). At other times, as with the under tunics worn with the Late Antique toga, the belt is inferred only by the blossoming of fabric at the waist (see Figure 102). On the right shoulder, the chlamys was fastened by a conspicuous crossbow or tri-pendant fibula (detailed below as an attribute) (Figure 60).

The chlamys could be of various colors and decorated with *segmenta*, richly embroidered semi-circular panels and strips of embroidery, as on the cloaks of Justinian and his entourage on the San Vitale mosaics (see Figures 6-8). They varied in size, shape, and placement, and the colors covered the entire spectrum from red to green to blue to tan.⁸⁰ Like the bands of color on a toga (*clavi*), these *tablia* were an indicator of position, status, wealth, occupation, etc., and the decoration varied accordingly.⁸¹ Emperors wore chlamys of purple silk with golden *tablia*, while magistrates wore white chlamys with a pair of purple *tablia*.⁸² Unfortunately, these details might have been added to freestanding sculpture with paints, wax, and other pigments that have not been preserved. There are no known Late Antique honorific sculptures with any traces of pigment, and thus that potential source of more closely identifying honorific sculpture is lost to us.⁸³ Fortunately, we can still imagine what such panels might have looked like by making reference to the intricately carved patterns and embroidery on Late Antique consular diptych panels, such as the right panel of the Boethius diptych (late-fifth century) (Figure 61). However, none of the honorific sculptures show any indications of incised detail either.

Unlike the toga and the pallium, the chlamys was undoubtedly conceived of in Antiquity as a military costume. It was originally worn by generals and other high-ranking military officers only as an outer garment with the cuirass, and, like the cuirass, had to be put aside within the city limits.⁸⁴ In fact, Constantine himself was the first person to be represented in person (versus as a statue) wearing the chlamys within the city limits of Rome as he addressed his people from the Rostra on the frieze of the Arch of Constantine, dedicated in 315 CE (Figure 62).⁸⁵ This conspicuous wearing of military clothing within the city limits exemplifies the ascendancy of the military in this period.⁸⁶ Its military connotations died slowly, however, as a law of 382 CE in the Theodosian Code still forbids wearing it within the city limits of Constantinople.⁸⁷ That governors and imperial magistrates are repeatedly depicted wearing it in honorific statues throughout the provinces signals that appointment to the provinces was

⁸⁰ MacMullen 1964, 449-451.

⁸¹ MacMullen 1964, 450.

⁸² Parani 2007, 501.

⁸³ According to the excellent interdisciplinary project on ancient polychromy, *Tracking Colour: The polychromy of Greek and Roman sculpture*, spearheaded by the NY Carlsberg Glyptotek, as of 2015, only a single late antique sculpture with any pigment has been identified: the marble portrait head of woman with color in her eyes (NY Carlsberg Glyptotek IN 834).

⁸⁴ Dating back to Augustan restrictions against armour and weapons within the city limits: *CAH* XI 285.

⁸⁵ Constantine was not the first emperor to wear the chlamys within the city limits, however he was the first to be artistically represented doing so. In the mid-third century, Gallienus is said to be the first, although this was cited as an example of his poor leadership and weak character (SHA Gallienus XVI.4). Half a century later, attitudes toward the military costume had changed so much that Constantine might be said to be the first emperor to wear the chlamys within city limits *successfully*. See Harlow (2004), 60 for more discussion on Gallienus and the acceptance of the military and the barbarian within the civilian sphere.

⁸⁶ Smith 2002, 143 and Harlow 2004, 53-4.

⁸⁷ Cod. Theo. 14.10.1, specifying that senators must wear the toga for senate meetings and senatorial trials. While it may have been appropriate for emperors, or even for officials on official administrative duty outside the capital city, to wear the chlamys, this law points to residual friction between the military and civilian spheres even in the fourth century.

conceived of as a type of military duty.⁸⁸ It also presents visual evidence of the influence and infiltration of the military into the civilian bureaucracy. Even if the military connotation softened over time enough to regularly feature as a costume of civil service, it still retained a few of its military accessories, such as the fibula and the belt. By the mid-seventh century, by which time sculpture in the round and the honorific statue habit had died out, Christians are even depicted wearing the chlamys to identify them as militant saints.⁸⁹

While the toga represented Roman politics and public life, and the pallium Greek, the chlamys was uniquely a Late Antique and Constantinopolitan costume, oriented toward the court culture of the new capital. It represented the imperial and cosmopolitan, as opposed to local civic influence. Imperial magistrates modeled their costumes on that of the emperor, indicating that they were first and foremost his delegates.⁹⁰ It signaled quite clearly that the wearer was closely aligned with the imperial administration, military, and bureaucracy.⁹¹ Of those representations where we can identify the wearer through contextual or epigraphic evidence, they include governors, consuls, emperors, and even empresses.⁹² Unfortunately, there is no consensus on the exactly whom wearing the chlamys was limited to, or whether their positions can be identified any more specifically than “imperial magistrate.” The particulars of detail and rank were likely communicated through the additions of colored and embroidered *tablia* and *segmenta*, the details of which are lost to us.⁹³

The data set presents 11 *chlamydati* statues, including a small fragment of alabaster sculpture that is identifiable based on the pattern of the drapery. They are all quite late in date, with the earliest example dating to the late-fourth century, and the latest to the late-fifth century. Notably, all of the examples of *chlamydati* honorific statues were found in the East: two in Constantinople, three in Aphrodisias, and six in Corinth. It is true that most of the sculpture dating later than the mid-fourth century is found in the East, and it is likely a result of the eastward shift of power, prestige, and money that accompanied the new capital of Constantinople. However, that the chlamys, like the pallium, is *only* found in the East is worthy of note. It potentially speaks to the military, and by extension imperial, connotations of the chlamys, hence its geographical proximity to the new capital. Lastly, it appears that while the pallium is largely restricted in date to before the mid-fourth century, it is at that same time that the chlamys begins to appear. I am not yet sure what to make of the chronological distribution of these two costumes, but their mirrored rise and fall might be correlated and deserves further investigation (see Graph 2).

The reuse of *chlamydati* sculpture as sculpture, with a recut portrait head or a slightly recut body, is less prevalent than in earlier periods. This is potentially because of the late date of the chlamys style and the waning of the honorific statue habit in the sixth century. If honorific monuments were only coveted and awarded regularly until approximately 550 CE, then statues in the chlamys, awarded as early as the late-fourth century, appear to have only been desirable

⁸⁸ Smith 2002, note 41.

⁸⁹ See the figures of St. Demetrius, St. Sergius, and St. George in the Basilica of St. Demetrius in Thessaloniki.

⁹⁰ For example, see the silver missorium in Madrid, which depicts the emperor Theodosius I and a magistrate receiving his codicil, both wearing the chlamys; or the rows of *chlamydati* attendants on the south and west faces of the Theodosian obelisk base in Istanbul.

⁹¹ Parani 2007, 501.

⁹² Governor: Oecumenius, *LSA*-150. Consuls: Halberstadt, Probianus, Felix, Bresica, Stilicho, and Novara diptychs. Empresses: Ariadne diptych, Theodosia in San Vitale Ravenna mosaics. Brown (2012), 169-170, also suggests that vicars, praetorian prefects, and military officials are also possible candidates.

⁹³ Smith 2002, 143.

for the life span of a single monument. Otherwise, the monument would likely have been reused again. This is instructive in estimating an average monument's life cycle, or the time in which a monument was still considered relevant, in use, and an active part of the honorific landscape: in this case, about 150 years. One can imagine that this is the amount of time necessary for the honorand's accomplishments, legacy, and close relatives to entirely fade away.

Although they were not reused as sculpture, the *chlamydati* sculptures do show a particularly high incidence of reuse within an architectural setting. Three sculptures [LSA-169, -19 (Figure 58), and -23] show evidence that they were recut as statues from pieces of marble formerly used architecturally. The long, shallow pieces of marble lent themselves well to the thin, tall, willowy Late Antique/Early Byzantine style. While the front side was sculpted into an honorific statue, the backside was often left unfinished (for example, LSA-23), meaning that the sculpture was to be viewed only from the front. A particularly interesting piece is LSA-80, first an honorific sculpture in the early-sixth century, which was then reused face-down as the threshold for a mid-sixth century basilica (Figure 63). That the monument potentially stood for only 50 years, and then was of so little value as to be immediately repurposed as a step, is remarkable. The heavy reuse and slim proportions of these late *chlamydati* sculptures attest to the growing scarcity of marble and the requisite skill to work it in the sixth century. This is not confined to sculptures wearing the chlamys, but because the style is only represented at these late dates it provides a neatly encapsulated study group. While earlier statues may have been reused, they were still reused as honorific monuments because that tradition was still strong. The later statues' reuse as architectural components points quite clearly to the demise of the classical honorific monument.

Therefore, as the popularity of the pallium wanes in the late fourth century, the number of *chlamydati* statues grows. Although it evolved from a military costume, its growing popularity in place of the pallium signals that within the honorific context, it should be understood as the dress of an administrative magistrate, and not a military officer. In particular, the chlamys signifies that its wearer is closely connected to the imperial and cosmopolitan court of Constantinople, particularly because of its sartorial accessories, which will be detailed below. Just because the chlamys is not one of the historic costumes of civic engagement does not represent a break in the honorific tradition or suggest that a new crop of honorands has overtaken the holders of public offices. Instead, it represents unbroken continuity of administrative magistrates clad in the recognizable dress of civil service and public diligence.

4. The Cuirass: 4 statues

The least frequently represented costume in late antique honorary sculpture is the military parade uniform, or cuirass, with only four freestanding sculptures wear the cuirass.⁹⁴ The cuirass costume traditionally included a short sleeved, knee length tunic, a leather jerkin over the tunic ending with a twisted belt low on the hips, a skirt and shoulder coverings of leather lappets, a metal breastplate, a sash belt (*cingulum*), a military cloak (*paludamentum*) draped over the left arm, and, where preserved, strappy and open-toe military sandals (*campagi*). Unlike the pallium and the toga, the cuirass costume usually included more identifying insignia and accessories, perhaps because of its traditionally utilitarian military purpose or its glorified parade manifestation. The most common attribute is the sword, as all three sculptures from the Northern provinces show evidence of a diagonal sword belt (*balteus*), and sometimes the hilt end of the sword, identifiable as a round knob (Figure 64). Two of the statues include protruding

⁹⁴ This excludes 4 busts and 11 imperial statues. See tables 2 and 3.

round military decorations (*phalerae*), which may have been indicative of actual rank. *LSA-1207* wears his on his breastplate, and *LSA-2095* has his strapped around the bundle of scrolls at his feet (Figures 65-66).⁹⁵ *Phalera* could be indicative of rank, region, or religion, and were often made of precious metals (bronze, silver) and given as rewards for service or accomplishment.⁹⁶ In most respects, the late antique statues closely follow the high imperial precedent. However, a few features are characteristically late antique and allow the sculptures to be dated. As under the late antique toga and the chlamys, the late antique cuirass featured a long-sleeved tunic (Figure 66), potentially indicating “barbarian” influences.⁹⁷ They also had capped (closed, versus with open, free swinging lappets) shoulders (Figures 64, 66). Because of their relative infrequency, in addition to the conservatism in the depiction of military dress, cuirass statues are only loosely dated, and our examples date from the late-third to the fifth centuries.

While the chlamys transitioned into the civic sphere in the fourth and fifth centuries as a Byzantine administrative costume, the cuirass always maintained its unshakable Roman military connotations, and was therefore generally only worn by emperors and military officials. In fact, for much of the Imperial period, cuirassed statues appear to be solely the prerogative of the emperor. In the first century BCE through the mid-third century CE, from Aphrodisias for example, there are only three cuirassed sculptures that are unable to be categorized as imperial.⁹⁸

Given the historical precedent in combination with the evidence of the Imperial period, is it reasonable to assume that the late antique cuirassed sculptures are also imperial persons? The high proportion of cuirassed statues that represented imperial honorands (11 out of 28) tempts one to assume that the four cuirassed honorands in this study were also emperors (table 2). However, those statues classified as “imperial” typically include some other indicative attribute, such as a recognizable portrait, identifying inscription, colossal size, expensive material (porphyry, or less commonly, bronze), or imperial iconography. Sculptures wearing jeweled belts, crowns, and rings, holding scepters, orbs, and globes, and supported by cornucopias and tree trunks are reliably imperial and follow a long history of the cuirassed emperor’s honorific iconography. The absence of such identifiable imperial iconography, attributes, or associated contextual evidence, which is so readily apparent for most other cuirass statues, should give us pause. If the sculptures were following any sort of imperial precedent or master copy, they would likely include some of these identifying details, and yet they do not.

Most importantly, the frontier locations of three of the four Late Antique cuirass sculptures provide the strongest evidence that they are not imperial and instead depict high-ranking local military officials. Although the East, and Asia Minor in particular, produced a strong majority of the honorific statue components, the cuirass sculptures are the only subgroup that do not fit this pattern. Instead, three statues hail from the frontier provinces which are the least well-represented in this study: two from Noricum Mediterraneum (*LSA-1785* and *-1207*) and one from Pannonia Valeria (*LSA-2095*). Geographically, the only extant honorific sculptures from any of these frontier provinces are these three cuirassed examples. Their artistic style reflects their provincial origins, and when compared to the fine-grained, slender cuirass sculpture from Aphrodisias, they appear blockier and roughly cut from coarse local stone.

⁹⁵ *LSA-2095*. U. Gehn identified this as a seal capsule, or bulla.

⁹⁶ Alfoldi and Cruikshank 1957.

⁹⁷ Harlow 2004.

⁹⁸ Smith 2006, no. 14, 20, and 21. The other remaining 7 cuirassed sculptures are either over life-size or colossal, and therefore likely to be imperial.

Especially into the fourth century CE, these Northern Danube provinces were of strategic military importance against the raiding Germanic tribes. Contrastingly, the interior Eastern provinces were the stronghold of the new Constantinian capital and experienced a relatively smaller military presence in lieu of a stronger administrative and bureaucratic one. Instead of looking to the cosmopolitan imperial court, the Western provinces saw more daily influence from the presence of the soldiers on the military frontier, and it follows that their honorific sculpture would reflect this reality.

Given how infrequently cuirassed statues and dedications to military personnel alike turn up in the archaeological record, it is unlikely that any of these, and particularly those in the Northern provinces, were intended as honorific sculptures to still-living soldiers. The lack of evidence proves that the military simply did not honor its own with honorific sculptures. *LSA-1785* in particular was likely found within a funerary area. Given the lack of (associated or not) military inscriptions, contextual information, and most significantly, comparanda, I am inclined to think that all three of these are likely funerary, and not honorific dedications.⁹⁹

The final cuirassed statue is especially unusual because of both its eastern provenance (Aphrodisias), and its attributes. *LSA-201* (Figure 67) is adorned with more detail and accessories than is typical for any statue costume. Beyond the customary armored breastplate, leather skirt, tunic, and military cloak, the statue also wears greaves, Greek sandals, and a sword in a scabbard. It held a spear in the right hand, and was supported on the left leg with a standing quiver of arrows. The greaves, spear, and quiver are not characteristic, or even attested, attributes of any other category of Late Antique honorific sculpture. However, the attention to detail, regardless of costume type, and the high quality of workmanship are hallmarks of the Aphrodisian sculptural school, which flourished in Late Antiquity and to which the material and literary record both attest.¹⁰⁰ It is possible that *LSA-201* appropriated its iconography from the abundance of comparable Aphrodisian honorific sculpture in the absence of other statues dedicated to military personnel. However, the spear, greaves, and quiver of arrows all evoke a romanticized, idealistic, and possibly archaic picture of military participation, more indicative of the glorious Homeric epic tradition than of contemporary army service. Moreover, the statue was found with an accompanying female statue in a private atrium house. In total, the cuirassed statue is more likely the private, interior decoration of an elite couple playacting at an imagined martial fancy, and not a public record of military prowess or accomplishment.

Therefore, all four of the cuirassed sculptures of this data set can effectively be eliminated as likely honorific sculptures. The three examples from the Northern Provinces are much more likely posthumous funerary dedications, given the total lack of any other honorific evidence from the entire region. The remaining example is more accurately categorized as an idealized private portrait, and not a social communicative monument intending to celebrate the accomplishments of a public figure.

In summary, after excluding the four cuirassed sculptures, the remaining three costume types represented in late antique honorific sculpture are overwhelmingly the appropriate attire of the public civil magistrate. The associated epigraphy supports this interpretation, as at least 68%

⁹⁹ Within the *LSA*-database, J. Lenaghan suggests that *LSA-2095*, which was found within the military sector of the city in the so-called “Governor’s Palace,” is likely a high-ranking military official. I tend to disagree given the lack of comparanda or epigraphic parallels for military honorific statues.

¹⁰⁰ For recent publications on the late antique Aphrodisian sculptural material, see Smith 1990, 1997, 1999, and 2002. For the Imperial Aphrodisian honorific sculptural material, see Smith 1998 and 2006, and Hallett 1998.

of the inscriptions are dedicated to civil magistrates (specifically, provincial governors, other imperial magistrates, or local office holders, see graph 6), who are being honored for their public involvement, accomplishments, and contributions. Within the choice of costume, the visual communication of other messages, for example ethnic, religious, philosophical, familial, or any other personally identifying characteristics, are essentially glossed over in favor of the politic. In this most permanent and highly visible representation as a marble sculpture set up in the midst of an urban center, an overwhelming majority of honorands chose to wear the recognizable, and at times identifying attire of their public office. However, is it possible to read any subsidiary messages, beyond the public and civil ones, in other attributes or accessories? Are more personal touches permitted within the iconography of honorific statues?

D. Attributes and Accessories of Late Antique Honorific Monuments

1. Shoes

Where the feet are preserved, sculptures wearing the toga overwhelmingly wear the soft, closed toed, thin-soled shoes with overlapping straps, the *calceus senatorius*.¹⁰¹ The *corrighiae* crisscrossed across the front of the foot, wrapped around the ankles, and were secured with a knot while the ends trailed down loosely (Figures 50, 68, 74). These closed shoes were easily distinguishable from open-toed Greek sandals or military campaign boots and indicated that the wearer was a Roman civilian. Furthermore, the straps clearly identified their wearers as belonging to the elevated tier of magistrates.¹⁰² Within Late Antiquity, this may have been of less importance than during earlier periods because of the vast extension of senatorial status in the late empire, increasing the number of senators from several hundred to several thousand as a reward for imperial service.¹⁰³ While senatorial boots were a particular marker of a specific high status among the elite in the Imperial period, by the late-fourth century such status was easier to come by, and thus the *calcei senatorii* were likely more indicative of imperial service than senatorial status.¹⁰⁴ Tellingly, of those statues wearing the late antique toga, which are broadly later in date than the high imperial or contabulated toga, all wear the *calcei senatorii*, reflecting this expansion of status.

When they do not wear the *calcei senatorii*, statues wearing the high imperial or contabulated toga feature the *calcei equestri*, the plain, closed-toe shoes of thin, soft leather without the easily distinguishable crisscrossing *corrighiae* of the senatorial *calcei* (Figures 52, 69). Laceless shoes like these are still technically *calcei* because they enclose the entire foot, but identifying them beyond that with an ancient name is difficult.¹⁰⁵ Only four statues wearing the toga wear the *calcei equestri*, and three of those also wear the high imperial toga, indicating that

¹⁰¹ The difference between the *calcei patricii* and the *calcei senatorii* is not well understood. Smith 2006 contends that the patrician shoes had double laces, while the senatorial shoes one had single laces. Goldman (2001), 116-119 suggests instead that color (red versus black) may have been a distinguishing factor, as well as a crescent shaped pendant that was inserted into the laces of the *calcei patricii*. For the sake of simplicity, I have not distinguished between the two, and call both *calcei senatorii*, as the civil rank carried more meaning than *patricius* in Late Antiquity.

¹⁰² Versus *perones* worn by all those who were not magistrates, Goldman 2001, 105. Pollini (1978) prefers to call the unadorned shoe-boot *pero*, while Goldman prefers *calceus*. Either way, both agree that magistrates wore the style. See Goldman (2001), 125.

¹⁰³ Cameron 2011, 11-12.

¹⁰⁴ Humphries 2003, 30.

¹⁰⁵ Goldman 2001, 166 ff.

honorific portrait for individuals of non-senatorial status was more common during the earlier periods.¹⁰⁶ Given that statues wearing the high imperial toga are all examples of reuse, it is possible that the equestrian shoes were attributes of the initial honorand, and probably did not apply to any subsequent ones (e.g. the initial honorand was of the equestrian class, but the later one was a senator). It is important to remember how frequently older statues were reused, and there is no suggestion that shoes were specifically being recarved in order to conform to the new honorand's status. Thus, especially with statues wearing the High Imperial toga (all examples of reuse), it is unclear how closely we should align the honorand's status (equestrian or senatorial) with their footwear. By Late Antiquity, it is perhaps the case that this sartorial distinction no longer held any meaning, especially considering the massive expansion of senatorial status.

Unlike the closed-toe *calcei* worn with the toga, the footwear worn with the pallium was always some form of the open-toe Greek sandal (Figures 53-56).¹⁰⁷ We have yet to see a pallium worn with any form of Roman shoes. The sandals are all of the "lingual type," so named because the central band of leather down the top of the foot resembles a small tongue (see Figure 54-55).¹⁰⁸ While the toga and the pallium might have a similar visual effect of drapery and folds worn over some sort of undertunic, the sandal emphatically sets the Greek costume apart from the Roman, as the difference between open and closed-toe is unmistakable.

The chlamys costume appears to have had looser conventions concerning footwear than both the toga and the pallium. Earlier scholarship suggested that plain, pointed closed-toe boots (though not the senatorial or equestrian boots primarily worn with the toga) were *always* worn with the chlamys, based on the evidence of three sculptures from Aphrodisias (Figures 70-1, 105).¹⁰⁹ However, the larger corpus of sculptures disproves this. Of the other three *chlamydati* whose feet are preserved, all wear the open-toe strapped military *campagi*, with high backs and a central tongue (LSA-21, and Figures 59, 63). The sculptures wearing the *campagi* are all from Corinth, so it is possible that footwear varied geographically, but there is not enough evidence to say this definitively.¹¹⁰ The two types of shoes depicted, plain *calcei* and military *campagi*, allude to the dual connotations of the chlamys costume: at once both civic and military. The variation might suggest that the chlamys was only recently reconceived of as a civic costume, and therefore did not yet have a historically codified set of appropriate accessories and associations, as did the toga and the pallium.

Of the three cuirassed sculptures whose feet are preserved, one wears the closed-toe *calcei*, and two wear open-toe sandals. LSA-1785's *calcei* are unique, with four horizontal straps, versus the plain *calcei equestri* or the *calcei senatorii* with crisscrossing *corrigeae* (Figure 64). There are no parallels that I am aware of, though more traditional *calcei senatorii* are commonly worn with the cuirass, so perhaps this is what they are meant to represent.¹¹¹ The sandals of LSA-201 and -2095 are not the same as the civic sandals worn with the pallium, but are likely the

¹⁰⁶ The only toga-clad statue wearing the *calcei equestri* who does not also wear the Imperial toga is LSA-2133, who wears the *toga contabulata*. There is not enough comparative evidence of *toga contabulatae* to interpret what this might indicate.

¹⁰⁷ Smith (2006), 151 documents a few earlier sculptures wearing the pallium with bare feet. He stresses that these should be interpreted as portraits specifically commissioned for the gymnasium, and gives the example of a portrait of a boxer.

¹⁰⁸ Morrow 1985, 118.

¹⁰⁹ Smith 1999, 177.

¹¹⁰ Parani (2007), 505 suggests, however, that the *campagi*, instead of the plain, closed-toe shoes, are the footwear most commonly associated with the chlamys.

¹¹¹ Smith 2006, 118.

tall Hellenistic/Macedonian-style (*krepides*) or Roman-style (*campagi*) half boots with closed heels and leather fretwork down the front (Figures 66-67).¹¹²

Thus, despite the considerate breadth of possible footwear, there was a definite preferred set of options for each honorific costume. For the toga, some sort of closed-toe *calcei* were required, though with laces or without had perhaps lost its significance by Late Antiquity. Open-toed Greek sandals were *always* worn with the pallium, further highlighting its distinctiveness from the Roman toga. The chlamys could be worn with either closed-toed *calcei* or open-toed military *campagi*. And finally, the cuirass was either worn with *calcei* or tall sandals/half boots. Clearly, the statues are each adhering to prescribed norms for each costume type, and yet within these norms there is still some choice to be made. Many of these norms are dependent on centuries old traditions wherein the footwear can symbolize rank and class (i.e. *calcei*), ethnic identity (i.e. Greek sandals), or even practical utility (i.e. military *campagi*). What is not yet clear, however is whether these choices were still communicative of these symbols, or were now just “appropriate” to any given costume. I have tentatively suggested that due to the high rates of reuse, the shoes may not have had the same symbolism as in their primary contexts.

2. The Scroll

The most common attribute for the late antique honorific statue is the scroll, appearing in 10 statues, often held in the statue’s right hand (Figures 58, 66, 70, 71). In the case of *palliati* sculptures, the right arm is always bound up in the arm sling, and therefore the scroll is held in the left hand (Figures 56-7, and 72). While it could be interpreted as a general symbol of education, literacy, and knowledge, it is more likely that in the context of these civil magistrates, the scroll was intended to represent the honorand’s codicil, or official papers of appointment to office.¹¹³ Miniature Renaissance copies of the illustrations of the late-fourth century *Notitia Dignitatum* suggest that officials may have actually displayed their codicils while conducting business as a sign of authority and office (Figure 73).¹¹⁴ The codicils were often made of ivory, and sometimes contained an image of the bestowing emperor as a tribute.¹¹⁵ The “scroll” of Figure 57 is actually the traces of what might be a half-opened scroll, with two small dowel holes near the top and a flat, semi-rectangular indentation in the drapery. The added attribute might have been made of a precious material or showed some identifying insignium of the awarding emperor or the honorand.

Vastly more popular than the single scroll held in the hand, the bundle of scrolls at the side of the feet is by far the most common attribute used as a statue support (31 statues). As the legs of a marble statue are natural points of weakness, supporting attributes were often added to the side and slightly behind one of the feet and shins on the plinth.¹¹⁶ The bundle of scrolls typically is either round or rectangular in shape, and the shapes of individual scrolls are discernible, although not highly detailed. They stand upright and are held together by two horizontal belts (Figures 50-1, 53, 56-57, 59, 64, 66, 68-72). A slight variation on the bundle is a

¹¹² Smith 2006, 118. To be fair, the sandals of *LSA*-2095 are not easily visible in the available *LSA* database photos, and the upper portions of those of *LSA*-201 are covered by greaves. However, open-toed shoes worn with the cuirass are usually one of these campaign-style half boots.

¹¹³ Smith 1999, 178. For scrolls as attributes of literacy and education, see Zanker (1995), 190-7 and 268-85. For codicils, see Grabar (1966), 303, Lohken (1982), 78, 124, and 131, Olovsdotter (2011), 102, and Cameron (2013), 2-3.

¹¹⁴ See Grigg (1979) and Cameron (2013), 5.

¹¹⁵ Cameron 2013, 5-6.

¹¹⁶ Smith 2006, 32.

capsa, or a closed container, of scrolls, which also features a horizontal belt, as well as a strap for carrying and a lock (Figure 49). The only other statue support we see with late antique honorific sculpture is an undifferentiated tall, rectangular box (Figures 48, 52), which may, in fact, be an oversimplified attempt at a bundle of scrolls.¹¹⁷ Smith suggests that the bundle is meant to represent the “bulging packet of papers, documents, briefs, petitions that were the business of the conscientious late Roman governor and administrator.”¹¹⁸ The scrolls were a positive commentary on the magistrate’s excellence, vigilance, and responsibility, as well as his dedication to his office, even in marble form. Scrolls were a definitively civil and urban attribute, meant to connote education, culture, diligence, and responsibility simultaneously. However, it is also possible that the scrolls could additionally be intended to represent the honorand’s dedication to learning and intellect, and not just administrative vigilance. Especially in the context of the *pallium* costume with its connotations of philosophy, teaching, and education, this possibility is stronger than it might be in the context of the *toga*.

The prevalence of the scroll is noteworthy particularly when combined with the *chlamys* costume, as it does have the additional traditional connotations of military office and service abroad. However, three sculptures hold a scroll in their right hand (Figures 58, 70-71, 105), and six have bundles of scrolls as leg supports (Figures 70-71, 105, and *LSA*-21, -1160, -and -171). Indeed, no other attributes are found as leg supports of *chlamydati* statues. Within the context of this costume, the scrolls should be interpreted as symbols of education, erudition, and administrative vigilance, just as they were within the contexts of the *toga* and the *pallium*. Even without the benefit of associated inscriptions, additional accessories, or literary references, the scrolls alone point to the overwhelming civic and administrative character of the *chlamydati* honorific sculptures. The cloaks might still carry their military connotations and history, but the scrolls unequivocally refer to their primary role here as a costume of the civic bureaucrat.

Finally, and curiously, even cuirass statues are often depicted with the scroll. *LSA*-2095 for example holds a single scroll in his left hand, and has a statue support of a bundle of scrolls (Figure 66). This is surprising because although they belong to the same honorific iconography, the scroll is a clear indicator of civil administration, education, and bureaucratic diligence, not military prowess. There are two possible explanations. The cuirassed, military honorific sculpture might not have had any local examples to follow because military officials were generally not honored in the form of sculpture, as the lack of evidence attests. Thus the honorand and/or sculptors emulated the attributes of the more common civic sculptures. Another possibility is that the juxtaposition of military uniform and civic attributes was entirely intentional and meant to signify the military officer’s role in the civic administration of his assigned province. Given the lack of comparative evidence, however, it is more likely that military statues had no artistic precedents to follow and so appropriated the closest civic imagery available.

3. The Mappa and the Scepter

Beyond the ubiquitous single scroll, the second most common attribute is the *mappa*, or ceremonial handkerchief, which commonly appears with a scepter *scipio eburneus* (ivory

¹¹⁷ A single cuirassed statue (*LSA*-201) has a quiver of arrows as a statue support, but as explained above, the cuirassed statues are all likely funereal or private portraiture and therefore not honorific. It should be noted however that two of the cuirassed statues (*LSA*-1785 and -2095) have bundles of scrolls as statue supports.

¹¹⁸ Smith 1999, 178.

scepter) held in the opposite hand.¹¹⁹ Seven statues, six wearing the late antique toga and one wearing the chlamys, all of relatively late date (late-fourth century or later), hold the mappa in their right hands (see Figures 50, 74-75).¹²⁰ Four of these seven additionally carry a scepter in the opposite hand, and a final statue carries only a scepter.¹²¹

While the scroll refers to general erudition and administrative duties, and thus only broadly identifies the honorand as an administrative officer of some type, the mappa and the scepter carry far more precise connotations as they allude to a specific event: the administration of the games by the consul.¹²² Consular diptychs, being far more detailed than honorific sculpture, typically record more of the items and accessories representing the consulship: sacks of coins, silver bowls, small items to be distributed at his inauguration, and other tokens representative of his primary late antique role as the benefactor of public games.¹²³ A consul would hold the mappa high in his right hand where it would be visible to the assembled public, and then ceremoniously drop it to signal the start of the race/games.¹²⁴ The image of the scepter is originally taken from the iconography of the Roman triumphator, and should be understood as a symbol of Roman victory and empire.¹²⁵ Based on consular diptychs, it appears that scepters would normally be topped by some sort of sculptural attachment, such as a simple knob, the bust of the emperor, or especially in later centuries, a cross.¹²⁶

Three of the statues hold their right arms up high in the air, evoking this specific event (Figures 50, 74-75), and the extra marble and artistic skills required for such a pose is indicative of its importance.¹²⁷ Artistic parallels are found primarily on consular diptychs, for example on the diptychs of Anastasius, and Boethius (Figure 61). In fact, by Late Antiquity, a consul's primary official duty was to organize and subsidize public games celebrating their consulship, and the intricately carved diptychs were handed out as favors and self-aggrandizing records of this exact event.¹²⁸ It is notable that in the ivory diptychs, the mappa and the scepter always

¹¹⁹ Olovdotter 2011, 102.

¹²⁰ Statues carrying a mappa: *LSA*-1036, -698, -1068, -1069, -1039, -198, and -22.

¹²¹ Statues carrying both a mappa and a scepter: *LSA*-1036, -698, -1039, and -198. Statue carrying only a scepter: *LSA*-1037.

¹²² Delbrueck 1929, 61-3. Smith (1999), 180 similarly suggests that *only* men of consular rank were allowed to carry a scepter.

¹²³ Cameron 1998, 386-402. Artistic representations of a consul frequently include references to the games, however diptychs in particular were distributed to commemorate a consul's specific presentation of a particular games. "The games were, after all, the consuls' only real obligation."

¹²⁴ See Delbrueck (1929), 62-3 for this interpretation, or Smith 1999 (180) for an alternative one. Smith points out that on the Theodosian obelisk base, several men standing on the lower tier in the non-ranking civilian garment hold the mappa. He contends that the mappa was "merely a part of the late antique urban and civilian dress code—something like a silk handkerchief" and the raised hand is a gesture of greeting and address. Olovdotter (2011) responds that the mappa might not always be associated with starting the games, but is always an insignium of the consul and his munificence and generosity, though not specifically of games. I tend to disagree with Smith and agree with Olovdotter because of the mappa's relative paucity in other depictions. Simple numbers (of honorific sculptures and consular diptychs) argue in favor of the consular identity. More evidence could elucidate this.

¹²⁵ Olovdotter (2011), 102 and 120 points out that these connotations in early imagery in turn hearken back to Etruscan kings and the god Jupiter.

¹²⁶ Foss 1983 and Cameron and Schauer 1982. See also Olovdotter (2011), 105. The classic work on consular diptychs and their scepters is Delbrueck (1929), esp. 61-63.

¹²⁷ Smith 1999, 180.

¹²⁸ Cameron 1998, 394-401, quoting Cod. Theo. 15.9.1; Olovdotter 2011, 100; and Parani 2007, 508-9. At Constantinople, only praetors and consuls were obliged to give public games, and 15.9.1 limited it further to only consuls. At Rome, quaestors, suffect consuls, and praetors gave public games (Cod. Theo. 6.4.1). By the late-fifth

appear together.¹²⁹ The *mappa* and the scepter were integral parts of the ceremonial costume, and thus were specifically associated with the office of consul.

The relationship between costume choice and these consular insignia is a strong one. No *palliat* statues carry either the mappa or the scepter, and only a single chlamydat statue holds the mappa. The majority wear the late antique toga. Similarly, the consuls in ivory diptychs holding the mappa and the scepter also always wear the late antique toga.¹³⁰ Moreover, where the hands are preserved, *all* statues wearing the late antique toga carry at least the mappa, and often the scepter.¹³¹ Apparently in this ceremonial role as the administrator of the games, it was important that the magistrate was seen in the traditional costume of the Roman civil servant, and not a Greek pallium, or even a Constantinopolitan chlamys. Thus, it would seem that the late antique toga should be singularly associated with the mappa and the scepter, and therefore with the consulship.

The evidence from both the honorific sculptures and the ivory diptychs is so overwhelming that the chlamydat statue (Figure 59), the only statue carrying the mappa but not wearing the toga, is called into question. R.R.R. Smith agrees that the mappa, and therefore the late antique toga, were the purview of only those of consular rank (therefore as a governor, ἀνθύπατος / proconsularis). He goes on to suggest that lower senatorial governors (ἡγεμῶν / praesides) wore the chlamys.¹³² If this were true, then why would an honorand wear the chlamys of the praesides, and also carry the mappa of the consular rank? The statue is a late-fifth century example from Corinth, and it is the only example of a mappa where the fabric is balled up into a spherical shape, versus the more languid vertical drape of most mappa depictions. The peculiarity of both the shape and the chlamys costume therefore suggest that this is not intended to represent a mappa at all, but something else.¹³³

4. The Fibula and the Cingulum

The chlamys costume in particular featured more sartorial accessories than other costumes of honorific monument costumes, and was always depicted with a fibula at the right shoulder, a belt (*cingulum*) around the waist (which was always alluded to if not entirely visible), and sometimes a finger ring when the hands are preserved. The ornamentation of shiny jewelry and costly leather is virtually nonexistent in other Late Antique honorific costumes, likely as a result of the quintessentially Roman sumptuary laws.¹³⁴ One can surmise that with the extension of Roman citizenship in the third century, the toga alone was no longer a clear indicator of status. Additional insignia, each laden with meaning, could identify the wearer as a member of the elite.¹³⁵

century, only ordinary consuls gave games, and it is not until this date (see especially Cameron 1998, 399-401).

Depictions of any consul with the mappa do not appear until the mid-to late-fifth century.

¹²⁹ For example, see the consular diptychs of Anastasius, Boethius, Basilius, Clementius, Magnus, Orestes, and the Halberstadt diptych.

¹³⁰ For example, see the consular diptychs of Anastasius, Boethius, Basilius, Clementius, Magnus, Orestes, and the Halberstadt diptych.

¹³¹ With a single exception carrying an inkpot: *LSA*-154. Statues wearing the late antique toga and carrying the mappa and/or scepter: *LSA*-1036, -698, -1068, -1069, -1037, -1039, -and -198.

¹³² Smith 1999, 181. However, a page earlier, Smith also suggested that the mappa in particular is not consular at all, but instead more akin to waving a flag or handkerchief. See note 83.

¹³³ However, for a possible parallel, see the left panel of the consular diptych of Boethius, who may be carrying what is a balled-up mappa.

¹³⁴ See Stout (1994), 77 for a succinct summary.

¹³⁵ Parani 2007, 499 and MacMullen 1964, 445-448.

The belt (*cingulum*), worn under the chlamys but over the undertunic, was more than a physical necessity to secure fabric or a mere ornament of wealth. It carried legal weight as a codified indicator of imperial office, and non-office holders were restricted from using it by law.¹³⁶ In the literature, the belt is literally equated with imperial office and duty itself: to “put aside the belt” or “put on the belt” was to relinquish or take up office.¹³⁷ It was made of fabric or leather with metal belt fittings, and a sixth century Praetorian Prefect of the East’s belt featured red leather with gold fittings and a buckle in the shape of a cluster of grapes, according to the sixth century author Lydus.¹³⁸ Precious jewels, meanwhile, were reserved for the emperor.¹³⁹ Unadorned belts are visible on *LSA*-15, -1160, -171, -19, and -22 (Figures 58-60).

While the belt was sometimes hidden from view, the crossbow fibula, which secured the chlamys in place on the right shoulder, was a more conspicuous accessory. Of those sculptures with the right shoulder preserved, all feature some depiction of the fibula: *LSA*-19, -22, -23, -80, and -171 have remains of tri-pendant fibulae (Figures 58-59, 63) while *LSA*-15, -150, -169, and -170 have small dowel holes for the added insertion of the ornament, likely in metal (Figures 60, 70-71).¹⁴⁰ Based on preserved metal examples from the archaeological evidence, the fibulae were usually gold, with three gold chains hanging from a central medallion, ending in teardrop stones or pendants. Such tri-pendant ornaments are depicted on our *chlamydati* whose fibulae are sculpted instead of inserted. The fibulae could be inscribed with the emperor’s name or image, and are therefore visible manifestations of imperial favor.¹⁴¹ Late Roman fibulae have been found within funerary contexts, as in the collection at Trier.¹⁴² Coins, medallions, sarcophagi, and mosaics all depict jewelry in detail, and the large crossbow fibulae features prominently.¹⁴³ In later periods, the center medallions might feature Christian iconography or inscriptions in elaborate gold settings, though our honorific monuments do not preserve anywhere near the level of detail required to recognize such an example.¹⁴⁴ Because the display of these costly fibulae was so widespread among the imperial elite, it does not help us to further identifying the *chlamydati* honorands: from the combination of literary and artistic evidence, it appears that emperors, empresses, barbarian rulers, satraps, imperial officers, senators, soldiers, military officials, and Christians alike all wore some version of the fibula.¹⁴⁵ There are

¹³⁶ Cod. Theo. VI.10.3.

¹³⁷ See Malalas (2000) 292, 406, and 423, and Lydus *Mag* 220.

¹³⁸ Lydus, *Mag*.

¹³⁹ For example, see the other-lifesize porphyry torso sculptures *LSA*-1009 and -1010 (not included in this study because their costly material and large size makes them more likely statues of emperors.)

¹⁴⁰ The difference breaks down almost perfectly according to region, with those sculptures from Corinth featuring sculpted fibulae, and those from Aphrodisias featuring inserted fibulae. The exception is *LSA*-171, from Aphrodisias but with a sculpted fibula. This predictable difference speaks to regional variation according to local workshops and sculptural tradition, and potentially also to the relative wealth of the monuments’ commissioners.

¹⁴¹ Stout 1994, 79-83 and 86-89. See especially fig. 5.15, a chalcedony cameo with the busts of Diocletian and Maximian from the late-third century. See also Grotowski (2010), note 560, page 272 for examples of fibulae with inscriptions.

¹⁴² Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier, *Trier Kaiserresidenz*, 111-114, no. 31. See also Stout (1994), 86-88 for other archaeological examples from Osztropataka (fig 5.12), Szilagy-Somylo (fig 5.13), and Nagy-Mihaly (fig. 5.14).

¹⁴³ See, for example, Justinian’s and Theodora’s fibulae and brooches on the San Vitale mosaics.

¹⁴⁴ Stout 1994, 79 and 83.

¹⁴⁵ Emperors: San Vitale mosaic, De Cer. (Vogt) 2.17, 27, SHA *Hadrianus* 10, *Severus Alexander* 4, *Duo Gallieni* 16, *Carus, Carinus et Numerianus* 17; empresses: San Vitale mosaic; barbarian rulers: Agathias III.15, ChPasch 1:613-4, Theophanes 1:714, Procopius 1:87, DAI 1.264.142-3; satraps: Procopius 3/2:85; imperial officers and senators: Oikonomides p.89.19, De. Cer. (Vogt) 2.27, 34.16, 38.4), San Vitale mosaics; soldiers and military

suggestions that only the imperial family could wear precious gemstones, and lesser officials were limited to gold,¹⁴⁶ or that the number of pendants was restricted by rank.¹⁴⁷ This is possible, but unfortunately the evidence itself is unclear, and even more so in the vague level of detail available on the Late Antique *chlamydati* statues.

The cingulum and the fibula are both examples of sartorial embellishment of the chlamys, and therefore of the late-fourth through the late-fifth centuries CE. They would have been made of costly materials in real life, including leather, gold, and precious stones, and have been unlike any traditional accessory to either the Roman toga or the Greek pallium. Like the chlamys itself, they are attributes particular to the court style of Constantinople, and communicate wealth, political prestige, and proximity to imperial power.

5. Other attributes

There are two examples of the backless chairs, both of them for seated *palliat* sculptures. The chair of LSA-155 (Figure 54) is incredibly schematic, and is not even finished or articulated in the back, and the only the front right chair leg is defined at all. This is likely the result of both an unfinished statue and a secondary carving.¹⁴⁸ LSA-172 (Figure 55), however, features a central rectangular support with two legs in the front only, connected to the support with horizontal bars. The legs curve backwards and are connected by central knob-like hinges, as is typical on the Roman *sella* (chair). One must assume that the back legs are simply not rendered, because the hinged front legs make little physical sense without them. Within the Greek context, as explored above, seated pallium-clad statues might represent teachers, intellectuals, or philosophers. Within the Roman context, the backless chair brings to mind the insignia of a Roman magistrate and the *sella curulis*, which was a particularly common accessory of the Late Roman consul in ivory diptychs.¹⁴⁹ However, both of our seated statues wear the pallium and are found in the Greek East (Aphrodisias), suggesting that they might indeed represent philosophers instead of magistrates. This is an intriguing possibility that contradicts the evidence that honorific monuments primarily honored civil magistrates. However, as we will see in the next chapter, there are a restricted number of honorific inscriptions to various “intellectuals,” and thus it is not inconceivable that there should be statues in appropriate costumes and poses to accompany them.

Two final attributes appear within the set of statues, though each only once: a patera (Figure 52); and an inkpot (Figure 68).¹⁵⁰

LSA-1555 holds a shallow bowl, a patera, typically used in pouring ritual libations, in his right hand.¹⁵¹ It is also one of the few *capite velato* togate statues of Late Antiquity. As

officials: Lydos, Pretorium; soldiers and military officials: Alfoldi, *Insignien* 65 and n. 4; Christians: Christian sarcophagi, Stout note 26, and on young male Christian martyrs, Crisafulli and Nesbitt (1997) 96.

¹⁴⁶ Parani 2007, 500, though she does not cite the evidence for this.

¹⁴⁷ Although our sculptures show three-pendent fibulae, Stout (1994), 88-9 suggests that rank determined how many pendants one was able to wear, citing an example of the governor of Hermopolis, who is depicted on the triumphal arch mosaic in Santa Maria Maggiore wearing a two-pendent fibulae.

¹⁴⁸ LSA-155 (J. Lenaghan).

¹⁴⁹ Olovdotter 2011.

¹⁵⁰ A laurel wreath (LSA-313) also appears once. However, because the size of the head is significantly smaller in proportion to the rest of the body, J. Lenaghan argues that this is a statue originally of the early-second century that was then recut and reused for a Tetrarch, citing mainly the wreath and the drill holes. The fact is that the wreath and the drill holes are so uncommon so as to necessitate an imperial identity, and I concur with Lenaghan.

¹⁵¹ Note that Calza (1948) identified this statue as Maxentius because of its size and his association with Ostia, where it was found, which would exclude it from our data set. However, that LSA-1555 does not wear the traditional

discussed above, a toga worn *capite velato* was an explicit reference to religious engagement and piety, and the patera emphasizes religious activity all the more. The combination of the two in a single statue deems this an uncomplicated example of religious, rather than civil or political, sculpture. Its presence within this corpus is rare, as no other statues so explicitly portray religious activity. However, there are a few inscribed bases dedicated to men holding religious offices (Chapter IV), and so we should expect some corresponding statue bodies. Moreover, performing a sacrifice *capite velato* was an expressly pagan, as opposed to Christian, religious practice.¹⁵² And yet it is notable that this lone instance of religious imagery and iconography is an example of reuse of a high imperial statue. This does not prove that its iconography carried no weight in its late antique reiteration, but raises the possibility that such an explicit reference to pagan religion and pouring libations might not have been so readily commissioned as a new statue in later periods.

Lastly, a single togate statue carries an inkpot in his left hand (*LSA-154*, Figure 68). It is a small cylinder with a round, knobbed lid. His right leg is supported by a bundle of scrolls, and while his right hand may have originally held another identifying attribute, it is no longer preserved. This inkpot is the only known example in honorific statuary of such an attribute, although it does still harmonize well with the literary connotations of the scrolls. While the presence of the mappa and the scepter emphasize the scrolls as the accouterments of the responsible civic servant and likely identify the single scroll as the official codicil of office, the inkpot changes the connotation of the scrolls. Instead, literacy and education are accentuated by the presence of the inkpot and scrolls together, and like the backless chairs, may indicate that the honorand was similarly an intellectual, perhaps in addition to a civil magistrate.

Just as the *sellae curules* of the seated statues could indicate philosophers, the patera and the inkpot both have the potential to disrupt the narrative of costumes as primarily markers of civil office. However, all three of these final attributes are so unique within the corpus that they ultimately suggest singular deviations from the late antique honorific tradition, instead of significant and widespread challenges to it.

E. Conclusion

Having quantified, described, and analyzed the statues, costumes, and accessories of late antique honorific monuments, the logical next question is, “Can we determine who these honorands were based on their costumes? What are the identities, or at the very least, occupations of these honorands?” If the toga signaled Roman politics, the pallium Greek otium, and the chlamys the military, then can we identify Roman senators, Greek philosophers, and army commanders? If the mappa is usually held by consuls in ivory diptychs, then is any statue holding a mappa also a consul? And, central to the purposes of this study, can the costumes identify religious allegiance? Do Christians always wear the pallium? Should we assume that the toga was the costume of Roman oppressors and therefore never worn by Christians?

Unfortunately, no. While the costumes and attributes surely contributed to the public cultural, political, social dialogue between honorands, craftsmen, and viewers, it is overly ambitious to think that a single piece of clothing, a pose, or an object can accurately convey all aspects of identity. Certain attributes can of course connote distinct facets of an honorand’s character. The clothing detailed in this chapter was variously associated with ethnicity,

senatorial *calcei* is an argument against some imperial identity. Plus, it was found neatly stacked with a number of other full size statues, none of which were imperial.

¹⁵² See note 49.

occupation, status, proximity to imperial power, regionality, religion, wealth, personality traits, work habits, ancestry, age, etc., based on relevant literary, archaeological, art historical, and epigraphic evidence and comparanda. Yet these associations are precisely that: associated, not equivalent. The visual language employed in honorific statues included all of the nuanced communicative ambiguity present in any language, in which context is key and even fluency does not always ensure accurate understanding. Not all viewers, the modern one least of all, would glean the same meaning and significance from the same cue, just as not all honorands or craftsmen would employ a cue in the same way and with the same intent.

Even if perfect cultural fluency were possible, the honorific statues present a number of unavoidable contradictions that highlight the importance of full contextual examination. For example, if the mappa was an accessory of consuls only, and the chlamys was the accepted costume for lower governors of the senatorial rank, then what is the meaning of a chlamydatum statue holding a mappa (Figure 59)? And what of consular diptychs, which feature a togate consul on one leaf holding a mappa, and the same consul wearing the chlamys on the other?¹⁵³ Or if the seated position was one of the philosopher teacher, but the pallium worn with the undertunic signaled the civic costume versus the intellectual one, then what are we to make of *LSA-172*, which is seated but also wearing a chiton under his pallium? Apparent contradictions such as these are only problematic when we hold to a dogmatic interpretation of costumes and attributes.

Instead of assigning absolute meanings to the costumes and iconography we see in honorific sculpture, it is more useful to conceive of them as individual pieces to the larger puzzle of identity. To designate specific costumes as The Attire of any given office is too rigid. The lack of standardization in the pairing of costumes to shoes to accessories to offices strongly suggests that it is more correct to discuss a costume as *appropriate to* a specific office, rather than *representative of*. A general dress code rather than a uniform. As R.R.R. Smith explains, “Some dress types then were appropriate to an office but not necessary for them, while at the same time basic dress types were not exclusive to certain ranks or offices.”¹⁵⁴

With a more flexible understanding, we can identify more general spheres of action with confidence. At the most basic level, within the public honorific setting, the toga was always appropriate for both local and imperial administrative offices, and was usually accompanied by scrolls of office. The pallium was primarily worn within the world of the Greek east, and variously could connote education and literacy as well as administrative office. The chlamys dates from late-fourth century onwards and is found in Asia Minor and Greece. It is often accompanied by scrolls, emphasizing its appropriation as a costume of civic office. There is a possibility that the chlamys may refer primarily to men of imperial, versus local, prestige and office. Finally, the cuirass is relatively rare within the honorific landscape, as it was largely reserved for the emperor, although it is found within the Northern frontier provinces in military and funerary contexts.

The above are clearly mostly public, political, occupation-centered connotations. As for the question of religious affiliation, the toga *capite velato* is the only overtly declarative costume (in this instance, of paganism). The pallium might be appropriate for Christians to wear, but a satirical treatise is not a convincing reason to think that it unequivocally signaled Christian religious affiliation in all instances. The costume choice and pose of an honorific sculpture was generally not involved in signaling religion. The primary role of costume was to indicate status,

¹⁵³ For example, the Halberstadt and Boethius diptychs, etc.

¹⁵⁴ Smith 1999, 181.

occupation, and the qualities desirable of a civil servant. The overwhelmingly public and political connotations of almost all of the costumes and attributes of Late Antique honorific statues reveal that the point was to glorify the achievements of civil office. Other aspects of identity, such as religion, ethnicity, ancestry, age, etc. may have been referred to obliquely with attributes and accessories, but they were largely glossed over in favor of the political and public in the monuments.

With the present level of knowledge about the costume choices and statues of honorific monuments, it would be unwise to be any more specific about identity than one's general sphere of activity. The precise identities of each honorand are derived from the adherence to or deviation from these most general spheres of action and propriety, as signaled not only by the choice of costume, but also the pose, accessories, attributes, style of portrait head, and of course, honorary inscription, to which we shall turn our attention in the next chapter.

—IV—

Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions**A. Introduction**

If it is prejudiced and ultimately incorrect to blindly consider and study the portrait heads and statue bodies of late antique honorific monuments as Christian simply because of their post-Constantinian date, then such an approach to the late antique *epigraphic evidence* is even more flagrant. Following the approach of the Renaissance humanists, scholars have traditionally divided late antique inscriptions into “Christian” and “pagan,” or secular texts as the first level of analysis. Hence, the epigraphic corpus is largely published in two separate batches, obscuring the similarities and exaggerating the divide between pagan and Christian, and thus muddying the epigraphic patterns and trends.¹ The honorific evidence, in particular, sees very little distinction made between inscriptions honoring Christians versus pagans, and is most often completely silent on the subject. Whether this is by calculated political design or simple indifference to questions of religious allegiance is debatable. However, it is undeniable that religious references are made very infrequently, and even when they are, their force as a declarative religious statement is overemphasized in the scholarship and seldom examined within their proper ancient contexts.

Late antique epigraphy as a whole is a field with recently renewed interest, and only within the past few decades has the corpus begun to move beyond place-specific catalogues to broader interpretative work. Honorific epigraphy in particular has enjoyed recent scholarly attention, with influential contributions by Dennis Feissel (Paris), Charlotte Roueché (Kings College London), Benet Salway (Kings College London), Christian Witschel (Heidelberg), and Carlos Machado (Heidelberg). Surprisingly, there is still no definitive published work that effectively compiles, analyzes, and interprets the honorific epigraphy of Late Antiquity, although Oxford’s *Last Statues of Antiquity* database has at least compiled the evidence.

This chapter’s primary goal is to compare the inscriptions of late antique honorands in order to determine the relationship between religious allegiance and the public and political discourse. Names, offices held, location, proximity to imperial power, date, the honorand’s occupation, type of base, composition (prose/verse), language, and added decoration will all be considered in their effects on both the religious and political epigraphic discourses. While the inscriptions are readily available in the *LSA* database, I have not found any publication that

¹ Salway 2014, 365. Salway, for example, points to this problem in the case of the Latin inscriptions from the Iberian peninsula and Britain, which were published as *CIL* II and VII (1869 and 1876) respectively. The “Christian” inscriptions, however, were published entirely separately, in *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae* (1871) and *Inscriptiones Britanniae Christianae* (1876).

attempts to explain or analyze the late antique honorific epigraphy as a cohesive group.² Therefore, a substantial part of this chapter will lay the groundwork of collecting, organizing, and describing late antique epigraphy of honorific monuments, a total of 473 inscriptions from across the empire.

B. Methodology of Curating the Dataset

In keeping with the parameters in the rest of the project, the epigraphic data was collected primarily from the Oxford's *Last Statues of Antiquity* online database, which purports to include all of the available published evidence for the erection of statues and bases empire-wide between roughly 284 and 650 CE.

The chronological range for this dissertation (284-550 CE) intends to encompass the primary core of the late antique statue habit (Table 5). On inspection, the epigraphic material follows the same pattern as the statues in that it is at its height in the fourth century, and then sharply drops off in the late-fifth century. The dates recorded are those given in the *LSA* database, which are largely derived from the references listed. If there is a large or notable debate on the date, this is generally noted in the "discussion" section. As the project is directed and staffed by excavators from Aphrodisias, the inscriptions from Asia Minor are the most closely studied, recently revisited, and reliably dated.

Inscriptions from the entire empire, of all states of preservation, including those that are damaged and fragmentary, of all materials, and all forms (rectangular, cylindrical, octagonal, arches, plaques, etc.) are included.

For an inscription to be honorific, it necessarily must include a reference to an honorand. This usually includes the honorand's office or occupation, the name of the honorer, and a verb of dedication, although other less formulaic inscriptions don't always follow this pattern. Studies of honorific epigraphy in other time periods have established the following criteria:

One, whenever an inscription employs a dative formula in Latin or an accusative in Greek *and* is cut on a stone reliably described as a statue base or as part of an arch or other monumental pedestal, there can be no doubt of the portrait character of the inscription. Two, whenever a description of the stone on which an inscription is cut is not available, the dative case of the [imperial] name in Latin, or the accusative in Greek, is presumptive proof of the portrait character of the inscription.³

Funerary and votive inscriptions are not included, nor are literary references to inscribed bases. While the exclusion of votive (dedications to deities) inscriptions and literary references is self-explanatory, the decision to omit funerary inscriptions, and indeed funerary sculpture, merits explanation.⁴ Both funerary and honorific monuments are physical examples of cultural

² The publications by Roueché (2004), Machado (2010), and Chenault (2012) and have various regional interests; Witschel (2010) and Salway (2014) are about late antique epigraphy more generally; and Slootjes 2006, Feissel 1999, and Chastagnol 1988 tend to be interested more in the legal and historical evolutions of different late antique offices. Niquet (2000) is the closest scholarship comes to analyzing the honorific epigraphy as a distinct whole, though I found that it also tends towards the legal and historical details of political administration and offices. All of these publications, however, were instrumental in compiling and analyzing my own data set, as much of the specific categorical work had already been done and I could synthesize the whole more quickly and easily.

³ Stuart 1938, 13-14. Højte (2005) also uses this criteria, with a few caveats to account for "aberrant formulas" (20-25). Stuart and Højte were both examining imperial portraiture and epigraphy, but the formula is consistent with my experiences of the broader Late Antique honorific monument habit.

⁴ Funerary sculpture is largely comprised of stelai with relief sculpture. It is easily recognizable because of the shape of the stelai, funerary inscriptions, and/or funerary archaeological concepts. Free-standing sculpture was

commemoration, as they are dedicated to a person for the purposes of societal remembrance and celebration. However, while an honorific monument commemorates the achievements, deeds, or actions of a person, a funerary monument commemorates the person himself. The exact achievement, deed, or action may not be directly referenced or even alluded to, but the reasoning behind the monument remains. The funerary inscription also honors a deceased person, while an honorific monument usually, but not always, honors someone still living. When the person is still living, the honorific monument has the added goal of positively advertising the honorand (and honorer) for ongoing personal advancement, a task that makes the honorific monument particularly well-suited for political purposes. Of course, when the honorand is deceased, his family and associates might still benefit from his commemoration, a possibility substantiated in the evidence by the number of inscriptions dedicated by family members. However, the commemoration of a person's life versus his achievements is the primary ideological distinction between a funerary and an honorific monument. In practical terms, funerary monuments typically take a recognizably different form, making them easily distinguishable from honorific monuments.⁵

Loosely, the honorands of the inscriptions are all civil magistrates or people acting in the public sphere. As defined in the search terms of the *LSA* database, this includes the categories of both "Imperial and Senatorial Office Holders" and "Provincial Notables." More specifically, the list of honorands includes, among others, military officers, officials of Rome and/or Constantinople, provincial governors, local benefactors and patrons, and religious office holders. In keeping with the parameters of the entire project, the epigraphic data set does not include deities, emperors, members of the imperial family, athletes, or women. Of course, this is not to deny the political or religious influences of these groups, and inscriptions associated with them continue to prove to be a fruitful and underexplored question, providing ample material for future research.

There are no restrictions on the identity of the honorer. The honorers are included in the data set if they were either the subject or object of the honorific inscription, which indicates an active role in the erection of the monument. However, honorers that are only mentioned in a genitive or ablative absolute, almost exclusively at the very end of an honorific inscription, are not included, as the grammar deemphasizes their role. Typically, these genitive and ablative absolutes also tend to be secondary or tertiary awarders, with the primary one in the nominative. This is clearly an area that could benefit from further research and analysis. Their involvement is still noted within the dataset under "secondary honorer."

A distinction is made between "verse" and "prose" inscriptions. I have also added my own distinction of "flowery writing style" or not, indicated in the [verse/prose] column by the presence of [+]. This category is somewhat arbitrary, traditionally without clear guidelines or criteria. The main difference is between honorific inscriptions written in the traditional Roman *cursus honorum* style and the later style of more florid, and often frustratingly vague, verse epigrams, to be explored later in this chapter. The clearest examples of both types are obviously distinguishable and very different from each other, but most inscriptions fall on a spectrum

generally not used for the commemoration of the dead, although this remains possible, as alluded to in the cases of the free-standing cuirassed statues (*LSA*-1785 and -1287) (Chapter III). For late antique funerary sculpture and art, see Murray (1981), Barbet (2001), and Thomas (2001). On the problem of "honorific inscriptions" as a category in itself, see Cooley (2012), 151-152 and 222-228. Cooley argues that such a category "ignores the fact that many different types of inscribed monument, not just statue bases, could have honorific intentions." I contend that "honorific inscriptions" are often, but crucially not always, carved on statue bases.

⁵ On late antique funerary epigraphy, see Roueche (1989) and Mazzoleni (2009).

somewhere between the two. For my purposes, I have determined that an inscription was “flowery” in this late antique sense if it displays at least two or three of these characteristics:

- does not include more than one (or at most two) specific imperial or civic offices;
- does not conform to the traditional honorific formulae of
 [name of honorand in (dative for Latin / accusative for Greek)] +
 [honorer in nominative] + [verb of honoring or erection of statue]
- includes a direct exhortation or appeal
- includes overly obsequious and complimentary adjectives to praise the moral character and/or integrity of the honorand
- includes references to mythical, heroic, or epic themes or stories, usually as allegorical comparisons in favor of the honorand

C. Honorific Epigraphic Tradition: Following Both Greek and Latin Precedents

When John Ma recently claimed that “[a]n inscription never just ‘tells you what you are looking at,’”⁶ he alluded to the broad contextual communication that an inscription can bestow upon an honorific statue. Yes, it may identify the honorand fixed to the base, but it also tells you the place the honorand occupied within society, his relationship to the state, to his family, his past and present accomplishments, his proximity to power, his aspirations, his cultural identity, his personal qualities, etc. What may seem like a simple formulaic description of a sculpture is enormously instructive within the formulae themselves. Like clothing, both slavish adherence to and minor deviation from established norms are enormously instructive, if one can recognize the norms. Likewise, understanding late antique honorific inscriptions is entirely dependent on familiarity with the classical tradition of statue honors.

In broadly tracing the epigraphic tradition from which the Late Antique honorific monument emerged, it becomes immediately clear that one needs to examine both the Greek and the Roman traditions. Now, approximately one-third of the inscriptions are written in Greek, and the other two-thirds are written in Latin.⁷ The language chosen breaks down largely upon regional lines, with almost exclusively Greek inscriptions found almost exclusively in Asia Minor, Mainland Greece, Crete, and the Aegean islands.⁸ Almost exclusively Latin inscriptions hail from North Africa, Rome, the Italian Peninsula, Sicily, the West, and the North. The inscriptions from the East, including the provinces of Aegyptus, Palaestina, Arabia, Scythia, Syria, Phoenice Libanensis, Cyprus, and Thebais, are mixed.

In this way, the epigraphic production is different than the other components of the late antique honorific monument. While the East may boast an obvious strength in numbers of portrait heads and statue bodies, the character of these components is more uniform across regions. On current evidence, it is almost impossible to distinguish between a portrait head from Italy and one from Asia Minor. Minor objections might be made in terms of quality or artistic execution, but such considerations are slight and there exist enough exceptions to nullify them.⁹ Artists and patrons across the empire were drawing upon the same sculptural and honorific

⁶ Ma 2013, 205.

⁷ 154 are written in Greek, 315 are written in Latin. Less than 1% (a total of four inscriptions) are bilingual.

⁸ This is also the case for Imperial statue bases. Højte 2005, 26. For more on the relationship between language and epigraphy in Late Antiquity, see Salway (2014), 364-365.

⁹ The only valid objection is statues wearing the pallium, which as far as I can find, are found only in Greece and Asia Minor. Thus far, there are no exceptions to this rule in the Late Antique evidence.

tradition to produce statues and portraits heads with the same drilling of the pupils, the same rigidity of form, and the same honorific costumes and attributes. In other words, East, West, North, and South were all speaking the same visual language in their honorific monuments.

The provenance of late antique honorific inscriptions, however, is immediately identifiable because of its language. This is indicative of more than just spoken language, however, as the inscriptions appear to remain consistent with the traditional honorific forms of the language's culture: inscriptions in Greek continue to follow the epigraphic conventions of the Greek East, and inscriptions in Latin continue to follow the epigraphic conventions of the Roman West.

At its most basic, the Greek honorific (and votive dedicatory) formula contains the name of the honorer in the nominative, a verb of dedication, and the name of the honorand in the accusative, a convention which persists from the Archaic through to the Roman period.¹⁰ The name of the honorand in the dative and the object of dedication in the accusative were possible.¹¹ Greek honorific inscriptions in particular place significant emphasis on the civic community.¹² The formula "the city/council honors [x]" is seen more frequently than private donors, and reflect that an official civic decree has been made to allow the bestowal of an honorific statue.¹³ Because the honorer/s is in the nominative case while the honorand is in the accusative, it is a subtle way of emphasizing the supremacy and generosity of the state over the individual, as well as the state's active agency, over the passivity of the individual. The only honorands to regularly employ the nominative are deities, heroes, and athletes.¹⁴ Sometimes the honorand would instead be in the genitive, assuming the unwritten εικόνα, δῶρον, or ἀνάθημα in the accusative case.¹⁵ The appropriate term for the life-size statue of a mortal honorand, versus a deity or even an emperor, was εικῶν, though ἄγαλμα was also employed. Typical verbs used include ἀνέστησεν, ἀνέθηκεν, ἐτίμησεν, ἔστησεν, ἔθηκεν, καθιέρωσε, ἀνέστησεν, or no verb at all.¹⁶ The inscription might stipulate that the honorand be crowned or a statue be erected.¹⁷ If an administrator oversaw the erection of the statue, then his contribution was recorded as a genitive absolute.

The reasons for the erection of an honorific statue and/or an honorific inscription in earlier periods of the Greek East are broadly the same as during Late Antiquity: aristocratic and elite rivalry and competition, personal ambition, to improve one's place in the social and political hierarchy, and gratitude bestowed upon local euergetists and benefactors. Honorands could be civil servants, local, royal, or imperial elite (depending on the time period), athletes, artisans, victors, and military personnel. They were praised for their justice, toil, integrity, piety, and

¹⁰ For example, a small inscribed column from Athens with a socket for attaching a small marble statuette and dating to ca. 500-490 BCE reads: Νεοκλείδης / ἀνέθηκεν. *DAA*, no. 43. See also *DAA* nos. 57, 81, 159, 258, and 294.

¹¹ Especially if the honorand was a deity. For example, an Athenian dedicatory inscription on a fluted column dating to the last quarter of the sixth century BCE names the recipient deity of the dedication in the dative: Ἄμειν[ίως ἀνέθεκ]ε τὰ θεναίαι. *DAA*, no. 5. See also *DAA* nos. 65, 71, 80, 93, 216, 259, 286, 339, 345, 356, and 364.

Likewise, a fluted column from Athens dating to later than 510 BCE records the object of the dedication in the accusative: Ἐπιτέλες ἀνέθηκεν : ἀπαρχὴν / Ἀθηναίαι. *DAA*, no. 10.

¹² Especially see Ma 2013 for the relationship between cities and statue honors during the Hellenistic period.

¹³ McLean 2002, 236. See also Højte (2005), 185, who contends that during the Imperial period, 32.1% of all statue bases dedicated to emperors in Italy were dedicated by communities, versus 58.2% in Greece and 54.9% in Asia Minor.

¹⁴ Ma 2013, 207.

¹⁵ McLean 2002, 238.

¹⁶ McLean 2002, 238.

¹⁷ McLean 2002, 239-240.

patronage.¹⁸ Laudatory appellations were also given, however in the Imperial period they are not used with the same precision or restraint as they are in Latin inscriptions.¹⁹ Unlike Latin inscriptions and the traditional spelling out of the entire *cursus honorum*, Greek inscriptions tend to be far more succinct in identifying the honorand and praising his achievements, though in the Roman period they do begin to resemble more closely the long and rambling accolades of their Latin counterparts. One must imagine a hybrid approach to honoring Roman magistrates, drawing partly from the new Roman honorands, and partly from the honorific tradition of the Greek-style inscriptions that were still part of the visible landscape and regional memory.

Meanwhile, in the Latinized Roman tradition, honorific portraits and bases were granted as early as the fourth century BCE by allocation of the Senate and the People as public honors.²⁰ As with Greek public honors, the monuments constituted a physical representation of the reciprocal and symbiotic arrangement between individual and state: the individual would continue to bestow his public service, financial largess, and public euergetism upon the state in return for public recognition, appreciation, and honorific monumentalization.²¹ The Senate could specify the number of statues, material, location, and even pose (pedestrian, seated, equestrian, or less often, chariot) for an honorand, as well as who would underwrite the expense.²² The purpose of Republican aristocratic display in particular was to glorify the individual and his family. The statue might be paid for publically or at private expense. Honorands included citizens, civil magistrates, local elite, emperors, the imperial family, women, freedmen, athletes, actors, and soldiers. However, the Principate changed the landscape of competitive self-representation significantly when the primacy of the *princeps* came into conflict with aristocratic display and self-promotion.²³ Officially sanctioned as a Senate decree, Augustus allowed only the case-by-case granting of the *statua triumphalis* as a substitute for a real military triumph. However, at least in the city of Rome in the Augustan period, the overwhelming majority of inscriptions were still set up by senators or their families.²⁴

In a Latin honorific inscription, the honorand is usually named first and is traditionally in the dative, though epitaphs in the genitive are also possible. The name of the honorand in the nominative is rare, though it does occur and should usually be understood as a type of label, rather than part of a grammatically correct sentence.²⁵ As in Greek inscriptions, the honorer is in the nominative, once again emphasizing their generosity at least as much as, if not more, than the honorand's. Typical verbs of dedication include *dedit*, *dedicavit*, *locavit*, *collocavit*, *iussit erigi*, *curavit*, and *constituit*, which are notably both verbs of physical action as well as verbs *ordering* or *calling for* action to be undertaken. The dynamic actor and grammatical subject is once again the honorer, and not the honorand. An object of dedication in the accusative might or might not be included.

The bases tend to be of two types: a monolithic block or “built-up” bases. The monolithic bases are tall and thin, standing at a height ranging from 0.80—1.40 m. tall, and

¹⁸ McLean 2002, 230.

¹⁹ McLean 2002, 230.

²⁰ Tanner 2000, 25.

²¹ Cooley 2012, 30.

²² For example, Cic., *Phil.* 5.41 and 9.15-17; Pliny, *NH* 34.30 and 34.24-5. See also Tanner 2000, 25.

²³ Eck 1984, 130-138. Eck contends that much of the senatorial self-display moved indoors to the private sphere, within the house and on privately owned land. However, he allows that inscriptions expressly promoted by the *princeps* or the Senate were more likely displayed in view of the general public (135).

²⁴ Eck 1984, 133.

²⁵ Højte 2005, 23-24.

could be square, rectangular, or circular. Built-up bases are usually wider than they are tall, and consist of built up cores upon which inscribed marble slabs, or even bronze sheets, were affixed.²⁶ The built-up bases were often used for statues with a wider base, such as an equestrian statue, though the monolithic bases were by far more common. Unlike Greek inscriptions that typically use a constant letter size throughout the text of a single inscription, Latin letter sizes varied in order to place emphasis on the most important words in the inscription, usually the honorand and the honorer.²⁷ It was common to end the inscription with an ablative absolute indicating under whose auspices the decision was made and by whose funds (often *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*; and, for example, *p(ecunia) p(ublica)*).

D. Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions

Contrasted against and yet clearly descendant from these earlier honorific epigraphic traditions is the peculiarly hybrid, surprisingly innovative, and maddeningly complex late antique inscription. Its conventions span geographically across the entire empire, linguistically across both Greek and Latin, artistically across prose and verse, and grammatically across every case. Like so many other late antique phenomena, honorific epigraphy is subject to the unprecedented political, social, cultural, and religious tumult of the times, and its diversity reflects that. This resulted in a diverse and experimental arena of public honors, as older norms and traditions were challenged and blended with varied and innovative features. In this climate of cultural change and administrative upheaval, regional honorific practices naturally became more varied and pronounced. As the seat of power moved eastward, new paradigmatic examples were introduced, and there were more choices regarding language, honorific tradition, word use, and what is appropriate or inappropriate to include. It is important to note that far from mindless replication of available epigraphic styles, the resulting late antique inscribed base is the product of a series of carefully weighed options and the messages they communicated.

1. Composition

As regards physical composition, the inscribed honorific bases for late antique civil servants and local elites are largely monolithic blocks of marble, rectangular, and around 75-150 cm tall. Columnar bases are less common, but are found more frequently on bases inscribed in Greek, and thus largely are found in the East, along with octagonal bases. Italy and North Africa, in particular, are especially devoted to the canonical rectangular bases, while the eastern provinces show more variety in type of monument, including forms such as plaques and arches/lintel blocks.²⁸ Regardless of form, the bases are almost entirely made of marble.²⁹

2. Geographical Distribution

Geographically, inscribed bases are found all over the empire. However, they are most numerous in those places that already had a strong epigraphic tradition before Late Antiquity: Asia Minor (86 bases); Greece, the Aegean, and Crete (58 bases); North Africa (73 bases); Rome (92); and especially the Italian Peninsula excluding Rome (139). The strength of numbers in the Greek East and Roman Italy is not surprising not only because these regions had flourished in earlier periods, but they were also the locations of the main late antique capitals of

²⁶ Højte 2005, 30.

²⁷ Højte 2005, 32.

²⁸ Plaques: *LSA*-431, -521, -527, -595, -659, etc. Arches/lintel blocks: *LSA*-234, -656.

²⁹ There are two granite exceptions: *LSA*-11 and -12.

Constantinople and Rome, respectively. The provinces of Africa and Asia similarly represent a higher level of administrative prestige as the only two proconsular provinces: this is duly reflected in the epigraphic numbers.

Most curious, however, is the complete absence of inscriptions from Constantinople. There is not a single inscription for a civil magistrate, local aristocrat, or imperial official from the Empire's capital. It is conceivable that the lack is attributable to the special status of the emperor within the capital city; perhaps civil magistrates were tacitly forbidden from public display of power and acclaim to avoid competing with the emperor. However, the lack of inscriptions is not unique to just civil magistrates, as Constantinople exhibits very few honorific inscriptions for any category of honorand. Beyond civil servants, there are only seven inscriptions dedicated to emperors, one inscription to an empress, and two inscriptions for charioteers.³⁰ Such weak numbers in the capital are surprising and must be attributed to the continuous and heavy occupation of the city as the capital city of four empires: the Late Roman, Byzantine, The Latin, and the Ottoman. The rectangular blocks of marble must have been too valuable as building, sculptural, and reused epigraphic material.³¹ No doubt, a full dismantling of modern day Istanbul's many marble structures and edifices would reveal any number of repurposed statue bases with honorific inscriptions. For example, a now-demolished spiral column of Theodosius I was later reused for a statue of Anastasius in 506 CE, and then gradually disassembled for use as architectural foundations. Today pieces of the column can be found in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum as well as in the foundations of the Beyazit Hamam and the University Library of Istanbul.³²

Similarly, the Obelisk of Theodosius is representative of the variable public expression of political memory. The inscription identifies a certain Proculus who erected the obelisk in 388 CE in his capacity as the *praefectus urbi*, only to be subject to *damnatio memoriae* in 392 CE when he was executed by a political enemy (Figure 76).³³ Some 60 years later, his name was restored to the monument by a family member. In this case, only the inscription itself was affected by Proculus' fall from imperial grace and his posthumous restoration. But we can imagine similar struggles between imperial and lower-tier political power occurred constantly in the capital city, and that honorific monuments might have been some of the casualties. Proculus' inscription is evidence of how civil magistrates were in constant danger of having their political memory publically erased in the emperor's capital, and this must account for at least some of the modern day lack. Thus, it seems unlikely that the capital city would have been devoid of honorific monuments in Antiquity, hence our modern dearth. In fact, the scarcity of honorific inscriptions tallies well with the scarcity of honorific sculpture as well, as Constantinople has produced only four sculpted bodies, three bodies of emperors, and fourteen portrait heads.³⁴

³⁰ Emperors: *LSA*-30, -31, -2457, -2461, -2462, -2463, -and 2497. Only *LSA*-30 and -31 fit the standard conception of an "inscribed base," while the others are (now largely lost, demolished, or dismantled) columns which once held colossal statues. Empress: *LSA*-27. Charioteers: *LSA*-349 and -361.

³¹ Machado and Ward-Perkins 2012 (39) chronicle a similar pattern in Tusciana et Umbria, noting that "the thin spread of evidence was due to the vitality of urban life in these regions in later periods: most of the cities remained important centres in the Middle Ages, and statue-bases were prime material for new building works.

³² *LSA*-2458. Bauer 1996, Firalti 1990, and Sande 1981.

³³ *ILS* 821. See also Robert (1948), 50.

³⁴ Sculpted bodies: *LSA*-1033, -1040, -1168, and -1160. See table 1. Bodies of emperors: *LSA*-456, -1165, and -441. Seven sculpted bodies if you include the porphyry Tetrarchs now in Venice (*LSA*-4 and -439). See table 2. Portrait heads: *LSA*-3, -337, -376, -390, -442, -443, -444, -454, -1183, -2416, -2417, -2418, -2419, and -2420, of which at least two are emperors (*LSA*-337 and -454).

3. Date

At its most general, honorific inscriptions are common during the third century, reach their peak during the fourth century, only to drop off sharply in the fifth century (see Graph 5).³⁵ None reliably date to the sixth century.³⁶ Although his study is restricted to Italy and Latin inscriptions, and also includes all categories of honorands, Carlos Machado has identified a similar trend of late antique statue bases. Machado found that “the rate of dedications per year remained more or less stable from the accession of Diocletian in 284 to the beginning of the Theodosian dynasty in 379; [67.8%] of all late antique dedications were carried out in this period.”³⁷ The number of dedications continues to fall and by the death of Honorius in 423, the trend of decline never rebounds: “As both the absolute number of dedications and the number of statues-per-year show, the statue-habit plummeted and more-or-less vanished in the course of the fifth century.”³⁸ The more-generalized chronological breakdown of bases in this study reflects the same trajectory, with bases in the fifth century less than a quarter of their number in the fourth century, and none at all in the sixth.³⁹ For the Italian evidence, Machado cites the sack of Rome in 410 as the crucial point, noting that after this date, inscriptions to emperors almost completely disappear.⁴⁰ After this, he cites a combination of the decline of the power and prestige of the *Curiae* and other local councils, the decay of traditional public spaces, and the changing civic culture that celebrated cultural and religious values in a different way to the “particularly classical form of social action” that produced statue honors.⁴¹

4. Most Common Formats

The majority of late antique honorific inscriptions tend to take the following format in a short narrative sentence:

[honorand in accusative (Greek) or dative (Latin)] + [honoror in nominative]
+ [optional verb of dedication]

This main formula is not unique to Late Antiquity, as discussed earlier.⁴²

As was typical in earlier Archaic votive dedications, the actual object of dedication, here generally an inscribed base and a sculpted statue, is often omitted in both languages.⁴³ For

³⁵ These trends are extremely generalized, as grouped according to the earliest possible date, and grouped very broadly by century. A more detailed chronology will require more absolute decisions to be made concerning the majority of inscriptions, which have possible date ranges spanning a few years to several centuries.

³⁶ There are a number, however, whose possible range of dates spans to the year 500 or 550 CE: *LSA*-11, -1151, -2603, -229, -148, -199, -551, -225, -657, -1200, -1201, -228, -714, -540, -527, -672, -516, -722, -394, -2084, -727, -656, -2588, -730, -664, -661, -671, -658, -621, -544, -526, and -734. The majority of these have been assigned a range so great, as much as 300 years in some cases, that it can only be assumed that the *LSA* database authors intend for it to be broadly dated to “Late Antiquity,” and not an indication that its date should be close to the fifth century CE.

³⁷ Machado 2010, 244-5.

³⁸ Machado 2010, 245.

³⁹ He does note, however, that the evidence in Italy is “exceptional” because so much of the evidence is weighted by the numbers from Rome, where the statue habit persisted for a little while longer there than elsewhere. Machado 2010, 246 and graph 2.

⁴⁰ Machado 2010, 249.

⁴¹ Machado and Ward-Perkins 2012, 38-40 and Machado 2010, 237-257.

⁴² Ma 2007, 208-9. See also Keesling (2003) and Højte (2002).

⁴³ John Ma (2007), 207-211 has commented extensively on the strangeness of such linguistic constructs, which simultaneously “confront the viewer with a presence [of the sculpture] which is also an absence [of the epigraphic

example, in an early-fourth century CE inscription, the Carians honored a governor in a succinct and simple inscription:

τῆς μεγάλης ἀρετῆς τοῦτον / μέγαν ἡγεμονῆα / Ἑλλάδιον / [Κ]ἄρες στῆ[σα]ν / [ἀ]μειβόμε[νο]ι.

The Carians set up (a statue of) this great governor Helladios, in return for his great virtue.⁴⁴

In a similar Latin inscription, the council of Theanum honored a governor:

Fl(avio) Uranio, v(iro) p(erfectissimo), rec[t(ori)] / prov(inciae), vindici legu[m] / ac moderatori / iustitiae. / Ordo splendidissimu[s] / civitatis Theanensi[s] / una cum popularib[us], / suis digno patrono / posuerunt.

The most distinguished council of the city of Theanum, together with the people, set up (this statue) to their worthy patron, Flavius Uranius, of perfectissimus rank, governor of the province, defender of laws and conductor of justice.⁴⁵

While late antique honorific inscriptions regularly employ this formula of omission, there are still cases where the statue is actually mentioned explicitly, as in the following:

Clementiani. / Pollio Iulio / Clementiano, v(iro) p(erfectissimo), / patrono inimitabili, / largissimo, cuius facta / enarari non possunt, / eius meritis regio Iovia / statuam censuit.

(Statue of) Clementianus. The region of Iovia, on account of his services, decreed this statue to Pollius Julius Clementianus, of perfectissimus rank, inimitable patron, most generous, the deeds of whom cannot be listed.⁴⁶

In this inscription, although the item of dedication is made obvious in the accusative (*statuam*), the dichotomy between the existence of the statue honor and naming the object is still apparent in the first word of the inscription: the genitive of the honorand's cognomen, or nickname.⁴⁷ In late antique honorific inscriptions, it was common to “label” the honorific monument with a one-word identifier in the genitive before commencing with the actual dedicatory inscription. The genitive form of the honorand's cognomen has the implied antecedent “statue of,” although again the object is not explicitly named. It emphasizes the difference between the person himself and his representation, making clear that the statue honor is obviously the latter. The cognomen is set off from the rest of the inscription on a separate line, and always comes before the rest of the inscription, sometimes set off even more by decorative elements like crosses or ivy leaves (to be discussed below).⁴⁸ It also might be set off from the rest of the inscription architecturally on a separate plinth or curve of molding.⁴⁹

mention of such sculpture].” The contradiction is the same one Foucault tackled in commenting on Magritte’s statement that “ceci n’est pas une pipe.” Ma argues that this configuration emphasizes that the statue is itself a representation, and the inscription is an objective, third-person narrative that can exist separately from the statue, not engaging with the present situation of a statue and a viewer.

⁴⁴ *LSA-222*. Translation by C. Roueché.

⁴⁵ *LSA-1713*. My own translation.

⁴⁶ *LSA-1871*. My own translation. See *LSA-595* for an example in Greek where the statue is explicitly mentioned.

⁴⁷ For the prevalence of the cognomen and the “single name system” in Late Antiquity, see Salway (2014), 375-6 and Kajanto (1997), 104.

⁴⁸ For example, see *LSA-779* and -1266.

⁴⁹ See *LSA-1266*.

Like the genitive “label” of the statue, other introductory words and phrases are similarly addressed at the viewer, and do not follow the same third-person narrative structure of the typical honorific inscription. In Late Antiquity, common introductory phrases include ἀγαθῆι τύχῃ, with good fortune,⁵⁰ Εὐτυχῶς, with good fortune,⁵¹ and *vivas*, may you live (a long life).⁵² Such preludes to the inscription proper are far more likely in Greek inscriptions, and especially in those inscriptions that do not subsequently follow the normal honorific formula, but continue to address either the viewer or the honorand himself, to be further detailed below.

5. *Cursus Honorum* Variations

Within the traditional [accusative/dative honorand + nominative honorer] format of honorific inscriptions, there is some variety in execution. The traditional High Imperial *cursus honorum* still does appear, though far less often. Apparently, inscribing one’s full *cursus honorum* did not have the same cultural imperative that it did in the High Imperial period.⁵³ Like its predecessors, late antique versions list (what we assume to be) the totality of an honorand’s offices as modifiers of the dative (Latin) or accusative (Greek) personal name, ending with the dedicating body in the nominative and an optional verb of dedication. For example, the inscription honoring Dogmatius of 324-337 CE, found in Rome, lists a total of 18 offices, the number of times each was held, and even the salaries awarded for the last three:

Dogmatii/ honori./ C(aio) Caelio Saturnino, v(iro) c(larissimo),/ allectu petito senatus inter /consulares, comiti d(omini) n(ostr) Constantini / victoris Aug(usti), vicario praefecturae/ Urbis, iudici sacrarum cog(nitionum), vicario/ praef(ectorum) praetorio bis: in urbe Roma / et per Mysias, examinatori per Ita/liam (sic), praefecto annon(a)e Urbis, ratio/nali privat(a)e, vicario summae rei / rationum, rationali vicario per/ Gallias, magistro censu(u)m, vicario / a consiliis sacris, magistro stu/diorum, magistro libellorum, duce/nario a consiliis <sacris>, sexag(enario) a consiliis / sacris, sexag(enario) studiorum adiutori,/ fisci advocato per Italiam./ C(aius) Fl(avius) Caelius Urbanus, v(ir) c(larissimus),/ consularis patri.

In honour of Dogmatius. To Caius Caelius Saturninus, of clarissimus rank, enrolled into the rank of *consularis* by the Senate’s petition, count of our lord the victorious Augustus Constantine, deputy of the prefecture of the city, judge in the imperial court of appeal, twice deputy of the praetorian prefects: in the City of Rome and for the (provinces of) Moesia, financial inspector for Italy, prefect of the annona of the City, chief officer of the imperial patrimony, deputy of the chief officer of the imperial fisc, deputy chief officer of the imperial patrimony in Gaul, head of the census, deputy at the imperial council, head of the imperial records, head of the office of petitions, functionary of the imperial council receiving an annual salary of 200,000 sesterterii, functionary of the imperial council receiving an annual salary of 60,000 sesterterii, assistant functionary at the records office receiving an annual salary of 60,000 sesterterii, advocate of the fiscus in Italy. Caius Flavius Caelius Urbanus, clarissimus rank with the rank of *consularis*, [set this up] to his father.⁵⁴ (Figures 93-94)

The offices are listed in order of prestige, though the full weight of the inscription derives from the long list of offices, highlighting an entire lifetime of service and accomplishment and especially emphasizing the years of constant dedication and work that such a résumé requires. The full *cursus* inscription thus publicizes a respectable birth, an early start, and decades of steady climbing through the administrative ranks. We can imagine that such an inscription would be especially appropriate for a magistrate with an impressive number of offices under his

⁵⁰ LSA-730, -661, -1201, -546, -672

⁵¹ LSA-1202

⁵² LSA-2065, -2852.

⁵³ For more on the late antique *cursus honorum*, see Niquet (2000), 131-149.

⁵⁴ LSA-1266. Translation by C. Machado. See also Chapter V.A for more in depth treatment of this monument.

belt at the end of his career, living and working in a location whose population would recognize and respect such a litany of technical information, either because of a fairly sophisticated bureaucratic culture or an environment filled with comparable inscriptions. Unsurprisingly, most late antique full *cursus honorum* inscriptions are found in Italy, and especially Rome.⁵⁵ The residual abundance of earlier statue honors influenced late antique habits and inspired an epigraphic conservatism not found elsewhere: no *cursus* inscriptions are found in the Greek East or written in the Greek language. The full *cursus* honors tend to especially date to the middle quarters of the fourth century, though they extend into the first half of the fifth. Some inscriptions include only a partial *cursus honorum*, consisting of a few choice offices listed in succession, but likely not every office from one's career. Some inscriptions preserve the format of the full *cursus* inscription without the rigidity of including every office.⁵⁶

In contrast to the full *cursus honorum*, the majority of late antique honorific inscriptions are surprisingly succinct, listing only the pertinent information: the honorand, an office or two, the honorer, a verb, and sometimes a brief explanation as to why. For example:

Munatio / Planco / Paulino, / v(iro) c(larissimo), praesidi / Pann(oniae) per ann(os) XVII. / Crepereius Amantius, v(ir) c(larissimus), / et Ca[ei]onia Marina, c(larissima f(emina), eius, / ab abo (sic, 'avo') / suo.

To Munatius Planus Paulinus, of clarissimus rank, governor of Pannonia for 17 years. Crepereius Amantius, of clarissimus rank, and his wife Caeonia Marina, [set this up] to his ancestor.⁵⁷

Just as *cursus* inscriptions were more common in Latin, the succinct form of inscription is most common in Greek inscriptions, which will frequently list only a single office, and often none at all. Earlier Greek inscriptions tend to be similarly brief, hence the form's persistence in the late antique evidence.⁵⁸ For example, in the inscription below, neither the honorand nor the honorer are embellished with any specific offices beyond their rank:

Φλ(άουιον) Ἄννιον Χρυσόβιον, τὸν καὶ / Ἀνατόλιον, τὸν λαμπρότ(ατον), / Φλ(άουιος) Ἄννιος Ἀνατόλιος, / ὁ λαμπρότ(ατος) ἀπὸ κομήτ(ων), / τὸν γλυκύτατον / υἰόν.

To Flavius Annus Chrysobius, also called Anatolius, of clarissimus rank. Flavius Annus Anatolius, now of clarissimus rank from the rank of comes, [honors] his sweetest son.⁵⁹

In fact, the majority of inscriptions are as simple and brief as the one above, in both Greek and Latin. One can imagine that these inscriptions were meant to be read in a single glance, and did not require intimate knowledge of the hierarchy of administrative offices, often simply commending the honorand as a patron or benefactor (*patron* / εὐεργέτης). Especially in Campania, it was common not to list any specific office, but instead to refer to the general excellence of the honorand with vague acclamations. There are no indications that the inscriptions were purposely succinct with the intention of saving space or because of the limited field available on the base, though the letter size does increase in briefer inscriptions. It would be interesting for future study to examine the shortened inscriptions as they relate to trends of literacy, administrative career arcs, and the relationship of the public to the bureaucracy. It

⁵⁵ For example, see *LSA*-1408, -1392, -342, -1473, -1407, -2682, -1860, -1935, -1638, -332, -43, -47, -1909, -1970, -1775, -1628, -1599, -1973, and -324.

⁵⁶ See *LSA*-314, -1905, -1912,

⁵⁷ *LSA*-1445. Translation by C. Machado.

⁵⁸ Ma 2007, 208 on hellenistic dedicatory and honorific inscriptions.

⁵⁹ *LSA*-539. Translation by U. Gehn.

suffices here to note that a succinct inscription shifts the weight of representing the honorand in a flattering light to the visual communication of the sculpted body and portrait head by deemphasizing the epigraphic portion of the monument. With fewer words, the inscription makes less of a statement than the sculpture, as the identities of the honorand and the honorer are often the only information communicated epigraphically.

The general decline of the full *cursus honorum* inscription directly parallels the simultaneous evolution of the administrative bureaucracy. In Late Antiquity, the subdivision of provinces, the establishment of regional dioceses, and the brief tenure of appointments meant an increase in the number of required magistrates. Although it varied across position, the average duration of office was only a year or two.⁶⁰ A.H.M. Jones, in his typical disparagement of Late Antiquity, noted that such offices were “prizes” and “primarily distinctions to be won, not posts carrying duties,” and therefore those appointed were not chosen for their ability or experience, but instead their industry, honesty, and loyalty.⁶¹ As directly reflected in the increasingly abbreviated *cursus*, the emphasis was no longer on a magistrate’s long and varied experience. Instead, officials were chosen for more abstract virtues and quality of character, as the more flowery late antique style demonstrates.

6. Narrative Style

While brief inscriptions may be the most common, there are inscriptions that expand the conventional brevity of honorific inscriptions in a more flowing narrative style, with varying degrees of adherence to the traditional honorific grammar. These inscriptions are usually more descriptive, listing exactly who made the decision at whose bequest, the location specified for what kind of statue, and a wordy explanation of the honorand’s deeds to the community. For example, the following inscription preserves the basic honorific grammar, though does not list any specific offices and adds in a few dependent clauses to more fully explain the reason for erection:

Bonae originis suboli et sin/ceritate praecipua prae/dito, Sex(to) Cluvio Martino, / omnibus honoribus functo, /laudabili viro, restauratori / thermarum hiemalium cum M(arco) / Caesolio Saturnino, fratre suo, / pro tantis meritis erga se, / ordo et cives splendidis/simae civitatis Oericola/nae statuam marmore/am patrono dignissimo / ad perenne testimonium / publice censuerunt /feliciter.

To the offshoot of a good lineage and a man gifted with outstanding integrity, Sextus Cluvius Martinus, who performed all public magistracies, a laudable man, restorer of the winter baths with Marcus Caesonius Saturninus, his brother. On account of so many services towards them, the council and citizens (*ordo et cives*) of the most splendid city of Oericulum publicly and auspiciously decreed a marble statue to its most worthy patron as a perpetual memorial.⁶²

Monuments dedicated by emperors constitute another form of the longer, narrative inscriptions. These inscriptions tend to follow their own form of honorific formulae: only one or two titles or offices for the honorand, prose, typically very verbose, written in full sentences, and similar to a narrative style. In this way, it is likely that the inscriptions serve as an abbreviated version of the imperial letter to the Senate or council, approving their petition for an honorific statue. It is possible that this is because of the decline of provincial and municipal

⁶⁰ Jones 1964, *LRE* iii.378-82.

⁶¹ Jones 1964, *LRE* iii.383-4.

⁶² *LSA*-1632. Translation by U. Gehn. For more examples, see *LSA*-1633 and -1685.

public texts, thus increasing the importance of imperial texts.⁶³ In a few instances, the entire imperial letter is recorded on the base, emphasizing the cache of imperial power as it was transferred down to the provincial or local level.⁶⁴ The tendency towards verbosity in honorific monuments dedicated by an emperor is therefore a display of intimacy with power and, by proxy, power for the honorand himself, even at the expense of listing his own titles or achievements in the inscription. Noticeably, by far the highest number of inscriptions with imperial honorers hail from Rome, both before and after the capital of the Empire was moved to Constantinople in 330 CE. Whether this means that emperors dedicated more statue honors to Romans or that Romans thought it appropriate to attribute and record all honors to the emperors themselves (versus to the Senate or council that requested honors on their behalf, as the imperial letters attest) than other regions and cities, it is undeniable that the Rome had a particularly intense relationship with the emperor, and recorded its status and proximity in stone.

7. Florid Late Antique Style

The final notable form of honorific inscriptions is a particularly late antique phenomenon, and does not find exact parallels in earlier traditions: the flowery and verbose honorific verse epigram. The true popularity of the verse epigram does not peak until the late-fourth century CE, however a more allusive and wordy style in honorific epigraphy is observable as early as the late-third century CE, especially in the Greek East. Unlike the formal and rigid Roman *cursus honorum*, there was a growing tendency to eschew listing concrete and specific titles in lieu of effusive and long-winded, though vague, acclamations of general excellence. Smith describes the style as “elevated and pretentious” and “highly allusive, non-specific, non-committal about date, occasion, family, career, connections, priorities.”⁶⁵ For the purposes of secure chronology, absolute identification, or reconstructing the administrative hierarchy, the flowery late antique style is useless and surely frustrates many historians. For example, late-third century and early-fourth century inscriptions praise their honorands as “loving honor because of his descent,” “the sweetest benefactor,” “pursuing the trail of virtue,” “a Godlike hero,” “the renewer and founder of the metropolis and benefactor of all Caria,” “savior and benefactor in all things,” “a noble remainder of a golden lineage of Aleos,” and “a man of all virtues and born for marked praise and glory.”⁶⁶ None of these are identifiable administrative or legal titles, but instead are verbose allusions to mythological figures and admirable personal qualities. Especially in the Greek East, these inscriptions might still conform to the prescribed honorific prose grammar and be succinct in length, just favoring to describe the honorand with vague acclamations instead of concrete offices.

It was also increasingly common in this late antique style to refer to the honorand by only a single name, usually the cognomen or the *signum*, in place of the standard *tria nomina*.⁶⁷ This is consistent with the gradual breakdown of the *tria nomina* as influenced by the influx of foreign and adopted names, the drastic 212 CE expansion of Roman citizenship, increased social mobility, and the almost comical extravagance of polyonymy.⁶⁸ However, some of the

⁶³ Salway 2014, 378.

⁶⁴ *LSA*-2685, -1407, and -1247.

⁶⁵ Smith 2002, 144-146.

⁶⁶ Respectively, *LSA*-280, -544, -393, -656, -199, -398, -1078, and -872. All my own translations.

⁶⁷ For example, see Oecumenius (*LSA*-151), Alexander (-153), Stephanus (-732), Anthemius (-224), and Cervonius (-795) to name a few. On the *signum*, see Cameron 1985 (172-173).

⁶⁸ See Cameron (1985), 171-178, Salway (1994), 141-143, Cranford (2012), and Strouse (2014), 192.

traditional senatorial aristocracy continued using the *tria nomina* and polyonymous practices,⁶⁹ presumably to point out their long-standing aristocratic lineages, an asset no law or amount of money could approximate. Contrastingly, the overwhelming prevalence of the single name indicates that such lineage was of dwindling weight in the honorific and political sphere, whether because too few of the new late antique magistrates possessed it, or because the pedigree itself was no longer a sure indicator of prestige and power. Indeed, “new Romans” (those who received citizenship post-212 CE) believed the name “M. Aurelius” indicated citizenship, and not patrilineal ancestry, thus weakening the widespread cultural significance of the *tria nomina* system.⁷⁰ Moreover, the new elite was “ennobled by service in [the imperial state’s] high offices,” independent of the old Senate and senatorial order, further eroding the traditional importance ascribed to and information communicated by the *tria nomina*.⁷¹ Aristocratic birth, like other biographical circumstances of identity, was deemphasized in the epigraphic record in favor of more subjective personal qualities.⁷²

What was the point of such effusive but uninformative inscriptions? In the late antique verse epigram, the phrases chosen have as much to do with portraying the qualities of the honorand as with alluding to high literary culture.⁷³ Louis Robert’s 1948 compilation of such late antique epigrams points out that the verse epigrams are remarkably similar in form, and while professional poets may have been commissioned, it is also possible that the local elite may have personally composed them to show off their culture.⁷⁴ Beyond laudatory, though admittedly banal, attributes, more specific and sophisticated literary allusions were also commonly included, which required a cultivated knowledge of history, literature, and mythology to recognize and unpack. For example, the governor Oecumenius is described as “blending the Italian muse with the sweet-voiced honey of the Attics,” an erudite way of indicating that he speaks both Latin and Greek.⁷⁵ Another honorand is praised as “nourishing all of the Muses,” as a patron of the arts,⁷⁶ and a third for being “a descendant of the glorious line of Pelops” and for providing wheat to his people, wheat which “Demeter, cultivating ears of corn on the slopes, allows to sprout in wide Pisa.”⁷⁷ Communing with the Muses, in particular, was an especially popular epithet, as it directly “extoll[ed the honorand’s] culture, both literary and artistic.”⁷⁸

Another typical late antique avenue of flowery praise was to cite the honorand’s knowledge of the law and judicial incorruptibility, as in the Oecumenius inscription above, in addition to his generous building activity.⁷⁹ Both Robert and Ihor Ševčenko (1968) believed that the verse epigrams were primarily used to honor provincial governors, and thus the praise of justice and law is particularly applicable. While most verse epigrams do indeed honor provincial governors, that occupation already dominates the data set, especially in the Greek East where the verse epigram is most popular. Moreover, verse epigrams also honor local notables and

⁶⁹ Salway 1994, 141-143.

⁷⁰ Salway 1994, 137.

⁷¹ Salway 1994, 141.

⁷² For more on late antique onomastics, and especially on trends of ethnicity and status, see Salway (1995).

⁷³ Ševčenko 1968, 32.

⁷⁴ Robert 1948 and Roueché 2004 (Introduction 6, note 7).

⁷⁵ *LSA*-151. See Smith (2002), 144-146. Translation by C. Roueché. See also Chapter V.C for more in depth treatment of this monument.

⁷⁶ *LSA*-839. My own translation.

⁷⁷ *LSA*-431. My own translation.

⁷⁸ Ševčenko 1968, 30-2, referencing Robert (1948), 18.

⁷⁹ See Smith (2002), 146, Ševčenko (1968), 30-6, and Robert (1948), 60-6.

benefactors, imperial officials, priests, military commanders, a Christian, and intellectuals.⁸⁰ If one also considers prose inscriptions that employ flowery language and literary metaphors, the group of honorands grows even more diverse. Thus, verse epigrams are not restricted only to provincial governors, although they do provide most of the extant evidence, but were instead a larger stylistic trend across occupations.

In what kind of honorific environment would the florid though vague late antique inscription be effective? Ševčenko wrote that the flowery language, effusive praise, and mythological allusions of late antique honorific inscriptions are representative of a “make-believe world of . . . epigrams and adulatory texts.”⁸¹ Unlike the traditional Roman *cursus honorum*, it is a style that passes over concrete details and removes the honorand and the viewer from any set space or time. This could still be effective as a physical celebration of an individual if that concrete information was already known by some other means, potentially including public ceremonies, parades, physical presence, word-of-mouth, or sustained direct and personal contact. The viewing public must have already been aware of who the statue and the loosely identified inscription represented, and did not need to be introduced to the particulars of full name, lineage, biography, or current office. It also indicates that the intended audience of late antique honorific monuments had changed from high imperial models, i.e. from a completely uninformed and unacquainted general public that could be completely unaware of the honorand’s existence, let alone their family and career track, to a more select group of other members of the local and imperial elite who already knew the summary personal facts and career achievements. Such a well-informed, though circumscribed, audience would therefore be more impressed by the poetic though uninformative verse inscriptions, literary allusions, and level of culture displayed by the late antique style. The flowery late antique honorific inscription was likely composed for the benefit of the honorand’s select peers, who were already well-acquainted with the man and his achievements, and who would also be educated and cultured enough to fully appreciate the mythological and literary allusions.

Beyond the changing audience, the late antique style similarly suggests the honorand’s shifting motives and identities within the complex evolution of the late antique sphere of politics, influence, and power. The use of a single and more informal single name instead of one’s full patronymic indicates the waning influence of an aristocratic lineage. Likewise, the dramatic abbreviation and often complete omission of the honorand’s career path deemphasizes long-labored experience and years of toil as deserving of praise. Like the omission of the full name, the lack of a full *cursus* in honorific inscriptions could imply that the long career path was no longer a quality to be lauded, or that the demography of honorands had changed in that they could no longer boast a comparable bureaucratic longevity or diversity of offices held. As mentioned above, the sheer number of magistrates required by the increasingly bureaucratic late antique administration meant appointments were made on considerations of loyalty, industry, and perceived quality of character, rather than experience and ability.⁸² Thus the flowery late antique style prioritizes high culture, education, and literary sophistication, conversely hinting that such qualities were actually in short supply among late antique magistrates and thus deserving of special emphasis.

⁸⁰ Imperial officials: *LSA*-2530 (praetorian prefect), -191, -540, -193, -224, -431, -138. Priests: *LSA*-660, -424. Military commanders: *LSA*-538, -394, -672, -639, -367, -785, -1231. Christian: *LSA*-662. Intellectuals: *LSA*-660, -134, -136.

⁸¹ Ševčenko 1968, 31.

⁸² Jones 1964, *LRE* iii. 378-385. Jones also emphasizes that appointments were increasingly viewed as political chit and prizes to be won, rather than duties to be fulfilled.

8. Language and Bilinguals

While vague and flowery language may have penetrated the Latin tradition by at least the late-fourth century, the full verse epigram is a distinctly Greek occurrence with Hellenistic precedents.⁸³ In previous periods, however, verse was largely restricted to funerary epigrams, while civic honors were written in prose.⁸⁴ There are only a few exceptional examples of Latin verse epigrams, as prose inscriptions conforming to the traditional honorific formula largely dominate in the Latin evidence, and therefore in the West as well.⁸⁵ Verse inscriptions, by contrast, are much more common in the Greek East, comprising almost two-thirds of all Greek inscriptions (see Graphs 7-9).

Conforming to these conventions of language and format, in a few bilingual inscriptions, the portion written in Latin follows the regular prose honorific grammar, while the Greek portion is a brief verse epigram. In other words, the format of the honorific determines the language used. For example, a mid-fourth century bilingual inscription from Syracuse reads:

Perpenna(e) Roman(o) / v(iro) c(larissimo) cons(ulari) p(opulus) Syrac(usanus) /
 [P]ωμανοῦ πραπίδεσσι / [Συ]ρηκοσίων τόδε ἄστν /
 ἐκ καμάτων ἀνέπνευσε / καὶ ἔ[δρα]κεν ἴαρος ὥρην /
 τοῦνεκα λαϊνέην μὲν / ἀνεστήσανθ' οἱ ἄριστοι /
 εἰκόνα, τῆς σοφίης δὲ / (10) καὶ ἐν στήθεσσι ἐχοῦ/σειν.

The people of Syracuse (set this up) to Perpenna Romanus, of clarissimus rank, governor.
 This city of the Syracusians has breathed again from her toils through the foresight of Romanus, and has experienced a time of renewal. Because of this, the council, having set up a statue in stone, bear (the image) of [his] wisdom also in their hearts.⁸⁶ (Figure 77)

Including this one, there are four bilingual inscriptions within the late antique dataset.⁸⁷ While it is not common, the use of multiple languages is able to broadly speak to the types of integrated communities in late antiquity, bilingualism, and most interestingly, the connotations of each language. Tellingly, none of the bilingual inscriptions use both languages to simply translate the inscription, but each language is used consciously for a specific effect and particular style of writing.⁸⁸ Specifically, Greek is used for a verse epigram, a greeting, an abbreviated and succinct honorific, and an honorific that compares the honorand with both Virgil and Homer, all features associated with the “flowery” late antique style found primarily in the Greek East.⁸⁹ The Latin portions, meanwhile, are more likely to follow the conventional rigidity of Western prose honorific inscriptions. The dual languages are therefore not included for the sake of full comprehension for speakers of either language, but are instead cultured allusions only accessible by those who speak both, likely the highly educated and those within the imperial

⁸³ Roueché 2004, Introduction 6. There is also some precedence in the Roman imperial period in the Greek East, however this is largely restricted to religious dedications and, sometimes, athletes (see Roueché, note number 6).

⁸⁴ Roueché 2004, Introduction 6.

⁸⁵ For verse epigrams written in Latin, see *LSA*-2603, -378, -1911, -1398, -1399, and -1808.

⁸⁶ *LSA*-1515. Translation of epigram by Ulrich Gehn.

⁸⁷ *LSA*-367, -1355, -1418, and -1515.

⁸⁸ This is in contrast to bilingual honorific inscriptions of earlier centuries, for example in Asia Minor, where both languages are used as translations, as close to the letter as possible. See Kearsley and Evans (2001), 82-113, with the examples of *I.Kyzikos* II.26, *I.Eph.* II.405, *I.Eph.* II.407, *I.Eph.* II.262, *I.Eph.* III.852, *I.Eph.* V.1544, *I.Eph.* II.734, and *CIL* III Suppl. 12241.

⁸⁹ Respectively, verse epigram: *LSA*-1515; greeting: *LSA*-367.

administration.⁹⁰ Notably, all four bilingual inscriptions were found in the West (Syracuse, Thrace, two in Rome), suggesting that the use of Greek, as well as the new Eastern flowery style, is meant to convey Greek sophistication and education to those who are cultured enough to understand. These few bilinguals are directed at well-traveled, well-educated speakers of both languages: in short, other members of the imperial bureaucratic and cultural elite.⁹¹

9. Decorative and Interpunctual Symbols

Especially in Late Antiquity, interpunctual or decorative symbols are used with increasing frequency. Originally used to indicate the separations between words, In Latin inscriptions, the earliest symbols were simple dots, commas, squares, and triangles. They come to be used increasingly erratically also at the end of lines, perhaps to show that the last word of the line is complete.⁹² By the Imperial period, the *hederae distinguentes* became popular in place of other interpunctuals, and were alternately used to mark the end of words, lines, clauses, and sentences.⁹³ The earliest interpunctual symbols in Greek are colons and tricolons in the Archaic and Classical periods, and then in the Roman period, horizontal strokes above letters, triangles, and *hederae distinguentes* (ivy leaves), especially as indicators of the end of a hexameter in verse inscriptions.⁹⁴

Our data set includes 51 inscriptions with some sort of decorative symbol. An astonishing 50% of them are from Greek inscriptions in Asia Minor; 18% are from the city of Lepcis Magna alone, and 20% are from Campania; there are none from Rome. These proportions are surprising because Latin inscriptions are far more likely to use any interpunctual symbols in earlier periods, and one would expect this to continue into Late Antiquity. Inscriptions with multiple ivy leaves are the most common, followed by multiple palm fronds, and then crosses, which will be detailed below as potential religious symbols. There are also a few instances of birds, Chi-Rhos, scrolls, wreaths, a star, and a twig.⁹⁵

It has been disparagingly noted, namely by scholars of earlier periods, that as time passes, other marks of “punctuation” are introduced but cannot be more than attempts at decoration owing to “so high a degree of illiteracy that it would be extremely rash to regard them as survivals of an intelligible system of punctuation.”⁹⁶ This would likely include our late antique honorific examples of birds, palm fronds, and likely most our *hederae* as well. The gratuitous use of palm fronds and ivy leaves in *LSA-2177* at the beginning and end of random lines, with no apparent grammatical function, could be proof that the symbols are indeed just decorative (Figure 78).

However, more often the symbols do mark something of the text’s meaning, aiding in the understanding of the intended reading. For example, the most common use is to punctuate the end of the inscription, usually in line with and of the same size as the last character of the text

⁹⁰ Ševčenko 1968, 32-33.

⁹¹ It would be helpful if among the four honorands of bilingual inscriptions, there was also some sort of consistency of office which would allow us to identify a more specific dialogue between (a specific set of honorands) and (the imperial political and cultural elite as the public). However, the honorands are as diverse as is possible with four inscriptions: a poet, a military commander, a provincial governor, and a vicar of Italy. More evidence might elucidate further patterns.

⁹² Gordon 1957, 183-4.

⁹³ Wingo 1972, 122-127.

⁹⁴ McLean 2002, 48-49.

⁹⁵ Birds: *LSA-527*. Chi-Rhos (to be detailed later below with crosses): *LSA-940*. Scrolls: *LSA-225*. Wreaths: *LSA-2184*, -2185. Star: *LSA-234*. Twig: *LSA-730*.

⁹⁶ Wingo 1972, 126.

(Figure 132).⁹⁷ This is similar in use and placement to a period, but the ivy leaf is also used at the end of the inscription as its own line, and much larger than the characters within the rest of the text (Figure 79).⁹⁸ Symbols are also placed for emphasis around the first and last characters of the text, or on either side of the last word (Figure 80).⁹⁹ Another common use is found primarily in inscriptions from Lepcis Magna, wherein palm fronds are placed on either side of the first word of the text, typically the honorand's genitive cognomen, emphasizing the "title" of the statue (Figure 81).¹⁰⁰ Finally, and most resembling true punctuation, symbols are occasionally used to mark off separate clauses or sections within an inscription, such as separating off the description of the honorand from the rest of the text (i.e. the honorer, the reason for dedication, the verb).¹⁰¹ For example:

(ivy leaf) Πετρώνιον Πρόβον (ivy leaf) /
 τὸν λαμπότατον (ivy leaf) /
 ἀπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ (ivy leaf) /
 ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων πραιτωρίων /
 (ivy leaf) γ(ivy leaf), δόγματι τῆς λαμπρᾶς / (5)
 Γορτυνίων Βουλῆς, /
 Οἰκουμένιος Δωσίθεος /
 Ἀσκληπιόδοτος (ivy leaf) /
 ὁ λαμπρότατος ὑπάτι /
 κὸς ἀνέστησεν (ivy leaf). (10)

(ivy leaf) (to) Petronius Probus (ivy leaf)
 of clarissimus rank, (ivy leaf)
 former consul, (ivy leaf)
 and former praetorian prefect,
 (ivy leaf) three times (ivy leaf), by decision of the shining (5)
 council of the Gortynians,
 Oecumenius Dositheus
 Asclepiodotus (ivy leaf)
 governor of clarissimus rank
 set [this up]. (ivy leaf)¹⁰² (10) (Figure 82)

In this inscription, the ivy leaves are variously used to bracket the honorand's name (line 1), emphasize his rank and offices (2-3), indicate a numerical character (5), emphasize the honorer (8), and indicate the end of the inscription (10). Some of these uses might fall within the technical definition of punctuation, but all of them serve purposes far beyond simple "decoration" and demonstrate the complexity of roles symbols could play within late antique inscriptions.

10. Honorer

In both Greek and Latin late antique honorific inscriptions, the active subject is the honorer in the nominative third person. In Greek inscriptions, the most frequent honorer by a long way is the civic community, represented by both the designation of the council and/or the

⁹⁷ In line with the last word of the inscription: *LSA*-183, -516, -727, -199, -94, -102, -and -148.

⁹⁸ As its own line at the end of the *inscription*: *LSA*-671, -714, -228, and -229.

⁹⁹ Around the first and last characters: *LSA*-191. On either side of the last word: *LSA*-527.

¹⁰⁰ Palm fronds on either side of the genitive cognomen: *LSA*-2204, -2183, -2184, -2186, -2187, and -2176.

¹⁰¹ To separate off clauses: *LSA*-268, -2206, and -779.

¹⁰² *LSA*-779. Translation is my own, rearranged to preserve the word order and emphasize the placement of the ivy leaves.

collective body of citizens. The βουλή alone is the most common honorer, though the collective πόλις and the δῆμος are also common. βουλή καὶ δῆμος and other combinations of appellations indicating both the council and people acting in concert are also frequently used. Other stylings of the civic community as nominative honorers, both legally and informally delineated, include τὸ κοινόν, μητρόπολις, ἀκτέανοι πολιῆται, ναετῆρες, πατρίς, γερουσία, and οἰκήτορες. Similarly within Latin inscriptions, the *ordo* is the most common honorer, followed by the combined efforts of *ordo et populus*. The *res publica*, *senatus*, *provincia*, *omnes Asia*, *universi cives*, *ordo civesque*, *regio*, *plebs*, and *patria* are also common honorers. Such collective nouns are often followed by a proper noun in the genitive, identifying the specific city or citizens.

While all of these appellations indicate the actions of the common civic body acting in unified agreement to honor an individual, they are not synonymous. In both languages, some delineation between the general populace as a whole (for example, *populus*, πολιῆται, δῆμος, etc.) versus the smaller and more elite body of officials, councilors, and civil servants (for example, *ordo*, *senatus*, βουλή, and γερουσία) is generally made and provides some insight into the way the community conceived of itself and its distinct spheres. However, the coordination of the governing council and the people together perhaps represents the strongest coalition of support for an honorand, as well as the most traditional form of honorific commendation. The inscriptions from Campania in particular are especially likely to have been dedicated by the *ordo et populus*, and seldom deviate from this formula. The inscriptions from Greece, meanwhile, are more likely than other regions to refer to the collective community by the use of πατρίς, πόλις, or μήτηρ plus the genitive of the city or region, by the name of the city itself in the nominative, or by the substantive use of the adjectival indicator of place, with or without ναέται or οἰκήτορες (e.g. Μεγαρήες or [Κ]ἄρες).¹⁰³ This especially emphasizes the historical supremacy of the individual city-state as the unit of decision-making and civic community in the Greek-speaking East.

Besides the council and the people, another common official honorer is the emperor/s, depending on the date. Such appellations can include the emperor's name, *imperator*, *Augustus*, *Caesar*, or *domini nostri*. Imperial dedications are far less prevalent in Greek, though a few examples include honors bestowed by the ἄναξ and βασιλεύς.¹⁰⁴ In Latin, the emperor's name is often spelled out fully, and includes a list of laudatory epithets and titles.¹⁰⁵ Another possibility is an abbreviated form of the emperor's full name, with just a few vague and acclamatory epithets, such as *dd nn (domini nostri) Constantius, victor ac triumphator semper Augustus et Iulianus nobilissimus Caesar*, our lords, Constantius, victorious and triumphant Augustus, and Julianus, the most noble Caesar.¹⁰⁶

Beyond state-sponsored endorsement, individuals regularly dedicated honorific statues. Their relationship to the honorand is generally spelled out in a short identifying phrase. Of course this was also an opportunity for the honorer to promote him or herself as well, and honorers embellished their names with their rank (e.g. of praetorian rank; a youth of clarissimus rank),¹⁰⁷ office (e.g. governor of clarissimus rank),¹⁰⁸ relationship to the honorand (e.g. most

¹⁰³ Respectively, *LSA*-56 and -222.

¹⁰⁴ Respectively, *LSA*-540, -878 and -432, -1231, and -877.

¹⁰⁵ For example, *LSA*-2685.

¹⁰⁶ *LSA*-314. Translation by C. Machado. For more on imperial nomenclature in Late Antiquity, see Salway (2014), 378-380.

¹⁰⁷ *LSA*-17 and -1602.

¹⁰⁸ *LSA*-779.

beloved son; his wife of clarissimus rank),¹⁰⁹ or complimentary adjectives (e.g. godlike; of unique reverence).¹¹⁰ Occasionally, all pretense of celebrating the honorand alone is dismissed, and the honorer himself is described in detail. In the case of a base for the governor of Achaëa, for example, the honored governor himself is identified only with his rank, a single title, and his exulted similarity to Lycurgus. The honorer, meanwhile, is granted three identifications: his *perfectissimus* rank, priest of the imperial cult, and leader of the city (*LSA-6*).¹¹¹

Latin inscriptions, and by correlated extension those in the West and particularly Italy, are slightly more likely to be dedicated by an individual, and especially a family member. Honorific bases were dedicated by sons, grandsons, fathers, sons-in-law, daughters-in-law, brothers, and wives.¹¹² These family honors have the added possibility that they were not set up publically as an external show of filial respect and family ambition, but were instead set up as respectful memorials within the family's private home.¹¹³ These are identifiable by either their find location within the known residence of a family, or within the text of the inscription itself.¹¹⁴ Statues within the private setting are more likely to be posthumous dedications, conforming to the Republican practice of death masks and *imagines* of one's ancestors set up within the ancestral home.¹¹⁵ It has ever been suggested that all of those inscriptions dedicated by a family member, and yet not in the traditional *cursus honorum* format, should be regarded as private as well.¹¹⁶ The point about family members is well taken, and while this may have been true during the Late Republican and Early Imperial periods of honorific epigraphy, when the *cursus* was at its height, the Late Antique evidence abandons the listing of offices too frequently and too readily for this to be a possibility. Still, there are certainly instances wherein the boundaries between funerary and honorific or private and public are diffuse.¹¹⁷ This serves to highlight the similarities of language and format between honorific inscriptions both within the home and in public settings.

Particularly in the Latin inscriptions, another common honorer is the smaller, non-state group of the guild, often *collegium* or *corpus*, followed by a genitive modifier of further identification. Examples include *corpus carariorum* (tanners), *collegium pistorium* (bakers), *corpus suariorum et confectuariorum* (swine dealers and butchers), *corpus naviculariorum* (shippers), *corpus susceptorum* (contractors), *mensores* (grain surveyors), etc.¹¹⁸ Most of these examples are from city of Rome itself, perhaps suggesting a stronger tradition of organized labor and a higher degree of coordination than elsewhere in Late Antiquity. Unsurprisingly, the honorands of such dedications tend to be in offices most directly related to Rome's

¹⁰⁹ *LSA-1602* and *-1445*.

¹¹⁰ *LSA-141* and *-1459*.

¹¹¹ *LSA-6* is an example of a base with two honorers: the city as the main honorer in the nominative, and then the individual described above, and his epithets, in a subsequent genitive absolute.

¹¹² For example, sons: *LSA-424*, *-2350*, *-2467*, *-1266*, *-1412*, *-1457*, *1426*, *-1459*, *-1460*, *-270*, *-1393*, *-1602*, *-1905*. Grandson: *LSA-1247*. Fathers: *LSA-539*, *-141*. Son-in-law: *LSA-1466*. Daughters-in-law: *LSA-1426*, *-1460*. Brothers: *LSA-1602*, *-62*, *-795*, *-1417*, *-1521*. Wives: *LSA-660*, *-1445*.

¹¹³ See *LSA-1392*, *-1459*, and *-1472*.

¹¹⁴ For example, *LSA-1472*: *statuae ipsius domus honoraret*, this statue that was honoring his own house. Or *LSA-1392*: *statuam in domo*, statue in his house.

¹¹⁵ For example, *LSA-1459* and *-1472*. Eck (1984), especially page 134 for the Republican practice of self-representation, especially after death and within the home.

¹¹⁶ *LSA-1602*, "Further Discussion."

¹¹⁷ For examples of inscriptions that are either possibly or definitely posthumous, though not strictly "funerary," see *LSA-1686*, *-1602*, *-183*, *-270*, *-271*, *-314*, *-862*, *-863*, *-1247*, *-1445*, *-1459*, *-1472*, and *-1473*.

¹¹⁸ Respectively, *LSA-1394*, *1398*, *1396*, *1442*, *1443*, *1464*

administration and issues which might be of interest to organized labor: *consul, praefectus urbi* (Prefect of the City) and *potesta annonariam urbis aeternae* (Prefect of the Annona). In Greek inscriptions, dedications by guilds are far less common, with only one known example: a dedication to the governor of Asia by the ἀργυραμοιβοί (the money changers).¹¹⁹ In all of these cases, it is likely that the honorific monument was given in direct gratitude for some specific benefit from the honorand, given the specificity of the guilds and the relative infrequency of their dedications.

Other members of the political and administrative elite are also commonly attested as honorers in both Latin and Greek inscriptions. In these cases, a magistrate is honored by one of his peers. For example, the specifics of the career and identity of Oecumenius, the honorand of one of the six full late antique monuments to be detailed in the next chapter, is known primarily from inscriptions in which he himself was the honorer, and not the honorand.¹²⁰ While he was the honorand of three separate honorific inscriptions, he dedicated at least thirteen known monuments to others, almost all of which were erected in Crete where he was governor in 382-3 CE.¹²¹ While four dedications were to emperors and therefore not included in this study, the other nine were erected for “leading members of the urban Roman aristocracy in Gortyn” in front of the new praetorium that Oecumenius himself built.¹²² These included proconsuls of Campania, urban prefects, praetorian prefects, and consuls. The inscriptions are all written in relatively brief and formulaic prose with only slight changes in wording. Each honorand is described only by his rank and highest office held, the same descriptors Oecumenius himself is granted. Clearly these inscriptions are more a statement of Oecumenius’ own power and prestige than they are accolades for the honorands, compounded by the sheer number of inscriptions erected side by side in front of a building he himself built. The inscriptions were clearly not commissioned for any recent or specific achievements, as several are identified by whichever of the offices they held formerly ranked the highest.¹²³ The relationship of any of the honorands to Cretan or Gortynian society and politics is unknown, as all of the honorands are instead known for their positions and influence in Rome. Oecumenius himself appears to be the only one working within Cretan politics, and yet he has chosen to honor a group of Roman senators in the location of his administrative post. Would the senators have ever seen such monuments, written not in Roman Latin but in the local Greek? Would local Cretans recognize the Roman honorands? Likely not, and therefore the benefit of this ostentatious “generosity” goes entirely to Oecumenius, displaying his wealth, influential connections, and laudable respect for his peers.

Other examples of the political elite honoring the political elite, presumably to boost their own profile as much as, if not more than, to honor the honorand are found in both the Greek East and the Latin West.¹²⁴ As is typical most honorific inscriptions of both languages, the honorer is

¹¹⁹ *LSA-727*.

¹²⁰ *LSA-150* and -151.

¹²¹ Inscriptions in which Oecumenius is the honorand: *LSA-151*, -774, and -792. Inscriptions in which Oecumenius is the honorer: *LSA-472* (dedicated to emperors Gratian, Valentinian II, and Theodosius II), -770 (dedicated to emperors), -771 (dedicated to emperors), -775, -776, -777, -778, -779, 780, -781, -782, -783, and -950 (dedicated to emperors). Beyond these inscriptions, there are also two sculptures identified as Oecumenius: *LSA-150* of the complete monument detailed in Chapter V; and *LSA-869*, a portrait head from Cyprus identified based on physiognomic similarities to *LSA-150*.

¹²² *LSA-775*, “Honorand, Awarder, and Date,” (F. Bigi, I. Tantillo, and U. Gehn.)

¹²³ Inscriptions in which the honorand is described as a “former [high official]:” *LSA-778*, -779, -780, -781, -782, and -783.

¹²⁴ Inscriptions in Greek dedicated by a member of the political elite: *LSA-268*, -662, -225, -199, -17, -795, -998, -2695, -61, -595, -137, -138, -1161, -773, and -787. Inscriptions in Latin dedicated by a member of the political elite:

in the nominative, further emphasizing the active role that the honorer takes compared to the passivity of the honorand. These dedications by political peers, and especially the Oecumenius inscriptions, strongly emphasize how the honorer derived just as much benefit and positive exposure as the honorand, if not more.

11. Secondary Honorer

While the honorer was most often in the nominative in both Greek and Latin late antique honorific inscriptions, it was not uncommon for more than one party to be credited for the erection or bestowal of a monument. Close to 20% of the inscriptions include some secondary actor. Most often, secondary honorers were acknowledged in an independent adverbial phrase, an ablative absolute in Latin and a genitive absolute in Greek. For example, in the following fourth century honorific inscription from Pisidia, the city of Termessos is the primary honorer and is given precedence as the subject in the nominative, however the boule and the demos are also acknowledged at the beginning of the inscription:

βουλῆς καὶ δήμου δόγματι, τὸν κράτιστον πραιπόσιτον Ἰουστεῖνον, ἡ λαμπρὰ Τερ[[μησοσέων τῶν]]
μειζόνων πόλις, τὸν ἴδιον αὐτῆς ἐν πᾶσιν εὐεργέτην.

By decree of the boule and demos, the shining city of the greater Termessians [honors] the
praepositus Justinus, of egregius rank, its own personal benefactor in every way.¹²⁵

In Latin, the ablative absolute is used in a similar way in the following example to indicate the secondary involvement of the decurions, as well as how the monument was funded, beyond the primary activity of the council:

*M(arco) Caecilio Novatiliano, cur(atori), poetae et oratori in/lustri, v(iro) c(larissimo), allecto inter
consulares, praesidi prov(inciae) Mo[e]s(iae), quaestori Af[ric]ae, praefecto iuris d(icundi) Hispaniae
cit(erioris) et Calabriae. Splendidissimus ordo Beneventanorum privatim et publicae (sic), patrocinio eius
saepe defensi, p(ublice) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).*

To Marcus Caecilius Novatilianus, curator, illustrious poet and orator, of clarissimus rank, elected into the
consulares, governor of the province of Moesia, quaestor of Africa, prefect of the legal courts of Hither
Spain and Calabria, the most splendid council of Beneventum, protected both publically and privately by
his patronage, [set this up], with public funds and by decree of the decurions.¹²⁶

The mention of these secondary honorers was so commonplace in inscriptions that, especially in Rome and the Italian peninsula, epigraphic abbreviations of a few letters were employed. Within the late antique honorific corpus, the most common were “*s(enatus) c(onsulto)*, by decree of the Senate”, “*ex d(ecreto) o(rdinis)*, by decree of the council,” and “*p(ecunia) p(ublica)*, [funded with] public money.” Likewise, in Greek and particularly within Greece proper, “Ψ(ηφίσματος) Β(ουλή) καὶ Δ(ήμου), by decree of the council and the people,” was especially common. These formulae are most frequently used when the primary honorer in the nominative is a city, province, or individual. This emphasizes that even in dedications not specifically initiated by the council or people, the administrative and political machinery of society is still very much

LSA-1146, -1148, -2307, -2446, -1325, -1392, -1569, -1987, -1142, -2066, -1675, and -1862. Proportionally, the practice appears more common in Greek. In Latin, if an inscription is dedicated by an individual, it is far more likely to be a family member rather than an unrelated political peer.

¹²⁵ LSA-617. Translation by U. Gehn.

¹²⁶ LSA-1731. Translation is my own.

involved in the approval and erection of honorific monuments. Both the primary and secondary honorers are usually some permutation of the local council and citizenry.

Beyond the council and the people, another common secondary honorer is the official tasked with overseeing the erection of the monument. In Greek, this often takes the form of a genitive absolute or an adverbial clause with the official's name plus a number of various verbs of curatorship:¹²⁷ “προσδεξαμένου τὸ ἀνάλωμα, undertook the expenses,”¹²⁸ “ἐπιμελουμένου, oversaw,”¹²⁹ “προνοησαμένου τ[ῆς ἀναστάσεως], overseeing the erection,”¹³⁰ and “προνοία, with the oversight of [X].”¹³¹ Similarly in Latin, the most common construction is “*curante*, oversaw.”¹³² The emperor(s), the province, and occasionally, and one's own funding are also occasionally cited as secondary honorers.¹³³

The presence of both primary and secondary honorers indicates the levels of administrative red tape that had to be negotiated for the erection of a statue and base. It involved the agreement and coordination of several different parties, potentially including the honorand, the council, the people, the province, the emperor(s), local officials, clients, family members, political and social peers, and guilds. A single monument might, for example, be proposed by a guild, approved by the local council and citizenry, paid for by a family member, and overseen by a local official. The listing of multiple parties, the role of each clearly distinguished by the subtle grammar of the inscription, provides a glimpse into the complicated hierarchical mechanics involved. It highlights the cooperation of several distinct spheres of society acting together to honor one of its own, and thus adds prestige and weight to each erected monument. Hence the preferred location for such monuments was reliably within the prescribed civic spaces of the city, such as major thoroughfares, fora, and administrative buildings, as it was part of an ongoing conversation between various social and political bodies. Presumably it was one thing to pay for and commission a statue for yourself or a close family member, but it required quite a bit more social clout and influence to wrangle multiple administrative and local bodies to approve a monument. The late antique honorific monument is a testament to the collaboration of the larger political society, and thus its impact can only be understood within the context of that society.

12. The Verb of Dedication

As mentioned earlier, while the multiple parties involved in the erection of a monument were almost always explicitly named and described to varying degrees, the actual verb of dedication along with the dedicated item were often omitted. In between 15-30% of the late antique inscriptions do not include a verb of dedication.¹³⁴

When it is included, the verb is most often in the third person singular aorist (Greek) or perfect (Latin), to correspond with the common subject of the council or people. However,

¹²⁷ Other more creative grammatical constructions with the secondary honorer in the nominative and accusative are also found in inscriptions that do not follow the canonical honorific form. For example, see *LSA*-224, -650, -195, -659, -794,

¹²⁸ For example, *LSA*-6.

¹²⁹ For example, *LSA*-93, -94.

¹³⁰ For example, *LSA*-240.

¹³¹ For example, *LSA*-103.

¹³² For example, *LSA*-2226, -1397, -1467, -1872, -1935, -1684, -1777, and -1862.

¹³³ Respectively, see *LSA*-1989, -2007, and -1612 for examples of emperors, the province, and one's own funding.

¹³⁴ Definitely, at least 14% do not feature a verb of dedication (63 out of 473). The remaining possible percentage points (83 out of 473) are due to lost or damaged inscriptions.

especially in the more flowery late antique inscriptions, the subjects are more likely to break with this pattern, and other relatively common forms include the third person plural and the first person plural.

In Greek, by far the most common verb of dedication is ἵστημι, to make to stand, to set up, conjugated as στήσαν or στήσεν, and its variant ἀνίστημι, to set up, to raise up. Other common verbs include: τιμάω, to honor; ἀνατίθημι, to dedicate; and γεραίρω, to honor, glorify.

In Latin, there is no single verb that is overwhelmingly favored, but common verbs include: *ponere*, to locate, place; *decernere*, to decree, declare, resolve; *constare*, to agree, decide; *collocare*, to place, set, arrange; *curare*, to arrange, take care of; *censere*, to decree, vote; *dicere*, to declare, appoint, set; *iubere*, to order, prescribe; *erigere*, to raise, erect; and *offerre*, to bestow, offer, present. The Latin vocabulary gives slightly more agency to the honorer and the decision-making processes involved in granting a monument, as the words used are more active verbs of deciding, ordering, and decreeing.

In both languages, the verb chosen depends largely on the honorer, and therefore their role in the bestowal of the honors. Broadly, councils and the people tend to decree and declare, cities and individuals set up, honor, and dedicate, administrative officials arrange and take care of, and emperors order. In Latin, the verbs *decernere* and *ponere* are often used in conjunction, representing the different phases of activity involved in the bestowal of an honorific monument. Like the presence of both primary and secondary honorer, the choice of dedication verb offers a glimpse of the politics and processes behind each monument.

13. The Honorand

The case of the honorand differs from Greek to Latin. In Greek inscriptions, the honorand is most consistently in the accusative case as the direct object of the verb, as for example in the following early-fourth century inscription from Phrygia Salutaris:

Φλ(άουιον)ῶππιμον, τὸν διασημ(ότατον) ἡγεμόνα, ἡ Μειρηνῶν πόλι[ς] τὸν εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτήρ[α] τῆς ἐπαρχίου.

The city of Meirus [honors] Flavius Optimus, the governor of perfectissimus rank, the benefactor and savior of the province.¹³⁵

However, the honorand also occasionally occurs in the genitive, with the omission of the assumed accusative object “statue” or “image.”

In Latin, the name of the honorand is almost always in the dative case as the indirect object for whom the statue monument, usually not explicitly mentioned, is given. It is also common for some version of the honorand’s name, either the cognomen or sometimes the full name, to be separately added as the first line of the inscription in the genitive, labeling the monument as “(a statue of) x.” For example, a mid-fourth century inscription from Puteoli lists both a cognomen in the genitive followed by the full name in the dative:

Mavorti Iun(ioris). / Q(uinto) Flavio Maesio / Cornelio Egnatio / Severo Lolliano, / c(larissimo) p(uero), q(uaestori) k(andidato), / Decatrensens cli/entes eius patrono/ praestantissimo / posuerunt.

[Statue of] Mavortius Junior. The Decatrensens his clients set [this] up to Quintus Flavius Maesius Cornelius Egnatius Severus Lollianus, a youth of clarissimus rank, a candidate for the quaestorship, and

¹³⁵ LSA-543. Translated by U. Gehn.

their most distinguished patron.¹³⁶

More so than in Greek, the Latin inscriptions tangentially reference the presence of the statue monument in its notable omission in the text. Both the genitive and dative constructions of the honorand's name only make sense with the transitive verbs of dedication if one supplies the missing statue or monument.

The honorands of the statue monuments are overwhelmingly imperial magistrates and local notables, holding offices of administrative and political significance at various levels within the political hierarchy, and composing a combined 77% of the entire data set (see Graph 6, Appendix B). Respectively, 62% of the honorands are imperial magistrates (24% provincial governors and 38% other imperial offices), and 15% are elites honored for local offices.¹³⁷ The numbers suggest that honorific inscriptions were intensely political statements made primarily to honor members of the political elite. Other categories of honorands exist, but their numbers are far less commanding than those of inscriptions honoring magistrates and officials.

Beyond imperial and local administrative magistrates, the remaining inscriptions within the data set are divided between honorands recognized as patrons (21%), military officials (4%), religious men (5%), and “intellectuals” (3%) (Graph 6). The appellation “patron” is particularly interesting, as these men were very likely either local or imperial office holders as well, given that they had amassed the money to bestow on others, power to influence the local cityscape and population, and political chits to have a statue erected. In fact, none of the categories of honorands discussed here are exclusive, and there was a high degree of overlap and simultaneous participation between categories, as is evidenced by the multiple offices listed on any one inscription. In particular, the boundaries between imperial magistracies, local offices, and patrons were especially porous. For this study, the highest office achieved determined the category of honorand, but there were many gray areas and uncertainties as to which category was most appropriate. Thus, a careful statistician will notice that the percentages of the categories add up to over 100% (110%), because of the inherent difficulties in sorting honorands into overlapping categories that are not actually exclusive. This proves that the modern distinctions between politics, civil service, local public figures, learned men, and the military were not as absolutely observed in Late Antiquity, and to be a public man worthy of statue honors was perhaps the only relevant category in itself. My purpose in dividing them here is meant to be descriptive and to give a general sense of the representative frequency of different types of honorands, and the numbers and percentages should be understood as relative, not absolute.

13a. Imperial Magistrates and Provincial Governors

The most common honorand is by far is the bureaucratic magistrate of the imperial administration, which comprises almost 62% of the inscriptions (Graph 6). Within that group, the provincial governor in particular is clearly the most common, comprising almost 40% of the inscriptions honoring imperial magistrates, or almost a full quarter (23.9%, or 113) of all the inscriptions in the complete data set.

¹³⁶ *LSA-335*. My own translation.

¹³⁷ Admittedly this study has prescreened for these types of honorands in order to examine the effects of religion on politics. However, the fuller data set does not contradict this finding. The fuller book project of this study will reintroduce all sets of honorands, including emperors, women, athletes, and others. While there are over 700 late antique inscriptions honoring emperors, the consummate ancient politicians, the remaining categories of women, athletes, and “others” total less than 50.

“Provincial governor” is the closest approximation in English of this high-ranking, hybrid executive military and administrative position abroad. The Greek and Latin, however, communicate a far more complicated and detailed delineation of the position, depending mainly on the status of the province. The late-fourth century *Notitia Dignitatum* lists 114 provinces, each grouped into one of 14 dioceses, headed by a *vicarius*, and which were then grouped into one of four praetorian prefectures.¹³⁸

The highest rank of governor was the *proconsul*, who had direct access to the emperor without the intermediary of a praetorian prefect or vicarius, but applied only to those governors of Asia and Africa.¹³⁹ In Latin, this title is *proconsularis*, and in Greek, ἀνθύπατος, and governors of this rank were accorded the status of *spectabilis*. The intermediary governorship was held by a *consularis* / *corrector* / ὑπατικός, which carried a *clarissimus* rank.¹⁴⁰ The lowest rank of governor was the *praeses*, ἡγεμών, which was held by equestrians with the rank of *perfectissimi*.¹⁴¹

Often, provincial governors are referred to not by their official titles, but instead by more vague honorific stylings, including ἄρχων.¹⁴² These governorships are largely identifiable by the genitive groups of people over which the honorand is credited to have ruled, typically provinces, or by cross-referencing other inscriptions for the same person.¹⁴³ There are additionally many honorific inscriptions that perhaps vaguely and obliquely indicate that the honorand was a provincial governor. For example, a damaged inscription from Nicomedia does not preserve either the honorand’s name or title:

[---]ΟΝΑΣΤ[---] /
 ἐν τε νόμοις ΜΕΙΕ. . ΗΑ καὶ ἐν γνώμαισιν ἄρισ[τον] /
 τερπνὸν ἄγλαμα βίου, δῖγμα δικαιοσύνης.

expert (?) in laws and best in judgement, a delightful image of life, a sample of justice.¹⁴⁴

Based on the mention of laws and justice, the *LSA* database categorizes this honorand as a governor. As discussed earlier, Louis Robert set the precedent in 1948 for identifying the honorands of vague late antique honorific inscriptions as provincial governors, a precedent that the influential works of both Ihor Ševčenko and R.R.R. Smith have followed.¹⁴⁵ For these

¹³⁸ *Not. Dig.* I.57-128. See also Jones *LRE* iii.373.

¹³⁹ Asia and Africa were not grouped into either a diocese or a praetorian prefecture, and stood alone with the accordant elevated status. Achaea possibly had this status as well; although its governor was a proconsul, it was still included within a praetorian prefecture. Kelly (2008), 166, esp. note 148. For more on the complications and difficulties of parsing out the titles and relative rank of governors, particularly within the province of Asia, see Roueche (1981).

¹⁴⁰ The title of *corrector* is a curious one and was apparently below that of *consularis*; it was only recorded in a few provinces in the early-to-mid-fourth century, when the office was then upgraded to the status of *consularis*. The province of Italy was governed by a *corrector* before it was split into smaller provinces during the Tetrarchic reforms of 290/1. Thereafter, only those resultant Italian provincial governors were titled *correctors*, and there appears to be no Greek equivalent. The provinces of Sicilia, Apulia et Cabria, Lucania et Brutii, Venetia et Histria, and Flaminia et Picenum were governed by a *corrector* only between (305-360’s) and (290-350/2), respectively, after which the office was upgraded. Chastagnol 1982, 170. For a rare *corrector* of Achaea and the problems that presents, see *LSA*-97.

¹⁴¹ At the end of the fourth century, these governors were promoted to rank of *clarissimi*. Jones 1964, *LRE* iii.379.

¹⁴² For example, see *LSA*-661.

¹⁴³ For example, *LSA*-675.

¹⁴⁴ *LSA*-664. Translation by Ulrich Gehn.

¹⁴⁵ Robert 1948; Ševčenko 1968, esp. 30-31; and Smith 2002, esp. 146.

scholars, the inclusion of “a positive ‘judiciary’ epithet” is enough to identify the honorand as a governor.¹⁴⁶ However, while governors do comprise almost a quarter of the data set of honorific inscriptions, the obvious corollary is that the larger majority of honorands hold magistracies other than governorships. For example, a verbose inscription dedicated to Flavius Magnus as the vicar of Asiana hails him as “the right-judging savior, the law-abiding, pure vicar, the high-minded offspring of Justice who nourishes men.”¹⁴⁷ Or a dedication to the praetorian prefect Herculus praises him as “the treasurer of laws.”¹⁴⁸ Both of these men are described by positive judiciary epithets, and yet are identifiably not governors. It is simply too gross a generalization to claim that any ambiguous reference to laws, courts, or justice is the exclusive purview of governors, especially when compared against the entire corpus of honorific inscriptions.

Beyond the specific office of governor, other common honorands of imperial offices include praetorian prefects (*praefectus praetorius* / ἑπαρχος / ὑπαρχος (πραιτωρίου)), consul (*consul* / ὑπατος), prefects of the city of Rome (*praefectus urbi* / ἐπάρχων τῆς βασιλευούσης Ῥώμης), prefects of the annona (*praefectus annonae*), and vicars (*vicarius* / ἑπαρχος).¹⁴⁹ Their geographical distribution is understandably dependent on where the offices were based. Thus, for example, the majority of inscriptions honoring city prefects, prefects of the annona, and consuls hail from Rome.¹⁵⁰

Along with the provincial governors, these magistrates were all part of the official bureaucratic hierarchy of the imperial administration, with varying degrees of access and reach depending on their specific office and location, who drew their power from and were appointed by (if indirectly) the emperor. Combined, these imperial magistrates, including provincial governors of all ranks, prefects, consuls, and vicars, comprise over 60% of the entire data set. One reason for their dominance is the short tenure of office typical for such appointments, necessitating a high rate of personnel turnover. Of those offices for which full lists of holders are able to be reconstructed, the average tenure of any single office varied between about a year to three years.¹⁵¹ A.H.M. Jones, with characteristic disdain, notes the inefficiency and lower quality of candidates that such a system must have produced.¹⁵² This revolving door of magisterial appointments required such high numbers of appointees that it potentially resulted in the system-wide dearth of experienced professional civil servants, as noted above in the section on the flowery and vague late antique style. Of course, it was also common for officials to hold several subsequent governorships of increasing status before obtaining a prefecture, and therein lays the methodological difficulty in quantifying honorific inscriptions based on the honorand’s occupation.¹⁵³ Honorands are usually described by more than one title, and thus categorization

¹⁴⁶ Ševčenko 1968, 31.

¹⁴⁷ LSA-659. Translation by Ulrich Gehn.

¹⁴⁸ LSA-137. Translation by Ulrich Gehn.

¹⁴⁹ The office of ἑπαρχον could refer to two different administrative positions depending on the time period.

Earlier, it references an official exercising the power of the praetorian prefect. When the office of the vicar (in charge of one of 14 dioceses) was institutionalized in the mid-fourth century CE, the term ἑπαρχον is used to denote the Latin equivalent of a *vicarius*. Corsten 1997, 85-7. See LSA-386 for an example prior to the institutionalization of the vicar.

¹⁵⁰ If the material record preserved more inscriptions from Constantinople, we assume that there would be similarly high numbers of inscriptions honoring city prefects and consuls there as well.

¹⁵¹ Jones *LRE iii* (380-383) provides the average length of office for the urban prefecture of Rome, the praetorian prefectures, the proconsulship of Africa, and provincial governorships generally.

¹⁵² Jones *LRE iii* (383-385).

¹⁵³ For examples of inscriptions that honor magistrates with long careers of increasing power, see LSA-1422 or -1426. Unsurprisingly, the best examples of long and successful careers are generally from Rome, where the custom

by office becomes muddled when the offices held belong to different categories. Moreover, it is unclear if exceptional civic offices, such as the prefects of the annona or the city of Rome, should be classified as imperial offices (because they were appointed at a central imperial level), or local offices (because their sphere of influence and action was restricted to a single city). In this study, they have been considered imperial offices, but the categories are not absolute or beyond debate.

13b. Patrons

After imperial magistrates, the second most common title for which an elite was honored is “patron,” or *patrono* in Latin (21%) (Graph 6). It is significant that nearly all of the inscriptions honoring patrons are written in Latin and from the Roman West, suggesting that the client/patron relationship of traditional Roman culture continued to have the strongest roots and practice there. In the Greek East, by contrast, there is only a single inscription from Corinth honoring a $\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\omega\nu$, which is obviously a direct transliteration from the Latin, and thus likely a cultural adoptee as well.¹⁵⁴ It is notable, however, that when a honorand is identified as a “patron,” it is much more likely that this is a secondary accolade, as they are simultaneously and perhaps more importantly identified with a more specific office. For example, in an inscription from Tripolitania:

Obsequii. / C(aio) Valerio Vibiano v(iro) p(erfectissimo), / praesidi provinciae /Tripolitanae, singula/ris aequitatis et benibo/li vicoris (sic) momnium (sic) vir/tutum viro ob tunc incipi/entem deinceps iugem er/ga se eius dignationem / ordo splendidissimus Lepci/magnesium et populus / patrono ex d(ecreto) s(plendidissimi) o(rdinis) p(osuerunt).

[Statue of] Obsequius. To Caius Valerius Vibianus, a man of perfectissimus rank, governor of the province of Tripolitania, a man of unique fairness and well-minded vigor, of all virtues. The most splendid consul and the people of Leptis Magna set [this] up to [their] patron on account of his then beginning and then perpetual consideration of them, by order of the most splendid council.¹⁵⁵

The reason for the statue is most likely because of his status as governor, which is listed as the only concrete office, outside of his rank. The appellation of “patron” is only added at the end, grammatically connected to the indirect object of his person, and yet spatially and syntactically distinct. It suggests that “patron” may have been added primarily for reasons of syntax to reiterate the object at the end of the lengthy inscription, and less for genuine recognition as such.¹⁵⁶ This arrangement is more common in longer inscriptions wherein the honorand’s name at the beginning of the inscription is some distance away from the verb of dedication towards the end.

Closely related to dedications to patrons are those to more ambiguously styled local benefactors. These honorands are often celebrated with no exact titles, but instead with an account of their benefactions to the city. For example, in a Greek inscription from Insulae:

of inscribing the full *cursum honorum* on an honorific monument remains strong into Late Antiquity. It is possible that other magistrates from other locations had careers that were just as illustrious, but their honorific monuments simply do not record all of their offices, as in the Roman examples.

¹⁵⁴ *LSA*-17.

¹⁵⁵ *LSA*-2178. My own translation.

¹⁵⁶ This arrangement is common, as for example in *LSA*-2325, -2454, -2170, -2168, -2189, -2182, -2183, -2184, -2358, -2226, -2181, -2321, -2185, -2186, -2169, -2173, -2333, -2176, and -1325. For inscriptions to patrons which do not follow this pattern, see for example *LSA*-2410, -1184, and -2446.

Ἡ πατρις / Ἰού(λιον) Αὐρ(ήλιον) Ἡρακλεῶ / να, τὸν ἀξιολογῶ / τατον / τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν / εὐνοίας ἔνεκεν.

The fatherland [set this up to] Iulius Aurelius Heracleon, the most remarkable, on account of his benevolence to it.¹⁵⁷

Although this man is a known elite from a local aristocratic family who once held the office of *archon*, the inscription chooses not to include any of these identifying biographical details, but instead concentrates only on his (unspecified) gift.¹⁵⁸ It is common in these inscriptions to omit the specifics of the largess, and instead thank the honorand more generally for ἀγαθῶν, goods, εὐεργεσίης, benefactions, φόρον, tax tribute, δώματα, gifts, ὄφελος, help, etc. Other inscriptions reward benefactors for the provision of public goods including building a granary, building defensive walls and towers, building a basilica, restoring a road, etc.¹⁵⁹

13c. Local Office Holders

After imperial office holders, and patrons, inscriptions honoring local office holders and elites are the third most common honorands, comprising almost 15% of the data set (Graph 6). Some of these local titles are specific to the city or local area of the honorand, following local traditions and administrative posts. For example, an honorand from Termessus Maior is honored as πρύτανις, proboulos and Παμφυλιάρχην, Pamphyliarch, while one from Athens is honored as the ἄρξαντα τὴν ἐπώνυμον, eponymous archon, and πανηγυριαρχήσαντα, Panegyriarch.¹⁶⁰ The prefects of Rome and Constantinople might similarly fall into this category.¹⁶¹ Beyond these city-specific titles, other local elites are honored for more general civic offices including *curator rei publicae*, curator of the city, (*a*)*edilicio*, aedile, *consulari aquarum*, officer in charge of the water supply, *praetori urbano*, urban prefect, *trib(uni)*, tribune, and *comiti fabricarum*, supervisor of works.¹⁶² More frequently, the honorand is not identified by any specific office or title, but is instead hailed as a favorite of the community. For example: τὸν ἠέξησε πάρος μὲν Μαιονίη Τρίπολις, Maionian Tripolis once cherished him;¹⁶³ τῇ πόλι πανταρχήσαντα, he held all of the offices of the city;¹⁶⁴ *p(rincipalis) a(lmae) K(artaginis)*, a leading citizen of nourishing Carthage;¹⁶⁵ and *omnibus honoribus functo*, he performed all of the public magistracies.¹⁶⁶ The inscriptions honoring these darlings of the community are styled in a very similar way to those inscriptions for patrons and benefactors. Of course, there is a high degree of overlap between local magistrates and local patrons, as the holding prominent local offices and bestowing financial gifts upon the community are concurrent aspects of the same social game for elite power and prestige. In many of the inscriptions, it is unclear if the reason for the monument is to honor an elite for a specific local office held or for his donations to the community. Perhaps this is an indication that such monuments purposely do not make a

¹⁵⁷ LSA-940. My own translation.

¹⁵⁸ Dunant and Pouilloux 1958, 106-7.

¹⁵⁹ LSA-734, -135, -1858, -1873, respectively.

¹⁶⁰ LSA-623 and -102.

¹⁶¹ See section 13a on imperial magistrates for more on the difficulties of categorizing these imperially appointed yet city specific officials.

¹⁶² For examples, see LSA-2454, -2468, -1325, -1457, -1142, and -1742, respectively.

¹⁶³ LSA-650.

¹⁶⁴ LSA-1200.

¹⁶⁵ LSA-2468.

¹⁶⁶ LSA-1633.

distinction between local office holders and local benefactors, and a monument was intended to honor a local elite for both, and neither, at the same time. Finally, it is notable that inscriptions honoring the local office holders are most common in those regions and cities that had the strongest pre-existing (i.e. pre-Roman) civic identities and institutions. Regions such as Greece, Asia Minor, and the Italian Peninsula, and cities such as Carthage, Athens, Rome, and Lepcis Magna tend to dominate the geography of inscriptions to local notables. These cities and regions each have individual histories and political identities that existed separately from their late antique Roman incarnations. It is unsurprising that such communities would have more traditional civic offices and would consequently be more likely to consider their occupants as worthy of honoring. Whether these traditional relic civic offices still held the actual power of the historical precedent is less likely, but it appears that the prestige remained.

13d. Military Officials

Following local civic magistrates and elites, the fourth most commonly honored group of honorands is that of military officials, comprising only 4% of the data set (Graph 6). The relative infrequency of inscriptions honoring soldiers is paralleled by the comparable ratio of statue bodies wearing military uniforms (only 7%, see Graph 3). As suggested in Chapter III in the discussion about statues wearing military costumes, the numbers indicate that statues and inscriptions were simply not the honorific mode of choice within the military. When they do occur, however, the inscriptions take the same canonical formulae as inscriptions honoring other occupations: honorand in gen/dat + honorer in nom + [optional] verb of dedication. Military officials, like other honorands, were usually honored with a specific title, such as ἀσπίδιωτη, soldier, *dux*, *dux*, *magister equitum peditumque*, master of the cavalry and infantry, *a militiis*, an equestrian officer, *comes*, military commander, *magister utriusque militia*, master of all soldiers, and *praefectus classis*, commander of the fleet.¹⁶⁷ They could also be honored for more vague accolades and accomplishments, including ordering armies, conquering barbarians, and being “victorious and triumphant,” “strong spirited,” or a “savior.”¹⁶⁸ While the data set is too small to say anything definitively, it does appear that inscriptions honoring military officials are less likely to include a lengthy full *cursus honorum* and past offices, often only mentioning a single office or two. However, there are a few military honorands who list additional offices outside of the military, including a governor and a few consuls.¹⁶⁹ This crossover between the military and political spheres is a nuanced one. In addition to honorands who explicitly hold offices in both realms, there are also inscriptions to military officials that include the type of vague acclamations of civic virtues commonplace in inscriptions to civil magistrates. For example, a *dux* of Tripolitania is honored thusly:

Patricii v(iri) c(larissimi) / virtute praestanti, / aequitate miravili, / teperantia moderato, / defensori iustitiae, / innocentium vindici, / Fl(avio) Macedonio Patricio / v(iro) c(larissimo), comiti et duci p(rovinciae) T(ripolitanae), / ordo splendidus et po(pulus) universus Lep(cis) / Mag(nae) civitatis digno / patron decrevit ad(que) / constituit.

[Statue of] Patricius, of clarissimus rank. Outstanding by virtue, admirable for his fair-mindedness, moderate through his temperance; to the defender of justice, the vindicator of the innocent, Flavius Macedonius Patricius, of clarissimus rank, military commander of the province of Tripolitania. The

¹⁶⁷ For example, see *LSA*-10, -619, -367, -2195, -2187, -1587, and -1920, respectively.

¹⁶⁸ *LSA*-394, -2185, -367, -639, and -672, respectively.

¹⁶⁹ *LSA*-2187, -367,

splendid council and the entire people of the city of Lepcis Magna have decreed and set this up to their worthy patron.¹⁷⁰

Such praise for virtue, fair-mindedness, temperance, and justice is typical of inscriptions honoring governors and other administrative magistrates, and its application to a military commander is surprising. However, beyond the occasional overlap in personnel between military and civic officials mentioned above, it also appears that, lacking a sufficient honorific military tradition of their own, inscriptions honoring military officials borrowed heavily from the language, syntax, and composition of political inscriptions. Military inscriptions exhibit the same syntactical formulae, variety in length, geographical distribution, identity of honorers, and even inclusion of verse as magisterial inscriptions. If military inscriptions were instead resultant of an independent evolution of epigraphic and honorific tradition, we would expect considerable deviance and variation from inscriptions of the political sphere. Their conformance, when coupled with their comparative rarity, instead suggest that the political conventions were the primary source for the odd military inscription, perhaps facilitated and popularized by a few crossover honorands of both political and military accomplishments. We made the same argument earlier in discussing sculptures wearing military costumes, though depicted with the same administrative accessories (scrolls) as togate and palliate sculptures.

13e. Religious Men

Honorands identified in their inscriptions as men of (any) religion or holding a religious office (i.e. priesthoods), comprise 5% of the data set, and will be discussed below in section E.

13f. Intellectuals

The sixth and smallest category of honorands in late antique honorific monuments is that of “intellectuals,” which comprise less than 3% of the data set with 15 inscriptions (Graph 6). This includes honorands identified as teachers, poets, lawyers, doctors, historians, and orators.¹⁷¹ Honorands in this category are identifiable by direct mention of their occupation, or by more vague laudatory descriptions, such as σοφόν, wise, εὔπειθιον, the good persuader, ἔλλογμ(ωπάτων), the most eloquent, or βασιλῆα λόγων, the king of words.¹⁷² Of the more specific occupations, poets are the most common, especially in Rome and the Italian Peninsula.

Given the late antique fascination with verse epigrams, and their cultural legacy as products of the learned Greek East,¹⁷³ one might expect that the inscriptions of these intellectual men to be primarily in verse and written in Greek. However, the distribution of verse inscriptions written in Greek is comparable to that of the entire data set, and there seems to be no special pattern regarding the format. Inscriptions dedicated to intellectuals reasonably span across verse and prose, Latin and Greek, and florid and succinct language. The single caveat to note is that the large cities (Athens, Lepcis Magna, Rome) appear overrepresented as the location of dedications to intellectuals, perhaps speaking to a tendency for intellectual schools of thought and activity to cluster in urban and cosmopolitan environments.

It is imperative to note that most of the honorands are not only identified by their intellectual occupations and pursuits, but are simultaneously praised for additional non-intellectual offices as well. Four-fifths of the inscriptions equally celebrate the honorands as

¹⁷⁰ *LSA*-2176. Translation by Ignazio Tantillo and Francesca Bigi.

¹⁷¹ For example, see *LSA*-234, 2199, -1425, -2349, -271, and -1855, respectively.

¹⁷² *LSA*-183, -234, -134, respectively. Other vague descriptions can be found in *LSA*-2198 and -2349.

¹⁷³ Ševčenko 1968.

benefactors, patrons, curators, consuls, provincial governors, and even as a military official.¹⁷⁴ It is clear that for most honorands, their intellectual pursuits and interests did not define their public profile, and were furthermore not at all in conflict with their occupations as administrators and magistrates. Given that political and magisterial office holders comprise an overwhelming majority of all honorific inscriptions, it is likely that the political offices were the primary reason for the honors, and the honorand's intellectual pursuits were added as a personalizing detail, as opposed to a dominant self-identifying statement. This explains why the inscriptions honoring intellectuals conform to the patterns of language, composition, and distribution of the larger data set, instead of indicating some notional association between intellectuals and Greek verse epigrams.

The explicitly stated occupational identities of the honorands are the most illustrative of honorific monuments' goals and intended audience reception, beyond the inscriptions' formatting, syntactical arrangement, language, and other compositional features. The titles used, and not used, to describe the honorands represent the most basic of choices made by the honorer and the honorand. Beyond the name, the occupation is often the only other identifying information given about the honorand, and therefore is necessarily the primary indicator of social status and identity. More florid inscriptions might list vague acclamations, specific deeds performed, largesses donated, and even salaries earned, but at its most basic, the late antique honorific inscription celebrates its honorands for their careers.

It is thereby absolutely significant that over three-fourths of the honorands are explicitly identified as some sort of civil magistrates (62% imperial offices, 15% local offices). Even without including any patrons, military officials, priests, or intellectuals, some of whom were also undoubtedly and simultaneously civil office holders, the epigraphic character of late antique honorific monuments is overwhelmingly political. One could imagine any number of ways to describe an individual and their personal characteristics, including family history, educational or experiential background, individual interests, favorite leisure activities, or even wealth; yet all of these possibilities of identification are glossed over in favor of the highest career achievement, which is statistically dominated by political offices. If the honorific monument's expressed intention is to honor the individual, and the individual is mainly described by their office, then the honorific monument's primary sphere of influence was within the political sphere of activities. The numbers attest that the monuments were dedicated to mostly civil officials, and therefore the intended audience was likely other magistrates who would be duly impressed by the honorand's accomplishments.

Given the dominant proportion of honorands holding civil offices, those monuments dedicated to other categories of honorands are all the more curious. As discussed previously, many of these, especially patrons, were likely also civil magistrates. However, there are undoubtedly a few honorands who were in no way affiliated with the political sphere, and yet were honored with monuments all the same. Given that these utilize the same form, style, wording, and vocabulary of the political inscriptions, it is likely that these other categories of honorands are borrowing from the tradition of the political honorands. Just as the few cuirass-clad sculpted bodies were likely imitating the artistic style and form of the more common togati, palliati, and chlamydati sculptures, so too the bases dedicated to intellectuals and military officials were presumptively emulating the epigraphic style of dedications to civic magistrates.

¹⁷⁴ Benefactors and patrons: *LSA*-2330, -2198, -1855. Curator: -2349. Consuls: -270, -271. Provincial governors: -234, -1731, -1732. Military official: -319.

E. Religious Observations

Granted the overwhelming modern and scholarly preoccupation with the religious climate in Late Antiquity, and specifically the growing influence of Christianity, we might logically expect that explicit references to religion, whether pagan or Christian, feature prominently in the epigraphic record, waging the battle of religions in permanently etched, publically displayed stone. Indeed, the traditional way of publishing late antique inscriptions, based on the inherited methodology of Renaissance humanists, was to separate the “Christian” texts from the “pagan” or “secular.”¹⁷⁵ One would therefore imagine that religious affiliation is clearly broadcasted within the texts themselves, and that separating the two groups is therefore easy and a logical first step of differentiation. However, when we examine different ways in which an inscription might declare its religion, including religious offices, choice of vocabulary, and religious symbols and catchphrases, the reality of both pagan and Christian expression is far less pronounced and convincing than we might have believed.

1. Holders of Religious Offices

The easiest, and most readily observable, way of viewing religious expression within honorific epigraphy is to identify honorands recognized for religious offices. As alluded to previously, “religious men,” defined as men of any religion holding a religious office or identified as an adherent to a specific religion, comprise approximately 5% of the data set (Graph 6). Of these, almost all (26/27) are priests of varying levels and to various deities. The priestly titles range from ἱεροφάντης, priest, ἀρχιερέα, high priest, *flamen perpetuus*, priest in perpetuity, *sacerdos*, priest or temple officiant, *pontifex*, pontiff, to simpler titles such as *pater*, father.¹⁷⁶ Each priest was dedicated to a specific religious entity, including both major and minor deities and the imperial cult, or civic magistracies, including urban, local, provincial, and state districts.¹⁷⁷ Many of the titles are followed by a genitive specifying the priesthood in more detail, including for example Δηοῦς καὶ Κούρη, of Demeter and Kore, *Lauren(tium) Labinat(i)um*, of the Laurentes Lavinates, *M(atris) d(eum)*, of the Mother of the gods, *prov(inciae) Tripolitanae*, of the province of Tripolitania, *dei Solis*, of the Sun God, *Flav(iali)*, of the Gens Flavia, *s(a)c(rorum) summi invicti Mit(h)rai*, of the sacred rites of the greatest unconquered Mithras.¹⁷⁸ In addition to priests, the inscriptions honor members of the lesser priestly colleges, including *augur*, augur, *septemvir epulonum*, member of the college of seven men in charge of sacred feasts, or *XVviro sacris faciundis*, member of the college of fifteen men for sacred affairs.¹⁷⁹ Membership in these lesser colleges is always in addition to one of the more prestigious priestly titles already listed, suggesting their relatively low prestige. It was also

¹⁷⁵ Salway 2014, 365.

¹⁷⁶ *LSA*-624, -2307, -2200, -2201, -1392.

¹⁷⁷ See Salzman (2013) for a brief introduction to Roman priesthoods, as well as a fuller bibliography. For Roman priesthoods specifically during Late Antiquity, see Cameron (2011), Chapter 4. At its most simplified, *pontifex* refers to the highest and broadest priesthood of state religion; *flamen perpetuus* always refers to only priests of the imperial cult; and *sacerdos* refers to minor priests or temple officiants.

¹⁷⁸ *LSA*-424, -2202, -2202, -2203, -1488, -1400, -1392.

¹⁷⁹ *LSA*-2200, -1392, -1392. The majority of these inscriptions of lesser religious offices come from either Lepcis Magna or Rome, of whose civic religious structures we know the most about. (For Lepcis Magna, see Jarrett 1971 and Tantillo et al. 2010. For Rome, see Hahn 1963 and Salzman 2013). It is possible, and probable, that a number of other religious offices and location-specific minor priesthoods are contained within other inscriptions, and we currently lack the knowledge to recognize them as such.

common for honorands to list multiple religious offices in the traditional *cursus honorum* style, thought whether they were held successively or simultaneously is unclear.¹⁸⁰ For example, a certain Kamenius in Rome is lauded as:

...q(uaestori) k(andidato), pr]aetori / triumphali, VI[I viro ep]ulonum, / mag(istro) num(inis), part[i sac]rorum/ Summi Invic[ti M]ithrae, {e}iero/phante Hec[ta]e, archibucolo / Dei Liberi XV [vi]ro s(acris) f(aciundis), taurobo/liato Deum M[atri]s, pontifici / maiori, con[sul]ari Numidiae...

...candidate to the quaestorship, praetor of the triumphs, member of the college of seven men in charge of sacred feasts, master of the numen, father of the sacred rites of the highest and unconquered Mithras, hierophant of Hecate, chief herdsman of the god Liber, member of the board of fifteen men for sacred affairs, tauroboliate into the cult of the mother of the gods, higher priest, governor of Numidia...¹⁸¹

The number of pagan deities referenced within this single inscription is proof of its honorand's polytheistic allegiance. Additionally, in *cursus honorum*-type inscriptions, the religious offices are integrated seamlessly with other more secular administrative offices.

The remaining “religious man” within the data set who is not named as a priest is a “prophet, beloved of Apollo,” (προφήτην, τὸν φίλον Φοῖβω[ι]). In all likelihood, he was also probably a priest, but this is unable to be proved.

One will immediately note that all of the observations about religious references made above relate to pagan polytheism. The priests are dedicated to pagan deities and denominations, and often an honorand lists allegiance to several different gods at once. Indeed, none of the inscriptions within the data set include any honorands with strictly Christian religious offices, which have their own unique titlature as evidenced by funerary inscriptions. Of the offices of the early Christian church, the most common within funerary epigraphy is that of *episkopos*, bishop, which appears nowhere within our late antique honorific data set.¹⁸² The only title that is shared between the Christian and pagan religious hierarchies, and thus potentially problematic, is *sacerdos*.¹⁸³ Within the data set, however, every time *sacerdos* appears, it is always followed by a genitive descriptor, specifying a pagan affiliation.¹⁸⁴

The infrequency of religious office holders within the data set (5%) is proof enough that advertising religious affiliation is not a concern of late antique honorific inscriptions. Moreover, simply holding a priesthood is not a strong argument for the honorand's religious devotion or leadership of a pagan movement. Alan Cameron notes that it is misleading to believe that “anyone epigraphically attested as a *pontifex* was a devout pagan. Implying as it does that they were deliberately and defiantly proclaiming their paganism, this is a misleading perspective.”¹⁸⁵ Furthermore, “[t]here is no reason to suppose that pontiffs were more pious than other pagans, or in any but a purely titular sense pagan leaders.”¹⁸⁶ He notes that priesthoods of the imperial cult, in particular, lost their specifically religious functions by the late-fourth century, as evidenced by the existence of Christian *flamines*.¹⁸⁷ That religious offices and priesthoods were included in

¹⁸⁰ Cameron (2011), Chapter 4 chronicles several Roman men who held multiple (pagan) priesthoods simultaneously,

¹⁸¹ LSA-1569, translation by Carlos Machado.

¹⁸² Other titles include *titulus* + (*church name*), *diaconus* (deacon), *levita*, *subdiaconus*, *exorcista*, *lectores*, *notaries*, and *exceptor* (Marucchi 1912). See Rapp (2005) for more on the role of bishops in the Early Church.

¹⁸³ Marucchi 1912, 198-9.

¹⁸⁴ LSA-2200, -2202, -2203, -2204, -2205, -2206.

¹⁸⁵ Cameron 2011, 132.

¹⁸⁶ Cameron 2011, 171.

¹⁸⁷ Cameron 2011, 171.

cursus honorum inscriptions “underlines the equivalence of priesthoods to public offices.”¹⁸⁸ Their inclusion is therefore more indicative of their careers as civil magistrates than of their pagan affiliation.

Finally, it should be noted that no inscription including pagan priesthoods dates later than the fourth century.¹⁸⁹ In fact, it has been argued that, at least within Rome, the practice of listing pagan priesthoods was intentionally abandoned after Constantine, and that the few exceptions to this rule are strong statements of pagan defiance to the norm.¹⁹⁰ This could be attributable to a dwindling number of priesthoods available thanks to conversions to Christianity, but also is indicative that the connotations of a pagan priesthood had changed. Earlier, a priesthood might have indicated “noble birth and imperial favor,” but by the fourth century, it was apparently a far less socially prestigious position and no longer helpful to the cultivation of social capital. As Cameron notes, “In an increasingly Christian Rome it was unwise for nobles to run further risks by ‘advertising’ their paganism to everyone who passed their dedications in the public spaces of Rome on a daily basis.”¹⁹¹ The important distinction for this study is not whether or not such priesthoods still existed or pagan beliefs were still held, but how inclusion or silent omission of such information contributed to the honorand’s cultivation of social and political clout.

2. Religious Language

Beyond explicitly religious titles held, a second though less straightforward indicator of religious affiliation may be religious language, broadly defined. This includes references to religious institutions and buildings, mention of specific gods or deities, and even vocabulary that alludes to any non-secular theological worldview. At its most simple and succinct, for example, a certain Probus from Aphrodisias is described as διογέν[ε]ς, born of Zeus.¹⁹² Other examples include ἐναλίγκιος θεοῖς, godlike, *religiosus*, most religious, ὄλβιος, blessed, θεοπειθεῖ, obedient to the gods, or *exemplar rarum veteris sanctitatis*, a rare example of old-fashioned sanctity, or *piae non minus quam devotae mentis religione*, with the reverence of both a pious and devoted mind.¹⁹³ However, these descriptors are suspiciously familiar to the vague but adulatory praise typical of the flowery late antique style, which features highly allusive, non-specific, and effusive acclamations of general excellence and admirable personal qualities. Tellingly, there is no mention of to which deity the honorand is particularly devoted, or of any specific notable actions or deeds demonstrating such piety. Thus, these words of praise may have been mere blandishments, empty flattering words bestowed on the honorand and not at all indicative of religious affiliation or adherence.

Even more frequently than honorands, cities, and their inhabitants are also often described with religious vocabulary, such as ζαθεός Ἐπιδαύρος, sacred Epidauros, θεοείκελοι Κεκροπίδαι, godlike Athenians, πόλιν ἡγαθήν, most holy city, and ἄστ[υ] θεῆς Παφίης, city of the Paphian goddess.¹⁹⁴ ζαθεός, or sacred, is the most common adjective used to describe

¹⁸⁸ Cameron 2011, 136.

¹⁸⁹ Cameron (2011), 157 additionally notes that within the city of Rome, there is only a single monument even dating within the fourth century that lists a pagan priesthood (*LSA*-342).

¹⁹⁰ Niquet 2000, 178.

¹⁹¹ Cameron 2011, 158.

¹⁹² *LSA*-734.

¹⁹³ *LSA*-656, -1426, -998, -431, -1413, and -1393.

¹⁹⁴ *LSA*-579, -141, -614, and -148.

cities.¹⁹⁵ As with the honorands, these adjectives are more traditional and formulaic ways of describing the cities' historic and continued excellence than they are testaments to actual piety.

The most common use of religious vocabulary is in inscriptions where the antecedent is the emperor[s].¹⁹⁶ Although emperors as honorands are not included in this study, it is surely significant that they constitute the most prevalent use of religious vocabulary in honorific epigraphy. They and their decisions are frequently referred to as θεηγενέος, god-born,¹⁹⁷ θεός, divine, and ἀ[ν]τιθέος, godlike. D. Feissel argues that the adjective θεός in particular should be understood not as a religious statement referring to divinity, but instead as a formulaic substitute for “imperial.”¹⁹⁸ The same is true in Latin, as *divina sententia* indicates an imperial decree, *iussione sacra*, “by imperial decree”, and *ex indulgentia sacra*, “by imperial indulgence.”¹⁹⁹ That such a substitution is even conceivable is especially intriguing, and the relationship between the emperor, the divine, the cult of the emperor, and imperial sanction within the honorific landscape clearly merits fuller investigation. It suffices here to note that this religious (or not) vocabulary is much more prevalent in reference to imperial personages and decrees than it is to administrative magistrates. This suggests that when people or decisions or deeds are described as “divine” or “sacred” or “holy,” it has far less to do with the religious piety or adherence, and instead is more likely a reference to imperial clout. Either way, it is also worth noting that in these inscriptions concerning emperors and their decisions, no indication is made as to which god, pagan or Christian or of the imperial cult, is being referenced.

Thus, religious vocabulary is often vague and simply included in the honorific language in order to flatter the honorand, express the desired magisterial characteristics of justice and vigilance, or refer obliquely to imperial power. There is little reason to believe that these words are used as a public expression of religious allegiance, and even less evidence to suggest the allegiance would be Christian. In fact, when it is able to be determined, polytheism is much more likely to be referenced, as honorands are compared to gods or lesser deities, such as Zeus or Dike. As explained earlier, however, these references are more likely the florid allusions of the late antique style, and not actual statements of religious belief.

3. Mention of Specific Gods, Goddesses, and Precincts

While the vague vocabulary might not be demonstrative of religious affiliation, the mention of specific gods and goddesses is less easily dismissed. However, when references are made to named gods and goddesses, it is almost exclusively either in reference to a city's mythical past, or within the metaphorical use of the deity's name as a florid literary allegory. Geographical places are often described with mythological epithets, such as “Naxos which raised that ivy-bearing Bacchus,” or Aphrodisias, “the city of the Paphian goddess.”²⁰⁰ Florid literary allusions to deities include a comparison of the sculptor's ability to “the skill of Hephaistos,” praise for providing “the bountiful wealth of fruit-bearing Demeter” or “corn which Demeter who cultivates ears of corn let grow.”²⁰¹ True to the late antique epigram style, these inscriptions

¹⁹⁵ *LSA*-579, -431, and -611 for example.

¹⁹⁶ It should be noted that inclusions of the emperor[s] in the honorific inscriptions of this study are never as honorands, but as honorers and especially as third party participants issuing orders and appointing offices.

¹⁹⁷ *LSA*-394, -579 and -773, -795,

¹⁹⁸ Feissel 1984.

¹⁹⁹ *LSA*-323, -2196. See also Tantillo et al. (2010), 410.

²⁰⁰ *LSA*-732 and -148. Translations are my own.

²⁰¹ *LSA*-540, -729, and -431. Translations are my own.

are usually in Greek verse, and celebrate a high literary culture shared by the honorand and those viewers sophisticated and educated enough to understand the references.

Another common use of references to specific deities that is also an allusion to erudite literary culture is the personification of administrative justice and vigilance as holy or divine. For example: “θεσπεσίας ἀρετῆς, divine virtue;” “αὐτῆς Δίκης, Justice herself;” “ζαθήσι δικ[α]σπολίας, divine judgments;” “ἴσα Διὸς Θέμιδι φαίνων, appearing equal to Zeus or Themis.”²⁰² Similarly, these should not be interpreted as proof of polytheistic honorands who are devotees of the goddess Dike, but instead as a poetic and characteristically florid late antique way of personifying the characteristics so valued in a skilled magistrate. For example, one inscription credits its honorand with “τὸν Θέμιν αὐτήν διξάντα, displaying Themis herself.”²⁰³ Here, the goddess Themis stands in for the abstract concept of good counsel, order, and adherence to law presented by the magistrate. Particular to the context of statues as honorific monuments, one inscription specifies that the monument is set up as “ἕρμα δίκης Ζηνὶ παρ’ ἰθυδικῶ, a herm of Dike beside justice-speaking Zeus.”²⁰⁴ Two others note that the monuments were erected near Dike, meaning the praetorium.²⁰⁵ In these situations, the goddess of justice is personified in order to demonstrate her proximity, both in character and physically, to the honorand. None of the vocabulary used thus far is necessarily indicative of devout and explicit religious allegiance, but is instead more representative of the embellished and grandiose flattery used to lend weight to the honorand’s praiseworthy character.

Finally, geographic references to specific precincts and temples of (pagan) deities are a third way that inscriptions may allude to religious intent. This is almost exclusively done to indicate where the honorific monument is being erected, for example, “at the precinct of the gods,” “near justice-speaking Zeus,” or “near the portals of Dike (the praetorium).”²⁰⁶ Additionally, inscriptions may mention sacred precincts and temples in praising the honorand for his euergetism, such as “he made a shrine of the Nymphs for the city,” or “he built the sanctuary of Eleutheria.”²⁰⁷ These physical places dedicated to pagan deities are much more informative about the late antique cityscape and continued societal acceptance of paganism within the topographic fabric of the city than they are of any individual person’s religious allegiance. Of course, to restore a pagan temple is quite a stronger statement of affiliation than having one’s monument next to a sacred precinct. However, it suffices to say that mere mention alone of a sacred space is a weak argument that one is advertising their religious beliefs.

4. Religious Decorative and Interpunctual Symbols

The addition of interpunctual symbols and ornamentation, including hederæ, palm fronds, and birds, in late antique honorific inscriptions has already been discussed above. However, there are three additional marks that potentially have bearing as Christian symbols: the Chi Rho, the Alpha Omega, and the cross.

The Chi Rho and the Alpha Omega are both clear and undisputed Christian symbols, and their contemporary inclusion within an honorific inscription would be convincing grounds to indicate that either the honorand or the honorer was Christian. Unfortunately, they appear very

²⁰² LSA-526, -658, -614, and -240. Translations are my own.

²⁰³ LSA-998.

²⁰⁴ LSA-794.

²⁰⁵ LSA-774 and -787.

²⁰⁶ LSA-2530, -794, -787.

²⁰⁷ LSA-659, -654,

infrequently within the data set. Moreover, the single example of an Alpha Omega, divided by a large cross in the center, is clearly a later addition carved into an earlier dedication on an architrave. It is larger and more shallow than the surrounding text and was placed directly in the center and on top of the earlier mid-to-late-fourth century inscription, likely in the late-sixth century.²⁰⁸

The three Chi Rho symbols, by contrast, are more likely contemporaneous with the rest of their honorific text, and therefore more likely to indicate the honorand's or the honorer's religious beliefs. *LSA-940*, dating broadly to the fifth century, exhibits two Chi Rho's in succession at the end of the second line of text, within the same sentence but at a grammatical break (Figure 83).²⁰⁹ Interestingly, although they are right next to each other and there is no indication that they are not contemporary, they are not identical and the symbols are proportioned differently. Their presence at the end of the line fills in the available space, and it is difficult to know if they were part of the original planned layout, or were added in as an afterthought to fill in the vacant space. *LSA-1202* has a single Chi Rho at the beginning of the text, falling outside the formal, raised frame of the epigraphic plain (Figure 84). While this could indicate that it is a later addition, other (non symbolic, alphabetic) characters of the inscription also extend outside the frame, indicating that the entire inscription is on a reused base. These three Chi Rho symbols are therefore all intentional, contemporary components of the main honorific inscription. However, it is interesting that, despite the deliberate inclusion of these clear Christian symbols, neither inscription makes any further Christian reference within the text itself. Both inscriptions simply adhere to typical honorific formulae: *LSA-940* is traditionally succinct: (dative honorand) + (nominative honorer) + (verb); and *LSA-1202* is an unremarkable florid verse epigram, given by the "people lacking wealth" on account of the relief of a tax burden. The inscriptions include none of the priesthoods, religious language, or references to a specific Christian God that we just detailed in the previous sections. Given how unequivocally the symbol is aligned with Christianity, there is no obvious reason why the rest of the inscriptions should be coy about religious allegiance. Unless, of course, such allegiance was not so charged, problematic, or polemic in the first place, and therefore need not affect the character of the entire inscription or monument.

Less well understood than the Alpha Omega or Chi Rho symbols, and therefore more problematic for the indication of late antique religion, is the cross. The question is not whether any crosses appear in earlier (pre-Christian) evidence or not, as this is well established. Although not frequently, the cross does appear much earlier than Constantine's conversion in 312 as just another interpunctual symbol, similar to hederæ or dots between words, or at the end of lines or sentences. This purely decorative use continues in post-Constantinian inscriptions as well. For example, the last line of *LSA-527* emphasizes the honorer by surrounding it with decorative symbols, including the cross:

[---] Φαθστῖον /
 τὸν λαμπ(ότατον) καὶ /
 περιβλ(επτον) ἀπὸ τριβ(ούνων) /
 νοταρίων, ἀντι / πολλῶν εὐεργεσιῶν ἀνέστησαν /
 (dove) (cross) ἡ πόλις (cross) (dove) (ivy leaf)

²⁰⁸ *LSA-234*. The late-sixth century date is attributable to when a second inscription on the architrave was also modified to remove the reference to Aphrodite within the name of city's inhabitants: "Aphrodisians" was changed to "Stauropolitans"—"inhabitants of the City of the Cross". See Trombley (1995), 55-56 and *ALA* VI.48.

²⁰⁹ *LSA-940*, line 4. The symbols separate the description of the accusative object of the dedication (the honorand) from the rest of the sentence.

Faustinus, of clarissimus and spectabilis rank, former tribune and notary, (dove) (cross) the city (cross) (dove) (ivy leaf) set [him] up in return for many benefits.²¹⁰ (Figure 80)

The issue is at what point in time the cross was being utilized specifically for its Christian symbolism. The long held opinion is that Christians did not widely use the cross as a symbol of their faith until after its adoption by Constantine at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312,²¹¹ even though written sources as early as the second and third centuries CE connect the nascent Christian faith with the symbol of the cross.²¹²

In our evidence, the cross appears in 15 inscriptions, 14 of which are from provinces in western Asia Minor, and most of which are dedicated to provincial governors or imperial officials.²¹³ Admittedly, 4 fifth century inscriptions with crosses do include other Christian symbols, as one has a Chi-Rho at the beginning of the inscription (Figure 84), one has the possible Christian symbol of “T” (Figure 85), and the other two have the acronym XMG, to be detailed below (Figures 86-87).²¹⁴ This is potentially proof that the honorands were indeed Christians, and therefore the cross could indeed be an indicator of Christianity at this time period. However, it is also true that four other late fourth to fifth century inscriptions with crosses include some of the pagan “religious vocabulary” detailed earlier. Specifically, the inscriptions mention “ivy-bearing Bacchus,” “sacred Ephesus,” “the skill of Hephaistos,” and an honorand who “appear[s] equal to Zeus or Themis.”²¹⁵ If we believe that all of these features, including religious vocabulary and references as well as the cross, are definite indicators of either pagan or Christian faith and that such faith is absolute and categorical, then these inscriptions are indeed extremely problematic. Why would an honorand openly profess his Christian faith with an easily recognizable cross, and yet also allude to the power of prestige of other pagan deities?

Instead, given the mixed evidence (4 cross inscriptions with additional Christian references, 4 with additional pagan references, and 7 without any religious references), it is more likely that, as suggested by G. Deligiannakis, even in the fifth century the cross was still not deployed as a purely Christian symbol, at least within the provinces of Asia and Caria. As the strong majority of the honorands are provincial governors or other imperial officials, it is far more likely that the cross was a symbol of imperial office. Deligiannakis posits that in late antique honorific inscriptions, the addition of the cross “was employed as an official badge” to signal association with and sanction by the imperial government, instead of any Christian association.²¹⁶ He notes that the first datable appearance of a cross in the epigraphic evidence from Aphrodisias dates to 379-386 CE, and then does not reappear for another century.²¹⁷ He then goes on to list Ephesian and Aphrodisian examples of inscriptions honoring the Empress Eudokia, 7 proconsuls, 2 doctors, 2 Carian governors, and a *pater civitas* in which crosses are

²¹⁰ LSA-527. Translation by Ulrich Gehn.

²¹¹ Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 1.27-29. For a recent alternative position which presents evidence that Christians were using the cross long before Constantine, see Longenecker 2015.

²¹² See Longenecker 2015, Chapter 7 for a compilation of the literary evidence.

²¹³ LSA-224 is the only inscription not from Asia Minor (Tripolitania).

²¹⁴ LSA-1202, -1201, -1200, and -224. The “T” as a Christian symbol is debatable, and I know of no other examples. See Feissel (2011) in support, and Sahin (2008), 59, no. 9 against. Sahin interprets the “T” as part of the honorand’s name.

²¹⁵ LSA-732, -611, -540, and -240. My translations.

²¹⁶ Deligiannakis 2008, 154.

²¹⁷ Deligiannakis 2008, 154-157, esp. no. 31 and 35.

inscribed at the beginning of the inscription. The inscriptions appear to have no relation to Christianity, but instead to the imperial government and thus should be interpreted as a seal of imperial office rather than of personal religious beliefs.²¹⁸ Deligiannakis proclaims that while the issues of exact chronology are not entirely clear, during the fourth- and fifth-centuries at least “the carving of the cross symbol at the beginning of a public inscription [is not] compelling evidence for the religious beliefs of the honored person.”²¹⁹ Indeed, our evidence supports this interpretation of the cross as an official badge of the imperial government. The cross is placed at the very beginning or as a separate line at the top for eleven of the inscriptions with the cross.²²⁰ Rather than as an interpunctual, this conspicuous placement of the cross at the beginning of the inscription is consistent with what we would expect for an official seal or stamp declaring the imperial sanction from the outset. Given its rise in popularity only within the late-fourth century, it is possible that the cross is an adoption of Constantine’s Milvian Bridge sign, but owing to its connotations of the emperor’s absolute power and reach, and not because of its connection to the Christian god. Of course, this last suggestion is speculation and will require far more evidence than 14 inscriptions to be proven.

5. ΧΜΓ Inscriptions

The last and most conclusively Christian feature of the late antique honorific epigraphy is the Greek cryptogram ΧΜΓ. Indeed, beyond inclusion within the text of the honorific inscriptions, the abbreviation is also found on the honorific sculptures themselves, especially just behind the crest of hair on the crown of the head. In our evidence, it appears twice in inscriptions, once on the side of an inscribed base, and twice on portrait heads.²²¹

Epigraphists generally agree that this is a common Christian acrostic that stands for Χριστὸν Μαρία γεννᾶ, “Mary bore Christ,” or a similar variation asserting Mary’s motherhood of Christ.²²² It is well documented during the fourth through seventh centuries C.E. though there exist only a handful of pre-Constantinian examples.²²³ It occurs in a wide range of geographically distributed contexts and on a number of objects, including papyri, parchment, roof tiles, pipes, graffiti, statue bases, and pottery sherds. Unlike many of the “religious features” we have just documented above, it is difficult to argue that the inscription ΧΜΓ is anything other than an explicit Christian catchphrase.

When it appears within the main text of the inscriptions, in both instances it is at the beginning of the honorific inscription, abbreviated to only the first letter of each word, and set off from the rest of the inscription as its own line. In *LSA*-1200 (Figure 86), the acronym is

²¹⁸ Deligiannakis 2008, no. 35.

²¹⁹ Deligiannakis 2008, 154.

²²⁰ Inscriptions with the cross at the beginning of the first line: *LSA*-732, -731, -487, -611, -714, -1202, -225, -199, and -229. Inscriptions with the cross as its own separate first line: *LSA*-540 and -240.

²²¹ Within the inscription: *LSA*-662 and -1200. On the side of an inscribed base: *LSA*-224. On the portrait head behind the crest of hair: *LSA*-150 and -176.

²²² Tjäder 1970, 148-90. Interpretations include: Χριστὸς ὁ ἐκ Μαρίας γεννηθείς; Χριστὸς Μιχαήλ Γαβριήλ, Χριστὸς Μαρία Γαβριήλ, χειρὸς μοθ γραφή; as well as the abbreviation as a numerical isopsephism (where each letter stands for a number) 643, and therefore ἡ ἅγια τριάς θεός, ἄγιος ὁ θεός, Νέος Ἥλιος, and θεός Βοηθός. Of all possible resolutions, only one is not related to Christianity. Tjäder concludes that Χριστὸν Μαρία γεννᾶ is the most likely interpretation, based on the existence of several unabbreviated versions of this text on parchment and papyri. The morphological structure of the phrase is debatable, as Χριστὸς Μαρία γεννᾶ also occurs in the epigraphic record. The active construction with the nominative, Χριστὸς ὁ ἐκ Μαρίας γεννηθείς, is given credence by the existence of Latin epigrams with a similar corresponding resolution: VDN, *Virgine Dominus Natus*.

²²³ Robert 1960, 309-11.

flanked on either side by crosses, and two additional crosses flank the text of the fourth line as well. Beyond this initial Christian invocation, the text itself is typically civic and succinct—the city and boule honor a certain Maximus for holding all of the city offices. The honorand is a local benefactor of Stratonicea in Caria known through three other inscriptions.²²⁴ The other inscriptions of Maximus follow no set pattern in the way they reference Christianity: one has a cross set off to the side of the inscription; the second has a cross and a Chi-Rho, but no further references to Christianity within the text of the inscription; and the third has no Christian symbols, but invokes “Θεός, God,” in the first line, and then notes that the statue is set up “εὐαγέων Χριστοῦ δόμων προπάροιθε θεοῦ, in front of the holy houses of Christ God.”²²⁵ Thus, the ways in which Christianity is referenced, or not, varies greatly, even in these inscriptions honoring the same person. Clearly, there was no established formula for declaring one’s Christianity, even when the honorand was clearly not afraid of publically advertising his religion.

The second instance of ΧΜΓ within the main inscription also appears at the beginning as an invocation, and proceeds with a standard, if flowery, verse epigram in the first person (*LSA*-662, Figure 88). The Christian invocation appears to be contemporaneous with the rest of the inscription based on its consistent layout and lettering, and there is no reason to believe that it is some sort of later addition. However, the honorand is a known imperial (i.e. pagan) priest from the second century CE, whose statue was then reerected by a known fifth century CE governor of Asia, as attested by the inscription. Moreover, elsewhere within the epigraphic corpus, the honorer, Flavius Anthemius Isidorus, is praised for having “ἤνυσσε καποτόκου / Δημήτερος / ὄμπνιον / ὄλβον, brought the bountiful wealth of fruit-bearing Demeter, which is an explicit reference to a pagan diety.”²²⁶ Given these apparent contradictions, how should we interpret this inscription? Is it a statue of an old pagan priest that is being “cleansed” or reappropriated by a later Christian governor? But is the governor really a devoted Christian? Would the viewing audience have recognized the old priest as a pagan, and the governor as a Christian? Would the juxtaposition of these elements read as irony, or rebranding, or subversion? Or would the audience even identify any disconcertant juxtaposition at all?

When the acronym ΧΜΓ appears outside of the main honorific inscription, its intent is no more straightforward. On one base, it appears on the proper left side of the base towards the top, with a cross and the words Φῶς Ζωή, Light Life (Figure 87).²²⁷ The verse inscription on the front of the base honors a certain Anthemius, known elsewhere as the praetorian prefect of the East, and makes no other references to Christianity. With the addition of the cross and the single words, it seems clear that the acronym is a Christian prayer, but why relegate it to the side of the base? Why not inscribe it at the top of the main text, as we have seen previously?

Similarly, the last two instances of the ΧΜΓ acronym are also inconspicuously placed, this time behind the crest of hair on the top of the portrait head. *LSA*-150, in particular, was also found with its associated body and inscribed base, and will therefore be covered in more depth as a test case in the next chapter (Figure 106). *LSA*-176 also includes a vocative appeal: «Θ(ε)ἷ

²²⁴ Maximus, known in *LSA*-657, -1201, and -1202, in addition to -1200.

²²⁵ *LSA*-1201, -1202, and -657, respectively. It is possible that a small, uppercase “T” in *LSA*-657, after the greeting, before the main inscription begins, is also a Christian symbol. See Feissel (2011), 526. See Sahin (2008), 59, no. 9 for another interpretation of the “T” as part of the honorand’s name.

²²⁶ *LSA*-729, translated by A. Sokolicek.

²²⁷ *LSA*-224.

Βοήθ(ε)ι, God, help (me)!” (Figure 89).²²⁸ Both *LSA*-150 and -176 are neatly inscribed, suggesting that they are contemporary with the sculpting or erection of the statues, and not added at some later time, or after the statue had fallen over. Given that these heads were likely part of full monuments, including a body statue and inscribed base, the tops of the heads may have stood at well over twelve feet in height. It would have been very difficult to inscribe the top of head without scaffolding, which is expensive in both labor and space, and would require sufficient planning and time, and therefore it is reasonable to assume that the inscriptions are contemporaneous and not part of some later cleansing effort to Christianize pagan sculpture. The positions of the inscriptions (behind the crest of hair, to be read as if one looking down on the top of the head) are covert and certainly not visible from a viewer on the ground. Additionally, because the inscriptions are abbreviated, it suggests that they are intended only for a select audience who could expand the acronym and recognize it as a Christian catchphrase.

Indeed, in the earliest examples from the third century, the acronym is almost always found in its abbreviated form and in inconspicuous locations. Jan-Olof Tjäder, among others, therefore supposes that the inscription was originally a secret Christian catchphrase used to communicate one’s Christian faith without attracting negative attention in the years before the Edict of Milan.²²⁹ Even after Christianity was recognized, this cryptogram continued in use. Thus, these three instances in which the acronym is essentially hidden, whether on the side of a monument or on the top of the portrait head, are covert forms of Christian worship. They indicate that the honorand, the honorer, or the sculptor/scribe, or possibly all three, were Christian. However, during the late fourth and fifth centuries, to which all of these inscriptions and portrait heads date, Christianity was no longer as controversial, and it would not be necessary to hide or disguise a Christian catchphrase. Instead, I suggest that the acronyms are concealed not because there in danger in publically declaring one’s Christian faith, but because religious affiliation is to be affirmed privately and personally. The acrostics in these cases were intended only as private tags for the honorand/honorersculptor as the audience, instead of as, coded and subversive symbols of religion to the wider public.

F. Conclusion: Politics and Religion in the Epigraphic Record

The evidence presented above for religious references within the late antique honorific epigraphy has been scant, varied, and not indicative of any wide scale cultural impetus to declare religious, let alone Christian, affiliation. Although close to a third (143) of the 495 total inscriptions in this study include one of the abovementioned religious references, there are only a handful that are convincingly “religious” in overall character and intent, or “religious” enough to categorize the honorand as a devotee of any specific deity.

For example, only 26 of the honorands are honored for *primarily* a religious office (either the only office listed, or placed first in the list). The majority of the inscriptions, by contrast, may include a religious office, but as only one amongst a longer list of other (secular) civic and imperial magistracies held in a full *cursus honorum*. These inscriptions, as discussed earlier, are typically written in Latin and are from Rome and Lepcis Magna, especially. For example, *LSA*-1325 includes priesthoods to Vesta and the Sun God, and a membership within a priestly college:

Honori. / Memmio Vitrasio Orfito, v(iro) c(larissimo), / nobilitate et actibus praecipuo, / praefecto urbi et iterum prae/fecto urbi, proconsuli Africae / et tertio sacrarum cognitionum / iudici, comiti organis primi

²²⁸ *LSA*-176. My own translation.

²²⁹ Tjäder 1970, 153.

iterum / intra consistorium, legato secundo difficillimis temporibus petiit senatus et populi Romani, comiti ordinis / secundi expeditionis bellicas / gubernanti, consulari provinciae / Siciliae, pontif(ici) deae Vestae, XV/viro sacris faciundis, pontif(ici) dei Soli, consuli, praetori, quaestori [kandidato]. Corpus pistorum Magnariorum / et Castrensiorum statua / sub aere constituit.

(Statue) of Honorius. To Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus, of clarissimus rank, distinguished by birth and deeds, prefect of the city, and then prefect of the city again, governor of Africa and three times a judge in the imperial court of appeal, count of the first order, and then again count in the imperial cabinet, a second legate during difficult times by petition of the Senate and the Roman people, count of the second order of military expeditions, consul of the province of Sicily, priest of the goddess Vesta, member of the college of 15 men in charge of sacred affairs, priest of the Sun God, suffect consul, praetor, quaestor. The corporation of the wholesale and camp bakers set up a bronze statue.²³⁰

These religious offices are sandwiched in the *cursus* between a consulship and a praetorship, and are not distinguished in any way by their religious purpose. Their inclusion within the list makes it clear that these offices were just further stepping stones within the hierarchy of a typical political career. The honorand would go on to hold a number of more prestigious, and notably more secular, offices, and we can surmise that the priesthood was included within the inscription only for the sake of completeness and tradition. To conclude that every such magistrate honored thus was devoutly religious, singularly proud of their priesthood, or keen to make an explicit and public statement about their religious allegiance would be to misunderstand the *cursus* tradition both epigraphically and politically. Cameron notes:

For centuries, most aristocrats listed their priesthoods along with all their other *honores* on *cursus* inscriptions as a matter of course, with no thought of ‘advertising... their religious activities,’ and there is no reason to suppose that the situation had changed by at any rate the age of Constantine.²³¹

Furthermore, as demonstrated earlier, much of the “religious language” within the corpus is arguable at best. Adjectives and phrases describing the honorand as “most religious,” “blessed,” “godlike,” “appearing equal to Zeus or Themis,” and possessing “divine judgments” or “Justice herself”²³² are more accurately flowery blandishments typical of the late antique style than they are pronouncements of actual religious devotion or allegiance. Just as other inscriptions praise their honorands as “the sweetest benefactor,” “pursuing the trail of virtue,” or “loving honor because of his descent,”²³³ the “religious” language is more accurately a verbose allusion to the strength and depth of the honorand’s character, and not identifiable administrative or legal titles, or indeed concrete statements of religious devotion. Likewise, references made to specific gods and goddesses, such as inscriptions set up near as the portals of Dike or justice-speaking Zeus, or dedicated to Victory,²³⁴ are intended to draw comparisons between the honorand and the qualities such deities personify, such as justice, fairness, or success.

In different contexts or with more corroborating evidence, perhaps, the majority of priesthoods and the religious language discussed would be interpreted as pagan and polytheistic references. The epigraphic evidence that might reference Christianity, meanwhile, is far sparser. The decoration of the cross, which is so closely aligned with Christianity at later dates and is not uncommon in the corpus, is likely not a religious symbol in the majority of inscriptions, but

²³⁰ LSA-1441. My own translation.

²³¹ Cameron 2011, 135.

²³² LSA-1426, -998, -656, -240, -526, and -658.

²³³ LSA-544, -393, and -280.

²³⁴ LSA-787, -794, and -1161.

instead is a symbol of imperial office. Thus, the cross by itself, without any additional Christianizing information, is not enough to declare that the honorand was Christian. The Alpha-Omega and the Chi-Rho, by contrast, are demonstrably and unequivocally Christian symbols, though they appear in a total of only three inscriptions.²³⁵ Similarly, the Christian acronym ΧΜΓ appears only five times, and three of those are placed so inconspicuously as to be considered hidden.²³⁶ Thus, the conventions for declaring Christian allegiance clearly and succinctly within an honorific inscription exist, but occur in numbers too inconsequential to represent a large scale religious shift within society.

We only run into problems when we attempt to definitively divide late antique inscriptions into categories of Christian and pagan. If we require that inscriptions must belong to only one of these categories, conflicting elements emerge, such as the mention of a pagan precinct, or a (pagan) mythological allusion, or an ornamental cross. And what if, as with the acronym ΧΜΓ, the religious feature is hidden from view? Does this mean that Christians were still communicating secretly? If an honorand lists a single pagan priesthood in his *cursus honorum*, does this indicate that he is a devout pagan? And when an explicit religious reference is made, is this indicative of the religious affiliation of the honorand? Or the honorer? Or the craftsman? What are we to make of men like Flavius Anthemius Isidorus, an acknowledged Christian governor, who set up a dedication to an acknowledged pagan priest?²³⁷ When these contradictions do occur, should we interpret them as ironic, subversive, rebranding, or simply careless?

Indeed, these are only problematic if we assume that: a) the categories of Christian and pagan are mutually exclusive; and b) religious affiliation is included in, and decipherable from, honorific inscriptions. The mutual exclusivity of pagan polytheism and Christian monotheism will be discussed in chapter VI, but the inclusion of religious affiliation in honorific inscriptions is relevant here. My conclusion is not that religious affiliation was deliberately hidden or proclaimed depending on the religion of the honorand, but rather that religious affiliation was simply not within the purview of late antique honorific inscriptions. Neither honorands nor honorers were particularly interested in questions of religious allegiance when it came to immortalizing themselves in honorific monuments. Priesthoods were listed mainly as just one office held throughout an entire civil career; religious language was vague and rarely included; and in the few instances where Christian symbols appear, they often have nothing to do with the rest of the inscription. Religious affiliation, then, was simply not the point of the inscription, and to include or omit such information was not an active and inevitable choice that had to be made. The default was to gloss over religion all together, whether pagan or Christian, not out of intention to evade, but because it was simply not relevant to the objectives of the monument.

The primary purpose of an honorific monument was to glorify the civic and magisterial career of the honorand, to such an extent that most other biographical or personal information was omitted. This is not a deliberate suppression or concealment of such information, and when such information is included, neither is it an intentional and unequivocal statement in most cases. The monument seeks to promote the interests of the magistrate within his political career, and all other identities are essentially glossed over in favor of the political. Similarly, we saw in the previous chapter how the costumes of the honorific sculpture could be obliquely referencing ethnicity, heritage, wealth, education, etc., but these possibilities all were of secondary

²³⁵ Alpha Omega: *LSA*-234. Chi-Rho: *LSA*-1202 and -940.

²³⁶ *LSA*-662, -657, and -1200.

²³⁷ *LSA*-662.

importance to the appropriate dress code of the vigilant, responsible, and imperially sanctioned civil servant. Likewise, we have detailed characteristic features of the late antique honorific inscription that might reference an honorand's lineage, ethnicity, wealth, and even religion. Choices like language, grammar, vocabulary, style, offices included, and decoration all tell us something personal about the honorand and result in a diverse body of possible honorific formulae, but all ultimately serve to present the honorand as a just, responsible, and well-member of the bureaucratic elite backed by the imperial government. Conventions varied across time and space, and perhaps a flowery Greek verse epigram would not be appropriate for a Roman senator, just as a full *cursus honorum* inscription in Latin would be out of place in Asia Minor. However, the underlying goal of the great majority of late antique honorific inscriptions, as evidenced by the identity of the honorands and the honorers, the lists of offices held, the flowery language, and even the mythological allusions, was to identify the honorand as elite members of the imperial or local body politic.

—V—

Case Studies: Six Complete Honorific Monuments

As demonstrated in the previous chapters, the portrait heads, statue bodies, and inscribed bases of late antique honorific monuments are able to communicate a wide range of information about the honorand, dedicator, and their intentions. Even when studied in isolation, the separate components contain signals about the participants' age, ethnicity, lineage, wealth, experience, offices held, education, interests, political goals, religious affiliation, and proximity to imperial power. The dismantling in antiquity (whether for the collection of raw material, vandalism, or deliberate destruction for ideological reasons), the high rate of reuse, and the physical weakness of the monuments' structural integrity at predictable crucial joints (as between head and shoulders, and feet and base) all contribute to the likelihood that components are found detached and disassociated from their late antique counterparts.¹ This archaeological accident of preservation has exacerbated the modern scholarly tendency to group like with like according to media, and thus we study the heads and bodies art historically, and the inscriptions epigraphically. This is to forget that the honorific monument was conceived of, created, and most especially viewed as a single entity, and the messages it communicated were the result of a composite whole. No ancient viewer would have perceived the statue as several separate physiological components, no matter how sloppily the late antique joins were executed. Similarly, the statue would seem incomplete without its inscription.

It is essential to recombine the individual components in order to better recognize and understand the full message of the late antique honorific statue. At present, only six such monuments whose separate parts are identifiable and reliably reconstructable are known to me.²

¹ Of course, given the aforementioned high rates of reuse, it is additionally likely that the late antique manifestation of each individual piece is not the "original" use for which the pieces were created. Especially with the early imperial togate bodies, the pieces could have been used and recombined in any number of previous iterations before their late antique composition.

² At the time of writing, there are rumors that several more full statues have been discovered within the past 1-2 years within Western Asia Minor (esp. Aphrodisias). I anxiously await their full publication. Furthermore, I suspect that we may have already discovered other conjoining statues and their inscribed bases, which are just waiting to be reexamined and reunited by careful scholarship.

My list was compiled by cross checking the *LSA* Project database with Gehn's 2012 catalog against my own research. Gehn's list (375, note 1874) also includes the monuments of Stephanos (see note 60 below), Theodosius from Aphrodisias, and Mavortius from Puteoli. I have decided to omit Stephanos for the reasons listed below; Theodosius because it is an imperial monument; and Mavortius because it does not include a portrait head. I have also excluded two full monuments of a pair of boxers from Aphrodisias (Piseas: *LSA*-531 and -532; and Candidianus: *LSA*-545 and -547) because their identities are so obviously outside of my research interests surrounding politics and religion. However, athletes, like emperors and women, were certainly integrals components of the larger political landscape, and their honorific monuments stood alongside those of male civil

All six monuments fall within the wider parameters of the study: non-imperial persons dating between 284-550 CE. It is more reasonable to reconstruct these monuments than it is to treat their components separately, as the true value of these case studies is as a combination of the elements.³

A. The Monument of Gaius Caelius Saturninus *signo Dogmatius*⁴

Rome, 324 CE

Portrait statue: *LSA-903*; inscribed base: *LSA-1266*

Figures 90-94

(ivy) DOGMATII (ivy)

HONORI

· C(aio) · Caelio Saturnino · v(iro) · c(larissimo) ·
 allecto petitu senatus inter
 consulares comiti · d(omini) · n(ostri) · Constantini
 victoris Aug(usti) · vicario praefecturae (5)
 Urbis, iudici sacrarum cog(nitionum) · , vicario
 praeFF(ectorum) · praetorio bis: in urbe Roma
 et per MYsias examinatori per Ita

servants and local elites without dramatic differentiation. My larger book project plans to include all three of these categories to more accurately describe the entire phenomenon of late antique honorific monuments and politics.

The Ephesian inscribed base and sculpture known as “Stephanos” has been excluded from this list due to the controversial dating of its components. Miltner’s 1959 excavation records date the entire monument to the fourth century. Oberleitner’s 1959 study stylistically dated the torso and head to the early-sixth century. Using Miltner’s 1959 excavation records, Clive Foss argues, “The position of the find left no doubt that head, statue, and base belonged together” (Foss 1983, 199), and dates both the statue and the inscription to the early-sixth century. However, Feissel’s epigraphic study of 1998 places the inscription in the early-fifth century, and the *LSA Project* has tentatively accepted that the head and torso date to the early-sixth century, while the inscription dates to about 410. I strongly agree with Oberleitner and the *LSA Project* that the head and torso must be substantially later than the fourth century and are most likely Justinianic. However, as regards to the inscription, I defer the conclusion to the (albeit contrasting) opinions of the experts. If they do belong together, however, it only adds one more piece of evidence to the argument that dramatic eyes and an uplifted head are the hallmarks of a Late Antique portrait of a civil magistrate, and not a Holy Man. If they do not belong together, then we are left with an unidentified early-sixth century portrait, with deeply drilled eyes, an intense facial expression, holding a mappa and a scepter, and with a pile of scrolls at his feet, which are clad in the senatorial *calcei*. If it is indeed of the fourth century, the inscription may not help us to definitively identify him as a civil magistrate, but it is still incredibly. See Miltner (1959), Oberleitner (1959), Foss (1983), and *LSA-698* and *-732* for the dating controversy.

³ However, I have noted when there does exist a debate about the likely cohesiveness of a monument.

⁴ Literature by date published: R. Garrucci, *Monumenti del Museo Lateranese* (1861) 88-101; R. Garrucci, *RA* 1862, 33 ff.; W. Henzen, *Nuove Memorie dell’ Istituto* (1865) 294; Th. Mommsen, *De C. Caelii Saturnini titulo* (1865); O. Benndorf—R. Schöne, *Die antiken Bildwerke des Lateranensischen Museums* (1867) 317, no. 453; *CIL* VI, 1704; Arndt—Lippold, *Einzel-Aufnahmen* (1914) VIII. 2213; G. v. Kaschnitz—Weinberg, *Die Antike* (1926) 52 ff.; L’Orange, *Studien* 49.54.64 f. 139, no. 92; R. Parideni, *Il Ritratto nell’ arte antica* (1934) pl. 349; F. Poulsen, “le remploi des statues dans l’antiquite,” *Gazette des Beaux arts* 1934 II, 1 ff.; F. Poulsen, *Römische Kulturbilder* (1946) 300; F.W. Goethert, “Studien zur Kopienforschung,” *RM* 54 (1939) 216 ff.; L. Goldscheider, *Roman Portraits* (1940) pl. 100; Giuliano, *Ritratti* (1957) 81 f. no. 99; H. von Heintze, “Rez. Zu Giuliano, *Ritratti*,” *Gnomon* (1960) 159; Blank, *Wiederverwendung alter statue als ehrendenkmaler bei griechen* (19??) 34 f., no. A8; v. Sydow, *Zur Kunstgeschichte des spätantiken Porträts im 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (1969) 153; Bergmann, *Studien zum römischen Porträt des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* (1977) 152; H.R. Goette, *JdI* 103 (1988) 463 ff.; H.R. Goette, *Studien zu römischen Togadarstellungen* (1990) 134; Di Stefano Manzella and S. Orlandi, “Dedica onoraria e carrieri di Caius Caelius Saturninus” in Di Stefano Manzella (ed), *Le iscrizioni dei cristiani in Vaticano. (Inscriptiones Sanctae Sedis 2)* (1997), 267-9; U. Gehn, *Ehrenstatuen in der Spätantike. Chlamydai und Togati* (2012) 498-504, W3.

liam praeFecto annon(a)e Urbis ratio
 nali privat(a)e vicario summae rei (10)
 rationum rationali vicario per
 Gallias magistro censu(u)m vicario
 a consiliis sacris magistro stu
 diorum magistro libellorum duce
 nario a consiliis (sacris) sexag(enario) · a consiliis (15)
 sacris · sexag(enario) · studiorum adiutori
 fisci advocato per Italiam.
 · C(aius) · Fl(avius) · Caelius Urbanus · v(ir) · c(larissimus) ·
 consularis patri

In honour of Dogmatius. To Gaius Caelius Saturninus, of clarissimus rank, enrolled by request of the senate in the rank of consularis, count of our lord the victorious Augustus Constantine, deputy of the prefecture of Rome, judge in the sacred court of appeal, twice deputy of the praetorian prefects: in the city of Rome and for the chief officer of the imperial patrimony, deputy of the chief officer of the imperial fisc, deputy chief officer of the imperial patrimony in Gaul, head of the census, deputy at the imperial council, head of the imperial records, head of the office of petitions, functionary of the imperial council receiving an annual salary of 200,000 sestertii, functionary of the imperial council receiving an annual salary of 60,000 sestertii, assistant functionary at the records office receiving an annual salary of 60,000 sestertii, advocate of the fiscus in Italy. Gaius Flavius Caelius Urbanus, of clarissimus rank with rank of consularis, [set this up] to his father.⁵

Excavated together in 1856 from the foundations of Palazzo Filippini alla Pilota at the foot of the Quirinal Hill in Rome, the over life-size Dogmatius monument is composed of a well-preserved portrait head, a togate body standing on an inscribed plinth, and a completely legible and intact inscribed dedicatory base. The plinth carries the inscription DOGMATII flanked by two *hederae*, and then continues with HONORI in the same lettering on the base, unmistakably linking the two; and the head exhibits a marble piece at the base of the front of the throat in order to join with the body.⁶ The monument is narrowly dated to the year 324 CE based on the inscription.

It is my opinion that the largely reused components belong together as an early-to-mid-fourth century honorific monument. The portrait head is likely the only “new” element of this monument, which simultaneously suggests the prohibitive expense of the larger marble components, the availability of older, out-of-use monument components, and the relative importance of the portrait head as the true signifier of identity, individuality, and physical likeness. The portrait fits easily into the Constantinian portrait style, and there is no reason not to believe that the person depicted is not the Dogmatius honored in the inscription, or that the head was first carved or reworked expressly for the purpose of depicting him. Even if it was recut, the portrait head clearly received occasion-specific, detailed artistic attention for this final use in a way that the body, plinth, and base did not.⁷

The relationship of the statue body to the head shows signs of ancient restoration on the back of the neck, proving that the head belongs to this body. The back of the statue body’s neck shows a piece of toga that has been cut away in order to accommodate the head, while another

⁵LSA-1266. My own translation, slightly amended from C. Machado.

⁶Gehn (2012), 498-504, Bergmann (2005), 159-160, and Giuliano (1957), 81, no. 99, detail the connections between each element.

⁷Some scholars assert that the portrait head may indeed be recut as well, pointing to “the lack of depth of the face, the flatness of the back of the head, and the long contour of the hair on the neck” as evidence for recutting (LSA-903, J. Lenaghan). U. Gehn suggests that if the head is recut, the original was likely still Constantinian (Gehn 2012, 498).

piece of marble has been pasted on the front of the neck to join the head and the edge of the new toga. Moreover, the off-center position of the pit of the throat proves that the head and the statue body were not originally made for each other. Still, the added piece of marble on the front of the neck proves that they were indeed joined in antiquity for this secondary use.⁸

The style of the voluminous early imperial toga likely belongs in the second century CE,⁹ and the naturalistic depiction of the body's structure underlying the garment is not characteristic of a mid-fourth century date.¹⁰ Moreover, the inscription of the cognomen "DOGMATII" on the plinth attached to the statue body is an addition of this secondary use.

Finally, the inscribed base was also reused for this final monument. The ornaments on the sides of the base, an *urceus* and a *patera*, easily identify it as a secondary use, as they are now upside down. Additionally, the size of the base's shaft appears too large for the plinth of the statue body, and the base also has no crown molding, suggesting that it was not originally cut specifically for the Dogmatius monument. The statue plinth, meanwhile, shows a peculiar cutting at the right side, most noticeably in a diagonal angle at the bottom of the bundle of scrolls. This indicates that it was likely damaged, and then cut down in order to be reused. That the plinth and the inscribed base belong together is confirmed by the continuation of the cognomen "DOGMATII" on the plinth into "HONORI" onto the base.¹¹

The Dogmatius monument is currently one of the most narrowly dated complete monuments of which we know, and certainly the most narrowly dated non-imperial portrait head, dating to 324. The inscription dates the entire monument to period between 324-337, when Constantine was already a *victor* but still alive and not yet deified.¹² Furthermore, the monument can probably be dated even more narrowly at 324, as it does not yet include the office of praetorian prefect, which Dogmatius held from 325-335 as evidenced by a second inscription dedicated to him.¹³

The monument was excavated from the foundations of Palazzo della Pilotta at the foot of the Quirinal Hill in Rome, along with the second inscribed base just mentioned above.¹⁴ Both bases were *in situ* and dedicated to the same honorand, Gaius Caelius Saturninus, by the same dedicator, Gaius Flavius Caelius Urbanus, who identifies himself in both inscriptions as a *vir clarissimus* and Saturninus's son. The second inscribed base reads:

C(aio) Caelio Saturnino, v(iro) c(larissimo),
praefecto praetorio.

C(aius) Caelius Urbanus, v(ir) c(larissimus),
consularis, patri.

⁸ Von Heintze 1960, 159.

⁹ Goette Toga style b.

¹⁰ Goether 1939, 216. Early studies of the statue posited that the head and the body statue should be considered as a single, originally contiguous piece of sculpture, and therefore dated together to the same period, whether Hadrianic or Constantinian (Goethert 1939 and Guiliano 1957). See Gehn (2012), 498-504 for a synopsis of the range of dates assigned to the original body and head. See also *CIL* VI, 1704 (p. 4739).

¹¹ Machado (*LSA*-1266), however, calls their association into question, pointing out that the *CIL* account is unclear on the relationship between the find spots of the body and the inscribed base, and furthermore, that it is "possible that 'HONORI' should not be associated with 'Dogmatii,' and be translated as 'To the honor of Dogmatius,' but was itself a *signum* 'of Honorius,' associated with a different (and now lost) statue."

¹² Machado *LSA*-1266. See also Delmaire 1989 (19-21).

¹³ Lenaghan, *LSA*-903. *LSA*-1412, also dedicated to Dogmatius by the same son and was found in the same place, honors him as Praetorian Prefect and dates to 325-335. This base must postdate ours, as dictated by the standard *cursus honorum*.

¹⁴ *LSA*-1412.

Gaius Caelius Urbanus, *vir clarissimus*, [sets this up] to his father, Gaius Caelius Saturninus, *vir clarissimus* and praetorian prefect.¹⁵

Compared to our inscription with its full *cursus honorum* listed office by office, this second inscription is noticeably sparser, listing only the single office of praetorian prefect. Given that this is the only office mentioned, and it is a higher office not listed in the longer inscription, we can reasonably infer that the occasion for the inscription is Dogmatius's appointment to the office of praetorian prefect, and that it was dedicated after our longer inscription.

The inscribed base of our monument is in the traditional *cursus honorum* style, listing the honorand's full identity in a single sentence of prose. It is characteristically in the dative, and is followed by his political honors and offices in chronological order, beginning with the most celebrated title, in this case his election to the Senate.¹⁶ The style, language, and composition are consistent with inscriptions from the Latin West, and the full *cursus* is particularly characteristic of the conservative tradition of Roman inscriptions. Dogmatius is clearly adhering closely to the conventions of earlier Roman inscriptions with this monument. Especially in combination with the reused body wearing the voluminous imperial toga, the effect would have been one of continuous historical propriety in close communication with the older honorific monuments that were surely still visible in the city. Even without closely reading the inscription, the inscription's length, traditional abbreviations, and well known archaizing costume type would have echoed the traditional Roman austerity, conservatism, and stability. Even the illiterate would potentially know where to look for the honorand's and dedicator's names (first and last, respectively), encasing a litany of previous offices and titles chronicling the honorand's long and prestigious career. Even at face value, this monument clearly places Dogmatius within a long and well-recognized tradition of honorific protocol, and immediately identifies him as a member of an elite group of civil administrators.

Dogmatius's career included posts at the imperial court (*sexag. studiorum adiutor, sexag. a consiliis sacris, ducenarius a consiliis, magister libellorum, magister studiorum, vicarius a consiliis sacris, magister censum*), financial offices (*vicarius summae rei rationum, rationalis privatae*), offices in Rome and Italy (*fisci advocatus per Italiam, praefectus annonae urbis, examinatus per Italiam, vicarius praefectus praetorio in urbe Roma, vicarius praefecturae urbis, iudex sacrarum cognitionum*), offices in the provinces (*rationalis vicarius per Gallias, vicarius praefectus praetorio per Mysias*), a *comes* of Constantine (*comes d.n. Constantini Victoris Aug.*), and finally election to the Senate (*allectus petito senatus inter consulares*).¹⁷

As is typical of this time period, none of these honors include any reference to either Roman priesthoods or specifically Christian offices. As noted in the previous chapter, Cameron posits that listing pagan priesthoods in honorific inscriptions was largely abandoned after Constantine, at least in Rome.¹⁸ If the Dogmatius inscription dates to 324, this is well within Constantine's reign and the same year that, following his victory over Licinius, he enacted a number of pro-Christian laws protecting their status and property. It is possible that the Dogmatius inscription is responding to these social conditions, and the lack of pagan priesthoods in an intentional omission of information identifying his pagan religious activity. Of course, it is also possible that Dogmatius never held a priesthood even though he was a pagan, or

¹⁵ LSA-1412.

¹⁶ Sandys 1919, 111-114.

¹⁷ PLRE I, 806, Saturninus 9.

¹⁸ Cameron 2011, 132-172.

alternatively that he was a Christian and refused to hold a pagan priesthood. What is significant here is that we are entirely unable to tell which explanation is closest to the truth: the inscription is completely silent on religious affiliation. Instead, the inscription is taken up by a full catalog of secular administrative offices, going into such detail so as to even list the salaries of three of the offices.

The iconography of Dogmatius's costume and accoutrements are similarly devoted to embodying the ideal of the accomplished and tenured civil servant. The early imperial toga, tunic, and closed-toed leather equestrian boots are typical of the traditional Roman magistrate. At his right foot rests a small bundle of scrolls, secured with a thin strap. Even though the body is reused, even in Late Antiquity, the iconography of the toga and scrolls still communicated the same messages of the reverence and respect due to the traditional Roman magistrate and his related intelligence, education, and culture. In fact, the reuse of an older togate body should be understood as an explicit allusion to traditional Roman austerity, responsibility, and civic service. I believe that the heavy drapery reaching down to the floor would have been an effective appeal to an earlier time, even if the audience didn't know that the statue was not just archaizing in style but actually the reuse of an early imperial original. It would have immediately connected Dogmatius to the orderly glory of several centuries earlier, placing him within the same stable tradition of the administrative *mos maiorum*.

Given the secure association of the inscription to the statue, it is unsurprising that no one has ever attempted to read the portrait head as one of divine inspiration. It has (correctly) never been disputed that this monument honors anyone other than a late antique civil magistrate. While it seems obvious that this interpretation is clearly the correct one, the portrait head bears striking resemblance to those of the "late antique holy men" discussed previously in Chapter III. As compared with the shield portrait of the "Old Philosopher" from Aphrodisias (Figure 44),¹⁹ dated to the late-fourth or early-fifth century, the Dogmatius portrait is remarkably similar. Both portraits show a plastically molded, heavily furrowed forehead, with a slight dip in the center above the eyebrows. Both have very heavy brow ridges with incised eyebrows, and knitted glabellar muscles (vertical wrinkles between the brows). The irises of both sculptures are lightly incised, with much more deeply and schematically drilled U-shaped pupils. They also share a bony and gaunt facial physiognomy, with heavy bags under the eyes and hollow cheeks beneath plastically molded cheekbones. The main difference between Dogmatius and the Old Philosopher is in the styles of the hair and beards. The Old Philosopher has longer, flowing, though still orderly and carefully groomed, hair and a similarly long beard, befitting a philosopher; while Dogmatius wears closely cropped hair and light stubble. Taking into account the conspicuous similarities in technique, style, and expression between the two portrait heads, we should expect that they would be similarly interpreted. And yet Dogmatius is only discussed in terms of more exact historical dating, the trajectory of his career, and the chronological and stylistic implications of the statue and its costume.²⁰ However, the Old Philosopher is noted for his "engaged intense expression,"²¹ "invented expressive elements... echoes from hellenistic philosopher portraits... an expressive of wide-eyed fervor," all of which represent the "concentration and vigour of mind," "intellectual power," and "an overriding intense, beatific spirituality."²²

¹⁹ *LSA-207*. See also Smith (1990), 144-146, Pls. XII-XIII.

²⁰ Gehn (2012) summarizes the main bibliography and its arguments.

²¹ *LSA-207*, Smith.

²² All from Smith (1990), 145.

Here, context is key: long flowing hair and beard are proof of the honorand's occupation as a philosopher only because we are aware of the sculpture's archaeological context as just one of a clearly contemporary set of famous (pagan) philosophers.²³ Similarly, Dogmatius's short hair and stubble are meaningful indicators of military-like discipline in civil office only in concert with the iconography of his costume and honors of his inscription. Without the contextual information, the heads alone both might be interpreted as characteristic of late antique "spirituality" with their similarly emotive and striking eyes and realistically aged facial physiognomy. Without context, the Old Philosopher might be interpreted as a particularly devout Christian. The Dogmatius head, meanwhile, might be mistaken for a soldier, given the military haircut and campaign beard.

Thus, even though the individual components of the Dogmatius monument might produce strikingly dissimilar interpretations of who the individual was when studied in isolation, the monument's comprehensive message is communicated only in its most complete form. The true honorand is neither a devout Christian, deliberately advertising his religion by excluding pagan priesthoods, as the inscription, and especially its loaded date, could suggest. Neither is he a high imperial office holder of centuries past as the reused body statue alone might imply, nor a soldier with a military haircut as the head indicates. Instead, the full monument presents the multi-faceted public persona of a late antique Roman senator: experienced, high born, well-paid, the recipient of multiple consecutive offices appointed by the emperor. He is additionally cultured, and wealthy enough to have acquired for his monument an older statue body wearing a high imperial Roman toga and accompanied by the scrolls indicative of the responsible and imperially-sanctioned traditional civil servant. Finally, he is individually identifiable by his distinctive portrait head, displaying the determination and vigilance of the committed magistrate, as well as the devotion to discipline that his military haircut implies. Even though the monument singles Dogmatius out for to be honored, it identifies him as a complicit and integrated member of the civil administration, Its main goal is to signal his inclusion and conformity to the group, and not proclaim his extraordinary individuality. To emphasize his singularity or differentiate him on the basis of religion in particular would be entirely at odds with the overwhelming message of the honorand's belonging. The purpose of the monument is to include Dogmatius within such a prestigious civil group based on his quality of character, not to exclude him based on religious allegiance. Whether he is or is not Christian is beside the point.

B. The Monument of Virius Audentius Aemilianus²⁴

Puteoli, 364-379 CE

Portrait statue: *LSA-46*; inscribed base: *LSA-41*

Figures 95-99

Aemilianii.

²³ For more on long hair as the hallmark of the philosopher, see Zanker (1995), 256-266.

²⁴ Literature by date: M. Napoli, "Statua ritratto di Virio Audentio Emiliano," *BdA* 44 (1959) 107-113; H. v. Heintze in Th. Krauss, *Das römische Weltreich* PropKG II (1967), Taf. 334a; *L'Année épigraphique* 1968, 115; G. Camodeca, "Ricerche su Puteoli tardoromana (fine II-IV secolo)," *Puteoli IV* (1981) 59-128, 90, 106-7; R. Bonacasa-Carra in *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano*, 1983, 135. 137 Taf. 19, 1-3; H.R. Goette, *Studien zu römischen Togadarstellungen* (1990) 166, taf. 26, 2, S.52; J. Meischner, "Das Porträt der valentinianischen Epoche," *JdI* 107 (1992), 214-237, ad. 225 f.; F. Zevi et al, *Museo Archeologico dei Campi Flegrei: Castello di Baia. II. Catalogo generale. Pozzuoli.*, Naples 2008, 151; U. Gehn, *Ehrenstatuen in der Spätantike. Chalmydati und Togati*, 2012, 504-13, cat. No. W4; and G. Camodeca, Epigraphic Database Roma, EDR074810.

Audentio Aemiliano (sic, Aemiliano),
 v(iro) c(larissimo), cons(ulari) Camp(aniae), patrono
 pr(a)estantissimo, iudici
 admirando, insufficie(n)s (5)
 eius beneficiis pr(a)estitis,
 populus cunctus
 statuum collocavit.

(Statue of) Aemilianus. To Audentius Aemilianus, of *clarissimus* rank, governor (*consularis*) of Campania, most outstanding patron, admirable judge, although insufficient to reward his outstanding services, the entire populus set up this statue.²⁵

Found in Puteoli's Via Rosini in the area of the imperial forum in 1955 during construction of the "Educandato femminile," the monument consists of only two parts: the tall inscribed base, and the reused life-size statue, which was sculpted as a single piece from head to plinth, although the head was found broken off and next to the body. There is a clamp hole on the back of the statue which corresponds with a hole in the base. The base and the statue were excavated together in an area which is now believed to be the forum of Puteoli, and there is no disagreement that the two should be understood to be part of the same late antique monument in their final use. Although Napoli disagrees, Julia Lenaghan and the *LSA Project* believe that the head has been recarved, due to evidence of longer hair on the nape of the neck, "abbreviated and awkward" ears, and a foreshortened upper lip, which is proof that there used to be a mustache and perhaps a full beard.²⁶ The base has also been reused in the Aemilianus monument, as evidenced by an oinochoe on the left side, and a patera on the right, indicating that it was likely earlier used as an altar.²⁷ Additionally, the thick plinth at the top of the base above the molding (distinct from the thinner oval plinth connected to the statue) has been reworked with a pointed chisel, with traces of a previous inscription still visible at the bottom.

Like the Dogmatius monument, the Aemelianus monument is one of the very few complete surviving monuments that can be securely and externally dated by an honorand known from other inscriptions. An inscription from Capua identifies Aemilianus as the *consul Campaniae* under two *Augusti*, and therefore must date to either 364-7 (Valentinian I and Valens), 375 (Gratian and Valens), or 378-9 (Gratian and Valentinian II).²⁸ The *terminus post quem* must be 365, as before that date Campania was governed by a certain Bulephorus until early 365.²⁹ Audentius Aemilianus was the governor of *Africa Proconsularis* and had the rank of *spectabilis* sometime between 379 and 383, which serves as a *terminus ante quem* for our inscription as he was only *nobilissimus* in the Capuan inscription.³⁰ In the range of possibilities from 365-379, it is more likely that our inscription dates to the end of the range, as it is a likely progression from the Campanian governorship to the African proconsularship without any significant break in time.³¹

²⁵ *LSA*-41, My own translation.

²⁶ Napoli 1959:, 110-111; *LSA*-46, J. Lenaghan under "Description." Lenaghan also believes that the body may be reworked as well, as the "right hand is extremely awkward" and there may be traces of letters near the right foot.

²⁷ Bowerman 1913, 87.

²⁸ *CIL* X 3842.

²⁹ *PLRE* I, 165.

³⁰ *CIL* VIII 14728 mentions both Gratian and Theodosius, and therefore must date between 379-383, when both were *Augusti*. See also *PLRE* I, 22, Aemilianus 4; and Gehn (2012), 506-7.

³¹ Gehn 2012, 507.

Aemilianus' inscription differs substantially from the traditional *cursus honorum* that lists offices in rough chronological order. Instead, the Aemilianus inscription cites only two specific achievements: his current office, *consular Campaniae*, and his rank as a *virus clarissimus*. Following these, the prose inscription lists a few more generic and flowery accolades: *patron praesantissimus*, *iudex admirandus*, thanking him for his *beneficiis praestitis*. Of the traditional formula, the Aemilianus inscription retains only his full name, his specific office and rank, and the prose structure of [dative honorand] + [offices/titles/accolades] + [nominative dedicator]. Otherwise, the formula of traditional Roman honorific epigraphy appears to have broken down in this inscription, although it was still in use ca. 30-40 years earlier in the Dogmatius inscription. However, the style is still more conservative than that of the embellished and even more vague and informal verse epigrams in the East. The roughly contemporary, if perhaps a bit later, inscription of Oecumenius in the late-fourth to fifth century, to be discussed next, completely departs from the traditional formula, citing only a single nomen and the office of “ἡγεμονῆα”, and instead listing generalized moral character traits and accolades in verse. I believe that we can attribute these differences in honorific practice to geographic location and local tradition. Given that they both honor Italian political offices, the Dogmatius and Aemilianus inscriptions were almost certainly commissioned, manufactured, and erected within Italy, where they were later found. Accordingly, the honorands, awarding councils, sculptors, engravers, and viewing public were much more heavily influenced by the centuries old, widely pervasive, and still easily and abundantly accessible historical and epigraphic conventions which Rome and the Italian peninsula had to offer. Monuments and their inscriptions retained greater gravitas and political significance if they conformed closely to their illustrious and universally respected early Imperial precedents. Hence, the Western Dogmatius and Aemilianus inscriptions retain more of the traditional Roman custom of citing the honorand's full name followed by an (abbreviated or not) *cursus honorum* in prose, as compared with the more typically Eastern Late Antique flowery honorific verse epigram.

Even in this transitional dedicatory epigraphy between the traditional Roman *cursus* inscription and the Late Antique verse epigram, however, the Aemilianus inscription is dedicated to his accomplishments and virtues as a public magistrate. Even though the accolades are significantly more vague than a concrete list of offices held, admiring his achievements as a judge and patron involve his roles only as a civil servant in public office. While flowery eastern verse epigrams tend to refer to more abstract personal qualities that are potentially applicable to any number of public or private roles, such blandishments are foregone in favor of strict adherence to his public magisterial persona, perhaps due to the Italian civic context. The Aemilianus inscription is therefore borrowing some of the looser eastern late antique conventions, but is still very much beholden to the Italian, and especially Roman, tradition of honorific inscriptions as restricted to the realm of civic accomplishments. It is a hybrid of honorific habits of both West and East, both of which require that honorific inscriptions recognize primarily civil and political achievement. There is little space in the cultural conception of statue honors for personal, familial, ethnic, religious, etc. considerations.

Finally, it is worth briefly mentioning that the base was most likely a reused altar, based on the patera and oinochoe carved in relief on the sides. Moreover, it should go without saying that an altar with utensils for pouring libations is not traditionally part of Christian worship; it belongs to pagan polytheism. Aemilianus' religious affiliation is nowhere indicated, and therefore we cannot say whether this clash of religious symbolism would have been theologically problematic or not, but this is beside the point. The point of this monument, as the inscription

itself makes perfectly clear, was to honor Aemilianus' civil accomplishments in office. The use of the base explicitly indicates that repurposing a religious altar for the inscription was ultimately not an issue, as the new purpose was definitively political and civil.

Likewise, Aemilianus' costume and iconography speak primarily to his role as a public magistrate. He wears a traditional high imperial toga, tunic, and closed-toed leather boots with straps, the *calcei senatorii*. He holds a scroll in his right hand, as is typical for statues of politicians and civil magistrates.³² Beside his right leg sits a schematic box with a strap around its middle, presumably a casket of scrolls. As mentioned earlier, the statue body is certainly reused, given that the costume is the voluminous toga characteristic of the first century.³³ The initial impression on the viewer would have been that of an austere public servant in the customary costume of the Roman senate. Moreover, the viewer would have immediately recognized that the toga depicted was not of the contemporary fourth century fashion (shorter, more streamlined, more tightly bound across the chest), but of the high imperial style. It would have communicated the honorand's reverence for and observance of more old-fashioned values and traditions. This also would communicate that the honorand and/or dedicator had the permission, money, and connections to acquire such an antique and recommission it anew.

Moreover, it is clear that the requisite sculpting skill did exist and it was a deliberate choice not to resculpt the body, as the choice *was* made to reshape the portrait head. The long hair on the nape of the neck, the awkwardly shaped ears, and evidence of a lock on the right side of the head (at the temple, just above the beard) indicate that the hair was once longer and has been chiseled closer to the head. Moreover, new eyebrows have been etched into the brow bone and a beard of short stubble has been incised into the chin (versus sculpted in relief, as the hair is).³⁴ Aemilianus is depicted with the same artistic and stylistic characteristics once attributed to the late antique Holy Man: the slight turn of the neck, the head's compact density, "la superficie tesa della fronte,"³⁵ and of course, large eyes framed by deep, heavy eyelids and deep dramatically drilled circular pupils. The schematic rendering of the brow bones and facial physiognomy, alternating between gently angular and idealized curvilinear plains, are also not shapes that occur in nature, and thus would have once been categorized as "other worldly." This portrait is comparable both stylistically and chronologically to the famous togate imperial portrait of Arcadius or Valentinian II (388-392 CE) from Aphrodisias, which has been described as exhibiting "elevated calm handsome ideal features" and "the serene imperial *sacer vultus*,"³⁶ as well as "a gentle appearance of serene calmness; with a dreamy expression."^{37,38}

However, despite Aemilianus' physiognomic similarities to these "divinely inspired" portraits of the young Christian emperors, the accompanying magisterial accessories and inscription give absolutely no indication that we should interpret his dramatic eyes and schematic

³² Gehn 2012 (507-8) suggests that this is potentially either a scroll or a scepter. However, given that the togate body is most likely reused, and scepters are characteristically late antique attributes, I see no reason why the object should be anything other than a scroll.

³³ Goette style Bb, which broadly dates to the first century CE. Goette 1990, 29.

³⁴ Lenaghan additionally asserts that the pupils have been enlarged, and the downturn of the mouth indicates that the head used to have a mustache. I am less convinced by these features and do not see why they must be evidence of recarving. *LSA-46*, J. Lenaghan, under "Description."

³⁵ Napoli 1959, 108.

³⁶ Smith 1999, 183.

³⁷ Kiilerich 1993, 71.

³⁸ *LSA-163*. The togate statue was found near inscribed statue bases for Arcadius (*LSA-164*) and Valentinian II (*LSA-166*).

face as the *sacer vultus* of a Late Antique Holy Man. Instead, these physical characteristics are more indicative of his status as a politician: a consul, a *virus clarissimus*, a most outstanding patron, and an admirable judge, as the inscription clearly indicates. Like Dogmatius, in this instance the intensity of Aemilianus' expression is not meant to convey any religious or spiritual aspirations, but political virtues instead. He appears stern, composed, and dignified, all befitting an accomplished magistrate.

The monument of Aemilianus is a perfect example of the late antique reuse with a clear and coherent late antique objective. The base was formerly an altar. The portrait statue was originally carved in a single piece in the first century CE based on the toga style. In the 360-370s, these elements were assembled in a single monument. The base's previous inscription was chiseled down, and the head was recarved as Aemilianus, although the body and costume were left alone. The mistake would be to assume that a contemporary late-fourth century audience in Puteoli would have seen the monument as a haphazard, mismatched jumble of elements spanning centuries. They would certainly recognize the toga style as old-fashioned, and likely the marble of both the base and the statue would appear worn, and not sparkling new. Instead, they would likely appreciate the patina and antique fashion of the monument as an impressive nod to traditional honorific culture. The inscription would identify the honorand simply and succinctly as primarily their local governor of Campania, as honored by the entire *populus*. Even if the base had been previously used within a religious context as a (pagan) altar, there seems to have been no problem repurposing the base for this political honorific use. The bundle of scrolls at his feet and the single scroll in his hand would have been appropriate to duties of his political office. The closely-cropped hair and neat stubble beard might have been recognizable as those of his specific person, and his stern, intent expression would have indicated the vigilance, responsibility, and austerity Aemilianus brought to his office. Regardless of any other number of overlapping identities he must have had, whether familial, ethnic, national, recreational, or religious, the monument's primary purpose was to honor his political career, and thus these other characteristics are brushed aside in this incarnation. While the components might have had different provenances, within the monument of Aemilianus, they would have conveyed a single consistent and coherent message that within the setting of the forum, he was primarily a civil magistrate, with the requisite power, prestige, respect, resources, and ability to be honored with a monument in the traditional Roman style.

C. The Monument of Oecumenius³⁹

Aphrodisias, late-fourth to fifth century, possibly pre-382/3

Portrait statue: *LSA-150*; inscribed base: *LSA-151*

Figures 100-110

τὸν σὲ νόμων πλή/
θοντα, τὸν Ἴταλι/
ώτιδα Μοῦσαν v./

³⁹ Literature by date: K.T. Erim, "Two new early Byzantine statues from Aphrodisias," *DOP* 21 (1967), 285-6, no 2, fig 2; I. Sevcenko, "A late antique epigram and the so-called Elder Magistrate from Aphrodisias," *Synthronon: Art et archeology de la fin de l'antiquité et du moyen age, recueil d'études*, Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques 2 (1968), 29-41; A.H.M. Jones et al., *PLRE* 1975, I 115; C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity (Journal of Roman Studies Monograph 5)*, London 1989, no. 31; R.R.R. Smith, "Late antique portraits in a public context: honorific statuary at Aphrodisias in Caria, AD 300-600," *JRS* 89 (1999), 162-5, fig 6, pl II; R.R.R. Smith, "The statue monument of Oecumenius. A new portrait of a late antique governor from Aphrodisias," *JRS* 92 (2002), 134-56; and U. Gehn, *Ehrenstatuen in der Spätantike. Chalmydati und Togati*, 2012, 412-425, cat. No. O26.

v. Ἀτθίδος ἠδυεπεῖ /
 v. κιννάμενον μέλιτι / (5)
 τῆιδ' Οἰκουμένιον /
 τὸν ἀοίδιμον ἡγεμό /
 νῆα v. στήσε φίλη /
 βουλή τῶν Ἀφροδισιέω(ν)· /
 τῶι γὰρ δὴ καθαρῶι φρέ / (10)
 να καὶ χέρα, τί πλέον /
 εὐρεῖν v. μνημοσύ /
 νης ἀγαθῆς ἄλλο πά/ρεστι γέρας; [leaf]

You who are full of (knowledge of) laws, who have blended the Italian Muse with the sweet-voiced honey of the Attic, Oecumenius, the famous governor, the friendly council of the Aphrodisians has set you up here; for what greater reward than that of being well remembered can the man find who is pure in mind and in hand? (leaf)⁴⁰

The Oecumenius monument is especially valuable because it enjoys a secure archaeological context, thanks in part to its relatively recent discovery and complete documentation by the New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias. The base, still *in situ* today, is located in a double stoa in front of the Bouleuterion and the main agora, which was one of the main arenas for honorific display and the “political heart of ancient Aphrodisias.”⁴¹ The portrait head was found in 2002 in a large complex immediately to the west of the Bouleuterion called the “Bishop’s Palace,” which was originally a civic structure that was remodeled as a residence in the fourth century.⁴² The chlamydatus statue body was found in 1965, fallen in front of the inscribed base *in situ*, with its back up against the back wall of the double stoa.⁴³ Though they were found separately, the head and body were made as a single piece and the neck joins the body break-on-break. The find spot of the fallen body in relation to the base makes it difficult to argue that they are not related.⁴⁴

The head features an individualized plump face, broad nose, short curly beard, full mustache, deep U-shaped drilled pupils, and a characteristic late antique wreath-like hairstyle which formed a fringe around the forehead. Particular attention was paid to the articulation of the hair and beard, as they form comma locks and tight snail whorls, delineated by deep, narrow drill channels. The eyes are oversized, with lightly incised irises, and the U-shaped drilled pupils resemble no shape known in nature. When reattached to the body, the head looks slightly down and to the right. Combined with the unnaturally large and deeply drilled eyes, the effect must have been one of severity and intense scrutiny of those who passed. The facial structure is clearly invoking a particular person, and no argument can be made that this portrait was recut or one of a series of ready-made, just-change-the-hairstyle blanks to be hastily and minimally altered for a the client. R.R.R. Smith has noted that this portrait is particularly individualized and distinctive, faithfully depicting personal features in a period known for long, slender, willowy

⁴⁰ *LSA*-151, J. Lenaghan. Translated by C. Roueché.

⁴¹ Smith 2002, 135.

⁴² Smith 2002, 136.

⁴³ Smith 2002, 141-2 and 144.

⁴⁴ Three other statue monuments were found *in situ* in the double stoa: L. Antonius Dometeinus, a Severan priest; his niece Claudia Antonia Tatiana; and Alexander, a late antique governor, though this latter statue is headless. See Chapter VI.A.

profiles and bodies.⁴⁵ The portrait is also known in another life-sized marble head from Salamis, and were potentially based on the same image.⁴⁶

The body is clothed in the military *chlamys*, a typical costume for late antique governors, which is draped over the slightly extended left arm and reaches almost to the floor, just revealing the smooth boots beneath. The tight, long sleeved tunic is belted underneath the cloak, and the blousing can be seen on the right side. The cloak is fastened at the right shoulder with what was likely a tripendant fibula added in metal, though all that exists now is a small dowel hole. He holds a thin scroll in his right hand at his hip, and a bundle of scrolls lies near his left foot. Despite the excellent portrait head and the competent attention paid to the drape of the fabric, the body's proportions are still slightly skewed. While the head and torso appear to be of reasonable size, the lower body is too short and slight, and the lightly bent knee is set too far back to be in correct alignment with the hip. From the side angle, the body is clearly too thin, willowy, and attenuated to be naturalistic. The extremely thin profile may be an indication that the sculptor was confined by the supply of new marble, or that the entire portrait was carved from a slab whose previous use defined its long, narrow shape. Taken together, the *chlamys*'s potential extra-urban military connotations are definitively quashed by the scrolls and the tripendant fibula, which clearly identify the costume type as that of the courtly and cosmopolitan imperial civil servant, and particularly the governor on provincial duty. The fibula and *chlamys* evoked the Constantinopolitan imperial court, and the scrolls moreover would have referenced the governor's official mandate and appointment as signed by the all-powerful emperor. More forcefully than the toga or himation, Oecumenius' statue's costume proclaims his cosmopolitan imperial connections and power as a magistrate.

The inscribed base is unusually tall and slender, and is another example of reuse, as it was previously the central pillar of another erased inscription, minus the top and bottom moldings. In combination with the tall and slender statue body, it created a monument that would have stood nearly 3 meters high with a profile that was "thoroughly willed and unclassical."⁴⁷ In a florid verse epigram of 13 lines, the inscription identifies the honorand as governor Oecumenius.⁴⁸ The language is typically elevated and pretentious as is characteristic of the flowery late antique poetry, and includes multiple vague acclamations, literary allusions, and praise for his quality of character. His bilingualism is referenced by his "blend[ing] the Italian Muse with the sweet-voiced honey of the Attic," and he is praised as "full of (knowledge of) laws" and "pure in mind and in hand," for which he will be "well remembered." However, the inscription still conforms to a more traditional honorific formula, with the honorand in the accusative, a typical verb of dedication (στῆσε), and the dedicator (the βουλή) in the nominative. This inscription should not be misconstrued as anything but conventional and official praise for an honest, hard-working, and accomplished politician. Sevckenko noted the marked absence of any definitively pagan or Christian elements,⁴⁹ and thus the Oecumenius monument should be a perfect example of an honorific monument which is completely uninterested in advertising its honorand's religious affiliation.

No other biographic information about Oecumenius beyond a single name and his office (hegemon, the lowest rank of governor) is communicated in this inscription. Because

⁴⁵ Smith 2002, 138.

⁴⁶ *LSA*-869, and Smith 2002, 140-1.

⁴⁷ Smith 2002, 144.

⁴⁸ Rouché, *ALA* 31.

⁴⁹ Sevckenko 1968, 39.

Aphrodisias was the provincial capital of Caria, we can safely assume that he was the governor of Caria. Another Oecumenius who was the governor of Crete in 382/3 is known within the epigraphic record.⁵⁰ Because the governorship of Crete was one of consular rank, it would mean that if these two statues represent the same person, he would have had to have held the Carian office first, because of its lower rank.⁵¹ It is notable that the Cretan Oecumenius was a committed pagan, as a statue of him at Olus by a certain Ursus was dedicated to the “Victory of the Romans,” referencing the recent religious clash between pagan Roman senators and the Christian emperor Gratian over the Altar of Victory in 382-4.⁵²

The possibility that our Oecumenius introduces a potential conflict of religion in the context of the hidden invocation inscribed on the top of the portrait head. Behind the crest of the wreath-like hairstyle, a few letters are inscribed: Χ Μ Γ.⁵³ As explored in Chapter IV, this is a common and well-attested Christian acronym from the fourth through the seventh centuries CE, and is most commonly expanded as Χριστὸν Μαρία γεννᾷ, Mary bore Christ. The three Greek letters are inscribed on top of the crown, a bit to the left of center, written by someone standing behind the head, looking down upon the top of the head. Given that the letters are neatly and carefully inscribed, even more so than the epigram on the base, and are positioned so as to be legible from behind and above, the inscription is likely contemporary with the statue, and not a later hasty addition when the monument had fallen. Moreover, when the monument is fully reconstructed, it would have stood several meters high, with its back close to the wall of the stoa behind it—making it extremely difficult to deface after erection. It is more likely that the inscription was deliberately and precisely incised during erection by someone closely involved in its construction.⁵⁴ R.R.R. Smith suggests that it was most likely a Christian artist or sculptor, working on a scaffold during its erection. Especially if Oecumenius is the same pagan governor from Crete, perhaps the craftsman mean to neutralize Oecumenius’ pagan pollution by invoking the craftsman’s own Christian god. However, we cannot dismiss the possibility that the Christian inscription was commissioned by Oecumenius himself, hence its placement on his monument.

Either way, what is most interesting is its covert placement on the top of the head, not visible to the public passersby of the monument. Was it indeed intended only to be read from behind and above by a Christian god? And when contrasted against the secular and political messages conveyed by the inscribed epigram, the military costume, and the focused straightforward gaze, the hidden Christian epigram suggests a far more complicated religious conversation. Was a Christian artist attempting to undermine or invalidate his patron’s paganism with a covert inscription? Or was Oecumenius only prepared to declare his own Christianity to God himself? Why the need for secrecy? Moreover, if our Oecumenius is the same man as the avowed pagan governor from Crete, what does this mean? Was he secretly a Christian, while professing outwardly to be a pagan? Or did he only publically declare his pagan sympathies

⁵⁰ *PLRE* I 115, Oecumenius Dositheus Asclepitodus 2.

⁵¹ Sevcenko (1968) did the first in depth study of the language, and concluded that it was unlikely they were the same person because the language of the verse epigram is more appropriately dated slightly later than 382, around 400. Roueche (1989), III.33 followed Sevcenko, suggesting that this is instead a father/son relationship. Smith (2002) presented all possibilities, but did not take a strong stand. Because the name is so rare, I am more likely to follow the securely dated epigraphic evidence and conclude that these are the same person, rather than rely on a 20 year difference based on stylistic considerations of verse composition. I am, however, willing to be persuaded that they were related should more evidence arise.

⁵² Robert 1948, 103-6. See Cameron (2011), 34-39 for a detailed description of the event.

⁵³ Rouché, *ALA* 254.

⁵⁴ Smith 2002, 151.

later, following the conflict over the Roman Altar of Victory in 382-4? Given this (albeit later) expression of paganism, and especially in the context of the conspicuously religiously neutral main honorific inscription, I am inclined to believe, as Smith does, that the acrostic was inscribed without Oecumenius' knowledge, potentially by the sculptor or a workman involved.

The Oecumenius monument is significant because of its secure archaeological context, individualized facial features, willowy body in the chlamys costume, and florid verse epigram. These features alone demonstrate the high level of workmanship, attention, and creativity still available in late antiquity, especially because the statue body and head were sculpted in a single piece and new for this specific use. The political messages communicated by the chlamys costume, including the codicil, fibula, and belt, are perfectly aligned with the flowery praise of the verse epigram. Oecumenius' qualities are emphasized: his bilingualism, his adherence to laws, and his incorruptibility. The result is a cultured, well-appointed, and entirely secular honorific monument intended to glorify his identity as a civil servant to the viewing public. And yet, the covert Christian invocation X M Γ behind the crest of hair complicates the simplified picture we have just painted. Even if the acrostic is indeed the work of a craftsman and was added unbeknownst to the governor, its inclusion points to a nuanced expression of religious affiliation in a climate where such concealment was preferable to a more public declaration. Even if the monument predates 382/3, this is still well past the the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312, the Edict of Milan in 313, the First Ecumenical Council at Nicaea in 325, and just following the declaration of Christianity as the sole state-authorized religion in 380.⁵⁵ Why then the need for secrecy? This honorific monument suggests even if Christianity were legally and officially recognized, the socio-cultural reality on the ground of a cosmopolitan city was quite different. Outside of legal statutes and the more sensational writings of dedicated pagans or Christians, the public religious climate was more complex. Just as it was prudent and politically advantageous for Oecumenius to omit any overt pagan sympathies, it was equally savvy for the craftsman to hide the Christian invocation. Regardless of spiritual belief, or even more outward expressions of worship, the monument of Oecumenius clearly proves that the honorific monument was not the appropriate place for public religious declarations. It was concerned to glorify the civil accomplishments of the honorand, which were apparently categorically distinct from religious affiliation.

D. The Monument of Eutropius⁵⁶

⁵⁵ See Chapter 1 for a succinct summary of these, and other, laws and statues which gradually established Christianity's official and legal dominance.

⁵⁶ Literature by date: R. Heberdey, "Vorläufiger Bericht über die Grabungen in Ephesus 1905/06," *ÖJH* 10 (1907) B73; G. Rodenwaldt, "Griechische Porträts aus dem Ausgang der Antike," *BWPr.* 76 (1919), 20, Nr. 13; H. Grégoire, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure. Fasc. I.* (1922), no. 99; G. v. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Die Antike* (1926) 58; L'Orange, *Studien* (1933) 84, no. 115; F. Eichler, "Das Denkmal des Eutropius von Ephesos," *AnzWien* 76 (1939) 5-13; J. Kollwitz, "Oströromische Plastik der theodosianischen Zeit," *Studien zur spätantike Kunstgeschichte* 12 (1941), taf. 43; L. Robert, *Hellenica IV* (1948) 21, 3; W. Oberleitner, "Fragment eines spätantiken Porträtkopfes aus Ephesos," *OJh* 44 (1959), 83-100; H.G. Severin, *Zur Portraitplastik des 5. Jahrhunderts nach Christ* (1972), 108 ff., No. 22; K. Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality I* (1979), no. 55; H. Engelmann, D. Knibbe, and R. Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Ephesos Teil IV. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, vol. 14* (1980), no. 1304; E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, "Reflections on the portrait of 'Eutropius' from Ephesus," in *Studi in memoria di Giuseppe Bovini I* (1989), 1-12; F.A. Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal in der Spätantike* (1996), 278 ff., 423; R. Merkelbach and J. Stauber, *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten. Bd. 1. Die Westküste Kleinasien von Knidos bis Ilion* (1998), 303, no. 03/02/10; R.R.R. Smith, "Late Antique Portraits in a

Ephesus, fifth century (?)
 Portrait head: *LSA-690*; inscribed base: *LSA-611*
 Figures 111-118

[cross] τήνδε φιλαγρύπνων /
 ὀλίγην χάριν εὔραο μόχθω(ν) /
 Εὐτρόπιε, ζαθέης Ἐφέσου /
 θάλος, οὐνεκα πάτρην /
 μαρμαρέαις κοσμήσας / (5)
 ἐστρώτοισιν ἀγυιαῖς.

(cross) Because of your sleepless toil, Eutropius, progeny of sacred Ephesus, you have attained this modest thanks because you adorned your fatherland with twisting marble streets.⁵⁷

Since its discovery in 1905, the monument of Eutropius has become one of the most discussed and cited honorific portraits of Late Antiquity. Found on a main ceremonial and public thoroughfare leading eastward from the Agora at Ephesus, the head was part of a larger bust based on its size, shape and cuttings in the neck and back (i.e. remains of shoulders hollowed out from behind). The street also contained several other late statues of officials. At the same time the head was excavated, an inscribed bracket was found nearby. The excavation reports describing the discovery of the bracket are far more detailed than those of the portrait head. The bracket was found on the same marble road as the head, about 20 meters from the northeastern corner of the Agora, and was originally probably partially set into a high embankment wall, which holds back the western slope of the Panayirdag mountain. The records are nowhere near as detailed as we would like on the respective positions of the bracket and the head to each other, but their possible association was noted as early as 1907 and continues to haunt scholars today. The dimensions of the bracket and the head match in size, and the bracket includes a sunken area and several clamp and dowel recesses that would be appropriate for a bust.

The head itself is variously dated between 400 to 475 CE, primarily on stylistic evidence. However, regardless of the date assigned, scholars across the decades unanimously seem to agree on the “spiritual” qualities of the portrait. The narrowness of the head, the extremely stylized linear folds of the skin, and the rejection of plastic molding in favor of incised facial features have all been cited as evidence of the portrait’s “world-denying spirituality”⁵⁸, “saintly countenance”⁵⁹, and “the sacred rectangularity of the god-like man.”⁶⁰ Scholars have been especially impressed by the modeling of the eyes, which are undeniably striking with their large almond shape, deeply incised pupils, and high, schematic eyebrows. While the eyes do appear to glare intensely at the viewer, other scholars have been convinced a step further. Somehow, this gaze has been interpreted as Eutropius’ release from the physical world, and his aspirations toward the spiritual one. The eyes have been described as “[blazing with] consuming fire”⁶¹, a “transcendental gaze”⁶², and “looking beyond the [physical] world.”⁶³ Indeed, the Eutropius head

Public Context: Honorific Statuary at Aphrodisias in Caria, AD 300-600,” *JRS* 89 (1999), 185; and U. Gehn, *Ehrenstatuen in der Spätantike. Chalmydati und Togati*, 2012, 371-374, O15

⁵⁷ *LSA-611*. My own translation, following A Sokolicek and U. Gehn.

⁵⁸ Kaschnitz-Weinberg 1926, 58.

⁵⁹ L’Orange 1947, 95.

⁶⁰ L’Orange 1947, 96.

⁶¹ Rodenwalt 1919, 26.

⁶² L’Oragne 1933, 85.

⁶³ Stutzinger 1983-4, 466.

is still hailed as the ideal example of the Late Antique “soul portrait”, which “remained fundamental to the portrayal of seers and saints throughout the Byzantine period.”⁶⁴ Of course, it is much easier to read the portrait’s linear composition and intense eyes as those of a spiritual and pious Christian when it is accompanied by inscription labeling it as a saint or a bishop, such as the San Vitale mosaic with the Bishop Maximianus clearly labeled. However, the accompanying epigraphy undermines the possibility that Eutropius head is indeed a spiritual soul portrait.

The inscription is opened with a cross, followed by a succinct six line verse epigram, written in three hexameters. It is dated broadly to the fifth century based primarily on its association with the portrait head, which is only dated stylistically, and secondarily on the cross, which is interpreted as Christian. Unlike the Oecumenius verse, Eutropius’ epigram is fairly straight forward and devoid of most of the flowery language typical of late antique examples. In fact, the only laudatory embellishment of the inscription is the description of the city of Ephesus as “sacred.” As mentioned in Chapter IV, this is a courtesy label, and a traditional and typical way of describing a city in particular, with no implications for religious affiliation. The honorand is identified only by a single name, and no specific office is listed. Rather, he is hailed as a “progeny of sacred Ephesus” who provided “twisting marble streets” for his fatherland, and was thus honored “because of [your] sleepless toil:” thus, a local benefactor. Thus far, all of the other case studies examined have been dedicated to imperial magistrates, appointed by the emperor to various offices around the empire, where they were then honored with monuments. Contrastingly, Eutropius is explicitly referred to as a native son of Ephesus, and indeed it is the main descriptive identifier in this inscription, and his euergetism, in the form of paved marble streets, perhaps the very street on which his monument was erected, is the reason for the honors. As a local man of what must have been substantial means, it is reasonable to expect that he could have also held some local civic offices, though not on the scale of imperial magistrates. And perhaps this difference in local versus imperial arena accounts for the difference in type of monument. It is conceivable that even if he could afford it, to erect a full marble statue atop a meter-high base would have been considered an overreach of his status and his just deserts. Perhaps, as we have seen in earlier examples, this was the preserve of the provincial governor.

It has been considered possible that our Eutropius is the same Eutropius who was the proconsul of Asia in 371/2.⁶⁵ However, that proconsul was probably from Italy or Bordeaux, and therefore cannot be our man.⁶⁶ Plus, other scholars have pointed out that the proconsul Eutropius was also a known pagan, which is very problematic for the great majority who think that the cross at the beginning of the inscription identifies the honorand’s Christianity.⁶⁷

Much as been made of the cross inscribed at the beginning, as if it is indeed proof that the honorand was Christian, then the portrait’s enhanced “spirituality” is more easily justifiable. However, as discussed fully in Chapter IV, crosses during this early period are likely not yet markers of Christianity, but are instead official stamps or badges of imperial office. If the cross need not be interpreted as Christian, it calls into question the interpretation that the portrait head

⁶⁴ Breckenridge 1977-9, 58.

⁶⁵ *PLRE* I, 317, Eutropius 2.

⁶⁶ *Suda* I, 2, 475; or Marcellus, *Liber de medicamentis* V.3.

⁶⁷ Haehling 1978, 216-20. For evidence he was a pagan, see *PLRE* I, 317, Eutropius 2: summarized, Nicephorus Gregoras, , commenting on what Eutropius himself wrote about Constantine, which is of note because Eutropius was of a different religion: “διὰ τὸ ἠλικιώτην ὁμοῦ καὶ αἰρεσιώτην Ἰουλιανοῦ γεγενῆσθαι, because he was a contemporary and partisan of Julian,” “διὰ τε τὸ τῆς θρησκείας ἀκοινωνητοῦ, because [he had] no part in the religion,” and he was “Ἕλληνα, a Greek/Gentile.” *Testimonia de Eutropio*, edited by H. Verheyk, Volume 1, 1821.

is spiritualized and other worldly. Moreover, it also needn't be dated as late as the fifth century if the cross is not a marker of Christianity. Thus the identification of the proconsul Eutropius becomes not only possible but more attractive.

If we open up the possibility of a fourth century date, our Eutropius could also be the same famous eunuch who rose and fell in the court of Arcadius in the last decade of the fourth century. The date is appropriate, and our inscription refers to a man famous enough to be recognized by a single name. And yet scholarship almost never mentions this possibility.

Why are we so eager to reject this connection between our inscription and a famous politician of the same name? I suggest that it is because we have been so well conditioned to see portraits of this type as radiating Christian piety, and the identification as a shrewd and disgraced politician does not fit this mold. This desire to read spirituality in the head is so strong that most scholars do not even mention the inscription when discussing the portrait head. So eager are they to identify the head as a "soul portrait" of a seer or saint, that they consequently ignore the inscription identifying him as a member of the local political elite.⁶⁸ However, the proportionate dimensions of the inscribed console's bracket, the sunken area for the placement of a bust, and most especially the close proximity of bracket's find spot to that of the marble portrait should be considered strong evidence that they are components of the same monument. Sculpture and its accompanying inscriptions are so rarely found together or near each other that the omission in the scholarship of the association between the Eutropius inscription and bust should speak volumes. Previous scholars have so much invested in the portrait bust as the epitome of Late Antique spirituality and piety that they cannot tolerate his intense stare and oversized eyes as simply the piercing gaze of a motivated and energized local politician.

If the bust and inscription are of the same monument, as I believe they must be, then we must admit that the Late Antique "spiritualization" in portraiture can be combined with a completely secular inscription. And thus, this particular honorific monument in no way necessarily communicates the subject's religious beliefs. One could read the portrait as Christian, but there is no necessity to do so. If this is indeed the case, it has profound implications for the political maneuvering of the local elite, who seem reluctant to publically assert their Christianity or their paganism.

E. The Monument of Pytheas⁶⁹

Aphrodisias, late-fifth century

Portrait statue: *LSA*-147; inscribed base: *LSA*-148

Figures 119-126, and 109-110

ἄστ[υ] θεῆς /
 Παφίης καὶ /
 Πυθέου, ἡ μὲν /
 ὀρ[θῶσ]α stop τῆν /
 [...]οιαθεῖ / (5)
 [...]π]όλιτι /

⁶⁸ Smith 1999, 185.

⁶⁹ Literature by date: K. Erim, *Illustrated London News, Archaeological Section* 2118, 5 January 1963, 13; K. Erim, *Illustrated London News, Archaeological Section* 2163, 21 December 1963, 6; Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *Roman and early Byzantine portrait sculpture in Asia Minor* (1966), no. 244, fig. 177, 7-8 and 178, 3; Foss, "Stephanus, Proconsul of Asia, and Related Statues," (1983), *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7, 212, note 63; C. Roueché, *ALA* (1989), no. 56, pl. 14;; R.R.R. Smith (1999), *JRS* 89, 167 ff., fig. 8, pl. IV.; and U. Ghen (2012), *Ehrenstatuen in der Spätantike. Chalmydati und Togati*, 446-451, O32, pl. 21.

[...]ον stop /
 χοροσ[...]ννηον /
 γὰρ ἔπασ[σ]υτέρου /
 σιν ἐπ' ἔργοις stop / (10)
 ὄλβου ἀφειδείων |
 κτίσσειν ἅπαρ |
 χόμενος [leaf]

City of the Paphian goddess and of Pytheas: she, for her part, having exalted [?has given blessings] appropriate to a goddess [to] the city [...?while he] in addition to constant works, unsparing of his wealth, has built [...] as an offering. (leaf)⁷⁰

The monument of Pytheas consists of a togate body, a fragmentary portrait head, and a fragmentary inscribed base. Excavated by NYU over the course of two seasons in 1962 and 1963, all three components of the monument were found in highly damaged condition within the Bouleuterion at Aphrodisias. The inscribed base was in six fragments and is only about three-quarters complete, with substantial pieces missing from the front face, especially on the right. The head and body were found in over a dozen pieces, and the major pieces missing include the lower left edge of the plinth, the left arm, the right wrist and hand, the right arm's drapery, the right eye, and the central portion of the face. The condition of the shattered statue and base and the apparent absence of any intentionally destructive blow marks suggest that they could have fallen from some height. Given that both the base and the statue fragments were found in the orchestra, in front of the stage building within the Bouleuterion, it is possible that the monument was used to decorate an upper story of the *scaenae frons*.⁷¹ No pieces of a joining interface between the statue and the base have been found, although the base was the only late antique base found within the Bouleuterion, and the statue was the only late antique statue. Therefore, it is extremely likely that they were associated.

The statue's body and head were made in a single piece, though the body has fared remarkably better. Only the left arm, and the right hand and associated drapery are missing. The honorand wears the late antique toga, with the characteristic triangular umbo and tight undergarments. The long-sleeved *tunica manticata* is visible near the neck, and the shorter overtunic (*colobium*) is visible near the shins. Underneath the toga and the colobium, the tight leggings are just visible at the ankles. This three-layered garment must have been excessively hot and complicated to wear, but the conventions of wearing all three layers was so prevalent in the sculptural evidence that it must have carried significant symbolic weight. This is very clearly not the voluminous imperial toga of centuries earlier, and yet the specificity of garments required suggests that there were definite conventions in order to achieve the full effect. The short length of the toga allow the *calcei senatorii* to be fully visible, with the crossing *corrigiae*. As discussed in Chapter III, in earlier centuries these boots distinguished their wearers from equestrians, who wore boots without the crossing laces. However, by Late Antiquity, senatorial status was significantly easier to come by, and it is possible that the laces came to indicate imperial service instead. Notably, all statues wearing the late antique toga wear the *calcei senatorii*.

⁷⁰ LSA-148 J. Lenaghan. Translation by C. Roueché.

⁷¹ More specifically, the base was found on the stage, and the statue was found a little further out in the orchestra. This is consistent with the hypothesis that they fell from the *scaenae frons*. The statue, being on top of the base, would naturally fall more further out.

The statue is supported by a belted bundle of scrolls at the right foot, and because the arms and hands are missing, no other attributes are preserved. However, given that the figure wears the late antique toga, it is highly likely that it carried a mappa and/or a sceptre rather than a single scroll (see Table 1). In fact, where the hands are preserved, all statues wearing the late antique toga carry the mappa and the scepter, save one which carries an inkpot.⁷² As the mappa and sceptre were consular insignia and representative of the magistrate's role as administrator of the games, it follows that our statue is potentially a consul.⁷³

The face of portrait head, made in one piece with the body, is too damaged to say much, but the hair is deeply drilled with thick, longish locks. It was carved downwards from the crown, creating the same peculiarly late antique "wreath" effect that we have already seen in the Oecumenius portrait.⁷⁴ As is typical, the top of the head is just smoothed out with a claw chisel, and no additional locks of hair are defined. The left eye is partially preserved, and characterized by the same deliberate drilling of the pupil common to this time period which would have produced an intense and exaggerated stare. Based solely on the eye and the hairstyle, Pytheas' portrait head appears to conform to typical portraiture conventions of the fourth and fifth centuries.

The inscription is on a tall, thin base, which is missing any additional upper or lower plinths or moldings, like the Oecumenius base. Based on the irregular lettering and three places where the text touches or runs over the right molding, it was likely reused in this final context. The last line closes with a *hedera distinguens*. In elegiac verse, the narrow 13 line inscription appears to praise both "the Paphian goddess" (Aphrodite), and Pytheas; she for blessing the city (?), and he for "constant works," being "unsparing of his wealth," and making some sort of offering. In short, he is honored as a local public benefactor.

Pytheas is known from other Aphrodisian inscriptions as of the rank of *vir illustris*, a rank of high senatorial status that was not in use at Aphrodisias until the mid-fifth century, and of *μεγαλοπρεπέστατος/ magnificentissimus*, which more narrowly dates Pytheas to around 460-550.⁷⁵ Roueché notes that while most *illustres* lived in Constantinople, it was not unheard of for them to live in the provinces as well. However, Pytheas is referred to as a local in our inscription ("City of... Pytheas"), and therefore she declares that at least in reference to these benefactions, he is acting in his capacity as a local citizen and not a representative of the imperial government.⁷⁶ Other inscriptions attest that he was an prolific benefactor within the local Aphrodisian context (specifically of the Theater Baths and a colonnade near the Hadrianic Baths).⁷⁷ Other non-epigraphic sources suggest that Pytheas was a Carian, a landowner, and of great talent and learning.⁷⁸

⁷² Statues wearing the late antique toga and carrying the mappa and/or scepter: *LSA*-1036, -698, -1068, -1069, -1037, -1039, -and -198. Statue wearing the late antique toga and carrying the inkpot: *LSA*-154.

⁷³ See Delbrueck (1929), 61-2, and also consular diptychs of Basilius, Anastasius, Clementius, Magnus, Boethius, and the Bourges and Halberstadt Diptychs.

⁷⁴ For comparanda for the "wreath" hairstyle, see *LSA*-176, -320, -450, -869, courtiers on the Theodosian obelisk base, etc.

⁷⁵ *ALA* 55. *Vir illustris* is first used in 354 (Cod. Theod. 11.1.6 for a Rufinus), but does not become regular until the 370's. At Aphrodisias, Jones *LRE* 529. For *magnificentissimus*, Bury, *HLRE* 34, n. 3.

⁷⁶ *ALA*, V.19.

⁷⁷ *ALA* 57 and 58.

⁷⁸ *ALA*, V.19 referencing Damascius, *Frag.* 140, Ath. 96.E. and *Palatine Anthology* VII.690.

Most interesting is the evidence that he was also an active member of a local Neoplatonic pagan philosophical clique that took his name: the Pytheanitae.⁷⁹ The evidence for this is a composite made of a game board inscription, in concert with a funerary epigram dedicated to him, preserved only within the Palatine Anthology.⁸⁰ The game board inscription cheers on the Pytheanitae against a Christian opponent, thus establishing a marked rival between a Christian group and the Pytheanitae.⁸¹ The epigram goes further to reference a deathless pagan afterlife, and specifies that Pytheas has gone to the “Island of the Blessed,” which is a common pagan phrase.⁸²

Even without this external information about Pytheas’ pagan and philosophical interests, the honorific monument in question here definitively indicates that Pytheas was a pagan. Indeed, the inscription describes the city of Aphrodisias as “the city of the Paphian goddess” who blessed the city. Unlike the other case studies detailed thus far, here is a public indication of the honorand’s religious affiliation. And yet what is surprising is that it is subtly done in such a way wherein the main focus of the monument is still on Pytheas and his benefactions to the city. Aphrodite’s agency is only mentioned as a typically florid late antique way of referencing the city’s name. It is clear that Pytheas had a large enough local profile as a known philosophical pagan that it shows up multiple times in the epigraphic record. This honorific monument’s admission of paganism must have come as no surprise to the public. And yet even in the face of some degree of competitive religious tension in the city (i.e. the game board acclamations),⁸³ Pytheas’ monument is relatively restrained and temperate in its pagan acknowledgement.

Moreover, we must remember that the inscription did not exist in a visual vacuum, and the portrait statue potentially made a stronger, and at least physically larger, statement. The statue communicates only Pytheas’ roles as an involved civil servant, wearing the contemporary costume of the late antique magistrate, and potentially carrying the insignia of a consul (the *mappa* and the scepter). Even though he was the leader of a philosophical clique, he did not choose to be depicted chiton-less in a Greek pallium, or seated in scholarly repose. In this honorific forum, within the seat of the law-making *boulé*, he instead deliberately chose to highlight his involvement in the civic administration with an appropriate civil costume. Clearly, even during the late fifth-early sixth centuries, civil politics were simply not the appropriate venue to champion religious causes. Even for a man who likely welcomed such debates and conflict and public display of allegiance in other contexts, the honorific monument was primarily a political one.

⁷⁹ *ALA* 59, a short inscription on a gameboard.

⁸⁰ *Palatine Anthology*, VII.690. Οὐδε θανὼν κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἀπώλεσας ἐς χθόνα πᾶσαν, / ἀλλ’ ἔτι σῆς ψυχῆς ἀγλαὰ πᾶντα μένει / ὅσσο’ ἔλαχές τε φύσει, μῆτιν πανάριστε· / τῶ ῥα καὶ ἐς μακάρων νῆσον ἔβης, Πυθέα.
“Not even after death have you lost your fine reputation in the whole earth, but still all the splendid (achievements) of your soul remain—both those which you inherited, and those which you learnt, according to your nature, most excellent in intellect. So now, Pytheas, you have also gone to the Island of the Blest.” Text and translation by Roueché (*ALA* 250).

⁸¹ *ALA* 59. A certain “Mardaetus” is identified as Christian because the inscription is bracketed by two crosses, while the Pytheanitae inscription is noticeably not bracketed. While we have previously dismissed crosses as being definite signifiers of Christianity, the late date of the board (based on Pytheas’ known dates) in combination with the other pagan evidence (the funeral epigram and our honorific inscription) make it likely than a contrast was indeed being drawn between the pagan Pytheanitae and Mardaetus.

⁸² Roueché does note, however, that a “Christian derivative” of this phrase also exists. See *ALA* V.21.

⁸³ *ALA* 59. See also *ALA* V.22.

F. The Monument of Flavius Palmatus⁸⁴

Aphrodisias, late-fifth to early-sixth century
Portrait statue: *LSA*-198; inscribed base: *LSA*-199
Figures 127-135, and 109

[cross] Ἀγαθῆι [cross] Τύχηι [cross] /
Τὸν ἀνανεωτῆν /
καὶ κτίστην τῆς μητροπό(λεως) /
καὶ εὐεργέτην πάσης /
Καρίας Φλ(άβιον) Παλμάτων / (5)
τὸν περίβλ(επτου) ὑπα(τικὸν) κ(αὶ) ἐπαίχο(ντα) /
τὸν τόπον τοῦ μεγαλοπρ(επεστάτου) /
βικαρίου, Φλ(άβιος) Ἀθήνεος /
ὁ λαμπρ(ότατος) πατὴρ τῆς /
λαμπρ(οτάτης) Ἀφροδ(εισιέων) μητροπό(λεως) / (10)
εὐχαριστῶν ἀνέθη/κεν. [leaf]

(cross) With Good (cross) Fortune (cross). The renewer and founder of the metropolis and benefactor of all Caria, Flavius Palmatus, spectabilis consular, also holding the position of the magnificentissimus vicar; Flavius Atheneus, the clarissimus pater of the most splendid (i.e. clarissima) metropolis of the Aphrodisians, set up (this statue of Palmatus) in gratitude. (leaf)⁸⁵

The monument of Palmatus was discovered at Aphrodisias in 1972, with the base in situ and the statue fallen directly in front of it in front of the west colonnade of the Tetrastoon square in front of the theater.⁸⁶ Along with the baths, the Bouleterion, and the Sebasteion, the west colonnade was a main honorific arena during Late Antiquity. The Palmatus monument was set up directly in front of one of the columns, and there was originally a line of seven such sculptures along the columns, including fourth century emperors and fifth to sixth century governors.⁸⁷ The monument is remarkably well preserved: the inscription is only missing the top left corner, and the statue appears to be completely intact, minus a chip off the tip of the nose.

The statue body and the head were made in two separate pieces, and it is possible that the body is being reused in the Palmatus monument, as the head appears to be too small for the proportions of the body.⁸⁸ Moreover, the marble of the head is fine-grained, while that of the body is much larger.⁸⁹ The head was detached from, but directly underneath, the body when they were found, and make a visible join at the back of the neck. The head is particularly notable for the thick wreath-like mop of hair that encircles the brow. The thick, twisted locks are deeply drilled but not tightly coiled, but are instead slightly mussed sinuous waves, and the drilling stops just behind the ears and where the top of the head flattens out. The top and the back of the head are only lightly worked and seem strangely flat in comparison to the front. The wreath hairstyle is a popular late antique one that we have already seen on both the Oecumenius and

⁸⁴ Literature by date: M.J. Mellink (1973), *AJA* 77, 188, pl. 37, 35.37; K.T. Erim (1974), *Türk arkeoloji dergisi* 21.1, 38, 49, fig 10 ff.; Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *Roman and early Byzantine portrait sculpture in Asia Minor* (1966), no. 208, pl. 264-5; C. Roueché (1979), "A new inscription from Aphrodisias and the Title πατὴρ τῆς πόλεως, *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 20, 172-185; Özgan-Stutzinger, *Porträtplastik* 251 ff., pl. 53.2; Roueché (1989), *ALA* no. 62; R.R.R. Smith (1999), *JRS* 89, 168-9, fig. 9, pl. III, V.4, and XI.; and U. Ghen (2012), *Ehrenstatuen in der Spätantike. Chalmydati und Togati*, 437-446, O31, pl. 20.

⁸⁵ *LSA*-199, J. Lenaghan, translation by C. Roueché with minor modifications.

⁸⁶ Smith 1999, 168.

⁸⁷ Smith 1999, 171.

⁸⁸ *LSA*-198. J. Lenaghan, under "Honorand and Date."

⁸⁹ *LSA*-198. J. Lenaghan, under "Description (Object)."

Pytheas portraits.⁹⁰ Palmatus wears a stubble beard and mustache indicated by light incision. The eyes are especially arresting, as they are set close together and have flat, raised, almost circular disc-like irises. Plus, the lack of pupils gives the gaze a vacant, emotionless, detached quality. The portrait appears to almost scowl owing to dramatically deep nasolabial folds, and frown lines in between the eyebrows. The portrait head is deftly executed, but in the severe late antique style. The resultant facial expression is stark, serious, and determined.

Palmatus wears the typical late antique toga with a triangular *umbo* and cropped length, undertuinc *columbium*, and tight long-sleeved *manticata*, which is visible at the wrists. His *calcei senatorii* have crisscrossed *corrigiae*, as is standard for statues wearing the late antique toga. The statue also conforms to the standard that the mappa and the scepter are the most common attributes found with the late antique toga. The scepter features two perpendicular dowel holes indicating some sort of added metal finial. As discussed in Chapter IV and with Pytheas, the mappa and the scepter are particular badges of consular office, and therefore even without the accompanying inscription, Palmatus should be of consular status. The mappa and the scepter refer to his specific consular duty of the administration of the games, and the late antique toga is the appropriate costume for this role. The statue is supported by a characteristic bundle of scrolls near the left foot.

If the statue body is indeed reused, as seems probable based on the size of the head and the different in grain-size, it gives us some sense of the life span of honorific statues in this time period. Because the late antique toga is not seen until the late-fourth century (see Graph 1), and we know the monument must date to the late-fifth century at the earliest from the inscription, this means the original togate statue was in use for only 100 years at the most before it was taken down and repurposed. This relatively brief lifespan indicates a short civic memory, as the original honorand of the statue body was apparently no longer important enough in the eyes of the public to preserve his image.

The base is actually a composite of two reused bases stacked on top of each other. The bottom portion is a rectangular element with moldings that has been turned upside down, to judge by the dowel hole. The upper portion is more square than the bottom, and thus while the front edges of the two bases are aligned, in the back the base on top hangs over the edge of the bottom base. On the upper base there is a semi-circular garland carved in relief, indicating that this is an example of reuse, and the previous use was potentially religious.⁹¹ Moreover, the upper base has a series of cuttings, none of which are appropriate for our statue and therefore indicating its previous use.

The bottom portion is still in situ, where it was set on top of the surface paving of the Tetrastoon, built by a certain Antonius Tatianus in 365 CE.⁹² Other nearby statues bases were put into place first and then paved around, indicating that they were part of the initial plan and construction, unlike the Palmatus base which must have been placed post-365.⁹³ Moreover, the date is likely later than that, as the governorship of Asia did not enjoy the rank of ὑπατικός / *consularis* until at least the 440s.⁹⁴ The *terminus ante quem* must be at least 535, when the post of vicar of Asia was discontinued.⁹⁵

⁹⁰ For comparanda for the “wreath” hairstyle, see *LSA*-176, -320, -450, -869, courtiers on the Theodosian obelisk base, etc.

⁹¹ *ALA* 62.

⁹² *LSA*-197.

⁹³ *LSA*-197 and -223.

⁹⁴ Previously, the governor was a praeses. *ALA* IV.16 and V.33. See also Roueché 1979, 174, esp. note 5.

⁹⁵ Roueché 1979, 175.

The prose inscription follows the traditional Greek honorific formula of [accusative honorand] + [nominative honorer] + [verb of dedication]. Unlike the flowery verse epigram style, this traditional formula provides more concrete information about the honorand, including two indications of rank (περιβλεπτος/*spectabilis* and μεγαλοπρεπέστατος/*magnificentissimus*), as well as two offices held, apparently concurrently (ὕπατικός/*consularis* and βικάριος/*vicar*). This conservative style is much more typical of Latin inscription in the West; indeed, thus far all of the inscription styles of our test cases have fallen within geographical lines, and this is the only inscription from the East that is not written as flowery late antique verse epigram. The style is also more prevalent in earlier centuries, and it is possible that, prior to our Palmatus inscription, honorific prose inscriptions in this traditional formula had ceased to be popular as much as a century earlier.⁹⁶ Moreover, the honorand is still given the standard praise due a governor, and is hailed as an ἀνανεωτής, renewer, κτίστης, founder, and εὐεργέτης, benefactor. Thus, our inscription is not only deliberately archaizing and traditional, but also more characteristic of the western tradition in Latin than of the eastern Greek one.

For our purposes, what is most intriguing about the inscription is the first line, which is set off from the rest of the inscription on the base's upper molding and opens with the typical greeting Ἀγαθῆι Τύχηι, "with good fortune." There are three crosses, one at the beginning, one in between the two words, and one at the end. At this late date, it is far more plausible that the crosses are actual Christian symbols. Moreover, unlike the earlier inscription of Eutropius (above), there is more than one cross, and they appear to "decorate" the greeting, and not just open or close the entire greeting, unlike the earlier inscription of Eutropius, which had only a single cross as the beginning and could potentially date anywhere from the late fourth through the third quarter of the fifth century. More interesting is that the crosses surround the greeting Ἀγαθῆι Τύχηι. Tyche, of course, was the classical Greek goddess of luck. The question is whether we should interpret the greeting here as an oblique, but still potentially potent, reference to a pagan deity, or instead see it as a general greeting that is no longer the anthropomorphized goddess but now just "luck," more abstractly. The multiple uses of the cross suggests the former, and might signify a (contemporary) attempt to Christianize what might be misinterpreted as a pagan greeting, or even to purify or nullify or its polytheistic power.⁹⁷ However, the phrase is especially popular throughout Asia Minor across all of Late Antiquity. There is not, for example, a marked decrease in use after Constantine, or as the Empire becomes increasingly Christian. It is employed in inscriptions honoring both pagan (i.e. Julian, or pre-Constantine) and Christian emperors. Especially within the province of Caria, the greeting was particularly common, and thus it seems unlikely that it still carried any sort of blatantly pagan reference, given its widespread and varied use. The simultaneous use of the crosses with the greeting, while not necessarily common, is also not unprecedented.⁹⁸ However, we should also note that, even at a date as late as the late-fifth to early-sixth century, even with the repeated use of (what are most likely) Christian symbols, the rest of the inscription gives no similar hints as to religious affiliation, and remains committed to the documentation of only civil honors.

⁹⁶ Within the fifth and sixth centuries, there are only three other honorific prose inscriptions from Aphrodisias (*LSA*-194, -229, and -233, and possibly -228, although it is potentially too fragmentary to tell). Meanwhile, there are at least nine honorific verse inscriptions in the late antique style (*LSA*-186, -188, -192, -192, -224, -225, -226, -230, and -232). "Old-fashioned" prose inscriptions using the verb ἀνέθηκεν are more common in the late-fourth century at Aphrodisias (*ALA* V.36).

⁹⁷ For example, an inscription honoring Julian: *LSA*-514; or an inscription honoring Valentinian II, Theodosius I, and Arcadius: *LSA*-528.

⁹⁸ *LSA*-548.

Thus, the Palmatus monument is interesting because of its particularly late date, and the combination of both old and new material and stylistic components. The base was a composite of two previously used bases, one of them potentially religious. The statue was at most a century old, given the late antique toga style, and already being reused in a new monument. While the body does not appear to have been altered, the head was likely a new addition in the likeness of the new honorand, though it might be an example of recarving given its smaller size. The inscription is curiously archaizing and in a traditional, conservative prose style, which is especially uncommon in the East at this late date. Given that the sculpture and bases are reused in combination with the archaizing inscription, it is possible that the honorand was eager to conform with the old conventions of honorific monuments in order to establish his place as a successor to a long line of celebrated civil servants. In a rapidly changing political landscape, in which an honorand is long forgotten within 100 years, and Palmatus' office of vicar wouldn't even exist within the next generation or two, his monument firmly solidifies the constancy and stability of provincial governorship. At the same time, his monument is also characteristic of its late date, with the contemporary costume of his office, an (almost aggressively) large late antique wreath hairstyle, a wide-eyed expression characteristic of later Byzantine art, and (what are likely) Christian symbols of the cross. Thus while the visible components and imagery of the monument are a mix of old and new, the message communicated, of a hard-working, well respected, publically generous, and imperially-connected and -sanctioned civil magistrate, is unchanged.

—VI—

Archaeological and Historical Contexts of Late Antique Religious Plurality

When the individual elements are examined separately, and the study of sculpture and epigraphy is split into different academic disciplines, our ability to understand the social and cultural messages communicated within the monument is significantly impaired. Only by recombining the elements into their original and intended arrangement are we able to more accurately interpret honorific monuments. Similarly, to study the monuments in a contextual vacuum is to pass over potentially crucial information about both the physical space and the socio-cultural climate they inhabited. It is therefore essential to consider the monuments within their original display contexts, both archaeological and historical, and to reconstruct the local microcosm they were responding to and in conversation with.

A. Strength in Numbers: The Location of Honorific Monuments

Displays of modern honorific monuments, in which you might see a single bust in the middle of a museum lobby or set apart in an urban square, tend to highlight an individual person, isolated particularly for his or her outstandingness. By contrast, the late antique honorific monument and therefore its honorand drew their power and prestige from proximity and similarity to other honorific monuments. Consequently, monuments tend to be clustered together in dense pockets within the urban cityscape, specifically chosen for their strategic locations, historical prestige, and contemporary social significance. However, such significance is lost to us when the monuments are removed from their archaeological contexts as the result of looting or careless excavation, or when the entire context is not well preserved or systematically recorded.

Luckily, a few sites provide us with robust contextual and comparative information as representative examples of display contexts: Aphrodisias, Ephesus, and Leptis Magna. One will immediately note that all three of these sites are major urban centers renowned for their considerable wealth and cultural influence. This is likely not a mistake of archaeological preservation or a biased sample set. If the primary purpose of an honorific monument was to establish oneself as a major player in the game of political power and influence within the sphere of civil administration, as we have been arguing, then it is logical that major political centers would have had the highest number of monuments during antiquity. As will be explored in this section, honorands and honorers alike would have wanted as much social payout as possible from their monuments, in the form of high visibility, proximity to other prominent monuments, and access to the most influential viewing public.

The Carian capital of Aphrodisias has already made several appearances as the location of the test case monuments of Oecumenius, Pytheas, and Flavius Palmatus. Within the

parameters of our time period, there are 18 inscribed bases and 46 statue bodies and/or heads, as well as at least 14 bases and 3 pieces of sculpture dedicated to late antique emperors.¹ In the mid-third century, Aphrodisias rose to particular prominence as the seat of a provincial governor. Indeed, at least 10 of the 18 bases are dedicated to governors,² and this does not even include those monuments dedicated *by* governors.³ Public buildings, including baths, theaters, civic buildings, and temples, were continually restored and remodeled well into the sixth century, indicating a sustained level of community involvement, public organizing, and aristocratic sponsorship during Late Antiquity.⁴ Moreover, Aphrodisias was the locus of a Roman sculptural school, which flourished for close to 600 years and was renowned for its realistic style.⁵ The slopes of Baba Dağ, only 2-3 kilometers away from the city center, provided sculptors with an abundant supply of fine-grained white marble with minimal blue and grey veining.⁶

Honorific statues, including those dedicated to imperial subjects, clustered around three main areas: in and in front of the Bouleuterion, in the columned forecourt of the Hadrianic Baths and the adjoining east stoa of the South Agora, and in front of the west colonnade of the Tetrastoon in front of the Theater (Figures 109, 136).⁷ Indeed, the Oecumenius and Pytheas monuments were found in and in front of the Bouleuterion, and the Palmatus monument was found in the west colonnade of the Tetrastoon.⁸ All three of these locations were heavily trafficked public spaces of high importance to the civic community. They were richly appointed, classical-looking, marble-covered structures still very much in everyday use as civic complexes and repeatedly renewed by both civil magistrates and private individuals.⁹ Obviously, the Bouleuterion in particular is easily connected to the ideal of active local government and administration, and must have been prime real estate for pronouncing one's political ambitions directly to other highly influential peers as you collectively conducted administrative business. The Hadrianic Baths and the Theater complex are also natural arenas for social display as they are large, monumental public spaces where the urban populace would come to meet and interact. The precise placement of the monuments within these spaces differs from that of earlier periods, during which larger monuments were "set into programmed architectural frames—niches and columnar facades—where they would seem withdrawn from the viewer."¹⁰ Instead, late antique monuments tend to project into and onto the useable space, typically placed in front of columns and vertical structural supports, directly on the pavement. Indeed, this is not just an obligation based on a lack of suitable and available niches within a preexisting building, but a deliberate choice. In the case of the west colonnade of the Tetrastoon, the building was constructed only in

¹ Roueché 1981 and 1989, 1-141. Sometime between 244 and 249, Aphrodisias became the capital of the newly created province of Caria-Phrygia, and then of just Caria around 50 years later. However, different dates have been proposed for the creation of the new joint province, including 253 CE and 260 CE. See Dmitriev 2001 for a summary of the arguments.

² Aphrodisian inscriptions honoring governors: *LSA*-151, -153, -195, -199, -222, -225, -228, -229, -234, and -235.

³ Aphrodisias inscriptions dedicated by governors, including those dedicated to emperors: *LSA*-193, -197, and -223.

⁴ Smith 1999, 156-159.

⁵ Erim 1986, 23.

⁶ Erim 1986, 49-50.

⁷ Smith 1999, 171.

⁸ As specified in Chapter V, the Oecumenius base was found *in situ* with the body statue fallen directly in front of it; the Pytheas base and statue were in extremely fragmentary condition, likely haven fallen from an upper story of the stage building's *scaenae frons* in the Bouleuterion; and the Palmatus base was *in situ* with the statue fallen directly in front of it.

⁹ Smith 1999, 158.

¹⁰ Smith 1999, 171.

365 CE, and some statue bases in front of columns were put in place and then paved around, indicating that their particular placement was part of the initial design.¹¹

We can imagine the effect of a row of monuments with the example of the Oecumenius monument in front of the Bouleuterion (Figures 107-8, 110). Including that of Oecumenius (Figures 100-107), four bases were found still *in situ*, in a line within the stoa fronting the Bouleuterion. A monument to a certain Alexander (Figures 137-139), certainly a local man and potentially a provincial governor, stood to the west (his right), separated by a small alcove/inlet.¹² The reused base is inscribed with a verse epigram and, and the reused statue body is clothed in the pallium and supported by a bundle of scrolls.¹³ East of Oecumenius stood monuments to L. Claudius Diogenes Dometeinus, an imperial priest, and his niece, Claudia Antonia Tatiana, placed on either side of the main doors to the Bouleuterion as clear complements to each other (Figures 140-141).¹⁴ The inscribed bases are identical, referencing mainly the honorands' Roman equestrian status and Dometeinus' two sons' accomplishments as Roman senators. Dometeinus wears the pallium and an elaborate priestly crown, and the even larger statue of Tatiana wears an archaizing and mythologizing costume in reference to Aphrodite as well as a priestly crown, and the feet of a small child or Eros stand next to her on the plinth. The monuments to Dometeinus and Tatiana date to around 200 CE, the Alexander monument to the fourth century, and the Oecumenius monument to the late-fourth or early-fifth century. We should expect that there were likely more monuments inside this stoa that are no longer preserved. Our initial modern interpretation might be that the resulting corridor would seem crowded and the monuments too diverse to easily digest at once. They are of various sizes, erected across a span of over 200 years, a jumble of new and reused elements, in a range of contemporary and archaizing costumes, and dedicated to both men and women, pagans and Christians, priests and politicians. Our tendency might be to focus on, and thus over emphasize, the priestly crowns, the disparity in dates, and the inclusion of a woman. The traditional scholarly approach would isolate each monument from the others to better analyze who each honorand was, and then to further separate the monument into distinct pieces (base, body, head) and study them individually. However, this is to disregard the wealth of contextual evidence available only if we conceive of these monuments as a group.

The more complete approach is to view the monuments as the ancient audience would have—within a single location, and as a group in which each monument was deliberately placed within the same stoa, in relation and response to others. Taken as a group, the monuments are actually quite similar. Perhaps of slightly different size, but all are tall, slim, and a few meters tall, consisting of an inscribed base and a realistic standing body sculpture in traditional public costumes with an individually referential portrait head. The combined visual profile is austere, dignified, and formal—a stately and somber public presentation of leading citizens. The costumes, both contemporary and traditional, are similarly formal, and the inclusion of the priestly crowns, bundles of scrolls, and costly adornments clearly telegraph that each honorand is decked out in all of his or her magisterial finery, and expect to be duly recognized and respected for it. From at least a few meters away, a necessary distance to take in all four monuments at once, very little of the honorific inscriptions would be legible, save for perhaps a cognomen inscribed separately on the plinth. Certainly, only if someone stopped to read each individual

¹¹ LSA-197 and -223. See ALA 62 for a building inscription indicating the date of construction.

¹² Smith 1999, 165-166

¹³ Base: LSA-153. Statue: LSA-152.

¹⁴ Smith 1998, 66-68.

inscription carefully would they be able to read a witty turn of phrase or literary allusion in a verse epigram, or the complicated prestige-by-association of one's uncle's sons' senatorial status. Thus, apparently the specific identities of the honorands mattered less than did inclusion in the group. Not that the individuals honored did not care whether anyone recognized them or not, but rather that there was more social capital to be gained by conforming to the honorific tradition than it did to attempt to differentiate yourself with the exceptionality of your own monument. Clearly, the fact that monuments tend to cluster indicates the public prestige gained from visual and spatial association with other monuments. The range of dates of the Aphrodisian Bouleuterion monuments proves not only that monuments remained in place and therefore were of social relevance for potentially centuries, but also that honorands saw their monuments as proof of their own inclusion into a long-established tradition of civic commemoration. It did not matter that Dometeinus was an imperial (pagan) priest, that Tatiana was a woman, or that Alexander was of local origin. The fact that all of these honorands were already admitted into the city's memory of its social elite made them attractive neighbors for Oecumenius' monument. As the last honorand to join the Bouleuterion group in the late-fourth or early-fifth century, Oecumenius used the strategic location of his monument to stitch himself into the fabric of civic and civil commemoration.

Likewise, honorific monuments at Ephesus tend to be concentrated in major civic areas. The famous Curetes Street, or the Embolos as it was known in Late Antiquity, was the main center of public life (Figure 142).¹⁵ It is even referred to in an inscription as "the magnificent ground of the city."¹⁶ It followed an ancient processional route diagonally through the otherwise orthogonal city plan, connecting the Upper and Lower Agoras, and was paved with marble across its eleven-meter width (Figure 118, no. 27). The colonnaded street was lined with honorific monuments and imperial decrees. Indeed, at least 15 inscribed bases, their statues now missing or removed to the museum, front almost every column along the street. Monuments honoring governors, emperors, an empress, and even a doctor were located here.¹⁷ Each monument was impressive in its height and costly materials, but the sheer number of monuments, marching down the street in regular intervals, makes the largest impression. It also gives a sense of the impact of monuments to emperors, which we have largely omitted from this project. The bases and statues to administrative bureaucrats and emperors are similar in size, profile, content, and overall visual impact. As he walked down the street, the layman would have likely been unable to distinguish between the two at first glance. Thus, the Curetes Street elucidates the composite character of the honorands within the honorific landscape. Male, female, imperial, administrative, and even medicinal honorands are integrated into a single honorific spectacle. Rather than trying to distinguish themselves by differentiation, they draw prestige from inclusion in and conformity to the visually prescribed norm. The honorific monument was a social exercise to declare one's admittance to a uniform group of elite honorands, as opposed to one's exceptional uniqueness and distinctiveness from the larger public.

The Curetes Street additionally makes clear the wide range of possible buildings honorific monuments could front. It runs before monumental gates, a fountain, residential city blocks, a temple to deified emperors, baths, public latrines, heroons, an altar, and a library

¹⁵ Foss 1979, 65-66, esp. note. 39.

¹⁶ *Inscripfen von Ephesos* IV 1300.

¹⁷ For example, governor: *LSA*-732, -724, -727, -729, -730, -732, -733. Emperors and the imperial family: *LSA*-716, -717, -718, -719, -720, -721, -722, -723, -2079. Doctor: *LSA*-735.

(Figure 118).¹⁸ Most interesting for our purposes are the gates, temple, heroons, and altar, variously dedicated to pagan deities, a deified emperor, and mytho-historical Ephesian citizens. If we adhere to a strict, dogmatic separation of Christianity and polytheistic paganism in Late Antiquity, the simultaneous presence of monuments honoring openly Christian emperors and pagan deities is problematic. One might believe that a clear differentiation between Christian and pagan allegiance would similarly project itself on to the physical city space. That is, a Christian emperor would be loathe to place his monument next to a pagan altar, lest the proximity too closely associate him with paganism. And yet, for example, a base honoring the father of Theodosius I, narrowly dated to 379-387 CE, is placed directly in front of the Temple of Hadrian.¹⁹ The imperial family and administrative bureaucrats alike were apparently not overly concerned that their honorific monuments might be socially or even theologically tainted by nearby buildings dedicated to pagan deities. The resultant picture of the religious character of public space is thus far more diverse and composite than we might have believed. Because honorific monuments do not loudly proclaim any sort of religious allegiance, there is no contradictory juxtaposition with nearby buildings and monuments. As Luke Lavan has suggested, “[Christians] did not attempt an ideological ‘conquest of urban space.’”²⁰ The public profile and exposure of the honorific arena, in this case the Curetes Street, mattered far more than strict ideological conformity across physical space. The Christian emperors, pagan temples, and religiously-undeclared governors coexisted harmoniously, suggesting that a contemporary audience might not have recognized any religious discordance or conflicting messages.

Finally, the late antique honorific monuments in Leptis Magna are primarily found grouped together in monumental public spaces, indicating that proximity to and conformity with other respected honorands, in addition to high visibility, were the top priorities. At Leptis Magna, the monumental Severan Forum, measuring 90 m. by 38 m., boasts the most honorific monuments of any place in the city, with at least 55 late antique inscribed bases (Figure 143).²¹ The find spots of the bases and accompanying statues suggest that the use of the space was centrally planned, as dedications to emperors line the long north and south sides, and administrative bureaucrats (mostly governors) are largely confined to the east side.²² Inscriptions honoring Christian emperors (e.g. Valens, Gratian, Valentinian II, Theodosian, etc.)²³ were placed alongside pagan emperors (e.g. Constantius I, Galerius, Severus, Maxentius, etc.).²⁴ We should therefore imagine the same sort of casual integration of Christian and non-Christian governors along the eastern colonnade as well. Furthermore, the mixed religious composition of the honorands also seems to have been unconcerned by that the complex was centered around a temple dedicated to the imperial cult and the Severan family.²⁵ Besides the

¹⁸ Respectively, the Gates of Herakles and Hadrian (38 and 51), the Fountain of Trajan (49), Slope House 1 (46), The So-Called Temple of Hadrian (41), the Baths of Scholastica (40), latrines (39), the Heroons of Androklos and Arsinoe IV (43 and 44), the Altar of Artemis at the Triodos (36), and the Library of Celsus (35). Numbers correspond to the map in *Ephesos: Metropolis of Asia* (2004), Figure 118 in this dissertation.

¹⁹ LSA-721.

²⁰ Lavan 2011, 470.

²¹ This includes monuments honoring emperors and the imperial family.

²² Tantillo et al 2010, 176. Additionally, three inscriptions honoring the *genius* of the colony are clustered in the south-west corner.

²³ LSA-2155, -2157, -2158. Also see Tantillo et al. (2010), fig. 5.5.

²⁴ LSA-2148, -2149, -2150, -2151. Also see Tantillo et al. (2010), fig. 5.5.

²⁵ In 533 CE, the temple and basilica were restored by the general Belisarius as a Christian church dedicated to Mary. Procopius, *Wars of Justinian* 6.4.4.

Severan Forum, clusters of honorific monuments were found in the Old Forum, the Macellum, the Baths of Hadrian, and the theater, although in far fewer numbers.²⁶

Besides Aphrodisias, Ephesus, and Leptis Magna, it should be briefly mentioned that the honorific monuments in Rome also tend to cluster in a few main public venues. Over 320 inscribed bases were primarily found in three main arenas: the Forum Romanum, the Forum of Julius Caesar, and the Forum of Trajan.²⁷ As in Leptis Magna, the spatial distribution of honorific monuments appears to have been loosely planned and regulated by the type of honorand. At its most general, inscriptions dedicated to emperors were particularly concentrated in the Forum Romanum, while those dedicated to imperial magistrates, especially praetorian prefects, were clustered in the Forum of Trajan. However, there are so many exceptions to this general division that it seems unlikely that this was the result of a stringent, centrally enforced civic policy. It is more likely that these venues were gradually shaped over time by unofficial, yet socially restrictive, norms that continued to be followed into Late Antiquity. I only tentatively suggest this without yet having made thorough statistical investigation or mapping of the data. My intent here is only to point out that honorific monuments generally tend to cluster around each other in public spaces and gain cultural and social capital from conformity to this spatial and visual norm. An in depth study of the exact spatial distribution of Rome's honorific monuments by honorand is an interesting potential future avenue of research.²⁸

As studied individually in the cases of portrait heads, costume choices, and inscription practices, honorific monuments benefitted by adhering to traditional conventions and establishing themselves as a continuation of civil honors. The proximity of monuments to other monuments, and the resultant tendency to cluster in high-traffic public centers, further establishes this point. Monuments were clearly in conversation with those already erected by conforming to the status quo: they were placed in the same areas, and exhibited similar visual profiles (tall, rectangular statue base with an inscription, topped by a standing, frontal portrait statue in formal public attire). Their close proximity to one another would have highlighted any substantial deviations from this formula, thereby producing a conservatism of tradition within a few isolated arenas of competition. Even during the significant social, political, and religious tumult and change of Late Antiquity, the honorific monument as a visible indicator of social status remained remarkably relevant and relatively static within the civic landscape. Thus, as previously shown with regard to facial expressions, costumes, and epigraphic conventions, the monuments' placements suggest that the aim was to establish the honorand as belonging to an elite group, not to differentiate or individuate him from it.

B. Religious Pluralism in the Late Antique Cityscape

So much for the archaeological and spatial context of late antique honorific monuments, which ironically served to reinforce a singular solidarity of the corpus of honorands, even though the purpose of the honorific monument was ostensibly to celebrate the individual. But what of the larger physical civic landscapes in which these monuments resided, especially as regards religious institutions and architecture? What can archaeology and extant civic remains say about the religious composition of a city? What can material remains tell us about religious identity?²⁹

²⁶ Tantillo et al. 2010, 178-181.

²⁷ This includes over 120 inscriptions dedicated to emperors and the imperial family.

²⁸ Carlos Machado has looked more closely at the late antique honorific monuments of Italy and Rome in particular. See Machado 2009, 2010a, 2010b, and 2011, and Machado and Ward-Perkins 2012.

²⁹ The questions surrounding the construction of identity will be detailed more

The issues surrounding the composition and projection of religious identity will be more fully explored in the following section (C), however it suffices to say here that archaeology is indeed able to contribute to questions of religious identity. Literary and textual sources are more valuable in revealing the religious allegiance of individual people, most obviously that of the author. While material evidence is not able to contribute much to the religion of individuals or specific theological debates, it can provide a much broader picture of the religious practices of a community as a whole.³⁰ Moreover, “the physical environment in which religion takes place is never merely a reflection of belief or practice, but itself directly impacts upon beliefs and practices and how they are understood and expressed.”³¹ Indeed, this is in keeping with the theoretical model of the “practice of identity,” which claims that actions are just as important, if not more than, ideas in the construction of one’s identity.³² This model is especially relevant to describing the religious identity of a composite community, such as is the focus of this study. The religious identities of the individual honorands of honorific monuments are interesting, but not nearly as indicative of the larger socio-cultural history of Late Antiquity as an entire city could be. The archaeological evidence proves that the late antique city was one of religious diversity, with several groups existing simultaneously and openly within a cohesive whole. In fact, the architectural remains routinely attest to the presence of multiple religious sects so regularly that perhaps it is more useful to think of Late Antiquity as characterized by religious tolerance, diversity, and pluralism, rather than by adversarial religious competition and conflict, as the more standard narrative of the time period contends.

As a first case study, the late antique remains of the city of Sardis in the province of Asia attests to quite diverse religious pluralism in the fourth and fifth centuries. The late antique city encompassed an area of about 3 square miles, and a population of between perhaps 60,000 and 100,000,³³ and boasted a colonnaded main avenue, multiple public buildings, an imperial arms factory, an imperial bath and gymnasium complex, a stadium, a theater, several sumptuous new villas, and a mausoleum.³⁴ Most importantly for this study, there were several temples, churches, a synagogue, and a new Christian quarter. Sardis was one of the Seven Churches of Asia as identified by the prophet John,³⁵ and the Christian quarter just outside of the city gate included churches, baptisteries, and martyria. Constructed in the mid-fourth century, the quarter shows evidence of organized urban planning and points to a politically powerful and economically prosperous Christian population. In fact, a mid-fourth century basilica is possibly the earliest datable Christian church in Western Asia Minor.³⁶ However, the Jewish population of Sardis was potentially even more active, as evidenced by the splendid late-third century synagogue. While the Christian basilica measures only about 10 × 10 m., the synagogue was much larger, occupying an area about 20 × 85 m., and able to hold as many as 1000 people, besides enjoying a location of considerable prestige in the middle of the city’s civic center.³⁷ It remained in use as a synagogue until its destruction in the early seventh century CE. A multi-

³⁰ See also Gwynn et al. (2010), 2-5 for a quick synopsis of the contributions archaeology is able to make to the study of religion.

³¹ Gwynn et al., 2010, 4.

³² Lieu 2004, 17.

³³ Hanfmann 1983, 139 and 146.

³⁴ Hanfmann 1983, 147.

³⁵ Rev. 3.1-7.

³⁶ Hanfmann 1983, 196-204. The mid-fourth century Christian basilica, potentially dating to 340-350 CE, is known as “Church EA” in Hanfmann.

³⁷ Hanfmann, 1983, 168-190.

story avenue of shops, built around 400 CE, is perhaps even more provocative of religious cooperation and integration at Sardis.³⁸ Fortunately, the shops were preserved in a semi-sealed collapse deposit thanks to an early-seventh century fire.³⁹ Merchants of the shops peddled glass, dye, paint, jewelry, pottery, metal ware, and food. The proprietors often produced and sold their wares in the same space, and left behind personal effects, giving us clues about their identities. They show Christians and Jews working and living side-by-side in adjacent shops and cooperating in a mixed commercial community. Three of the restaurants and two of the dye shops were potentially owned by Christians, while paint and dye shops a few stalls down were owned by Jews.⁴⁰ Beyond Christian and Jewish buildings, the late antique cityscape also included precincts of Zeus and Mên, a Temple of Augustus,⁴¹ and a Temple of Artemis, which was not systematically pulled down and gutted until the seventh century CE.⁴²

Beyond Judaism and Christianity, Sardis also fostered a large pagan intellectual community and a Neoplatonist philosophical school.⁴³ Thus while the Christian community at Sardis was certainly powerful and widespread, we should not think of it as a social or religious monopoly given the active and prominent activity of Jews and pagans in the late-fourth century. The presence and active upkeep of both Christian and Jewish religious buildings attest to the late antique diversity of religious communities, worshipping within the same city space.

Similarly, at Aphrodisias we see a similar diversity of religious architecture within the archaeological cityscape. The first century CE Temple of Aphrodite, having been enclosed by a colonnaded temenos in the second century CE, was still in use as a place of pagan worship in the fourth and most of the fifth centuries. It was not converted into a Christian church until at least 474 CE.⁴⁴ The multi-storied first century CE Sebasteion complex, complete with a propylon, double porticoes, and a temple, all dedicated to the worship of the imperial family, was also still in use.⁴⁵ Additionally, sometime in the fifth century, a private atrium house appears to have been converted to more public use, potentially as a “prestigious philosophical school or some kind of place of higher learning” of Neoplatonism, based on a series of sculpted portrait shields of classic thinkers (Pindar, Socrates, Pythagoras, etc.) as well as more contemporary figures (Figures 40-46).⁴⁶ R.R.R. Smith speculates that this may have been the school of the active master pagan teacher Asklepiodotos, mentioned in Damascius’ *Life of Isidore*.⁴⁷ At some point, the shield portraits were removed, broken up, and dumped, though potentially not until the mid

³⁸ Called “The Byzantine Shops” by excavators. The most thorough record of the excavations and finds can be found in Crawford (1990).

³⁹ Crawford 1990, 2.

⁴⁰ Crawford 1990, 17-18. Crawford bases the owners Christian identity on a plate with a Greek cross, and a graffitied pot sherd with a Latin cross., an ampula with a Latin cross, a cross and a Rho carved into a doorjamb, and flask with Christian symbols. The evidence for Jewish owners includes graffiti on pot sherds, menorahs incised into doorjambs, and a few telling Jewish names.

⁴¹ Hanfmann 1983, 146. The precincts and the Temple of Augustus are known mainly through inscriptions and not *in situ* archaeological evidence.

⁴² Hanfmann 1983, 193-194. Hanfmann suggests that the process of gradual conversion and de-paganization began as early as the mid-fourth century, however this is based largely on literary and historical writing of larger Constantinian measures, and only loosely on relative stratigraphy and some singular finds in early deposits. I remain skeptical, though still open to the possibility, that the processes were in full swing this early.

⁴³ Hanfmann 1983, 192.

⁴⁴ Smith and Ratté 1995 (44-46), and Smith 1999 (157-8).

⁴⁵ Smith 1987, 90.

⁴⁶ Smith 1990, 130.

⁴⁷ Damascius, *Epit.* 116-40. *PLRE* Asclepiodotus 3. See Smith 1999 (153-155). Damascius was writing around 520 and looking back on the fifth century.

sixth century.⁴⁸ On the Christian side, the evidence is surprisingly less forthcoming.⁴⁹ The Temple of Aphrodite was not converted to church until the late-fifth century,⁵⁰ and as yet there are no other securely identified buildings of Christian worship.⁵¹ Thus, far from a transformative “Christianization” of the urban space at Aphrodisias, we instead see the continuation of traditional Roman polytheism and pluralism, at least within the architecture.

Just 150 km west of Aphrodisias, late antique Ephesus was also characterized by the simultaneous existence of architecture representing several religions (see Figure 118). Temples to Artemis and Serapis (within Figure 118, numbers 74 and 33) were still operating as pagan places of worship into at least the late fourth century.⁵² The cult of Hestia Boulaea (within the Prytaneion, 118.61), and temples to Domitian and Hadrian (118.53 and 15) were still standing as late as the late fourth century at least, though it is unclear exactly when they ceased to function as such.⁵³ A monumental Gate of Heracles (118.51) was constructed in the mid-fifth century CE, indicating a rare late antique *erection*, rather than destruction or even passive continuation, of a monument to a pagan deity.⁵⁴ It even features reused sculptural panels depicting Heracles and the Nemean Lion, as well as reliefs of flying Nikes.

As a Christian city, Ephesus is particularly notable in early Church history as another one of the Seven Churches of Asia, as well as the site of the Ecumenical Councils in 431 and 449, and the urban profile reflects this.⁵⁵ Indeed, over 20 churches, both within and outside of the city walls, are already known.⁵⁶ Not much is known about most of them, but they do appear to have been scattered across the city, and “when a predecessor building is known, it is a public or pagan building.”⁵⁷ Two important churches, the predecessor of the Justinian basilica (G.78) and the cemetery church in the Grotto of the Seven Sleepers (G.71), are both outside of the city walls, likely date to at least the early fifth century, if not earlier. Within the city walls, the two largest churches, of St. John (G.78) and Mary (G.13), both date to around 500 CE, which is especially late in a city of such significance.⁵⁸ The Church of Mary also features adjoining residential quarters, perhaps of a bishop. Ephesus is extremely valuable as a particularly well excavated and published site, but also because of the significant religious diversity it exhibits in our time period. Despite a large, active, and architecturally prominent Christian presence within the city, several pagan temples are left standing into the fourth and even fifth centuries, while a gate honoring Heracles is even *constructed* in the fifth.

Clearly, my purpose here has not been to thoroughly survey the entirety of late antique religious archaeology. Rather, it was to very briefly detail the archaeological remains of

⁴⁸ Smith 1990, 155.

⁴⁹ Excavations at Aphrodisias are ongoing, as only about one quarter of the area within the city walls has been excavated. There could well be a number of Christian buildings still to be uncovered.

⁵⁰ See note 44.

⁵¹ The so-called “Bishop’s Palace,” located near the Bouleuterion, is unlikely to be the palace of a bishop, and is more reasonable the residence of the governor. See Smith (2002), 136 for a brief outline of the argument.

⁵² Foss 1979, 30.

⁵³ Foss 1979, 30.

⁵⁴ Scherrer 2004, 21, esp. note 109.

⁵⁵ Rev. 2.1-7.

⁵⁶ Scherrer 2004, 23.

⁵⁷ Scherrer 2004, 23.

⁵⁸ This date is heavily contested, as earlier excavations concluded that the Church of St. Mary was built in the late-fourth-early fifth century and was the site of the Ecumenical Council of 431. Karweise’s 1984 ff. excavations came to the conclusion that they could not have been built earlier than the third quarter of the fifth century at the very earliest. See Karweise 2004 for his argument.

religious institutions and buildings at a few of the sites that have figured prominently as the loci of late antique honorific monuments. Far from being overwhelmingly defined by early Christian churches, late antique cities enjoyed a considerable diversity of religious buildings, including temples, synagogues, and philosophical schools, often as late as the fifth century, and sometimes even into the sixth. In some ways, it should come as no surprise that pagan temples functioned into the late-fourth century, and then begin to show signs of destruction and/or conversion. In 381, Theodosius outlawed pagan cults, and then attacked their physical spaces 10 year later, forbidding pagans from going to sanctuaries or walking through temples in the East, while Valentinian II ordered that all pagan temples be closed in the West in the same year.⁵⁹ Subsequent laws forbade subsidies to pagan cults, the destruction of temples, bans on rites and sacrifices, and so on into the fifth century. However, many pagan, and indeed Jewish, buildings did continue standing into the fifth and even sixth centuries, implying that at least spatially and visually within the architectural landscape of any given city, the conversion of pagan cities into Christian ones was relatively conservative. Regardless of what recorded laws, historians, and theologians of the period are able to contribute, and the violent, passionate, and polemic battle of religions they describe, this evidence suggests that public space was markedly heterogeneous and maintained the larger profile of traditional Roman religious pluralism for longer than we might have expected.

Of course, simply identifying buildings is a problematic substitute for accurately identifying groups of people, and even more so for identifying strains of religious adherence. However, it is clear that the buildings, interwoven with each other into the urban fabric of the cityscape, should represent some similar cosmopolitan mix of religious communities among the city's inhabitants. It would be unreasonable to expect that pagan temples and Neoplatonist philosophical schools would be immediately destroyed with Constantine's series of pro-Christian laws in 324, or even with the closing of pagan temples under the Theodosian Decrees in the early 390's. And still, the typical narratives of pagan temples and buildings in Late Antiquity "have all focused on a paradigm of abandonment and decline."⁶⁰ And while Christianity does eventually win out as the pagan temples and buildings are gradually closed, destroyed, or abandoned, this is still occurring as late as the sixth century, several centuries after Constantine.

Thus, far from a religious Christian monopoly, we see extensive material evidence of multiple, coexisting religious communities across these several well-contextualized case studies. Far from being hidden or ashamed, both Jewish and pagan temples and even Neoplatonist philosophical schools apparently had the funds and social clout to proudly and publically establish sumptuous permanent buildings. An inhabitant of any of these cities would have passed any number of religious institutions on a walk through the cityscape. Instead of hyper-localized religious communities confined to specific spaces within the city, these buildings are integrated into the urban fabric of the city. Just as the traditional Roman civic cult was interwoven into the public and political spheres, so too were their temples and altars located right alongside civic administration buildings, and it appears that Jews, Christians, and Neoplatonists adopted this same spatial integration. Obviously, each of the example cities briefly detailed above have varied and diverse religious implications in their smaller archaeological finds as well. I have not even mentioned funerary evidence, non-honorific inscriptions, or other small finds with religious graffiti or drawings. For example at Aphrodisias, a series of earlier imperial portrait statues, tombstones, and even an inscribed game board attest to the religious diversity of

⁵⁹ *Codex Theodosianus* 16.10.11.

⁶⁰ Rothaus 2000, 33.

the late antique city.⁶¹ The archaeological, and indeed the historical, evidence requires the adoption of a more nuanced understanding of the religious atmosphere of Late Antiquity that allowed for diversity, tolerance, and perhaps even overlapping of religious beliefs.

C. The Religious Climate in Late Antiquity: Pluralism, Overlapping Identities, and Uncertainty

The material evidence, including honorific monuments, suggests overlapping and coexisting spheres of religious affiliation, or at the very least, the continued existence of religious diversity. How then to reconcile this tolerance and diversity with the more common narrative of religious conflict and extreme polarity? It has been noted that the “tendency to see the issue in terms of crisis was largely set by ecclesiastical historians” and this “encourages us to view pagan and Christian as inherently mutually exclusive categories.”⁶² And indeed, it does appear that the “battles” between Christian and pagan are traceable primarily through written evidence. Christopher Jones has argued that the conflict “is inevitably drawn from literary texts, which tend to reflect the views of an educated minority, and though it was on this literary level that the debates between pagan and Christian have survived, such debates are a kind of air battle with only a partial bearing on the ground combat below.”⁶³ In other words, of course both Christian and pagan apologetics are going to represent the differences as a hotly contested issue of the highest priority, but they should be seen as the zealous exception within their communities. Average adherents were much less committed, intense, and outspoken, hence why most felt no need to write and publish their beliefs. If you care enough to write a treatise on religion to defend your faith, you are already more dedicated than most. Indeed, the writings of John Chrysostom, the Archbishop of Constantinople in the late fourth century, allude to a tension between how he wants his congregation to act and how they are actually acting. His audience, “did not... always accept his attempts at Christianization of every part of their civic lives, and complained that Chrysostom was expecting too much of them, saying, ‘but we are not monks.’”⁶⁴ Thus, we should critically evaluate what Chrysostom, or Eusebius, or Augustine, or Lactantius write about Christianity, and conversely what Themistius, Julian, Eunapius, or Symmachus write about paganism. To understand the broader religious climate of Late Antiquity as experienced by a majority of the population, we must recognize that the literary evidence and its authors are more fervent, polemical, obdurate, and exclusive than the reality on the ground.

However, the traditional Roman relationship with religion is inherently tolerant, pluralistic, and inclusive. Because it is not defined by a systematic set of beliefs or orthodoxy, the Romans were historically able to assimilate and adapt foreign gods to their own existing system, and “variant and even contradictory beliefs could exist side by side in overlapping sets of beliefs scattered throughout the many worshippers of the Roman community.”⁶⁵ For example, one needs only look at the traditional polymorphous gods, possessing more than one form and name depending on the region, attributes, and context.⁶⁶ More importantly, allegiance to any number of these polymorphic gods was in no way exclusive; the worship of one god had no effect on the worship of the others. Because there was no orthodoxy, the beliefs of any one

⁶¹ Smith 2002, 153-155, citing work by Roueché (1989) and Chaniotis (2002).

⁶² Ando 1996, 172-3 and note 4.

⁶³ Jones 2014, 38.

⁶⁴ Sandwell 2004, 50.

⁶⁵ King 2003, 285. See also Salzman (2013), 376.

⁶⁶ See King (2003), 292-297 and Salzman (2013), 381.

Roman need not necessarily clash with those of another, and so both could coexist without conflict, as disunity was not an issue. Thus, the Roman tradition of accepting and practicing multiple religious variants at once had been well established and practiced for over 1000 years, and it is reasonable to expect that the impetus to accept the Christian God as merely another option persisted within the traditional polytheistic culture.

Christianity, obviously, allowed for no such diversity or pluralism because of its consistent and all encompassing orthodoxy; that is, polytheism and polymorphism directly contradicted the Christian concept of correct doctrine, by which Christians define themselves.⁶⁷ It is this tension between the Christian need for full devotion and exclusivity of beliefs against the polythetic organizational platforms of the Roman state that produced so many varied and at times inconsistent responses to the issues of religion in Late Antiquity. The diversity of reactions by different late antique emperors is emblematic of this conflict. Constantine, for example, despite his own conversion to Christianity, continued to support pagan rituals and practices, undertaking the traditional role of the emperor as *pontifex maximus*, and supporting temples to the imperial cult as well as gladiatorial games.⁶⁸ Constantius II employed pagans in trusted positions of high office. Julian the Apostate of course attempted to definitively revive polytheistic paganism by restoring all of the lands, wealth, and offices that had they had been gradually deprived of by his predecessors. Jovian was relatively religiously apathetic, however he did issue of law of religious tolerance that permitted pagan sacrifice.⁶⁹ Valentinian and Valens were also relatively tolerant, only to be followed by the repressive persecution of Theodosius, who officially declared Nicene Christianity to be the only legitimate imperial religion. Still, even Theodosius did not allow for the full-scale destruction of paganism, and once even intervened to protect a temple in Osrhoene in Mesopotamia.⁷⁰ The reigns of Theodosius II, Marcian, Leo I, Anastasius, and finally Justinian continue to become incrementally less and less tolerant of paganism. However, even under Justinian, there was never a legal compulsion for all pagans to convert, despite whatever social pressure, persecution, and legal obstacles they experienced. The range of imperial responses to a growing Christian imperative against a dwindling pagan one speaks to the difficulties and uncertainties of several hundred years of transition. As Christopher Jones has written:

As had earlier been true of the imperial treatment of Christians by pagan emperors, some emperors acted with more severity than others, and personal beliefs and political pressure acted with different force at different times. Even in their treatment of Christians, though all emperors considered themselves orthodox and guardians of orthodoxy, their views often met with opposition.⁷¹

Indeed, emperors, like all civil servants, had to weigh the requirements of Christian orthodoxy against the countless other issues of running a Mediterranean empire. Religion was never the only issue on the table, and often not even the most pressing. It was therefore necessary to continue some sort of official legal policy of religious inclusion and plurality at the level of the state, as was the Roman tradition, even though it might contradict Christian orthodoxy.

⁶⁷ King 2003, 297. Of course, it is ironic that the Christian conception of doctrine and the necessity for coherent unity itself led to schisms and splits within the community. Indeed, the difference between “orthodoxy” and “heresy” was never a strict divide, despite what triumphant victors would lead us to believe, and a tight orthodoxy necessarily required that dichotomies be established. See King (2003), 288 and Gwynn et al. (2010), 8.

⁶⁸ Jones 2014, 18.

⁶⁹ Jones 2014, 25.

⁷⁰ Jones 2014, 26,

⁷¹ Jones 2014, 32.

Thus, we ought to conceptualize of Christian identity in Late Antiquity as graded, varied, even porous, and subject to any number of interpretations. The corporate identity of Christianity, as expressed by zealous Christian writers and early Church fathers, was itself quite varied, to which the number of ecumenical councils, controversies, heresies, schisms, and denominations attest. This is to say nothing of individual identity, wherein the individual can personally identify themselves with any number of corporate identities, depending on how they view their “sameness” or conformity with the larger group.⁷² Individual identity is particularly dynamic and subject to change, as it is often based more on subjective choice than objective reason.⁷³ Moreover, early Christian identity was particularly formulated in comparison against “the other,” itself a moving target. As Judith Lieu writes:

Early Christianity needs to be seen as implicated in, as well as contributing to, the dynamics of the world in which it was situated. We should look for continuities as well as for discontinuities between Greek, Roman, Jewish, and Christian efforts to construct and to maintain an identity for themselves, in interaction with their past as well as with each other. Indeed, even to say this is to have to go on to acknowledge not only that there is not ‘any universal meaning that can be attributed to terms such as “Roman”, “Greek”, “Christian”, “barbarian”, “Jew”, but also that *these are not mutually exclusive categories*, and so we can only expect to understand one term in its relations with the others.⁷⁴ [my own emphasis]

There were surely devout Christians committed to doctrine and the practice of orthodoxy, and it is primarily their opinions and attitudes that form the bulk of ecclesiastical history. However, we must also concede that, because the “Christian identity” was both socially and personally constructed, there were likely an even higher number of self-identifying Christians who were somewhat less committed.

There are a number of points at which Christianity appears surprisingly similar to polytheistic paganism, and to those who were less concerned with Christian orthodoxy, these seemingly contradictory religious affiliations overlapped. For example, Christian and later pagan philosophy are similar in their philosophical conceptions of a single, principal divinity. The Neoplatonist philosopher Porphyry of Tyre concluded that there was actually a single supreme god: “Self-generated, not taught, motherless, unshakeable, admitting of no name, many-named, dwelling in fire, this is God; but we angels [that is, messengers] are a small part of God.” The Christian author and advisor to Constantine Lactantius later requoted these lines, needing only to remove the epithet “admitting of no name, many-named” to make it acceptable for a Christian audience.⁷⁵ Christians and pagans also had similar notions of angels or messengers as lesser deities, of divinity represented as a breath or spirit, and of ascending after death.⁷⁶ The Christian Athenagoras of Athens even argues that for these reasons, Christian beliefs are not so different from pagan, and the fourth century pagan philosopher Themistius took it one step further, petitioning for religious tolerance based on the

⁷² Lieu 2004, 12, following work by R. Jenkins, *Social Identity*, 1996.

⁷³ Lieu 2004, 14

⁷⁴ Lieu 2004, 20-21. See also Lieu 2002, 171-89.

⁷⁵ Jones 2014, 40-41, referring to Porphyry of Tyre’s oracle interpretation recorded in L. Robert, *Opera minora selecta* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1969-1990), 5.617-639; and Lactantius, *Divine Institutes* 1.7 (ed. P. Monat, SC 204, 2000, Paris: Éditions du Cerf). Translation is by Jones.

⁷⁶ Jones 2014, 41-42.

similarities.⁷⁷ These mutual beliefs even resulted in pagan and Christian apologetics alike using nearly identical rhetoric, vocabulary, argumentative strategies, and Platonic reasoning to make their cases. As Clifford Ando reports:

Educated Christian apologists turned... to ‘themes and language already familiar’ to themselves and to their audience, and sought in popular philosophy a mode of discourse which could make Christianity explicable to their educated peers.⁷⁸

It is even possible that the vocabulary, which was neither explicitly pagan or Christian, was deliberately chosen to pass for either, a sentiment similar to the one we have argued for here concerning honorific monuments.⁷⁹

In light of so much similarity, it is no wonder that a number of hybrid religious sects emerged, which blended Abrahamic monotheism and paganism. For example, the Carpocratians believed that the world was created by angels, and that a mortal Jesus ascended to heaven to become immortal. The adherents were known to place crowns on statues, and worship statues of philosophers such as Pythagoras and Plato.⁸⁰ Similarly the Hypsistarioi observed the Sabbath like Jews and honored a single god, but also honored “lamplighting and lights.”⁸¹ The Messalians, meanwhile, were a Christian heresy who also worshipped lamps, as well as a single god, though they denied that Jesus was his son.⁸² To the east in the Sassanid Empire, Zoroastrianism and Manichaeism both believed in a cosmological dualism of good/evil, with a single supreme deity, and the latter even accepted Jesus as divine.

Thus far in the discussion I have been focusing on especially devout and engaged participants of Christianity and paganism, whether theologically (concept of a singular deity), rhetorically (the language used by pagan and Christian apologists), or doctrinally (hybrid religions with both pagan and Christian beliefs). These are people who cared very deeply about the veracity and legitimacy of their respective religions, and even they saw similarity instead of difference. The focus of this study, however, is not on the self-defined religiously devout or motivated, but on civil servants acting within the political sphere. Surely they were generally far less invested in such theological questions than, say, a self-defined Neoplatonist philosopher or Christian archbishop. The average layperson was more likely somewhere on the spectrum between total religious apathy and fervent religious zeal. They were surely exposed to a number of religious sects, and might have been confused by the similarities between Christianity and paganism. In addition, considering the centuries-old Roman tradition of religious pluralism and concurrent diversity, perhaps they saw no problem in less-than-committed conversion between the two depending on external non-theological concerns.

A growing number of anecdotal stories attest to the existence of feckless converts. For example, Ambrose, the bishop of Milan, chastised men for acting like Christians just to get Christian girls.⁸³ Libanius, the fourth century pagan Neoplatonist philosopher, proposed that there were “secret” pagans even after the destruction of their temples, who had made

⁷⁷ Jones 2014, 42-43, citing Athenagoras, *Petition (Legatio)* 5 (SC 379.84-87). For Themistius, see Ando 1996 (176-182). Themistius urged religious tolerance from every emperor from Constantine to Theodosius based on these similarities.

⁷⁸ Ando 1996 (185).

⁷⁹ Ando 1996 (189).

⁸⁰ Jones 2014, 43-44.

⁸¹ Jones 2014, 44.

⁸² Jones 2014, 46.

⁸³ Ambrose, *psalm* 118 (20.48-49).

conversions apparent, not real. Their converts have not really been changed—they only say they have. This does not mean that they have exchanged one faith for another—only that this crew have been bamboozled. They go to their ceremonies, join their crowds, go everywhere where [real Christians] do, but when they adopt an attitude of prayer, either they invoke no god at all or else they invoke the gods.... In plays, the actor who take the part of a tyrant is not a tyrant, but just the same as he was before putting on a mask; so here, everyone keeps himself unchanged, but he lets them think he has been changed.⁸⁴

Here Libanius describes a group of pagans who, although they appear to participate in Christian ritual, are either religiously apathetic or even still privately praying to pagan gods. The Greek poet Palladas similarly asserts that, following anti-pagan violence in Alexandria in 391, even the god Heracles himself pretended to conversion along with other pagans who “wished to save their skins and did not feel strongly enough about the old gods to risk both life and property in defending them.”⁸⁵ Similarly, even as late as the mid sixth century, the historian Procopius writes that pagan citizens of Caesarea “adopted the name of Christians in place of that which they then bore and by this pretense succeeded in shaking off the danger arising from the law.”⁸⁶

Thus the reasons one might fake their conversion from Christianity were varied: from a desire to proposition Christian girls to protecting personal safety in the face of persecution. And then, of course, there are stories of conversions for political reasons. The Bishop Pegasius of Ilium told the emperor Julian that he had only converted to Christianity in order to preserve the Temple of Minerva, though Julian suspects that it might have just been because he was ambitious for political power. Pegasius then converted back to paganism on Julian’s ascent.⁸⁷ There is a famous, if less than credible, story about the Roman pagan aristocrat Praetextatus, who told the Pope Damasus, “Make me the bishop of Rome, and I will at once be a Christian.”⁸⁸ Of course, the letter was an invective written by the Christian theologian Jerome who later professed that Praetextatus was certainly in hell following his death. We may take its validity with a grain of salt, but should also not discount the casual proposal of insincere conversion to Christianity in exchange for a promotion to a higher (albeit Christian) office. Constantine himself, because of his “truthfulness of character” was said to have fallen for the stories of “rapacious and unprincipled men... and the scandalous hypocrisy of those who crept into the Church, and assumed the name and characters of Christians” in order to gain his favor.⁸⁹

These anecdotal stories are by no means an exhaustive list, yet serve as a strong testament not only to the political and social benefits to be gained from conversion, but that false conversion for these benefits was a known phenomenon. As Clifford Ando writes, “What should be absolutely clear is the contemporary awareness of the role that social and political power could play in the religious landscape.”⁹⁰

Indeed, in the ever-changing political climate of Late Antiquity, one could never be sure who would be the next emperor, and what their religious policy might be. The ascension of Julian and his subsequent attempt to revert the entire Empire to paganism during his brief three-year reign is proof enough that the legal acceptability of one’s religion could change precipitously. Praetextatus himself was chosen by Julian to be the proconsul of Achaia, and it is

⁸⁴ Libanius *Orationes* 30.28. Translated by A.F. Norman (1977).

⁸⁵ See Cameron (1965) analyzing the poem by Palladas (*AP* 9.441.6), particularly p. 17 and 29.

⁸⁶ Procopius *Anecdota* 11.25-26. Translation by Dewing (1935).

⁸⁷ Julian, *Ep.* 19.

⁸⁸ Jerome, *Contra Iohannem Hierosolymitanum* 8. My own translation.

⁸⁹ Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* IV.54.2. Translation by Cameron and Hall (1999).

⁹⁰ Ando 1996, 202.

only because of his political maneuvering and charisma that he was able to retain the office under Julian's successor, Valentinian.⁹¹ Praetextatus was a particularly vocal pagan champion, however we must assume that his presence is so large in the historical record as such because his religious candor was so exceptional, especially for an administrative magistrate. It then follows that a far higher number of magistrates were less outspoken to preserve their political power and ensure their own future success, regardless of who might be emperor and what the laws might be in the years to come. And thus perhaps we should reevaluate the narrative of total Christian dominance during the transitional years of Late Antiquity, as apparently even professed Christians were sometimes falsifying their faith. What then to make of those who do not profess any faith at all? Certainly, based on the evidence of late antique honorific monuments, it was far more common for magistrates to keep mum about any sort of religious allegiance whatsoever, either Christian or pagan or otherwise. Given the political character of honorific monuments with the cultural and historical contextualization of religious plurality and variance, it is reasonable to conclude that honorific monuments were silent on religion precisely because it was politically beneficial to do so.

⁹¹ See Gwynn et al. (2010), 139, referencing *Ammianus Marcellinus* 27.9.10.

—VII—

Conclusion

The question of religion in Late Antiquity looms large, as the Empire transitions from polytheistic paganism to Christianity. The traditional scholarly narrative has been to view this period as characterized by a battle between the two that was a fierce, binary, and openly hostile clash between two polar opposites. More recent scholarship, however, has begun to push back against such a polemic understanding of the religious climate in Late Antiquity. Historians such as Susanna Elm, Clifford Ando, Alan Cameron, and Michele Salzman have instead argued for a more nuanced and diachronic view of the period as primarily transitional, in which the society-wide conversion to Christianity was graded and complex, and occurred over several centuries of evolution. The “struggle” between paganism and Christianity in late antique society may not have been as sensational and visible as we have long assumed, but was far more subtle, and its processes more gradual, and difficult to detect.

Thus, the concept that Late Antiquity should be understood as a transitional period, and that categories of Christian and pagan are less clearly defined than was previously understood, is not a new one. However, while the historical community has been edging toward this idea for the past ten to fifteen years, the material culture community is only just beginning to adopt this same conclusion. Entire bodies of evidence are still split into separate corpora depending on the perceived religious affiliation. Inscriptions and portraiture are especially subjected to this oversimplification, and our understanding of them has suffered as a result. Here, the historical narrative of “Christianity versus paganism” persists: that is, we too often conclude that material evidence that is Christian cannot also be pagan, and nowhere do the categories overlap.

The contribution of this project to the field of study has been to show that this more-nuanced understanding of Late Antiquity as a period of religious transition is clearly observable within the material evidence of honorific monuments. Previously, late antique honorific monuments were studied in a contextual vacuum, isolated from potentially crucial information in several different ways. First, because the components are often detached and found separately from each other, it has been customary to study each component separately as well. Second, even if a monument is found *in situ*, and the spatial context is considered, the surrounding monuments are often left out of consideration. And finally, the larger historical and religious climate of nuance and transition has not been applied to the socio-cultural background of these monuments. In isolation of the contextual information that the associated components, archaeological setting, and full historical background can provide, these previous approaches have been fundamentally flawed in that they ignore at least half of the monuments as a whole, and therefore do not consider the most immediate display context. Indeed, when found and then studied in isolation, as is overwhelmingly the case, it may indeed appear that portrait heads are divinely inspired by a Christian god, statue bodies are wearing priestly costumes and holding

attributes loaded with religious meaning, and honorific inscriptions are overrun with Christian crosses and direct appeals to God. It is therefore essential to consider the monuments within their original display contexts, both archaeological and historical, and to reconstruct the local microcosm they were responding to and in conversation with.

This dissertation sought to fully recontextualize the honorific monuments of members of the administrative elite in order to gain access to the larger socio-cultural conversation between religion and politics during Late Antiquity. As explored individually in Chapters II-IV, the majority of any given honorific monument, from the facial expression on the portrait head, to the costume of an active civil servant, to the attributes of administrative office, and finally to the inscribed list of political offices and personal characteristics, was overwhelmingly political in nature. In Chapter V, the components of the six fully reconstructable honorific monuments were recombined and reinserted into their complete archaeological and historical contexts. They prove that even during this religiously charged period, both the honorands and the honorers were curiously reluctant to fully proclaim their religious affiliations. Instead, it appears that the purpose of an honorific monument was to present the honorand as a responsible, committed, experienced, and well-connected civil magistrate who was a member of the larger community of elite civil servants. Simply put, religion had no place in the honorific landscape.

I therefore propose three main conclusions: First, while the disparate elements (portrait heads, statue bodies, and inscribed bases) of honorific monuments are usually found separately, sheer numbers indicate that they were all part of the same honorific landscape and should therefore be studied as a cohesive whole. As Smith argues:

Even when they cannot now be connected, the inscribed bases and statues go broadly together, and – an obvious corollary – the statues and heads must represent broadly the range of subjects honored on the inscribed bases. This is important: even without precise identifications, we can still infer broadly what *kind* of subjects we are dealing with.¹

Therefore, because the inscribed bases are overwhelmingly dedicated to imperial magistrates and local notables who held offices of administrative and political significance, the statues and portrait heads must also represent these same imperial magistrates and local notables.

Second, when combined, I contend that the late antique honorific monument was overwhelmingly political in nature, and sought to establish the honorand as belonging to a uniform group of elite magistrates, not to differentiate or individuate him from it. Thus, monuments were not concerned with openly telegraphing religious affiliation, but rather tend to avoid the question.

There are a number of ways to look at this second conclusion. First, one could argue that it is entirely unsurprising that religion was not a concern of honorific monuments, especially given that the data set was curated to focus on administrative magistrates. However, an alternative interpretation, and the one I favor, is that even though the honorands are primarily politicians, it is still surprising and notable that they are largely silent on questions of religion during this period of such high religious preoccupation and concern. In fact, one might even expect that politicians in particular would be especially eager to align themselves with imperial favor and therefore Christianity. And yet religion is largely absent from the messages communicated by the monuments. Furthermore, in the rare cases when it is referenced, it is often covert, as in the hidden XMG inscriptions on portrait heads and inscribed bases.

¹ Smith 1999, 171.

And thus my final conclusion is to suggest that elite players may not have immediately chosen sides because they were not actively devoted to one religion over another (an argument in favor of both societal and personal religious pluralism), or more interestingly, because religious ambiguity was itself socially and politically useful. Perhaps in this most public and visual political arena, a broad, if vague, appeal brought larger benefits than did the potential liabilities of proclaiming a religious allegiance to a still-divided public. Therefore, members of the administrative elite were more concerned with attracting and projecting a broad-based platform of support than they were eager to distinguish themselves as especially devout. And so honorific monuments serve as further material proof that the late antique socio-cultural landscape was less characterized by polarization and more by mediation, and that religious identity was more fluid than we once might have thought.

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—Appendix A—

Images



Figure 1: Colossal Head of Constantine,
312-337 CE, Rome.
Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome.
LSA-558



Figure 2: Valentinian I/Valens.
364-392 CE.
Italy. Uffizi Collection.
LSA- 582.



Figure 3: Valentinian II (Arcadius?) and detail,
388-392 CE, Aphrodisias.
Archaeological Museum, Istanbul.
LSA- 163.



Figure 4: Two Brothers Sarcophagus, 330-350 CE.
Museo Pio Cristiano, Vatican. Lateran 55. ARTstor.



Figure 5: Sarcophagus from the Cemetery of Domitilla. ca. 340 CE.
Museo Pio Cristiano, Vaticano. Lateran 171. ARTstor.



Figure 6: Justinian and Court, San Vitale. 546-548 CE.
Ravenna, Italy. ARTstor.

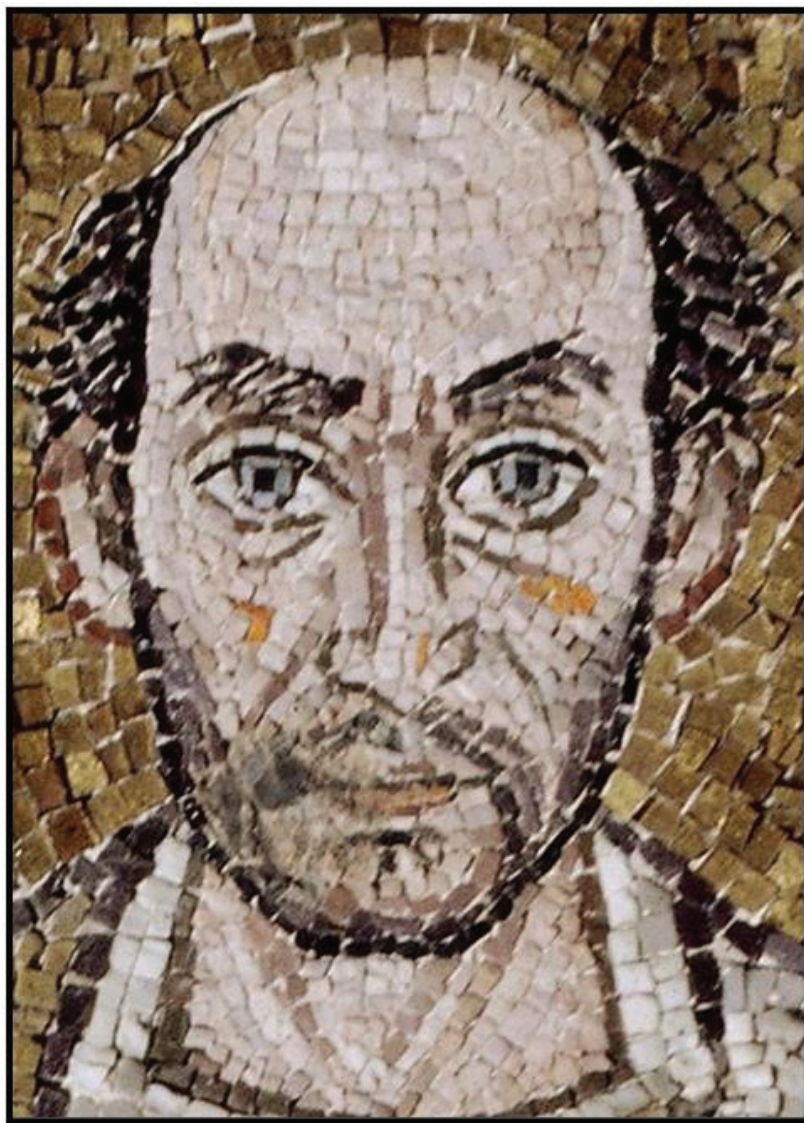


Figure 7: Detail of the Bishop Maximianus, San Vitale. 546-548 CE. Ravenna, Italy. ARTstor.



Figure 8: Details of the cross, the Chi-Rho, and the label above Maximianus' head, San Vitale. 546-548 CE. Ravenna, Italy. ARTstor.



Figure 9: Augustus as Pontifex Maximus and detail, Via Labicana, Rome. After 12 CE.
Palazzo Massimo, Rome. Photos by Elizabeth Wueste.

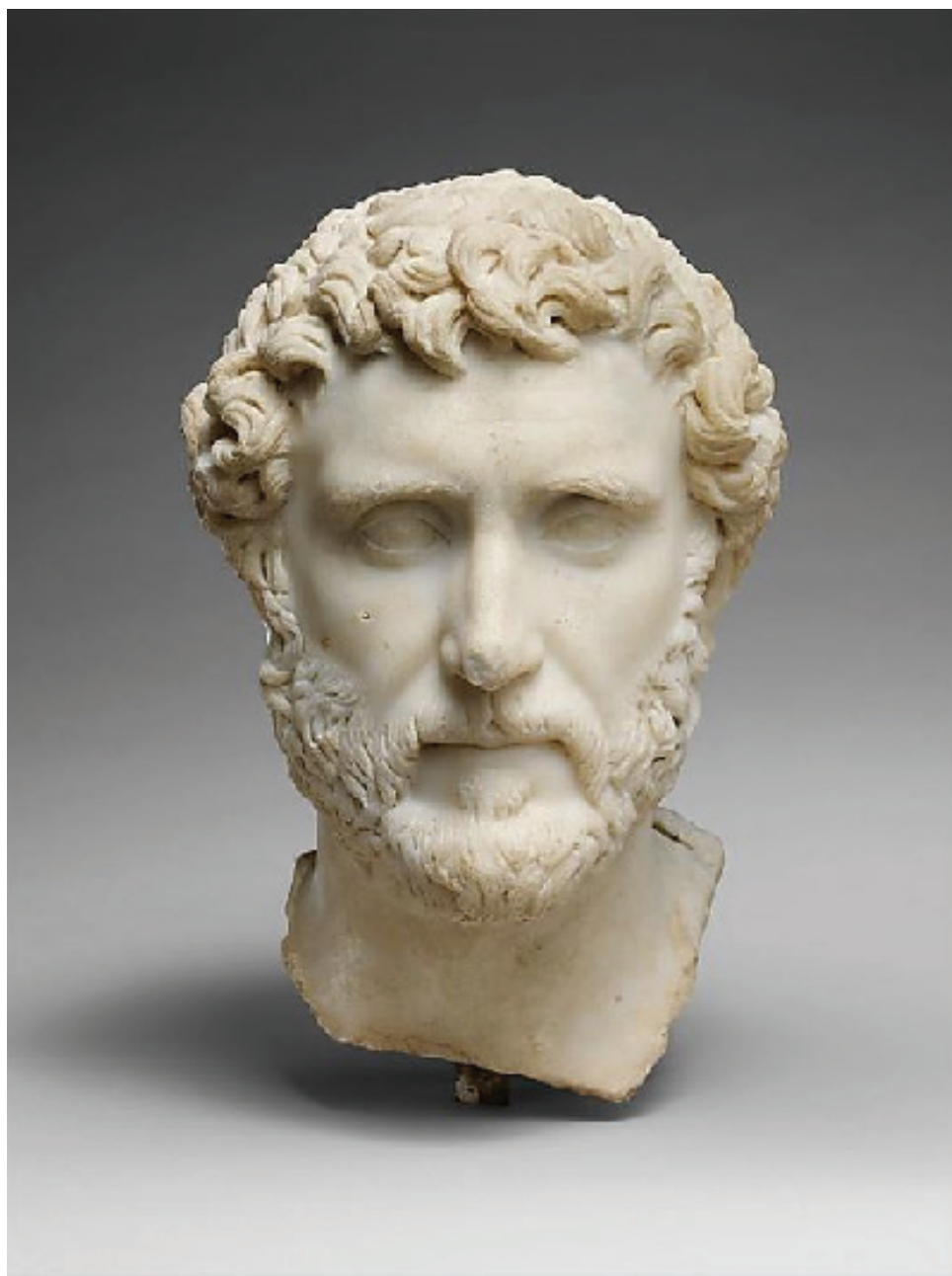


Figure 10: Portrait Head of Antoninus Pius. ca. 138-161 CE.
Metropolitan Museum Of Art, New York. www.metmuseum.org



Figure 11: Alexander the Great, Greece. Third century BCE.
Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen. www.kulturarv.dk



Figure 12: Pompey the Great. First century BCE.
Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen. www.glyptoteket.com



Figure 13: Basalt head of Nero. First century CE.
Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. ARTstor.

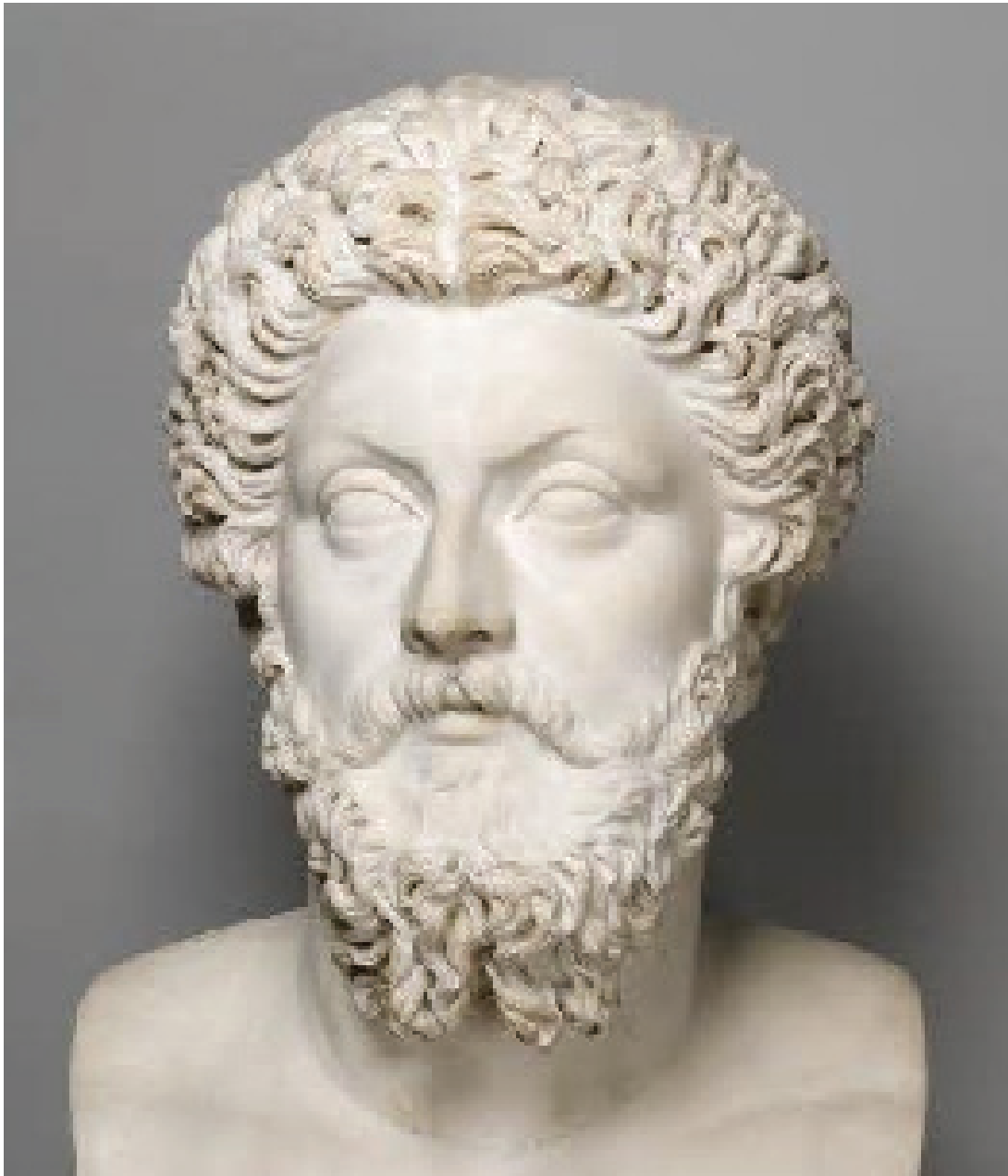


Figure 14: Marcus Aurelius. Villa at Acqua Traversa, near Rome.
Between 180-183 CE.
Louvre, Paris. www.louvre.fr



Figure 15: Septimius Severus, Italy. Late third century CE.
Capitoline Museum, Rome. ARTstor



Figure 16: Constantinople Sage. Gedikpasa, Istanbul.
Late fourth/early fifth century CE.
Istanbul Archaeological Museum. Photo by Elizabeth Wueste



Figure 17: Colossal head of Constantius II/Constans? 330-340 CE.
Capitoline Museum, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome. *LSA-561*.



Figure 18: Arcadius? Beyazit, Istanbul. Late fourth/early fifth century CE.
Istanbul Archaeological Museum. Photo by Elizabeth Wueste.



Figure 19: Theodosius II? Possibly Istanbul. Fifth century CE.
Louvre, Paris. *LSA-453*.



Figure 20: Delphi Charioteer.
Sanctuary of Apollo, Delphi. 475-470 BCE.
Delphi Museum, Greece.
ArtSTOR.



Figure 21: Riace Warrior A.
Riace Bay, Italy. c. 450 BCE.
Museo Nazionale di Reggio Calabria, Italy.
ArtSTOR.

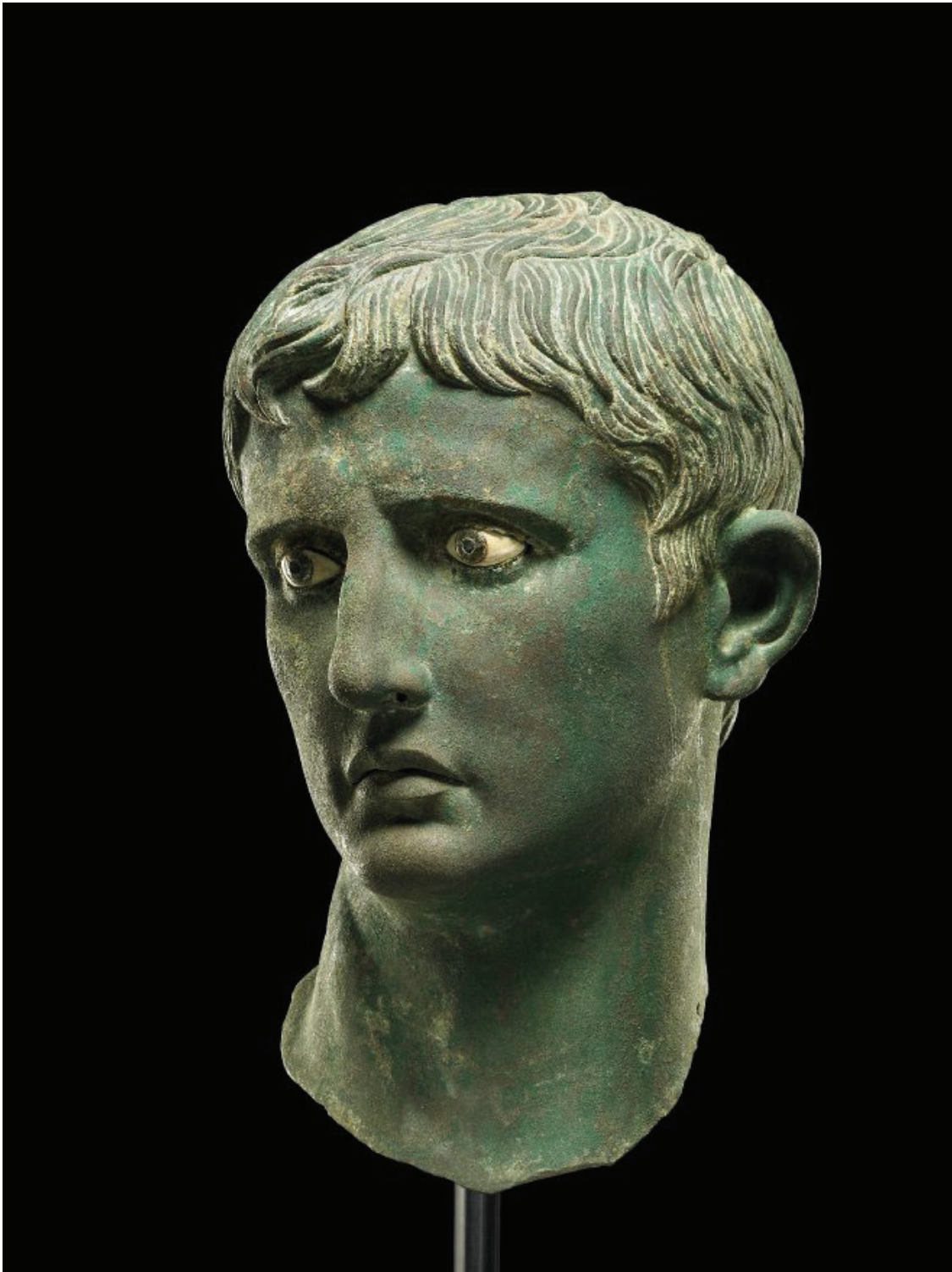


Figure 22: The Meroë Augustus.
Meroë, Egypt. 27-25 BCE.
British Museum, London.
www.britishmuseum.org

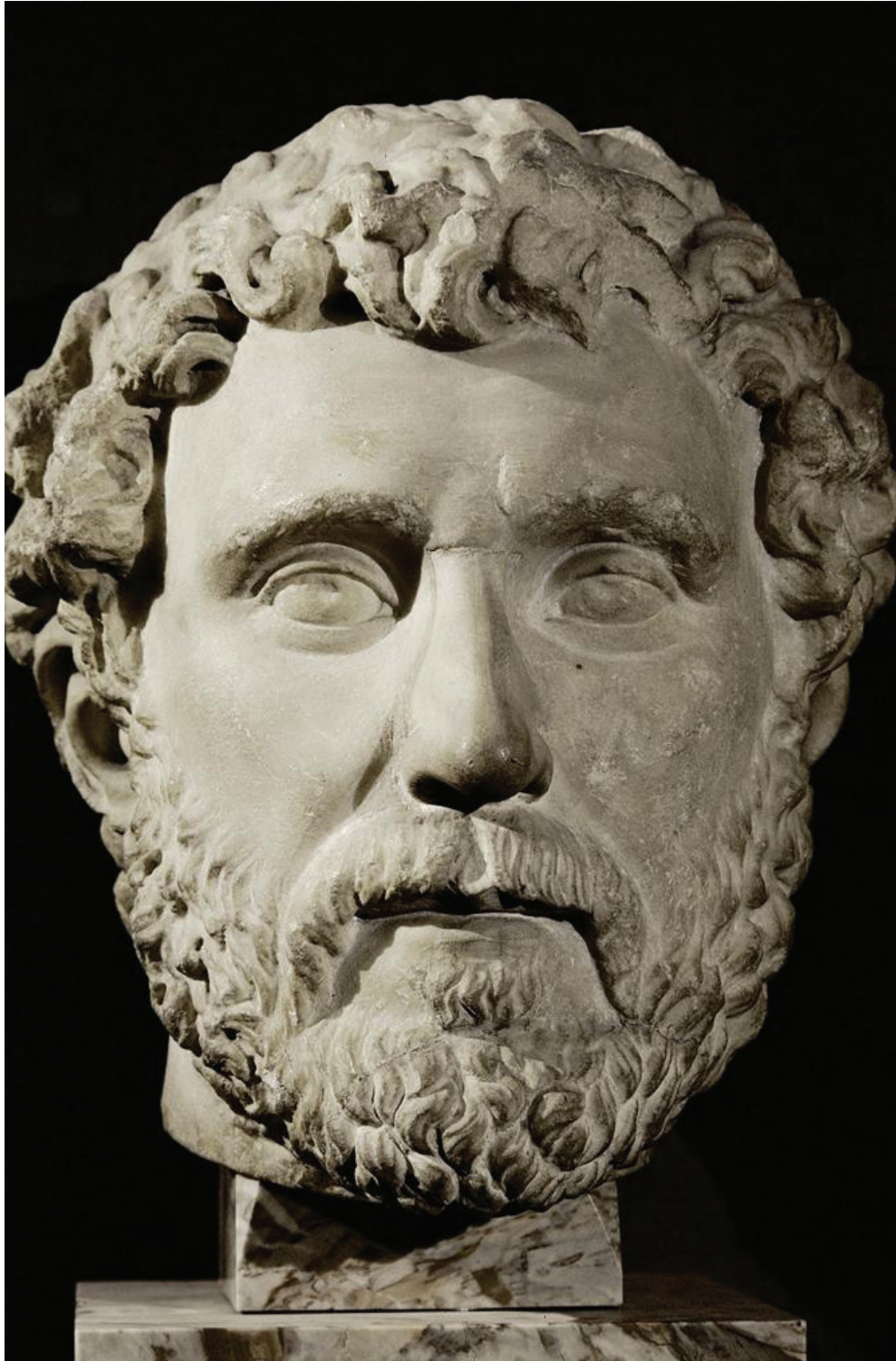


Figure 23: Portrait of the Emperor Hadrian.
117-138 CE.
Louvre, Paris.
ArtSTOR.



Figure 24: Portrait of Antinoos (as Dionysus?)
c. 130-140 CE.
British Museum, London.
www.britishmuseum.org.



Figure 25: Faustina Minor.
147-148 CE.
Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome.
museocapitolini.org.



Figure 26: Portrait of Marcus Aurelius.
161-170 CE.
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Austria.
ArtSTOR.

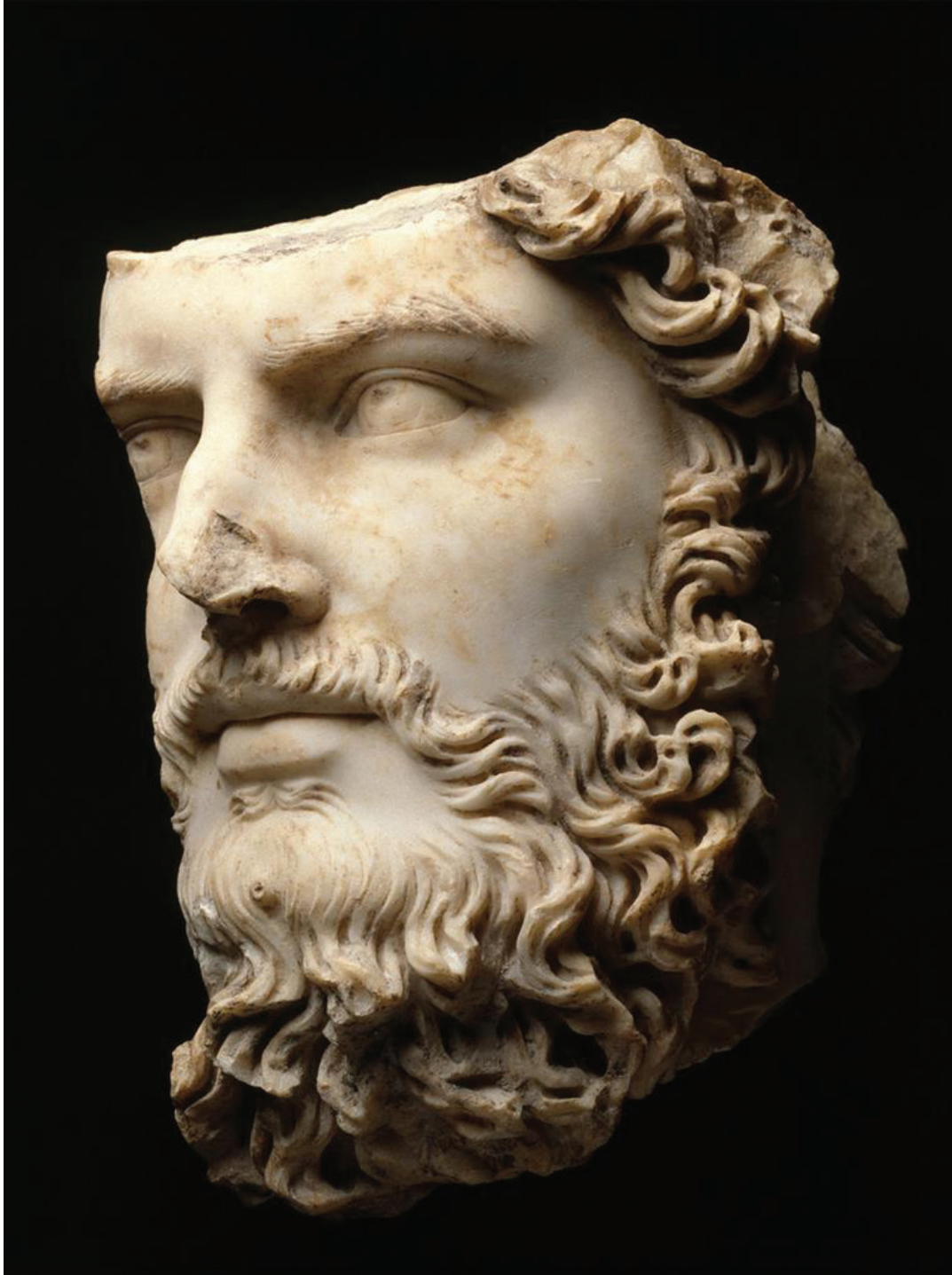


Figure 27: Colossal relief portrait of Lucius Verus.
161-169 CE.
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
ArtSTOR.



Figure 28: Portrait of Elagabalus. 2
20-222 CE.
Musei Capitolini, Rome.
ArtSTOR.

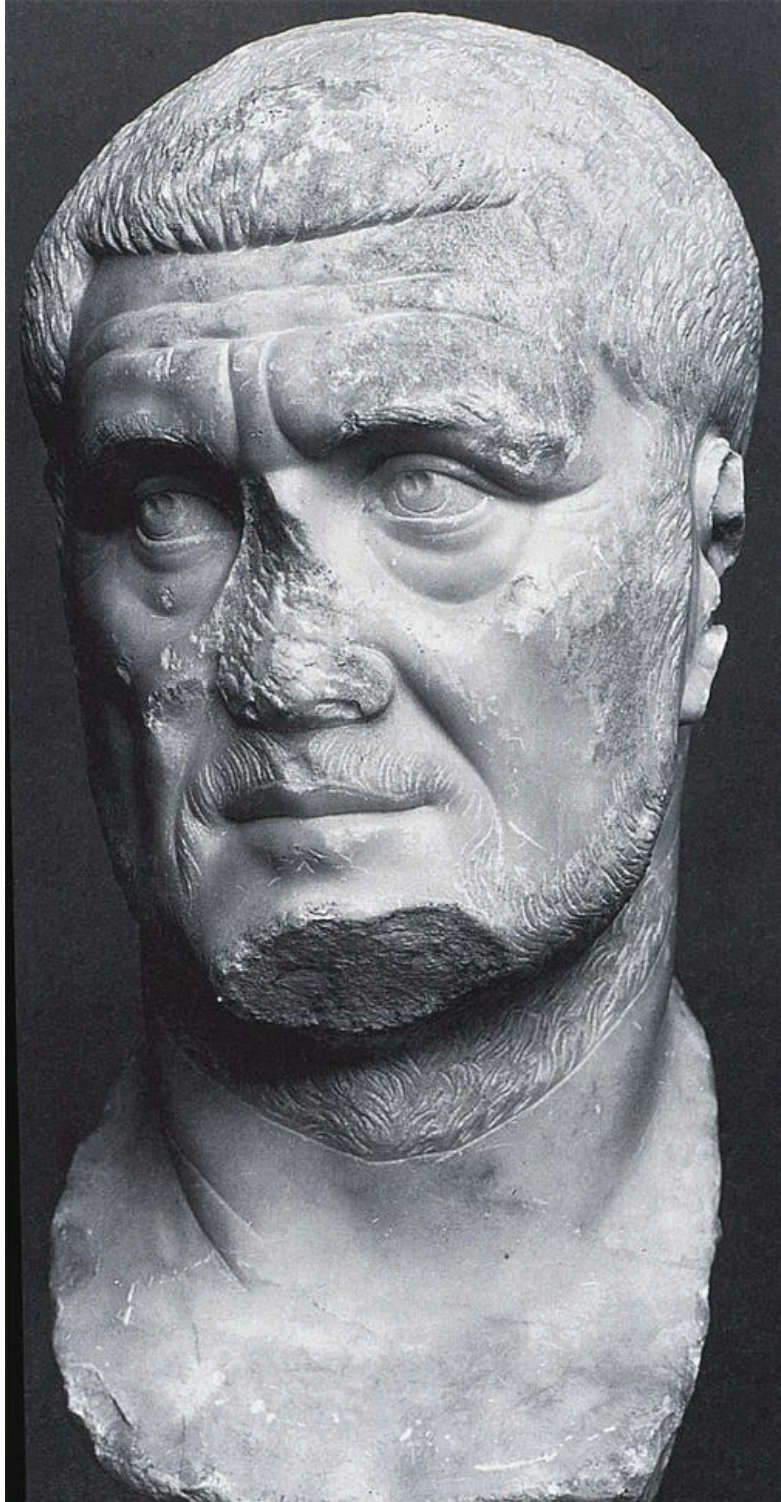


Figure 29: Portrait of Maximus Thrax.
235-238 CE.
NY Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.
ArtSTOR.

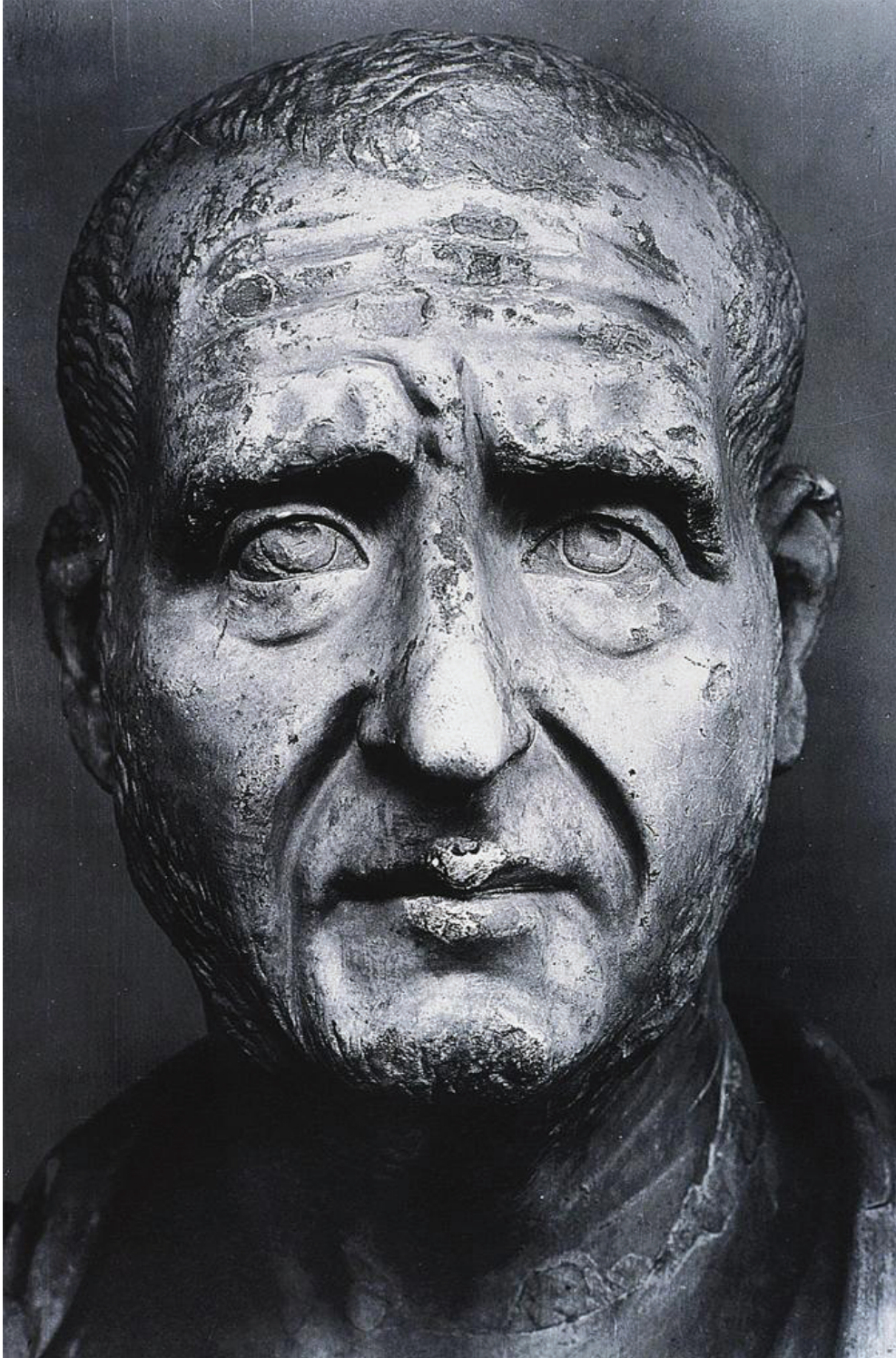


Figure 30: Portrait of Trajan Decius.
249-251 CE.
Musei Capitolini, Rome.
ArtSTOR.



Figure 31: Portrait of Caligula with remnants of paint on left eye.
235-238 CE.
NY Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.
Pollini 2011.



Figure 32: Portrait of "Roman Lady" with black pigment on eyes.
1st c. CE.
NY Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.
www.trackingcolour.org/objects/137#.

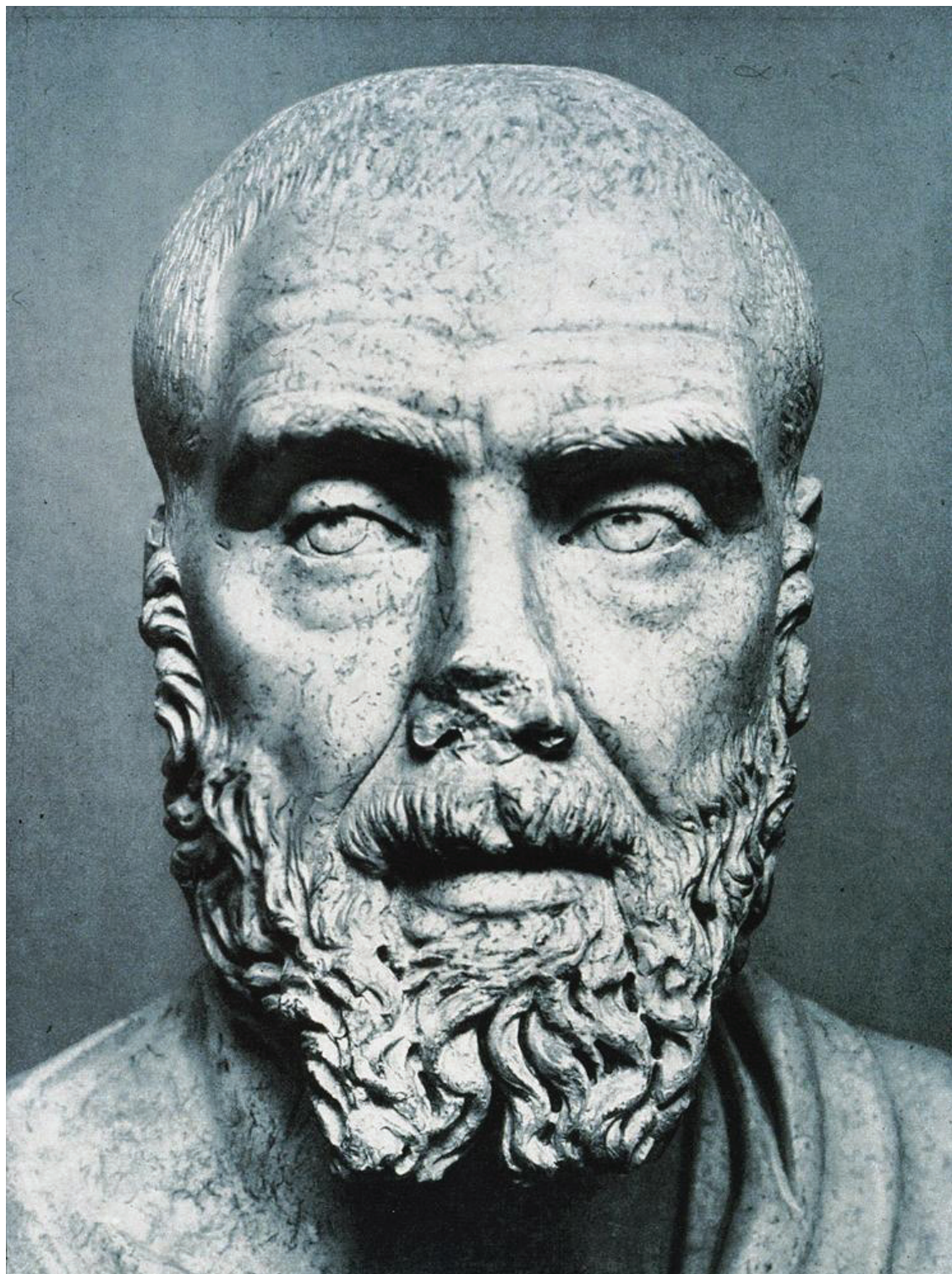


Figure 33: Portrait of Pupienus.
238. CE.

Museo Vaticano, Vatican City.
ArtSTOR.

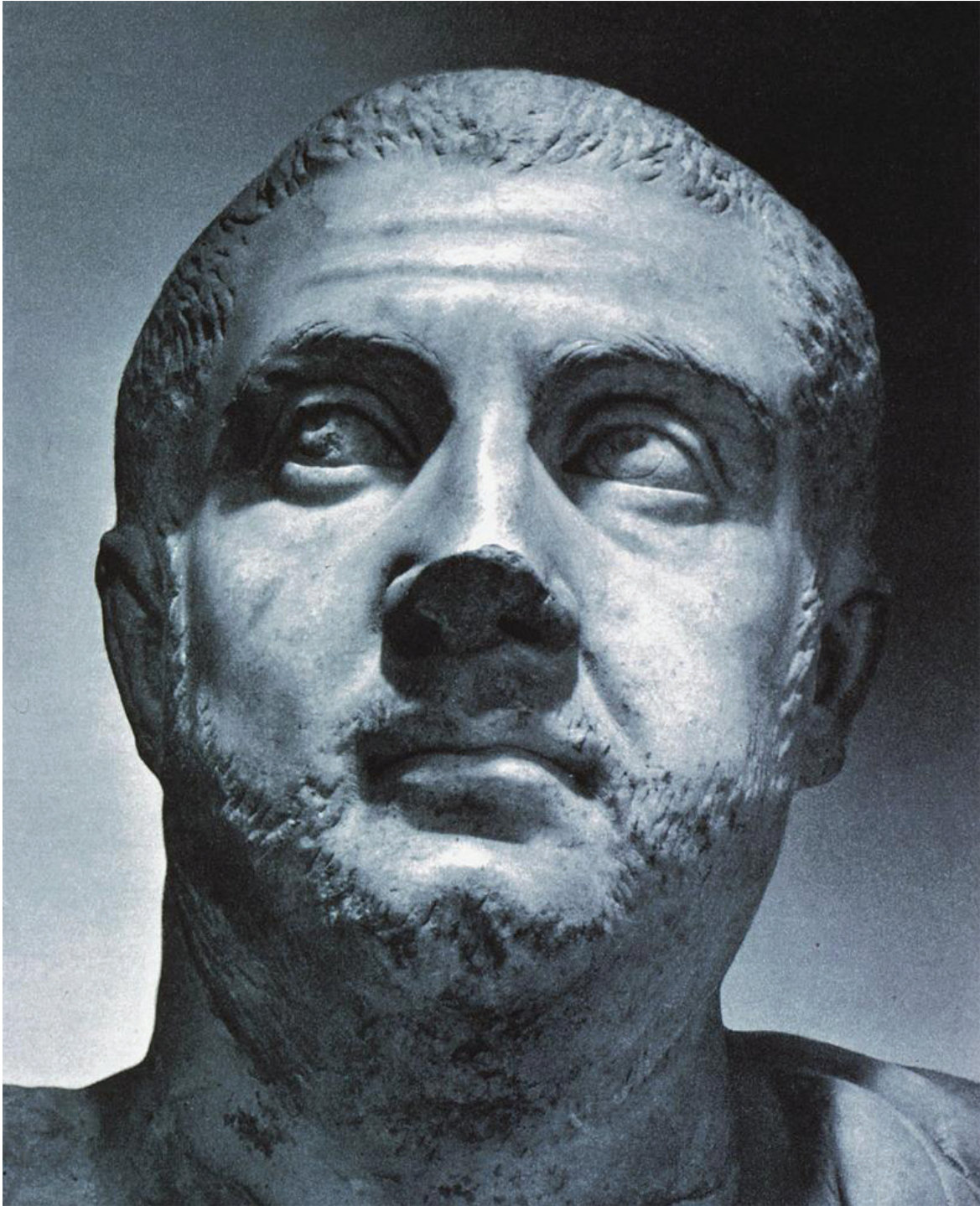


Figure 34: Portrait of Balbinus.
238 CE.
Catacomb of Praetextatus, Rome.
ArtSTOR.



Figure 35: Portrait of Caracalla.
217-230 CE.
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
ArtSTOR.



Figure 36: Portrait of Gallienus.
258 CE.
Louvre, Paris.
ArtSTOR.

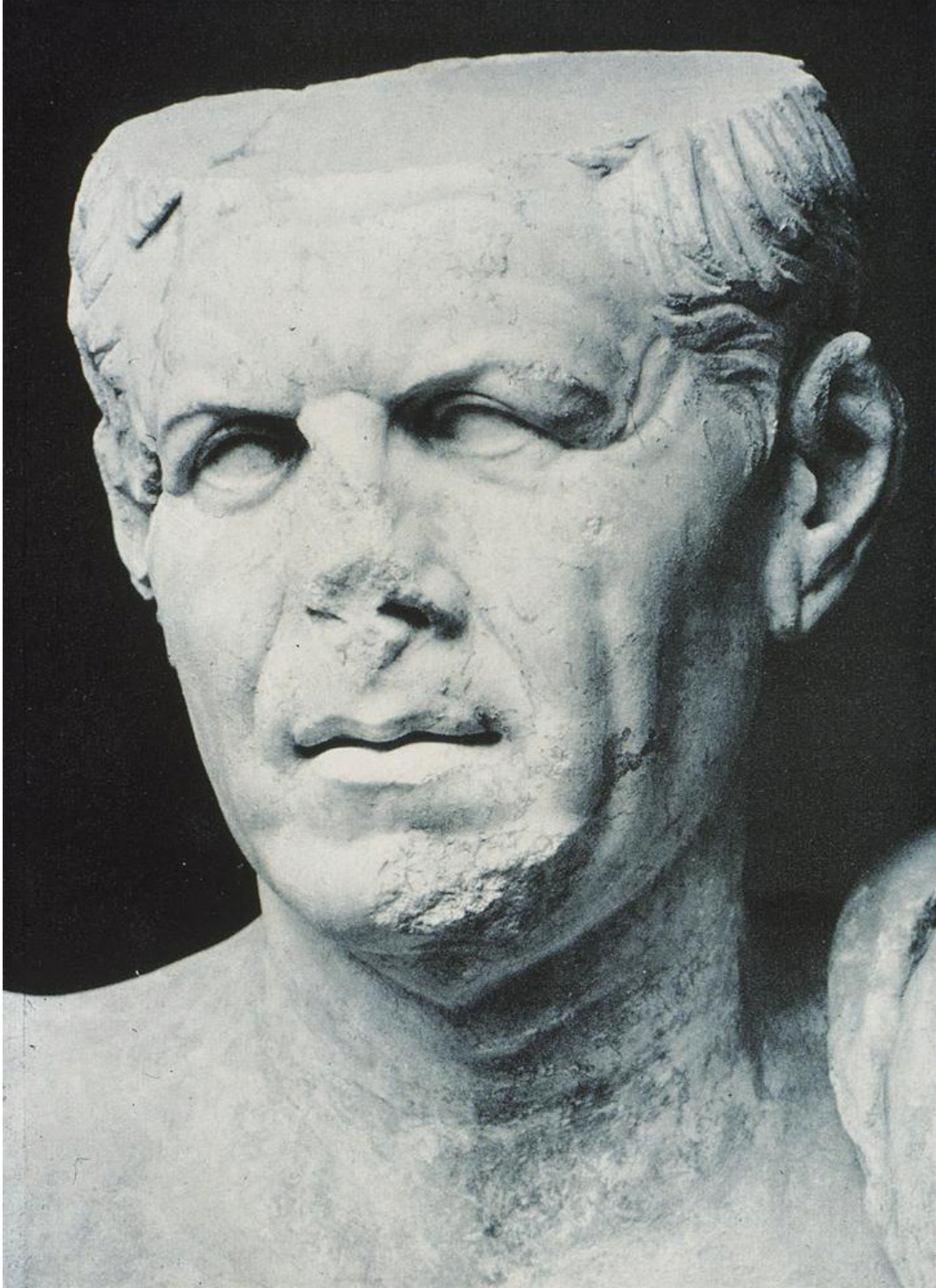


Figure 37: Portrait head of the Tivoli General,
Tivoli, Italy. c. 80 BCE.
Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome.
ArtSTOR.



Figure 38: Late Republican Portrait Head,
Palestrina, Italy. c. 100-50 BCE.
Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.
ArtSTOR.

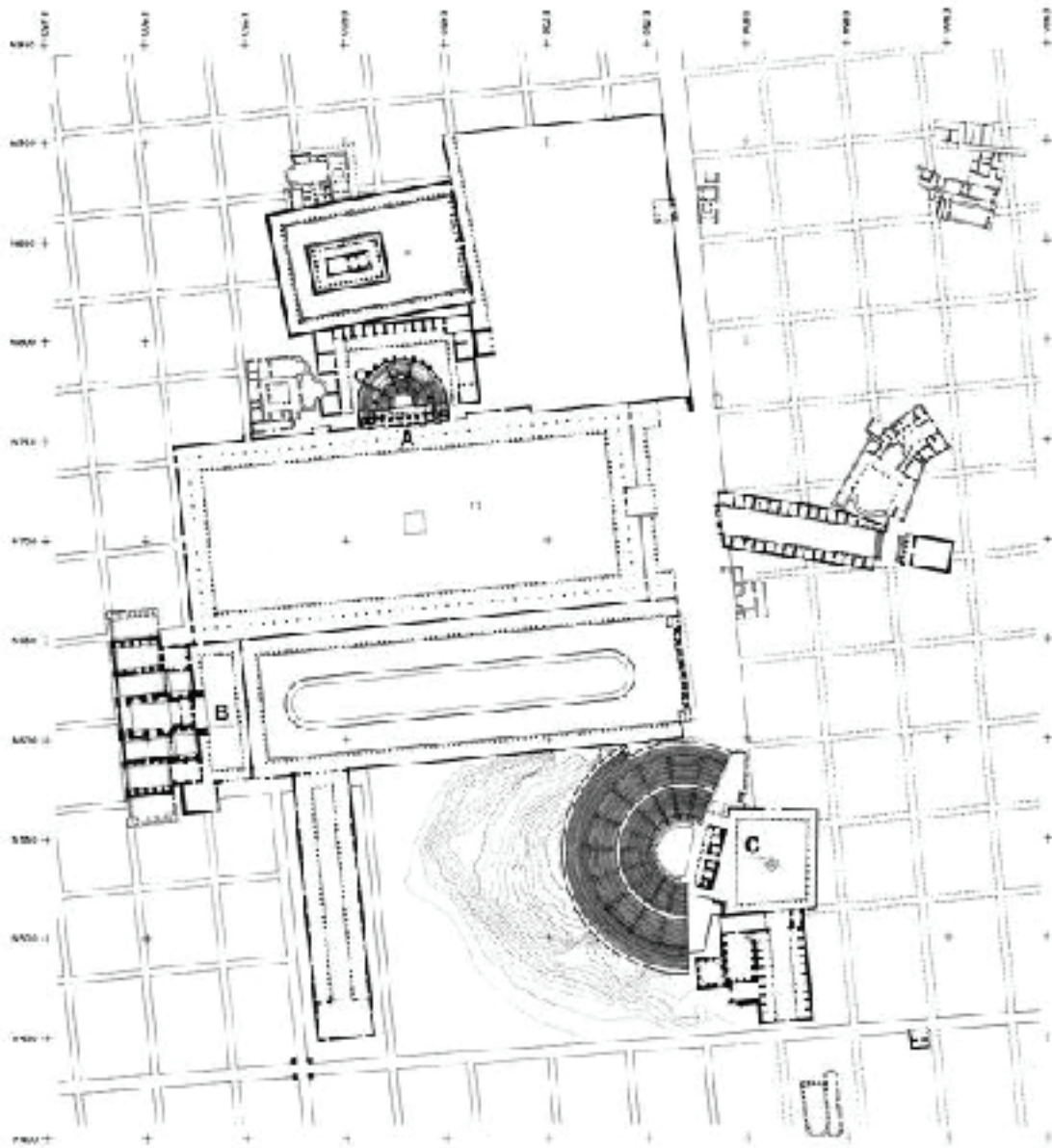


Figure 39: Restored site plan of Aphrodisias, by H. Mark.
Smith 2002, Plate IX.

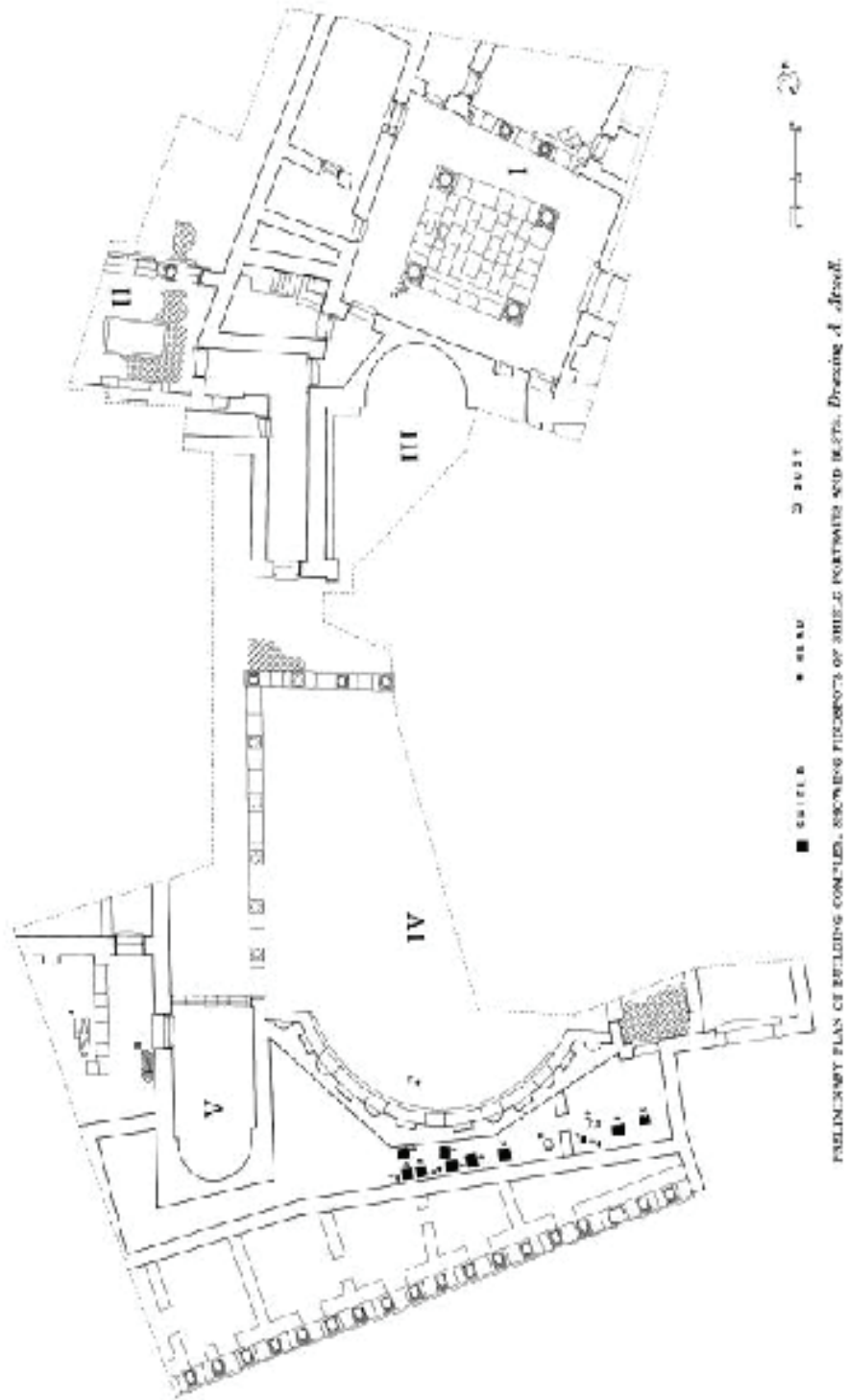


Figure 40: Plan of Shield Portrait Findspots, Aphrodisias, by A. Atwell. Smith 1990, Plate IV.

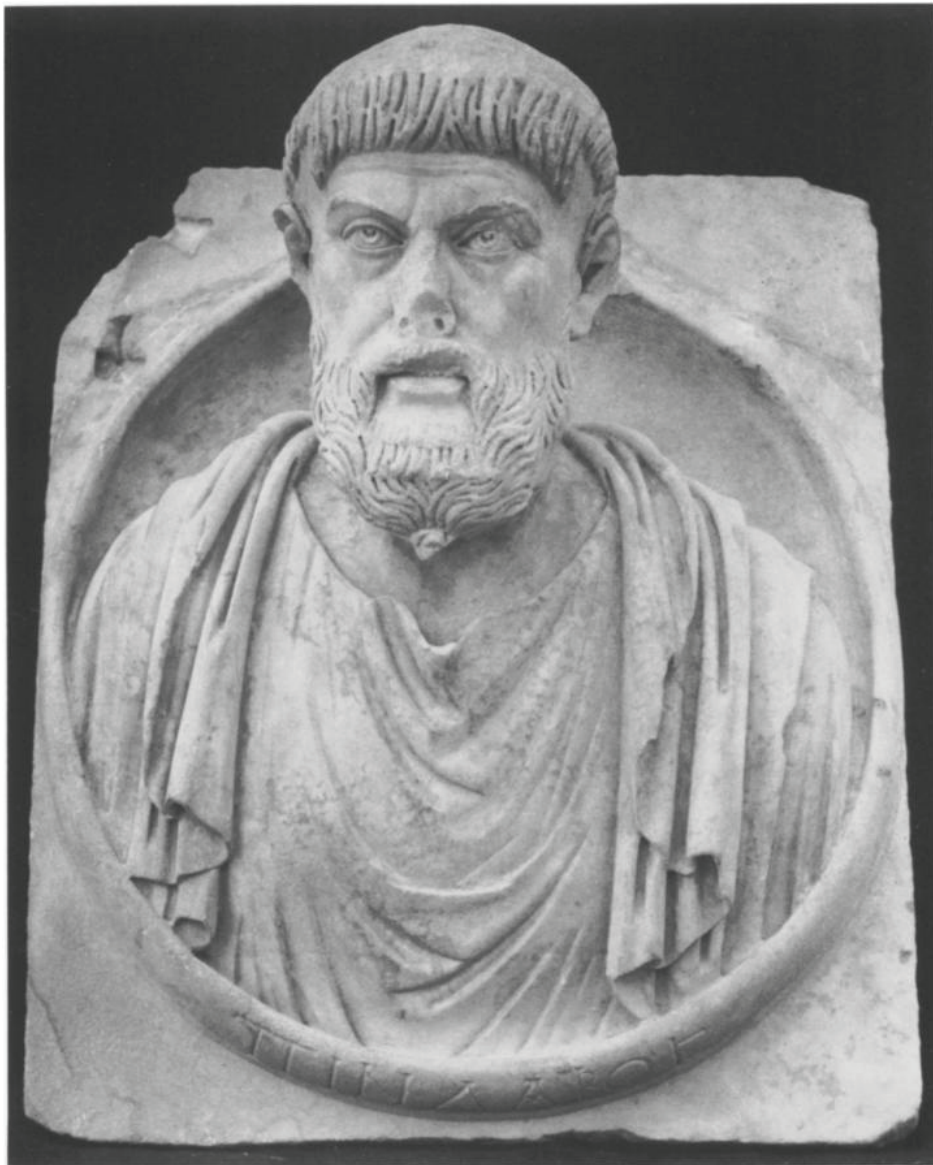


Figure 41: Shield Portrait of Pindar, Aphrodisias. 370-450 CE.
Smith 1990, Plate VI



Figure 42: Shield Portrait of Alexander, Aphrodisias. 370-450 CE.
Smith 1990, Plate VIII

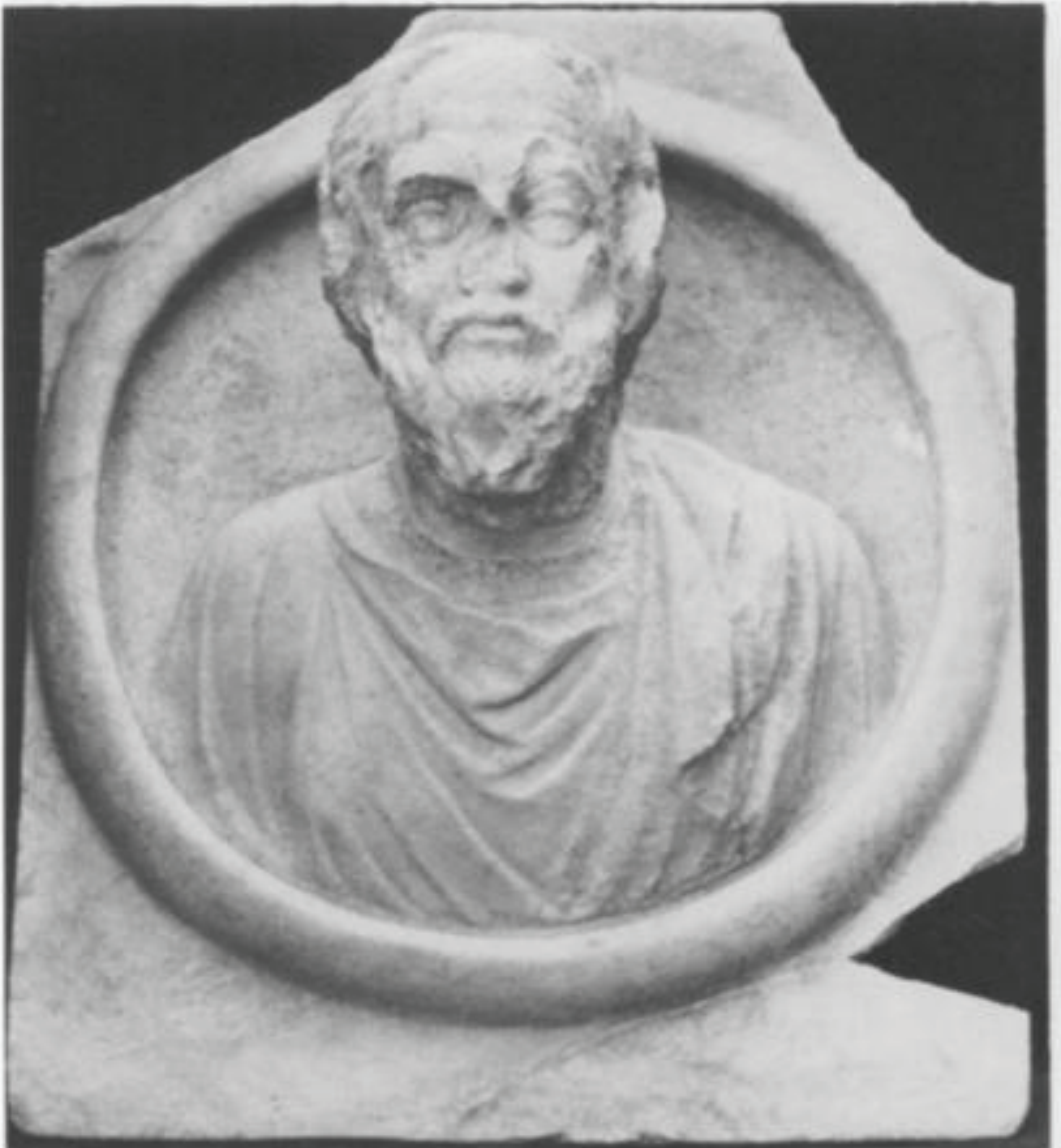


Figure 43: Shield Portrait of Socrates, Aphrodisias. 370-450 CE.
Smith 1990, Plate X.1.

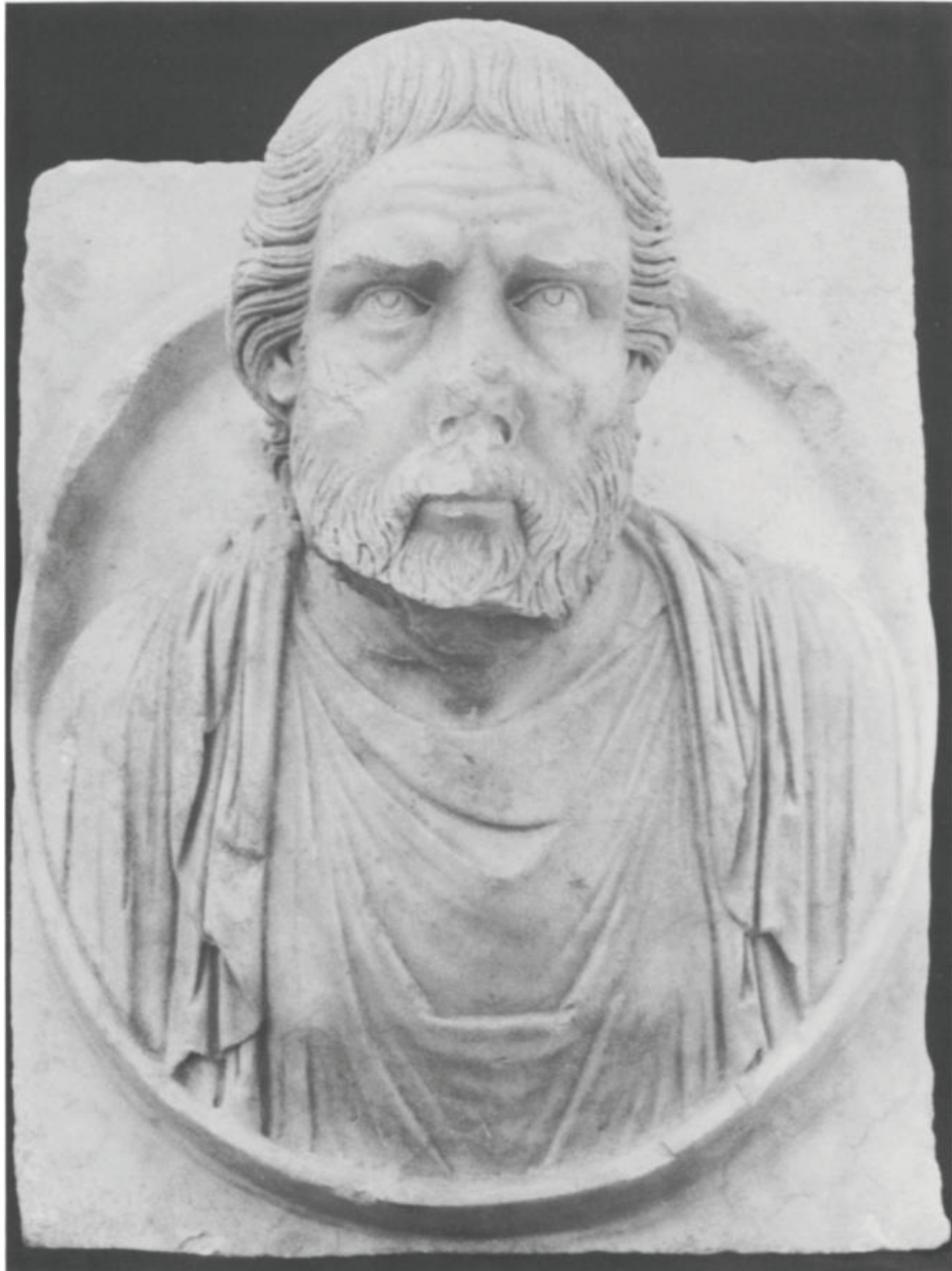


Figure 44: Shield Portrait of "Philosopher," Aphrodisias. 370-450 CE.
Smith 1990, Plate XII.



Figure 45: Shield Portrait of "Young Pupil," Aphrodisias. 370-450 CE.
Smith 1990, Plate XIV.1.



Figure 46: Bust of a “Sophist,”
Aphrodisias. 370-450 CE.
Smith 1990, Plate XV.



Figure 47: Colossal Bronze Head of Constantine,
Rome. 330-360 CE.
Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome. *LSA-562*.



Figure 48: Statue body wearing imperial toga with draped umbo,
Rome. Late fourth c. CE.
Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome. *LSA-907*.



Figure 49: Statue body wearing semi-contabulated toga,
Carthage. Late 3rd- early 4th c. CE.
Museum of Antiquities, Algiers. *LSA-2132*.



Figure 50: Statue wearing Late Antique toga, holding mappa,
detail of *calcei senatorii*,
Rome. Early-fifth c. CE.

Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, Rome.
LSA-1068.

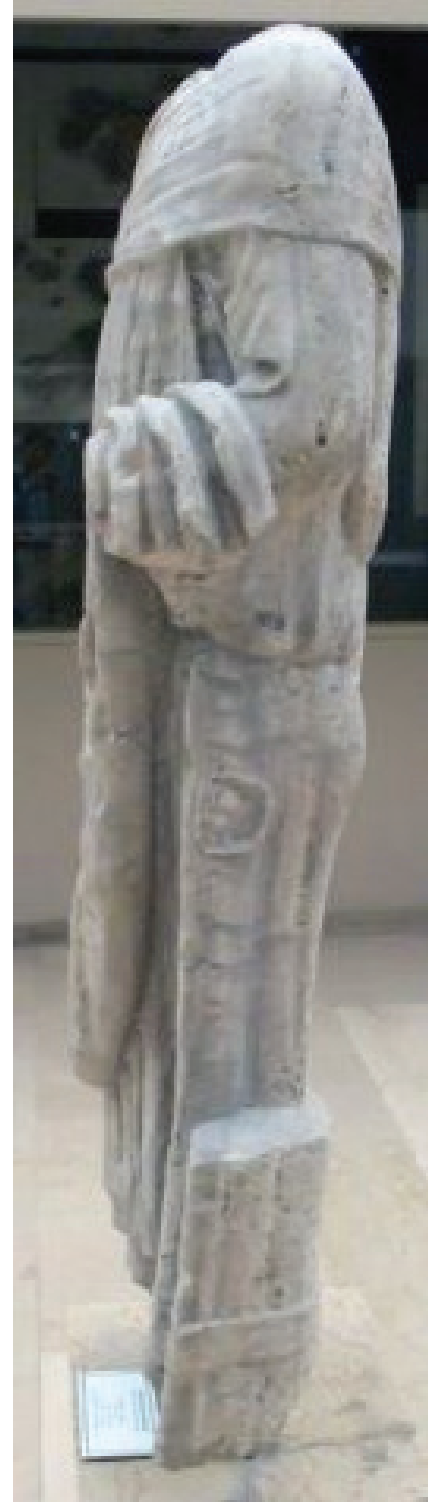


Figure 51: Statue wearing Late Antique toga,
with bloused *colobium* visible on left side,
Constantinople, fifth c. CE.
Constantinople. Istanbul Archaeological Museum, Istanbul.
LSA-1040.



Figure 52: Statue body wearing imperial toga, *capite velato*, and detail of *calcei equestri*, Ostia. Late-third to early-fourth c. CE. Ostiense Museum, Ostia. LSA-1555.



Figure 53: Statue wearing the pallium with an arm sling and chiton,
Alexandria. Late-third to early-fourth c. CE.
Musée Gréco-Romain, Alexandria.
LSA-2101.



Figure 54: Seated statue wearing the pallium and sandals,
Aphrodisias, fourth c. CE.
Aphrodisias Museum, Aphrodisias.
LSA-155.



Figure 55: Seated statue wearing the pallium and sandals on backless chair,
Aphrodisias, fourth to sixth c. CE.
Aphrodisias Museum, Aphrodisias.
LSA-172.



Figure 56: Statue wearing pallium, holding codex,
Aphrodisias, fourth c.CE.
Aphrodisias Museum, Aphrodisias.
LSA-215.



Figure 57: Statue wearing pallium, holding codex/scroll.
Ephesus, fourth c. CE.
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
LSA-737.



Figure 58: Statue wearing the chlamys, holding scroll, and detail of right side belted by cingulum, Corinth, later-fifth c. CE.
Corinth Museum, Corinth.
LSA-19.



Figure 59: Statue wearing the chlamys, holding mappa, and detail of right side belted by cingulum,
Corinth, later fifth c. CE.
Corinth Museum, Corinth.
LSA-22.



Figure 60: Statue wearing the chlamys, detail of right side belted by cingulum, and detail of right shoulder with dowel holes and worked surface for added fibula, Corinth, late-fourth to early-fifth c. CE.

Corinth Museum, Corinth.

LSA-15.



Figure 61: Ivory diptych of the Consul Manlius Boethius,
holding a mappa in right hand and sceptre in left.

480-487 CE.

Museo della Città, Brescia.

ARTstor.



Figure 62: Detail of Arch of Constantine, Constantinian Frieze, showing Constantine in center wearing the chlamys, on the Rostra in the Roman Forum
Dedicated in 315 CE.

Rome.

Photo by Elizabeth Wueste

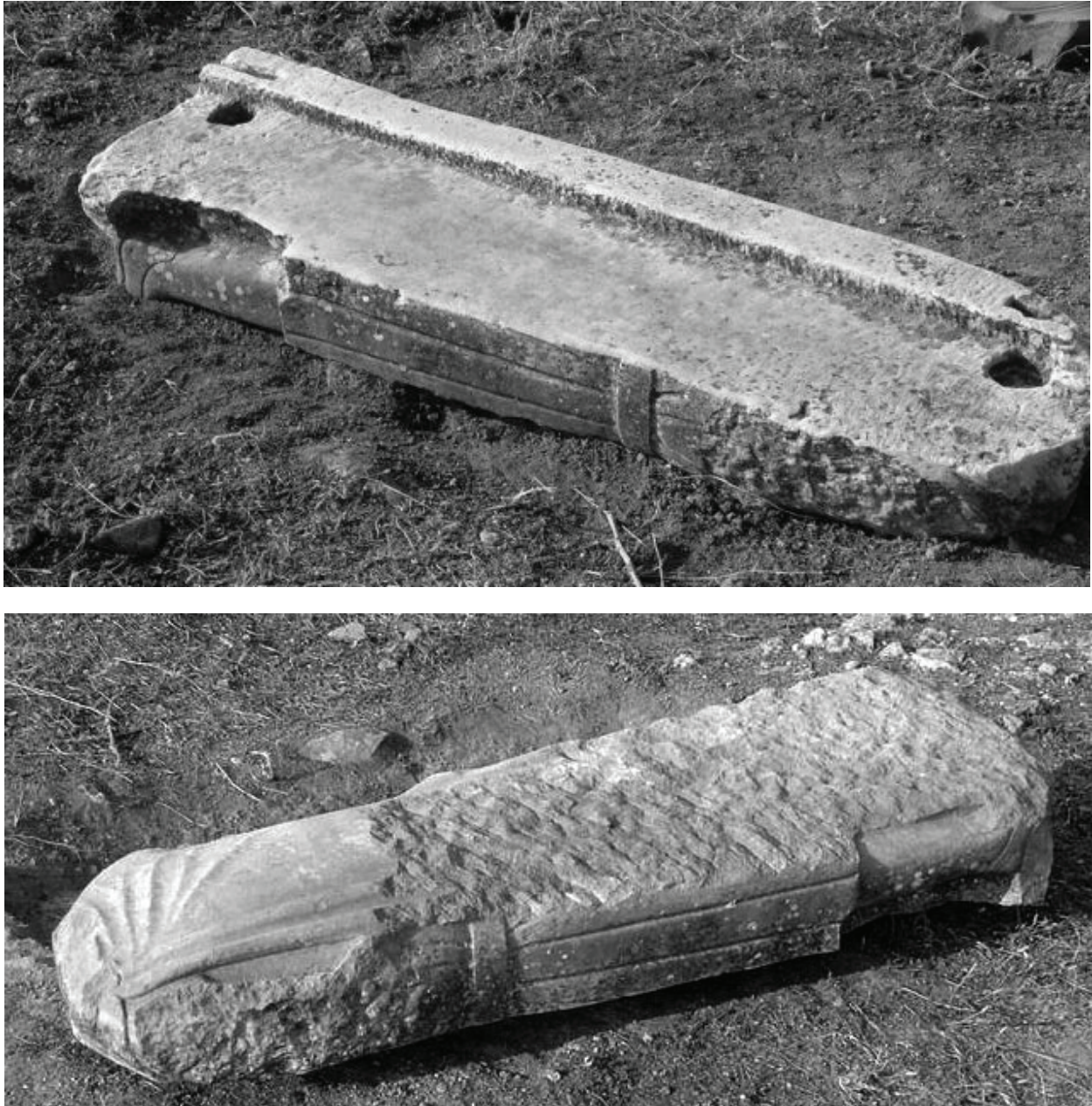


Figure 63: Statue wearing the chlamys, repurposed as a threshold.

TOP: lying facedown, view from right side.

BOTTOM: lying faceup, view from right, showing pinned shoulder, belt, tunic, and campagus, Corinth, later-fifth c. CE.

Corinth Museum, Corinth. LSA-80



Figure 64: Statue wearing the cuirass, with cloak, sword belt, bundle of scrolls at foot, and bulla.

Celeia, late-third to early-fourth c. CE

Celje, Pokrajinski Muzej, Slovenia.

LSA-1785.



Figure 65: Statue wearing the cuirass, with cloack, sword belt, sword, and phalera,
Aichdorf. Late-third to early-fourth c. CE.
Klagenfurt, Landesmuseums Kärnten, Austria.
LSA-1207.



Figure 66: Statue wearing the cuirass, with cloak, tunic, bundle of scrolls at foot with phalera, scroll in hand, belt, and sword.
Aquincum, late-third to early-fourth c. CE.
Budapest, Aquincum Museum, Hungary.
LSA-2095.



Figure 67: Statue wearing the cuirass, with tunic, cloak, greaves, sword, scabbard, quiver of arrows at foot.

Aphrodisias. Fourth to fifth c. CE.

Aphrodisias, Aphrodisias Museum.

LSA-201.

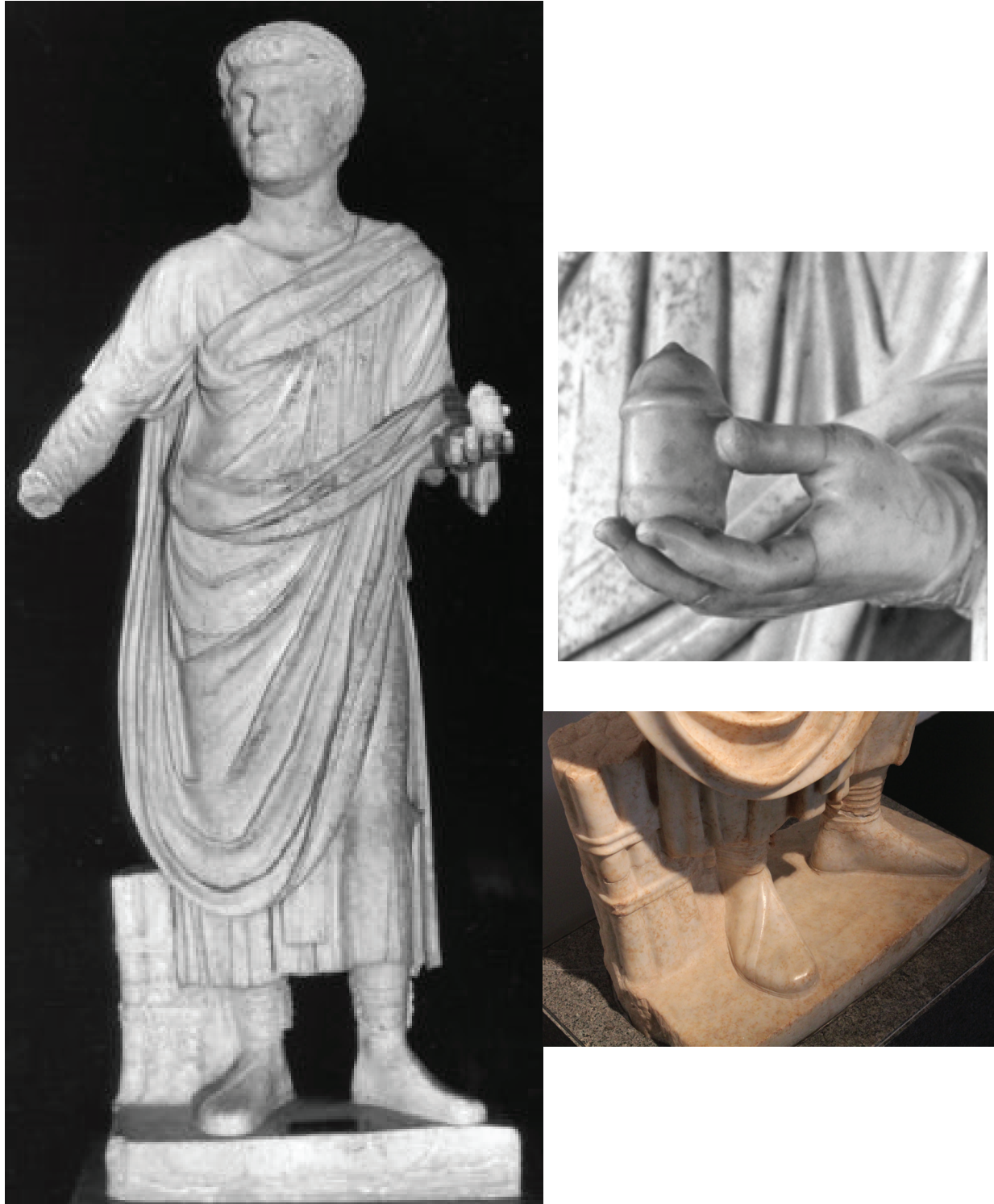


Figure 68: Statue wearing the late antique toga, bundle of scrolls at foot, detail of *calcei senatorii* and inkpot, Aphrodisias. Late-fourth century CE. Aphrodisias Museum, Aphrodisias. LSA-154 and foot detail by Elizabeth Wueste.



Figure 69: Statue body wearing contabulated toga,
Carthage. Late 3rd- early 4th c. CE.
Museum of Antiquities, Algiers. *LSA-2132*.



Figure 70: “Elder Magistrate” wearing chlamys and closed-toe boots (detail), holding scroll.

Aphrodisias. Fifth c. CE.
Aphrodisias, Aphrodisias Museum.
LSA-169.



Figure 71: “Younger Magistrate” wearing chlamys and closed-toe boots (detail), holding scroll.

Aphrodisias. Fifth c. CE.

Aphrodisias, Aphrodisias Museum.

LSA-170, plus detail by Elizabeth Wueste.



Figure 72: Statue wearing pallium, holding scroll,
Aphrodisias, fourth c.CE.
Aphrodisias Museum, Aphrodisias.
LSA-218.

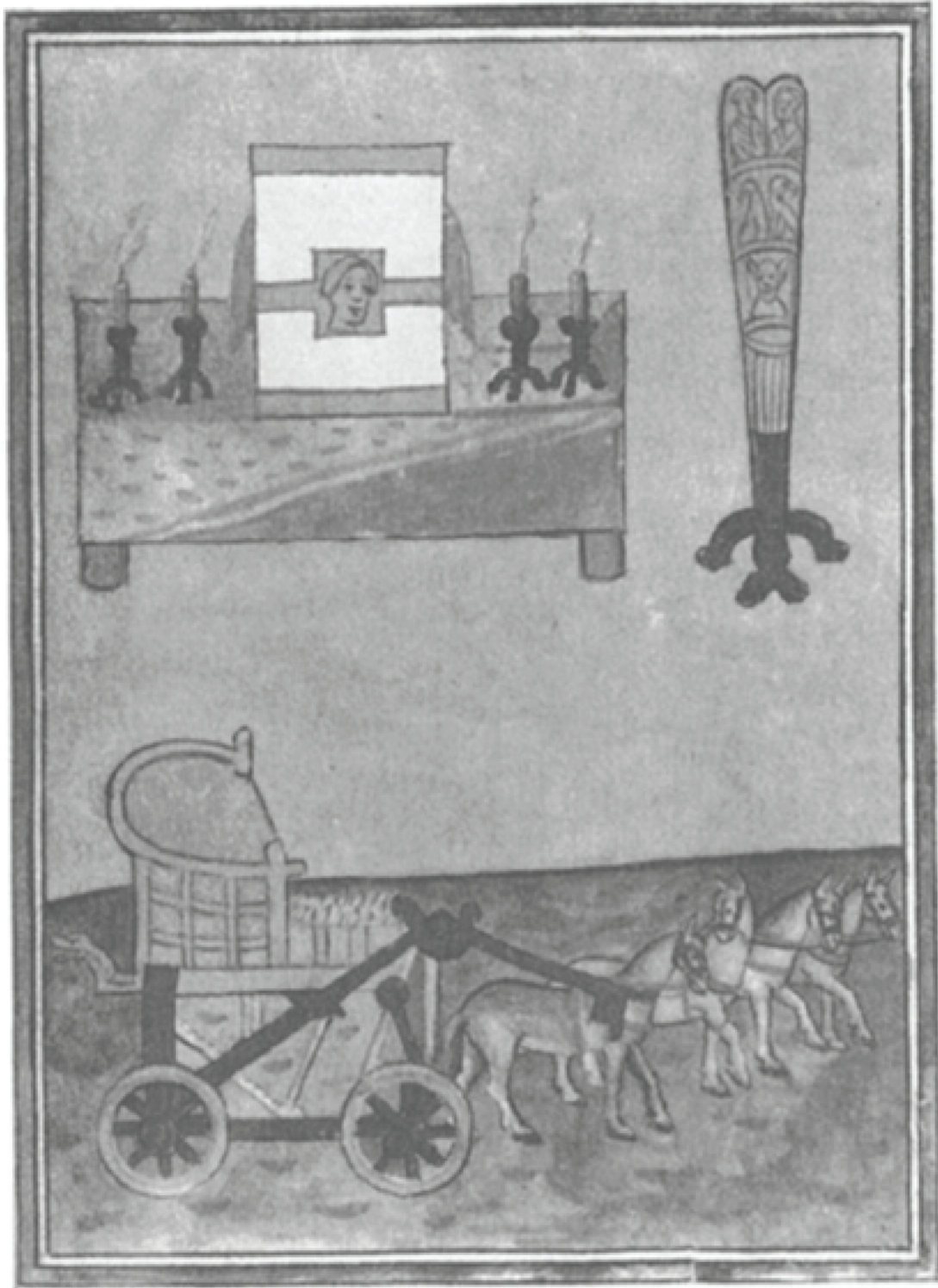


Figure 73: Insignia of the praetorian prefect for Illyricum, displaying a portrait-bearing codex in the form of a diptych in the center of the table, *Notitia Dignitatum*, *Not. Or. iii.* Oxford, Bodleian Library (Ms. Canon. Misc. 378, fol. 90r..) Griggs 1979, Plate I.1.



Figure 74: Statue wearing Late Antique toga, holding mappa,
with detail of *calcei senatorii*,
Rome, early-fifth c. CE.

Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, Rome.
LSA-1069.



Figure 75: Statue of Stephanos (?) wearing Late Antique toga,
with detail of mappa in right hand and sceptre in left,
Ephesus, fourth to sixth c. CE.

Ephesos Museum, Selçuk.

LSA-698.

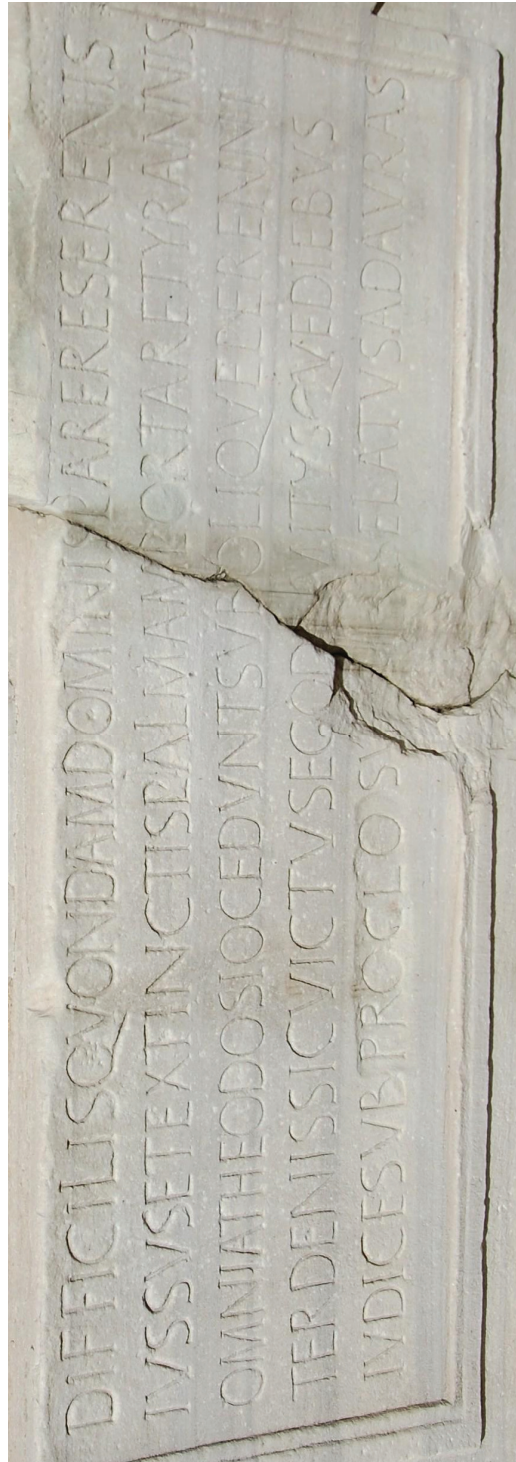


Figure 76: Inscription on Theodosian Obelisk Base, with detail showing erasure and reinscription of the name “Proclus,”

Constantinople. 388 CE.

Hippodrome, Istanbul.

Steve Kershaw, via open.contend.ox.ac.uk



Figure 77: Bilingual inscription honoring Perpenna Romanus, governor of Sicilia.
Syracuse, mid-fourth century CE (*CIL* X.7125).
National Museum, Syracuse.



Figure 78: Drawing of inscription honoring Flavius Ortygius, military commander of Tripolitania, with palm fronds and *hederæ* (Tantillo et al., 2010, no. 31, fig. 7.20).

Leptis Magna, 428-433 CE.
 in situ, Severan Forum, Leptis Magna.
 LSA-2177.

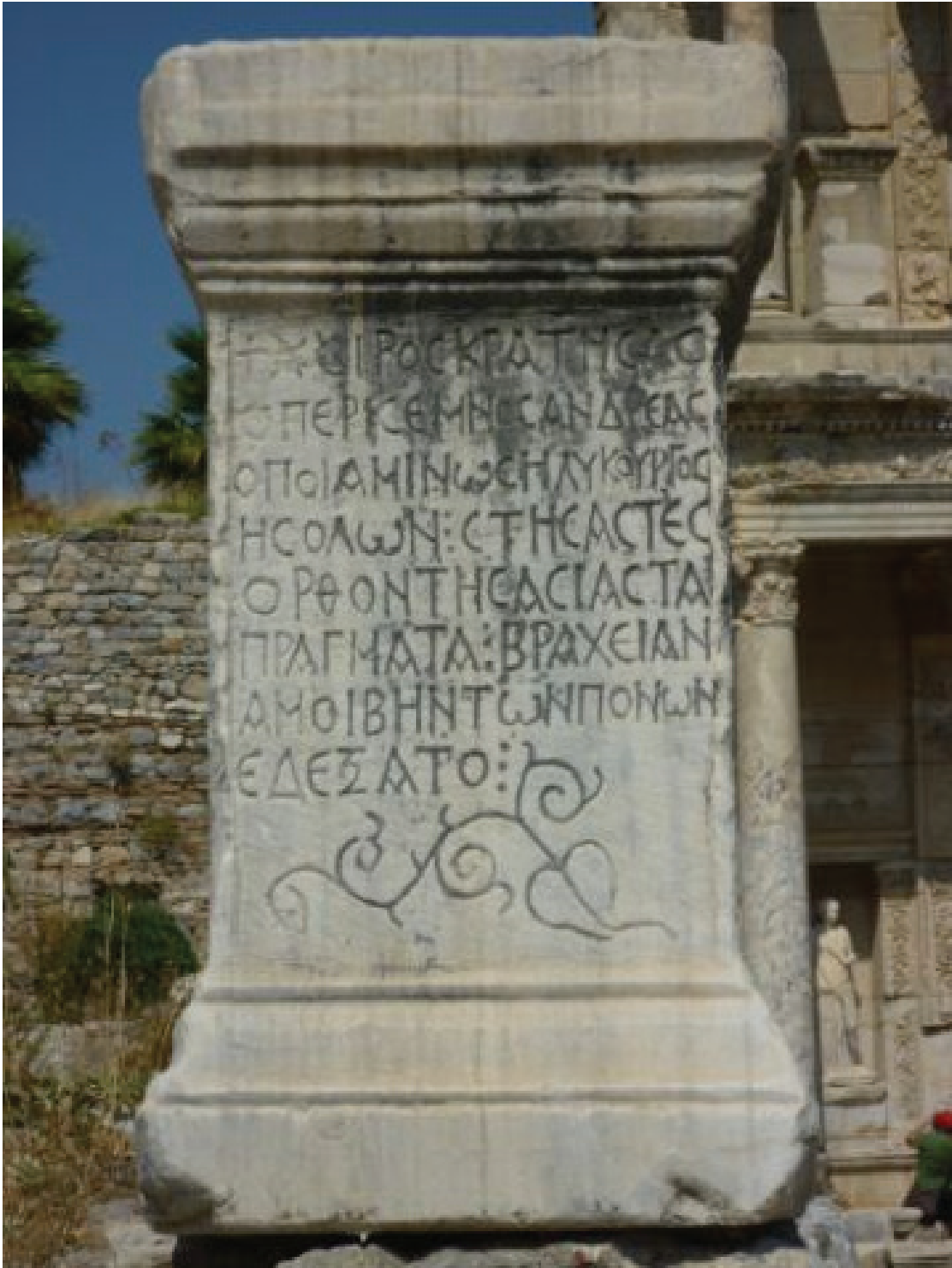


Figure 79: Inscription honoring Andreas, governor of Asia (?), with *hedera* at end of inscription (Bauer 1996, no. 282).
Ephesus, late-fourth to fifth c. CE.
On Marble Street, Ephesus.
LSA-714.

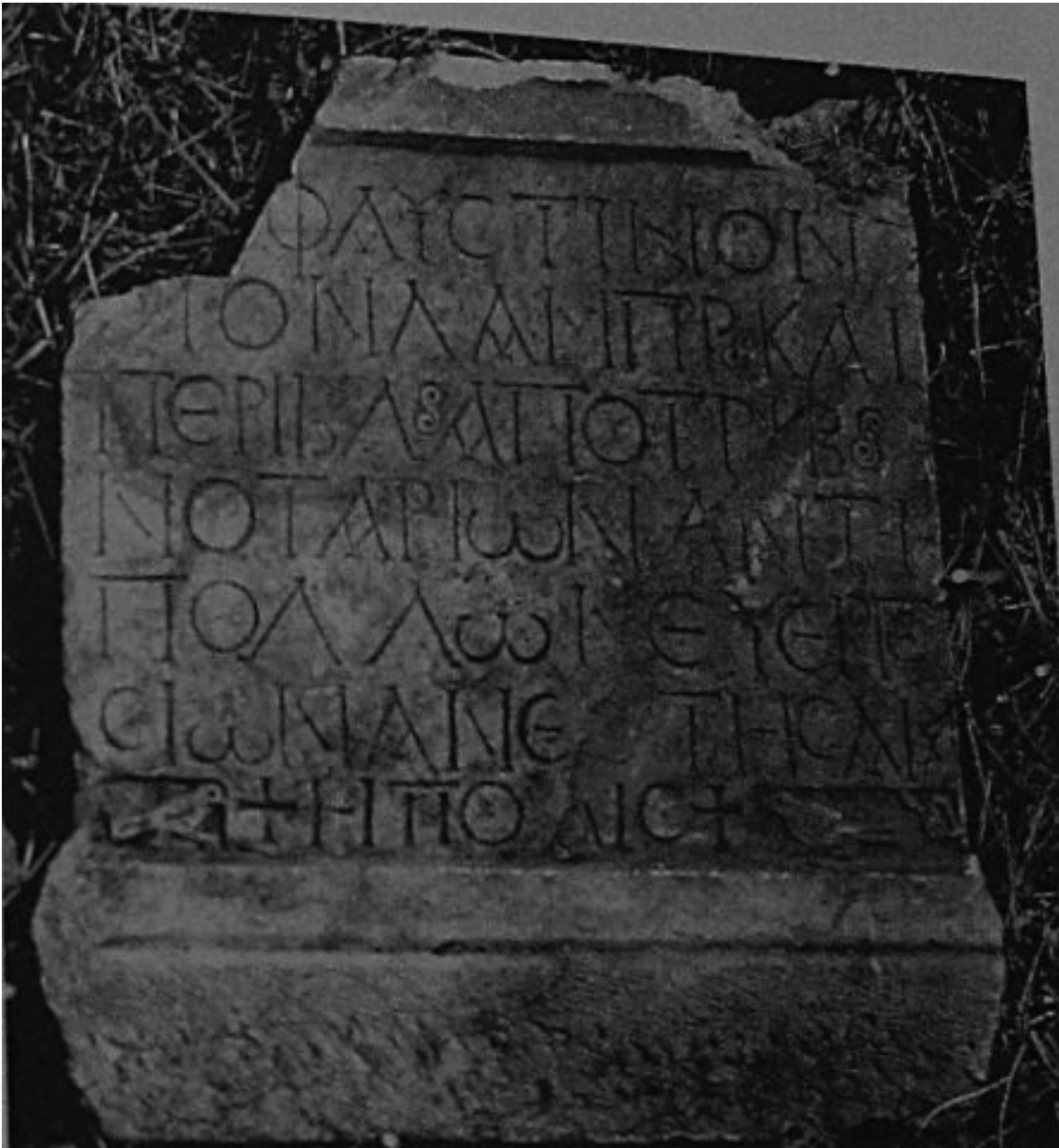


Figure 80: Plaque from base honoring Faustina, imperial tribune and notary, with crosses on either side of last word (Corsten 1991, no. 1095)

Prusa ad Olympum, late-fourth to fifth c. CE.

Bursa, Museum Garden, Turkey.

LSA-527.

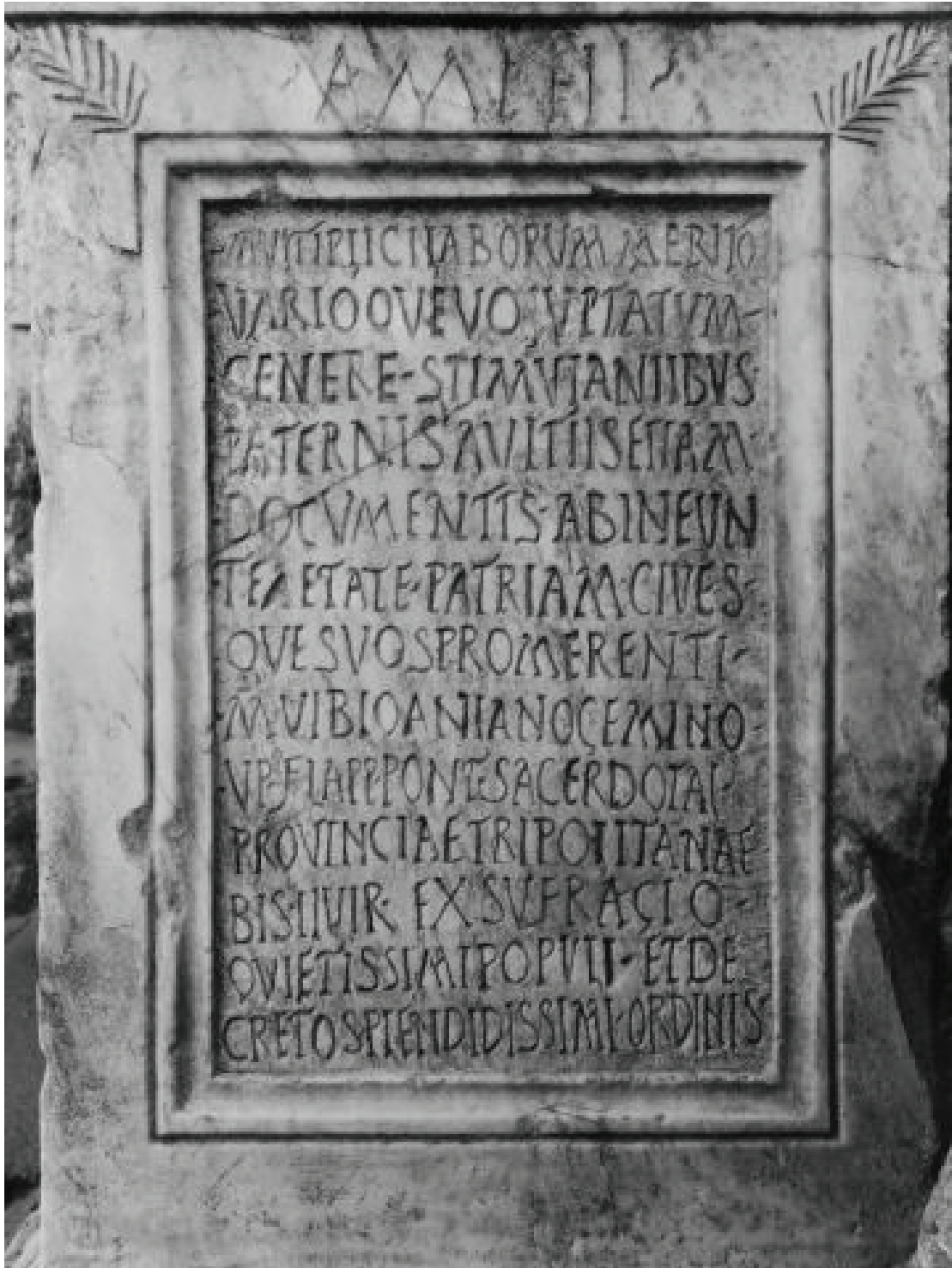


Figure 81: Inscription honoring Marcus Vibius Annianus Geminus, priest and duovir, with palm fronds emphasizing first word (Tantillo et al., 2010, no. 58, fig. 7.19).

Leptis Magna, earlier fourth c. CE.
 in situ, Severan Forum, Leptis Magna.
LSA-2204.

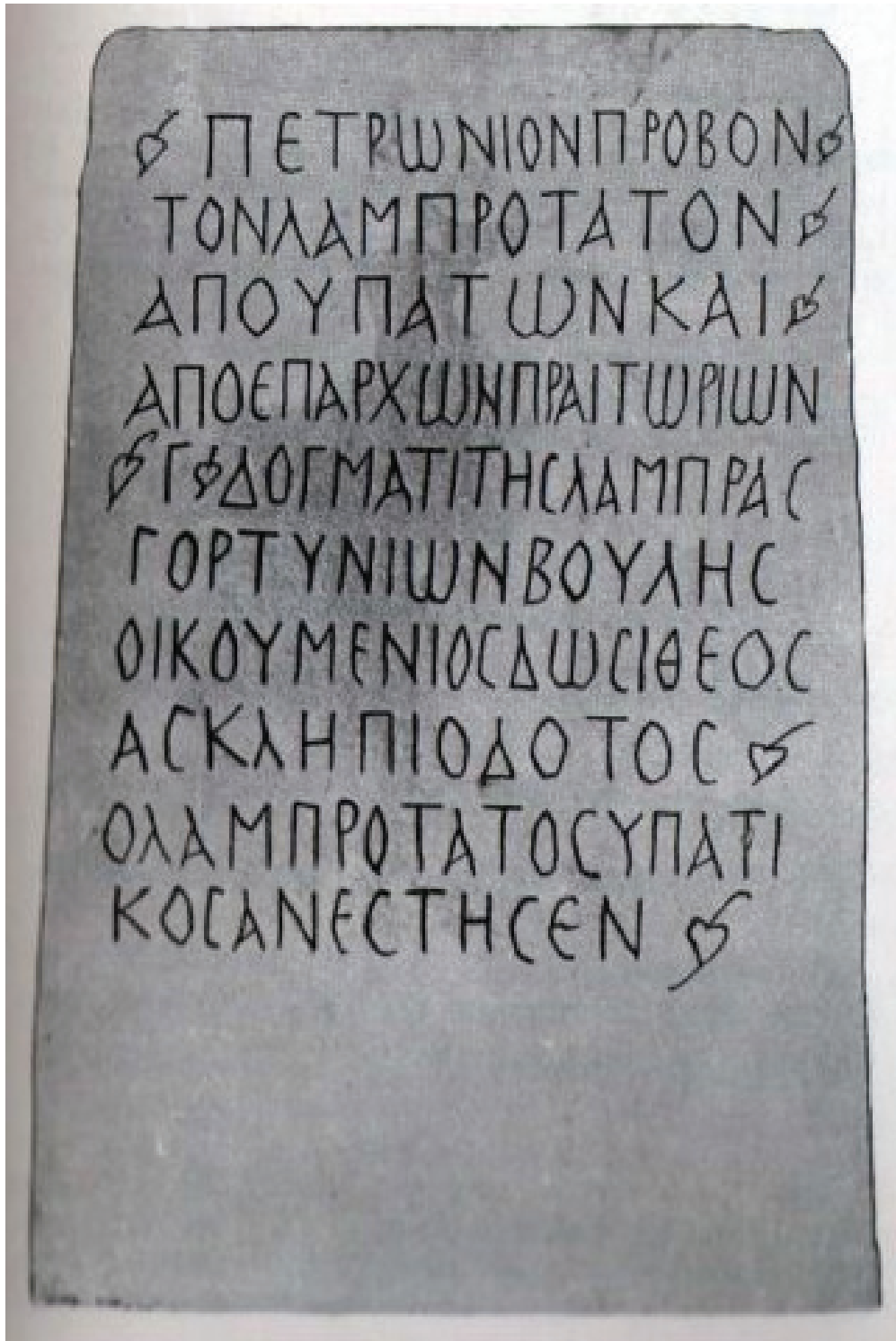


Figure 82: Drawing of inscription honoring Sextus Claudius Petronius Probus, consul, with *hederae* used as punctuation (Guarducci 1950, no. 318).

Gortyna, 382-383 CE.

(current location unknown)

LSA-779, drawing by F. Halbherr.

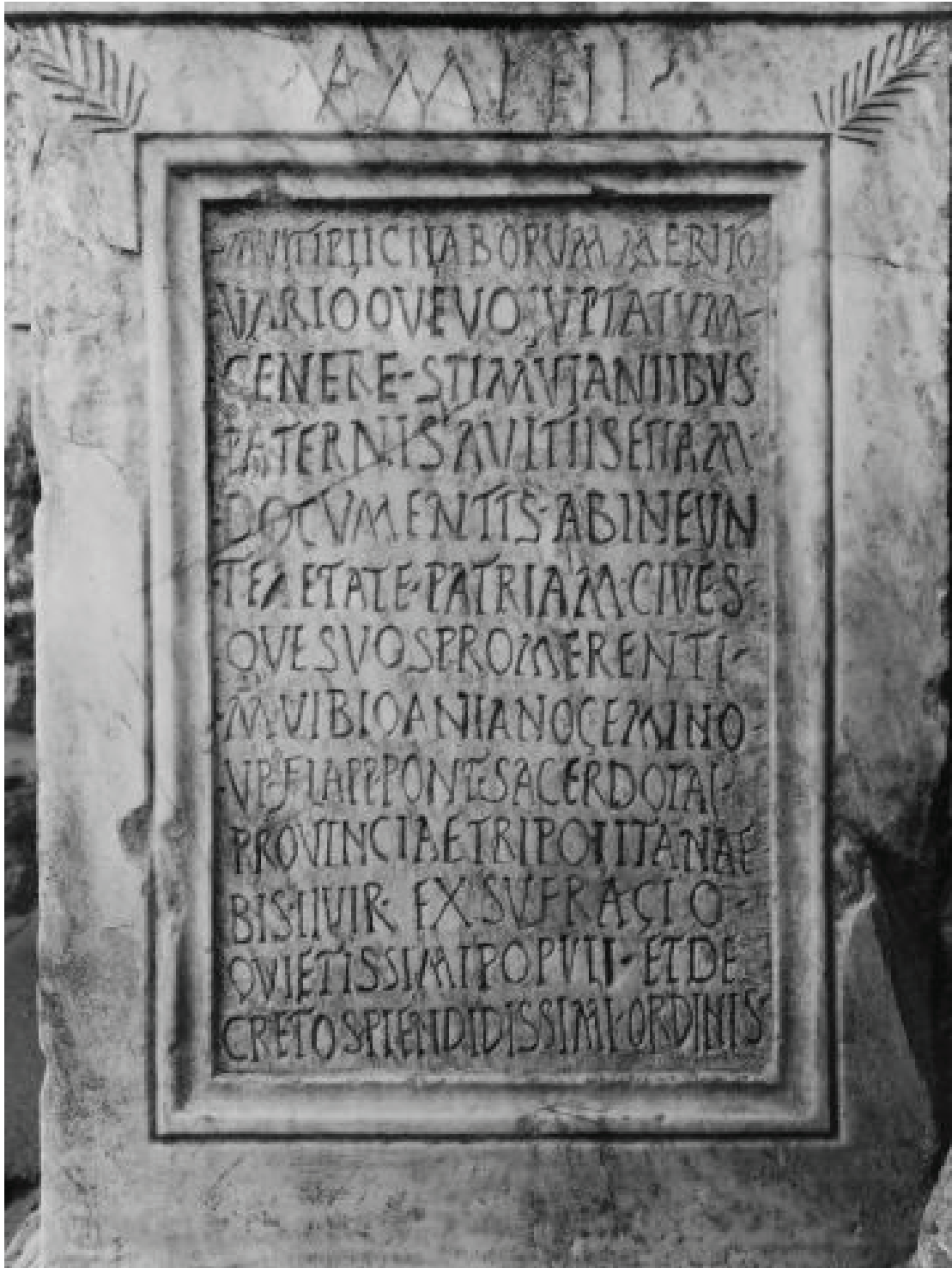


Figure 81: Inscription honoring Marcus Vibius Annianus Geminus, priest and duovir, with palm fronds emphasizing first word (Tantillo et al., 2010, no. 58, fig. 7.19).

Leptis Magna, earlier fourth c. CE.
 in situ, Severan Forum, Leptis Magna.
LSA-2204.

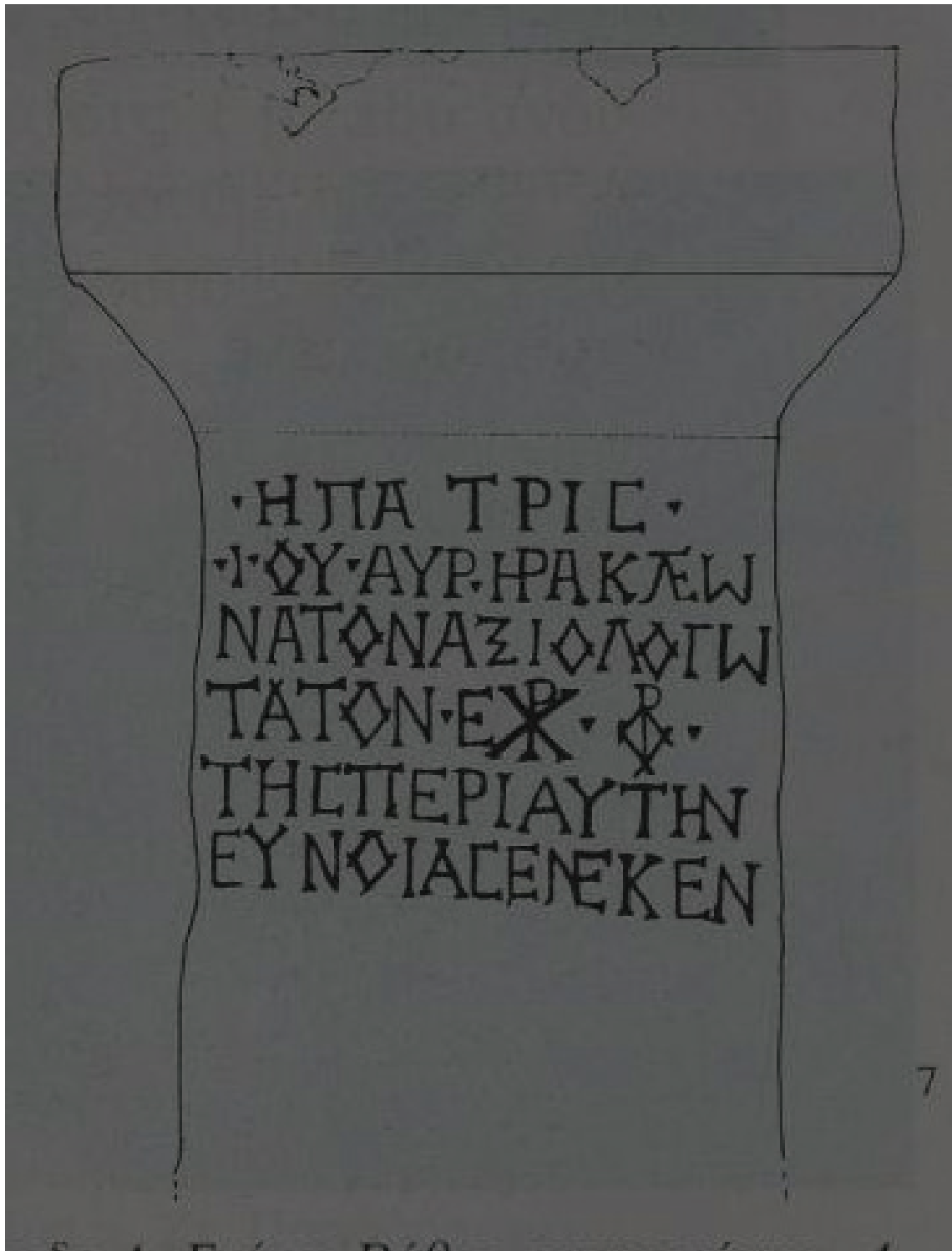


Figure 83: Drawing of inscription honoring Iulius Aurelius Heracleon, with two Chi-Rho symbols (*SEG* 49, 1172).

Thasos, fourth c. CE.

Thasos Museum, Greece.

LSA-940.



Figure 84: Inscription honoring Maximus, local benefactor, with crosses around first line, and Chi-Rho in second line (Sahin, 2010, no. 1530).

Stratonicea, fifth c. CE.

Stratonicea Museum, Turkey.

LSA-1202.



Figure 85: Inscription honoring Maximus, local benefactor, with cross and “T” (Sahin, 2010, no. 1521).

Stratonicea, fifth c. CE.
 Stratonicea Museum, Turkey.
 LSA-1201.

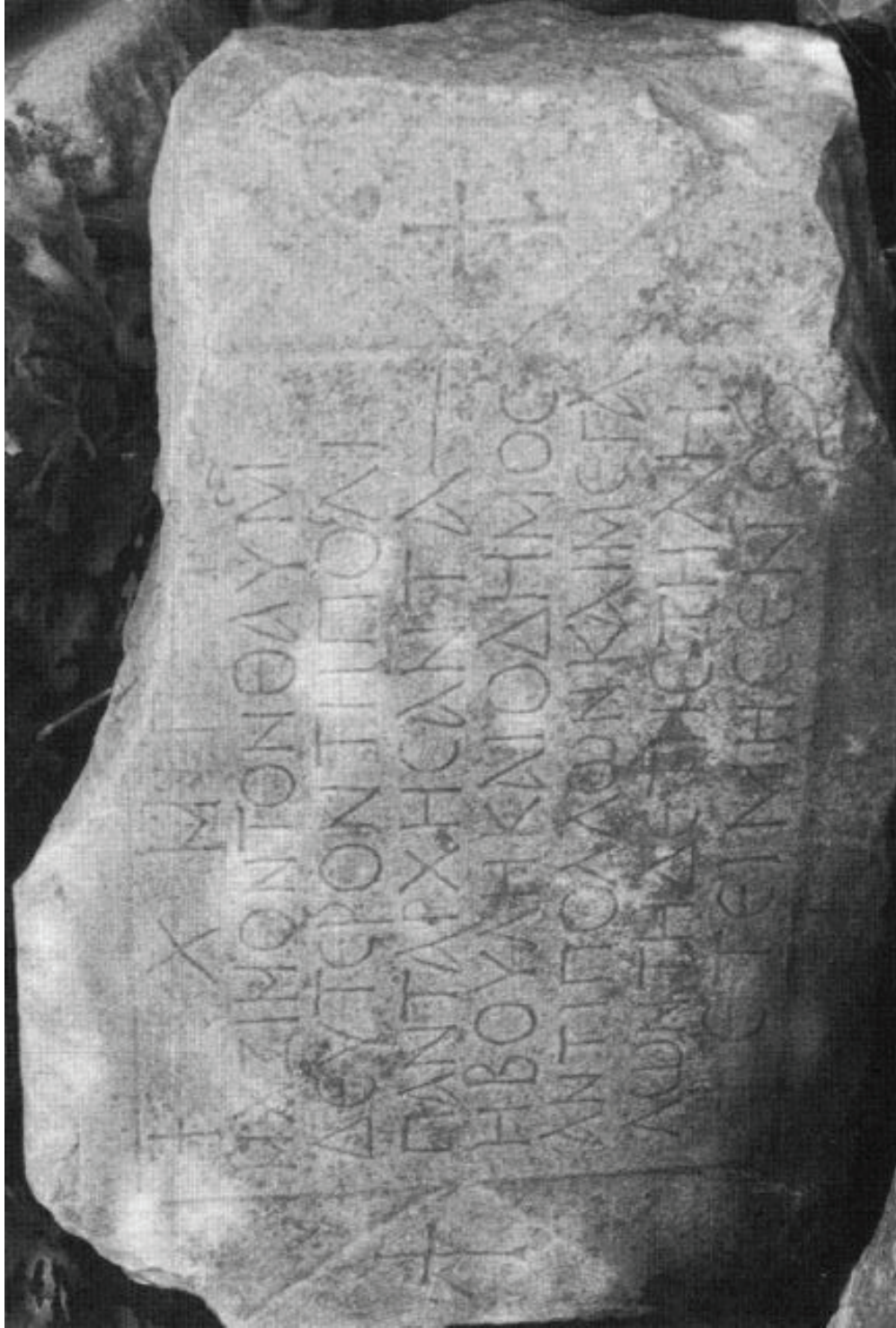


Figure 86: Inscription honoring Maximus, local benefactor, with crosses in first line surrounding XMG, and on sides (Sahin, 1990, no. 1387).

Stratonicea, fifth c. CE.

(current location unpublished)

LSA-1200.

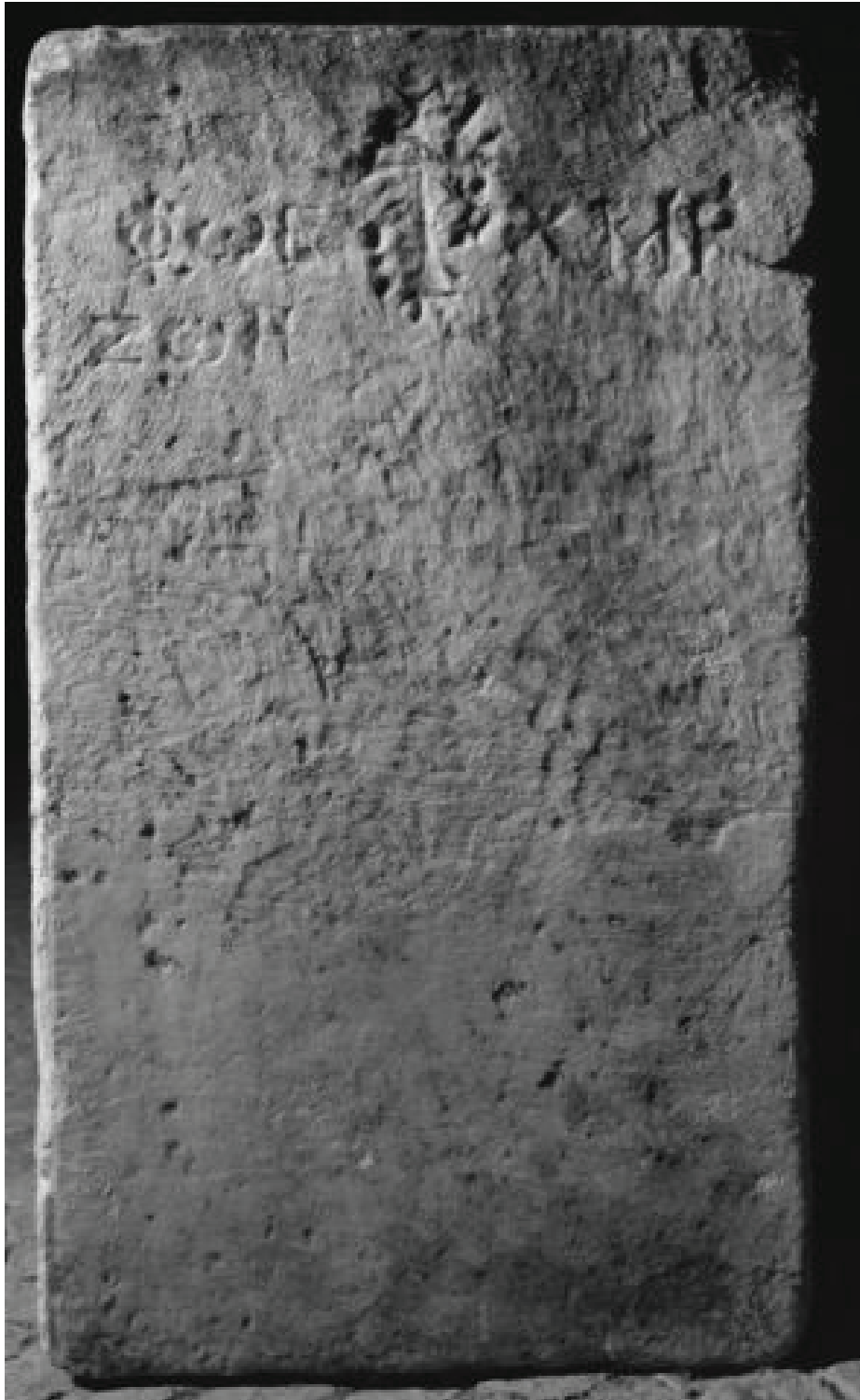


Figure 87: XMG inscription on the back of a base honoring Anthemius, praetorian prefect,
 (ALA, no. 36).
 Aphrodisias, 405-414 CE.
 Aphrodisias, Turkey.
 LSA-224.

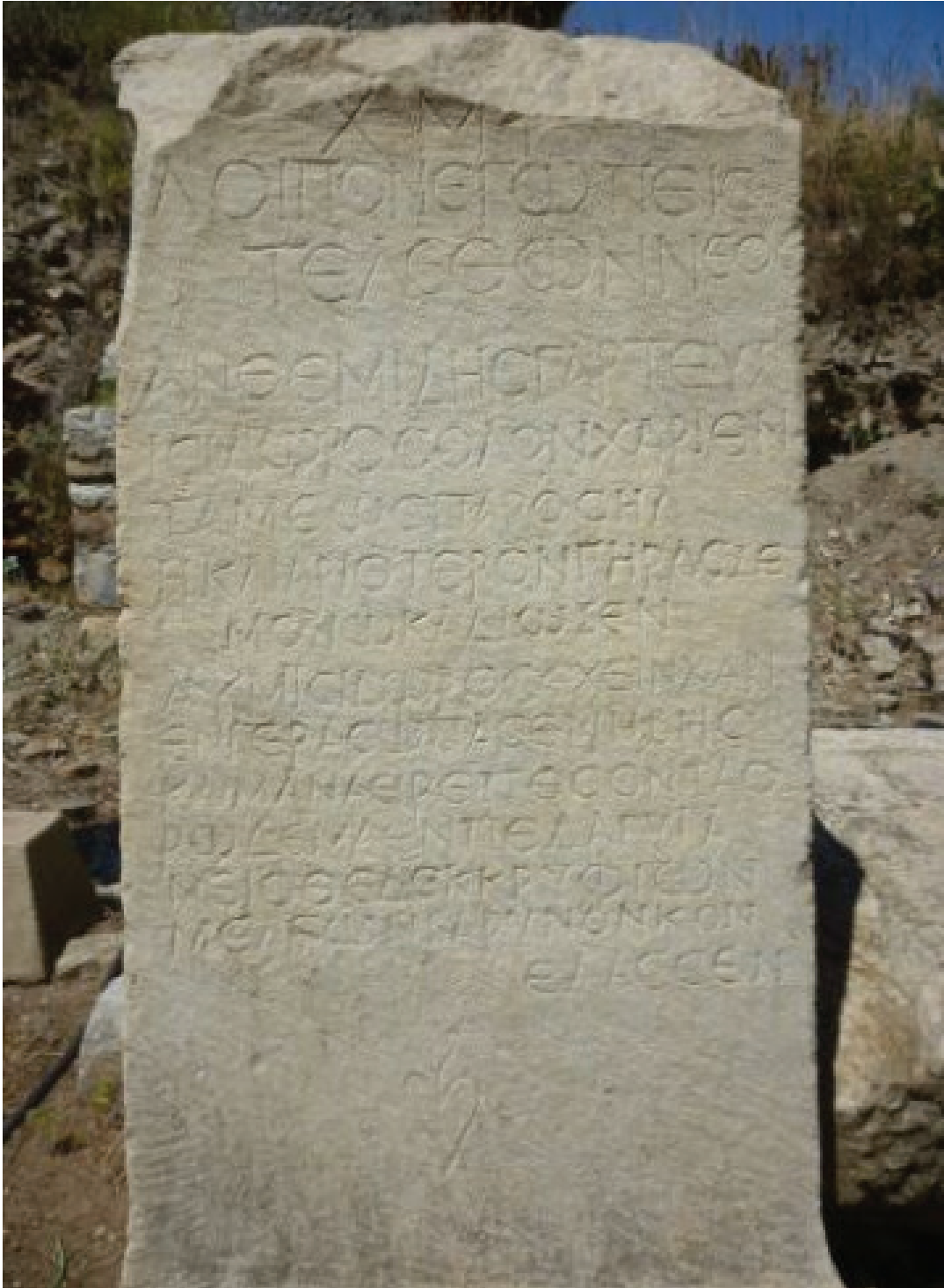


Figure 88: Inscription honoring Piso, with XMG inscription at beginning (Merkelbach and Stauber, 1998, no. 03/02/13).

Ephesus, early-fifth c. CE.

Ephesus, Turkey.

LSA-662.

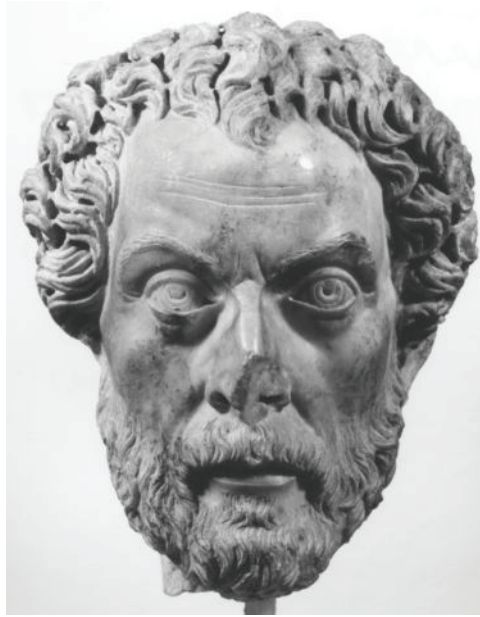


Figure 89: Portrait head with Christian inscriptions on the top of the head,
behind crest of hair.

Aphrodisias, fifth c. CE.

Musée du Cinquantenaire, Brussels.

LSA-167, and photo by Musée du Cinquantenaire.

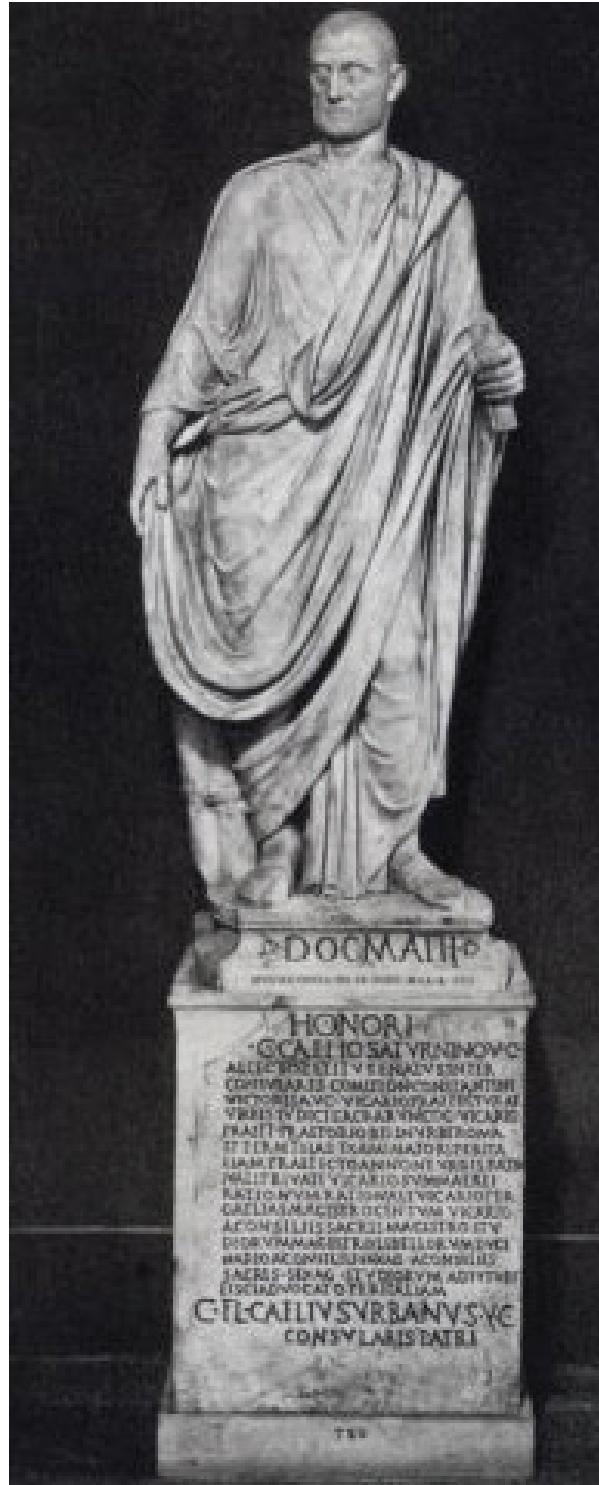


Figure 90: Monument of C. Caelius Saturninus signo Dogmatius.
 Quirinal Hill, Rome, 324-337 CE.
 Museo Gregoriano Profano, Vatican.
 LSA-903 and -1266.



Figure 91: Statue of C. Caelius Saturninus signo Dogmatius.
Quirinal Hill, Rome, 324-337 CE.
Museo Gregoriano Profano, Vatican.
LSA-903.

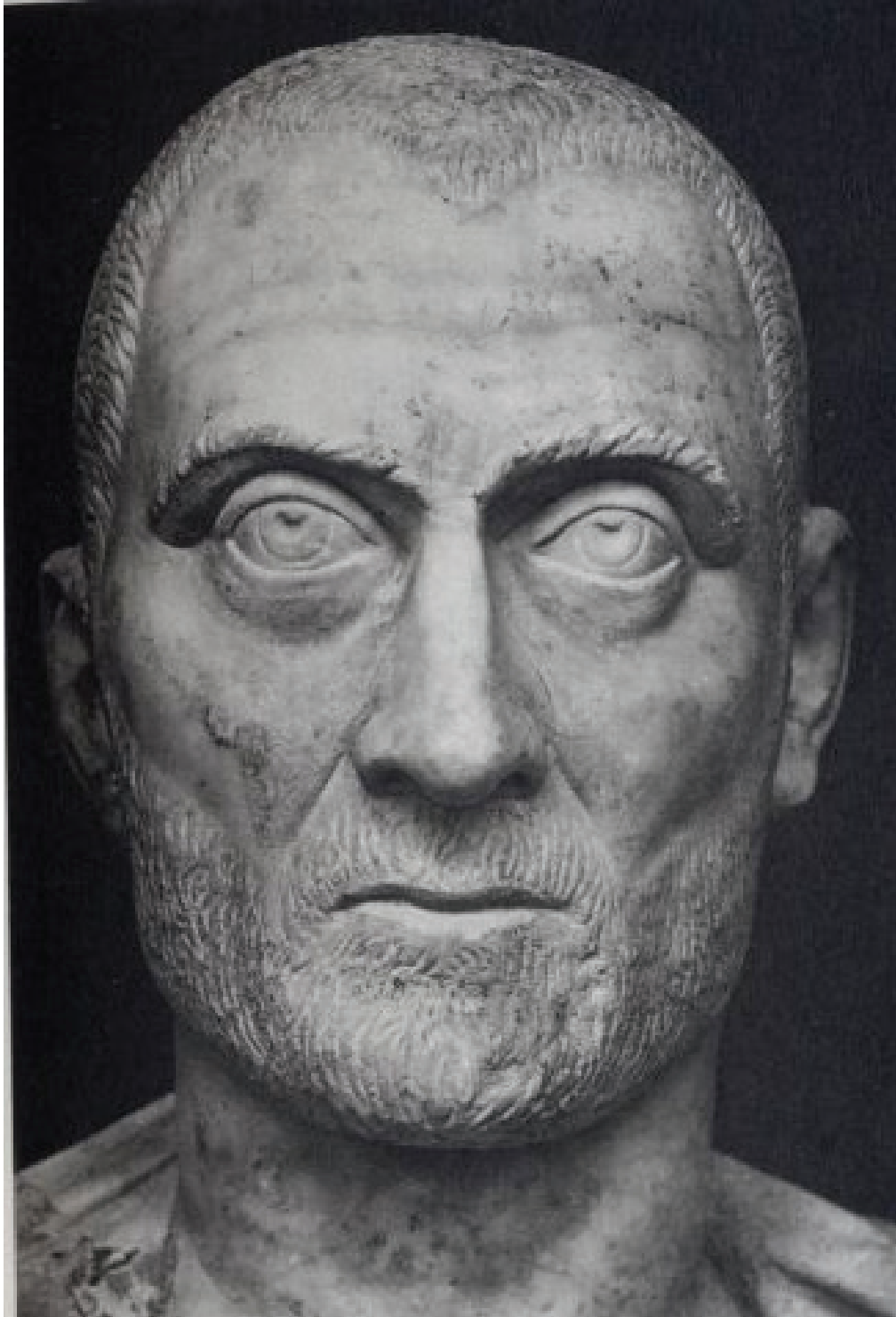


Figure 92: Portrait head of C. Caelius Saturninus signo Dogmatius.
Quirinal Hill, Rome, 324-337 CE.
Museo Gregoriano Profano, Vatican.
LSA-903.



Figure 91: Statue of C. Caelius Saturninus signo Dogmatius.
Quirinal Hill, Rome, 324-337 CE.
Museo Gregoriano Profano, Vatican.
LSA-903.



Figure 92: Honoric Monument of C. Caelius Saturninus signo Dogmatius, detail of bottom of statue and top of inscribed base.

Quirinal Hill, Rome, 324-337 CE.

Museo Gregoriano Profano, Vatican.

LSA-903 and -1266.



Figure 93: Inscription honoring C. Caelius Saturninus signo Dogmatius.
 Quirinal Hill, Rome, 324-337 CE.
 Museo Gregoriano Profano, Vatican.
 LSA-1266.



Figure 94: Left side of inscribed base honoring C. Caelius Saturninus signo Dogmatius.
Quirinal Hill, Rome, 324-337 CE.
Museo Gregoriano Profano, Vatican.
LSA-1266.



Figure 95: Monument of Virius Audentius Aemilianus.
Pozzuoli, 365-379 CE.
Castello di Baia, Museo archeologico dei campi flegri, Pozzuoli.
LSA-41 and -46.



Figure 96: Statue of Virius Audentius Aemilianus.
Pozzuoli, 365-379 CE.
Castello di Baia, Museo archeologico dei campi flegri, Pozzuoli.
LSA-46.

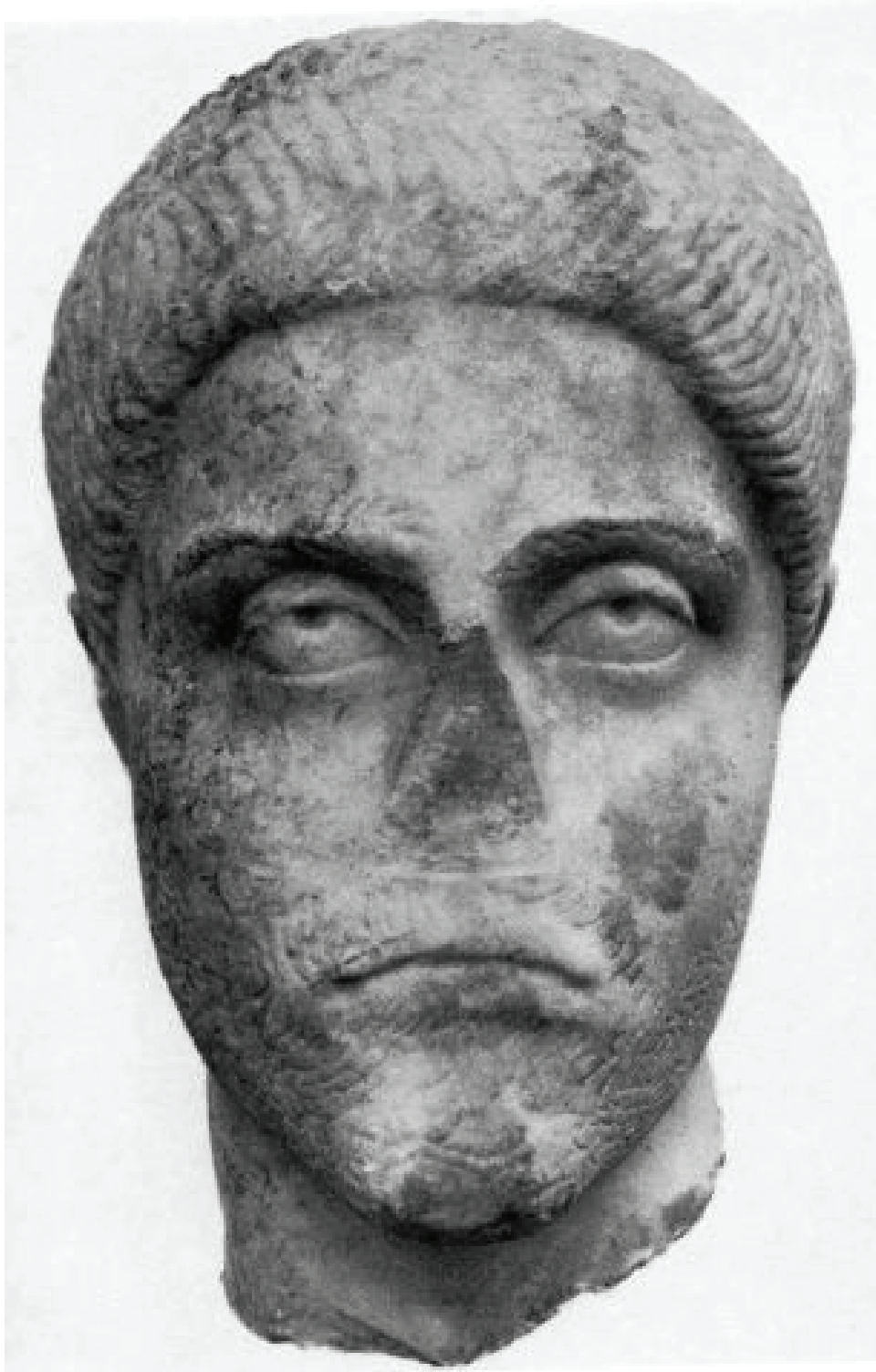


Figure 97: Portrait head of Virius Audentius Aemilianus.
Pozzuoli, 365-379 CE.
Castello di Baia, Museo archeologico dei campi flegri, Pozzuoli.



Figure 98: Left profile of portrait head of Virius Audentius Aemilianus.
Pozzuoli, 365-379 CE.
Castello di Baia, Museo archeologico dei campi flegri, Pozzuoli.
LSA-46.



Figure 99: Inscription honoring Virius Audentius Aemilianus.
 Pozzuoli, 365-379 CE.
 Castello di Baia, Museo archeologico dei campi flegri, Pozzuoli.
 LSA-41 and Camodeco 1981, fig. 12.

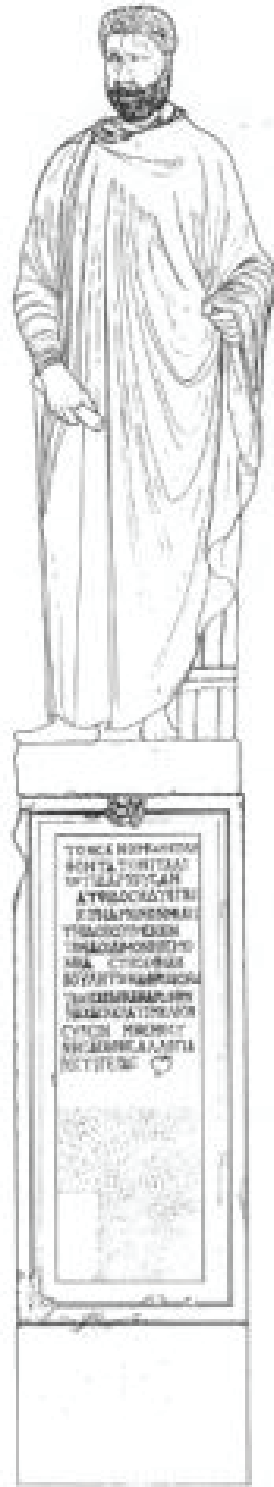


Figure 100: Drawing of reconstructed monument of Oecumenius.
 Aphrodisias, late-fourth to early-fifth c. CE.
 Aphrodisias Museum, Aphrodisias.
LSA-150 and -151, Smith 2002, fig. 1.



Figure 101: Statue of Oecumenius, with body forward (left), and head forward (right).
Aphrodisias, late-fourth to early-fifth c. CE.
Aphrodisias Museum, Aphrodisias.
LSA-150.

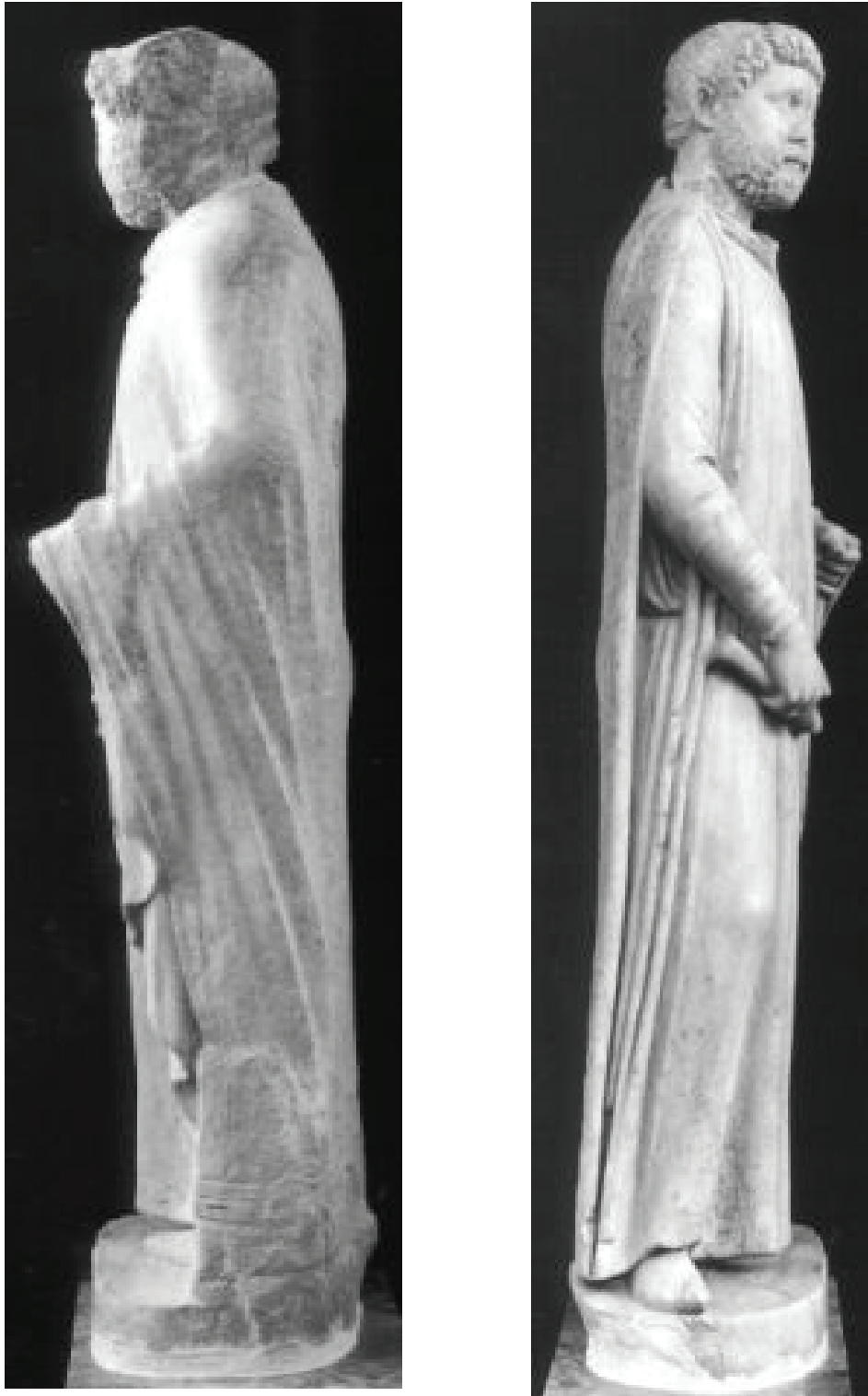


Figure 102: Statue of Oecumenius, left profile and right profile.
Aphrodisias, late-fourth to early-fifth c. CE.
Aphrodisias Museum, Aphrodisias.
LSA-150.



Figure 103: Portrait head of Oecumenius.
Aphrodisias, late-fourth to early-fifth c. CE.
Aphrodisias Museum, Aphrodisias.
LSA-150.



Figure 104: Portrait head of Oecumenius, with XMG inscription behind crest on hair on the top of the head.

Aphrodisias, late-fourth to early-fifth c. CE.

Aphrodisias Museum, Aphrodisias.

LSA-150.



Figure 105: Statue of Oecumenius, details of scroll in right hand and boots.
Aphrodisias, late-fourth to early-fifth c. CE.
Aphrodisias Museum, Aphrodisias.
Smith 2002, Plate XXI.1 and 3.



Figure 106: Inscription honoring Oecumenius.
 Aphrodisias, late-fourth to early-fifth c. CE.
in situ, Aphrodisias.
 LSA-151.



Figure 107: Photo of inscription honoring Oecumenius *in situ* in front of Bouleuterion.
Aphrodisias, late-fourth to early-fifth c. CE.

in situ, Aphrodisias.

Smith 2002, Plate IX.1.



Figure 108: Photo of Agora North Stoa, looking east. With inscribed bases to Alexander, Oecumenius, and Dometeinus (left to right).

in situ, Aphrodisias.
Smith 2002, Plate IX.3.

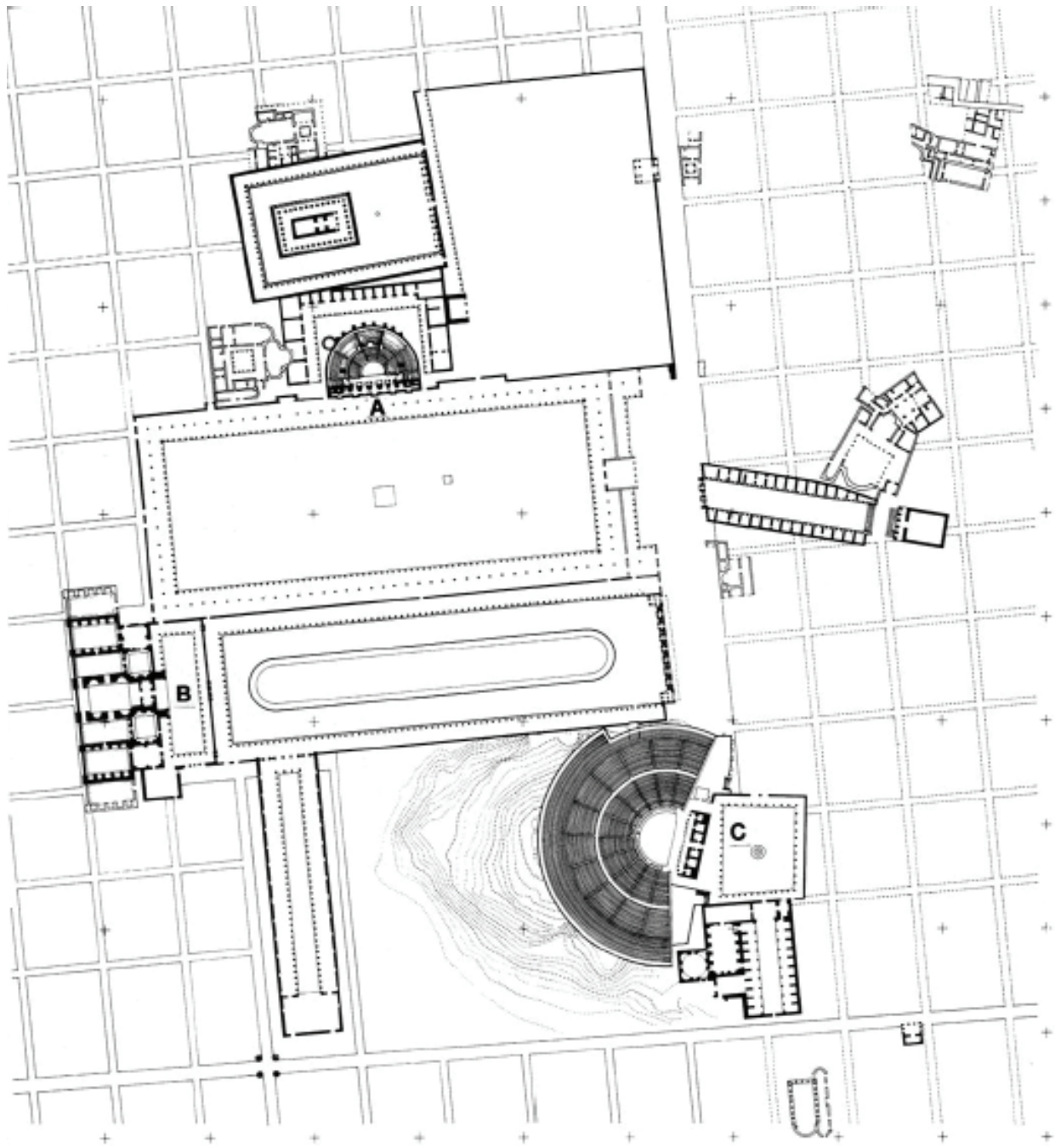


Figure 109: Restored plan of Aphrodisias' city center. A= Bouleuterion, B= Hadrianic Baths, C= Tetrastoon.
by H. Mark.
Smith 2002, Plate IX.

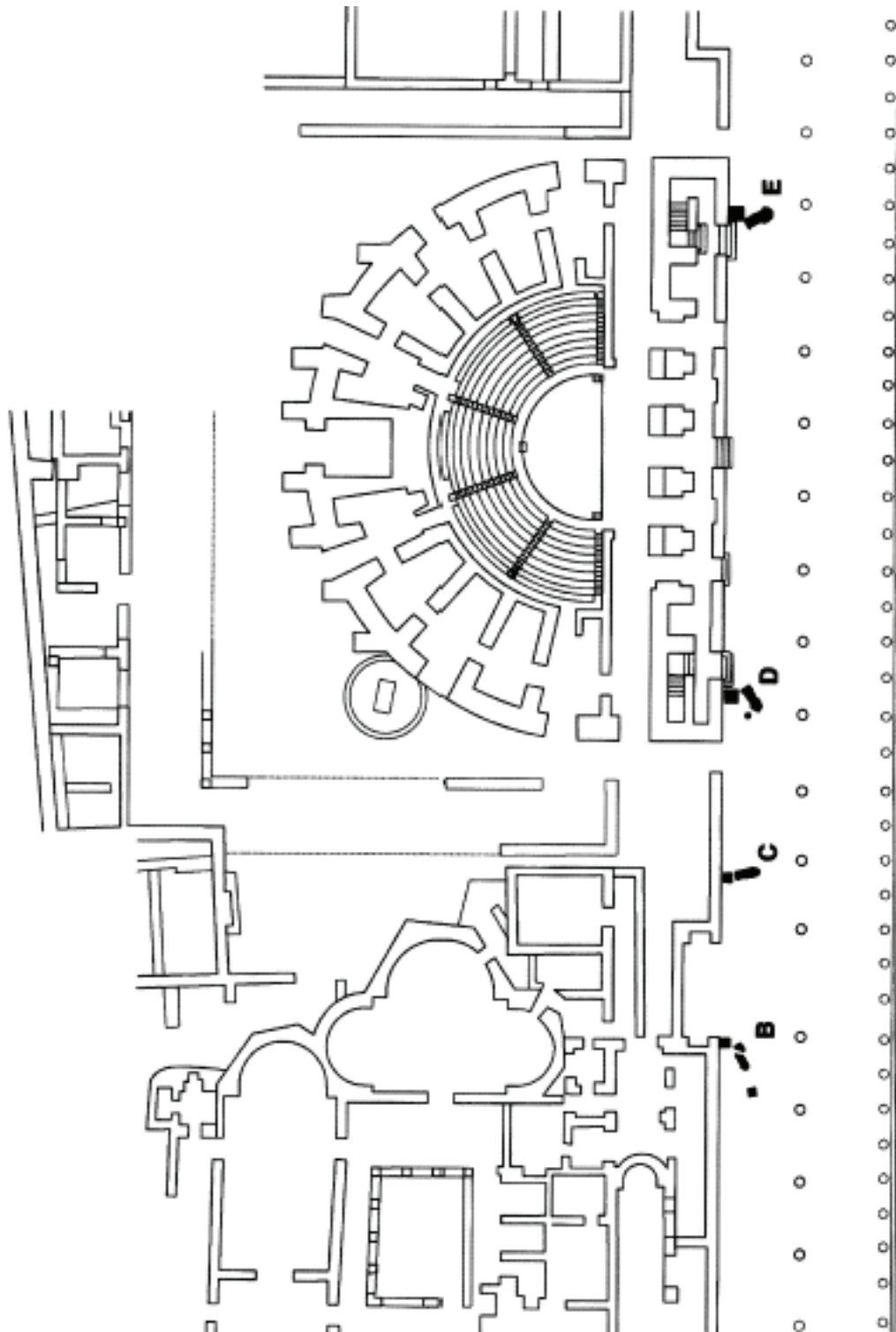


Figure 110: Plan of Bouleuterion Complex at Aphrodisias and find spots of statues and bases in Agora North Stoa. A= Alexander, B= Oecumenius, C=Pytheas, D=Dometeinus, E= Tatiana.

by H. Mark.

Smith 1999, fig 7.



Figure 111: Portrait head of Eutropius.
Ephesus, second half of fifth c. CE.
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
LSA-690.



Figure 112: Portrait head of Eutropius, left profile.
Ephesus, second half of fifth c. CE.
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
LSA-690.



Figure 113: Portrait head of Eutropius, right profile.
Ephesus, second half of fifth c. CE.
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
LSA-690.

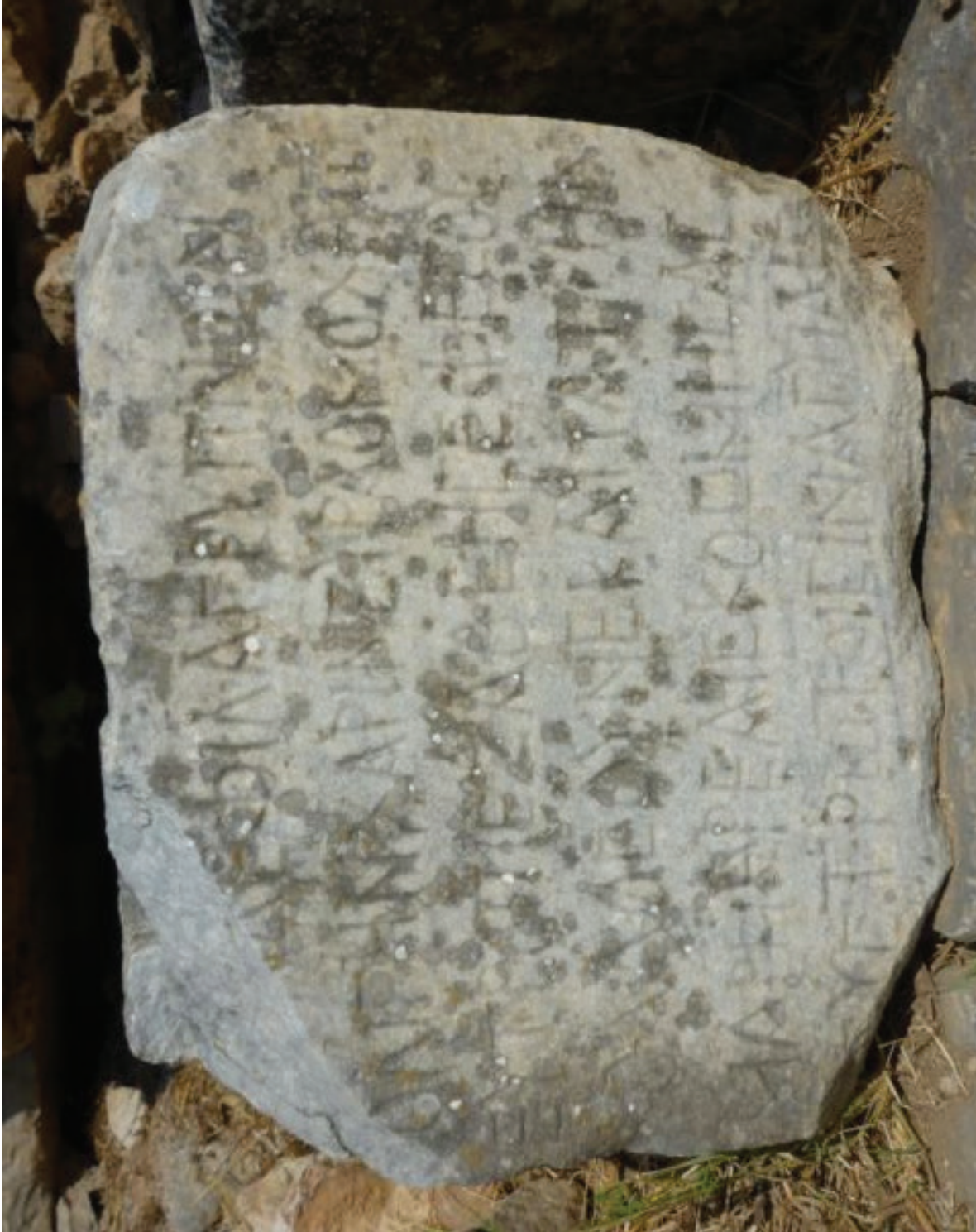


Figure 114: Inscribed console base of Eutropius.
 Ephesus, fifth c. CE.
 Marble Street, Ephesus.
LSA-611.



Figure 115: Inscribed console base of Eutropius, front, from top.
Ephesus, fifth c. CE.
Marble Street, Ephesus.
LSA-611.

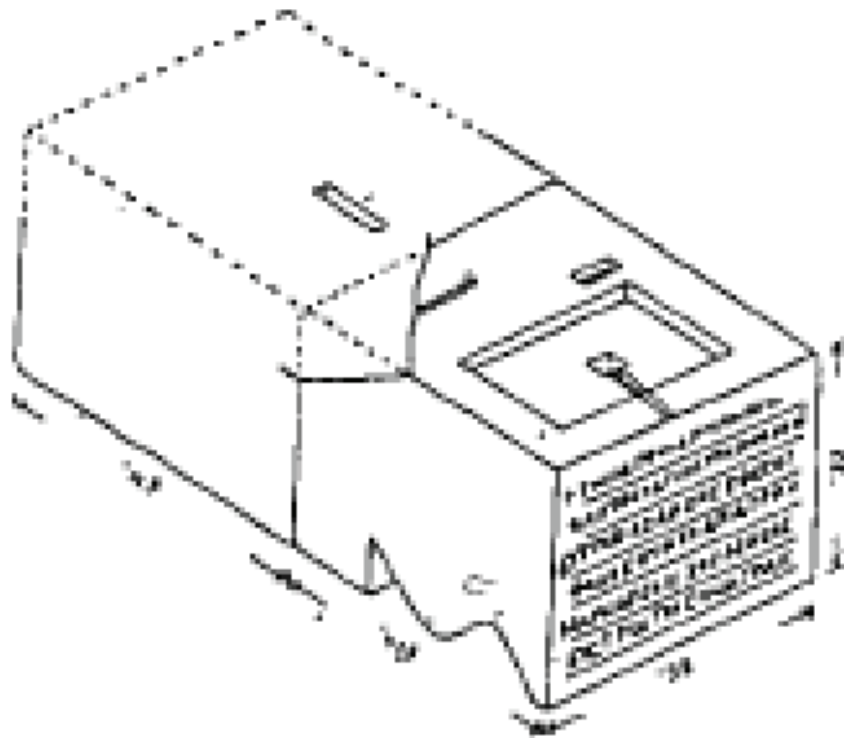


Figure 116: Drawing of inscribed console base of Eutropius.
 Ephesus, fifth c. CE.
 Marble Street, Ephesus.
 Bauer 1996, fig. 83.

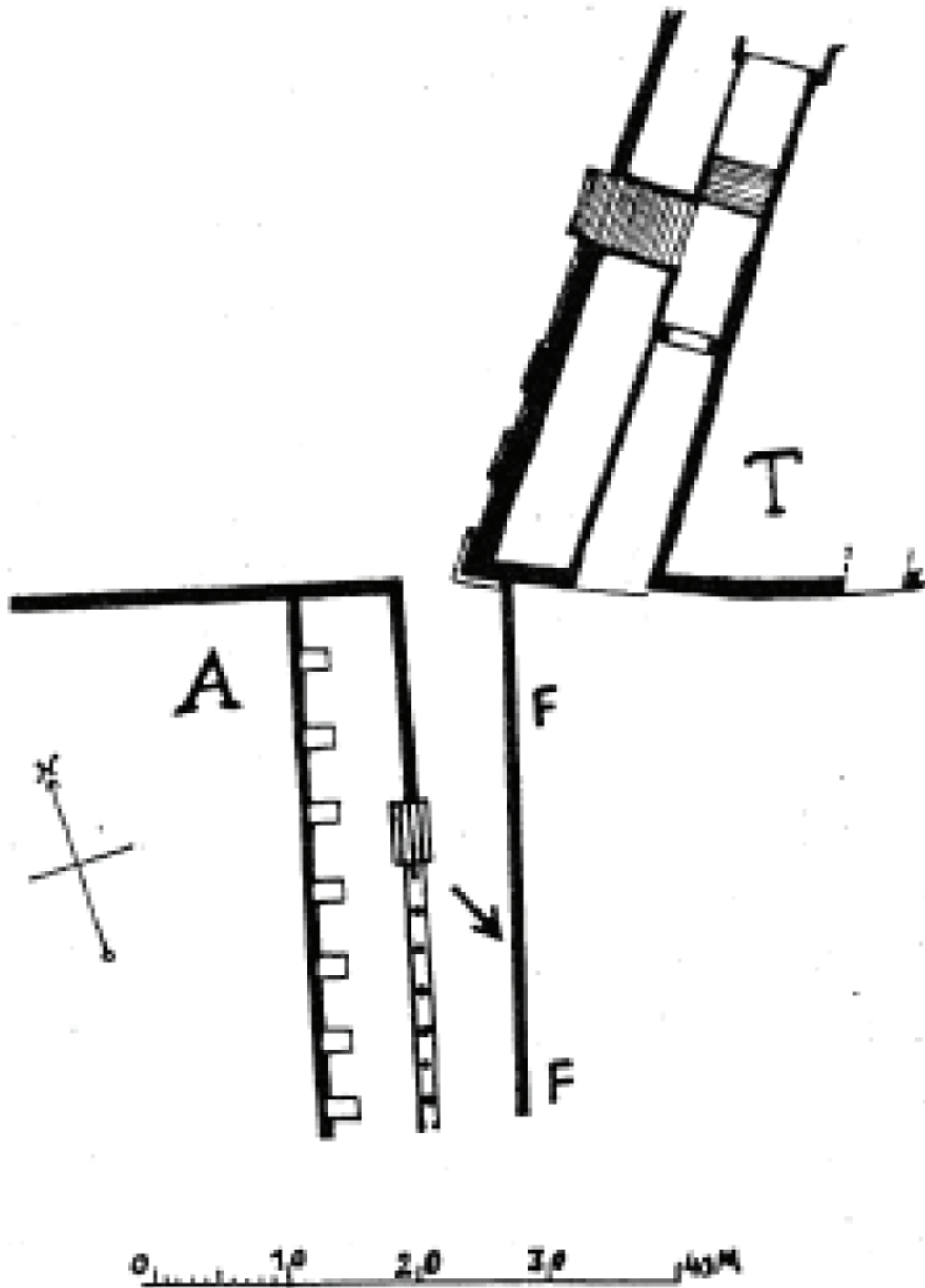


Figure 117: Find spot of the Eutropius console. A= northwest corner of the Agora, T= southeast corner of Theater, F= Marble Street, arrow points to where console was found.

Eichler 1939, fig. 3.

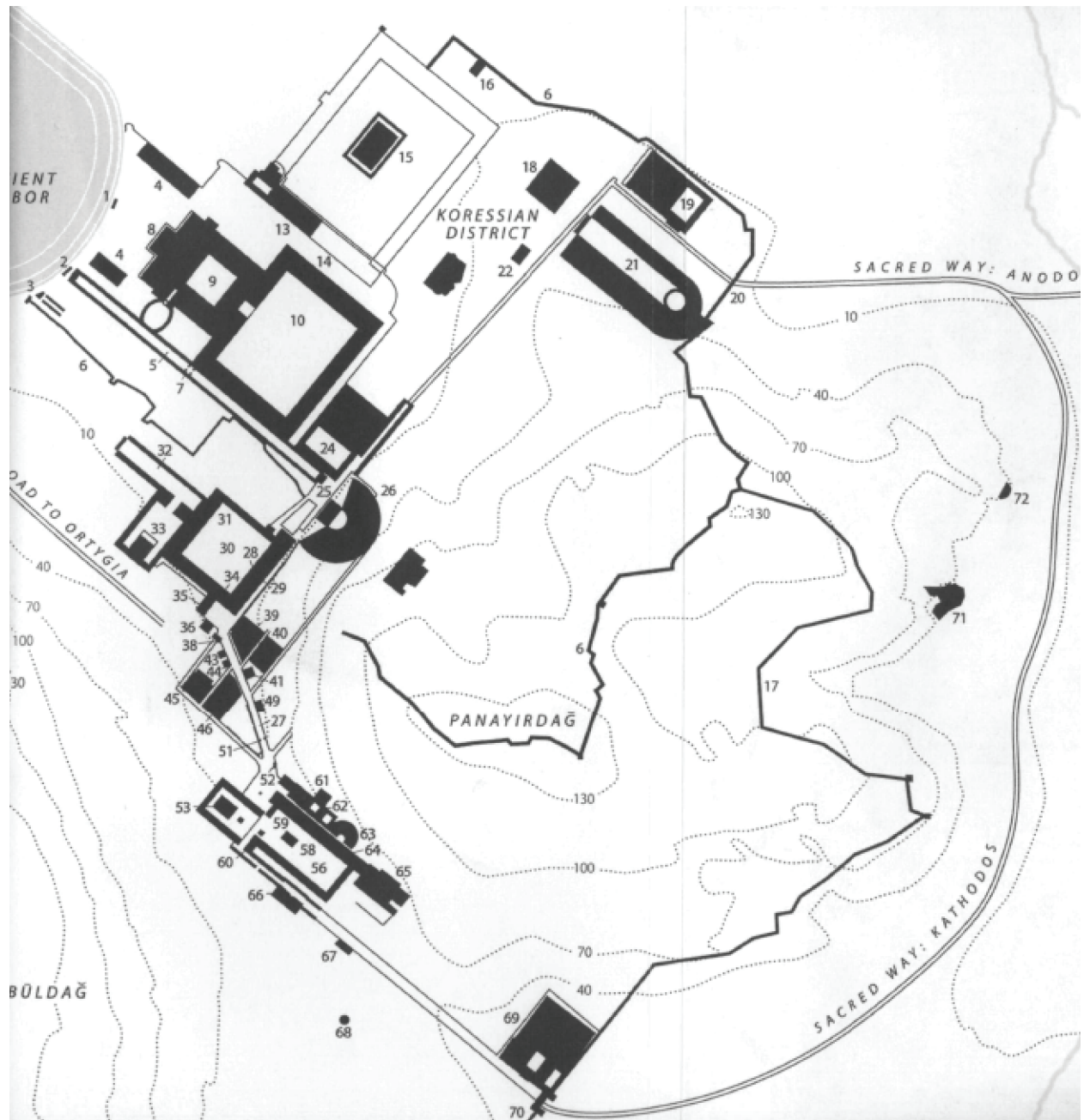


Figure 118: Site Plan of Ephesus.
 Based on map by O. Oberleitner, published in *IvE*.
 Koester 2004, attached to end of volume.



Figure 120: Statue of Pytheas.
Aphrodisias, late-fifth c. CE.
Aphrodisias Museum, Aphrodisias.
LSA-147.



Figure 121: Statue of Pytheas, left and right profile.
Aphrodisias, late-fifth c. CE.
Aphrodisias Museum, Aphrodisias.
LSA-147.



Figure 122: Portrait head of Pytheas.
Aphrodisias, late-fifth c. CE.
Aphrodisias Museum, Aphrodisias.
LSA-147.



Figure 123: Portrait head of Pytheas, left and right profile.
Aphrodisias, late-fifth c. CE.
Aphrodisias Museum, Aphrodisias.
LSA-147.



Figure 124: Drawing of inscription honoring Pytheas.

Aphrodisias, late-fifth c. CE.

Aphrodisias Museum, Aphrodisias.

LSA-148.



Figure 125: Inscription honoring Pytheas, upper right fragment.
Aphrodisias, late-fifth c. CE.
Aphrodisias Museum, Aphrodisias.
LSA-147.

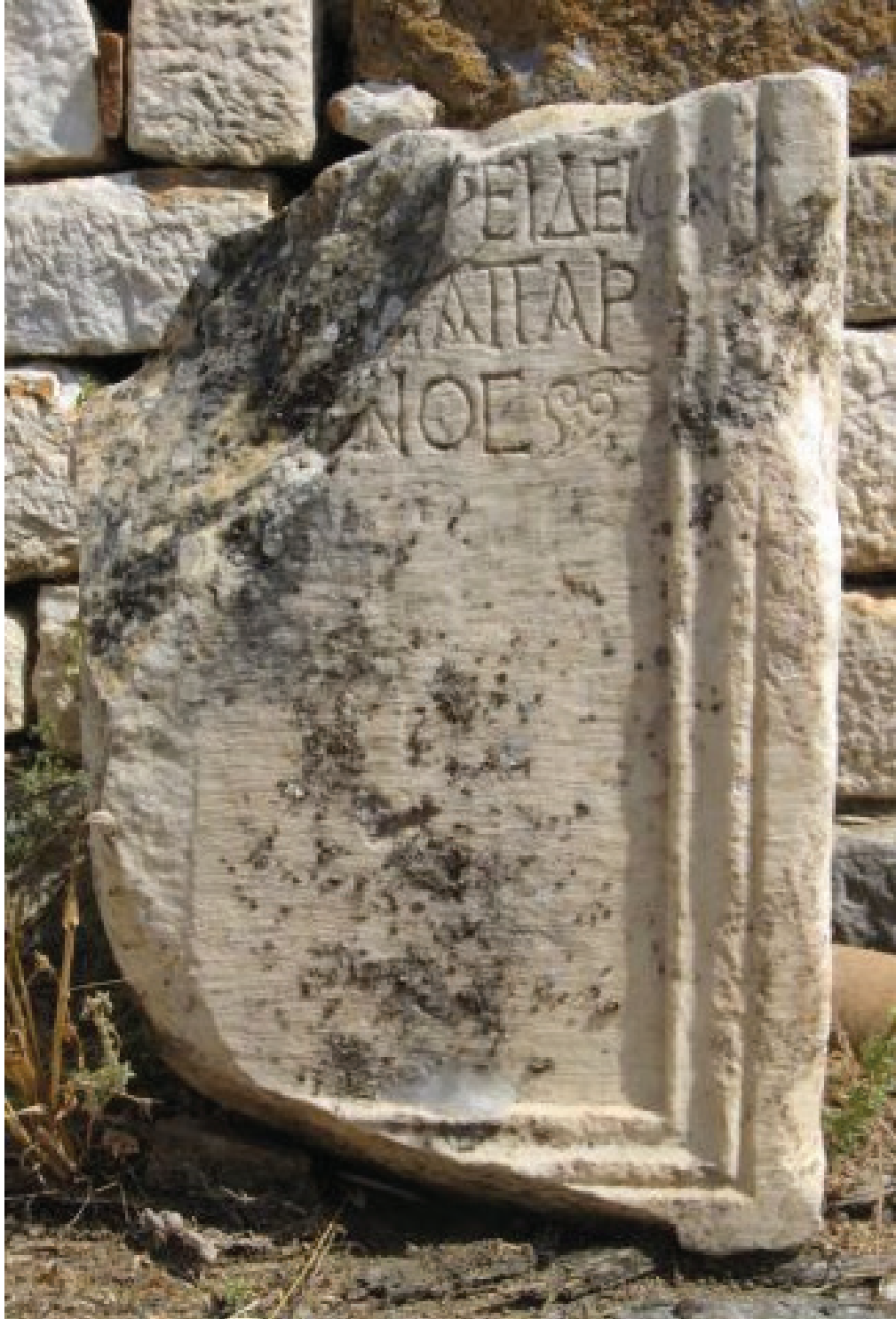


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Aphrodisias, late-fifth c. CE.
Aphrodisias Museum, Aphrodisias.
LSA-148.



Figure 127: Drawing of reconstruction of monument of Flavius Palmatus.
Aphrodisias, late-fifth to sixth c. CE.

by K. Görkay.

Smith 1999, fig. 9.



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Aphrodisias, late-fifth to sixth c. CE.
Aphrodisias Museum, Aphrodisias.
LSA-198.



Figure 129: Statue of Flavius Palmatus, left and right profile.
Aphrodisias, late-fifth to sixth c. CE.
Aphrodisias Museum, Aphrodisias.
LSA-198.

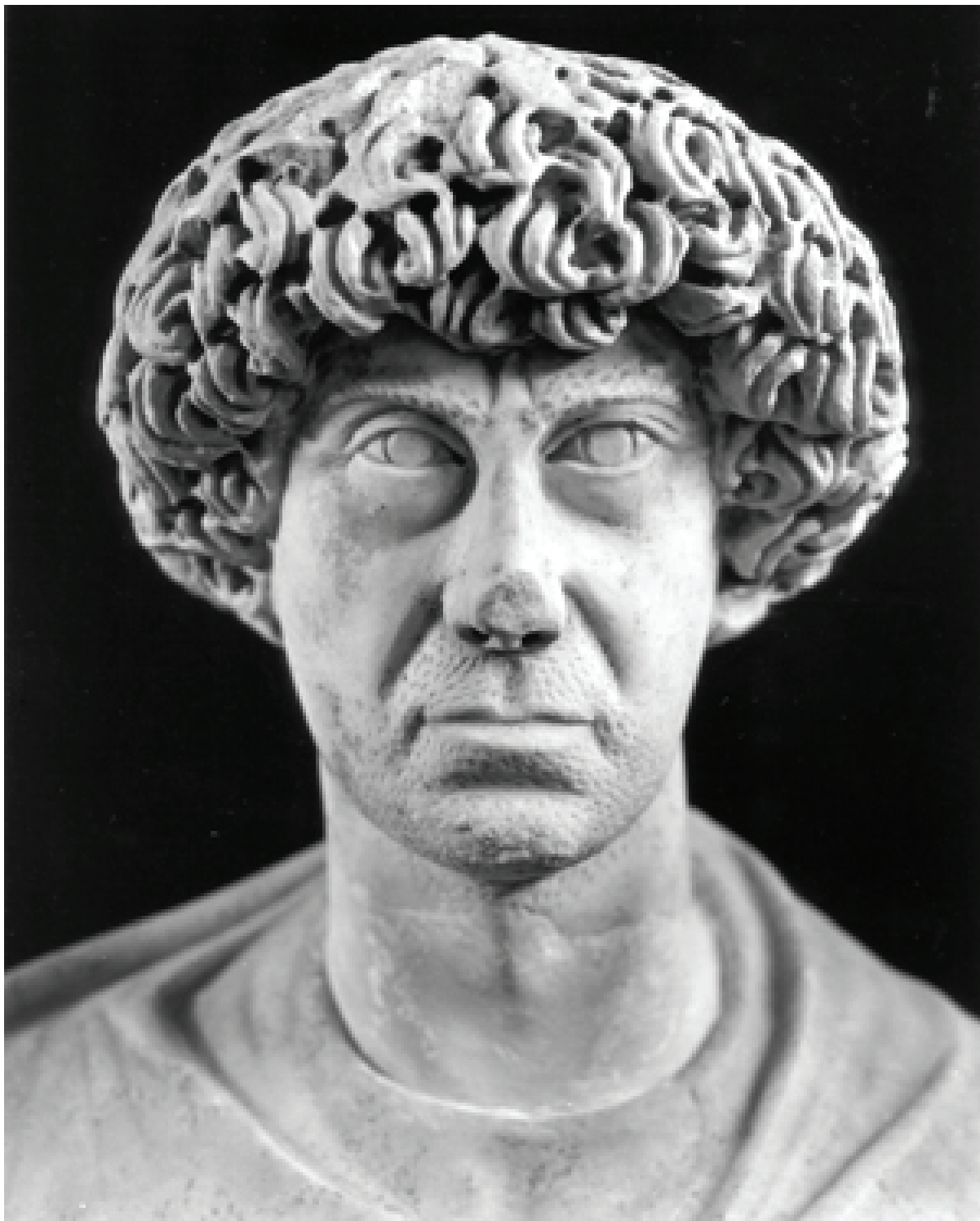


Figure 130: Portrait head of Flavius Palmatus.
Aphrodisias, late-fifth to sixth c. CE.
Aphrodisias Museum, Aphrodisias.
LSA-198.



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Aphrodisias, late-fifth to sixth c. CE.
Aphrodisias Museum, Aphrodisias.
LSA-198.



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 Aphrodisias, late-fifth to sixth c. CE.
 Aphrodisias Excavations, Aphrodisias.
LSA-199.



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 Aphrodisias Excavations, Aphrodisias.
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Tetrastoon, Aphrodisias.
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A-E: Theodosius monument, F: Flavius Palmatus monument.

Aphrodisias.
by C. Norman.
Smith 1999, fig. 10.

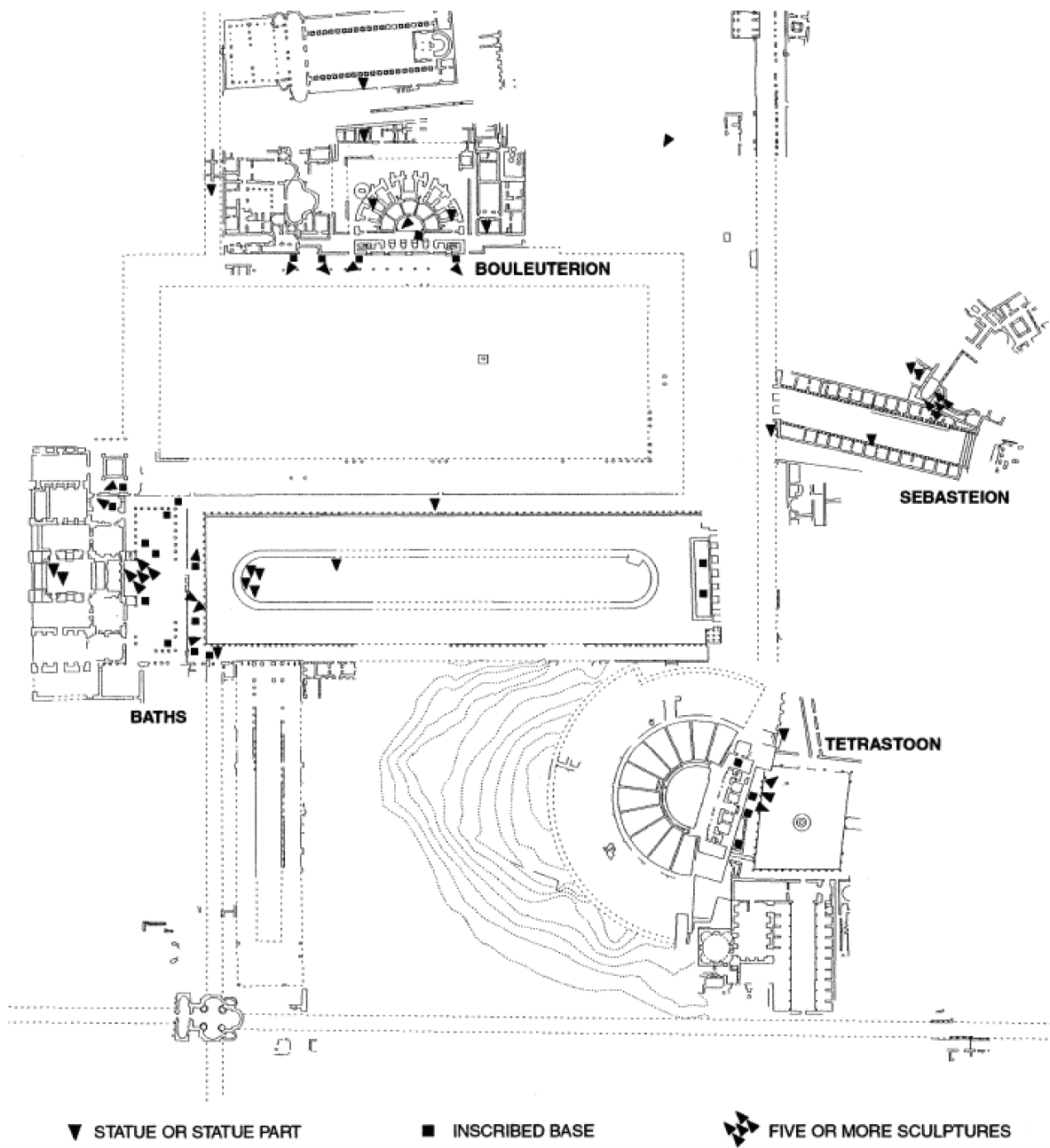


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 Aphrodisias.
 by H. Mark
 Smith 1999, fig. 11.



Figure 137: Drawing of monument honoring Alexandros, governor.
Aphrodisias, fourth c. CE.
by K. Görkay.
Smith 1999, fig 5.



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Aphrodisias Museum, Aphrodisias.
LSA-152.



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Aphrodisias, fourth c. CE.

in situ, North Agora, Aphrodisias.

LSA-153.

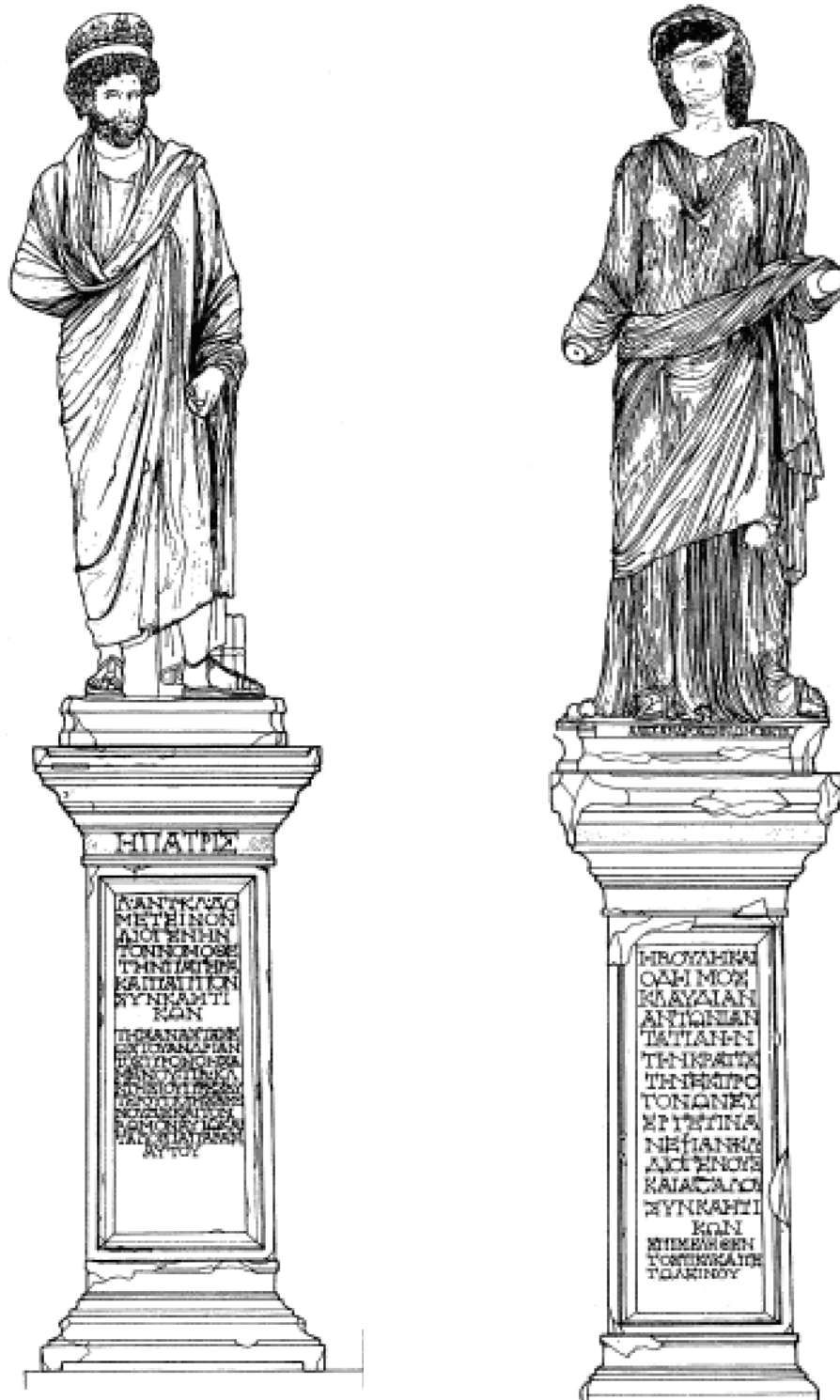


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Aphrodisias, ca. 200 CE.
by K. Görkay and M. Karasek.
Smith 1999, figs. 1-2.



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Smith 1998, pl. VI.1-2.



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Photo by Elizabeth Wueste

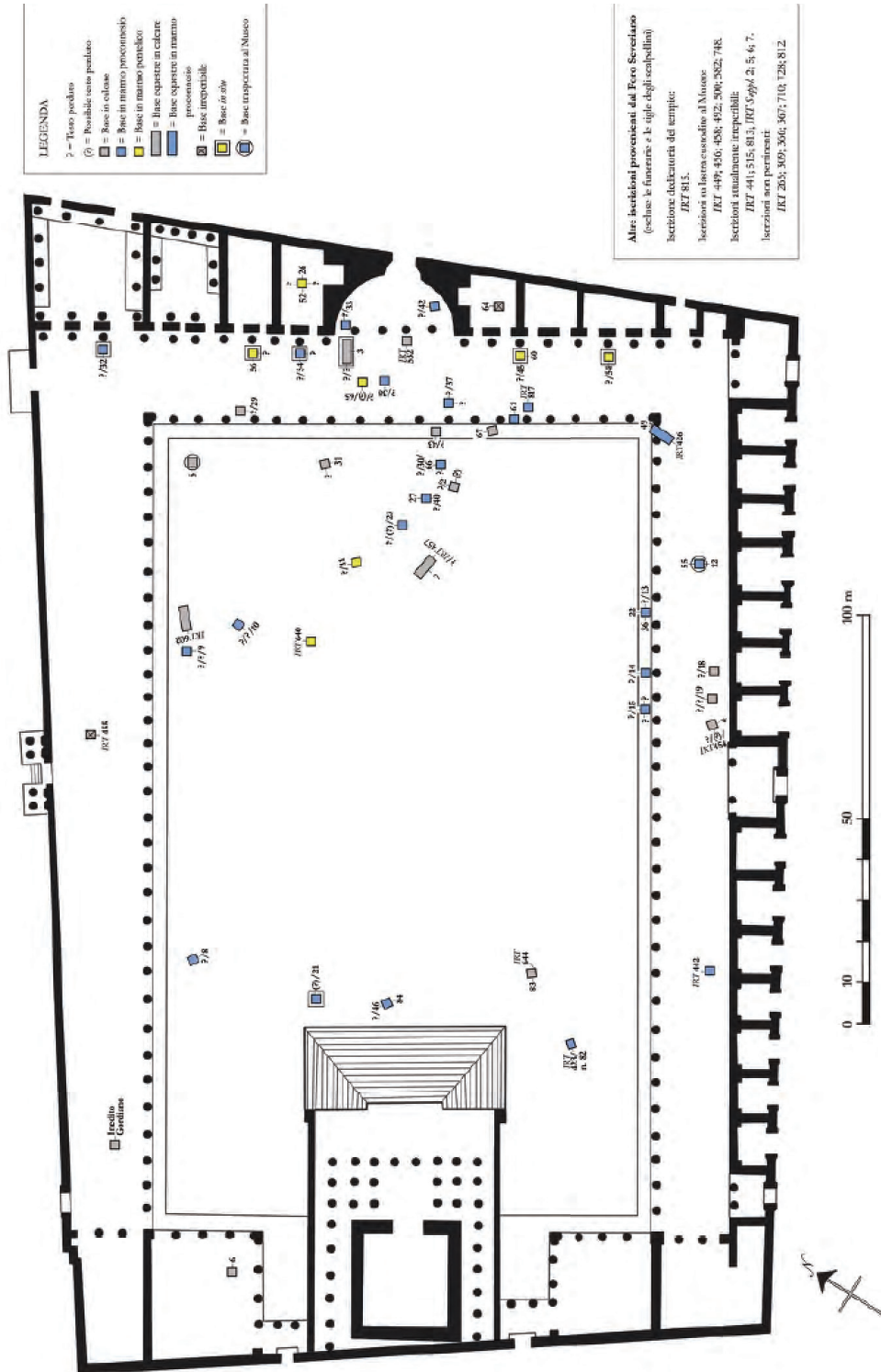


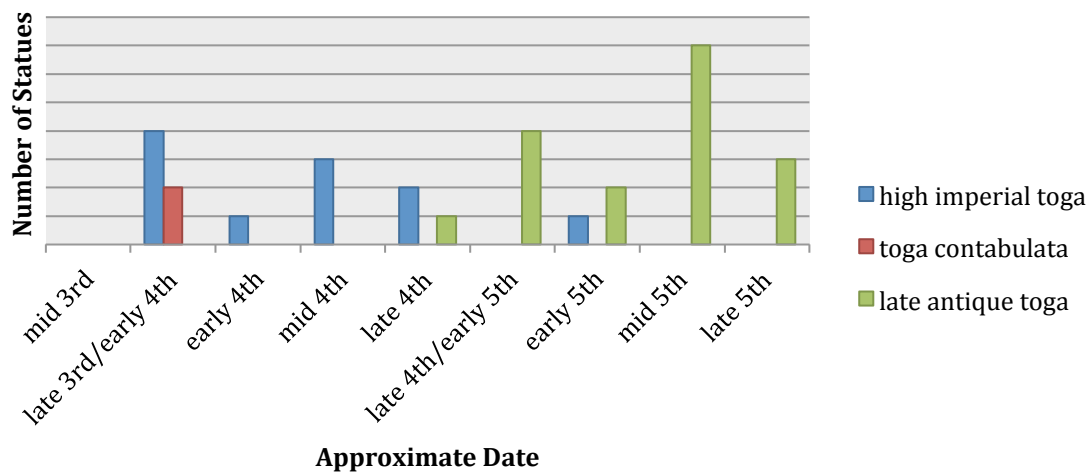
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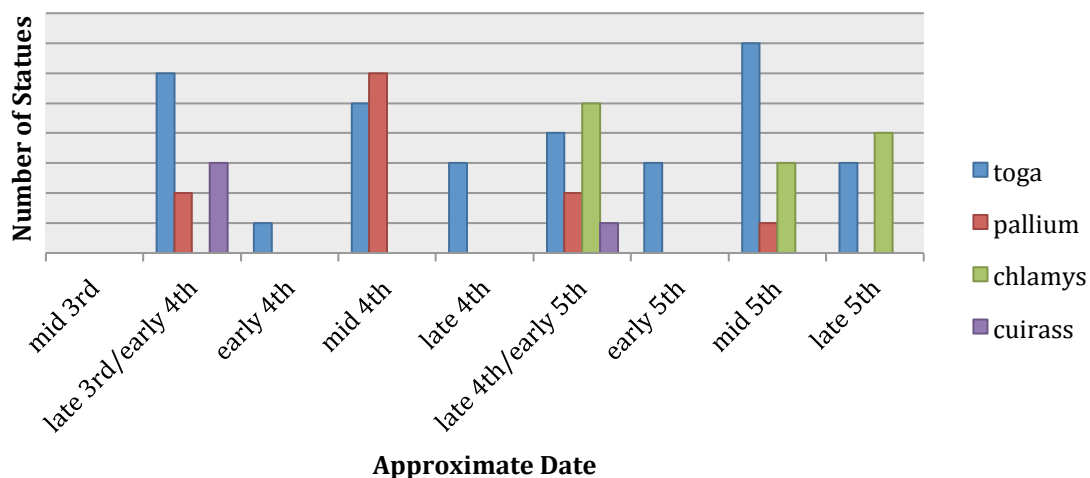
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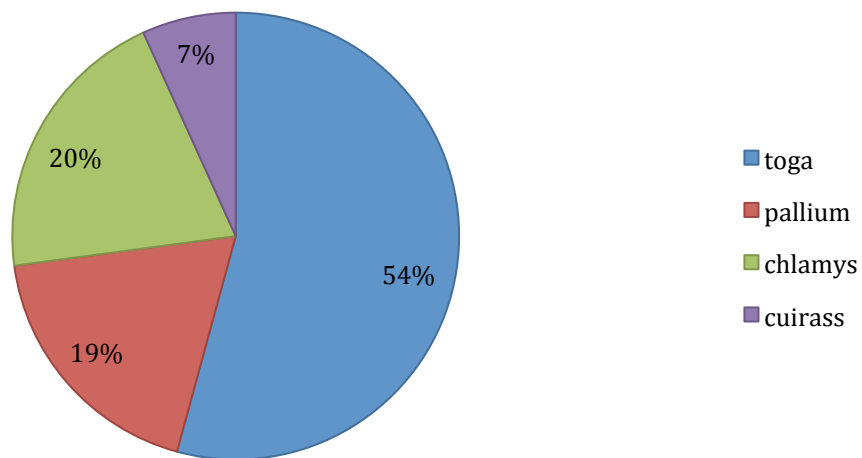
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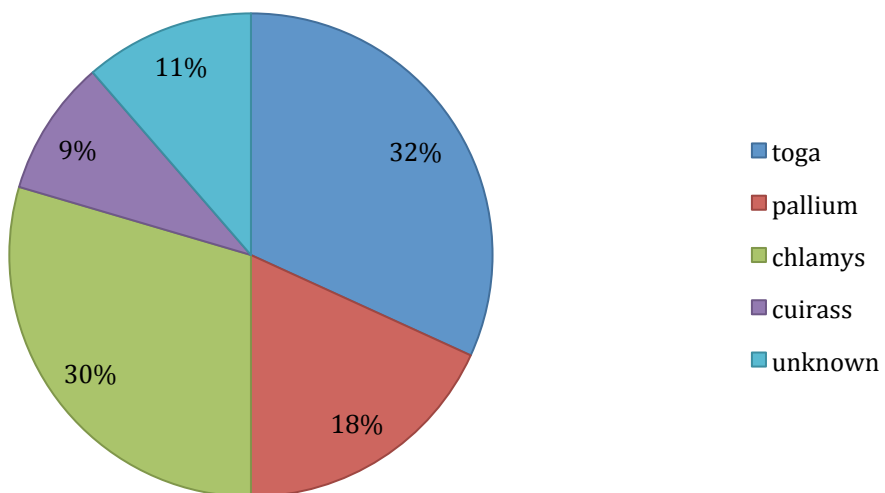
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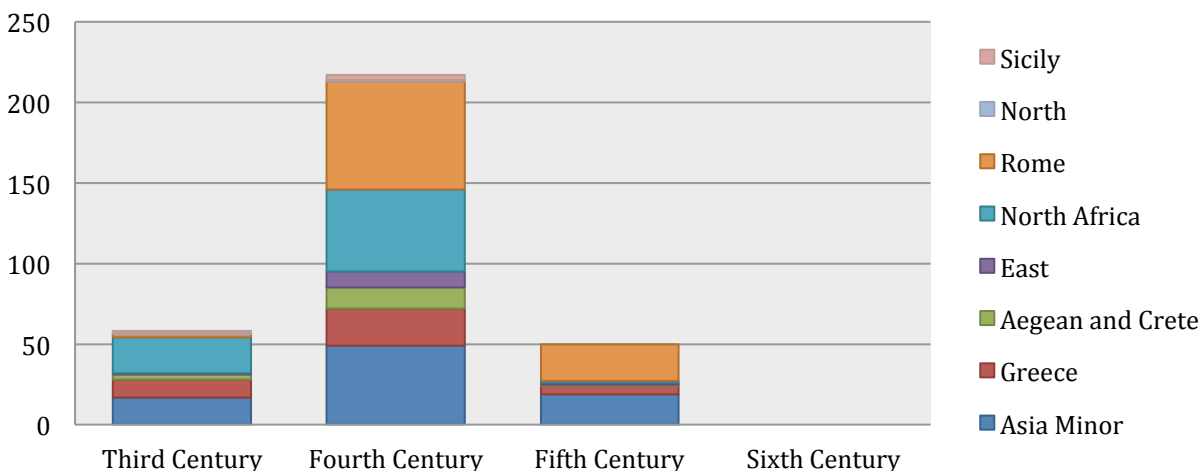
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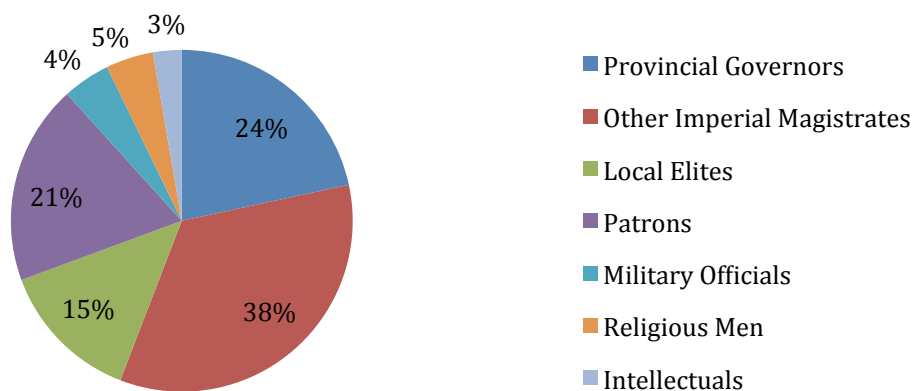
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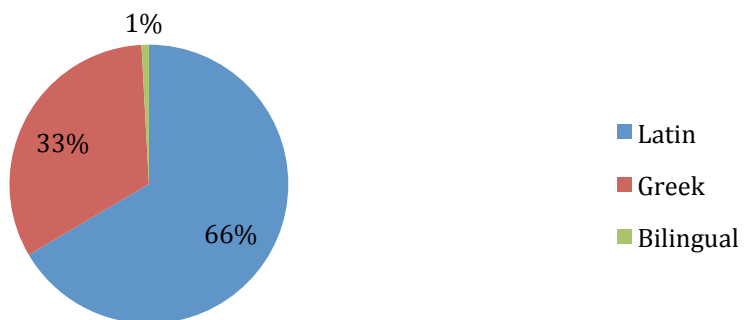
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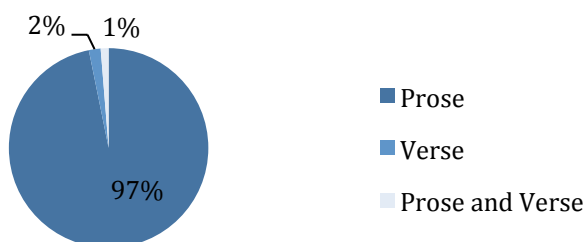
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Table 1: Late Antique Honoric Statues by Costume Type
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Province	Location	Date	Costume Components	Shoes	Associated Components	Height	Reuse/Condition	Reference
Imperial Toga										
1	LSA-1555 Image 1	Roma	Ostia	late 3rd-early 4th c.	capite velato, tunic, patera	calcei equestri	head	200 cm	: reuse of high imperial body and recut head : found with many other disassembled statue parts	Calza 1948, 83-94
2	LSA-852	Italy		late 3rd-early 4th c.	capite velato, tunic, bundle of scrolls at foot	calcei senatorii	head	206 cm	: reuse- recut head, body from first half of 2nd c.	Calza 1977, no. 377
3	LSA-2131	Numidia	Lambaesis	late 3rd-early 4th c.	tunic, bundle of scrolls at foot	calcei senatorii	head			Goette 1990, C b 6
4	LSA-313	Phrygia Salutaris	Polybotus	late 3rd-4th c.	laurel wreath with holes		head	179 cm	: reuse- toga is from early 2nd c.	I&R 1966, no. 254
5	LSA-2136	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna	circa 303	tunic		head inscribed base (LSA-2178) : Obsequius : provincial governor	177 cm	: reuse- recut head	Bianchi 2005, figs 13-16
6	LSA-1130	Africa Proconsularis	Bulla Regia	early-mid 4th c.	tunic, bundle of scrolls at foot	calcei senatorii	head inscribed base (LSA-1184) : provincial governor	237 cm	: reuse of early 2nd c body	Goette 1990, B b 7
7	LSA-903	Rome	Rome	324-337	tunic, bundle of scrolls at foot	calcei equestri	head inscribed base (LSA 1266) : Dogmatius : senator and deputy prefect	219 cm	: reuse- both statue and head	Giuliano 1957, no. 99

Table 1: Late Antique Honoric Statues by Costume Type
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Province	Location	Date	Costume Components	Shoes	Associated Components	Height	Reuse/Condition	Reference
Imperial Toga (continued)										
8	LSA-44	Campania	Puteoli	334-342	tunic, bundle of scrolls at foot	calcei senatorii	inscribed base (LSA-43) : Mavortius : patron, proconsul	230 cm	yes-high imperial togate body repaired plinth	Gehn 2012, W5
9	LSA-46	Campania	Puteoli	365-379	tunic, holding scroll, strapped box at foot	calcei senatorii	reworked head inscribed base (LSA-41) : Aemilianus : governor	180 cm	yes- from high imperial statue, from one block, only head recarved	Gehn 2012, W4
10	LSA-907	Rome	Rome	late 4th c.	tunic, rectangular block at foot	calcei senatorii	head	181 cm	yes- recut head	Felletti Maj, 1953, No. 323
11	LSA-1082	Rome	Ostia	early 5th c.	tunic, bundle of scrolls at foot	calcei equestri	head	185 cm	yes	Ensoff 2000, no. 356
Toga Contabulata										
12	LSA-2132	Africa Proconsularis	Carthage	late 3rd-early 4th c.	semi contabulated umbo, container of scrolls plus some loose ones	calcei senatorii	head			Goette 1990, C b 21
13	LSA-2133	Cathargin-iensis	Segobriga	late 3rd-4th c.	tunic, tall rectangular box	calcei equestri		157 cm	possibly head was a second insertion back is cut thin (save marble?)	Noguera et al, 2008, figs 7-9

Table 1: Late Antique Honorific Statues by Costume Type
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Province	Location	Date	Costume Components	Shoes	Associated Components	Height	Reuse/Condition	Reference
Late Antique Toga										
14	LSA-154	Caria	Aphrodisias	late 4th c.	tunic, inkpot in hand, bundle of scrolls at foot	calcei senatorii	head	157.5 cm		I&R 1979, no. 195
15	LSA-1036	Asia	Ephesus	late 4th-early 5th c.	tunic, bundle of scrolls at foot, sceptre, mappa	calcei senatorii		156 cm		Kollwitz 1941, no. 8
16	LSA-1034	Asia	Ephesus	late 4th-early 5th c.	tunics, bundle of scrolls at foot	calcei senatorii		155 cm	over life size	Kollwitz 1941, no. 6
17	LSA-1033	Constan-tinople	Constan-tinople	late 4th-early 5th c.	tunic			122 cm		Gehn 2012, O3
18	LSA-607	Paphlagonia	Kastomonu	late 4th-mid 5th c.	tunic, bundle of scrolls at foot					
19	LSA-698	Asia	Ephesus	4th-6th c.	tunic, mappa, sceptre, bundle of scrolls at foot	calcei senatorii	head inscribed base? (LSA-732) : Stephanus : governor	202 cm	yes- recut head	<i>Öjh</i> 44, 1959, fig 60-2
20	LSA-1068	Rome	Rome	early 5th c.	tunic, mappa, bundle of scrolls at foot	calcei senatorii	head	236 cm		Ensolt 2000, no. 12
21	LSA-1069	Rome	Rome	early 5th c.	tunic, mappa, bundle of scrolls at foot	calcei senatorii	head	188 cm		Ensolt 2000, no. 13
22	LSA-149	Caria	Aphrodisias	5th c.	tunic, bundle scrolls at foot	calcei senatorii		123 cm		AphMus 79/10/177
23	LSA-1040	Constan-tinople	Constan-tinople	5th c.	tunic	calcei senatorii		129 cm		Gehn 2012, O5

Table 1: Late Antique Honorific Statues by Costume Type
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Province	Location	Date	Costume Components	Shoes	Associated Components	Height	Reuse/Condition	Reference
Late Antique Toga (continued)										
24	LSA-1037	Asia	Ephesus	5th c.	tunic, sceptre			154 cm		Kollwitz 1941, no. 9
25	LSA-1039	Asia	Ephesus	5th c.	tunic, bundle of scrolls at foot, mappa, sceptre	calcei senatorii		207 cm		Kollwitz 1941, no. 11
26	LSA-1038	Asia	Ephesus	5th c.	tunic, bundle of scrolls at foot			135 cm		Kollwitz 1941, no. 10
27	LSA-147	Caria	Aphrodisias	late 5th c.	tunic, bundle scrolls at foot	calcei senatorii	head inscribed base (LSA-148) : Pytheas : senator, local benefactor	118 cm	made from a single piece	I&R 1966, no. 244
28	LSA-143	Achaea	Athens	late 5th c.	tunic			133 cm	yes- likely from architectural block	Gehn 2012, O37
29	LSA-198	Caria	Aphrodisias	late 5th-6th c.	tunic, mappa, sceptre, bundle of scrolls at foot	calcei senatorii	head inscribed base (LSA-199) : Palmatus : governor	201.5 cm	yes- head seems too small head and body worked separately	Smith 1999, pl. 3 and 11
Toga: LOST										
30	LSA-1124	Campania	Puteoli	334-342	(LOST)		inscribed base (LSA-1909) : Mavortius : proconsul	185 cm	yes- reuse of high imperial body	Gehn 2012, W6
31	LSA-1744	Byzacena	Pheradi Maius	4th c.	LOST		inscribed base (LSA-2305) : Didius Praelectus : civic office			Poinssot 1927, 56

Table 1: Late Antique Honorific Statues by Costume Type
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Province	Location	Date	Costume Components	Shoes	Associated Components	Height	Reuse/Condition	Reference
Pallium										
32	LSA-2101	Aegyptus	Alexandria	late 3rd-early 4th c.	chiton, arm sling, capsae and bundle of scrolls at foot	sandals		195 cm	yes- recut head	Bonacasa Carra 1983, pl. 16-7
33	LSA-728	Asia	Ephesus	late 3rd or mid 5th c.	chiton, arm sling	sandals	inscribed base :Artorius/Damocharis : provincial governor	186 cm	yes- high imperial	
34	LSA-737	Asia	Ephesus	4th c.?	chiton, arm sling, holding scroll(?)	sandals		160 cm		
35	LSA-736	Asia	Ephesus	4th c.?	chiton, arm sling, holding scroll(?), rectangular block at foot	sandals	inscribed base : Alexandros : doctor	192 cm	yes- high imperial	
36	LSA-218	Caria	Aphrodisias	4th c.	chiton, arm sling, holding scroll, bundle of scrolls at foot	sandals		172 cm		Smith 1996, fig. 35
37	LSA-215	Caria	Aphrodisias	4th c.	chiton, arm sling, holding codex, bundle of scrolls at foot	sandals		192 cm	made from single piece	Smith 1999, pl. 5.1
38	LSA-152	Caria	Aphrodisias	4th c.	chiton, arm sling, holding scroll, bundle of scrolls at foot	sandals	inscribed base : Alexandros : governor	160 cm	yes- from late 2nd-early 3rd c. body, inscribed base is from 3 reused blocks	AphMus 79/10/203, 208
39	LSA-155	Caria	Aphrodisias	4th c.	seated, backless chair	sandals		73.5 cm	yes- two carving stages missing upper body	Aph Mus 79/16/270
40	LSA-2696	Achaea	Elis	4-5th c.?	rectangular block at foot	sandals	inscribed base : proconsul		yes- early imperial, missing upper body	Zoumbaki 2008, 123-30
41	LSA-172	Caria	Aphrodisias	4-6th c.?	seated, backless chair, tunic	sandals		160 cm		Aph Exc. Inv. 89-2 B
42	LSA-2311	Achaea	Corinth	5th c.?	chiton, arm sling			175 cm	yes- recut female statue	De Grazia 1973, 94

Table 1: Late Antique Honorific Statues by Costume Type
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Province	Location	Date	Costume Components	Shoes	Associated Components	Height	Reuse/Condition	Reference
Chlamys										
43	LSA-1168	Constantinople	Constantinople	4-5th c.	(fragment)			33 cm	alabaster	Gehn 2012, O2
44	LSA-21	Achaaea	Corinth	late 4th c.	tunic, bundle of scrolls at foot, open strapped shoes	campagi		112 cm		Gehn 2012, O42
45	LSA-15	Achaaea	Corinth	late 4th-early 5th c.	crossbow fibula, tunic, cingulum			94 cm	upper torso only	Gehn 2012, O39
46	LSA-150	Caria	Aphrodisias	late 4th-early 5th c.	tunic, campagi, finger ring, bundle scrolls foot, scroll hand	calcei equestri	inscribed base, head : Oecumenius : governor	191 cm		AphMus 79/10/179, 185
47	LSA-1160	Constantinople	Constantinople	late 4th-early 5th c.	bundle of scrolls at foot, unjewelled belt			120 cm		Gehn 2012, O4
48	LSA-169	Caria	Aphrodisias	5th c.	tunic, closed shoes, scroll in hand, fibula, bundle of scrolls at foot	calcei equestri	head : "Elder Magistrate"	181 cm	yes- too shallow a piece of marble	Smith 1999, pl. 1.3
49	LSA-170	Caria	Aphrodisias	5th c.	tunic, closed boots, bundle of scrolls at foot	calcei equestri	head : "Younger Magistrate"	187 cm	made from one piece	Smith 1999, pl. 1.3
50	LSA-171	Caria	Aphrodisias	5th c.	tunic, closed boots, belt with buckle, fibula		feet of two children	156 cm		Smith 2007, no. A28
51	LSA-19	Achaaea	Corinth	late 5th c.	holding scroll, crossbow fibula, 2 tunics, cingulum	calcei equestri		63 cm	yes- from architectural piece upper torso only roughly dressed/unfinished	Gehn 2012, O41

Table 1: Late Antique Honorific Statues by Costume Type
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Province	Location	Date	Costume Components	Shoes	Associated Components	Height	Reuse/Condition	Reference
Chlamys (continued)										
52	LSA-22	Achaea	Corinth	late 5th c.	holding mappa, cingulum, crossbow fibula, campagi	campagi		180 cm	yes- from female	Gehn 2012, O43
53	LSA-23	Achaea	Corinth	late 5th c.	crossbow fibula, tunic			82 cm	yes- from architectural piece	Gehn 2012, O44
54	LSA-80	Achaea	Corinth	late 5th c.	crossbow fibula, tunic, cingulum, campagi	campagi		149.5 cm	yes- reused as threshold	Gehn 2012, O47
Cuirass										
55	LSA-1785	Noricum Mediterraneum	Celeia	late 3rd-early 4th c.	undecorated armor, cloak, belt, bundle of scrolls at foot, bulla	calcei with four straps		175 cm		Vermeule 1959, no. 315
56	LSA-2095	Pannonia Valeria	Aquincum	late 3rd-early 4th c.	tunic, cloak, bundle of scrolls at foot, scroll, belt, sword	sandals		160 cm		Polenz 1986, no. 781
57	LSA-1207	Noricum Mediterraneum	Aichdorf	late 3rd-4th c.?	sword, phalera, belt,			116 cm		Egger 1921, no. 71
58	LSA-201	Caria	Aphrodisias	4th-5th c.	tunic, cloak, greaves, held spear, sword and scabbard, quiver of arrows at foot	sandals		172 cm		AphExCom 82-79

Table 2: Late Antique Honorific Statues of Emperors
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Province	Location	Date	Costume	Accessories	Associated Components	Height	Reuse/ Condition	Reference
EMPERORS: By date										
1	LSA-456	Constantinople	Constantinople	late 3rd c.	cuirass	sword, paludamentum, jeweled belt, tunic		66 cm		Smith 2001, pl. 147
2	LSA-1029	Africa Proconsularis	Utica	late 3rd c.	cuirassed	tree trunk with cornucopia, corona civica, tunic, chlamys, mullel, belt	head :Tetrach		yes- recut head	Salomonson 1960, 59-68
3	LSA-368	Cilicia	Adana	late 3rd-early 4th c.	nude	paludamentum over left shoulder	head :Tetrach	37.8 cm	made of bronze	I&R 1979, no. 255
4	LSA-1126	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna	late 3rd-early 4th c.	cuirassed	chlamys, boots, belt	head		yes	Blanck 1969, A21
5	LSA-2384	Lucania et Bruttii	Locris	late 3rd-early 4th c.	cuirassed	chlamys, sword strap, belt	head (possibly related)	over life size	yes- recut head of Claudius	Faedo 1994, fig 31-3
6	LSA-2561	Aegyptus	Alexandria	late 3rd-early 4th c.	toga?	campagi shoes		80 cm	made of porphyry	Kiss 1983, fig. 1-2
7	LSA-246	Caria	Aphrodisias	late 3rd-4th c.	fragments of nude	cloak over shoulder	head :Tetrach	147 cm	yes- recut from Julio-Claudian?	I&R 1966, no. 64
8	LSA-244	Pamphylia	Side	late 3rd-4th c.	cuirassed	tunic, cloak, fibula	head :Tetrach / Licinius?	99 cm	yes- recut Antonine (?) head	I&R 1966, no. 63
9	LSA-455	Haemimontus	Hadrianopolis	late 3rd-4th c.	toga			91 cm	made of porphyry, seated on throne, upper torso only	Delbrueck 1932, fig. 36
10	LSA-1005	Aegyptus	Alexandria	297-302	cuirassed (LOST)	thighs with leather straps	Diocletian	700 cm	made of porphyry, colossal, fragmentary	Delbrueck 1932, 100- 1

Table 2: Late Antique Honorific Statues of Emperors
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Province	Location	Date	Costume	Accessories	Associated Components	Height	Reuse/Condition	Reference
11	LSA-558	Rome	Rome	312-337	drapery		hands :Constantine I feet, breast		seated, acrolithic, drapery in bronze?	Fitschen and Zanker 1985, no. 122
12	LSA-556	Rome	Rome	312-340	cuirassed	corona civica, sword, fibula, cloak, tunic, belt	head inscribed base :LSA-2302 :Constantine I, son?	322 cm	yes- recut head	Heintze 1979, pls. 118-129.1
13	LSA-559	Rome	Rome	317-337	cuirassed	boots, cloak, tunic, tree trunk, corona civica, fibula, belt, sword	head inscribed plinth :CIL VI.1150 :Constantine I	297 cm	yes- recut head	CIL VI, 1150
14	LSA-555	Rome	Rome	317-337	cuirassed	tree trunk, oak leave crown, scepter(?), fibula, belt, tunic, closed boots	head inscribed plinth :CIL VI.1149 :Constantine I	290 cm	yes- recut head	CIL VI, 1149
15	LSA-562	Rome	Rome	330-360	x	globe	head :Constantine I/II	177 cm	made of bronze	MusCap 1072
16	LSA-163	Caria	Aphrodisias	388-392	short late toga	pearl edged diadem, bundle of scrolls at foot	head	188 cm	single piece of marble	I&R 1966, no. 66
17	LSA-165	Caria	Aphrodisias	388-392	short late toga	closed boots, tunic, colobium, bundle of scrolls at feet	(found near inscribed bases) :LSA-164, Arcadius :LSA-166,	147 cm	single piece of marble	Smith 1999, pl. 1.1

Table 2: Late Antique Honorific Statues of Emperors
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Province	Location	Date	Costume	Accessories	Associated Components	Height	Reuse/ Condition	Reference
18	LSA-1007	Aegyptus	Alexandria	4th c.	chlamys	belt, fibula, sword, tunic		94 cm	made of porphyry	Delbrueck 1932, 104-6
19	LSA-1009	Aegyptus	Alexandria	4th c.	chlamys	tunic, belt, fibula		39 cm	made of porphyry, under life size	Delbrueck 1932, 108-110
20	LSA-1008	Aegyptus		4th c.	cuirassed	tunic, chlamys, belt, sword, Medusa cuirass		87 cm	made of porphyry, under life size	Mercando 1995, pl. 64.4
21	LSA-1010	Flaminia et Picenum	Forum Cornelii	mid 4-5th c.	chlamys	tunic, belt, sword, scabbard, fibula		140 cm	made of porphyry, over life size	Delbrueck 1932, 111-112
22	LSA-1132	Cyrene	Claudiopolis	4th or 5th c.	toga	calcei, bronze orb	head stuccoed base	203 cm	yes- reuse of female body, Julio-Claudian portrait	Stucchi 1960, pls. 23-34
23	LSA-1165	Constantinople	Constantinople	4th or 5th c.	toga or chlamys			23 cm	made of porphyry, fragmentary	Gehn 2012, p9
24	LSA-1185	unknown		4th or 5th c.	chlamys	fibula, sword		90 cm	made of porphyry, fragmentary	Gehn 2012, p10
25	LSA-196	Caria	Aphrodisias	late 4th c.	high imperial toga	tunic, calcei, stack of writing tablets at foot, head had diadem	head of emperor found nearby	132 cm	yes- both body and head reused	Smith 2006, no. 5
26	LSA-441	Constantinople	Constantinople	late 4th-5th c.	cuirassed	2 jeweled tunics, mantle, (spear?), globe, diadem (?)	head	335 cm	made of bronze	Weitzmann 1979, no. 23
27	LSA-1003	Aegyptus	Alexandria	late 3rd-early 4th c.	toga	throne, open strap shoes, tunic		279 cm	made of porphyry, seated	Delbrueck 1921, pl. 40-1
28	LSA-1118	Dacia Ripensis	Sarkamen	early 4th c.	toga	jeweled throne		160 cm	made of porphyry, fragmentary	Popvic 2005, fig. 39-40

Table 3: Late Antique Busts by Costume Type
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Province	Location	Date	Costume Components	Description	Identity	Position	Reuse/Condition
Busts wearing toga									
1	LSA-2102	Tuscia et Umbria	Aretium	late 3rd-early 4th c.	toga	cropped hair, stubble beard			yes
2	LSA-2442	Italy		late 3rd- 4th c.	toga	inscription	Isocrates	doctor	set into herm
3	LSA-2091	Achaea	Athens	early 4th	toga	clean shaven young man			yes
4	LSA-1109			4th?	toga contabulata			child	yes
5	LSA-1553	West?		4th	toga				re-cut
6	LSA-2108	Roma	Ostia	4th c.	toga	wreath, snake		doctor?	yes
7	LSA-2110	Italy		4th c.	toga		Menander	intellectual	
8	LSA-2111	Pisidia	Antiochia ad Pisidiam	4th c.	toga		Menander	intellectual	
9	LSA-142	Achaea	Athens	late 4th-early 5th c.	toga contabulata	bearded			
10	LSA-697	Asia	Ephesus	5th c.	toga				
11	LSA-1084	Asia	Smyrna	5th c.	toga contabulata	short hair, fine beard			
12	LSA-1095	Asia	Ephesus	5th-early 6th c.	toga contabulata				broken head
13	LSA-1096	Ausa	Ephesus	5th-early 6th c.	toga contabulata				head and right shoulder missing
14	LSA-707	Asia	Ephesus	late 5th c.	toga contabulata	curly hair, 3 locks on brow			
Busts wearing pallium									
15	LSA-414	Achaea	Sparta	late 3rd-early 4th c.	pallium	bearded			under life-sized
16	LSA-2135	Rome	Rome	late 3rd-early 4th c.?	pallium				re-cut from 2nd century bust
17	LSA-2435	Lusitania		4th c.?	pallium?	clean-shaven			
18	LSA-375	Constantinople	Constantinople	4th c.	pallium, fillet	long haired		emperor?	partly recut

Table 3: Late Antique Busts by Costume Type
284-550 CE

#	USA #	Province	Location	Date	Costume Components	Description	Identity	Position	Reuse/Condition
Busts wearing pallium (continued)									
19	USA-156	Caria	Aphrodisias	4th c.	pallium, fillet	full bearded		emperor?	partly recut
20	USA-64	Italy		4th-5th c.	pallium	long haired, bearded		intellectual?	yes
21	USA-203	Caria	Aphrodisias	late 4th c.	pallium	long haired, bearded		Sophist?	lower chest missing
22	USA-204	Caria	Aphrodisias	late 4th c.	pallium				missing head
Busts wearing chlamys									
23	USA-836	Augustamnica	Athribis	284-305	chlamys		Tetrarch	emperor	porphyry, life size
24	USA-2363	Macedonia	Thessalonica	3rd c.	chlamys	long bearded			reworked in late 4th-5th c.
25	USA-438	Asia Minor		late 3rd c.	chlamys, round fibula				small, from a group of six
26	USA-437	Asia Minor		late 3rd c.	chlamys				small, from a group of six
27	USA-436	Asia Minor		late 3rd c.	chlamys with fringe				small, from a group of six
28	USA-463	Asia Minor		late 3rd- 4th c.	chlamys	clean shaven		emperor	silver, small, much of face missing
29	USA-2282	Helenopontus	Sebastopolis	late 4th-early 5th c.	chlamys	bearded			
30	USA-522	Asia Minor	Nicodemia? Antioch?	early 4th c.	chlamys		Licinius?	emperor	silver, small
31	USA-205	Caria	Aphrodisias	late 4th-5th c.	chlamys				fragment of shoulder only
32	USA-450	Asia Minor		late 4th-5th c.	chlamys	long beard			most of chest missing
33	USA-20	Achaëa	Corinth	late 4th-early 5th c.	chlamys?				
34	USA-90	Macedonia	Thessalonica	early 5th c.	chlamys	clean shaven			

Table 3: Late Antique Busts by Costume Type
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Province	Location	Date	Costume Components	Description	Identity	Position	Reuse/Condition
Busts wearing chlamys (continued)									
35	LSA-447	Caria	Stratonicea	5th c.	chlamys	short beard	Apollinarius?		
36	LSA-254	Syria	Antioch on the	late 3rd-early	chlamys, cuirass	short beard		emperor?	from reused disparate
37	LSA-1002	Roma	Tusculum	late 3rd-early 4th c.	cuirass	clean shaven		emperor	porphyry, with 2 cuirassed statues
38	LSA-560	Roma	Roma	4th c.	cuirass	clean shaven		emperor?	porphyry
39	LSA-577	Viennensis	Vienna	mid 4th c.	cuirass, diadem		Magnentius?	emperor	
Busts wearing unidentifiable costume									
40	LSA-317	Galatia	Ancyra	late 3rd c.	draped	stubble beard			all of chest missing
41	LSA-2144	Campania		late 3rd c.?	x	added beard	Julio- Claudian youth		yes
42	LSA-216	Caria	Aphrodisias	4th c.	x	long hair, bearded			missing most of chest
43	LSA-879	Rome?		late 4th c.	toga? drapery?	inscribed tabula	Cethegus	high imperial officer	re-cut
44	LSA-2107	Asia	Ephesus	late 4th-early 5th c.	x	beard, long hair	Socrates	intellectual	head only
45	LSA-1065	Roma	Roma	late 4th-5th c.	x	clean shaven, lank hair			
46	LSA-690	Asia	Ephesus	second half 5th c.	x	inscription	Eutropius?		head only

Table 4: Late Antique Honorific Statues of Personifications
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Province	Location	Date	Costume	Accessories	Associated Components	Height	Reuse/Condition	Reference
1	LSA-2583	Caria	Aphrodisias	4th c.	himation	cloak, sandals, chiton, finger ring, priestly crown ribbons	"Demos" inscription on plinth	over life size	over life size yes- inscription added later, ring and pose of 2nd c (?) suggest it was originally for a local priest?	Smith 2006, no. 44

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: Asia Minor										
1	LSA-660	Merkelbach-Stauber, SGO I, no. 1/19/28	Caria	Miletus	200-300	Greek	verse+	Μάκσρα	prophet, priest	προφήτην, εὐσεβήτην
2	LSA-623	Merkelbach-Stauber, SGO IV, no. 18/01/02	Pisidia	Termessus Maior	200-350	Greek	verse+	Σολύμιον	local office holder, benefactor	Ἐαμφυλάρχην, εὐέκκτην
3	LSA-734	/Eph. IV, 1309	Asia	Ephesus	200-500	Greek	verse+	Ἰπρόβε	benefactor	
4	LSA-524	/G IV, 852	Caria and Phrygia	Laodicea ad Lycum, main street	250-303	Greek	prose	Ἄνκιον Ἄστρον	provincial governor	ἡσαρτικὸν
5	LSA-605	/GR IV, 814	Caria	Hierapolis, hall at theater	250-303	Greek	prose	[---] (raised)	provincial governor	ἡσαρτικὸ ν , ἡγεμόνα
6	LSA-606	/LL I, no. 39	Phrygia Pacatiana	Laodicea ad Lycum	250-303	Greek	prose	[---] (raised)	provincial governor	[[[---]]]—ἡγε[[[[]] / [[]]]όνα
7	LSA-650	MAMA VI, 55	Lydia	Tripolis	250-330	Greek	verse+	Ἐπιουλάδοιο	local notable, benefactor	
8	LSA-624	TAM III, 133	Pisidia	Termessus Maior	250-400	Greek	prose	Μ(άσραον) Ἀὐρ(ήλιου) Τραυί λιον	high priest, benefactor	[ἀρΧ]ιερέα
9	LSA-538	/Kibyra 66	Caria	Cibyra	260-350	Greek	verse+	Κελαδέου	military commander	Ἀγοστοφόνοιο π[ι]ο λέμοιο
10	LSA-620	TAM III, 89	Pisidia	Termessus Maior	275-280	Greek	prose	Ἰσπέυτιου Μαρκιανόν	provincial governor	ἡγεμόνα
11	LSA-526 no. 52	Laodikeia am Lykos I, no. 52	Phrygia Pacatiana	Laodicea ad Lycum	275-500	Greek	verse+	Δοκρικίου	local benefactor	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Asia Minor									
1	acc, 3rd	nom, his wife (Ἀγαθῶ)	∅	∅	vague acclamations	two ivy leafs	prophet, practiced in piety beloved of Apollo	other	
2	acc, 3rd	nom, ναέται	∅	στῆσαν	vague acclamations			rectangular	
3	voc, 2nd	∅	∅	∅	no office, verse, succinct, direct address		sprung from Zeus	rectangular	
4	acc, 3rd	∅	∅	ἀνέθ[ηκεν]	one office, succinct			rectangular	
5	acc, 3rd	[---]	[---]	[---]	at least one office			rectangular	
6	acc, 3rd	[---]	[---]	[---]	at least two offices, vague acclamations			lost	
7	gen, 3rd	nom, ἐνναέται πρόλιος	nom, Μαυοῖν Τίτρολις: Πόλιος Βουλή	∅	vague acclamations	∅	∅	rectangular	
8	acc, 3rd	nom, πατρ[η]ις	∅	∅	succinct, one office		high priest	rectangular	
9	gen (statue of)	nom, πρόλις	∅	ἀνέτετο	vague acclamations			rectangular	bronze statue
10	acc, 3rd	nom, Βουλή και δῆλιος	∅	∅	succinct, one office			rectangular	
11	gen and dat, 1st and 3rd	nom, πρόλις	∅	∅	no office, vague acclamations		divine virtue	other	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: Asia Minor										
17	LSA-724	<i>I/Eph.</i> III, 621	Asia	Ephesus, Embolios	286-298	Greek	prose	Μάξιμου	proconsular provincial governor	ἀνθύπ(ατρον)
18	LSA-386	<i>Laodikeia am Lykos</i> I, no. 41	Phrygia	Laodicea ad Lycum	300-330	Greek	prose	Φλά(άουρον) Ἀνύσιου	comes, vicarius	κόμ(ητρα)
19	LSA-221	ALA 15	Caria	Aphrodisias, theater	300-350	Greek	[---]	[---]	friend of emperors	φίλον τῶν βα[σιλέων]
20	LSA-222	ALA 16	Caria	Aphrodisias, Temple of Aphrodite	300-350	Greek	verse	Ἐλλάδιον	provincial governor	ἡγεμονῆα
21	LSA-2530	<i>Sagalassos</i> 2009, 206- 8	Pisidia	Sagalassus, Upper Agora	300-374	Greek	verse+	Παυνηλίτις	praetorian prefect, vicar	ὑπαρχε
22	LSA-539	<i>I/Kibyra</i> , 74	Caria	Cibyra	300-400	Greek	prose	Φλά(άουρον) Ἀννίου Χρυσόβιου	local notable	
23	LSA-617	TAM III, 80	Pisidia	Termessus Maior	300-400	Greek	prose	Ἰουστεινόν	praepositus, benefactor	πραιπτόστρον, εὐεργέτην
24	LSA-618	TAM III, 82	Pisidia	Termessus Maior	300-400	Greek	prose	Κωνσταντεινόν	praepositus, benefactor	πραιπτόστρον, εὐεργέτην
25	LSA-393	TAM III, 102	Pisidia	Termessus Maior	300-400	Greek	verse+	Οὐλίτις	local notable	
26	LSA-654	<i>Sardis</i> VII.1, 83	Lydia	Sardis	300-450	Greek	verse+	Ἀχόλιος	vicar	ὑπάρχων
27	LSA-675	Merkelbach-Stauber, <i>SGO</i> IV, no. 18/13/05	Pamphylia	Perge, NS colonnaded street	300-450	Greek	verse+	Ροῦνον	provincial governor?	ἀρχων Παμφυλίων

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Asia Minor									
17	acc, 3rd	nom, Βουλή και δήμος	∅	∅	one office, vague acclamations	∅	∅	rectangular	inscription 727 on other side
18	acc, 3rd	nom, Βουλή και δήμος	∅	∅	two offices, succinct			rectangular	
19	acc	[---]	[---]	[---]	[---]			rectangular	
20	acc, 3rd	nom, [K]άρες	[---]	στῆ σα ν	one office, succinct	[---]	∅	rectangular	
21	acc and voc, 2nd	nom, Βουλή και δήμος	∅	ἰδρυσεν	one office, succinct		set up at precinct of the gods, as a god. Gods rejoice	polygonal	
22	acc, 3rd	nom, father, Φα(δουος) Άνωιος Αναντόλιος	∅	∅	no offices, succinct			rectangular	
23	acc, 3rd	nom, πρόαις	Βουλήs και δήμου δόγματι	∅	one office, vague acclamation			rectangular	
24	acc, 3rd	nom, πρόαις	Βουλήs και δήμου δόγματι	∅	one office, vague acclamation			rectangular	
25	voc, 2nd	nom, πρόαις	∅	θήκατο	no office, vague acclamations, verse, 2nd person address			rectangular	marble statue, not gold
26	nom, 3rd and acc	nom, Βουλή	∅	στήσαμεν	one office, vague acclamations		sanctuary of Eleutheria	rectangular	
27	acc, 3rd	nom, πιστη κυδισί[τη Τέγγη]	∅	∅	no office, vague acclamations	∅	∅	unknown	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: Asia Minor										
28	LSA-730	<i>I.Eph. IV, 1307</i>	Asia	Ephesus, near baths of Scholastica	300-500	Greek	verse+	Μεσοαλινον	proconsular provincial governor	ἀνθ/πριτόρισιν]
29	LSA-664	Merkelbach-Stauber, <i>SGO II, no. 09/06/17</i>	Bithynia	Nicomedia	300-500	Greek	verse+	[---]	provincial governor?	
30	LSA-661	Merkelbach-Stauber, <i>SGO I, no. 03/02/09</i>	Asia	Ephesus, north of theater	300-500	Greek	unknown	[Δ]αμόχαρις	provincial governor from 727?	
31	LSA-671	Merkelbach-Stauber, <i>SGO III, no. 16/53/2</i>	Phrygia Salutaris	Docimium	300-500	Greek	verse+	Εὐστρέφιος	civic official	
32	LSA-658	Merkelbach-Stauber, <i>SGO I, no. 02/07/01</i>	Caria	Nysa, bouleterion	300-500	Greek	verse+	[---]	proconsular provincial governor	ἀνθύπτατον
33	LSA-621	TAM III, 103	Pisidia	Termessus Maior	300-500	Greek	prose and verse+	Ὀνοπόδρον	provincial governor?	
34	LSA-516	<i>I.Smyrna, 636</i>	Asia	Smyrna, agora	300-500	Greek	verse+	Εὐστράθιοιο	proconsular provincial governor	ἀνθύπτατων
35	LSA-722	<i>I.Eph IV, 1311</i>	Asia	Ephesus, Baths of Scholastica	300-500	Greek	verse+	Θεοδοσίωι	provincial governor from 468?	
36	LSA-394	Merkelbach-Stauber, <i>SGO IV, no. 17/20/1</i>	Lycia	Olympus, Hephaestum	300-500	Greek	verse+	Ἀκυλᾶεινον	military commander	στρατιᾶς κομοῦντα
37	LSA-2084	Merkelbach-Stauber, <i>SGO I, no. 03/02/25</i>	Asia	Ephesus, between theater and stadium	300-550	Greek	verse+	[---]	proconsular provincial governor	ὑπτατος

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Asia Minor									
28	acc, 3rd	nom, βουλή	∅	στῆθε(ν)	one office, vague acclamation	ivy leaf and twig	∅	rectangular	
29	acc, 3rd	[---]	[---]	[---]	vague acclamations	∅	∅	rectangular	
30	nom, 3rd	[---]	[---]	[---]	[---]	∅	∅	lost	
31	nom, 3rd	nom, πέντες ναέτη	∅	στῆθαευν	no office	ivy leaf	∅	rectangular	
32	acc, 3rd	[---]	[---]	[---]	[---]	[---]	Dike herself	lost	
33	acc, 3rd	nom, [ἡ β]ουλή καὶ ὁ δή[μος]	[---]	ἐπέμνησε[ν]	no office, vague acclamations	∅	∅	rectangular	
34	gen and acc, 1st and 3rd	nom, βουλή	∅	ἀνεψύατο κυ/δαίνουσα	one office	ivy leaf	∅	rectangular	statue
35	nom, 1st	nom, the statue itself	∅	τελέθει	no office	∅	∅	rectangular	
36	acc, 3rd	nom, πατρις	Βουλαῖς κοινας ακευα<μ<ε>νη	στῆθεν	one office, vague acclamations	∅	god-born emperor	rectangular	
37	nom, 3rd	nom, self	∅	[ἐσχοῦ]	one office	∅	∅	rectangular	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: Asia Minor										
38	LSA-727	<i>I.Eph. IV, 1302</i>	Asia	Ephesus, Embolios	300-550	Greek	verse+	Δαμόχαρις	proconsular provincial governor	ἀνθύπατος
39	LSA-656	Merkelbach-Stauber, <i>SGO I, no. 2/6/11</i>	Caria	Stratonicea	300-550	Greek	verse+	Εὐβείος	imperial office holder	
40	LSA-2588	Merkelbach-Stauber, <i>SGO I, no. 5/1/10</i>	Asia	Smyrna, agora	300-550	Greek	verse+	Δαμοχάρι	proconsular provincial governor of 727?	
41	LSA-543	Anderson, <i>A Summer in Phrygia I, JHS 1987,</i> Salutaris 22	Phrygia	Meirus	303-350	Greek	prose	Φλ(άουιον) Ὀπτιμιον	provincial governor	ἡγεμόνα
42	LSA-268	Nolle, <i>Side im Altertum</i> 1993.43, 64	Pamphylia	Side, theater	340-351	Greek	prose	Φλ(άουιον) Ἀρητανὸν Ἀλύπιον	provincial governor	ἡγεμόνα
43	LSA-187	ALA 14	Caria	Aphrodisias, Hadriatic Baths	326-350	Greek	prose	[---]	comes	κόμιστα
44	LSA-183	ALA 33	Caria	Aphrodisias, Hadriatic Baths	330-400	Greek	prose+	Εὐρείθιον	intellectual	
45	LSA-521	<i>IWTN 1989, no. 152</i>	Asia	Tralles, between acropolis and stadium	340-350	Greek	verse+	Μόυτιε	proconsular provincial governor	ἀνθύπατος
46	LSA-286	<i>CIG III, 3131</i>	Asia	Klazomenai,	340-350	Greek	prose	Κατλ(ιον) Μόντιον	proconsular provincial governor	ἀνθύπατος
47	LSA-659	Merkelbach-Stauber, <i>SGO I, no. 02/12/06</i>	Caria	Hierapolis, theater	350-355	Greek	verse+	Μάγυνος	vicar	ἑταρχον

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Asia Minor									
38	acc, 3rd	nom, ἀργυραμοιβοί (money changers)	∅	στῆσαν	one office, succinct	ivy leaf	∅	rectangular	stone statue
39	acc, 3rd	∅ (city?)	∅	∅	no office, vague acclamations	∅	god-like	architrave	
40	dat, 3rd	∅	∅	∅	one office	∅	∅	rectangular	
41	acc, 3rd	nom, πτόλις	∅	∅	one office, succinct	∅	∅	rectangular	
42	acc, 3rd	nom, individual (Εὐρυκλῆς, ὁ καὶ Καύστριος)	∅	∅	two offices, succinct	two ivy leaves	∅	rectangular	
43	acc, 3rd	nom, [---]	∅	[---]	vague acclamations	∅	∅	rectangular	
44	acc, 3rd	nom, πτόλις	∅	στῆσαν	no office, vague acclamations	three ivy leaves	∅	rectangular	stone image
45	voc, 2nd, and acc, 2nd	nom, Βουλή	∅	στῆσέ	one office, specific accomplishments	∅	awestruck	plaque	statue
46	acc, 3rd	nom, [πτόλις ---]	∅	[---]	one office, succinct	∅	∅	unknown	
47	acc, 3rd	nom, οἰκητορες	ἡ Φρυγίης Μητήρ	τίσαν	verse, verbose, no titles, vague acclamations	∅	heavenly pictures, shrine to the Nymphs	plaque	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: Asia Minor										
48	LSA-234	ALA 22	Caria	Aphrodisias, city gate	350-375	Greek	prose	Φα(άουιν) Κωστώντιον / Φα(άουιν) Αιτηλαίου	provincial governor / scholasticus and pater	ἡγεμόνα / ορχο(λαστικῶ)
49	LSA-579	/G IV 1475	Caria	Epidaurus, Sanctuary of Asclepius	350-400	Greek	prose	Βάσοον	local notable, benefactor	
50	LSA-191	ALA 24	Caria	Aphrodisias, South Agora	350-400	Greek	verse+	Μένανδρον	imperial office holder	
51	LSA-151	ALA 31	Caria	Aphrodisias, North Agora	350-450	Greek	verse+	Οἰκουμένιον	provincial governor	ἡγεμονῆα
52	LSA-153	ALA 32	Caria	Aphrodisias, North Agora	350-450	Greek	verse+	Ἀλεξάνδρσιον	provincial governor?	
53	LSA-732	/Eph. IV, 1310	Asia	Ephesus, embolios	350-500	Greek	verse+	Στεφάνω	provincial governor	
54	LSA-731	/Eph. IV, 1308	Asia	Ephesus, Marble Street	350-500	Greek	verse+	Νόννος	provincial governor?	ὄρχατος
55	LSA-2501	JRA 80, 186-8.	Phrygia Pacatiana	Hierapolis	354-358	Greek	prose	Κα(αύδιον) [Μ]ιουσαυιανό[ν]	praetorian prefect	ἐτραρχον
56	LSA-733	/Eph. IV, 1312	Asia	Ephesus, embolios	361-363	Greek	verse	Αἰλ(αιον) Κλαύδ(αιον)	provincial governor	ἀνθύπατον
57	LSA-235	ALA 22	Caria	Aphrodisias	360-370	Greek	prose	Φα(άβριον) Κωνσταντιον	provincial governor	ἡγεμόνα
58	LSA-672	Merkelbach-Stauber, SGO IV, no. 17/1/1	Caria	Cibyra	360-500	Greek	verse+	Μαρκιανέ	military commander?	
59	LSA-614	Merkelbach-Stauber, SGO I, no. 02/01/06	Asia	Magnesia ad Maeandrum, agora southwest corner	371/2	Greek	verse+	Εὐτρόπιος	provincial governor	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Asia Minor									
48	acc, 3rd / gen, 3rd	nom, Βουλῆ και δῆμος	under individual scholasticus Φαλαουλου) Αυρελιου)	∅	no offices, very succinct/ two offices	ivy leaf, star, 2 crosses, alpha omega	∅	Intel/gate/arch	
49	acc, 3rd	nom, Βουλῆ και δῆμος, ναέται	θεῶν Βουλαῖσι ιν ἀνάκτων. ψ(ηφισματι) Βουληῖς).	∅	verse, no titles, some vague acclamations	∅	scared Epidaurus, divine Emperors	rectangular	
50	acc, 3rd	nom, Βουλῆ		στῆσαι	no titles, succinct	2 ivy leaves	established light for all	cylindrical	
51	acc, 2nd	nom, Βουλή		στῆσαι	one title, vague acclamations, verse	ivy leaf	∅ (XMF on portrait head)	rectangular	
52	gen, 3rd	nom, ἡ Φρυγίης μήτηρ		ἔπειθεν	one title, vague acclamations, succinct	∅	godlike rule	polygonal	stone
53	dat, 3rd	nom, πόλις		στῆσαι	verse, no office, verbose	cross	ivy-bearing Bacchus	rectangular	stone
54	nom, 3rd	∅		∅	verse, no office, verbose	cross	∅	rectangular	
55	acc, 3rd	nom, Βουλῆ και δῆμος		∅	one title, succinct	∅	sacred praetorium	rectangular	
56	acc, 3rd	nom, τὸ κοινὸν τῆς Αολας		∅	one title, succinct, opening greeting	∅	∅	rectangular	
57	acc, 3rd	∅		∅	one title, succinct? [...]			rectangular	
58	acc and voc, 2nd	∅		κεκομηῖσθαι	succinct, no office, 2nd person address	∅	∅	rectangular	could have been golden?
59	nom, 3rd and acc, 3rd	nom, Βουλῆ και δῆμος		κύθηεν	no title, vague acclamations, verse		holy city, divine judgements	rectangular	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
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#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: Asia Minor										
65	LSA-747	<i>I.Eph.</i> IV, 1305	Asia	Ephesus, built into medieval wall	390-420	Greek	prose	Στέφανον	provincial governor	ἀνθυπάρχων, ὑπάρχων
66	LSA-398	<i>WTN</i> 1989, no. 56	Caria	Trailles	395-397	Greek	prose	Φλ(αυίου) Καιοάριου	praetorian prefect	ἀνθύπατρον
67	LSA-662	Merkelbach-Stauber, <i>SGO</i> I, no. 03/02/13	Asia	Ephesus, between theater and stadium	400-447	Greek	verse+	Τίσιω(ν)	Christian	
68	LSA-1202	<i>Inscriptions of Stratonikeia</i> III, no. 1530	Caria	Stratonicea	400-498	Greek	verse+	Μάξιμῳ	benefactor	
69	LSA-193	ALA 37	Caria	Aphrodisias, Hadrianic Baths	400-450	Greek	verse+	Ταρτιανὸς	imperial office holder	
70	LSA-225	ALA 41	Caria	Aphrodisias, in between theater and tetrastoon	400-500	Greek	verse+	Δουλκίτιε	provincial governor	
71	LSA-657	<i>SO</i> 1 1998, no. 2/6/15	Caria	Stratonicea	400-500	Greek	verse+	Μάξιμῳ	benefactor	
72	LSA-1200	<i>Epigraphica Anatolica</i> 12, 1988, no. 87	Caria	Stratonicea	400-500	Greek	prose	Μάξιμῳ	local office holder, benefactor	
73	LSA-1201	<i>Inscriptions of Stratonikeia</i> III, no. 1521	Caria	Stratonicea	400-500	Greek	prose	Μάξιμῳ	benefactor	εὐεργέτην
74	LSA-228	ALA 64	Caria	Aphrodisias	400-500	Greek	verse+	[---]	provincial governor	
75	LSA-725	Merkelbach-Stauber, <i>SGO</i> I, no. 03/02/12	Asia	Ephesus, built into church of St. John	405-410	Greek	verse+	Εἰσιόσπε	provincial governor	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
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#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Asia Minor									
65	acc, 3rd	nom, βουλή	∅	∅				rectangular	
66	acc, 3rd	nom, μητρόπολις	∅	∅			holy praetorian, by divine (imperial) decision, savior	lost	
67	nom, 1st	nom, individual Ανθεμίδης τεύξ' /'Ισίδωρος	∅	ἔδων			XMI	rectangular	
68	voc, nom, acc, 2nd	nom, ἀκτέανοι	∅	στῆσαντες	verse, verbose, no specific office	cross	Chi-Rho	rectangular	
69	nom, 1st and acc	nom, child	∅	ἀνελάων, ἤκειν				rectangular	
70	acc, 2nd	nom, individual (Βαλεριανός, ὁς πρώτος στρατῆς)	∅	στῆσαν	re-erected by a relative	cross, two scrolls		rectangular	marble, but wanted to make gold
71	nom and acc, 1st	nom, βουλή και ἀκτέανοι πολῆται	∅	στῆσαν			"God", in front of sacred houses of Christ God	lost	
72	acc, 3rd	nom, βουλή και δῆμος	∅	ἔστησαντες	succinct, vague acclamation	four crosses, ivy leaf	XMI	rectangular	statue
73	acc, 3rd	nom, δῆμος	∅	ἔστησαντες	no office, vague acclamations, succinct	ivy leaf, cross, T	T (possible Christians symbol?)	rectangular	
74	[---]	[---]	[---]	[---]	verse, verbose, no specific office	ivy leaf	Aphrodite	cylindrical	
75	voc, 2nd	[---]	[---]	[---]				other	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
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Region: Asia Minor										
81	LSA-226	ALA 53	Caria	Aphrodisias, built into modern house	450-500	Greek	verse+	Ἀοκλήμοδοτος	local notable, benefactor	οικιστῆ
82	LSA-199	ALA 62	Caria	Aphrodisias, Tetrastoon	450-535	Greek	verse+	Φα(άβριου) Παλιμάτρον	provincial governor	ἡμα(τικόν)
83	LSA-229	ALA 65	Caria	Aphrodisias, theater	450-550	Greek	verse	Βριτανόν	provincial governor	ἡμα(τικόν)
84	LSA-148	ALA 56	Caria	Aphrodisias, Bouleterion	450-550	Greek	verse+	Τιβέου	senator, benefactor	
85	LSA-525	ILL I, no. 42	Phrygia Pacatiana	Laodicea ad Lycum	457	Greek	verse	Κωνο ταγῆτων	consul and praetorian prefect	ἴ πρων, ἡταρχον
86	LSA-667	Merkelbach-Stauber, SGO III, no. 16/41/01	Phrygia Salutaris	Metropolis	475-478	Greek	verse	Ἐπίκουος	praetorian prefect	

Region: Greece										
87	LSA-62	Corinth VIII.1, 89	Achaia	Corinth, propylaea	200-400	Greek	verse+	Ἰουνιπος	provincial governor	ἀνθυπάτριου
88	LSA-424	/G II/III ² 13278; II/III 3674	Achaia	Athens, Metropolitan church	200-400	Greek	verse	Ἐπότιον	priest of Eleusinian goddesses	ἱεροφάντην
89	LSA-51	/G IV 1602, 1604	Achaia	Corinth, north of Propyleon	200-400	Greek	verse+	Διογένης	local notable?	
90	LSA-1078	/G V, 2, 156	Achaia	Tegea	200-400	Greek	verse+	Ἐτυχον	benefactor	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
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#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Asia Minor									
81	dat and gen, 3rd	nom, πτόλις	∅	ἀνέθηκε	verse, vague acclamations, no office			rectangular	golden by painting
82	acc, 3rd	nom, individual, (Φαλαγγίος) Αθήναιος	∅	ἀνέθηκεν	one office, vague acclamations	two crosses, ivy leaf		rectangular	
83	acc, 3rd	nom, μητροπόλις	∅	ἀνέθηκεν	succinct, two offices	[cross], ivy leaf		rectangular	
84	gen, 3rd	[---]	[---]	[---]	verse, vague acclamations	ivy leaf	City of Paphian goddess	rectangular	
85	acc, 3rd	nom, πτα[τ]πίς	∅	ἀνέθηκε		ivy leaf		other	
86	nom and acc, 3rd	nom, πτόλις	∅	∅				rectangular	

Region: Greece									
87	gen (image of)	nom, his brother, Εὐτυχάνος	Ψ(ηφιματος) Βουλήης)	[σ]τήσθε	verse, one office, vague acclamations			rectangular	stone
88	acc, 3rd	nom, his son, Κλεόδωρος	∅	στήσθε	brief, one office listed		priest, in the temple of the goddesses, god-like priest of Demeter and Kore, Lernaian sanctuary	rectangular	
89	nom, 1st	∅	Ψ(ηφιματι) Βουλήης)	στήσθε	verse, first person, brief	∅	∅	rectangular	shining statue
90	acc, 3rd	nom, πτόλις	Ψ(ηφιματος) Βουλήης) (2x)	εἶσατο	verse, vague acclamations, relatively brief			unknown	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
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#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: Greece										
92	LSA-18	Corinth VIII.3, 517	Achaea	Corinth	250-400	Greek	verse	Θεόδωρον	provincial governor	
93	LSA-95	/G II/III 3175; /G III, 1, 732	Achaea	Eleusis	250-400	Greek	prose	Αἰπύριον Σωτήρατρον	priest (torchbearer)	Δαδούχων
94	LSA-141	/G II/III ² 13282	Achaea	Athens, Library of Hadrian	250-450	Greek	verse+	Δεξιπτερά	benefactor	
95	LSA-60	Corinth VIII.3, 118	Achaea	Corinth, central shops	270-290	Greek	verse	Ἰλλυρίων	provincial governor	ἡγεμονῆα -- -]
96	LSA-94	/G II/III 3690; /G II/III ² 13264	Achaea	Athens, Acropolis, NW of Erechtheion	270-290	Greek	prose	[Κλαύδιον Ἰλλυρίων	provincial governor	ἀνθύπατρον
97	LSA-93	/G II/III ³ 13263	Achaea	Athens, Acropolis	270-290	Greek	prose	Κλαύδιον Ἰλλυρίων	provincial governor	ἀνθύπατρον
98	LSA-794	<i>I. Olympia V, 481</i>	Achaea	Olympia, environs of T of Zeus	300-400	Greek	verse+	Πτολύμαρχον	provincial governor	
99	LSA-102	/G II/III 3692; II/III ² 13273	Achaea	Athens, Church of Agia Kandelii	300-400	Greek	prose	Ἰηρέαυ	eponymous archon, Panegyriarch	ἐπώνυμον ἀρχὴν, πανηγυριαρχήσαν τά
100	LSA-999	<i>Travaux et memories</i> 9 (1985), no. 29	Achaea	Argos, forum	300-450	Greek	verse+	Καλλικριτίβη	provincial governor	
101	LSA-431	Rizakis, <i>Roman Peloponnese I</i> , no. 52	Achaea	Patrae	300-450	Greek	verse+	Βασίλειος	civic office holder, benefactor	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Greece									
92	dat, 3rd	∅	[---]	∅	verse [---]		wisdom... of Themis?	cylindrical	brilliant stone
93	acc, 3rd	nom, πρόλις	∅	∅	very succinct		the torchbearer	cylindrical	
94	dat and acc, 3rd	nom, his father Αυσικλῆς and Δέξιππος	∅	στήσαν	verse, but semi traditional format, long		"godlike" Athenians	cylindrical	
95	acc	nom, προλήϊ[τραί]	[---]	[---]				rectangular	
96	acc, 3rd	nom, πρόλις	ἔπιτρε λουμένου Μάρκου Ιουλιού Μινουκκανοῦ	∅		ivy leaf		rectangular	
97	acc, 3rd	nom, [πρόλις]	ἔπιτρε λουμ[ένου Μάρκου Ιουν[ίου Μηνο[κκανοῦ]	∅				rectangular	
98	acc, 3rd	nom, Φιαλῆς	ἤνθησαν ὁ "Ἐλληνας	στήσαντες			set up as a herm of Dike, near justice-speaking Zeus	rectangular	for bronze statue
99	acc, 3rd	nom, πρόλις	∅	ἀνέστησαν	two offices, succinct	ivy leaf (2)	Panegyriarch?	rectangular	
100	acc, voc, 2nd	nom, Ἰοβλιός, πρόλις	Εὐρηπάκτῳ τοῦτ' ἔπιτιλάμενη	κηρύττει, γ[ε]λοῖται				rectangular	
101	nom and acc, 3rd	nom, all who praise him	∅	ἐστήσαντο			obedient to the divine will, Eleusian corn of Demeter, holy Atyre	plaque	stone statue

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: Greece										
102	LSA-795	SFG XV, 323	Achaea	Thespieae, church of Hagia Triada	324-350	Greek	verse+	Κεῖββάνου	provincial governor	ἀνθύπατος
103	LSA-998	<i>Travaux et memories</i> 9 (1985), no. 28	Achaea	Argos, forum	324-395	Greek	verse+	Ἰπποκρίανον	provincial governor	ἀν[θ]ύπ[ι]ρατος
104	LSA-58	<i>Corinth</i> VIII.3, 129	Achaea	Corinth, Agora, in south stoa	324-400	Greek	verse	[---]	provincial governor	ἀνθυπάτου
105	LSA-2695	Zoumbaki, <i>spantanke</i> <i>Elis</i> , ZPE 164 (2008), 123-30	Achaea	Elis	324-425	Greek	prose	Φλάδι(βίου) Σεβήπου	provincial governor	ἀνθυπάτου
106	LSA-61	<i>Corinth</i> VIII.1, 92	Achaea	Corinth, south of NW shops	324-450	Greek	unknown	[---]	provincial governor	ἀνθ[υ]πάτου
107	LSA-425	/G II/III ² 13280; II/III A227	Achaea	Athens, Palace of the giants in agora	324-450	Greek	verse	[---]	provincial governor	ἀνθυπάτου
108	LSA-6	<i>Travaux et memories</i> 9 (1985), no. 22	Achaea	Sparta, orchestra of theater	325-329	Greek	prose	Πουβλάδιου Ουττατιανόν	provincial governor	ἀνθ(ύπατου)
109	LSA-56	/G IV ² 1129; VIII 94, 95	Achaea	Megara	326-360	Greek	verse+	Πλουτάρχου	provincial governor	
110	LSA-359	<i>Corinth</i> VIII.3, 503	Achaea	Corinth	337-358	Greek	prose	Φλάβιον Επιολύεην	provincial governor	ἀνθυπάτου
111	LSA-103	/G II/III ² 13274; II/III A222	Achaea	Athens, Acropolis	340-400	Greek	prose	Πούφιου Φήστον	provincial governor	ἀνθυπάτου
112	LSA-432	/G V.2, 153	Achaea	Tegea	350-450	Greek	verse+	Πούφε	consul	ύπατε

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
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#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Greece									
102	acc, 3rd	nom, two brothers, ἀδελφοὶ Θεοτιμάδης τε καὶ Εὐστρέφιος	∅	στῆσαν			dear to the Muses and godlike emperor, near temple of Muses, and very sacred Helicon	unknown	
103	acc, 3rd	nom, individual, Λευκάδιος	∅	στῆσαν			blessed governor, displayed Themis	rectangular	bronze statue
104	gen, 3rd (statue of)	[---]	[---]	στῆσατο	succinct, at least one office		companion of the Muses	rectangular	marble
105	acc, 3rd	nom, individual, Κάλλας	Ψ(ηφισιαστῆ) Β(ουλή)ς	∅				rectangular	
106	acc, 3rd	nom, individual, Ηοῦχλος	[ὕπερ πόλεως Ἐ]ϕυρηναίων	ἀνέ/[θήκε				unknown	
107	gen	nom?	[---]	ἔγχευας				rectangular	
108	acc, 3rd	nom, πόλις	προοδεξαμένον τὸ ἀνάλαβια Μάρ(κου) Αὐτο(ηλίου) Στρεφάνου	ἔστησαν			honorer is a priest	lost	
109	acc, 3rd	nom, Μεγαρήες, ναετῆρες]	[---]	στῆσαν				rectangular	marble
110	acc, 3rd	nom, βουλή καὶ δήμος	[---]	ἀνέθηκαν				polygonal	
111	acc, 3rd	nom, βουλή καὶ δήμος	προνοία Φλαβίου Πτου(πιού)?	ἀνέστησαν			torch bearer took control	cylindrical	
112	vocative, 2nd	nom, βασιλεύς, ἄριστορ.	∅	στῆσαν	verbose, succinct, no titles			rectangular	for bronze statue

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: Greece										
113	LSA-825	/G V.1, 729	Achaea	Sparta	359-360	Greek	verse	Ἄλκων	provincial governor	[---]
114	LSA-595	/G IV, 1608	Achaea	Argos, forum	360-400	Greek	verse	Φωσφορίου	provincial governor	ἀθύρτατοιο
115	LSA-839	/Thespiaci 418	Achaea	Thespieae, Kastro	362-364	Greek	verse+	Ἄγόριον	provincial governor	ἀθύρτατον
116	LSA-134	/G II/III 3818; II/III ² 13281	Achaea	Athens, Church of Agia Kandelii	370-440	Greek	verse+	Ἰλαούττορον	"king of words"	βασιλεῖ[α] λόγων
117	LSA-357	Travoux et memoires 9 (1985), no. 26	Achaea	Sparta, theater	375-388	Greek	verse+	Ἄντρο[λ]λη	provincial governor	ἀθύρτατον
118	LSA-600	/G IV, 787	Achaea	Troizen, in church ruins	379-395	Greek	verse+	Θεόδωρον	provincial governor	
119	LSA-136	/G II/III 12767a; II/III ² 13286	Achaea	Athens, National Garden	380-434	Greek	verse	Ἰ[Τ]λαούτα[ΡΧ]	intellectual/lawyer /doctor	
120	LSA-135	/G II/III ² 13277	Achaea	Athens, Stoa of Attalus	390-400	Greek	verse+	Ἰαμβλίχως	city benefactor	
121	LSA-55	/G VII, 93	Achaea	Megara	407-412	Greek	verse+	Ἐρκόδιον	praetorian prefect	ἐτραρχον
122	LSA-137	/G II/III ² 13283; II/III 4224	Achaea	Athens, lib of Hadrian	407-412	Greek	verse	Ἐρκούδιον	praetorian prefect	ὕπταρχον
123	LSA-138	/G II/III ² 13284; II/III 4225	Achaea	Athens, Acropolis	407-412	Greek	verse+	Ἐ[ΡΧ]ούδιον	imperial official	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
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#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Greece									
113	gen, (fame of)	[---]	[---]	[---]				lost	
114	gen, 3rd (statue of)	nom, individual, Ἀρχέλευς	ψ/(ηφιλαρτι) Β(ουλή)ς	στῆθε	succinct, one office			plaque	
115	acc, 3rd	nom, Δαναοί and individual, Γερικλής	ψ/(ηφιλαρτος) Β(ουλή)ς και Δ(ημου)	στῆσαντο			nourishes the Muses	rectangular	marble
116	acc, 3rd	nom, δήμος	∅	ἀνέθηκεν			rowed the "sacred ship" with peplos for Athena	rectangular	
117	nom and dat, 3rd	nom, ἡ (Sparta)	∅	ἔδωκεν				cylindrical	
118	acc, 3rd	nom, Πιθεΐσαι	∅	∅				rectangular	
119	[---]	[---]	[---]	[---]			Cercropian, Zeus, precincts of a temple	rectangular	
120	nom and acc, 3rd	nom, πύλος Ἄρεος	[---]	τίθειεν				herm	wears beard, himation
121	acc, 3rd	nom, Μεγαρήϊε[ς]	∅	ἀνέστησεν			Nymphs	lost	
122	acc, 3rd	nom, individual, Πλουτάρχος	∅	ἔστησε			dedicator is treasurer of the myths, the sophist	inscribed block, referring to a nearby statue?	
123	acc, 2nd	nom, individual, Αἰθωνιάνο[ς]	∅	στῆθε			[sit] beside Athena, dedicator is a sophist	rectangular	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: Greece										
124	LSA-10	/GBulg III, 1580	Thracia	Ulpia Augusta Traiana	424-471	Greek	verse	Ἄσπαρα	magister militum? Soldier	ἀστυδωτην
125	LSA-367	<i>Spätgriechische und spätlateinische Inschriften aus Bulgarien, Berlin 1964, no 206</i>	Thracia	Philippopolis	465-474	bilingual, but mostly Latin	verse+	Basilisce	consul and military comander	magister, consul

Region: Aegean and Crete										
126	LSA-797	/G XII, 3, 288	Insulae	Anaphe	200-400	Greek	prose	Εὐάνσασαυ	benefactor	
127	LSA-803	/G XII, 6, 1, 386	Insulae	Samos, Kolonna, sanctuary of Hera, Byz church	280-350	Greek	prose	Φιλ(αβίου) Βαλέριου Διογενιανού	imperial office holder	
128	LSA-1161	/Cret. I, 13B	Creta	OIous,	295-450	Greek	verse	[---]	provincial governor	ἡγεμόνων
129	LSA-785	/Cret. IV, 323	Creta	Gortyna, praetorium	300-365	Greek	verse+	Μαρκελλίου	praetorian prefect?	
130	LSA-940	SEG 49, 1172	Insulae	Thasos	324-350	Greek	prose	Ἰού(λιου) Αὐρ(ῆλιου) Ἡρακλεῶ/να	benefactor	
131	LSA-786	/Cret. IV, 324	Creta	Gortyna, praetorium	350-400	Greek	verse	Πύρρου	provincial governor	
132	LSA-773	/Cret. IV, 312	Creta	Gortyna, praetorium	372-388	Greek	prose	Περρώνων / Πρόβου	consul	ὑπάρχων, ἑταρχὸν τοῦ προατωπλοῦ
133	LSA-792	/Cret. I, 13A	Creta	OIous,	379-384	Greek	prose and verse	Οἰκουμένιον Δωσίθεον / Ἀσκληπιοδοτοῖν	provincial governor	ὑπατικὸν

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Greece									
124	acc, 3rd	nom, πόλις	∅	∅				rectangular	bronze
125	nom, 3rd	∅	∅	∅				rectangular	

Region: Aegean and Crete									
126	acc, 3rd	nom, δῆμος	∅	ἀγαπῶντις				rectangular	
127	acc, 3rd	nom, [ἡ πόλις]	[ἀρχιπύραυιν] Μ(άρκου) Αἰο(ρίλου) Τύθο-	∅				unknown	
128	acc, 3rd	nom, individual, Οὔρος	[---]	ἀνέθηκε			set him up to Victory	rectangular	
129	acc, 3rd	nom, βουλή	Τύπου ... ἐφημοσύνη	στῆσεν				rectangular	
130	acc, 3rd	nom, πατρις	∅	∅	no offices, succinct	two Chi Rhos	two Chi Rhos	rectangular	for bronze statue
131	acc, 3rd	nom, πόλις βουλή τε	∅	στῆσε				rectangular	small stone
132	acc, 3rd	nom, individual governor, Φλ(αουίος) Φουραίδιος	∅	ἀνέστρησεν			divine (imperial) decision	rectangular	
133	acc, 3rd	nom, βουλή	∅	∅				unknown	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
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#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: Aegean and Crete										
134	LSA-775	<i>I.Cret.</i> IV, 314	Creta	Gortyna, praetorium	382	Greek	prose	Ἀνίκιον Βάσσοῦ	provincial governor	ἀνθύπατος governor
135	LSA-776	<i>I.Cret.</i> IV, 315	Creta	Gortyna, praetorium	382	Greek	prose	Βαλέριον Σεβήρου	senator, prefect of Rome	ἑταρχὸν τῆς βασυλευσίης πύμης
136	LSA-774	<i>I.Cret.</i> IV, 313	Creta	Gortyna, praetorium	382-383	Greek	prose	Οἰκουμένῳ Δαοίθεῶ / Ασκληπιόδοτῳ	provincial governor	ὑπαιτικόν
137	LSA-777	<i>I.Cret.</i> IV, 316	Creta	Gortyna, praetorium	382-383	Greek	prose	Ἀγόριον Ππαρτεφάττου	senator, prefect of Rome	ἑτάρχων τῆς βασυλευσίης πύμης
138	LSA-779	<i>I.Cret.</i> IV, 318	Creta	Gortyna, praetorium	382-383	Greek	prose	Πετρῶνων Πρόβου	senator, consul and praetorian prefect	ὑπάτων, ἑτάρχων πραιτωρίων

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Aegean and Crete									
134	acc, 3rd	nom, individual governor, Οικουμενιος / Δωσίθεος	Ἰδρυματι τοῦ καινοῦ πάσης / τῆς ἐπαρχείας	ἀνέστησαν				rectangular	
		Ασκληπιόδοτος							
135	acc, 3rd	nom, individual governor, Οικουμενιος / Δωσίθεος / Ασκληπιόδοτος	Ἰδρυματι τοῦ καινοῦ / τῆς Κριτῶν ἐπαρχί/ας	ἀνέστησα				rectangular	
136	acc, 3rd	nom, 2 individuals, Αἰμίλιος Κυρίλιος, / Πύρρος, and Οὐλίτιος / Φουροίδιος	Ἰδρυματι τοῦ καινοῦ τῆς Κριτῶν / ἐπαρχίας	ἀνέστησαν			the sophist, set up by Dike (the praetorium)	semi-columnar	
		Παυελλήνιος							
137	acc, 3rd	nom, individual governor, Οικουμενιος Δωσίθεος	Ἰδρυματι / τῆς λαμπρᾶς Ὀρτυνίων βουλής	ἀνέστησαν				rectangular	
		Ασκληπιόδοτος							
138	acc, 3rd	nom, individual governor, Οικουμενιος Δωσίθεος / Ασκληπιόδοτος	Ἰδρυματι τῆς λαμπρᾶς / Ὀρτυνίων βουλής	ἀνέστησαν		8 ivy leaves	known as a famous Christian senator in Rome	rectangular	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
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#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: Aegean and Crete										
144	LSA-787	<i>I. Cret. IV, 325</i>	Creta	Gortyna, praetorium	412-441	Greek	verse+	Ἀγοῦτιου	praetorian prefect	ὑπάρχου
Region: East										
145	LSA-1146	<i>IGR I, 1067</i>	Aegyptus	Alexandria, monastery	250-300	Greek	prose	Αὐτοῦ(ῆ)λου Σαββιανῶν	rationalis Aegypti	ἐπὶ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀσκήσεων
146	LSA-112	<i>I. Caesarea Maritima</i> 25	Palaestina I	Caesarea Maritima	300-350	Greek	verse	Νόκου	imperial official	
147	LSA-111	<i>I. Caesarea Maritima</i> 26	Palaestina I	Caesarea Maritima	300-500	Greek	verse+	Εὐσεβίου	provincial governor	
148	LSA-1151	<i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie</i> 13.1.9091	Arabia	Bostra	300-500	Greek	verse	Σαββιανῶν	provincial governor	[ἡγεμονία]
149	LSA-2603	<i>I. GLR 38-9</i>	Scythia	Constantia (Tomis)	300-500	Latin	verse+	[---]	provincial governor or praetorian prefect?	
150	LSA-878	<i>SEG 37 1443</i>	Syria	Epiphaneia	300-550	Greek	verse+	Ἡλίου	benefactor	
151	LSA-1148	<i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie</i> 13.1.9083	Arabia	Bostra, in eastern quarter	311-358	Greek	prose	[---]	provincial governor	ὑπατικῶν

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
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#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Aegean and Crete									
144	acc, 1st, and gen (statue of)	nom, individual, Καλλεϊνικός	ἐνθεῖ δόγματι νήσου	Στήθε			set up near portals of Dike	rectangular	
Region: East									
145	acc, 3rd	nom, individual, Αὐρη(ήλιος) Νεμεσίου	∅	∅	one title, very brief	∅	∅	rectangular	
146	acc, 3rd	nom, πτόλης	∅	τίμησε				cylindrical, granite	"golden"
147	nom, 3rd	[---], Αὐριτίω?	?	[---]			kept his whole mind on God	cylindrical, granite	marble or bronze, not gold
148	acc, 3rd	nom, πτόλης	∅	Στήθε				rectangular	
149	[---]	[---]	[---]	[---]				polygonal	
150	acc, 3rd	nom, ἀνακτες	∅	τεῖσαν				lost	
151	acc, 3rd	nom, individual, Αὐρη(ήλιος) / Κάσσιος	[---]	∅				rectangular	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
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#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: East										
152	LSA-1190	CIL III, 167	Phoenice Libanensis	Berytus	344	Latin	prose+	Leonti	praetorian prefect and consul	praetorio adque ordinario consuli
153	LSA-863	CIL III.1, 214	Cyprus	Chytri	351-354	Latin	prose+	Filippo	praetorian prefect	[pr[ae]fecto] praetorio
154	LSA-1231	Fessiel "Notes d'Épigraphie chrétienne," BCH 108, 545-7, 556-7	Palaeatina Salutaris	South Palestine, Negev	452-453	Greek	verse+	Δωρόθεος	military officer?	
155	LSA-872	CIL III, 19; III suppl. I, 6587	Aegyptus	Alexandria,	384-387	Latin	prose+	Materno Cynegio	praetorian prefect	praefecto praetorio
156	LSA-877	Bernard, <i>Inscr. métriques</i> 123	Thebais	Antinoopolis	385-387	Greek	verse+	Ἐπιόπιος]	provincial governor	πρόπιου
Region: North Africa										
157	LSA-2307	CIL VIII, 908= 11176	Byzacena	Segermes	200-300	Latin	prose	[---][flavio Felici	priest, duovir	flam(ini) per(etto), livir(o)
158	LSA-2195	<i>Leptis Magna</i> 2010, no. 49	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna, Severan Forum	250-280	Latin	prose	[---]	equestrian officer, patron	a militi(i)s, patrono

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: East									
152	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	decretis provinciae Phoenices sententia divina firmatis dd(ominorum) n(ostorum)	dedicavit				unknown	for bronze statue in toga
153	dat, 3rd	nom, Dd(omini) n(ostri)	[---]	conloc[ri iussel]unt				plaque	gilded bronze
154	nom, 3rd	gen, ἐκ βασιλῆος	[---]	∅		5 crosses	holy earth	plaque	
155	dat, 3rd	nom, Augusti	ad pettum primorum nobilissime	iusserunt constitui collocarique	quite long, verbose, one title			unknown	
156	nom 3rd	gen, ἐκ βασιλῆος	∅	ἔχει γέρας				rectangular	golden statue
Region: North Africa									
157	dat, 3rd	nom, individual, [--- Fl]avius Quadratus [Laet]ianus(?) [---]	[---]	[---]			flam(ini) perp(etuo)	lost	
158	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	[---]	∅	one concrete title, succinct		∅	rectangular	base of an equestrian statue

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: North Africa										
159	LSA-2196	<i>Leptis Magna</i> 2010, no. 50	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna, maellum	250-300	Latin	prose	Porfyri	local notable, benefactor	amatorii patriae
160	LSA-2477	AE 1961, 200	Africa Proconsulari s	Vina	250-300	Latin	prose	Aurel(io) [F]lavio	local notable, curator	[cu]ratori
161	LSA-2330	CIL VIII, 5530= 18864	Numidia	Thibilis	250-400	Latin	prose+	[---]	orator, writer, local notable	orator, conscriptor
162	LSA-2325	AE 1908, 240	Numidia	Cuicul	262-320	Latin	prose	Probat: / Flavio Aelio / Victorino	provincial governor and city patron	praesidi, patrono
163	LSA-2475	ILA I, 1296	Africa Proconsulari s	Thubursicu Numidarum	270-300	Latin	prose+	[E]gnatulei / [Na]vigur	local notable, priest	fil(aminem) pler)pletuum)
164	LSA-2410	CIL VIII, 5356= 17494	Africa Proconsulari s	Calama	270-330	Latin	prose+	L(ucio) Suanio Victori / Vittelliano	local notable, patron, curator	patrono, curatorii
165	LSA-2207	<i>Leptis Magna</i> 2010, no. 62	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna, Old Forum	280-320	Latin	prose	L(uci-) Ar[- -]	imperial office holder?	[---]
166	LSA-2191	<i>Leptis Magna</i> 2010, no. 45	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna	280-320	Latin	prose	Consentii: / L(ucio) Domitio Iusto / Aemiliano	curator	curatori
167	LSA-2198	<i>Leptis Manga</i> 2010, no. 52	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna, Severan Forum	280-320	Latin	prose	Dulciti: / Aur(elio) Sem	intellectual, benefactor	ingenium, principali
168	LSA-2199	<i>Leptis Magna</i> 2010, no. 53	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna, Temple of Serapis	280-320	Greek	verse	Δουᾶκττι. [Aurelius Sempronius] Σεπτινφ	poet	Μουσων αουδοροδων
169	LSA-2344	CIL VIII, 1165	Africa Proconsulari s	Carthago	280-330	Latin	prose	L(ucio) Flavio Felici / Ga	curator, priest, duovir	curatori, fil(amin) pler)pletuo), Il viralic(io)

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
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#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: North Africa									
159	dat, 3rd	nom, civibus	ex decreto splendidissimi ordinis	decrev(er)u(n)t	verbose, no titles	∅	ex indulgentia sacra	arch	two-horse chariot
160	dat, 3rd	nom ordo et universi cives	[---]	posueru[n]t				rectangular	
161	nom, 3rd	[---]	[---]	[---]				rectangular	
162	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	d(decreto) d(ecurionu	∅	one title, succinct	∅	∅	rectangular	
163	gen and acc, 3rd	nom, ordo ac populus	∅	fecit			fil(aminem) p(er)p(etuum)	rectangular	
164	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	∅	decrevit et posuit	one concrete title, verbose, brief	[---]	∅	rectangular	
165	[---]	[---], Lepc[im]a[gnenses]	∅	[---]	[---]	[---]	[---]	rectangular	
166	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, Lep(citani)	ex decreto / ordinis et suffra/giis populi	∅				rectangular	
167	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, Lepc[im]a[gnenses]	[---]	[---]	two titles, verbose	[---]	[---]	rectangular	
168	gen and acc, 3rd	nom, Aεττιϋ	∅	εθηκαρο			∅	rectangular	bronze statue
169	dat, 3rd	[---]	[---]	[---]	two titles, succinct	[---]	fil(aminini) p(er)p(etuo)	rectangular	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
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#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: North Africa										
170	LSA-2454	CIL VIII, 15881	Africa Proconsulari s	Sicca Veneria	280-337	Latin	prose	Valerio Romano	curator, patron	curatori, [patrono]
171	LSA-2479	AE 1975, 880	Africa Proconsulari s	Ureu	280-350	Latin	prose	Didasi // L(ucio) Octavid	local notable, patron	pat[tr]ono
172	LSA-2351	CIL VIII, 23964= 828	Africa Proconsulari s	Municipium Aurelium Commodianum	280-400	Latin	prose+	Magnilianorum. / Q(uintus) Vetulenus Urbanus Herennianus	benefactors	filamen) p(e)r(pletus), cur(ator) r(ei) p(ublicae)
173	LSA-2168	Leptis Magna 2010, 349-350	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna, in forum	290-294	Latin	prose+	T. Cl[audio] Al[ur]elio) An	provincial governor, patron	proconsuli, patrono
174	LSA-2170	Leptis Magna 2010, 353-5	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna, basilica	290-294	Latin	prose+	L(ucio) Volusio Basso Cereali	legate, patron	legato, patrono
175	LSA-2192	Leptis Magna 2010, no. 46	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna, Severan Forum	295-305	Latin	prose	Cummi. /L(ucio) Volusio Basso Caereali	curator	curatori
176	LSA-2178	Leptis Magna 2010, no. 32	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna, Severan forum	295-310	Latin	prose+	Obsequii. / C(aio) Valerio Vibiano	provincial governor, patron	praesidi, patrono
177	LSA-2448	CIL VIII, 12459	Africa Proconsulari s	Maxula	299-301	Latin	prose	[[L(ucio) [Ael(]io) Dij]onys]io	provincial governor	pr[]o]]co(n)s(ul)]
178	LSA-2171	Leptis Magna 2010, 355-6	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna, Severan forum	300-318	Latin	prose	[---]	vicar	age[]enti vices]
179	LSA-2200	Leptis Magna 2010, no. 54	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna, Severan Forum	300-350	Latin	prose	Heraclii. T(ito) Fl(avio) Frontino Heraclio	priest, duovir	sacerd(ot)], Ilviro
180	LSA-2201	Leptis Magna 2010, no. 55	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna, Severan Forum	300-350	Latin	prose	Heraclii. T(ito) Flavio Vibiano iuniori	priest, duovir	pontifici, du(u)mviro

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
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#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: North Africa									
170	dat, 3rd	nom, Vererii	∅	po[suerunt]	one title, verbose	∅	ob restauratum dae simulacrum, Vererii	rectangular	
171	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, ord[lo et] populus	d(decreto) d(decurrionum)	[posuerunt]	verbose, specific deeds, no title?	∅		rectangular	
172	gen and nom, 3rd	∅	∅	∅	verbose, specific deeds, two titles	∅	fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus),	rectangular	
173	dat, 3rd	nom, Lepcimagnenses	ex de/creto ordinis	∅	one title, vague acclamations	∅	∅	rectangular	
174	dat, 3rd	nom, Lepcimagnenses	ex de/creto ordinis	∅	one title, vague acclamations, succinct	∅	∅	rectangular	
175	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, Lepcitani	publice	∅	one title, verbose	∅	∅	rectangular	
176	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, ordo et populus	ex d(decreto) s(plendidissimi) o(rdinis)	p(osuerunt)	one title, vague acclamations	∅	∅	rectangular	
177	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	∅	∅	one title, succinct	∅	∅	rectangular	
178	dat, 3rd	[---]	[---]	[---]	at least one title	[---]	[---]	lost	
179	gen and dat, 3rd	gen, decreto populi et ordinis	∅	∅	partial cursus, vague acclamations, verbose	∅	auguri, sacerdoti)	rectangular	
180	gen and dat, 3rd	gen, decreto populi et ordinis	patris / sui studiis	∅	partial cursus, vague acclamations, verbose	∅	pontifici, du(u)mviro	rectangular	

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#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: North Africa										
181	LSA-2189	<i>Leptis Magna</i> 2010, no. 43	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna, Severan forum	300-400	Latin	prose	Inachii. Publicio /Valeriano	provincial governor, patron	ex praesidibus, patrono
182	LSA-2305	AE 1927, 28	Byzacena	Pheradi Maius	300-400	Latin	prose+	Didi Praeecti	priest, benefactor	fil(aminii) pler)p(etuo)
183	LSA-2349	CIL VIII, 806+ 12269	Africa Proconsulari s	Avitta Bibba	300-430	Latin	prose+	Gemini Dativi	curator / doctor?	cur(atoris)
184	LSA-2350	CIL VIII, 12279	Africa Proconsulari s	Avitta Bibba	300-430	Latin	prose+	Gemini?	curator?	[---]
185	LSA-2202	<i>Leptis Magna</i> 2010, no. 56	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna, Severan Forum	303-350	Latin	prose	?Heraclii. T(itto) Flavio / Vibiano	priest, curator	sacerdoti, fil(aminii) pler)p(etuo), cur(ator)
186	LSA-2203	<i>Leptis Magna</i> 2010, no. 57	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna, macellum	303-350	Latin	prose	Heraclii. T(itto) Flavio Vibiano	priest	pont(ifici), sac(erdoti), fil(aminii) pler)p(etuo)

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
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#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: North Africa									
181	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, Lepclimagnenses	∅	posuerunt	one title, vague acclamations, succinct	∅	∅	rectangular	
182	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	[---]	de[dicavit]	one title, very verbose	[---]	fil(amin)i perp(etuo) quem fides vera commendat	rectangular	
183	gen, 3rd	[---]	[---]	[---]	at least one title	[---]	[---]	rectangular	
184	gen, 3rd and nom, 2nd	gen, his son, Dativi (?)	[---]	[---]	[---]	[---]		rectangular	
185	gen and dat, 3rd	gen, ex populi sufrag(io) et ordin[[is] d(creto)]	∅	∅	cursus honorum, some vague acclamations	∅	sacerdoti, fil(amin)i perp(etuo) et pont(ifici), sacerdot Laur(entium) Lab(inatum) et sacerdoti M(atris) d(eum)	rectangular	
186	gen and dat, 3rd	gen, ex sufragio populi et decreto ordin(is)	∅	∅	cursus honorum, some vague acclamations	∅	pont(ifici), fil(amin)i perp(etuo), sacerdoti Laurent(i)um Lab(i)n(a)t(ium), sacerdoti M(atris) d(eum)	rectangular	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: North Africa										
187	LSA-2204	<i>Leptis Magna</i> 2010, no. 58	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna, Severan Forum	303-350	Latin	prose	Amelii. [M(arco)] Vibio An(n)iano Gemini	priest, duovir	fl(amin)i pler)p(etu)o), pont(ifici), sacerdotal(i), llvir(o)
188	LSA-2205	<i>Leptis Magna</i> 2010, no. 59	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna, theater and macellum	303-350	Latin	prose	Amelii. [M(arco)] Vibio Annialno] Gemini	priest, duovir	fl(amin)i pler)p(etu)o), pont(ifici), sacerdotali, llvir(o)]
189	LSA-2182	<i>Leptis Magna</i> 2010, no. 36	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna, Severan forum	303-378	Latin	prose	[---]	provincial governor, patron	praesidi], patrono
190	LSA-2183	<i>Leptis Magna</i> 2010, no. 37	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna, Severan forum	303-400	Latin	prose	F(lavio) Petasio	provincial governor, patron	ex praesidibus
191	LSA-2184	<i>Leptis Magna</i> 2010, no. 38	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna, Severan forum	303-400	Latin	prose+	Magnio Aspero Flaviano	provincial governor, patron	praesidi, patrono
192	LSA-2190	<i>Leptis Magna</i> 2010, no. 44	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna	303-400	Latin	prose	[---]	provincial governor	[---]pra]esidi
193	LSA-2480	AE 1975, 882	Africa Proconsulari	Ureu	310-350	Latin	prose	L(ucio) Iunio Iunilio	imperial official, patron	praesidi, patrono
194	LSA-1184	CL VIII, 25528	Africa Proconsulari	Bulla Regia, T of Apollo	312-400	Greek	prose	[---]	provincial governor	proconsuli

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: North Africa									
187	gen and dat, 3rd	gen, ex suffragio populi et decreto ordinis	∅	∅	cursus honorum, some vague acclamations	2 palm fronds	fl(amin)l perp(etuo), pont(fici), sacerdotali(i) provinciae Tripolitanae	rectangular	
188	gen and dat, 3rd	gen, ex suffragio populi [et] decr(eto) o(rdinis)	praesi[dis (?)]	∅	cursus honorum, some vague acclamations	[---]	fl(amin)l perp(etuo), pont(fici), sacerdotali [pro(vinciae) Tri]polit(itanae)	rectangular	
189	dat, 3rd	nom, Lepcimagnenses	ex decreto / spl(endidissimi) ordinis	∅	one title, vague acclamations	∅	∅	rectangular	
190	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	populi /suffragis	posuit	one title, vague acclamations	2 palm fronds	∅	rectangular	statue in Severan forum
191	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, Lepcimagnenses	∅	posuerunt	one title, vague acclamations	wreath	antistiti innocentiae	rectangular	
192	dat, 3rd	[---]	[---]	[---]	at least one title	[---]	[---]	rectangular	
193	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo et populus	∅	posuerunt	two titles, vague acclamations	[---]	∅	rectangular	marble statue
194	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	[---]	∅	two titles, succinct	[---]	∅	rectangular	possibly goes with togate statue 1130

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: North Africa										
195	LSA-2358	CIL VIII, 25524	Africa Proconsulari s	Bulla Regia, T of Apollo	320-340	Latin	prose	Antonio Marcell-/no	provincial governor, patron	pro[con]suli, patrono
196	LSA-2179	<i>Leptis Magna</i> 2010, no. 33	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna, Severan forum	324-326	Latin	prose+	Laena/tio Romulo	provincial governor	p[raesidi]
197	LSA-2180	<i>Leptis Magna</i> 2010, no. 34	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna, Old Forum	324-326	Latin	prose	ROM[.].II	[---]	[---]
198	LSA-2226	<i>Leptis Magna</i> 2010, no. 95	Tripolitania	Sabratha	324-326	Latin	prose	Laenat[io Romulo]	provincial governor, patron	praesidi, patron[o]
199	LSA-2385	AE 1991, 1682	Africa Proconsulari s	Bulla Regia, baths	324-337	Latin	prose	[---]	provincial governor	post correcturas et consularem
200	LSA-2357	CIL VIII, 25525	Africa Proconsulari s	Bulla Regia, T of Apollo	326-333	Latin	prose	Kamenii. Ceionio Iuliano	provincial governor, city patron	procons[ul]i, [patrono]
201	LSA-2446	AE 1922, 16	Africa Proconsulari s	Madauros	326-333	Latin	prose	[Ceion]i[io] (?) Iulia/no	provincial governor, patron	proconsulatu
202	LSA-2437	AE 1955, 150	Africa Proconsulari s	Hippo Regius	330-355	Latin	prose	M[arco] Aurelio / Consio Quarto	provincial governor	correctori, consulari, proconsule (sic)

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: North Africa									
195	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	∅	posuit	at least one title	[---]	∅	rectangular	
196	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, set up for himself sufragio quietissimi populi et decreto s(plendissimi) o(rdinis)	sufragio quietissimi populi et decreto s(plendissimi) o(rdinis)	pos(uit)	one title, vague acclamations	∅	∅	rectangular	
197	gen, 3rd	[---]	[---]	[---]	[---]	[---]	[---]	rectangular	
198	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo et plebs	curante Pompe[io] / Leontio	∅	one title, vague acclamations	∅	∅	rectangular	
199	dat, 3rd	[---]	[---]	[---]	partial cursus, vague acclamations	[---]	∅	rectangular	
200	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, [ordo]	∅	[posuit]	one title, vague acclamations, succinct	∅	∅	rectangular	bronze statue
201	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo and two brothers, Aurelii / Saturninus Crescenti/ anus et Nicander	∅	decrevit, posuerunt	one title, vague acclamations	[---]	fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus) (of dedicatior)	unknown	marble statue
202	dat, 3rd	nom, Ordo	∅	[dedicavit]	partial cursus, vague acclamations, verbose	[---]	∅	rectangular	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: North Africa										
208	LSA-2447	AE 1922, 17	Africa Proconsulari s	Madauros	341-350	Latin	prose	Cezeo Largo	provincial governor, patron	consula[ri], proconsuli, patrono
209	LSA-2321	CIL VIII, 7012	Numidia	Cirta	343	Latin	prose+	Celonio Italico	provincial governor, patron	consulari viro, patrono
210	LSA-2187	<i>Leptis Magna</i> 2010, no. 41	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna, Severan basilica	352-360	Latin	prose+	F[ilavio] Nepotiano	military commander and governor	com[iti] et praesidi
211	LSA-2331	CIL VIII, 11031	Tripolitania	Gigthis	355-360	Latin	prose	T[ito] Archontio Nilo	provincial governor and patron	p[raesidi] et comiti, patrono
212	LSA-2185	<i>Leptis Magna</i> 2010, no. 39	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna, Old Forum	355-361	Latin	prose+	F[ilavio] Archontio Nilo	military commander and governor	com[iti] et p[raesidi], patrono
213	LSA-2186	<i>Leptis Magna</i> 2010, no. 40	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna, Severan forum	355-361	Latin	prose+	Flavio Archontio Nilo	military commander and governor	comiti et praesidi, patrono
214	LSA-2474	AE 1916, 98	Africa Proconsulari s	Thubursicu Numidarum	361	Latin	prose	F[ilavio] Atilio Theodoto	legate	legato
215	LSA-2172	<i>Leptis Magna</i> 2010, 356-8	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna, Severan forum	364-367	Latin	prose+	[---]	vicar	ag[enti] vic[es]
216	LSA-2174	<i>Leptis Magna</i> 2010, 361-4	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna, basilica	375-425	Latin	prose+	Elpidii, Caecilio Severo	vicar	a[genti] vic[es]
217	LSA-2169	<i>Leptis Magna</i> 2010, 350-353	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna	377-378	Latin	prose	Decimio (H)esperio	provincial governor	proconsule
218	LSA-2173	<i>Leptis Magna</i> 2010, 538-360	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna, Severan forum	377-378	Latin	prose+	Nicomacho Flaviano	vicar	agenti[s] vicem

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: North Africa									
208	dat, 3rd	nom, [ordo]	∅	decrevit, perduxit, dedic[al]vit	full cursus	∅	∅	rectangular	marble statue
209	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo et provincia	∅	posuit	no titles, vague acclamations	∅	∅	rectangular	
210	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, ordo cum populo	∅	conlocavit	one title, verbose, narrative	2 palm fronds	∅	rectangular	marble statue
211	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo populu[se(que)]	∅	conloc[al]veru[n]t	two titles, verbose	[---]	[---]	unknown	
212	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, Lepcimagnenses	∅	censuerunt esse iugendam	two titles, verbose, vague acclamations	palm frond, wreath	[---]	rectangular	statue
213	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, Lepcimagnenses	∅	decreverunt, curaverunt	two titles, verbose, vague acclamations	3 (fronds? grains? designs?)	[---]	rectangular	second statue in forum
214	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo et populus	liberalitate Furi Regini fl(aminis) p(er)p(etui)	inposito signo	two titles, vague acclamations	[---]	fl(aminis) p(er)p(etui) (dedicator)	rectangular	statue
215	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo et populus	[---]	constituenda m esse duxerunt	one title, verbose, narrative	[---]	[---]	rectangular	marble statue
216	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, Lepciani	publice	∅	one title, verbose	∅	∅	rectangular	
217	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, ordo cum populo	∅	conlocavit	two titles	∅	∅	rectangular	
218	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	∅	conlocavit	one title, verbose	∅	∅	rectangular	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: North Africa										
219	LSA-2175	<i>Leptis Magna</i> 2010, 365-7	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna, Severan forum	378	Latin	prose+	Flavio Victoriano	military commander	comiti
220	LSA-2188	<i>Leptis Magna</i> 2010, no. 42	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna, Severan Forum	378	Latin	prose+	[F(lavio)] Vivilo Be[ned]ict[o]	provincial governor	[p]raesidi
221	LSA-2333	/RT 103	Tripolitania	Sabratha	378	Latin	prose+	[F(lavi) Vivi Bened]icti	provincial governor, patron	praesidi, patrono
222	LSA-2450	CIL VIII, 1296= 14798	Africa Proconsulari s	Membrassa	379-383	Latin	prose	Calicio Honoratiano	local notable, patrono	patrono
223	LSA-2206	<i>Leptis Magna</i> 2010, no. 60	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna, Severan Forum	383-388	Latin	prose	L(ucio) Aemilio Quinto	envoy, priest	fil(ami)ni pler)p(etuo), sacerdotali
224	LSA-2332	CIL 27= 11025	Tripolitania	Gigthis	383-388	Latin	prose+	Quinto	local notable, priest	fil(ami)ni pler)p(etuo), sacerdotalis
225	LSA-2451	CIL VIII, 989	Africa Proconsulari s	Missua	389-439	Latin	prose	F(lavio) Arpagio	patron, priest	pat(ronatus), fil(ami)ni pler)p(etuo)
226	LSA-2467	CIL VIII, 1873	Africa Proconsulari s	Theveste	392-393	Latin	prose	[---]	imperial official	[---]
227	LSA-2176	<i>Leptis Magna</i> 2010, no. 30	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna, Severan forum	393-423	Latin	prose+	F(lavio) Macedonio Patricio	military commander, patron	comiti et duci, patrono
228	LSA-2468	AE 1914, 57	Africa Proconsulari s	Thuburbo Maius	395-408	Latin	prose+	[Gab?]inio Salviano	local notable	
229	LSA-2177	<i>Leptis Magna</i> 2010, no. 31	Tripolitania	Lepcis Magna, Severan forum	408-423	Latin	prose+	F(lavio) Ortygio	military commander	com(iti) et duci

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: North Africa									
219	dat, 3rd	nom, Lepcjm[agnens]	∅	[-20?-]	one title, some narrative	∅	∅	rectangular	
220	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	∅	[-]	one title, vague acclamations	[-]	[-]	rectangular	
221	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, ordo populusque	∅	conlocavit	one title, vague acclamations, verbose	∅	∅	rectangular	
222	dat, 3rd	[-]	[-]	[-]	verbose, no title?	[-]	[-]	rectangular	marble statue
223	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	∅	dedit	two titles, succinct	2 fronds	fl(aminis) per(p(etui) sac(erdotalis)	rectangular	
224	dat and nom, 3rd	gen, provinciae consilio ad(que) decreto ord(inis)	p(ecunia) p(ublica)	∅	two titles, vague acclamations	cross, XMF	fl(amin)i pler)p(etuo), sacerdotalis, XMF	lost	
225	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, cives	∅	conlocaverunt	cursus honorum, some vague acclamations	∅	fl(amin)i) p(e)rp(etuo) huiusce civitatis	rectangular	statue
226	[-]	nom, his son, Fl(avius) Rhodinus / Primus Iun(ior)	∅	c]onlocavit	[-]	[-]	[-]	rectangular	
227	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, ordo et populus	∅	decrevit ad(que) constituit	one title, vague acclamations	1 frond	[-]	rectangular	
228	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, res publica	∅	erexit	at least one title, vague acclamations, narrative	∅	∅	rectangular	statue
229	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, ordo et populus	∅	conlocavit	two titles	5 fronds, 4 ivy leaves	∅	rectangular	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: Rome										
230	LSA-1488	CIL VI, 2151	Rome	Rome	274-380	Latin	prose	Iunio Postumiano	priest	pontifici
231	LSA-1325	CIL VI, 1418 (+4695)	Rome	Rome	295-300	Latin	prose	T(ito) Fl(avio) Postumio Titiano	consularis of water supply, provincial governor	col(n)s(ulari) aquarum et Miniciae, proconsuli provinciae
232	LSA-1661	CIL XIV, 4455	Rome	Ostia, forum	300-306	Latin	prose	Manilio Rus[thicciano]	prefect of the annona and patron	praefecto annonae
233	LSA-1445	CIL VI, 1743 (+4749)	Rome	Rome	300-360	Latin	prose	Munatio / Planco / Paulino	provincial governor	praesidi
234	LSA-1800	CIL VI, 41369	Rome	Rome, Forum of Trajan	300-400	Latin	[---]	[---]	magistrate?	magis[---]
235	LSA-1801	CIL VI, 41370	Rome	Rome, Forum of Trajan	300-450	Latin	prose	[---]	magistrate?	mag[?]istratus
236	LSA-1799	CIL VI, 41368	Rome	Rome, Markets of Trajan	300-450	Latin	prose	[---]	administrator?	[---admin?][strat[[-
237	LSA-1571	CIL VI, 32057 = 3866b (+4770)	Rome	Rome, on Capitoline slope	300-500	Latin	prose	[---]	praetorian prefect	praefecto praetorio

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Rome									
230	dat, 3rd	nom, Ordo sacerdotum	Flavio Herculeo	∅	three titles, succinct	∅	father of the fathers of the sun god Mithras, member of 15 for sacred affairs, priest of Sun god	rectangular	
231	dat, 3rd	nom, individual, T(itus) Aelius Poemenius		∅	full cursus honorum, succinct	∅	priest of the god Sun, augur	other	
232	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo et populus		decrevit, constituit	two titles, succinct	∅	∅	rectangular	equestrian statue
233	dat, 3rd	nom, individual and his wife, Crepereius Amantius et Calejonia Marina		∅	one title, very brief	∅	∅	lost	
234	[---]	[---]	[---]	[---]	[---]	[---]	[---]	rectangular	
235	[---]	[---]	[---]	[---]	[---]	[---]	[---]	rectangular	
236	[---]	[---]	[---]	[---]	[---]	[---]	[---]	rectangular	
237	dativae	[---]	[---]	[---]	at least one title	[---]	[---]	rectangular	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: Rome										
238	LSA-1401	CIL VI, 1696 (+4736-7)	Rome	Rome, behind Basilica of Maxentius	307-310	Latin	prose+	Attio Insteio Tertulio	prefect of the city	praefecto urbis Romae
239	LSA-1575	CIL VI, 41324	Rome	Rome, Forum of Nerva	312-337	Latin	prose	[---]	provincial governor	correctori
240	LSA-1415	CIL VI, 1707 (+3173, 3813, 4740)	Rome	Rome, Church of S Pudenziana	314	Latin	prose	C(aio) Caeionio Rufio Volusiano	consul and prefect of the city	correctori, proconsuli, praefecto urbi, consuli
241	LSA-1573	AE 2003, 207	Rome	Rome	314-315	Latin	prose	[---]ii. [---]mio Ceionio Rufio [Volusian]o	prefect of the city	praefecto urbi, proconsuli, correctori
242	LSA-1402	CIL VI, 1697 (+4737)	Rome	Rome, behind Basilica of Maxentius	315-360	Latin	prose	Populonii. Attio [Insteio T]ertul[io]	signo Populonium	correctori
243	LSA-1515	/IG XIV, 14	Sicilia	Syracusae, island of Ortygia	321-379	bilingual	prose and verse+	Perpenna(e) Roman(o)	provincial governor	cons(ulari)
244	LSA-1266	CIL VI, 1704 (+4739)	Rome	Rome, Quirinal	324-337	Latin	prose	C(aio) Caelio Saturnino	senator and deputy prefect of the City	vicario praefectorum praetorio
245	LSA-1412	CIL VI, 1705 = 1389 (+4739)	Rome	Rome, P dei SS Apostoli	325-335	Latin	prose	C(aio) Caelio Saturnino	praetorian prefect	praefecto praetorio
246	LSA-1403	CIL VI, 1700 (+4738)	Rome	Rome	325-345	Latin	prose	M(arco) Aur(elio) Consio Quarto Iuniori	provincial governor	correctori

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Rome									
238	dat, 3rd	nom, corpus magnariorum	curantibus / Flaviis Respecto Panckario Sabiniano Palass(ia?) / et Florentino	locavit	cursus honorum, vague acclamations, narrative	∅	∅	rectangular	for bronze statue
239	dat, 3rd	nom, Constantine?	[---]	[---]			member of college of 7 in charge of sacred feasts	rectangular	
240	dat, 3rd	[---]	[---]	[---]			most religious	rectangular	
241	dat, 3rd	[---]	[---]	[---]				rectangular	for bronze statue
242	dat, 3rd	[---]	[---]	[---]				rectangular	
243	dat, 3rd	nom, populus, ðpwtotw	∅	∅ and ðveotrwawθ'				unknown	stone statue
244	dat, 3rd	nom, son, C(aius) F(flavius) Caelius Urbanus	∅	∅	full cursus honorum, with salary			rectangular	with statue 903
245	dat, 3rd	nom, son, C(aius) Caelius Urbanus	∅	∅				rectangular	
246	dat, 3rd	nom, Anconitani, clientes	∅	∅			pontifici maiori	plaque	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: Rome										
247	LSA-1394	CIL VI, 1682 (+4733)	Rome	Rome	334	Latin	prose	Honorii. Ammio (sic) Manio Caesonio Nicomacho Anicio Paulino	prefect of the city	consul ordinario, praefecto urbi
248	LSA-1395	CIL VI, 1683 (+4733)	Rome	Rome, Forum of Trajan	334	Latin	prose+	Anicio Paulino Iun(ior) Paulino	consul and prefect of the city	consul ordinario, praefecto urbi
249	LSA-1416	CIL VI, 1708 = 31906 = 41318	Rome	Rome	336-337	Latin	prose	Ceionium Rufum Albium	consul and prefect of the city	consulm, praefectum urbi
250	LSA-2685	CIL VI, 40776	Roma	Roma, Forum of Trajan	336-337	Latin	prose	[Pro]culum	imperial official?	virum) clarissimum)
251	LSA-1660	CIL XIV, 4449	Rome	Portus	337-340	Latin	prose	Lucio Crepereio Madaliano	prefect of the annona	praefecto annonae
252	LSA-1398	CIL VI, 1692 (+4735)	Rome	Rome, Caelian hill	337-352	Latin	prose and verse+	Populonii. Proculus	patron	
253	LSA-1400	CIL VI, 1694 (+4736)	Rome	Rome, Ghetto?	337-352	Latin	prose	Lucio Aradio [Proculo	priest, augur	auguri, pontifici maior[is]
254	LSA-1422	CIL VI, 1717 (+4742)	Rome	Rome, Villa Giulia	339-341	Latin	prose		consul and prefect of the city	correctori, consulari, praefecti urbis, proconsuli

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Rome									
247	dat, 3rd	nom, corpus corlariorum	∅	statuerunt				cylindrical	
248	dat, 3rd	gen, iudicio dd(ominorum) n(ostorum) triumphatoris Aug(usti) Caesarumq(ue) florentium	petitu populi (Romani), testimonio senatus	placuit locari	partial cursus, vague acclamations	∅	∅	lost	for bronze statue
249	acc, 3rd	nom, senatus	curator statuarum, F(avius) Magnus Ianuarius	curavit et dedecavit ponendam			philosopher	rectangular	
250	acc, 3rd	nom, emperors	[---]	∅	imperial letter to Senate, long			rectangular	
251	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo et populus	publicae	censuerunt statuam ponendam			supervisor of sacred buildings	rectangular	
252	nom, gen, dat, 1st, 3rd	nom, collegium pistorum	∅	∅				rectangular	
253	dat, 3rd	[---]	[---]	[---]			augur, greater priest, 15vir for sacred affairs, FlaviaI priest	rectangular	
254	dat, 3rd	nom, his slave	∅	∅	cursus honorum	∅	∅	rectangular	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: Rome										
255	LSA-1396	CIL VI, 1690 (+4735)	Rome	Rome, Caelian hill	340	Latin	prose		consul and prefect of the city	consul ordinario, praefecto urbi
256	LSA-1397	CIL VI, 1961 (+4735)	Rome	Rome, Caelian hill	340	Latin	prose	Populonii. L(ucio) Aradio Valerio Proculo	consul and prefect of the city	consul ordinario, praefecto urbi
257	LSA-1469	CIL VI, 1772 (+4756)	Rome	Rome, near Basilica of S Mark	340-350	Latin	prose	Asterii. L(ucio) Turcio Secundo	provincial governor	correctori
258	LSA-1457	CIL VI, 1748 (+4750)	Rome	Rome, Quirinal	345	Latin	prose	Triturrii. M(arco) Nummio Albino	consul, urban prefect	consuli, praetori urbano
259	LSA-1467	CIL VI, 1768 (+4755)	Rome	Rome	346	Latin	prose	Asterii. L(ucio) Turcio Aproniano	provincial governor	correctori
260	LSA-1468	CIL VI, 1769 (+4755-6)	Rome	Rome, baths of Titus and Trajan	346	Latin	prose+	Asterii. L(ucio) Turcio Aproniano	provincial governor	correctori
261	LSA-1253	CIL VI, 32051 (+4807)	Rome	Rome, in his house	347	Latin	prose+	Vulcacio Rufino	consul and praetorian prefect	consuli, praefecto praetorio, etc
262	LSA-1581	CIL VI, 41347	Rome	Rome, Forum of Trajan	350-450	Latin	prose	[---]	[---]	[---]
263	LSA-1399	CIL VI, 1693 (+4736)	Rome	Rome, Caelian hill	351-352	Latin	prose and verse+	Proculum	consul and prefect of the city	consul ordinario, praefecto urbi

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Rome									
255	dat, 3rd	nom, corpus suariorum et confectuariorum	∅	censuit statuam			augur, greater priest, member of council for sacred affairs, priest of gens Flavia,	rectangular	
256	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo and populus of Puteoli	curante Sept(imio) Caritone	∅			augur, greater priest, member of council for sacred affairs, priest of gens Flavia,	rectangular	
257	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	∅	dedit				rectangular	for bronze statue
258	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, his son, Nummius Secundus	∅	∅	cursus honorum, succinct		∅	rectangular	
259	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	curantibus Flavio Spe et Codonio Tauro Iun(lore)	conlocavit			board of 15 for sacred affairs	rectangular	for bronze statue
260	gen and dat, 3rd	gen, consensu obsequentissimi ordinis ac totius eiusdem civitatis populi	∅	decreta est			board of 15 for sacred affairs	rectangular	bronze statue
261	dat, 3rd	nom, Ravenantes	∅	dicaverunt	set up in his own house			rectangular	
262	dat, 3rd	[---]	[---]	[---]				rectangular	gilded statue
263	nom, dat, 3rd	nom, collegium suariorum	∅	[---]				rectangular	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: Rome										
264	LSA-1426	CIL VI, 1723+1757=37112 (+4819)	Rome	Rome, Aventine	355-356	Latin	prose	Mavortii. Fl(avio) Lolliano	consul, praetorian prefect, prefect of the city	consulari, proconsuli, praefecto urbis
265	LSA-314	CIL VI, 1721 (+4743)	Rome	Rome, Forum of Trajan	355-360	Latin	prose	Fl(avio) Eugenio	consul	
266	LSA-1252	CIL VI, 41332	Rome	Rome, imperial fora	357	Latin	prose+	Panchar[?] Attio Caecilio Maximiliano	prefect of Annona	praefecto annonae urbis Romae, etc etc
267	LSA-1441	CIL VI, 1739 (+4748)	Rome	Rome, Lateran basilica	357-360	Latin	prose	Honori. Memmio Vitrasio Orfito	prefect of the city	praefecto urbi, proconsuli
268	LSA-1442	CIL VI, 1740 (+4748)	Rome	Rome, Lateran basilica	357-360	Latin	prose	Honori. Mem[?]io Vitrasio Orfito	prefect of the city	praefecto urbi, proconsuli, consulari
269	LSA-1443	CIL VI, 1741 (+4748-9)	Rome	Rome, Lateran	357-360	Latin	prose	Honori. Memmio Vitrasio Orfito	prefect of the city	praefecto urbi, proconsuli, consulari
270	LSA-1444	CIL VI, 1742 (+4749)	Rome	Rome, Aventine	357-360	Latin	prose	Honori. Memmio Vitrasio Orfito	prefect of the city	praefecto urbi, proconsuli, consulari
271	LSA-1455	CIL VI, 1745 (+4750)	Rome	Rome	358	Latin	prose	Naeratio Cereali	consul, prefect of the city	consuli, praefecto urbi

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Rome									
264	dat, 3rd	nom, his son and daughter in law, Placidus Severus et Antonio Marcianilla	∅	[---]	full cursus honorum	∅	to most religious father	plaque	
265	dat, 3rd	nom, Emperors	adprobante amplissimo senatu, sumptu publico	censuerunt	(partial) cursus honorum, quite wordy			rectangular	gilded bronze
266	dat, 3rd	[---]	[---]	[---]			prefect of treasury of Saturn	rectangular	
267	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, corpus pistorum	∅	constituit	cursus honorum		priest of the goddess Vesta	rectangular	for bronze statue
268	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, corpus naviculariorum	∅	constituit			priest of goddess Vesta, member of 15men for sacred affairs, priest of the sun god	rectangular	for bronze statue
269	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, corpus susceptorum	∅	constituit			priest of goddess Vesta, member of 15men for sacred affairs, priest of the sun god	rectangular	
270	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, corpus mancipum	∅	constituit			priest of goddess Vesta, member of 15men for sacred affairs, priest of the sun god	rectangular	for bronze statue
271	dat, 3rd	nom, his client	Cursius Satrius	∅				rectangular	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: Rome										
272	LSA-1378	CIL VI, 37124 (+4821)	Rome	Rome, Forum	363-371	Latin	prose	Clodii Octavia[ni ---]	provincial governor?	
273	LSA-323	CIL VI, 1729 (+4745-6)	Rome	Rome, Forum of Trajan	364	Latin	prose	F(lavio) Sallustio	consul and praetorian prefect	
274	LSA-404	AE 1934, 159	Rome	Rome, Forum of Trajan	364-367	Latin	prose	[---]	praetorian prefect	
275	LSA-1572	CIL VI, 36968=41344a	Rome	Rome, in front of Curia	364-394	Latin	prose	[---]	imperial official?	praefecti urbi?
276	LSA-1408	CIL VI, 1764 (+4754)	Rome	Rome, Forum of Trajan	365-367	Latin	prose	Saturninio Secundo	praetorian prefect	praesidi, proconsuli, praefecto praetorio
277	LSA-1797	CIL VI, 41334	Rome	Rome	365-391	Latin	prose	[---]Ru]fio	prefect of the city	praefecto urbi
278	LSA-1406	CIL VI, 1702=31904 (+4738)	Rome	Rome, near Forum of Trajan	366-400	Latin	prose+	Bettio Perpetuo Arzygio	provincial governor	consularis
279	LSA-1417	CIL VI, 1713 (+4741)	Rome	Rome, near Theater of Marcellus	370-395	Latin	prose	Q(uinto) Clodio Hermogeniano Olybri		

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Rome									
272	gen, statue of, 3rd	[---]	[---]	[---]				rectangular	
273	dat, 3rd	nom, Hispaniae	missis legat(is) ius(stone) sac(ra)	dicauerunt			sacred decision	rectangular	for bronze
274	dat, 3rd	nom, domini nostri	adprobante amplissimo senatu	iuserunt reddi	restored statue			rectangular	for gilded statue
275	dat?	nom, emperors	[---]? Rufius	[---]	[---]			rectangular	
276	dat, 3rd	nom, emperors	∅	iuserunt constitui locarique	cursus honorum	[lost]		rectangular	statue in gold
277	dat, 3rd	[---]	∅	[---]				plaque	
278	dat, 3rd	nom, Tusci et Umbri	∅	collocarunt				rectangular	
279	dat, 3rd	nom, his brother, Faltonius Probus Alypius	∅	∅			philosopher?	rectangular	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: Rome										
280	LSA-1392	CIL VI, 1675 (+4731)	Rome	Rome, Barberini?	374-380	Latin	prose	Alfenio Ceionio Iuliano Kamenio	provincial governor and priest	septemvir epulonum, patri sacrorum summi invicti Mithraei, hierofante Aecate, archibucolo dei Liberi, 15viro sacris faciundis, taurobolato deae Matris, pontifici maiori, consulari
281	LSA-1569	CIL VI, 31940= 41331	Rome	Rome, set up in his hosue	374-380	Latin	prose	Alfenio Ceionio Iuliano Kamenio	priest and governor of Numidia	pontifex, etc, and consularis
282	LSA-1456	CIL VI, 1746 (+4750)	Rome	Rome	375-378	Latin	prose	Naeratio Scopio	provincial governor	consulari

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Rome									
280	dat, 3rd	nom, ind, Gentilis p(?) m(agistr?) Restutus	cum cartulari(s) officii	posuerunt	set up in his own house, full cursus		priest!	rectangular	bronze statue
281	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, individual, Iannarianus	cum [c]ollegis / officii	posuerunt			member of college of 7 in charge of sacred feasts, master of the numen, father of sacred rites of Mithras, hierophant of Hecate, chief herdsman of the god Liber, member of board for sacred affairs, tourbollate into the cult of the mother of the gods, higher priest	rectangular	
282	dat, 3rd	nom, his client, Cursius Satrius	∅	∅				rectangular	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: Rome										
283	LSA-1439	CIL VI, 1736 (+4747)	Rome	Rome, Forum of Trajan?	376-378	Latin	prose+	Iulio Festo Hymetio	provincial governor	correctori, consulari, proconsuli
284	LSA-342	CIL VI, 1698 (+4737)	Rome	Rome	377	Latin	prose	Phosphorri: Lucio Aur(ellio) Avianio Symmacho	consul and city prefect	praefecto, urbi consuli
285	LSA-272	CIL VI, 1751 (+4751)	Rome	Rome, Pincio	378	Latin	prose+	Petronio Probo	consul and praetorian prefect	proconsuli Africae, praefecto praetorio
286	LSA-1354	CIL VI, 1679 (+4732)	Rome	Rome, Forum of Trajan	382-383	Latin	prose+	Anicio Auchenio Basso	prefect of the city	praefecto urbi
287	LSA-306	CIL VI, 41432a	Rome	Rome, Forum of Trajan	383-388	Latin	prose	Petronio Probo	praetorian prefect	praefecto]] praetorio
288	LSA-1472	CIL VI, 1777 (+4757)	Rome	Rome, in his house on Aventine	384	Latin	prose	Vettio Agorio Praetextato	consul designate and praetorian prefect	correctori, consulari, proconsuli, praefecto urbi, praefecto praetorii, consuli designato
289	LSA-1409	CIL VI, 1779a (+4759)	Rome	Rome, Forum near column of Phocas	384-386	Latin	prose	[Vettio Agorio Praet]extato	praetorian prefect	correctori, proconsuli, praefecto praetorio
290	LSA-1653	CIL XIV, 173=31924	Rome	Ostia or Portus	385-389	Latin	prose+	Ragonio Vincentio	prefect of the annonae and patron	consuli, praefecto annonae

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Rome									
283	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, Augusti		credidit postulandam esse			restored rigour of priests	rectangular	for gilded bronze
284	dat, 3rd	nom, Senate and Lords Augusti		inpetrabit	cursus honorum, narrative of petition, also another gilded statue in Constantinople		higher pontiff, defied emperors	rectangular	for gilded bronze
285	dat, 3rd	nom, his own men		∅			high priest of devotion	rectangular	
286	dat, 3rd	[---]	[---]	[---]				rectangular	
287	dat, 3rd	nom, [---]	[---]	[---]			sublime	rectangular	
288	dat, 3rd	∅	∅	curavit constitui locarique	set up in his own house, no person mentioned, posthumous			rectangular	
289	dat, 3rd	[---]	[---]	[---]				rectangular	
290	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	consensu totius c[iv]itatis	optaret ut meruit patronum				lost	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: Rome										
291	LSA-1473	<i>CIL VI, 1778</i> (+4757)	Rome	Rome	387	Latin	prose	Vettio Agorio Praetextato	consul designate and praetorian prefect	correctori, consulari, proconsuli, praefecto urbi, praefecto praetorii, consuli designato
292	LSA-1464	<i>CIL VI, 1759</i> (+4753)	Rome	Rome	389	Latin	prose+	Ragonio Vincentio Celso	prefect of the annona	annonarium potestatem urbis aerernae
293	LSA-2666	<i>CIL VI, 31975</i>	Roma	Roma	391	Latin	prose	Faltonio Probo Alypio	prefect of the City, patron	praefecto) urb(i)
294	LSA-1459	<i>CIL VI, 1752</i> (+4751)	Rome	Rome	395	Latin	prose	Sexto Petronio Probo	consul, praetorian prefect	, praefecto praetorio, consuli
295	LSA-1460	<i>CIL VI, 1753</i> (+4751-2)	Rome	Rome	395	Latin	prose	Sexto Petronio Probo	consul and praetorian prefect	proconsuli, praefecto praetorio, consuli
296	LSA-1490	<i>CIL VI,</i> 3868=31988=41381	Rome	Rome, Forum	395-408	Latin	prose	[[[F(avio) Stilicho]ni ?	master of soldiery	duci
297	LSA-1436	<i>CIL VI, 1730</i> (+4746)	Rome	Rome, Forum	398-399	Latin	prose+	F(avio) Stilichoni	master of soldiery and member of imperial family	magistro, progenero, socero

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Rome									
291	dat, 3rd	∅	∅	∅	lists priesthoods and offices in two different columns		priest of Vesta, priest of Sun god, member of 15 for sacred affairs, augur, tauroboliate, curialis of Hercules, temple warden, hierophant, father of sacred rites	rectangular	
292	dat, 3rd	nom, mensesores	∅	exsolvimus	for solving a dispute with the bargees			rectangular	
293	dat, 3rd	∅	∅	∅				rectangular	
294	dat, 3rd	nom, his two sons, Anicius Probinus et Anicius Probus	∅	dedicavunt				rectangular	
295	dat, 3rd	nom, his son and daughter in law, Anicius Hermogenianus Olybrius et Anicia Iuliana	∅	dedicavunt				plaque	
296	dat, 3rd	[---]	[---]	[---]				rectangular	
297	dat, 3rd	abl, Ex s(enatus) c(onsulto)	∅	∅				rectangular	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: Rome										
298	LSA-1418	CIL VI, 1715 (+4741-2)	Rome	Rome, F of Trajan?	399	bilingual, but mostly Latin	prose	Cronio Eusebio	vicarius of Italy	consulari, vicario
299	LSA-1355	/G XIV, 1074	Rome	Rome, Forum of Trajan	400	bilingual, but mostly Latin	prose and verse	[C[laudio]] Claudiani	poet	tribuno, notario, poeta
300	LSA-1413	CIL VI, 1706 (+4739- 40)	Rome	Rome	400	Latin	prose+	Gregarii. Chelonio Contucio	provincial governor	
301	LSA-1587	CIL VI, 41382	Rome	Rome, Via del Corso	400	Latin	prose+	F[lavio] Stilichoni	master of soldiery and consul	magistro utriusque militiae et consuli
302	LSA-1435	CIL VI, 1727 (+4744-5)	Rome	Rome, Forum of Trajan	400-450	Latin	prose+	F[lavio] Peregrino Saturnino	prefect of the city	urbi praefecto
303	LSA-270	CIL VI, 1699 (+4747-8)	Rome	Rome	402-431	Latin	prose	[Eusebi]i. Q[uinto] Aur[el]io Symmacho	consul and orator	
304	LSA-271	CIL VI, 1782 (+4760)	Rome	Rome, Caelian hill	402-431	Latin	prose	Virio Nicomacho Flaviano	consul and historian	
305	LSA-1437	CIL VI, 1371=1195 (+4746)	Rome	Rome, Villa Medici	405-406	Latin	prose+	[Flavio Stilichoni]	consul, master of soldiery and member of imperial family	consuli, magistro, adfini et socero

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Rome									
298	dat, 3rd	abl, petitione senatus, ab invictissimis / principibus, and nom, βασιλῆ κ α βασιλ ε υς	∅	est delata, ἐστῆ α ωτο				rectangular	
299	dat, 3rd, acc	nom, Arcadius and Honorius; and nom, Πύμῆ κ α / βασιλῆς	Senatu petente	iusserrunt erigi et collocari, ἐθεσ α ν			muse of Homer	rectangular	
300	dat, 3rd	nom, Foronovani	∅	posuerunt			old fashioned sanctity	rectangular	
301	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, [c]laudicarii seu piscatores corporat[]	[---]	[---]				rectangular	
302	dat, 3rd	nom, principes	∅	iusserrunt erigi conlocarique				rectangular	for gilded statue
303	dat, 3rd	nom, son, Q(uintus) Fab(ius) Memm(ius) Symmachus	∅	∅	in domestic context	posthumous?	pontiff	rectangular	
304	dat, 3rd	nom, family member, Q(uintus) Fab(ius) Memmius Symmachus	∅	[c]laudicarii seu piscatores corporat[]	in domestic context	posthumous?	pontiff	rectangular	
305	dat, 3rd	nom, populus romanus	exequente F(lavio) P(isidio) Romulo	conlocandam decrevit				rectangular	bronze and silver statue

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: Rome										
306	LSA-1521	AE 1928, 80	Rome	Rome, in his house on Aventine	416-421	Latin	prose	Iunio Quarto Palladio	consul and praetorian prefect	praefecto praetorii, consuli
307	LSA-1458	CIL VI, 1735 (+4747)	Rome	Rome, Forum of Trajan	421	Latin	prose	Petronio Maximo	prefect of the city	praefecto urbi
308	LSA-1407	CIL VI, 1725 (+4744)	Rome	Rome, Forum of Trajan	425-450	Latin	prose+	[Flavio] Olbio Auxentio Drauco	prefect of the city	praefecto urbis Romae
309	LSA-1525	CIL VI, 41398	Rome	Rome, Forum	425-455	Latin	prose	[Petronio Maximo (?)]	consul and praetorian prefect	praefecto...,
310	LSA-1438	CIL VI, 1735 (+4747)	Rome	Rome, Aventine	430-450	Latin	prose+	Iulio Agrico Tarrutenio Marciano	prefect of the city	consulari, proconsuli, praefecto urbis
311	LSA-1247	CIL VI, 1783 (+4760-1)	Rome	Rome, Forum of Trajan	431	Latin+	prose	Nicomacho Flaviano	praetorian prefect	consulari, vicario, quaestori, praefecto praetorio
312	LSA-319	CIL VI, 1724 (+4743-4)	Rome	Rome, Forum of Trajan	435	Latin	prose+	[Flavio] Merob]audi	poet and military man	
313	LSA-1434	CIL VI, 41389	Rome	Rome, behind Curia	437-445	Latin	prose+	[---]	master of soldiery and consul	magistro militum, consuli
314	LSA-1393	CIL VI, 1678 (+4732)	Rome	Rome, forum of Sibidius	438	Latin	prose	Acilius Glabrio Sibidius	provincial governor	consulari

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Rome									
306	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, his brother	∅	ius habitu locari constituique	set up in his own house			rectangular	for bronze statue
307	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, princes	Ad petitione senatus amplissimi populi(ue) Romani	iusserunt constitui				rectangular	
308	dat, 3rd	nom, emperors	petitu senatus	iusserunt erigi conlocarique	cursus honorum, includes imperial letter to the Senate			rectangular	for gilded bronze statue
309	dat, 3rd	nom, emperors (?)	petitu amplissimi i senatu[us] (?)	[---]	[---]			rectangular	
310	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	consen[su principis]	decrevit	cursus honorum, and vague acclamations			rectangular	
311	dat, 3rd	nom, emperors and grandson, Appius Nicomachus Dexter	∅	reddita, curavi	includes imperial letter to the Senate, posthumous		omen, deified Trajan	rectangular	
312	dat, 3rd	nom, Rome and emperors	∅	detulerunt	very wordy, one title			rectangular	for bronze
313	dat, 3rd	nom, Augusti and senatus populusque	∅	conlocavit	verbose, long, two titles			rectangular	for gilded statue
314	dat, 3rd	nom, son, Anicius Acilius Glabrio Faustus	∅	curavit ponendam erigendamque	brief cursus honorum		reverence of both a pious and devoted mind	rectangular	togate statue

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: Rome										
315	LSA-1466	CIL VI, 1767 (+4755)	Rome	Rome, near Forum	438	Latin	prose	Tarrutenio Maximiliano	vicarius of Rome	vicario
316	LSA-1577	CIL VI, 37119=41389a	Rome	Rome	438	Latin	prose	[---]	[---]	[---]
317	LSA-1465	CIL VI, 1761 (+4754)	Rome	Rome	448	Latin	prose	[[Rufius Praetextatus]] / Postumianus	consul and prefect of the city	consul, praefectus urbi
318	LSA-1817	CIL VI, 41423	Rome	Rome	476-493	Latin	prose+	[---]	magistrate?	magistratus?
319	LSA-1420	CIL VI, 1716b=32094b (+4342)	Rome	Rome, Colosseum	484	Latin	prose	Decius Marius Venantius Basilius	consul and prefect of the city	praefectus urbi, consul
320	LSA-1419	CIL VI, 1716a=32094a (+4342)	Rome	Rome, Colosseum	484	Latin	prose	Decius Marius Venantius Basilius	consul and prefect of the city	consulis, praefectus urbi
321	LSA-1421	CIL VI, 1716c=32094c (+4342)	Rome	Rome, Colosseum	484	Latin	prose	[Decius] Marius Vena[n]tius Basilius	consul and prefect of the city	praefectus urbi, consul
322	LSA-1425	CIL VI, 1722 (+4743)	Rome	Rome	300-400	Latin	prose+	F[avio] Honoratiano	lawyer	custodi iuris
Region: West										
323	LSA-1987	CIL II, 4112	Tarracoenstis	Tarraco	300-350	Latin	prose	M[arco] Aur[elio] Vincentio	provincial governor	p[raesidi]
324	LSA-2014	HEP 10, 2004 no. 55	Lusitania	Augusta	317-337	Latin	prose	Septimio Alcindyno	vicarius, provincial governor	corrector[ri]

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Rome									
315	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, son in law, Anicius Acilius Glabrius Faustus	∅	optuli, dicitavit	three titles, brief			rectangular	
316	dat, 3rd	nom, ancestor, Anic[us Ac]ilius Glabrio Fau[st]us	∅	erexit	vague acclamations, wordy, [---]			rectangular	togate statue
317	nom, 3rd	∅	∅	∅	brief cursus honorum, relatively succinct			rectangular	
318	dat, 3rd	[---]	[---]	[---]	wordy? [---]			rectangular	
319	nom, 3rd	∅	∅	∅	succinct, one title			rectangular	
320	gen and nom, 3rd	∅	∅	∅	four titles, succinct			rectangular	
321	nom	∅	∅	∅	three titles, succinct			rectangular	
322	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, clientele of Numidia	∅	locavit	no titles, vague acclamations, succinct			rectangular	
Region: West									
323	dat, 3rd	nom, cur(ator) r(e)ip(ublica)e, Mes[s]ius Marianus	∅	∅	one title, succinct			lost	
324	dat, 3rd	[---]	[---]	[---]	full cursus honorum? [---]		pontifici maiori, XV viro sacris faciundis,	rectangular	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: West										
325	LSA-2000	AE 2000, 735	Baetica	Corduba	337-370	Latin	prose	Vicario Usuleno Prosper[ic(?)]	provincial governor	c(onsulari)
326	LSA-2007	CIL II, 1972	Baetica	Malaca	357	Latin	prose+	[--- Q(uint) A]t[ti Grani Cael[es]tini	provincial governor	cons(ularis)
327	LSA-1989	CIL II, 4512	Tarracoen[s] s	Barcino	379-387	Latin	prose	Nummio Aemiliano Dextro	provincial governor	proconsulatus
Region: North										
328	LSA-378	ILS 1962, 8987	Pannonia II	Mursa	388-450	Latin	verse+	Valeri Dalmatio	provincial governor and patron	
329	LSA-1142	/IG III 1985; /IG III 8571	Dalmatia	Salona	280-300	Latin	prose	Publio Balsamio Sabiniano	patron, senatorial tribune	trib(uno) latic(avo), patrono
Region: Sicily										
330	LSA-2066	FE VIII, 696	Sicilia	Lilybaeum	280-324	Latin	prose	Clai(um) Val(er)um) Apollinarem	provincial governor	corr(ectorem)
331	LSA-2065	CIL X, 7234	Sicilia	Lilybaeum	300-320	Latin	prose	Domitio Zenofilo	provincial governor	corr(ectori)
332	LSA-2062	CIL X, 7209	Sicilia	Mazara	300-380	Latin	prose	lost	provincial governor	consulari
333	LSA-1514	/IG XIV, 296	Sicilia	Panormus	314	Greek	prose+	[A]purtiou Ααρπωvαvου	provincial governor	ἐτραvο[ρθωvου]

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: West									
325	dat, 3rd	[---]	[---]	[---]	at least one title [---]			unknown	for equestrian statue
326	gen, 3rd	nom, ordo	[con]sensu totius pl[r]ovinciae	posuit	one title, vague acclamations			lost	ivy leaf (7)
327	dat, 3rd	nom, omnes Asia	concessam beneficio principali	consecravit	no title, succinct	ivy leaf		rectangular	
Region: North									
328	dat, 3rd	nom, provincia	∅	positi, posuit	no titles, vague acclamations, verbose and grandiose			lost, maybe a plaque?	
329	dat, 3rd	nom, individual, Concordius Victorianus	∅	∅	two titles, succinct	∅	∅	unknown	
Region: Sicily									
330	acc, 2nd and 3rd	nom, individual, C(aius) Val(erius) Pompeianus	∅	∅	two titles, some vague acclamations, brief		Pancrati dii te servent.	rectangular	
331	voc and dat, 2nd and 3rd	[---]	[---]	[---]	at least two titles, somewhat verbose			rectangular	
332	dat	lost	lost	lost				rectangular	no current record of location
333	gen, 3rd	nom, [h] βουλή και ο δήμος	∅	∅	one title, vague acclamations, succinct			unknown	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: Italian Peninsula										
334	LSA-2038	<i>CIL X, 6008</i>	Campania	Minturnae	200-400	Latin	prose	lost	senator, city patron	patr(ono) col(oniae)
335	LSA-1731	<i>CIL IX, 1571</i>	Campania	Beneventum	250-300	Latin	prose	M(arco) Caecilio Novatiliano	provincial governor, poet	poetae, praeses
336	LSA-1732	<i>CIL IX, 1572</i>	Campania	Beneventum	250-300	Latin	prose	M(arco) Caecilio Novatiliano	provincial governor, poet	poetae, praesidi
337	LSA-2051	<i>CIL X, 6439=VI, 1695</i>	Campania	Privernum	250-300	Latin	prose	Lucius Aradius Roscius Rufinus Saturninus	senatorial patron	v(iro) c(larissimo), patrono
338	LSA-1602	<i>CIL V, 4870</i>	Venetia et Histria	Brixia	250-300	Latin	prose	M(arco) Aur(elio) Dubitato et C(aio) Centullio Fortunato	father and son	
339	LSA-1901	<i>CIL X, 1492</i>	Campania	Neapolis	250-300	Latin	prose	Lucius Munatius Concessianus	patron	patrono
340	LSA-1917	<i>CIL X, 1805</i>	Campania	Puteoli	250-330	Latin	prose	[---]	local benefactor	
341	LSA-2035	<i>CIL X, 5781</i>	Campania	Cereatae Marianae	250-380	Latin	prose	Felix Victorius	patron	patrono
342	LSA-1926	<i>CIL X, 3725</i>	Campania	Volturnum	260-290	Latin	prose	Publius Aelius Aelianus Archelaus Marcus	patron	patrono
343	LSA-1971	<i>CIL X, 4753</i>	Campania	Suessa	260-300	Latin	prose	Gaius Lievrius Tranquillius Tocius So(ae)mus	local notable	consulari viro et patricio

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Italian Peninsula									
334	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo et populus	lost	lost	at least one title, succinct, [---]			rectangular	no current record of location
335	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	d(decreto) d(ecurionum), publice	∅			poet	unknown	
336	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	d(decreto) d(ecurionum), p(ublice)	∅			poet	plaque	
337	dat, 3rd	nom, Privernates	∅	∅	several titles, brief		auguri, curioni	rectangular	
338	dat, 3rd	nom, son, M(arcus) Aur(elius) Dubitatus	∅	iussit fieri	set up privately?			rectangular	
339	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, Regio Herculansium	∅	decrevit	no titles			rectangular	
340	dat, 3rd	[---]	[---]	[---]	one title, vague acclamations		sacerdoti d(e) p(atril) immuni	rectangular	
341	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	∅	∅	no titles, very succinct		∅	rectangular	
342	dat, 3rd	nom, individual, Plutius Maximus	∅	[---]	no titles, vague acclamation	14 ivy leaves between words	∅	rectangular	
343	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	∅	∅	no exact titles, succinct	1 ivy leaf	∅	rectangular	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: Italian Peninsula										
344	LSA-1675	CIL XIV, 2078	Campania	Lavinium	260-320	Latin	prose	Lupo	sentatorial patron, curator	curatori, patrono
345	LSA-1712	CIL IX, 688	Apulia et Calabria	Herdoniae	260-350	Latin	prose	L(ucio) Publilio Cel/so Patruino	curator	curatori, patrono
346	LSA-1696	IET 1996, C66	Apulia et Calabria	Canusium	260-360	Latin	prose	Athenasi: L(ucio) Annio L(uci)	local notable, patron	patr(ono)
347	LSA-1877	CIL X, 1487	Campania	Neapolis	270-300	Latin	prose	Cominius Priscianus	imperial official and patron	patrono
348	LSA-1907	CIL X, 1706	Campania	Neapolis	270-300	Latin	prose	Lucius Publius Petronius Volusianus	senatorial patron	patrono, praetori, consuli, quaestor
349	LSA-1748	CIL IX, 1682	Campania	Beneventum	270-320	Latin	prose	Vesedio Rufino	advocatus fisci and patron	advocato fisci, patrono
350	LSA-1749	CIL IX, 1683	Campania	Beneventum	270-320	Latin	prose	Nebuli: C(aio) Vesedio Rufino	patron	patrono et principalis viri
351	LSA-1636	AE 1996, 603	Tuscia et Umbria	Interamna Nahars	270-320	Latin	prose	[Vo]luisio Volusiano	priest	
352	LSA-1780	CIL IX, 2803	Samnium	Aufidena	270-400	Latin	prose	D(omino) F(awio) Severo	local notable, patron	patrono

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Italian Peninsula									
344	dat, 3rd	nom, 5 individuals, Val(erius) Commagenus Pullaenius Martialis, Aelius Benedictus, Aemilius Eutyrius, Aurelius Fortunius, Caesius Dulcitus	∅	curr(aerunt)				rectangular	
345	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo populusque	∅	∅				plaque	
346	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, popul(us)	∅	retulit gratiam				rectangular	asked for an equestrian, he was satisfied with a standing
347	dat, 3rd	[---] [perhaps agonothete?]	[---]	[---]	at least one title	[---]	sacerdoti	rectangular	
348	dat, 3rd	[---]	[---]	[---]	at least one title	[---]	[---]	rectangular	
349	dat, 3rd	[---] Clients? Guilds?	[---]	[---]				unknown	
350	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, studium Palladianum	∅	∅				lost	
351	dat, 3rd	∅	∅	∅	one title	∅	[priest] of Laurentum and Lavinium, meet in the temple	rectangular	
352	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo et populus	∅	censuit				rectangular	marble statue

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: Italian Peninsula										
353	LSA-1690	<i>CIL</i> XIV, 3614	Famlnia et Picenum	Tibur	274-300	Latin	prose	M(arco) Tineio Ovinio Casto Puchro	consul and son of patron	consul, filio
354	LSA-1905	<i>CIL</i> X, 1687	Campania	Puteoli?	275-285	Latin	prose	Lucius Caesonius Ovinus Rufinus Manlius Bassus	senator, priest	clarissimo viro
355	LSA-2565	<i>CIL</i> IX, 1121	Apulia et Calabria	Aeclanum	280-300	Latin	prose	Bettio Pio Maximiliano	governor?	col(n)sulari
356	LSA-1916	<i>CIL</i> X, 1794	Campania	Puteoli	280-320	Latin	[--]	Aurelius Antistius	senatorial patron	patrono
357	LSA-1858	<i>CIL</i> X, 1120	Campania	Abellinum	280-320	Latin	prose	M(arco) Antonio Rufino	patron, benefactor	patrono
358	LSA-1859	<i>CIL</i> X, 1121	Campania	Abellinum	280-320	Latin	prose	Claio) Arrio / Spedio Actiano	senator	c(larissimo) v(firo)
359	LSA-1924	<i>AE</i> 1972, 79	Campania	Puteoli	280-326	Latin	prose+	Iulius Sulpicius Sucessus	procurator of the port	procuratori portus
360	LSA-1807	<i>AE</i> 1923, 61-2	Lucania et Bruttii	Regium Iulium	280-330	Latin	prose	Quintus Sattius Flavius Vettius Gratus	provincial governor	corrector
361	LSA-1845	<i>AE</i> 1975, 261a	Lucania et Bruttii	Paestum	280-330	Latin	prose	[---]vius Bassus	provincial governor	correctori
362	LSA-401	<i>AE</i> 1973, 136	Campania	Capua	280-330	Latin	prose	[E]gnatio Caec[ilio Al]ntistio Luce[ri]no]	suffect consul, curator	[-co]nsuli, cur[ator]i [sacr]ae Ur[bi]s
363	LSA-341	<i>AE</i> 1983, 196	Campania	Puteoli	280-337	Latin	prose	[Lucio) Aur[el]io) Doro[theo]	civic office holder, patron	p[atr]ono, v[ir]o)
364	LSA-1933	<i>CIL</i> X, 3844	Campania	Sinuessa	280-350	Latin	prose	Caius Appius Eunomius Sapidianus	senatorial patron	patroni

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Italian Peninsula									
353	dat, 3rd	nom, senatus populusque	∅	∅			higher pontiff	rectangular	for bronze statue
354	dat, 3rd	nom, his son, Lucius Caesonius Hedyllus	∅	∅	partial cursus, succinct	2 ivy leaves	member of the priestly college of the palatine salii, higher pontiff	rectangular	
355	dat, 3rd	[---]	∅	[---]				rectangular	
356	dat, 3rd	nom, the Taegianenses	∅	[---]	[---]	at least 1 ivy leaf	[---]	plaque	
357	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	∅	∅	no title, specific largess, relatively succinct	∅	∅	rectangular	
358	dat, 3rd	∅	∅	∅	no title, very succinct	∅	∅	rectangular	
359	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, regio Decatria	∅	adcuraverunt ponendam			dedicated by the region who are worshippers of the god of the fatherland	rectangular	
360	nom and dat, 3rd	nom, ordo and populus	∅	∅			public augur	rectangular	
361	dat, 3rd	[---]	∅	[---]				rectangular	
362	dat, 3rd and gen (statue of)	nom?	[---]	∅			curator of sacred city	rectangular	
363	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	∅	∅				rectangular	
364	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo et populus	∅	censuer(unt)	one candidacy,	3 ivy leaves	∅	rectangular	statue

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: Italian Peninsula										
365	LSA-1940	CIL X, 3857	Campania	Capua	280-400	Latin	prose	Iulius Aurelius Auxon Leonidas	curator, patron	curatori, patrono
366	LSA-2579	AE 1964, 223 = 1980, 215	Campania		285	Latin	prose	Lucius Caesonius Ovinus Manlius Rufinianus Bassus	urban prefect, patron	proco(o)ns(ul), curat(ori), praefecto urbis, patrono
367	LSA-1674	AE 1895, 119	Campania	Lavinium	290-310	Latin	prose	Iunius Priscillianus Maximus	priest, patron, curator	vati, pontifici, patrono, curatori
368	LSA-1623	CIL XI, 2115	Tuscia et Umbria	Clusium	300-337	Latin	prose+	Hon(ori): Lucio Tiberio Maefanati Basilio	local notable, defensor	defensori
369	LSA-1908	CIL X, 1680	Campania	Neapolis	300-350	Latin	prose	Alfius Licinius	imperial official	patrono
370	LSA-1685	EE IX, 776	Campania	Praeneste	300-350	Latin	prose+	P(ublius) Aelius Apollinaris Arlenius	local benefactor	
371	LSA-2567	AE 1940, 48	Campania	Suessa	300-350	Latin	prose	Lucius Mamlianus Crispinus	curator, patron, priest	curatori, patrono, sacerdoti
372	LSA-2568	AE 1919, 71	Campania	Suessa	300-350	Latin	prose	Lucius Mamlianus Crispinus	curator, patron, priest	curatori, patrono, sacerdoti
373	LSA-1218	CIL V, 8972	Venetia et Histria	Aquileia, forum?	300-360	Latin	prose	Q(uinto) Axillio Urbico	imperial judge and city patron	magistro sacrarum cognitionum
374	LSA-1864	CIL X, 1201	Campania	Abella	300-380	Latin	prose	Tarquinus Vitalio	patron	patrono, defensori

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Italian Peninsula									
365	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, Regio Compti	∅	∅	3 offices, a few vague acclamations	∅	∅	rectangular, reused funerary altar	
366	dat, 3rd	nom, a freedman, Caesonius Achilleus	∅	pos(uit)			pontifici) maiori, pontifici) dei Solis, salio Palatino	rectangular	
367	dat, 3rd	nom, sacerdotales et populu	∅	∅			vati primario, pontifici maiori, pontifici dei Solis, sacerdotales	rectangular	
368	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, universi	∅	obtulerunt				rectangular	
369	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, Regio Thermensium	∅	∅	no offices, succinct	∅	∅	rectangular	
370	gen and nom, 3rd	nom, collegiati omnes	∅	conlocarunt	narrative, from birth to deed, some titles		"caelo desideratus corporeo carcere liberaretur"	rectangular	togate
371	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, universi cives	∅	[censuerunt]			sacerdoti sanctissimarum Fortunarum	rectangular	
372	gen and dat, 3rd	[---]	∅	[---]			sacerdoti sanctissimarum Fortunarum	rectangular	
373	dat, 3rd	nom, people of Aquileia	d(educurionum)	∅				plaque	
374	dat, 3rd	nom, universus populus	∅	∅	no exact titles, vague acclamations	∅	∅	unknown	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: Italian Peninsula										
375	LSA-1796	<i>CL X, 4</i>	Lucania et Bruttii	Regium Iulium	300-400	Latin	prose	[---]	provincial governor	correctori
376	LSA-1676	<i>CL XIV, 2080</i>	Campania	Lavinium	300-400	Latin	prose	Valerio Frumentio	local notable	patrono
377	LSA-1722	<i>CL IX, 1128</i>	Apulia et Calabria	Aeclanum	300-400	Latin	prose+	Umbonio Mannachio	senatorial patron	patrono
378	LSA-1855	<i>CL X, 682</i>	Campania	Surrentum	300-400	Latin	prose	Marcus Ulpius Pupienius Silvanus	patron, orator	patrono
379	LSA-1869	<i>CL X, 1251</i>	Campania	Nola	300-400	Latin	prose	Cusonius Gratilianus	patron	
380	LSA-1871	<i>CL X, 1255</i>	Campania	Nola	300-400	Latin	prose	Pollio Iulio Clementiano	patron	patrono
381	LSA-1872	<i>CL X, 1256</i>	Campania	Nola	300-400	Latin	prose	Pollio Iulio Clementiano	patron	patrono
382	LSA-1873	<i>CL X, 1257</i>	Campania	Nola	300-400	Latin	prose	Pollius Iulius Clementianus	patron	patrono
383	LSA-2028	<i>CL X, 5200</i>	Campania	Casinum	300-400	Latin	prose+	Gaius Paccius Felix	local magistrate, patron	patrono
384	LSA-2029	<i>CL X, 5348</i>	Campania	Interamna Lirenas	300-400	Latin	prose	Marcus Sentius Crispinus	local magistrate, patron	
385	LSA-2682	<i>CL XI, 4094</i>	Tuscia et Umbria	Oriculum	300-400	Latin	prose	Gaio Volusio Victori	local magistrate, benefactor	qu(a)estori r(ei) p(ublicae)
386	LSA-1736	<i>CL IX, 1579</i>	Campania	Beneventum	300-440	Latin	prose	Fl(avio) Cornelio Marcellino	provincial governor	consulari
387	LSA-1733	<i>ILS 1962, 6505</i>	Campania	Beneventum	300-440	Latin	prose	Claudio Iulio Pacato	provincial governor	consulari
388	LSA-1849	<i>CL X, 519</i>	Lucania et Bruttii	Salernum	300-440	Latin	prose	Annius Victorinus	provincial governor	correctori

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Italian Peninsula									
375	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo and populus	∅	∅	succinct, 1 title	∅	∅	rectangular	
376	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo cibesque (sic)	∅	∅	vague titles			rectangular	
377	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	∅	censuit	vague titles			unknown	
378	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, ordo et populus	∅	∅	no titles, succinct	∅	∅	rectangular	
379	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, Salutarenses	∅	dicaberunt	no exact titles, succinct	∅	∅	rectangular	
380	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, regio Iovia	∅	censuit	succinct, no exact titles	∅	∅	lost	
381	dat, 3rd	nom, universa regio Romana	Curante Cl(audio) Plotiano	collocavit	vague acclamations	∅	∅	rectangular	
382	gen and dat, 3rd	[---]	∅	[---]	vague acclamations	∅	∅	rectangular	
383	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, universus populus	∅	censuimus	vague acclamations	∅	∅	rectangular	marble statue
384	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, ordo et populus	∅	censuerunt	vague acclamations	∅	∅	rectangular	marble statue
385	dat, 3rd	nom, cives ei (sic) plebei	∅	posuerunt	cursus honorum			rectangular	
386	nom and dat, 3rd	nom, populus?	[---]	[---]				lost	
387	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	∅	censuit collocandam	succinct, one title			lost	
388	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo and populus	∅	∅	one title	∅	∅	rectangular	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: Italian Peninsula										
389	LSA-1920	CIL X, 3344	Campania	Misenum	300-440	Latin	prose	Flavius Marianus	commander of the fleet, curator, patron	praefecto classis, curatori, patrono
390	LSA-1978	AE 2005, 90; CIL X, 5061	Campania	Atina	315	Latin	prose	Caius Vettius Cossinius Rufinus	prefect of Rome, provincial governor	praefecto Urbi, corr(ectori)
391	LSA-1711	AE 1994, 511	Apulia et Calabria	Luceria	317-324	Latin	prose	[Aurel]o Consio Quarto	provincial governor	consulari, correctori
392	LSA-1734	CIL IX, 1576	Apulia et Calabria/Ca mpania	Beneventum	320-333	Latin	prose	Adelfi: Clodio Celsino	provincial governor	correctori
393	LSA-1861	CIL X, 1126	Campania	Abellinum	320-350	Latin	prose+	Gaudenti: C(aio) Luceio Petilio	city patron	patrono
394	LSA-340	CIL X, 1707	Campania	Naples?	320-420	Latin	prose	Septimio Rustico	provincial governor	cons(ulari) Camp(anae)
395	LSA-2043	AE 1969/70, 116	Campania	Formia	324-325	Latin	prose	Iulius Aurelianus	provincial governor	consulari
396	LSA-1928	AE 1999, 157	Campania	Atella	327-337	Latin	prose	C(aio) Caelio Censorino	provincial governor	consulari
397	LSA-1639	CIL XI, 5381	Tuscia et Umbria	Asisium	330	Latin	prose	M(arco) Aur(elio) Val(erio) Valentino	provincial governor	consulari, correctori
398	LSA-338	CIL XI, 4181	Tuscia et Umbria	Interamna Nahars	330-344	Latin	prose	Iulio Ebulidae	provincial governor and patron	corr(ectori) Tusciae
399	LSA-1860	CIL X, 1125	Campania	Abellinum	330-350	Latin	prose	C(aio) Iulio Rufiniano Abiatio Tatiano	provincial governor	correctori, consulari

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honoror	Secondary Honoror	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Italian Peninsula									
389	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	∅	dedicavit	3 titles, vague acclamations	one ivy leaf	∅	rectangular	
390	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo populusque	∅	∅	cursus honorum	∅	sortito pontifici dei Solis, auguri, sallo Palatino	unknown	
391	dat, 3rd	[---]	[---]	[---]				plaque	
392	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	∅	∅	succinct, titles, some vague acclamations			lost	
393	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	∅	censuit	vague acclamations	∅	∅	rectangular	
394	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo and populus	∅	∅	succinct, one title	∅	∅	lost	
395	gen and dat, 3rd	∅	∅	∅			xv viro sacris faciundis, pontifici dei Herculis, pontifici dei Solis	rectangular	
396	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo and populus	s(enatus) c(onsulto)	∅	cursus honorum			rectangular	
397	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	[---]	[---]	succinct, titles			lost	
398	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	∅	∅	succinct, titles		prefect of the treasury of Saturn	rectangular	
399	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, ordo and populus	[---]	censuit conlocandam	full cursus honorum	∅	priest of Vesta, college of priests, deputy supervisor to priest of Hercules	lost	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: Italian Peninsula										
400	LSA-1969	<i>CL X</i> , 4725	Campania	Forum Popilii	330-360	Latin	prose+	Caius Minucius Aeterius	patron	patrono
401	LSA-1962	<i>CL X</i> , 4559	Campania	Trebula Balnensis	330-380	Latin	prose	Lucius Alfius Fannius Primus [So---]	local notable, benefactor	patrono
402	LSA-1935	<i>CL X</i> , 3846	Campania	Capua, near ancient theater	330-395	Latin	prose	Argentii. Britio Praetextato	provincial governor	consulari
403	LSA-1684	<i>CL XIV</i> , 2919	Campania	Praeneste, forum	333	Latin	prose	Barbaro Pompeiano	provincial governor	consulari
404	LSA-1741	<i>CL IX</i> , 1589	Campania	Beneventum	333-400	Latin	prose+	Tanonio Marcellino	provincial governor	consulari
405	LSA-1638	<i>CL XI</i> , 5283	Tuscia et Umbria	Hispellum	333-530	Latin	prose	(Claio) Matrino Aurello	local notable, patron	principali, patrono
406	LSA-43	<i>CL X</i> , 1696	Campania	Puteoli	334-342	Latin	prose	Mavortii. Quinto Flavio Maesio Egnatio Lolliano	patron	patrono
407	LSA-47	<i>AE</i> 1977, 198	Campania	Puteoli	334-342	Latin	prose	Mavortii]. Quinto Flavio Maesio Egnatio Lolliano	patron	patrono
408	LSA-332	<i>CL X</i> , 1695	Campania	Puteoli	334-342	Latin	prose	Mavortii. Quinto Flavio Maesio Egnatio Lolliano	provincial governor	cons(ulari)
409	LSA-335	<i>CL X</i> , 1697	Campania	Puteoli	334-342	Latin	prose	Mavortii Iun(oris). Quinto Flavio Maesio Cornelio Egnatio Severo Lolliano	senatorial patron, candidate	patrono
410	LSA-1909	<i>EE</i> VIII, 365	Campania	Puteoli	334-342	Latin	prose	Quintus Flavius Maesius Lollianus	provincial governor	consularis, proconsuli

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Italian Peninsula									
400	dat, 3rd	nom, cunctus populus	∅	censuerunt	vague acclamations	∅	∅	rectangular	statue
401	dat, 3rd	nom, senatus populusque	∅	decreverunt	2 titles, vague acclamations	∅	sacerd(otali) viro	rectangular	
402	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, ordo et populus	Fl(avius) Sergio Codo curaverunt	obtulerunt, poni curaverunt	cursus honorum	3 Ivy leaves	quindecemviro	rectangular	
403	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	curante Iul(io) Laurentio	constituit	one title, vague acclamations			lost	in civilian clothes
404	dat, 3rd	nom, plebs	∅	censuit ponendam	one title			lost	
405	dat, 3rd	nom, [ple]bs	∅	∅	full cursus honorum		coronato, pont(ific) gentis Flaviae	rectangular	
406	dat, 3rd	nom, colligeus (sic)	∅	posuerunt	full cursus honorum	∅	augur	rectangular	marble, togate body
407	dat, 3rd	nom, regio	∅	∅	full cursus honorum		augur	rectangular	
408	dat, 3rd, gen too	nom, regio	∅	∅	full cursus honorum	∅	public augur	rectangular	for bronze
409	dat, 3rd, gen too	nom, clientes eius	∅	posuerunt	succinct, one title	∅	∅	rectangular	for bronze
410	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, regio	∅	∅	full cursus honorum		public augur of the Roman people and of the Quirites	rectangular	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: Italian Peninsula										
411	LSA-1970	CL X, 4752	Campania	Suessa	334-342	Latin	prose	Quintus Flavius Egnatius Lollianus	provincial governor	consulari
412	LSA-1632	CL XI, 4096/VI, 871	Tuscia et Umbria	Oriculum	341	Latin	prose+	Sex(fo) Clivio Martino	local notable, patron	patrono
413	LSA-1633	CL CI, 4097 (+p 1363)	Tuscia et Umbria	Oriculum	341	Latin	prose+	M(arco) Caesolio Saturnino	local notable, patron	patrono
414	LSA-1910	CL X, 1700	Campania	Puteoli	343-346	Latin	prose	Marcus Maecius Memmius Furius Baburius Caecilianus Placidus	consul and praetorian prefect	correctori, praefecto praetorio, consuli
415	LSA-1774	AE 1991, 514b	Samnum	Larinum	346-351/358	Latin	prose	Antonio Iustiniano	provincial governor and patron	patrono
416	LSA-2040	CL X, 6083	Campania	Formia	350-360	Latin	prose	Quintus Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius	provincial governor, patron	cons(ulari), patrono
417	LSA-1975	CL X, 4858	Samnum	Venafrum	350-370	Latin	prose+	Antonio Iustiniano	provincial governor	praesidi
418	LSA-1850	CL X, 520	Lucania et Bruttii	Salernum, ancient forum	350-400	Latin	prose+	Arrius Maecius Grachus	senatorial patron	patrono
419	LSA-1936	AE 1972, 76	Campania	Capua, before Duomo	350-400	Latin	prose	Claudio Petronio Probo	consul	proconsuli
420	LSA-1977	CL X, 4865	Samnum	Venafrum	350-400	Latin	prose	Quintiliano	provincial governor	[rectori] ?
421	LSA-1976	CL X, 4863	Samnum	Venafrum	350-400	Latin	prose+	Maecio Felici	defensor and provincial governor	[d]efensori, rectori
422	LSA-1911	CL X, 1813	Campania	Puteoli	350-400	Latin	verse+	Tanno[ni] Chrysanti	patron	patroni

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honoror	Secondary Honoror	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Italian Peninsula									
411	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo populusque	∅	∅	full cursus honorum	3 ivy leaves	public augur of Roman people	rectangular	
412	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo et cives	∅	censuerunt	narrative, no offices	∅	∅	rectangular	marble statue
413	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo et cives	∅	censuerunt	narrative	∅	∅	rectangular	marble statue
414	dat, 3rd	nom, regio	∅	posuit	full cursus honorum	one palm frond	higher pontiff, public augur of the Roman people and of the Quirites, member of board of 15	rectangular	
415	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo and populus	∅	∅	succinct, vague acclamations			rectangular	
416	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo et popul(us)	∅	∅	one title, succinct	∅	∅	rectangular	
417	dat, 3rd	nom, populus	∅	collocavit	vague acclamations, one title	∅	∅	rectangular	
418	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, ordo and populus	∅	censuerunt ponendam	no titles, vague acclamations	one ivy leaf	∅	rectangular	
419	dat, 3rd	nom, regiones, collegia	∅	posuerunt	brief cursus honorum			rectangular	
420	gen and dat, 3rd	[---]	[---]	[---]	one title, vague acclamations	[---]	[---]	rectangular	
421	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, ordo et populus	∅	constituit	one title, vague acclamations	∅	∅	rectangular	
422	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, patria	∅	consignat honores	vague acclamations	∅	appeal to "deus" to look after him	rectangular	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: Italian Peninsula										
423	LSA-1912	Camodeca, <i>Ostraka</i> , forthcoming	Campania	Puteoli	350-400	Latin	prose	Tannoni Chrysanti	patron	patrono
424	LSA-1914	<i>CL X</i> , 1815	Campania	Puteoli	350-400	Latin	prose	Tannonio Bolonio Chrysanti	patron by descent	patrono
425	LSA-1972	<i>CL X</i> , 4755	Campania	Suessa	350-400	Latin	prose+	Lucius Mamilianus Lichianus	patron	patrono
426	LSA-1414	<i>CL X</i> , 683	Campania	Surrentum	350-420	Latin	prose	[---]	[---]	[---]
427	LSA-1713	<i>CL IX</i> , 703	Samnum	Teannum Apulum	352/375	Latin	unknown	F[il]avio Uranio	provincial governor	rectori
428	LSA-1750	<i>CL IX</i> , 2337	Samnum	Allifae	352-357	Latin	prose	Fabio Maximo	provincial governor and patron	conditori
429	LSA-1753	<i>CL IX</i> , 2449	Samnum	Allifae	352-357	Latin	prose	Fabio M[aximo]	provincial governor and patron	instaurator] / mofenium publi- /corum ---]
430	LSA-1777	<i>CL IX</i> , 2639	Samnum	Aesernia	352-357	Latin	prose	Fabio Maximo	provincial governor	instauratori moenium publicorum
431	LSA-1754	<i>CL IX</i> , 2463	Samnum	Allifae, in Curia in Forum	352-357	Latin	prose	[Fabio(?) Maximo(?)	provincial governor and patron	[Fabio(?) Maximo(?)
432	LSA-1783	<i>CL IX</i> , 2956	Samnum	Iuvanum	352-357	Latin	prose	Fabio Maximo	provincial governor	rectori
433	LSA-1775	<i>CL IX</i> , 2566	Samnum	Bovianum	352-363	Latin	prose	Ciodio Octavian[o]	city patron	consulari, praesides, patrono

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Italian Peninsula									
423	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, ordo et populus	∅	posuerunt	partial cursus honorum, includes process of erection with several parties involved			rectangular	
424	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo et populus	∅	curaverunt	vague acclamations	∅	∅	rectangular	statue
425	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo populusq(ue)	∅	censuerunt	no titles, vague acclamation	∅	∅	rectangular	
426	dat	[---]	[---]	[---]	[---]	[---]	[---]	unknown	
427	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	∅	posuerunt	succinct, one title	∅	∅	rectangular	
428	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo and populus	∅	∅	succinct			lost	
429	dat, 3rd	[---]	[---]	[---]				lost	
430	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo and populus	curante Aurelio Pauliniano	∅	succinct, one title			rectangular	
431	dat, 3rd?	nom, ordo and populus?	[---]	[---]	[succinct]			lost	
432	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	∅	∅	succinct, two titles			rectangular	
433	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	∅	∅	cursus honorum		pontifex maior	rectangular	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: Italian Peninsula										
434	LSA-1742	<i>CL IX</i> , 1590	Campania	Beneventum	353	Latin	prose	[P]ulvidio Argolico	comes fabricarum and patron	comiti fabricarum
435	LSA-1726	<i>AE 1968</i> , 124	Campania	Beneventum	353-380	Latin	prose	Pulldio Argolico	patron	patrono)
436	LSA-1634	<i>CL XI</i> , 4118	Tuscia et Umbria	Narnia	355-370	Latin	prose	P(ublio) Publilio Caenonio Iuliano	provincial governor	correctori
437	LSA-2052	<i>CL X</i> , 6441	Campania	Privernum	357-370	Latin	prose	[---]	provincial governor	correctori, cons(ulari)
438	LSA-1857	<i>CL X</i> , 763	Campania	Aequana	360-380	Latin	prose	Avianus Vindicianus	provincial governor	[---]
439	LSA-1779	<i>CL IX</i> , 2641	Sannium	Aesernia	360-430	Latin	prose+	Flavio Iulio Innocentio	provincial governor	praesidi
440	LSA-1795	<i>CL IX</i> , 5684	Flaminia et Picenum	Cingulum	362	Latin	prose	Flavius Fortunius	palatine official and patron	palatino, patrono
441	LSA-1628	<i>AE 1964</i> , 203	Tuscia et Umbria	Falerii Novi, found in baths of a private villa	364	Latin	prose	Theoctenii Bassi. Iunio Basso	prefect of the city	praefecto urbi
442	LSA-45	<i>AE 1976</i> , 141	Campania	Puteoli	364-383	Latin	prose+	Tannoni Crhysanti	local notable, patron	patroni
443	LSA-41	<i>AE 1968</i> , 115	Campania	Puteoli	365-379	Latin	prose	Audentio Aemiliano	provincial governor	cons(ulari)
444	LSA-1620	<i>CL XI</i> , 6958	Tuscia et Umbria	Luna	366-400	Latin	prose	Lucilio / Costantio	provincial governor	praesidi, consulari

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Italian Peninsula									
434	dat, 3rd	nom, Leontiani guild	∅	duxerunt ponendam esse	succinct		dis manibus (from earlier use)	unknown	funeral (in earlier use)
435	dat, 3rd	nom, universi collegiati	[---]	posuerunt	[---]			rectangular	
436	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	∅	conlocaverunt	succinct, one title			rectangular	
437	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	[---]	censuit conlocandam	cursus honorum	[---]	ob... religionem	rectangular	statue
438	gen, 3rd	[---]	[---]	[---]	[---]	[---]	[---]	unknown	
439	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, ordo and populus	[---]	[---]	one title, vague acclamations	[---]	∅	rectangular	
440	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	∅	decrevit ponendam				rectangular	
441	gen and dat, 3rd	∅	∅	∅	full cursus honorum			rectangular	
442	dat, 3rd	nom, populus	∅	decrevit	vague acclamations			rectangular	
443	dat, 3rd	nom, the whole people	∅	collocavit	succinct, vague acclamations			rectangular	body and head also found, made of marble
444	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo et cives	∅	collocarunt	name of honorers comes first, two titles, succinct			rectangular	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: Italian Peninsula										
445	LSA-1968	<i>CIL X, 4724 (+p 1012)</i>	Campania	Capua	367	Latin	prose+	Minucius Aeterius	local notable	
446	LSA-2027	<i>CIL X, 5179</i>	Campania	Casinum	368-388	Latin	prose	Sextus Petronius Probus	senator	v(iro) c(larissimo)
447	LSA-1963	<i>CIL X, 4560</i>	Campania	Trebula Balnensis	370-400	Latin	prose	Ragonius Vincentius Celsus	senatorial patron	patrono
448	LSA-1854	<i>CIL X, 681</i>	Campania	Surrentum	370-420	Latin	prose	Flavius Furius Faustus	city patron	patrono
449	LSA-1599	<i>CIL V, 3344</i>	Venetia et Histria	Verona	371	Latin	prose	Petronio Probo	consul and patron	proconsuli, praefecto praetorio, consuli
450	LSA-1913	Camodeca, <i>Ostrcka</i> , forthcoming	Campania	Puteoli	375-390	Latin	prose	Naerati Sc[opi]	provincial governor	[---]
451	LSA-1683	<i>CIL XIV, 2917</i>	Campania	Praeneste	379-381	Latin	prose	Anicio Auchenio Basso	provincial governor	proconsuli
452	LSA-1729	<i>CIL IX, 1568</i>	Campania	Beneventum	379-382	Latin	prose	Anicio Auchenio Basso	provincial governor	proconsuli
453	LSA-1730	<i>CIL IX, 1569</i>	Campania	Beneventum	379-382	Latin	prose	Anicio Aucenio	provincial governor	proconsuli
454	LSA-1848	<i>CIL X, 518</i>	Campania	Cava dei Tirreni	379-382	Latin	prose	Anicius Auchenius Bassus	provincial governor	proconsuli
455	LSA-2034	<i>CIL X, 5651</i>	Campania	Fabrateria Vetus	379-382	Latin	prose	Anicius Auchenius Bassus	provincial governor, patron	patrono
456	LSA-1941	<i>AE 1972, 75b</i>	Campania	Capua, Casilinum	380	Latin	prose+	Anicio Paulino	provincial governor, prefect of Rome	proconsulatus, pr(a)efecto Urbis
457	LSA-1745	<i>CIL IX, 1591</i>	Campania	Beneventum	380-400	Latin	prose+	Valerio Publicolae	provincial governor	consulari
458	LSA-326	<i>AE 1892, 143</i>	Campania	Naples	382	Latin	prose	Anicio Auchenio Basso	provincial governor	proconsuli

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honoror	Secondary Honoror	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Italian Peninsula									
445	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, centonari	∅	cens(uerunt)	no exact titles, vague acclamations	∅	fabente maiestate dei; Urbe sacra, ante sedem dei	rectangular	statue
446	dat, 3rd	[---]	[---]	[---]	[---]	[---]	[---]	rectangular	
447	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo populusque	∅	dederrunt	at least one title	[---]	[---]	rectangular	
448	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo and populus	∅	censuimus erigendam	one title	∅	∅	rectangular	statue
449	dat, 3rd	∅	∅	∅	full cursus honorum			rectangular	
450	gen, 3rd	nom, ordo and populus	[---]	offert	succinct			rectangular	
451	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, ordo populusque	∅	censuit ponendam	succinct, one title, vague acclamations			rectangular	
452	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, plebs	[---]	[---]	two titles, vague acclamations		judge representing the emperor- sacra	rectangular	
453	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, regio	∅	locavit	one title, vague acclamations		judge representing the emperor- sacra	unknown	
454	dat, 3rd	[---]	[---]	[---]	[---]	[---]	[---]	rectangular	
455	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo populus(que)	∅	∅	vague acclamations	[---]	[---]	rectangular	
456	dat, 3rd	nom, regiones, collegia	∅	posuerunt	two titles, vague acclamations			rectangular	
457	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo and populus	∅	decevit	one title, vague acclamations			rectangular	
458	gen (statue of x)	nom, ordo and populus	∅	∅	succinct, two titles			rectangular	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: Italian Peninsula										
459	LSA-1686	CIL XIV, 2934	Campania	Praeneste	385	Latin	prose+	Postumio Iuliano	senatorial patron, benefactor	patrono
460	LSA-1612	CIL XI, 15	Flaminia et Picenum	Ravenna	385-450	Latin	prose	(C)ai) Mario Eventio	defensor	defensori
461	LSA-1942	CIL X, 3860	Campania	Capua, amphitheater	400-407	Latin	prose	Postumio Lampadio	provincial governor and patron	cons(ulari), patrono
462	LSA-330	AE 1968, 123	Campania	Beneventum	400-410	Latin	prose	Turrano Decentio Benigno	senatorial patron	patrono
463	LSA-2039	AE 1954, 27	Campania	Minturnae	400-440	Latin	prose	Honori. Flavio T(h)leodoro	senatorial patron	patrono
464	LSA-1694	AE 1957, 43	Apulia et Calabria	Canusium	400-450	Latin	prose	Cassio Rufurio	provincial governor	consulari
465	LSA-1808	AE 1916, 102	Lucania et Bruttii	Regium Iulium	401	Latin	prose and verse+	F(lavio) Zenodoro	provincial governor	correctori
466	LSA-1973	AE 1968, 113; 1998, 369; 2001, 610	Campania	Teanum Sidicinum	402-410	Latin	prose	F(lavio) Lupo	provincial governor and patron	praesidi, [patrono]
467	LSA-2030	CIL X, 5349	Campania	Interamna Lirenas	408	Latin	prose+	Marcus Sentius Redemptus	local notable, patron	
468	LSA-327	AE 1894, 89	Campania	Naples	408-431	Latin	prose	Nicomacho Flaviano	provincial governor	consulari
469	LSA-339	CIL X, 1702	Campania	Puteoli	409	Latin	prose	Pontio Proserio Paulino Iuniori	provincial governor and patron	cons(ulari)
470	LSA-1862	CIL X, 1128	Campania	Abellinum	409	Latin	prose	[---]	master of the soldiery	magistro utrius militiae

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Italian Peninsula									
459	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, we (Praeneste)	∅	censuimus	vague acclamations, records part of his will			rectangular	posthumous, part of his will included
460	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo et cives	sumptu proprio	conlocaverunt	one title, vague acclamations			rectangular	
461	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	∅	locavit	one title, vague acclamations	∅	∅	rectangular	
462	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	∅	∅	succinct, two titles	∅	∅	rectangular	
463	gen and dat, 3rd	nom, populu(s)	∅	posuerunt	succinct, vague			plaque	
464	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	∅	censuit ponendam	succinct, one title			rectangular	
465	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo and populus	∅	posuerunt	one title, verse acclamations			rectangular	
466	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	∅	∅	full cursus honorum			rectangular	
467	dat, 3rd	nom, populus	∅	censuerunt	no exact titles, vague acclamations	two palm frons	∅	rectangular	
468	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo and populus	∅	censuit	two titles, vague acclamations			rectangular	
469	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo and populus	∅	conlocabit	cursus honorum	one title, succinct	∅	rectangular	
470	dat, 3rd	abl, individual, Caeciliano	curante Pereno (sic) Paulino	∅	[---]	one title, succinct	∅	lost	

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	LSA #	Reference	Province	Location	Date	Language	Prose/ Verse	Name of Honorand	Type of Honorand	Office/ Honor
Region: Italian Peninsula										
471	LSA-1934	AE 1972, 143	Campania	Beneventum	409	Latin	prose	Pontio Proserio Paulino	provincial governor and patron	cons(ulari), [p]atrono
472	LSA-2045	CIL X, 6088	Campania	Formia	409	Latin	prose	Pon[t]io Paulino	provincial governor	cons(ulari)
473	LSA-324	CIL XIV, 2165	Campania	Arfia	437	Latin	prose+	Anicio Achilio Glabroni Fausto	praetorian prefect	praefecto praeto/rio

Table 5: Late Antique Honorific Inscriptions
284-550 CE

#	Case, Person of Honorand	Case of Honorer	Secondary Honorer	Dedicatory Verb	Other	Decoration/ Interpunctuals	Religious References	Type of Base	Statue?
Region: Italian Peninsula									
471	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo	∅	conlocavit	succinct, one title			rectangular	
472	dat, 3rd	[---]	[---]	[---]	[---]	at least one title	[---]	rectangular	
473	dat, 3rd	nom, ordo and Cives	∅	conlocaverunt	cursus honorum			rectangular	