Marcus Aurelius, which may have been placed there (if real) a century and a half before (Fig. 23).[22] The Anaglypha Traiani depict more peculiar statues in this area: an elaborate group of Trajan confronted by Italia, and the old statue of Marsyas the satyr, a symbol of political freedom—*libertas*—copies of which stood in other Italian cities (Fig. 26).[23]

From there one could ascend to the Capitol by the Gemonian steps where the bodies and the statues of traitors were mutilated and exposed. The two peaks of the hill were crowded with temples, and in the Area Capitolina next to the ancient Temple of Jupiter there were so many statues of kings, aristocrats and gods that Augustus could remove some of the private dedications to the Campus Martius.[24]

We could make further imaginative journeys through the Roman world of statues. For beyond this cross-section of the city and its suburbs there were the other areas of public display, all adorned with different kinds of statue: there were the imperial fora, the temples and sanctuaries, the arches, basilicas, and porticoes; there were bath complexes, theatres, imperial mausolea, and stadia. Then there were the smaller public spaces of the city: the fountains and cross-roads and shrines. And within the courtyards and gardens of the larger houses there were statues and private portraits, and images of the emperor; there were images of lares in the household shrines, and other decorative statuettes. And then there were the ritual processions of statues and effigies by which they were exposed throughout the city, and there were the countless representations of statues in other media which both revealed and amplified their impact on the inhabitants of Rome.

But in the end, what does any of this tell us? We can see, certainly, that objects identifiable to us as statues were much more numerous in the Roman world than they are in the modern West: that they were of greater concern to those who built in Rome and engaged in Roman cult or public life. We can see that this enormous population of statues comprised a huge variety of forms serving a multitude of functions, and that even the most specific sculptural forms were versatile, simultaneously deployed, like the Venus-statues, for quite different tasks. This is a good start. Classical art historians sometimes tell how the ancient populations inhabited 'cities of images'[25] and, despite the phrase's

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[22] Compare the statuary representation—a possible predecessor to Hadrian and Marcus?—identified by Torelli and Kuttner on the Anaglypha Traiani: M. Torelli, *Typology and Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs* (Ann Arbor 1982) 98; A. Kuttner, *Dynasty and Empire in the Age of Augustus* (Berkeley 1995) 45.

[23] See Ch. 3 and Torelli, *Typology and Structure*, 89–118. On the Marsyas and *libertas* see P. B. Rawson, *The Myth of Marsyas in the Roman Visual Art: An Iconographic Study* (Oxford 1987) 224–5 and Torelli, *Typology and Structure*, esp. 105–6.

[24] See Chs. 8 and 4 respectively.

[25] e.g. C. Bérard et al., *A City of Images: Iconography and Society in Ancient Greece*, trans. Deborah Lyons (Princeton 1989): in the title and e.g. p. 7; M. Beard, 'Adopting an Approach II', in N. Spivey and

doubtful implication of a contrast with the modern world, it may be useful to remember the scale of artistic production in a pre-mechanical age. But ultimately, that exercise tells us little more about the place of statues in Roman society than do the regionary catalogues from late antiquity or the other medieval expressions of admiration at the *mirabilia Romae*—the wonders of Rome. Nor does it tell us much about what this collection of statues meant, or what certain groups and individuals thought it meant, or wanted it to mean. For us, even to talk about 'statues' as a category is to make assumptions about Roman attitudes to art; the assumptions are fair, as we shall see, but they require justification.

This book examines characteristics of the Romans' engagement with statuary. It is not mainly concerned with particular statues, long ago dislodged from their various ancient contexts, nor with the modern categories of 'sculpture', 'portraiture', 'fine art' and 'cult', with which we have tended to organize archaeologically rootless survivals of ancient art. It is concerned rather with *all* the statues, viewed together according to Roman categories. It takes as its focus the apparently limitless subject of Roman *statues*—as a collectivity—rather than the generic 'sculpture'.

That particular perspective brings its own limitations, but it also exposes important aspects of Roman culture and society which have usually been overlooked in the past. The Roman culture of statues has been ignored because 'statuary', as such, has generally not been studied in recent times. The reasons for that neglect lie partly in the changing aesthetic attitudes of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and they demand some comment at the outset. Naturally, modern assumptions establish the parameters within which ancient statues have been viewed.

THE DEATH OF THE STATUE

Baudelaire's pamphlet-review of the 1846 Paris Salon contains one section provocatively entitled, 'Why Sculpture is Tedious'.[26] It is, primarily, an assault on the bland and hackneyed creations in the exhibition, but the author comments more generally on the condition of sculpture—an art that is at best complementary (to architecture), at worst both isolated and trivial.

T. Rasmussen (eds.), *Looking at Greek Vases* (Cambridge 1991) 12–35, at 14–15. Both these on classical Greece; cf. J. Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph* (Oxford 1998) 11–14 on the Roman world as a visual culture.

[26] 'Pourquoi la sculpture est ennuyeuse'. Eng. trans. in J. Mayne (ed.), *Art in Paris, 1845–62: Salons and Exhibitions Reviewed by Charles Baudelaire* (London 1965) 111–13.

Defining Statues in Word and Image

What is a statue? There is little ambiguity in the modern usage of the word. We use it to refer to free-standing sculptural representations of full figures; they are usually life-size or larger. The word is sometimes more loosely applied to include, for example, architectural sculptures, but the basic sense is clear.

There is no doubt about the prominence of such objects in the Graeco-Roman world. Hundreds of artefacts survive that meet our expectations of the statue. Classical statuary is familiar not least for its influence on the art of recent centuries. In light of this it may seem perverse to ask whether statues really existed in Roman culture or what they actually were; but insofar as we are trying to think in Roman terms, the question is crucial, for the study of Roman culture—the analysis of language above all—would suggest that statues were not conceptualized exactly as they are today.

This chapter and the next address the fundamental question of how the Romans thought about statuary—its nature and functions and typical forms—and the (rather different) ways in which their assumptions are manifested in language and iconography. In fact, language and iconography are essential elements throughout this study and the ideas outlined below will be developed further in subsequent chapters. Although the concepts of statues examined here are often rather abstract and general in character, yet we shall come to see more clearly how important these are for the representation of statuary at work in society.

Chapter 2 will deal with some of the ways in which statues were characterized in Roman culture, examining attitudes towards the head and body in portrait statuary, ideas of proper proportion and compositions, and the portrayal of statues that depart from the norm—statues from the distant past, or beyond the boundaries of civilization, and images that infringe the conventions of mimetic representation or artistic elaboration. But first we must focus more closely on the premises that both inform and emerge from Roman language and iconography. It is vocabulary that demands attention first as perhaps the most subtle and pervasive means by which Roman statues were represented and defined.

TERMINOLOGY

Having seen the power of terminology to shape and reflect our own view of art and its history, we should begin with ancient vocabulary and the degree to which it may have shaped and reflected Roman ways of regarding statues. My intention is not to find the true definition of the Roman statue, and indeed, ancient difficulties in definition will emerge here and later on. We can, however, search for some basic ancient assumptions about the statue, and show where modern ones distort our understanding.

It is important above all to establish that Romans recognized the statue as one particular thing: that sculptures serving a variety of functions in many different contexts were regarded as having sufficient homogeneity to qualify as a particular kind of object. That is why the examination of the usual categories of statue—honorific and commemorative figures, cult images, and art-objects—is deferred to later chapters. The immediate aim is to examine all kinds of statues together. They were often viewed in quite different ways; but the similarities are close enough to demand an overview of the subject, disregarding conventional categories that are largely modern inventions, and largely arbitrary. We shall see that different classes of statuary existed, but they represent sometimes fuzzy concepts which are hard to maintain positively.

Later chapters should show more clearly how Romans regarded their statues as a collectivity. But the question of terminology is the most immediate, for it appears to present a serious obstacle to this unified view of statuary. How could the Romans have recognized all three-dimensional, sculptural figures as the same kind of thing when no single word existed to denote it? Was antiquity ignorant of conceptual categories that we articulate?

The problem is this: Latin has a familiar word for 'statue'—*statua*—which lives on in most European languages. Common though it is, however, *statua* is not the only term for a sculpture in the round. Even in contexts where we can determine that the subject is certainly a statue as we conceive it, a variety of other words are used. After *statua* the most frequent words are *simulacrum* and *signum*. There are, besides, rarer labels such as *colossus* which have more specific meanings; and there are more general terms—notably *imago* ('image'), *effigies* ('effigy', 'likeness') and *species* ('image', 'figure')—which cover many different kinds of object (inevitably my translations of these terms are just crude equivalents). The first three words are the most relevant for us because they are the most problematic, and because they are very often used specifically to denote sculpture in the round.[1]

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[1] On terminology generally see R. Daut, *Imago: Untersuchungen zum Bildbegriff der Römer* (Heidelberg 1975); G. Lahusen, 'Statuae et Imagines', in B. von Freytag Gen Löringhoff et al. (eds.), *Praestant Interna:*

how literary references to statues in general are shaped by a series of premises about how these objects should be constructed, how they should appear, and what kind of representation they should offer. But Roman portraits themselves are more immediately instructive.

HEADS AND BODIES

The vast quantity of portrait busts or heads surviving from Roman antiquity and attested in written sources is ample evidence that the face could stand as a sufficient marker of an individual's identity. But even as part of a full statue it often looks like an autonomous adjunct to the body. In practical terms, ancient statues were more often than not composed from separate pieces and marble portrait heads were literally slotted into neck sockets, as both surviving torsoes and heads with their frustrum-shaped bosses illustrate. The enormous range of Roman portrait heads in stone was also tailored to a relatively small range of body-types.[5] There is usually nothing about the body or pose that specifies the identity of the portrait subject in anything other than generic terms: it is the head which is, so to speak, tailor-made, just as the portrait faces on 'mass-produced' sarcophagi were often left to be filled in later.[6] This is, to a large degree, true of other periods of portraiture—portraits have so often served to place the subject in a generally recognized social role—and it is certainly true of Hellenistic and late Republican portrait statues. But in the Principate the repertoire of body-types was all the more repetitive, not only in iconography, but also in more subtle refinements such as contrapposto or drapery folds.

To describe the principles behind this sort of portraiture Richard Brilliant has coined the term, 'the appendage aesthetic'. In a statue such as the 'Barberini Togatus' (Fig. 6),

the specific identity of the subject, established by the particularized features of the original head, has been conceived as a symbolic addendum without regard to the integrity of the body. It would seem, therefore, that the sculptor had created the head as the principal visual clue for the purposes of identification, set into a well-orchestrated environment similar in conception, if not in intent, to the scenic flats with cut-outs for faces, popular among resort photographers early in the twentieth century. Indeed, the many headless togate statues that survive from antiquity are analogous to stage-sets without actors, even more when the sunken hole between the shoulders was prepared by a sculptor's workshop, in advance, to receive a head (and an identity) carved and inserted by the master portraitist.[7]

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[5] Cf. observation in Frel, *Roman Portraits in the Getty Museum*, 8.

[6] Cf. J. Huskinson, '' Unfinished Portrait Heads' on Later Roman Sarcophagi: Some New Perspectives', *PBSR* NS 53 (1998) 129–58 (focusing on problems of interpretation, with review of bibliography).

[7] R. Brilliant, *Roman Art from the Republic to Constantine* (London 1974) 166–8.

FIG. 6. Although the ancient head of the 'Barberini togatus' is not the original one, the statue illustrates Brilliant's notion of the 'appendage aesthetic'. (Marble statue of a man with family portraits. From Italy; *c.* late-first century BC. Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome, Braccio Nuovo 2392. H: 1.65 m.)

There are obvious economic advantages to this sort of production, or indeed to the reduction of Greek portrait statues to herms.[8] But it also reflects, or helped perhaps to create, a general attitude to portrait statues and their symbol-

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[8] Zanker, *The Mask of Socrates*, (n. 2) 9–14 on the aesthetics and practicalities.

ism. The body that supported the portrait-head, providing it with a necessary 'podium' in public contexts and rendering the honour of a portrait more conspicuous, was integrated in a system of symbolism separate from that of the head, its identifiable features and its physiognomy.[9] That is most clearly demonstrated by 'divinizing' statues: portrait statues that represented an individual with the body of a god or goddess.

The Jupiter-portraits of Claudius and the Venus-portraits of Roman women are well-known examples which have sometimes seemed preposterous to modern commentators. In these cases the necks and bodies are harmoniously joined but the realistic, individualistic features of the face—hair, wrinkles, protruding muscles and bone-structure—seem to clash with the smooth features or highly developed musculature of *Idealplastik*—idealized Hellenic classicism—as well as the poses and the iconography of gods.

So we see Claudius in an over-life-size statue from Lanuvium, semi-nude, in the guise of Jupiter, left arm raised to hold a sceptre, right hand extended to hold a patera (Fig. 7). An eagle supporting his right leg confirms the divine allusion. A similar statue was found at Olympia (belonging to the Metroon there), which suggests a common archetype. The same phenomenon can be seen with two other statues of the emperor: a half-draped standing figure in bronze from Herculaneum and a seated figure from a dynastic group at Cerveteri, though in these cases the association with Jupiter is less explicit.[10] The incongruity of middle-aged features attached to a divinized body, especially inappropriate for the image of Claudius, leads Ramage and Ramage to wonder 'whether the artist was making fun of an emperor who supposedly dribbled and was quite incoherent'. For Brilliant, 'the transfiguration of bandy-legged, middle-aged Claudius into Jupiter can only be seen as an elaborate put-on, legitimized by the fact that he was emperor and hence like Jupiter all-powerful. Only because his position and the imagery developed for the role coincided, was it possible to create such a portrait and cast old Claudius in it, knowing that the mechanisms for public acceptance existed, and Claudius-Jupiter would not appear incongruous'.[11]

Neither of these viewpoints is necessarily wrong (as the mockery of the Deified Claudius in Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* should remind us) but the assumptions they

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[9] On portraiture as a semiotic system see Nodelman, 'How to Read a Roman Portrait'.

[10] Lanuvium: Vatican, Sala Rotonda, inv. 243; see G. Lippold, *Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums* (Berlin 1956) iii/1, 137–40, no. 550, pls. 40–2; W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, 4th edn. by H. Speier, i. (Tübingen 1963) 37–8, no. 45. The arms and some smaller features are restored. Olympia: G. Treu, *Die Bildwerke von Olympia in Stein und Thon* (Berlin 1897) 244–5, pl. 60.1; D. E. E. Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture* (New Haven and London 1992) 133, fig. 107. Generally on these statues of Claudius (and for details of other examples): ibid. 129–35, figs. 106–9.

[11] N. H. L. Ramage and A. Ramage, *The Cambridge Illustrated History of Roman Art* (Cambridge 1991) 111; Brilliant, *Roman Art*, 174.

FIG. 7. The combination of middle-aged facial features with a divine body appears preposterous to modern viewers, but the ancient acceptance of such imagery requires explanation. (Marble statue of Claudius as Jupiter (the arms and various details are restored). From Lanuvium; *c.* AD 42/3. Vatican, Sala Rotonda, 243. H: 2.54 m.)
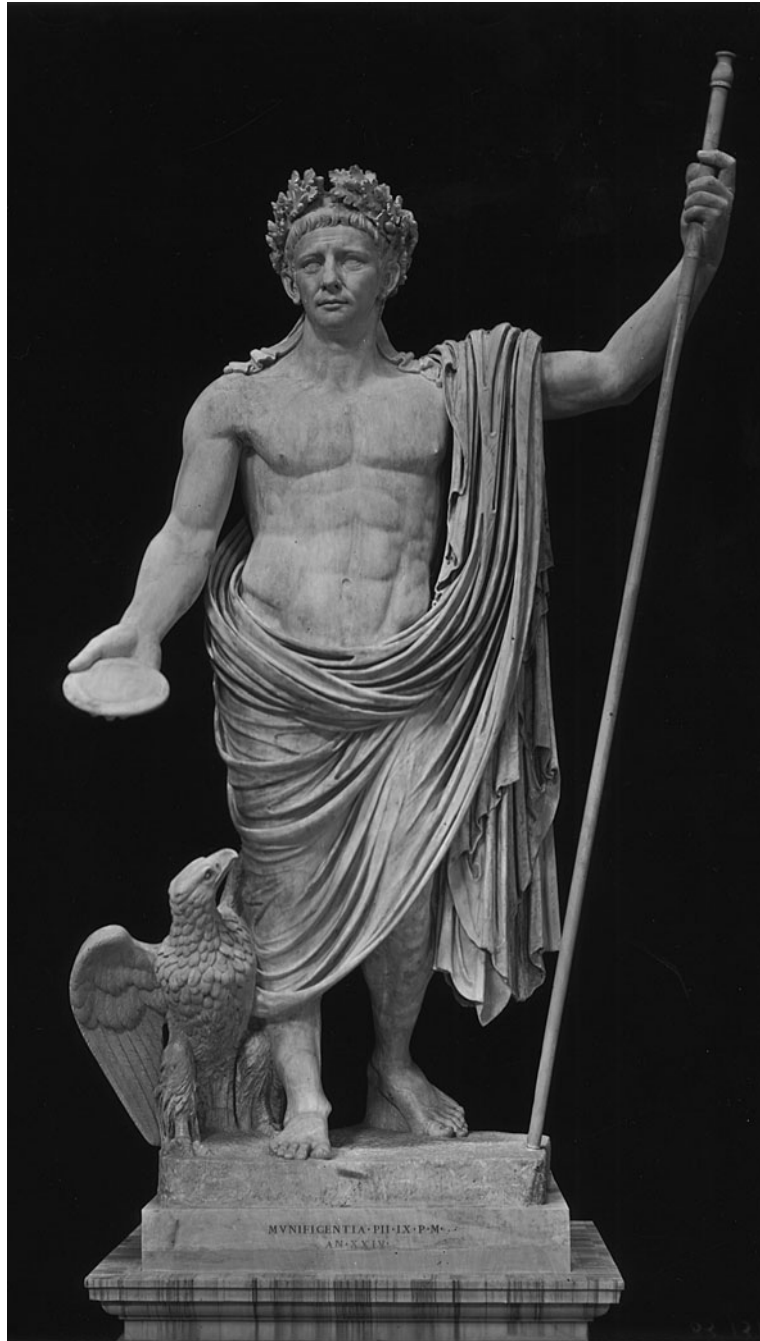
represent are potentially anachronistic, and even if we admit the possibility that contemporaries laughed at Claudius' divine images, we also need to acknowledge that they could not have been *inherently* laughable on Roman terms, especially given the popularity of this kind of mixed representation from Repub-

lican times onwards:[12] in other words we have to understand how such seemingly incongruous statues could be deemed acceptable. Clearly this is impossible if the entire statue is conceived as using the same kind of representation—if it is a single naturalistic rendering of the whole person. It is this approach that leads us to see Claudius-Jupiter as an incongruous composition; if we maintained it we should have to accept that the statue was always necessarily a travesty in the eyes of a Roman viewer. Ramage and Ramage imply that the statue's success depends upon the failure of the artist's joke (or else the ancient spectator's failure to appreciate the accidental humour of the juxtaposition). Brilliant's more positive solution assumes that the statue, as a sort of text, employs two separate languages: the language of iconic representation that produces individualized portrait features, and the symbolic language of the body with its divine iconography (and the idealized physique is part of that iconography). A loose idea of overall verisimilitude remains, and determines the composition of the figure. But the success of the image is dependent on the separate conception of head and body, and the refusal to take their juxtaposition literally. We may, however, assume that the potential for mockery remains, since the whole figure can be interpreted as a naturalistic portrayal.

The same principles apply to the Venus-portraits that first appear, as far as we know, in the Flavian period.[13] The nude body of a Venus is used as a prop for a more or less realistic head. As with male equivalents, the divine torso generally conforms to a recognizable statue-type of the deity. The Venus-types are arguably more various and more distinctive than those of other gods, and they were certainly familiar and widespread, though they may not have evoked specific archetypes; in the absence of other attributes, the familiar nudity implied a connection with Venus. Such statues were always or nearly always used for funerary monuments. They were employed by the Roman nobility, but seem to have enjoyed particular popularity among freedwomen in the second century.[14] With these statues we have the same problem of incongruity, as is particularly clear in the Lago Albano Venus-portrait (Fig. 8).[15] Here a naked

[12] Cf. H. G. Niemeyer, *Studien zur statuarischen Darstellung der römischen Kaiser* (Berlin 1968) 54–64, on idealizing imperial portrait statues.

[13] For a discussion of the deity-portrait in general see H. Wrede, *Consecratio in formam deorum: vergöttlichte Privatpersonen in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Mainz am Rhein 1981); for a list of private Venus-portraits see H. Wrede, 'Das Mausoleum der Claudia Semne und die bürgerliche Plastik der Kaiserzeit', *RM* 78 (1971) 125–66, at 157–63. For interpretation of Venus-portraits see: Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 177–9, 280–3; E. D'Ambra, 'The Cult of Virtues and the Funerary Relief of Ulpia Epigone', in E. D'Ambra, *Roman Art in Context*, 104–14; eadem, 'The Calculus of Venus: Nude Portraits of Roman Matrons', in N. B. Kampen (ed.), *Sexuality in Ancient Art: Near East, Egypt, Greece, and Italy* (Cambridge 1996) 219–32.

[14] Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 281–3.

[15] Wrede, *Consecratio*, 306–8, no. 292; D'Ambra (n. 13: *Calculus*) esp. 223–6, figs. 92 and 94 (231, n. 23 for further bibliography). Identifications have been attempted (e.g. Marcia Furnilla in Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 177–9).

FIG. 8. An explanation for the divinizing naked portraits of matrons has to be sought in the separate conception of head and body. (Marble statue of a Roman woman as Venus. Found near Lago Albano, allegedly at the 'Villa of the Flavii'; *c*. AD 90. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, 711. H. 1.83 m without plinth.)

body of the Venus Pudica (Capitoline Venus) type, accompanied by a Cupid whose feet alone remain, supported the head of a Roman matron. Her face is individualized (wide mouth, creases beneath eyes and above mouth, the shape of the nose) and her hair is arranged in the spongiform drilled curls typical of

portraits in the late Flavian to Trajanic periods. This individual is neither very young nor rendered more youthful by smooth and regular classical forms. The apparent incongruity of head and body is heightened by the nudity of the figure which seems to imply at least immodesty, and possibly open sexuality. Though the Pudica pose has always been used ostensibly to suggest modesty,[16] such statues appear quite inappropriate, especially given their context. Thus Ramage and Ramage, discussing the similar Porta San Sebastiano Venus-portrait (Fig. 3), find it difficult to overcome their surprise, and so assume that the modern aesthetic response must have prevailed among Romans also: 'The notion of making a portrait of a wealthy woman, standing naked, having just come from the hairdresser, seems completely incomprehensible to modern taste; and indeed was not so common in antiquity either.'[17] Once again, they may be right to imply ancient distaste for this form of portraiture (though in fact there is no reason to believe that its use was rare); we have little evidence of responses to such portraits, and the potential for subversive response is a matter for speculation. But we must assume a non-subversive response which accounts for the invention of these portraits, their widespread use and their longevity. This must surely be based on the separability of head and torso which permits the association of a particular person with a highly symbolic, universalized body. More recent research by Eve D'Ambra, partly reliant on ancient physiognomics, has started to show just how that symbolism may have worked.[18]

D'Ambra's approach to the combination of head and body is similar to Brilliant's, but she uses a different metaphor, originally conceived by Larissa Bonfante.[19] Rather than scenic flats, the exposed Venus-bodies are referred to as 'costumes'. This accords well with at least one ancient reference to a 'divinized' portrait statue, the Cupid-portrait of Germanicus' son 'in the attitude/apparel/guise of Cupid' ('effigiem in habitu Cupidinis') which was adored by Augustus in his bedroom and later dedicated by Livia on the Capitol.[20]

The different qualities of the statue head and body make visual deification of this sort particularly easy. It is through the distinctive features of the face, regardless of whether they form an accurate likeness, that Roman art expresses personal identity. The body is then used to convey further information about the individual's social persona. Gods, on the other hand, are more obviously identified not by the facial features, but by the more distinctive attributes associated with the rest of the body (although the iconography does involve the face as well,

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[16] Cf. perhaps Statius, *Silvae* 5.1.232 '– a Venus innocent in this stone'.

[17] Ramage and Ramage, *The Cambridge Illustrated History of Roman Art*, 134.

[18] D'Ambra, 'The Calculus of Venus'.

[19] L. Bonfante, 'Nudity as a Costume in Classical Art', *AJA* 93 (1989) 543–70.

[20] Suetonius, *Gaius* 7

most obviously in the disposition of facial hair).[21] Consequently statues declare a dual identity where the significance of the portrait head or face alone is limited.

The ancient sources that mention this kind of 'divine' portrait usually stress appearance over actual identity: there is usually no confusion of statue and god, as there could be with cult images; these are images of 'x *as* the god'.[22] Yet such a confusion could arise in connection with imperial portraits. And this fact was exploited. Gaius, for example, is said (truthfully or not) to have wanted Phidias' cult statue (*agalma*) of Olympian Zeus removed to Rome, and his portrait features (ἑαυτοῦ εἶδος/'[caput] suum') imposed upon it.[23]

Besides the alleged megalomania of tyrants, there were many other cases of the reappropriation of statue-bodies by the substitution of portrait heads. For example, an equestrian statue by Lysippus was moved to Caesar's Forum and the rider was given Caesar's features, 'Caesaris ora'. Under Tiberius a man was killed for removing the head from a statue of Augustus in order to replace it with another's face. Numerous instances of this kind are listed in Blanck's study of statuary reuse.[24] The practice should be viewed alongside that easier procedure whereby only the inscription was changed (or added)—an indication perhaps of how little representational accuracy might really matter.[25] It should be noted, however, that the Greek verb used by Dio Chrysostom for the transformation of statues in this fashion is *metarrhuthmizein* (to change the form or *rhythmos* of the figure) which implies that in spite of the changeable head, the form of the statue is seen as a unity.[26]

The activities associated with *damnatio memoriae* fall into the same category: that formal assault on an individual's identity sometimes involved the placement of, say, the new emperor's head on the body of the old, or the recutting of the old head to bear the successor's portrait features.[27] This subject is discussed in more detail in Chapter 8; it is enough here to cite one particularly striking and

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[21] The *Carmina Priapea* 9, 20, and 36 give a good impression of this perception of divine iconography, as Priapus compares his own identifying feature with those of the Olympians.

[22] e.g. Suetonius, *Gaius* 7; Statius, *Silvae* 5.1.231–3 (though the two following lines employ the conceit that the deities themselves *receive* the deceased individuals' features).

[23] Suetonius, *Gaius* 22.2 and 57; Dio 59.28.2–3.

[24] Caesar: Statius, *Silvae* 1.1.84–5; Pliny, *NH* 8.155; Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* 61. Tiberius: Suetonius, *Tiberius* 58. H. Blanck, *Wiederverwendung alter Statuen als Ehrendenkmäler bei Griechen und Römern* (Rome 1969).

[25] See Dio Chrysostom, *Orationes* 31 (the *Rhodian Oration*); Pausanias 1.2.4; 1.18.3; 2.9.8; 2.17.3; Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 6.1.26; cf. similar image in Pliny, *NH* 35.4–5. Blanck, *Wiederverwendung*, 26–7, 65–94.

[26] Dio 59.28.3.

[27] Speed and economy were no doubt motives for this practice. It is often very difficult today to detect the original form behind the recut head. J. Pollini, '*Damnatio Memoriae* in Stone: Two Portraits of Nero Recut to Vespasian in American Museums', *AJA* 88 (1984) 547–55 suggests that the recutting itself was symbolically important, and F. Felten, 'Römische Machthaber und hellenistische Herrscher: Berührungen und Umdeutungen', *JÖAI* 56 (1985), Beiblatt 110–54, illustrates this with clearer examples.

well known example, the Cancelleria Reliefs in Rome; in Frieze A at least the head of Domitian has been recut, here as Nerva (Fig. 9).[28]

It is on the basis of this kind of evidence that Brilliant and others have conceived the 'appendage aesthetic'. It does not only apply to heads and torsos: the Prima Porta statue of Augustus shows how a classical model (the Doryphoros by Polyclitus) could be manipulated with new gestures, the addition of a cuirass, and other trappings.[29] But the partial autonomy of head and body is most notable in Roman portrait statues.

A number of ancient authors quite incidentally exemplify or build upon the aesthetic assumptions that accompanied the creation of such works of art, but their testimony has been largely neglected in art-historical studies.

Clearest of all in these ancient sources is the specific association of the head or face with the personal identity. We might predict this from the common use of the word *caput* to refer to a person's life.[30] The display of Cicero's head and hands on the Roman Rostra was intended as a direct assault on the orator's defining attributes.[31] Juvenal's account of the *damnatio memoriae* of Sejanus dwells most graphically on the disintegration of the face, and when his bronze statue is melted down (10.62–4):

> ardet adoratum populo caput et crepat ingens
> Seianus, deinde ex facie toto orbe secunda
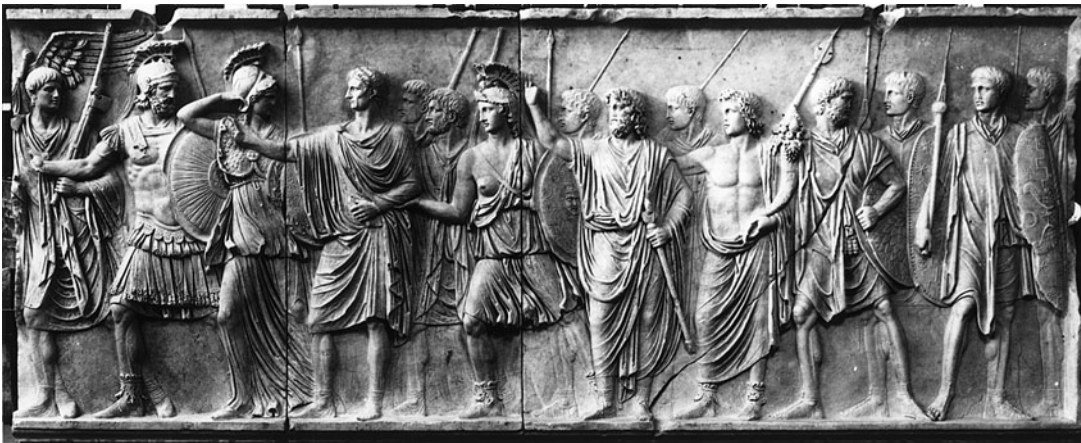> fiunt urceoli, pelves, sartago, matellae.

FIG. 9. The reworking of sculptural portraits is a striking feature of *damnatio memoriae*. ('Relief A' of the marble Cancelleria reliefs. Domitian with head replaced by that of Nerva. Found in Rome near Cancelleria Apostolica; 90s AD. Vatican, Cortile delle Corazze, 13389–13391. W: 5.08 m.)

[28] F. Magi, *I rilievi flavi del Palazzo della Cancelleria* (Rome 1945); Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 191–2, figs. 158–9.
[29] See R. Brilliant, *Roman Art*, 10.   [30] *OLD* 274, nos. 4, 7, and 8; cf. no. 5.
[31] Plutarch, *Cicero* 48.4–49.1.