

The Roman Honorific Arches of Pisidian Antioch: Reconstruction and Contextualization

by

Adrian John Ossi

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Classical Art and Archaeology)
in the University of Michigan
2009

Doctoral Committee:

Professor Elaine K. Gazda, Chair
Professor Raymond H. Van Dam
Associate Professor Christopher J. Ratte
Associate Professor Nicola Terrenato

Copyright Adrian John Ossi
2009

For my parents,
Joe and Carol Ossi

Table of Contents

Dedication	ii
List of Figures	v
List of Appendices	xxii
Abstract	xxiii
Chapter 1. Introduction	1
The Site	2
History of Field Research on the Arches of Pisidian Antioch.	4
Methodology and Contents of the Current Study.	8
Chapter 2. The Arch of Augustus at Pisidian Antioch: Assessment of the Archaeological and Archival Evidence	14
The Arch of Augustus in the Kelsey Museum Archives.	17
Assessment of Woodbridge’s Restored Elevation of the Arch of Augustus.	32
Assessment of Woodbridge’s Restored Plan and Section of the Arch of Augustus.	40
The Eastern Façade of the Arch of Augustus	44
Conclusion	46
Chapter 3. The Arch of Augustus in Context: A Visual <i>Res Gestae Augusti</i>. . . .	48
History of Research.	50
Historical Background.	56
Contemporary Honorific Arches: Motivations, Locations, and Decoration.	60
The Iconographic Program of the Arch of Augustus: A Visual <i>Res Gestae Augusti</i>	71

	The Arch of Augustus at Antioch and the Parthian Arch in the Forum Romanum	89
	Hellenistic Architectural Attributes of the Arch of Augustus.	97
	Conclusion.	106
Chapter 4.	The Arch of Hadrian at Pisidian Antioch: Assessment of the Archaeological and Archival Evidence.	108
	Current State.	109
	1924 Excavation and Reconstruction.	112
	Evidence of the Architectural Form.	115
	Evidence of the Decorative Program.	123
	The New Reconstruction	143
Chapter 5.	The Arch of Hadrian in Context.	144
	Past Research on the Arch of Hadrian.	146
	Historical Context for the Creation of the Arch of Hadrian	152
	The Development of Arches in Asia Minor and Greece from Augustus to Hadrian	155
	Form, Sculpture, and Inscription: the Cases of Phaselis and Perge.	164
	The Design of the Arch of Hadrian.	171
	Imperial Associations: Hadrian and Augustus	176
	Local Interests: City Gate, Platea, and Cascade	181
	Conclusion	184
Chapter 6.	Conclusion	186
	The Monumental Development of Sagalassos.	187
	Pisidian Antioch and Sagalassos.	190
	Conclusion.	193
Appendices		195
Bibliography		370

List of Figures

- Figure 1. Plan of Pisidian Antioch. Drawing by the author.
- Figure 2. Pisidian Antioch, schematic plan of the arch of Augustus and vicinity. Illustration by the author.
- Figure 3. 1924 view of the foundations of the arch of Augustus (at left a top stairs), the Tiberia Platea stairs, and the paved plaza (at right). Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1116.
- Figure 4. The same view as figure 3 today. Photo: author.
- Figure 5. The foundation of the lowest step (line of stones in middle) and of two fountains (paired stones in foreground and at top right). Photo: author.
- Figure 6. Three paving stones in situ at the base of the steps, and the square fountain base. Photo: author.
- Figure 7. View of the Tiberia Platea from on top of the stairs. The paving is partially preserved in the distance at right. Photo: author.
- Figure 8. Conjectural section of the steps and foundations of the arch of Augustus prior to excavation in 1924, with hypothetical collapse of upper levels of arch to base of steps. By the author.
- Figure 9. Profile of the cornice of the arch of Augustus. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge drawing.
- Figure 10. Underside of the coffers and consoles of **Cornice 1**. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1136
- Figure 11. Top surface of **Cornice 5**. Kelsey Museum Archives KR043.06
- Figure 12. Bottom surface of **Cornice 5**. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1119
- Figure 13. Elevation drawing of the front of the projecting portion (top) and bottom surface (bottom) of **Cornice 5**. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge notebook.
- Figure 14. Approximate outlines of corner cornice fragments superimposed onto the drawing of **Cornice 5**. Drawing by the author.

- Figure 15. Bottom surface of **Cornice 10**. The beveled edge is visible in silhouette at right. Kelsey Museum Archives KR049.05
- Figure 16. Right surface of **Cornice 10**. The beveled projection is visible at top. Kelsey Museum Archives KR030.02
- Figure 17. Schematic plan of the approximate location of certain blocks of the arch of Augustus as excavated in 1924. Illustration by the author.
- Figure 18. **Frieze 1**, front (at right) and left (at left) surfaces. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1376
- Figure 19. **Frieze 2**, front (at left) and right (at right) surfaces. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1373
- Figure 20. **Frieze 19**, front surface depicting a bust of Men Askaenos and left surface depicting a pair of greaves. Photo: J. Matthew Harrington.
- Figure 21. **Frieze 2**, right surface. The bust of Ceres is visible in profile at left, and the projecting tenon at right. Kelsey Museum Archives KR040.09.
- Figure 22. **Frieze 14**, front surface. A 10 cm-wide vertical strip is visible at left. Photo: author.
- Figure 23. Sketch of the join between **Friezes 2 and 14** (cf. figs. 21-22). By the author.
- Figure 24. **Friezes 3 and 4**, joined. Note slanted edges at right and left. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1391
- Figure 25. **Architrave 8** (upside down). Tenon visible at left. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1510
- Figure 26. **Architrave 8**, bottom surface with two dowel holes. Photo: author.
- Figure 27. Drawing of right surface (top) and bottom surface (bottom) of **Architrave 8**. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge notebook
- Figure 28. Architrave fragment with beveled edge on site today. Photograph by the author.
- Figure 29. Schematic plan of the join between architrave with beveled corner (left) and projecting architrave block (right). Drawing by the author.
- Figure 30. Plan of an engaged column. Kelsey Museum Archives, large Woodbridge drawing.
- Figure 31. **Engaged Capital 2**, with attached section of wall at left. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1431

- Figure 32. **Engaged Capital 4**, with attached section of wall at left. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1430
- Figure 33. Side view of **Engaged Capital 4**. Photo: Leah Long.
- Figure 34. Sketch plan of the join between **Engaged Capitals 2 and 4** and the adjacent wall. By the author.
- Figure 35. **Engaged Capital 1**, bottom surface with three dowel holes. Kelsey Museum Archives KR048.02
- Figure 36. **Engaged Capital 2**, bottom surface with three dowel holes; bottom surface of attached wall surface visible at lower left. Kelsey Museum Archives KR026.05
- Figure 37. **Engaged Drum 2**, top or bottom surface with three dowel holes. The tenon extends the full height of the drum. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1546
- Figure 38. **Engaged Drum 3**. The tenon extends only part of the height of the drum. Photo: author.
- Figure 39. **Engaged Drum 8**, left surface. The attached part of the wall is visible at left. Photo: author.
- Figure 40. **Engaged Drum 8**, right surface, which is worked like the tenons on the other engaged drums. Photo: author.
- Figure 41. The spandrel zone of one of the side archways, with the outlines of the sculpted blocks indicated. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge drawing (detail).
- Figure 42. **Spandrel 1**, front surface. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1275.
- Figure 43. **Spandrel 3**, front surface, depicting a genius figure. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1370
- Figure 44. **Spandrel 6**, front surface, depicting a victory. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1139.
- Figure 45. **Spandrel 9**, with a narrow pilaster in relief. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1523.
- Figure 46. **Spandrel 8**, with a wide pilaster in relief. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1496.
- Figure 47. **Spandrels 11-12**, with curved surfaces at bottom. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1329
- Figure 48. **Spandrel 7**, front surface with fragment of a draped shoulder and a wing. Note roughly worked vertical strip at right. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1522

- Figure 49. **Spandrel 7**, top, front, and right surfaces. Winged figure relief visible at left. Note the notch in right surface. Photo: author.
- Figure 50. Schematic plan of the possible relationship between **Spandrel 7** (at left) and an engaged column drum with projecting tenon (at center). Drawing by the author.
- Figure 51. Comparison of draped shoulders of **Spandrel 7** (left) and **Spandrel 6** (right). Photos: left, Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1522; right, Diana Ng.
- Figure 52. Sketch of **Spandrel 7** (in gray) and a conjectural stone completing the figured part of the spandrel. Illustration by the author.
- Figure 53. Voussoir moldings of the central archway. Kelsey Museum Archives, Colby/Woodbridge notebook.
- Figure 54. **Voussoir 1**, with front moldings at left and inset panel on archivolt at right. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1385
- Figure 55. **Springer 1**. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1514
- Figure 56. Calculation of the radii of the central and side arches. Kelsey Museum Archives, Colby/Woodbridge notebook
- Figure 57. **Pilaster Capital 3**. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1388
- Figure 58. Elevation of pilaster capital as preserved. Kelsey Museum Archives, Colby/Woodbridge notebook.
- Figure 59. Elevation of **Pilaster Shaft 1**. Pilaster at left. Roughly worked strip at right. Kelsey Museum Archives, Architectural Inventory.
- Figure 60. **Pilaster Shaft 1**, front face. Kelsey Museum Archives KR048.12
- Figure 61. **Pilaster Shaft 2**, elevation and plan. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge notebook.
- Figure 62. **Pilaster Base 1**, elevation. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge notebook.
- Figure 63. **Pilaster Pedestal 1** as preserved today. Photo: author.
- Figure 64. **Pilaster Pedestal 1**, elevation. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge notebook.
- Figure 65. **Narrow Arch 1**. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1384.
- Figure 66. Possible euthentyrria course, northern part of arch foundations, from northwest. Steps visible at lower right. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1116

- Figure 67. Same as fig. 59, viewed from east. Kelsey Museum Archives KR034.06
- Figure 68. Possible euthynteria course, southern part of arch foundations, viewed from the southwest. Kelsey Museum Archives KR047.06
- Figure 69. Same as fig. 68, viewed from east. Kelsey Museum Archives KR034.04
- Figure 70. Working plan of the Tiberia Platea and stairs. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge drawing
- Figure 71. Twelve stairs as preserved at northern end of the staircase. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1211
- Figure 72. Seven stairs preserved at north end of staircase. The top six steps have slumped forward, and the riser of the second step is nearly flush with the riser of the first step. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1116
- Figure 73. **Stair Pedestal Base 1**, on north end of steps. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1114
- Figure 74. **Stair Pedestal Base 2**, on south end of steps. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1115
- Figure 75. **Stair Pedestal Orthostat 1**, elevation (top) and dowel holes in bottom surface (bottom). Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge notebook.
- Figure 76. **Stair Pedestal Orthostat 2**, elevation (top) and dowel holes in bottom surface. (bottom). Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge notebook.
- Figure 77. **Stair Pedestal Base 1**, elevation (top) and plan of dowel holes in top surface (bottom). Kelsey Museum Archives, Colby/Woodbridge notebook.
- Figure 78. Woodbridge's drawings of **Stair Pedestal Base 1** and **Stair Pedestal Orthostat 1**, digitally joined by the author.
- Figure 79. **Stair Pedestal Orthostat 1**. Kelsey Museum Archives KR047.11
- Figure 80. **Stair Pedestal Base 3**, with moldings broken off. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1133
- Figure 81. Robbed out area where the fourth pedestal base would have been located. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1211
- Figure 82. Fountain base at the bottom of the steps in situ in 1924. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1476
- Figure 83. Terra cotta drain pipe discovered beneath the fountain base shown in figure 74a. The bottom surface of the fountain base, with the hole at its center, is visible at top. Kelsey Museum Archives KR044.04.

- Figure 84. Bronze pipe found in situ beneath the foundations of the third fountain. Kelsey Museum Archives KR049.09
- Figure 85. Bronze pipe (seen in fig. 84) after removal. Kelsey Museum Archives KR052.06
- Figure 86. At lower right, small pedestal base on top of bottom step at southern end of stairway. Two courses of stone still in situ on top. **Stair Pedestal Base 2** visible at left. Kelsey Museum Archives KR044.02
- Figure 87. Elevation and partial plan of **Molded Block 2**. Kelsey Museum Archives, Colby/Woodbridge notebook
- Figure 88. **Molded Block 2**, front surface (upside down). Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1519
- Figure 89. **Molded Block 3**, bottom surface at right. The moldings terminate into a vertical surface. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1520
- Figure 90. Comparison between moldings on **Molded Blocks 1-3** (at right) and the upper molding of the piers of the Hadrianic city gate. The moldings are depicted at the same scale. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge drawings
- Figure 91. Woodbridge's final reconstructed elevation of the arch of Augustus. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge drawing.
- Figure 92. Diagram with the uncertain elements of Woodbridge's reconstructed elevation of the arch of Augustus blocked out. Illustration by the author.
- Figure 93. Three fragments of the *Res Gestae* from Pisidian Antioch currently housed in the University Museum at the University of Mississippi. Photo: author.
- Figure 94. *Res Gestae* fragment 28a (as numbered by Ramsay and Von Premerstein 1926), front surface, with side surface visible at top. Photo: author.
- Figure 95. *Res Gestae* fragment 28a (as numbered by Ramsay and Von Premerstein 1926), side surface. In this photograph, the fragment is resting on its inscribed face. Photo: author.
- Figure 96. Woodbridge's final reconstructed section and plan of the arch of Augustus. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge drawing
- Figure 97. Plan of **Springer 3**, with molded surfaces indicated. Kelsey Museum Archives, Colby/Woodbridge notebook.
- Figure 98. Reconstruction of half of one pier of the arch of Augustus, based on **Springer 3** and an engaged column. Illustration by the author.

- Figure 99. Preliminary sketch of the piers of the arch of Augustus in plan. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge notebook.
- Figure 100. Plan of the arch of Augustus on the earliest restored plan, dated to 1925. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge drawing.
- Figure 101. Working drawing for Woodbridge's final reconstruction of the arch of Augustus. This is the only drawing in the entire archive that shows the arch with solid piers. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge drawing.
- Figure 102. Hypothetical arrangement of **Springer 3**, the narrow arch blocks, and an engaged column in a pier of the arch of Augustus with a transverse passageway. Illustration by the author.
- Figure 103. Ephesus, Arch of Mazaeus and Mithridates, view from the central archway through one of the transverse passageways to the statue niche at one end of the arch. Photo by the author.
- Figure 104. Verona, Arch of the Gavii, main façade. Photo: Wikimedia Commons user "MM," released into public domain.
- Figure 105. Verona, Arch of the Gavii, side view. Photo: Wikimedia Commons user "MM," released into public domain.
- Figure 106. Verona, Arch of the Gavii, view through the transverse passageway. Photo: Wikimedia Commons user "MM," released into public domain.
- Figure 107. Woodbridge's preliminary reconstruction of the arch of Augustus, dated to 1925 and published in Robinson 1926. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge drawing.
- Figure 108. Ephesus, Arch of Mazaeus and Mithridates, main façade. Photo by the author.
- Figure 109. Ephesus, Arch of Mazaeus and Mithridates, vegetal frieze. Photo by the author.
- Figure 110. Cornice block with no consoles found in the *Tiberia Platea*. View of front surface (at left) and bottom surface (at right). Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1570
- Figure 111. Comparison of profiles of the cornice of the Arch of Augustus (at right) and of the more plainly decorated cornice blocks (at left). Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge drawings, digitally merged by the author.

- Figure 112. Oblique view of the arch at Carpentras, France. After Esperandieu 1907, 179.
- Figure 113. The so-called Pont Flavien at St. Chamas, France. After Esperandieu 1907, 100.
- Figure 114. The arch of the Sergii at Pula, Croatia. After Frothingham 1908, 19.
- Figure 115. Drawing of a Claudian coin depicting the Augustan arch of Drusus. After Donaldson 1859, pl. 55.
- Figure 116. The Tiberian arch at Orange, France. After Frothingham 1908, 15.
- Figure 117. The arch of Augustus at Susa, Italy. After Frothingham 1908, 13.
- Figure 118. The frieze of the arch of Augustus at Susa, Italy. Top: treaty signing, after Esperandieu 1907, 16. Bottom: suovetaurelia sacrifice, after Esperandieu 1907, 19.
- Figure 119. The arch at Aquino, Italy. After Frothingham 1910, pl. 34b.
- Figure 120. The Augustan arch at Aosta, Italy. After Frothingham 1908, 12.
- Figure 121. The Augustan arch at Glanum, France, with the funerary monument of the Julii in the background. After Frothingham 1908, 17.
- Figure 122. Frieze from the monument of the Julii at Glanum, with tritons holding a shield. The tritons-with-shield motif is centered over the archway on the second level of the tower tomb (see fig. 121). After Esperandieu 1907, 97.
- Figure 123. Restored elevation of the Augustan arch at Philippi, Greece. After Heuzey and Daumet 1876, pl. 2.2.
- Figure 124. The arch of Augustus at Rimini, Italy. After Frothingham 1910, pl. 35a.
- Figure 125a-c. Three Spanish coins depicting arches erected in commemoration of imperial road construction. A: after Donaldson 1859, pl. 60. B: after Donaldson 1859, pl. 61. C: after MacDonald 1905, pl. 7.20.
- Figure 126. Foundations of the Parthian Arch (labeled “Arch of Augustus”) adjacent to the Temple of Divus Julius in the Forum Romanum. After Firth 1902, pl. following p. 188.
- Figure 127. Drawing of an Augustan coin minted in Rome, depicting the Parthian Arch in Rome. After Donaldson 1859, pl. 59.
- Figure 128. Capricorn from the frieze of the arch at Antioch. Photo: author.

- Figure 129. Coins of Augustus featuring a capricorn with globe and cornucopia. Photo: Photoservice Electa Mondadori / Art Resource, NY
- Figure 130. Coin of Augustus showing the façade of the temple of Divus Julius, with the sidus iulium in the pediment. Photo: Snark / Art Resource, NY
- Figure 131. Sidus iulium and a rostrum from the frieze of the arch at Antioch. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1453
- Figure 132. Combined corona civica and clipeus virtutis carried by winged Victories, from the Hadrianic arch at Antioch. Photo: author.
- Figure 133. Parthian standard bearer from the Hadrianic arch at Antioch. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1613
- Figure 134. Gallic standard bearer from the Hadrianic arch at Antioch. Kelsey Museum Archives KR110.04
- Figure 135. Augustan coin depicting a kneeling Parthian carrying a Roman standard. Photo: Yale University Art Gallery / Art Resource, NY
- Figure 136. Augustan coin depicting a kneeling Gaul carrying a Roman vexillum. Photo: Werner Forman / Art Resource, NY
- Figure 137. Tritons and trophies from the frieze of the arch at Antioch. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1391.
- Figure 138. Tritons and trophies from the frieze of the arch at Antioch. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1390.
- Figure 139. Captive from the arch of Augustus at Antioch. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1281.
- Figure 140. Captive from the arch of Augustus at Antioch. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1275.
- Figure 141. Lower part of a captive from the Hadrianic arch at Antioch. Photo: author.
- Figure 142a-d. Arch of Augustus at Pisidian Antioch, frieze blocks depicting (a) bow and quiver, (b) cuirass and part of a shield, (c) sword hilt, spear head, and part of a shield, and (d) cuirass with gorgoneion. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1453, 7.1454, KR025.12, and KR040.12, respectively.
- Figure 143. The tetrastyle propylon of the sanctuary of Athena at Pergamon. Jumbled masses of weapons and armor are displayed on the second story balustrade, and a frieze of garlands draped between bucrania and eagles decorates the upper frieze. Photos by Wikimedia Commons user “Gryffindor,” released into public domain, digitally merged by the author.

Figure 144. The Augustan quadrifrons at Cavaillon in France. After Esperandieu 1907, 173.

Figure 145. Garland from the Ara Pacis Augustae in Rome. After Strong 1907, pl. 20.

Figure 146. Garland frieze from the temple of Augustus at Antioch. Kelsey Museum Archives 5.0250.

Figure 147. Restored tablet of the Res Gestae from the arch of Augustus at Antioch. Kelsey Museum Archives 4.4270.

Figure 148. Detail of the breastplate of the statue of Augustus from Prima Porta. After Strong 1907, pl. 3

Figure 149. Inscriptions on the pilasters of the arch of Mazaeus and Mithridates in Ephesus. Photo: author.

Figure 150. The Porta Praetoria, one of the Augustan city gates at Aosta in Italy. After Frothingham 1910, 243.

Figure 151. Plan of the sanctuary of Men Askaenos at Pisidian Antioch. After Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, fig. 6.

Figure 152. Plan of the sanctuary of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia on the Meander. After Humann 1904, map 2.

Figure 153. Eastern piers of the city gate, from the south. Photo: author.

Figure 154. West outer pier of the city gate, from the southeast. Photo: author.

Figure 155. Plan of the area around the city gate. Original drawing courtesy of John W. Humphrey, modified by the author.

Figure 156. City gate, pier 4, unfinished eastern face. Photo: author.

Figure 157. Remains of Pier 2 from west (at left) with adjoining molded base (at lower right). Photo: author.

Figure 158. View over excavations of the arch of Hadrian in 1924, from northeast. Kelsey Museum Archives, 7.1654.

Figure 159. View over the remains of the arch of Hadrian in 2004 (cf. fig. 158), with an overlay of a digital model of the arch. Photo, digital model, and overlay: author.

Figure 160. Reconstruction of the Arch of Hadrian as a single-bayed arch. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge drawing.

Figure 161. Sketch on a notecard of the Arch of Hadrian as a triple-bayed arch. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge drawing.

- Figure 162. Plan of Pisidian Antioch by Frederick J. Woodbridge, and detail of the area around the city gate with the approximate location of trenches opened to the north of the gate. Photograph of a lost drawing by F. J. Woodbridge, Kelsey Museum Archives 4.4273.
- Figure 163. Trench across street north of the Arch of Hadrian in 1924. The foundations of the water channel are visible at the bottom of the photo. Kelsey Museum Archives KS286.06
- Figure 164. Sketch of the elevation of the Arch of Hadrian. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge drawing.
- Figure 165. Woodbridge's final reconstruction of the Arch of Hadrian. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge drawing
- Figure 166. Diagram of the architectural features of the Arch of Hadrian. By the author.
- Figure 167. Pier 2 fully uncovered (at left), with fragments of the superstructure lying about. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1624
- Figure 168. Plan and elevation of pier base by Frederick J. Woodbridge. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge notebook.
- Figure 169. Crowning molding in situ on pier 4. Kelsey Museum Archives 5.0261
- Figure 170. Drawings of blocks from the course above the pier bases by Woodbridge. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge notebook.
- Figure 171. A block on the site today that is similar to the one drawn by Woodbridge in fig. 170. Photo: author.
- Figure 172. Ionic-molded base of a pilaster that formed the niche in a pier of the city gate. Photo: author.
- Figure 173. Elevation and plan of Ionic molded pilaster base by Woodbridge, possibly the same block as in fig. 19. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge notebook.
- Figure 174. Later cuttings in the block shown in fig. 19. Photo: author.
- Figure 175. Woodbridge's final plan of the Arch of Hadrian. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge drawing.
- Figure 176. Pilaster shaft fragment from a pier of the city gate. Photo: author.
- Figure 177. Arch blocks that formed the top of the niches in the city gate piers. Photo: author.
- Figure 178. Drawing of the relationship between the blocks shown in figs. 176-177. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge notebook.

- Figure 179. A block from above the niche in the pier in 1924. Kelsey Museum Archives 5.0210.
- Figure 180. A similar block today (cf. fig. 179). Photo: author.
- Figure 181. Long side of a Corinthian pilaster capital from the city gate. Photo: author.
- Figure 182. Long side of a Corinthian pilaster capital from the city gate. Photo: author.
- Figure 183. Drawing of long side of pier capital. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge notebook.
- Figure 184. Drawing of short side of pier capital. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge notebook.
- Figure 185. Springer block. Kelsey Museum Archives 5.0620.
- Figure 186. Drawing of springer block. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge notebook.
- Figure 187. Voussoirs on site today. Photo: author.
- Figures 188-189. Upper pilaster bases with vegetal motif on one face, undecorated surface on the other. Left, Kelsey Museum Archives 5.0255; right, author.
- Figure 190. Upper pilaster base with vegetal motif. Photo: author.
- Figure 191a-b. Upper pilaster base with thyrsus tip, (a) drawing by Woodbridge, (b) photo by author.
- Figure 192a-b. Upper pilaster base with thyrsus tip, (a) drawing by Woodbridge, (b) photo by author.
- Figure 193a-b. Upper pilaster base with thyrsus tip, (a) drawing by Woodbridge, (b) photo by author.
- Figure 194. Upper pilaster shaft block, elevation. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge drawing.
- Figure 195. Upper pilaster shaft block. Photo: author.
- Figure 196. Upper pilaster shaft block. Photo: author.
- Figure 197. Upper pilaster with thyrsus decoration, topmost shaft block. Kelsey Museum Archives 5.0221.
- Figures 198-200. Upper pilasters with vegetal motifs, topmost shaft blocks. Photos: author.

- Figure 201. Upper pilastare capital. Kelsey Museum Archives 5.0237.
- Figure 202. Upper pilaster capital. Photo: author.
- Figure 203. Restored drawing of the main entablature. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge drawing.
- Figure 204. Elevation and profile of upper architrave. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge drawing.
- Figures 205-206. Corner frieze blocks with vegetal motifs. Left, Kelsey Museum Archives, Colby/Woodbridge notebook; right, Kelsey Museum Archives 5.0216.
- Figure 207-208. Corner frieze blocks with hippocamps. Left, photo by the author; right, Kelsey Museum Archives 5.0213
- Figure 209. Cornice block and frieze block as excavated. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1651.
- Figure 210. Reconstruction of the southern face of the Arch of Hadrian. By the author.
- Figure 211. Reconstruction of the northern face of the Arch of Hadrian. By the author.
- Figures 212-213. Left and right genius spandrel figures. Kelsey Museum Archives 5.0229 (left) and 5.0230 (right).
- Figures 214-215. Left and right genius spandrel figures. Photos: left, author; right, Diana Ng.
- Figures 216-217. Legs of right genius spandrel figures. Fig. 216 (left) shows the block in fig. 213 joined to its recently discovered legs. Fig. 217(right) probably joins the block in fig. 215. Photos: left, Benjamin Rubin; right, Kelsey Museum Archives 5.0251.
- Figures 218-219. Right victory spandrel figure blocks. These two blocks possibly join one another. Photos: left, author; right, Kelsey Museum Archives 5.0227
- Figure 220. Right victory spandrel figure (at left) with thrysus-decorated pilaster shaft (at center) and flowing drapery (at right). Kelsey Museum Archives 5.0226.
- Figure 221. Legs of a left victory spandrel figure. Photo: author.
- Figure 222. Legs of the right standard bearer (fig. 133). Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1502.
- Figure 223. Arch of Hadrian, bucranium from above the side arches. Kelsey Museum Archives 5.0223.

- Figure 224. Approximate findspots of some blocks during the excavation of the arch of Augustus in 1924. Illustration by the author.
- Figure 225. “Keystone” bracket. Kelsey Museum Archives 5.0266.
- Figures 226-227. “Keystone” bracket. The bottom drawing shows the variation in the decoration between the two different brackets discovered. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge notebook.
- Figure 228. Current state of the Trajanic arch at Patara, with six brackets on each façade. Photo: author.
- Figure 229. Current state of the Severan arch at Ariassos, with four brackets on each façade. Photo: author.
- Figure 230. Arch of Hadrian, top surface of one of the “keystone” brackets. Photo: author.
- Figure 231. Woodbridge holding bronze letters in place on city gate inscription Kelsey Museum Archives KR107.12.
- Figure 232. Architrave block with holes for “C.IUL.ASP”. Photo: author.
- Figure 234. Frieze block with winged figures flanking a shield. Photo: author.
- Figure 235. Frieze block depicting shoulder and wing of a figure, pelta, and sword. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1335.
- Figure 236. Tritons flanking a trophy. Kelsey Museum Archives 5.0232
- Figure 237. Tail of triton (at left) with eagle-head pelta and oval shield. Kelsey Museum Archives 5.0259
- Figure 238. Tail of triton (at right) with helmet and eagle-head bow. Photo: Diana Ng.
- Figure 239. Tritons flanking a trophy. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1389.
- Figure 240. Frieze block found north of the imperial cult sanctuary. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1442.
- Figure 241. Frieze block with cuirass and quiver. Kelsey Museum Archives 5.0224.
- Figure 242. Frieze block depicting a spear, oval shield, and a helmet. Kelsey Museum Archives 5.0222.
- Figure 243. Vegetal frieze, central palmette motif. Kelsey Museum Archives 5.0241.
- Figure 244. Vegetal frieze, subsidiary palmette motif. Photo: Diana Ng.

- Figure 245. Vegetal frieze, left end palmette. Kelsey Museum Archives 5.0239.
- Figure 246. Vegetal frieze, right end palmette. Kelsey Museum Archives 5.0216.
- Figure 247. Vegetal Frieze block. Kelsey Museum Archives 5.0217.
- Figure 248. Vegetal frieze block. Kelsey Museum Archives 5.0240.
- Figure 249. Vegetal frieze block. Kelsey Museum Archives 5.0243.
- Figure 250. Vegetal frieze block. Kelsey Museum Archives 5.0244.
- Figure 251. Vegetal frieze block. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1505.
- Figure 252. Blank frieze block, probably from the side of the Arch of Hadrian. Photo: author.
- Figure 253. Arch of Hadrian at Antalya. Vegetal frieze with half palmette at the end of the frieze (at left) and a symmetrical motif centered over the archway (at right). Photo: author.
- Figure 254. Elevation of a corner cornice block. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge notebook.
- Figure 255. Details of cornice blocks. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge notebook.
- Figure 256. Cornice block with male lion head at center. Kelsey Museum Archives 5.0256.
- Figure 257. Cornice block with female lion head at center. Kelsey Museum Archives 5.0233
- Figure 258. Cornice corner block with male lion head. Photo: author.
- Figure 259. Digital model of the restored imperial cult sanctuary, with the arch of Augustus in the foreground. Model by Benjamin Rubin and J. Matthew Harrington.
- Figure 260. Plan of the agora at Assos, with an honorific arch at its western entrance. After Bacon 1902, 33 fig. 4.
- Figure 261. Current state of the base of the arch at Olympia. In the photo, water has collected in the footholes of the statue bases that were built into the base of the arch. Photo: author.
- Figure 262. Current state of the Flavian city gate arch at Xanthos in Lycia, with part of the Doric frieze still in situ. Photo: author.

- Figure 263. Current state of the Flavian city gate arch at Nicaea, the so-called Lefke Kapı. Photo: Lisa Çakmak.
- Figure 264. Current state of the Flavian north gate at Hierapolis. Photo: author.
- Figure 265. Current state of the so-called Porta Efesia at Laodicea on the Lycos. Photo: author.
- Figure 266. Current state of the entrance to the theater at the sanctuary of Leto, near Xanthos in Lycia. The decorative sculpture is similar to that of the Flavian city gate in Xanthos. Photo: author.
- Figure 267. Current state of the piers (right foreground) of the Flavian arch at Perge in Pamphylia. At left, the main north-south street terminates at the Hadrianic north nymphaeum. Photo: author.
- Figure 268. Current state (partly restored) of the late Trajanic or early Hadrianic arch in Ephesus. The curve of the arch spanned the space between the unusual open piers. An aedicular second story like that on the arch of Hadrian in Athens stood above the top of the arch. The monument would have been twice as tall as the re-erected portion seen here. Photo: author.
- Figure 269. Wide-angle view of the restored arch of Hadrian at Antalya. Photo: author.
- Figure 270. The so-called Gate of the Double Axe at Mylasa in Caria. Inset: the relief of the double axe on the keystone of the arch. Photo: author.
- Figure 271. Wide-angle view of the current state of the south city gate complex at Perge. The viewer is standing between the Hellenistic round towers, looking north. The triple-bayed arch would have completely filled the empty space between the ends of the curved walls. Photo: author.
- Figure 272. Same as 271, viewed from the north. The piers of the triple arch are visible in the foreground. Photo: author.
- Figure 273. Plan of the south city gate complex at Perge. Drawing by the author, after Mansel 1956, fig. 53.
- Figure 274. Digital model of the city gate complex at Pisidian Antioch, restored. The nymphaeum at upper right is conjectural. By the author and J. Matthew Harrington.
- Figure 275. Current state of the arch of Hadrian at Isaura Vetus. Photo: author.
- Figure 276. Current state of the piers of the arch at Thasos. Photo: author.
- Figure 277. Current state of the piers of the arch of Hadrian at Phaselis. Photo: author.

- Figure 278. Current state of the arch of Hadrian at Athens. Photo: author.
- Figure 279. Pier capital from the arch of Hadrian at Phaselis. Photo: author.
- Figure 280. Ionic capital of the vine-decorated upper pilasters of the arch of Hadrian at Phaselis. Photo: author.
- Figure 281. Current state of the Hellenistic towers of the south city gate complex at Perge, viewed from the south. Photo: author.
- Figure 282. Inscription dedicated to Sabina Augusta by Plancia Magna, from the south city gate complex at Perge. Photo: author.
- Figure 283. Inscription dedicated to the divine Trajan by Plancia Magna, from the south city gate complex at Perge. Photo: author.
- Figure 284a-b. Spandrel figures depicting genii from the arch of Hadrian (left) and arch of Augustus (right) at Pisidian Antioch. Photos: left, Benjamin Rubin; right, Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1371.
- Figure 285a-b. Spandrel figures depicting victories with garlands from Pisidian Antioch's arch of Hadrian (top) and arch of Augustus (bottom). Photos: top, author; bottom, Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1139.
- Figure 286a-b. Frieze blocks depicting tritons flanking trophies from the arch of Augustus (top) and the arch of Hadrian (bottom) at Pisidian Antioch. Photos: top, Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1391; bottom, Kelsey Museum Archives 5.0232.
- Figure 287a-b. Left, capricorn from the arch of Augustus; right, hippocamp from the arch of Hadrian, both at Pisidian Antioch. Photos: left, author; right, Kelsey Museum Archives 5.0213.
- Figure 288a-b. Architraves from Pisidian Antioch with holes for the attachment of bronze letters. Top, from the arch of Hadrian, reading *adriano.au[g]*; bottom, from the arch of Augustus, top line reading *a]ugusto.pont*. Photos: author.
- Figure 289a-c. Bronze letters found in the excavation of the arch of Hadrian at Pisidian Antioch. Left, front view of letter A. Center, front view of letter I. Right, profile view of letter I, showing the lugs attached to the back of the letter. Photos: Kelsey Museum Archives 5.0278, 5.0276, and 5.0277.
- Figure 290. Sculpture of a dolphin found during the excavation of the arch of Hadrian at Pisidian Antioch in 1924. Photo: Kelsey Museum Archives 5.0211.

List of Appendices

Appendix 1.	Arch of Augustus, Inventory of Fragments	195
Appendix 2.	The Dedicatory Inscription of the Arch of Hadrian227
Appendix 3.	Figures237

Abstract

This study consists of a detailed architectural and historical assessment of the remains of two Roman-era honorific arches at the imperial colony of Pisidian Antioch, near the modern town of Yalvaç in Turkey. My analysis shows that these arches reflect the colonial situation of the city at two disparate historical moments, during the reigns of Augustus and Hadrian.

The arch of Augustus was a hybrid monument that, by means of its location, form, and decoration, attempted to integrate the varying cultural elements within the city. The arch was an independently designed monument, not a provincial copy of the Parthian Arch in Rome as has often been asserted. Through its decorative program, the arch of Augustus painted a broader picture of the life and deeds of Augustus than any arch yet known; accordingly, it can be described as a visual *Res Gestae Augusti*. Both the decoration and the form of this arch combined influences from Hellenistic honorific monuments and propyla with the form of a Roman honorific arch. This hybrid character suggests that the arch was specifically designed for its colonial situation, where Romans, Greeks, and Phrygians would be required to live side-by-side.

In the Hadrianic period, the cities of Asia Minor mustered their local histories in competition for increased status within the imperial system. Pisidian Antioch had a significant Hellenistic history, embodied in its Seleucid name and its ancient extramural sanctuary of Men Askaenos. The arch of Hadrian was an ornamental city gate that reflected contemporary developments in the form of arches in Asia Minor, while its decorative program made extensive reference to the arch of Augustus in the same city. The reflexive relationship between the arches suggests that by the Hadrianic period the arch of Augustus came to be viewed as a monument to the city's *ktistes*, or founder. The arch of Hadrian, therefore, made a favorable comparison between Hadrian and Augustus in preparation for Hadrian's imminent visit to the city, and positioned the Roman refoundation as the primary element in the city's externally-projected identity.

Chapter 1.

Introduction

This study consists of a detailed architectural and historical assessment of the remains of two Roman-era honorific arches at the imperial colony of Pisidian Antioch, near the modern town of Yalvaç in Turkey. The first of these arches was built in honor of the emperor Augustus in the early years of the colony's existence, and the second was constructed over 100 years later in honor of the emperor Hadrian. These monuments present an opportunity to explore two important historical moments during the Roman age: first when the empire was still in its infancy in this volatile region, and later when Roman rule was well-established and the emperor himself took unprecedented interest in the flourishing cities that comprised his dominion. My analysis highlights how the honorific arches of Pisidian Antioch reflect the colonial situation of the city at these two distinct historical moments.

The arches were first excavated in 1924 by a team from the University of Michigan, but the results of these excavations were never fully published. The archives of the excavations, currently housed in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology in Ann Arbor, remain the most detailed record of the architectural and sculptural details of the two monuments. These archival materials, consisting of drawings, photographs, and journals, are the primary data under consideration here, supplemented by my own limited

on-site observation. For the Augustan arch, the archival data is particularly important, because many of the exposed remains of the monument were removed by local inhabitants and used as construction material soon after excavation ceased in 1924. This archival study is the first step toward a more complete understanding of these two monuments, a project that could be advanced in the future by means of further fieldwork at the site, including detailed architectural survey and focused excavation.

The Site

A brief description of the site is necessary in order to orient the reader. Excavations and surveys performed under the auspices of several different institutions have revealed the basic urban framework of Pisidian Antioch, with monuments dating from the earliest Augustan phase of the colony through the Byzantine period. Located in the inland lake district of western Anatolia, the site is perched on a foothill of Sultan Dağ, the largest mountain in the vicinity, but a ravine cut by the Anthius River separates the hill of Antioch on the west from the mountain's bulk to the east. Thanks in part to this ravine, the hill has precipitous cliffs on its northern and eastern sides, while the western and southern edges slope more gently toward the valley below. The naturally defensible position was augmented by a fortification wall of uncertain date that encircled the entire town. Within the circuit wall, sections of what seem to be the main east-west and north-south streets have been exposed. A short north-south entrance platea (a wide street lined with shops) leads from the southwestern city gate—the arch of Hadrian under discussion here—to the western end of the main east-west street. The remains of a theater and an associated peristyle court lie to the north of the main east-west street. Near the

intersection between the two main streets lies the imperial cult sanctuary. Here, the so-called Tiberia Platea (the name was inscribed on a block found in 1924) leads eastward from the north-south street and ends at a monumental flight of twelve steps, above which stood the arch of Augustus. This arch acted as a propylon to the sanctuary proper, a rectangular peristyle plaza with a massive semicircular exedra at the east end that framed a prostyle temple. At the northern edge of the hill, the foundations of a monumental nymphaeum have been uncovered in line with the unexcavated northern portion of the north-south street, and the northwestern corner of the hill is crowned by a massive bath building. North of the city, the visible remains of an aqueduct, including a number of standing arches, lead toward the nymphaeum at the northern edge of the hill, and evidence of a second less obvious aqueduct has also recently been discovered.¹ In the later imperial period, at least three churches were constructed within the city, one just east of the main north-south street opposite the entrance to the Tiberia Platea, another adjacent to the bath building, and a third, the largest, along the western edge of the circuit wall. Outside of the city wall, the remains of a stadium have been identified just west of the largest church. Further away, 3.5 km southeast of the site up the slope of Sultan Dağ, are the ruins of the sanctuary of Mên Askaênos, an Anatolian moon god. Here, architectural surveys have identified a substantial temenos wall, a pseudodipteral Ionic temple, an odeion, a smaller temple, and several subsidiary buildings. In late antiquity a church was built near, but not within, the sanctuary.

¹ Owens forthcoming.

History of Field Research on the Arches of Pisidian Antioch

Fieldwork had been sporadically undertaken at Pisidian Antioch before a burst of scholarly interest at the end of the 20th century. In 1833, Francis V. J. Arundell was the first to identify the site adjacent to the town of Yalvaç as Pisidian Antioch. During his visit Arundell saw the collapsed remains of the arch of Hadrian on the western side of the site. Mistakenly, however, he took the presence of a block decorated with a thyrsus in relief as an indication that the ruins were those of a temple of Bacchus.² Arundell also noted certain aspects of the imperial cult sanctuary, such as the remains of the steps leading up from the Tiberia Platea and the curved rock-cut exedra a few hundred meters away, but he did not identify the remains of the arch of Augustus, which had collapsed onto the Tiberia Platea steps.³

From 1912-1914, Sir William Ramsay orchestrated excavations in Antioch with the primary purpose of finding inscriptions.⁴ He uncovered some fragments of a Latin version of the *Res Gestae* of Augustus in the vicinity of the imperial cult sanctuary, and excavated a portion of the stairs at the head of the Tiberia Platea in search of more such fragments. There he uncovered some decorated stones from the arch of Augustus, including spandrel figures of victories and genii, a capricorn from the frieze, and “other symbolic figures.”⁵ Ramsay did not speculate on the form of the monument from which these blocks derived, but he inferred that the *Res Gestae* inscription was part of the

² Arundell 1834, 268; Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 20.

³ Arundell 1834, 273-4.

⁴ Ramsay 1916, 107.

⁵ Ramsay 1916, 107.

monument and that the figural decoration was probably “near the highest part of the memorial, whatever was its exact form.”⁶

In 1924, a University of Michigan team, led by Francis W. Kelsey and with the cooperation of Ramsay, performed one season of large-scale excavation. Team members immediately concentrated their excavation efforts where Ramsay had left off ten years earlier, a place that they knew “would prove to be an important staircase or propylaea.”⁷ For the first three weeks of the summer they excavated the arch of Augustus, the stairs leading up to the arch, and the open plaza in front of the stairs. These discoveries were recorded by field director David M. Robinson and his assistant Enoch E. Peterson in a series of journals, notebooks, and inventories that are currently housed in the Kelsey Museum Archives. The journal of excavations, a daily record of important finds written by Robinson and Peterson, mentions many of the fragments that had sculptural decoration, such as spandrel figures and fragments of the weapons frieze. Peterson, who was “in charge of records” for the expedition,⁸ kept a detailed inventory of many architectural elements that were not mentioned in the journal of excavations. Robinson recorded an inventory of sculpture, which has detailed descriptions and measurements of the relief-decorated elements. Along with numerous photographs taken by Robinson and George R. Swain, the official expedition photographer, these records provide a detailed account of the remains of the arch of Augustus and its surroundings.

On July 4, 1924, several weeks after excavations at the arch of Augustus and Tiberia Platea had ceased, the architect Frederick J. Woodbridge arrived. Woodbridge had been a visiting student at the American Academy in Rome on a fellowship from the

⁶ Ramsay 1916, 109.

⁷ Journal of Excavations, entry for May 11.

⁸ Journal of Excavations, preface

University of Michigan. When it became clear to Kelsey and Robinson that they needed a trained architect to record the major monuments that they had found, they contacted the director of the Academy, who recommended that Woodbridge join the Michigan team in Turkey. Upon Woodbridge's arrival, Peterson discontinued his architectural inventory, and Woodbridge's notebooks and large-scale drawings became the primary architectural records. These materials eventually found their way to the American Academy in Rome, and in 2005 the Academy transferred the Woodbridge archive to the Kelsey Museum in Ann Arbor.

During the 1924 expedition, Woodbridge and his assistant Horace F. Colby executed many drawings of fragments from the arch of Augustus, and they documented the excavation of the arch of Hadrian as it took place. Excavation of the later arch began halfway through the Michigan team's season in 1924, and it was immediately apparent to the excavators that the structure was a monumental arch, not a temple as Arundell had suggested.⁹ By the end of the summer the excavators had uncovered all four piers of the arch of Hadrian, and they had discovered enough blocks from the superstructure to allow Woodbridge to draw a formal reconstruction. Woodbridge also produced a preliminary restoration of the arch of Augustus and its relationship to the adjoining staircase. In 1926, Robinson published Woodbridge's reconstructions of the two arches along with an extensively-illustrated discussion of their sculptural programs.¹⁰ Yet Robinson offered no discussion of the architectural form of the monuments, nor any explanation of the basis for the reconstructions that accompanied his text. He allowed the drawings to speak

⁹ The first mention in the journal of excavations says the remains must have come from "some important arch or monument" (entry for June 2). The second reference, dated just over a month later, directly refers to the gate as a "Triumphal Arch" (entry for July 7).

¹⁰ Arch of Augustus: Robinson 1926a, 21-41. City gate: Robinson 1926a, 45-56.

for themselves. The only other publication devoted to these excavations is a brief preliminary report published in 1924.¹¹

In 1971, Woodbridge returned to the American Academy in Rome as a visiting scholar and completed his architectural analysis of the remains of the arch of Augustus. At this time he drew a final reconstruction of the elevation, a restored section through the central arch, and a restored ground plan. These drawings are now in the Kelsey Museum Archives.

In 1982, a team led by Stephen Mitchell and Marc Waelkens performed an architectural survey at Pisidian Antioch.¹² By this time the architectural fragments and foundations of the arch of Hadrian had become mostly re-buried, so that Mitchell and Waelkens could draw only a partial plan of the monument based on the exposed remains.¹³ Their survey also showed that the arch of Augustus and its surroundings had fared poorly in the intervening years. In 1924 the Tiberia Platea stairway was partly intact, and flat paving stones covered the entire exposed area of the plaza. After the Michigan team left, the residents of Yalvaç could not resist using such a large quantity of well-cut, good quality stone for their own construction projects. By 1982 the stairs and paving had almost entirely vanished, and what little had remained of the foundations of the arch of Augustus in 1924 was also lost (figs. 1-2).¹⁴

In the mid-1990s, excavations at Antioch were re-opened under the auspices of the Yalvaç Museum. Mehmet Taşlıalan began this work during his term as director of the museum, and excavations were continued by his successor Ünal Demirer. At the arch

¹¹ Robinson 1924.

¹² Mitchell and Waelkens 1998.

¹³ Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, fig. 19a.

¹⁴ Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 146.

of Hadrian, these excavations showed that most of the fragments were still on site where the Michigan team had left them. The Turkish excavators exposed much of the surrounding area and discovered a few new fragments of the monument. Today, the remains of the arch of Hadrian are laid out near its foundations at the entrance to the site, and my analysis has shown that most of the fragments discovered in 1924 are still preserved today.

In contrast, the recent excavations at the arch of Augustus have shown the extent of the loss of evidence that was previously noted by Mitchell and Waelkens. Some of the decorated fragments of the superstructure found by the Michigan team are still scattered around the Tiberia Platea and surrounding area, but for information about the foundations and structural elements of the arch of Augustus we must rely on photographs from the Kelsey Museum Archives, the journal of excavations, the architectural inventory, and the drawings done by Woodbridge.

Methodology and Contents of the Current Study

My research is a continuation of the University of Michigan project begun in 1924. The goal of this study has been to assess the accuracy of the reconstructions drawn by Woodbridge, to create new reconstructions when revisions can be made, and, based on these conclusions, to analyze the symbolic content of the monuments in their proper historical framework. To that end, I have performed a through study of all the archival materials that pertain to the two arches at Pisidian Antioch, supplemented by limited direct observation of the remains visible today. As periodically noted in the following study, a number of issues concerning the reconstruction of the monuments must remain

unresolved due to the limitations of the archival data. In the future, focused field research, including detailed survey of the surviving architectural remains as well as excavation of the foundations of the two monuments, may provide conclusive answers to a number of questions left open here.

This study is divided into four main chapters, two per arch. For each arch, the first chapter assesses the archival materials and archaeological remains of the monument, in order to provide a firm archaeological basis for further discussion, and the second chapter analyzes the location, form, and decoration of the arch within the broader monumental landscape and historical situation in the region and in the empire. The methodology that I use for the analysis of the remains differs between the two arches, due to the different states of preservation of the monuments and the different sorts of information recorded by the original Michigan team. As mentioned above, much physical evidence of the arch of Augustus has been lost due to salvage operations undertaken by the residents of Yalvaç. Because of this, the archival materials in the Kelsey Museum, which include an inventory of blocks from the Augustan arch, architectural drawings, and photographs, are one of the primary sources of data for this monument. Many of the blocks recorded in the 1924 architectural inventory can be identified with fragments on site today, but my review of the archival materials has made it clear that much has been lost. I have transcribed much of the 1924 architectural inventory in Appendix I, and where possible I have correlated the entries with blocks present on site today.

In contrast, the arch of Hadrian is relatively well-preserved today. The archival materials from 1924 contain numerous drawings of the blocks with sculptural decoration,

but the Michigan team did not create an extensive architectural inventory of the Hadrianic blocks. Because no archival inventory exists and because I personally have not been able to document the blocks from the Hadrianic arch in a comprehensive fashion, I have not included an architectural inventory for the later arch here. My discussion of the remains of the arch of Hadrian in Chapter 4 starts with Woodbridge's reconstruction drawing, which provides the fullest documentation of the decorated and undecorated blocks of the arch discovered in 1924. Woodbridge's drawing is detailed enough to identify certain specific blocks that he did not record in his notebooks, but are preserved today. In my discussion of the fragments of the Hadrianic arch, whenever possible I correlate the blocks in the reconstruction to drawings in Woodbridge's notebooks and to blocks present on site today.

In Chapter 2, I assess the evidence available for the reconstruction of the arch of Augustus. I show that Woodbridge's restoration of the main façade of the arch can be taken as fairly accurate, but that his reconstruction of the ground plan of the monument is more conjectural. At the end of the chapter I assess the validity of revisions that scholars have suggested for Woodbridge's reconstruction. I show that in most cases, these revisions have no firm archaeological basis. Most importantly, I show that the placement of the inscribed Latin copy of the *Res Gestae*, which was found in fragments among the rubble of the arch and has been the subject of much scholarly discussion, cannot be determined with certainty based the evidence available. Because of where the fragments were found it seems likely that the inscription was displayed somewhere near the arch, but we cannot be certain whether that location was on the arch itself.

Chapter 3 is an analysis of the location, architectural form, and decorative program of the arch of Augustus. Here I refute several commonly-stated scholarly opinions about this monument. I show that the arch is a monument to Augustus, a sort of visual *Res Gestae Augusti*, and not a generic triumphal monument as is often stated. Scholars also commonly assert that the arch was a copy or imitation of the Parthian Arch in Rome, but my analysis shows that the arch, in both its architectural form and its decorative program, embodies a fully independent design. Taken on its own terms, the arch proves to be a layered monument that incorporates aspects of Hellenistic architecture and sculptural decoration in a way that arches in the western part of the empire do not. In sum, these details suggest that the arch of Augustus at Pisidian Antioch was specifically designed for its colonial context, in which residents of several different cultural backgrounds—Roman colonists, Greek descendents of earlier Hellenistic colonists, and Phrygian inhabitants—lived side-by-side. The design of the arch combined features borrowed from both eastern and western sources to create a new type of gateway to a sanctuary where the rituals themselves also were intended to be a unifying feature of civic life.

In Chapter 4, I assess the evidence available for the reconstruction of the arch of Hadrian at Pisidian Antioch. Because the arch of Hadrian was in a better state of preservation than the arch of Augustus when it was excavated, Woodbridge's reconstruction of the architectural form of the later arch proves to be very secure. My analysis of the preserved sculptural decoration, however, shows that there is enough evidence to fully reconstruct the appearance of both facades of the arch, which differed from one another in their decorative details. I present a new reconstruction of the arch

that is architecturally based on Woodbridge's drawing, but incorporates my conclusions regarding the arrangement of the sculpture as well as the recently-deciphered dedicatory inscriptions.

Chapter 5 offers the first complete analysis of the arch of Hadrian in its proper historical context. The arch had been mistakenly dated to the early third century C.E. by the Michigan team, but recent research by Maurice Byrne has conclusively shown that the monument was dedicated to Hadrian and Sabina.¹⁵ Before analyzing the arch itself, I discuss the development of the honorific arch as form in Asia Minor and Greece. I show how over the course of the first century C.E. arches became freed from strict association with the propyla of Hellenistic architecture to become highly flexible monuments. I present two case studies of Hadrianic arches in Asia Minor, those at Phaselis and Perge, in order to illustrate the range of possibilities available to the designer of an arch in this period. My analysis of the arch of Hadrian itself highlights how the design of the monument reflects recent developments in the form of arches while containing numerous architectural and sculptural references to the earlier arch in Pisidian Antioch. These references create a reflexive relationship between the two arches that implies a favorable comparison between the honorand of the later arch, Hadrian, and his imperial forefather, Augustus, and has the effect of rededicating the ritual activities at the imperial cult sanctuary, and the entire city itself, to Hadrian. In the context of the Hadrianic period, when cities mustered their local histories to compete with one another for preeminence within the imperial system, the symbolic content of the arch of Hadrian emphasizes the recent colonial past as a major characteristic of the city's identity.

¹⁵ Byrne 2002.

The two honorific arches of Pisidian Antioch thus prove to be monumental expressions of colonial concerns at two distinct and contrasting historical moments in the life of the city. These arches can no longer be considered as simplistic expressions of imperial hegemony in the region, nor as provincial imitations of grand monuments in the imperial capital. They are independent monuments created for a specific local situation, and that local situation is embodied in their architectural and sculptural details.

Chapter 2.

The Arch of Augustus at Pisidian Antioch: Assessment of the Archaeological and Archival Evidence

The results of the Michigan excavations of 1924 at Pisidian Antioch have never been properly published, so the validity of the reconstruction drawings produced by architect Frederick J. Woodbridge remains a question. This chapter fills part of that gap in scholarship by comprehensively examining the archival materials that relate to the arch of Augustus and its associated structures. Much of the archaeological and architectural evidence that came to light in 1924 has since been lost. As a result, the archival materials are the most complete record of the ancient structures available to us today. My archival research has been supplemented with limited observation of the remains on site today.

Scholarship on the arch of Augustus has relied on a conjectural reconstruction of the monument drawn by Woodbridge in 1924 and published by Robinson in 1926.¹⁶ In 1971, Woodbridge completed more precise reconstructions of the monument in elevation, plan, and section, which have only been published recently.¹⁷ My analysis shows that certain aspects of Woodbridge's final reconstructions can be considered fairly accurate, while some details should be considered as one of several possibilities. In particular, I show that the architectural structure and the decorative program of his restored elevation of the western façade are fairly accurate, while his restored plan and section contain

¹⁶ Robinson 1926a, fig. 31.

¹⁷ Ossi 2005-6, figs. 19-20.

many highly conjectural elements. In the following discussion I also consider the revisions to Woodbridge's reconstruction that scholars have suggested over the years. In most cases, I show that these revisions lack strong archaeological support and should therefore be discussed as conjectural possibilities rather than established certainties. In particular, I show that we cannot determine the exact placement of the Latin version of the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*; rather, we can only suggest that the inscription was probably located somewhere near, or perhaps on, the arch. Following this discussion of the reconstruction of the arch of Augustus, I provide an analysis of the historical and architectural context of the arch in comparison with other monuments throughout the empire in Chapter 3.

The arch stood at the eastern end of a broad street, commonly referred to as the *Tiberia Platea* after an inscription discovered there, that led up the hill from one of the main north-south roads in town (figs. 1-2).¹⁸ At its eastern end, the *Tiberia Platea* terminated in a monumental flight of steps, on top of which stood the arch of Augustus. The arch opened onto a broad plaza to the east, where a tetrastyle podium temple framed by a semi-circular colonnade stood directly opposite the arch. Because the arch functioned as the entrance to this enclosed sanctuary, thought to have been dedicated to the imperial cult, the arch of Augustus can equally be referred to as the propylon of the imperial cult sanctuary.

By 2004, the very foundations of the arch of Augustus were completely gone (figs. 3-4). Parts of the foundations of the staircase that stood in front of the arch are visible, but the well-squared stone steps that were excavated *in situ* in 1924 are also gone. The best-preserved part of the stairs is the foundation course of the lowest step, which is

¹⁸ The street grid of Antioch is oriented about thirty degrees east of true north.

still *in situ* for half of its length (fig. 5). The foundations of two of the four fountains that stood in front of the staircase are also in place in front of this line of blocks (fig. 5), and the lone square fountain base that was found in 1924 is also still on site, although probably no longer in situ (fig. 6). The pavement of the *Tiberia Platea* closest to the staircase has been removed, except for three blocks immediately in front of the staircase (fig. 6). Further west in the platea a somewhat larger area of pavement is preserved (fig. 7). A fragment of the large block with the inscription crediting Baebius Asiaticus with the paving of the platea is still on site. Many blocks of the superstructure of the arch remain on site, including some large fragments of the cornice and architrave, several decorated spandrel blocks, a number of engaged column drum fragments, and some voussoirs. A number of these blocks are currently laid out at the edges of the *Tiberia Platea*, and more are scattered about in the adjacent fields and in the imperial cult sanctuary above. Several additional sculpted fragments are housed at the Yalvaç Museum.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, Peterson made an inventory of the architectural fragments excavated in the vicinity of the arch. Further archival information is provided by the hundreds of photographs that were taken of the arch, staircase, and *Tiberia Platea*. Some of these photographs were taken by Robinson in the course of excavation, and others by Swain once work at the arch had neared its conclusion. In many cases, blocks in the architectural inventory can be identified in photographs by the labels painted onto the blocks by the Michigan team. Other blocks can be identified in photographs on the basis of the descriptions in the architectural inventory. Appendix 1 contains a partial

catalogue of fragments from the arch of Augustus and its surroundings as excavated in 1924. Throughout this discussion, fragments listed in Appendix 1 are indicated in **bold**.

The Arch of Augustus in the Kelsey Museum Archives

Before discussing the individual elements of the arch as preserved in the Kelsey Museum Archives, a few general comments about the state of the arch at the time of excavation will help to explain the varied preservation of different parts of the monument. My examination of the archival materials has shown that the upper portions of the arch were the best preserved, while the lower parts had disappeared long before the Michigan excavations. This seems to have happened because of the way the arch collapsed (fig. 8). The topmost elements of the western face fell from the arch to the bottom of the stairs, while the lower parts of the arch, especially the bases of the piers, may have remained in situ on top of the stairs. The eastern face may have collapsed eastward onto the plaza between the temple and the arch. As earth covered the area, the topmost elements of the western face of the arch were covered first because they were at the bottom of the stairs. Meanwhile, the lower elements and the fragments of the eastern façade lying at the top of the stairs remained exposed and were removed by local residents. This same effect can be seen in the stairs themselves. Parts of the upper stairs may have still been preserved in 1833 when Arundell was able to identify them without excavation,¹⁹ but by 1924 only the lowest few stairs, which had been completely buried after the collapse of the arch, were partly preserved (fig. 8). The following discussion of the fragments uncovered in 1924 will proceed from the cornice down, and will focus on blocks that elucidate the structural form of the monument.

¹⁹ Arundell 1834, 273-4.

Cornice, frieze, and architrave. The main entablature is well represented in the preserved fragments; about 39% of the cornice, 29% of the frieze, and 29% of the architrave seem to have been preserved (see Appendix 1). 17 fragments of the cornice were listed in the 1924 architectural inventory, and at least nine fragments are still on site today. The upper part of the cornice was decorated with a few simple moldings, a cyma recta over a half-round with a flat fascia below (fig. 9). The underside of the cornice had acanthus-scroll consoles with floral elements decorating the soffits between them (fig. 10). Several of the cornice blocks have preserved corners, and these help to clarify the articulation of the façade. The most informative cornice block, which is still on site today, preserves the top of a projecting ressalt that must have rested on an engaged column below (**Cornice 5**, figs. 11-13). Both the upper and lower surfaces of this block are preserved. The upper surface above the projecting portion of the block has six round holes arranged in an oval, which probably indicate that a statue was attached here by means of dowels (fig. 11). Several fragmentary statues were found during the 1924 excavations of the arch and were associated with it by the excavators. These statues are currently on display in the Yalvaç Museum. The underside of the projecting cornice block has two square dowel holes that correspond to dowel holes in the architectural element below, the frieze (discussed below). Fragments of several other projecting cornice elements were also preserved (**Cornices 10-12, 15, 18**); I have overlaid approximate outlines of the elements that these cornices match on Woodbridge's drawing of **Cornice 5** (fig. 14). Each of these preserves either a salient or reentrant corner, and several of them have dowel holes on the bottom surface that correspond to the dowel holes on **Cornice 5**. **Cornice 10** has a vertically beveled edge on its right face that is

difficult to interpret (figs. 14-16). This block was found just north of the staircase (fig. 17, C), so it probably fell from the northern part of the arch. It may have been the north projecting element on the western façade, or it may have been a fragment from the northwest corner of the arch.

Below the cornice was a frieze decorated with relief sculpture. 17 decorated fragments of this frieze were uncovered in the excavations and published in 1926.²⁰ These fragments have a variety of sculptural adornments that will be discussed further in Chapter 3. Three architecturally important frieze blocks derive from the projecting ressalt and correspond to the projecting sections of the cornice discussed above. Two were discovered in 1924 (**Friezes 1-2**, figs. 18-19), and another was identified by Tuchelt at the Konya Museum (**Frieze 19**, fig. 20),²¹ where a number of fragments excavated in 1924 were housed until their return to Yalvaç in the mid-1990s. These projecting frieze blocks have three decorated faces; on the front face each has the bust of a divinity, and attributes of each god are represented on the side faces. Details of the blocks suggest how they fit into the structure of the arch. The upper surfaces of these blocks have two square dowel holes that correspond to the dowel holes on the bottom surface of the projecting cornice blocks mentioned above. The preserved side surface of projecting block **Frieze 2** terminates at the back in a roughly dressed, recessed tenon (fig. 21), which seems to correspond to the roughly-worked left edge of non-projecting block **Frieze 14** (fig. 22). **Frieze 14** would have been on the main part of the façade, and the left edge of its front face would have fit into the notch on the back of **Frieze 2** (fig. 23). Other frieze blocks with structural characteristics have slightly slanted left or right ends

²⁰ Robinson 1926a, figs. 38-40 and 43-54.

²¹ Tuchelt 1983, 518.

(**Friezes 3-5**). **Friezes 3** and **4**, which join, have ends that slant inward from top to bottom (fig. 24). These elements depict a trophy flanked by two fish-tailed tritons, which Woodbridge centered over the archways in his reconstruction. This placement is likely, and the shape of the block may have been for structural soundness; the wedge shape creates some outward thrust, like a flat arch. Several fragments preserve edges that slant in the opposite direction (**Friezes 8, 9, 12**), which would have fit the slanted ends of the triton blocks mentioned above. Alternatively, the slanted edges of **Friezes 3** and **4** may have existed to accommodate the general shape of the relief sculpture, with the tails of the tritons pushing up into the upper corners (fig. 24).

Below the frieze was a three-banded architrave. In 1924, one block was preserved from a projecting ressault, and several other fragments had holes for the insertion of bronze letters in the upper two fasciae. The ressault block (**Architrave 8**), which is still on the site today, has a roughly-worked tenon projecting from its back surface (figs. 25-26) and a beveled edge at its joint with the receding portion of the architrave (figs. 25-27). This beveled edge was necessary in order to create the appearance of a continuous series of moldings that spanned both the projecting and receding surfaces of the architrave. This beveled edge would have abutted on the beveled corner of one of the non-projecting architrave blocks (fig. 28-29). Four such architrave blocks with beveled corners were discovered in 1924 (**Architraves 3, 6, 9, 11**); **Architrave 6** can be identified on site today, and another unidentifiable fragment with a beveled corner is also preserved (fig. 28).

In 1924, six architrave fragments that had holes for the attachment of bronze letters were discovered. Mitchell and Waelkens report that Maurice Byrne used all six

fragments to decipher the pattern of holes in order to read the inscription.²² According to Byrne (as reported by Mitchell and Waelkens), the two lines of the inscription read:

Imp. Caes[ari. di]vi.[f. a]ugusto. ponti[f]ici. m[axim]o
cos. x[iii. trib]un[iciae potestatis. xxii. [im]p. xiiii. p[. p.]

For the emperor Caesar Augustus, son of a god, pontifex maximus, consul for the 13th time, with tribunician power for the 22nd time, imperator for the 14th time, father of the country.²³

Byrne's final publication of the inscription has not yet appeared, but the text as given appears to be valid when compared with photographs of the blocks in the Kelsey Museum Archives. The date of construction of the arch has thus been established as 2/1 B.C.E.²⁴

Main body of the arch. The Michigan team uncovered several different types of blocks that derive from the main body of the arch below the entablature, including engaged column fragments, spandrel blocks, and voussoirs. The engaged columns are more properly characterized as three-quarter columns than half columns; Woodbridge's drawings depict about 240 degrees of the circumference of the drums projecting from the façade (fig. 30). Three engaged column capitals were discovered, which show that the order was Corinthian. Two of these capitals (one of which is **Engaged Capital 4**) are preserved in the yard of the Yalvaç Museum. **Engaged Capital 3**, which had part of its top surface preserved, had one dowel hole on top that might correspond to similar dowel holes on the lower surface of the projecting architrave fragment mentioned above. On at least two fragments, part of the wall to which the capital was engaged was carved from the same block, so that a flat surface projects from the side of the capital. Photographs of

²² Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 147.

²³ Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 147.

²⁴ Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 147.

Engaged Capitals 2 and 4 show this clearly (figs. 31-32). On the opposite side, **Engaged Capital 4** has no attached wall surface (fig. 33); instead, the block was recessed in order to overlap the adjacent wall block (fig. 34). The bottom surfaces of **Engaged Capitals 1 and 2** had three square dowel holes in a triangular arrangement (figs. 35-36) that correspond to dowel holes on the top surface of several engaged column drums.

The architectural inventory contains up to 23 fragments of engaged columns that may have come from the arch of Augustus, but today only twelve entries can be definitively associated with the monument. At least eleven such fragments are present on site today. Variations in the form of several preserved drums suggest that the engaged column drums seem to have been inserted into the fabric of the monument in a number of ways. Several have tenons that project from the back surface of the shaft. These tenons vary in dimension. Some (e.g. **Engaged Drum 2**, fig. 37) run the entire height of the column drum, while others (e.g. **Engaged Drum 3**, fig. 38) run only part of the height of the drum. The architectural inventory notes that the widths of the tenons also vary, from 0.24 m (**Engaged Drum 3**) to 0.50 m (**Engaged Drum 5**). At least one drum, **Engaged Drum 8**, was carved together with part of the engaged wall surface in the same way as **Engaged Capitals 2 and 4**. The left part of this drum has part of the wall surface attached, while the right surface has the same shape as the tenons on other drums (figs. 39-40). I have not been able to identify any engaged column bases in any of the documents in the Kelsey Museum Archives or on the site. Their form, however, is unlikely to have been much different from the Ionic bases used by Woodbridge in his reconstructions.

The Michigan team discovered a number of the blocks that filled the spandrel zones between the arches. These partly curved spaces were filled with decoration in relief depicting figures standing on pilasters that appeared to rise out of the extrados of the arches. Two of the figures are bound captives, while the others are winged figures carrying garlands that drape between them. This relief decoration covered several different types of blocks divided into two courses that together filled the spandrel zones (fig. 41). The figures were depicted on the upper course of spandrel blocks. All but one of these figured blocks were about the same height (1.20-1.22 m, the exception being **Spandrel 7**, discussed below), but those of the central arch (**Spandrels 1-2**) were wider than those of the side arches (**Spandrels 3-6**). Consequently, the central arch spandrels intersected the extrados of the arch for a greater length and had a much longer curved edge (cf. figs. 42-43). Also, the figures depicted on the central arch spandrels were larger in scale than those of the side arches; their crouching position enabled them to fit in the same amount of pictorial space. On each spandrel block decorated with a figure, the ground line for the figure was the bottom edge of the block itself, and the pilaster on which the figures stood was depicted on the block below. Three spandrels with pilasters were recovered in 1924 (**Spandrels 8-10**), and one of them remains on site today (**Spandrel 9**).²⁵ The pilaster depicted on **Spandrel 8** was wider than the others (cf. figs. 45-46), indicating that originally it was probably positioned over the central archway, where, as already mentioned, the figures above were slightly larger in scale. For the side arches, three of the blocks that filled the space directly above the arch were preserved (**Spandrels 11-13**, e.g. fig. 47). The lower edge of these blocks is curved to match the

²⁵ Robinson (1926a, 21) mistakenly thought that these pilasters could only be reconstructed on the Arch of Augustus “if we can draw this conclusion from the poor imitations on the third century city gateway [now known to have been Hadrianic].”

extrados of the arch. The relief decoration on these blocks depicted the continuation of the garlands held by the figures over the side arches.

One block with figural decoration that might have been one of the side spandrels does not fit the general description above. This block (**Spandrel 7**, figs. 48-49) was mistakenly published by Robinson as one of the sculptures from the arch of Hadrian.²⁶ Although the block has no curved surface, I have included it with the spandrel blocks because of two characteristics. First, the front face of the block depicts the shoulder and wing of a draped figure. The relief is much destroyed, but what remains is similar to the better-preserved victory relief on **Spandrel 6** (fig. 51). Second, the front half of the right surface is recessed about 10 cm (fig. 49), suggesting that the tenon of an engaged column or capital was inserted on the right side of the block (fig. 50). Alternatively, the block might have been part of the frieze, but this possibility is more unlikely. The block's height is approximately 0.45 m, while the frieze blocks are around 0.65 m high. A relatively thin 0.20 m high block would need to have been inserted above or below this block to make it fit into the frieze. It seems more likely that there would have been a 0.75 m-high block that would have brought this block up to the height of the other spandrels (1.20 m) and allowed it to fit the curve of the arch below (fig. 52).

The curved edges of the spandrel blocks were in contact with the blocks of the arches themselves. The architectural inventory includes 17 voussoirs and three springer blocks that come from the arch. Fragments of at least five voussoirs and parts of three springer blocks are preserved on site today. I have included two of the better-illustrated

²⁶ Robinson 1926a, fig. 81. Photographs in the Kelsey Museum Archive show that this block was discovered in the excavation of the Arch of Augustus. Other photographs in the Archive depict a block excavated near the Arch of Hadrian that also “shows the draped upper portion of a winged figure” with its head missing (Robinson 1926a, 52), which Robinson probably intended to publish in this position.

voussoirs in the inventory (**Voussoirs 1-2**). The front and rear faces of the voussoirs were decorated with a series of moldings (fig. 53-54). At the top was a cavetto, ovolo, and astragal combination, followed by the first fascia, then a cyma reversa over the middle fascia, and finally an astragal over the lowest fascia. The archivolt was decorated with an inset band with a convex inner surface (fig. 54). Because all of the voussoirs were double-sided, we know that the passageways were not simple barrel vaults. Several springer blocks were discovered (**Springers 1-4**), which show that the arches form a Syrian lintel; rather than continuing along the circumference of the arch and terminating into the impost block, the moldings took a right-angle turn on the face of the springer block and terminated in a decorative profile (fig. 55). The Michigan team noted that voussoirs of two different sizes were being uncovered, which indicated that the central archway was wider than the side archways. Woodbridge calculated that the diameter of the central archway was 4.20 m, while that of the side archways was 3.40 m (fig. 56).

The archways seem to have rested on typical Corinthian pilasters. The Michigan team discovered three Corinthian pilaster capitals (**Pilaster Capitals 1-3**, figs. 57-58), which Woodbridge reconstructed as the impost blocks of the archways. None of these capitals seems to be preserved today. The width of these capitals, ca. 0.67 m, seems to match several fragments of pilaster shafts also discovered in 1924. Two well-recorded shaft fragments in the 1924 inventory have widths of 0.62 (**Pilaster Shaft 1**, fig. 59-60) and 0.64 m (**Pilaster Shaft 2**, fig. 61). The disparity in measurements could derive from the different vertical positions of these blocks on the arch, or from their positions in the side or central archway, which may have had pilasters of different dimensions. Both fragments of pilaster shaft have a smoothly finished area adjacent to the pilaster and a

roughly finished vertical strip at their right edges. This rough strip probably would have been hidden from view behind the bulge of the large engaged column drums. **Pilaster Shaft 1** has a flare and a fragmentary astragal molding at one end, indicating that it was either the top or bottom block in the shaft. The Woodbridge notebook contains an elevation drawing of an Ionic pilaster base labelled “Base of Corner Pilaster” (**Pilaster Base 1**, fig. 62). I have been unable to identify this pilaster base in either the architectural inventory or photographs from 1924. In the drawing, the width of the top surface of the base is labelled 0.70 m, which seems to be in the same range as the dimensions of the pilaster shafts discovered. Finally, two drawings in the Woodbridge notebook depict blocks that Woodbridge included as pedestals beneath the pilaster bases in his reconstruction (**Pilaster Pedestals 1-2**). One of these blocks (**Pilaster Pedestal 1**, fig. 63-64) is still on site today, and a block with similar moldings is in one of the fields adjacent to the *Tiberia Platea*. The width of the top of **Pilaster Pedestal 1**, ca. 1.00 m, would have fit the bottom of **Pilaster Base 1**, ca. 0.95 m.

The Michigan team uncovered four blocks with curved edges (**Narrow Arches 1-4**, fig. 65) that that derived from archways of much smaller dimension than the three primary passageways of the monument. Woodbridge calculated the diameter of these arches to have been about 1.30 m. The front faces of these blocks have a raised pilaster, and the curve of the arch springs from the side of the pilaster. Where preserved, the surface above the arch is slanted outward from top to bottom in order to create a surface that could support a keystone. The widths of the pilasters on these blocks vary from 0.36 to 0.48 m, which is much narrower than the pilasters on the façade of the arch (cf. **Pilaster Shafts 1-2**, 0.62-0.64 m wide). The anathyrosis preserved on the slanted

surfaces of **Narrow Arches 1-2** is similar to that on the slanted surfaces of the voussoirs of the main archways. The Michigan team inferred that these small arches derived from a transverse passageway bisecting the arch in its long dimension from north to south. This particular feature of Woodbridge's reconstruction has been a point of contention for scholars and will be discussed further below.

The foundations of the arch seem to have been largely destroyed long before the excavations of 1924. As mentioned above, from the bottom of the steps to the top where the arch once stood there was a marked decrease in the preservation of the remains discovered in situ (fig. 8). Several photographs show what might be euthynteria courses for the piers of the arch (figs. 66-69). The vertical surfaces of these blocks are roughly finished at the bottom and smoothly finished above, and the upper surface is similarly smooth. Unfortunately there are no close-up photographs of this area to allow for closer examination. Woodbridge's architectural records did not include any drawings of what was preserved of the foundations of the arch. One large working plan of the *Tiberia Platea* and the steps ends just to the west of the former location of the arch (fig. 70). Woodbridge may have estimated the location of the piers of the arch based on surrounding features such as the pedestals on the staircase, discussed below.

Stairway and fountains. The stairway was an essential feature of the entrance to the imperial cult sanctuary and should be considered part of the overall design program. There were probably twelve steps in all, judging from the steps and foundations preserved on the northern edge of the stairway (fig. 71). As many as seven steps were preserved in situ in certain places, although with the passing centuries the steps had slumped forward in several places (fig. 72). The entire lowest step was discovered in situ

and undisturbed; the pavement of the *Tiberia Platea*, which abutted on the front face of the lowest step, seems to have prevented this step from slumping. Above this level steps were preserved in three places, at the left, center, and right areas of the stairway, roughly centered on the former locations of the arched passageways (fig. 3).

At the extreme north and south edges of the stairway, two bases were preserved resting on top of the fifth step from the bottom. The north base (**Stair Pedestal Base 1**, fig. 73) was fully preserved, and Woodbridge drew a full-scale profile of its moldings. This base would have been aligned with the first pier of the arch (counting from the north). The south base (**Stair Pedestal Base 2**, fig. 74) was broken, but the moldings were still visible for part of its length; it would have been aligned with the fourth pier. The Michigan team also uncovered two orthostats from these pedestals (**Stair Pedestal Orthostats 1-2**). Each was found just south of its associated pedestal base. Woodbridge drew an elevation and a plan of each orthostat (fig. 75-76), and a notation on each drawing indicates that the dowel holes on the bottom of the orthostats tally with the dowel holes on the top surfaces of **Stair Pedestal Bases 1-2**. At the bottom of the front surface the orthostats had a slightly projecting fascia, 0.30 m high with a flared base. The surface of the block above the fascia was about 0.80 m, for a total height of 1.10 m. The width was 0.88-0.90 m, half the width of the flat upper surface of the fully-preserved north base (**Stair Pedestal Base 1**). This base had four dowel holes in its top surface (fig. 77), and the southern two holes corresponded precisely with the dowel holes in the base of **Stair Pedestal Orthostat 1**. These details indicate that two orthostats were positioned side-by-side on each pedestal base; in figure 78 I have digitally joined Woodbridge's drawings of **Stair Pedestal Base 1** and **Orthostat 1** to show their original

relationship. **Stair Pedestal Orthostat 1** had a highly damaged front surface (fig. 79), while the front surface of **Stair Pedestal Orthostat 2** was preserved for most of its height. Several examples of the molding that Woodbridge reconstructs on top of these orthostats were preserved (**Molded Blocks 1-3**) and will be discussed further below.

The team also noted the badly damaged remains of another pedestal base that would have been aligned with the second pier of the arch (**Stair Pedestal Base 3**, fig. 80). The moldings of this base were completely broken, but the dowel holes in the top surface were preserved and confirmed that its original form was similar to **Stair Pedestal Bases 1-2**. If the arrangement of these projecting elements was symmetrical, a fourth pedestal would have been aligned with the third pier of the arch, but the blocks in that area had been extensively robbed prior to excavation (fig. 81). The foundations of four fountains (discussed below) aligned with the pedestals at the bottom of the stairs affirmed the existence of the missing pedestal. The bases of two other narrower pedestals were discovered on top of the lowest step, positioned at the extreme north and south edges of the stairway. The two courses of stone preserved on top of the south base (fig. 86) suggest that these pedestals were probably tall enough to overlap the unmolded parts of **Stair Pedestal Bases 1-2**.

Woodbridge reconstructed an elaborate molding on top of the four large staircase pedestals based on the evidence of three blocks uncovered in 1924 (**Molded Blocks 1-3**). The shape of these blocks, however, makes it unlikely that they were actually positioned atop the projecting pedestals. **Molded Block 2** appears to have been the capital of a pilaster, with the top several moldings of the capital continuing onto the wall at either side of the pilaster (figs. 87-88). **Molded Block 3** has the same moldings as the capital

part of **Molded Block 2**, but the moldings abut on a projecting vertical surface while the rest of the front face of the block is flat (fig. 89). The articulation of these blocks is too complicated to allow their restoration as the upper molding of a simple projecting pedestal. The moldings are similar to those adjacent to the capitals at the top of the piers of the Hadrianic successor of the arch of Augustus (fig. 90). By analogy with the later arch, **Molded Blocks 1-3** might have been a terminal molding atop the piers of the arch of Augustus, but there is not enough data preserved today to place them with certainty.

Directly in front of the lowest stair, aligned with the four large pedestals on the stairs, the Michigan team uncovered the remains of four fountains. The base of one of the fountains, which was once aligned with the second pier from the north, was still in situ at the time of excavation (fig. 82). The fountain base is still on site today, close to where it was discovered but probably no longer in situ. The square base has a large rectangular hole in its center that passes through the whole block, and a slightly raised area on the top surface surrounds the hole. The four edges of the base are also raised, and they are decorated with a simple molding. Two smaller round holes, one situated in the central raised area, the other near one of the molded edges, cut through the top surface. Besides the fountain base that was in situ, the Michigan team identified the foundations of three other fountains in front of the stairs. The foundations of the third and fourth fountain are still in situ and provide one of the few points of direct connection between the photographs taken in 1924 and the remains on site today (fig. 5). The Michigan team lifted the fountain base and discovered a terra-cotta drain pipe in situ beneath it (fig. 83).²⁷ Within the foundations of the third fountain (counting from the north), the team

²⁷ Journal of Excavations, entry for June 10.

uncovered a bronze fistula or pipe that terminated in an elbow joint (fig. 84-85),²⁸ which E. J. Owens suggests would have directed the water upward through a pedestal that would have stood on the base.²⁹ A basin probably stood on top of the pedestal, providing a pool of water that was constantly refreshed by the water flowing through the pipe. The raised edge of the base may have collected the overflow, which could then drain through one of the round holes in the base.

Res Gestae inscription and freestanding statues. During the excavation of the arch of Augustus, the Michigan team discovered a fragmentary inscription and several freestanding statues that they associated with the arch. The inscription was a Latin version of the *Res Gestae* of Augustus, found broken into more than 200 fragments. The smallest fragments were fist-sized and had only one letter, while the largest had a surface of 30 cm by 10 cm and carried parts of 13 lines of text. The exact find spot of each of these fragments is unknown,³⁰ but the *Journal of Excavations* reports the discovery of new fragments on an almost daily basis. From this we can surmise that the fragments were spread throughout the debris from the arch. Robinson published a preliminary analysis of the fragments that includes photographs of each fragment,³¹ and Ramsay published a more complete report with drawings of each fragment and a graphic reconstruction of the ten columns of text.³²

The team also uncovered a number of broken statues among the rubble of the arch. Robinson published these statues in 1926, and suggested that several of the more

²⁸ *Journal of Excavations*, entry for June 10.

²⁹ Owens forthcoming, under "Water distribution within the city."

³⁰ Robinson reports that the location was recorded for each fragment (Robinson 1926b, 3). He never published this data, and I have been unable to locate a notebook or drawing containing the information in any of the archives at the University of Michigan or at the University of Mississippi, where Robinson's papers are currently housed.

³¹ Robinson 1926b.

³² Ramsay and Von Premerstein 1927.

complete statues might have stood on top of the arch.³³ The statues, currently on display at the Yalvaç Museum, include the lower part of a togate male, the lower part of a draped male standing over a kneeling figure, the torso of a male wearing a himation, the feet of a draped woman, a draped female preserved from the waist down, and a statue of Victory. Apart from the Victory, which was identified by the grooves for the attachment of wings on its back, none of these headless statues could be identified. The backs of most of the statues were only roughly worked, which suggested to Robinson that they stood on top of the arch.³⁴ It also seems possible that the statues could have stood in niches on the arch or somewhere in the vicinity. The team also found a head of Augustus in the course of excavating a Byzantine house elsewhere in the city.³⁵

Assessment of Woodbridge's Restored Elevation of the Arch of Augustus

Based on the preceding review of the archival and archaeological evidence of the arch of Augustus and the adjacent stairway, the following discussion will assess Woodbridge's reconstruction of the elevation of the western façade of the arch, first in its architectural form, then its decorative program.

Architectural form. Woodbridge's elevation of the western façade matches the architectural remains quite well (fig. 91). The cornice, frieze, and architrave can be reconstructed with certainty as having at least four projecting elements. Four cornice blocks with reentrant corners were discovered, and the dimensions of these blocks ensure that they derive from four unique ressaults (fig. 14, **Cornices 5, 10, 12,** and 217). The engaged Corinthian columns supporting the projecting elements are also secure; three

³³ Robinson 1926a, 41 figs. 55-61, 118, and 125.

³⁴ Robinson 1926a, 41, 42, and 45.

³⁵ Robinson 1928.

capitals were discovered, and the existence of a fourth is all but certain. The only detail of the columns that must be restored without direct evidence is the base, which almost certainly were Ionic in form, as is typical for the Corinthian order. The archways are reconstructed with certainty as having the form of a Syrian lintel, and their diameters are probably correct. The Corinthian pilasters supporting the arches are accurately restored, and unlike the engaged columns, the base of at least one pilaster was preserved. These securely restored elements make up the vast majority of the western façade of the arch (fig. 92).

The uncertain aspects of Woodbridge's reconstruction vary from likely to totally conjectural. The short pedestals below the engaged columns and pilasters are based on known fragments, but this evidence is not conclusive. Woodbridge's earliest reconstructions do not include the pedestals, but he included them in all of the later versions. Augustan arches elsewhere in the empire often have pedestals below the engaged columnar order, but the pedestals are usually much taller than they are in Antioch.³⁶ I would suggest that in Antioch the four large pedestals that punctuated the stairway visually replaced the usual engaged pedestals seen on other Augustan-era arches, and that the designer included the shorter pedestal course immediately below the column and pilaster bases as an intermediate architectural element for the piers of the arch to stand upon. This detail, however, should be regarded as possible, or even likely, but not certain. In the excavation of the Hadrianic city gate, the Michigan team discovered short pedestal blocks with similar moldings, which Woodbridge inserted as an intermediate course between the pier bases and the Corinthian pilasters of that arch (see

³⁶ E.g. at Susa (fig. 117) and Aosta (fig. 120) in Italy, and Carpentras (fig. 112) and Glanum (fig. 212) in Gaul.

Chapter 4). Because the arch of Hadrian emulated the Augustan arch, the existence of the Hadrianic pedestal blocks probably reflect the placement of the Augustan blocks.

No fragments can be securely associated with the north and south edges of the monument. Woodbridge depicts a simple undecorated wall surface up to the level of the entablature, and he wraps the entablature around the corner of the monument. No corner blocks that can be securely associated with the ends of the cornice, frieze, or architrave were discovered. Several cornice blocks with salient corners were discovered, but these could be fragments of the projecting ressaults (fig. 14, **Cornices 12** and **15**).

Woodbridge's arrangement of the north and south edges of the arch thus remains conjectural.

The restored elevation of most aspects of the stairway is certain. The stairs themselves were preserved up to the seventh step in places, and the foundations of five more can be recognized in photographs. The existence of the four pedestals on the stairs has been doubted in recent studies because of the lack of evidence on the site today, and they are not shown in recent reconstruction drawings.³⁷ Yet the review above has shown that the placement of the four large pedestals is certain, as is the molding on their bases and the arrangement of orthostats above. The molded cornice depicted by Woodbridge on top of the pedestals seems to derive from some other aspect of the arch, or from another building in the *Tiberia Platea*. Yet some type of crowning molding was certainly positioned in that location above the orthostats. The smaller pedestals atop the lowest step at either end of the stairway are certain, but like their larger cousins the upper molding is conjectural. Woodbridge securely restores bases for all four fountains at the

³⁷ Guven 1998, fig. 2; Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, fig. 31; Taşlıalan 1995, plans 1 and 3, çizim 8; Tuchelt 1983, fig. 1.

foot of the stairs aligned with the large pedestals. We should note that, as mentioned above, these fountain bases probably once supported pedestals with basins for water on top,³⁸ but the original appearance of these elements is entirely unknown.

Decorative program. Woodbridge's final elevation is very accurate with respect to the decorative program. In the frieze, he has included all of the fragments known in 1924 in their probable locations. He places the triton and trophy groups (**Friezes 3-4 and 5-6**) centered over the archways, and shows the angled edges of these blocks. He restores a third triton and trophy group that might not have existed (see Chapter 4). He depicts the frieze fragments that have angled sides (**Friezes 8, 9, and 12**) adjacent to the angled sides of the triton and trophy blocks, as was their probable original position. He places **Frieze 14** with its roughly worked left edge in its probable position next to one of the projecting elements. Woodbridge restores two additional projecting elements besides the Poseidon and Ceres blocks (**Friezes 1-2**); we should replace one of the generic figures he used with the recently identified image of Mên (**Frieze 19**). The other known decorative elements of the frieze are interspersed at random in the remaining spaces, and several motifs are conjecturally repeated to fill the entire frieze.

Woodbridge places the inscribed portions of the architrave over the central passageway, which is probably their original location. The beveled edges of **Architraves 6 and 11**, both of which have the remains of holes for the attachment of letters, suggest that the inscription ran nearly from one projecting architrave element to the other, just as Woodbridge has depicted it. Recent research has improved our knowledge of the contents of the inscription and the sequence of titles,³⁹ but much of the information

³⁸ Owens forthcoming, under "Water distribution within the city."

³⁹ Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 147.

included by Woodbridge in his final reconstruction was already correct. The inscription on the reconstruction provides the same date of construction as the more recent analysis, 2 B.C.E.

In the preliminary elevation sketch published by Robinson in 1926 (fig. 107), Woodbridge included three nude winged male figures in the spandrels and one draped winged female. In the text Robinson explicitly states that based on the excavated material this arrangement is impossible, and that Woodbridge placed the female victory on the same façade as the nude males solely for the sake of including an example of each type of spandrel figure excavated.⁴⁰ On the final reconstruction, Woodbridge depicts the spandrels as he thought they actually appeared, with nude winged male figures decorating all four spandrels over the side arches. The spandrels of the central archway correctly depict the kneeling captives; the only additions to the blocks as known are the wreath and torch next to the right captive spandrel, which Woodbridge restored based on their presence on its counterpart. The pilasters that these figures stand on are also depicted correctly as shown in the excavated material; the pilasters of the central spandrels are wider than those of the side spandrels.

The only uncertain aspect of the spandrel decoration is Woodbridge's depiction of the garlands draped between the figures in the side spandrels. Woodbridge depicts the garlands as making a W shape, as if the garland was draped over a peg above the keystone of each arch. This arrangement is unlikely; in Roman art, garlands are usually depicted hanging between two well-defined elements such as figures, bucrania, or ribbons. In the reconstruction the garland spans four separate blocks in the central zone, blocks that Woodbridge drew based on the dimensions of **Spandrels 11-13**. On the

⁴⁰ Robinson 1926a, 21.

blocks themselves, the garlands continue off both sides, and the garland is always at an angle to the horizontal top surface (fig. 47). There is no indication on any of the reliefs that the garland is about to make an abrupt change of angle on the adjacent block. It is possible that the garlands once connected to a central motif, but that none of the central blocks is preserved. On the Hadrianic arch, bucrania are located in this position. For the garlands on the Augustan arch, the evidence is inconclusive; Woodbridge's reconstruction with garlands draped in a W shape is possible but not likely.

The final aspect of Woodbridge's reconstruction to be discussed is the proposed location of the inscribed *Res Gestae* of Augustus. Because this autobiographical document was first published after his death in 14 C.E., the inscription in Antioch would have been carved 15 years after the construction of the arch. Since the fragments of the inscription were found among the rubble of the arch, the excavators surmised that the inscription was carved onto the arch itself, or very close by. Following Robinson's published conclusions,⁴¹ Woodbridge places the *Res Gestae* on the faces of the pedestals that punctuate the stairway. In the elevation drawing, all but the rightmost pedestal orthostat are inscribed on their front faces, as inferred by Robinson; an additional inscribed area is shown on the side of one pedestal in Woodbridge's section drawing (fig. 96), also following Robinson's published conclusions. Yet several elements of Ramsay's analysis of the fragments of the *Res Gestae* suggest that the inscription was probably carved elsewhere.⁴² First, Ramsay determined that the dimensions of the blocks onto which the inscriptions were carved were about 76 cm wide by 90 cm tall.⁴³ This

⁴¹ Robinson 1926b, 24.

⁴² Ramsay and Von Premerstein 1927, 8-16. These conclusions have been accepted by scholars today, e.g. Drew-Bear and Scheid 2005.

⁴³ Ramsay and Von Premerstein 1927, 12-13.

conclusion is based on an analysis of fragments with preserved edges, combined with measurements of the size of the letters and the spacing of the lines. According to Woodbridge's drawings (figs. 75-76), the two preserved pedestal orthostat blocks (**Stair Pedestal Orthostats 1-2**) had dimensions of 88 cm wide and 110 cm tall, making the orthostats too large to correlate with the inscription-bearing blocks. Second, Robinson incorrectly inferred that the inscription was carved onto nine blocks, with one column per block, because the southernmost pedestal orthostat block (**Stair Pedestal Orthostat 2**) was discovered mostly unbroken and totally uninscribed (fig. 76). Yet Ramsay showed that the inscription was not carved on nine blocks, as Robinson suggested, but on ten.⁴⁴ If Robinson's placement had been correct, the southernmost pedestal block would have carried the tenth column of the inscription. As excavated, however, the block was entirely uninscribed. The broken area at the top of the block visible in Woodbridge's drawing (fig. 76) is not large enough to have eradicated the entire inscription, which Ramsay calculated to have been about 33.5 cm tall in the tenth column of text.⁴⁵ Accordingly, we must remove the *Res Gestae* from the front and side faces of the pedestal blocks as restored by Woodbridge.

It remains to be determined where the *Res Gestae* inscription was displayed. Ramsay described the edges of the inscribed blocks as having been worked "auf Anschluß," which he took to indicate that the blocks abutted on one another;⁴⁶ this term might describe anathyrosis on the edges of the blocks. Today, the fragments preserved in Yalvaç are encased in cement, the result of an attempt to reconstruct the relative positions

⁴⁴ Ramsay and Von Premerstein 1927, 10-12.

⁴⁵ Ramsay and Von Premerstein 1927, 13.

⁴⁶ Ramsay and Von Premerstein 1927, 9, 13.

of the fragments within the original ten columns of text.⁴⁷ Each of the cement blocks is encased in an iron framework. In the future, it may be possible to remove the inscribed fragments from the cement casing in order to re-analyze the physical evidence for the arrangement of the fragments and the placement of the inscribed blocks on whatever building they came from. In the meantime, four inscribed fragments that were brought back to America after the excavations of 1924 are available for study; one is in the Kelsey Museum in Ann Arbor, and three are in the University Museum at the University of Mississippi. In November 2008 I examined the fragments in Mississippi (fig. 93).⁴⁸ The largest of these, Ramsay's fragment 28a,⁴⁹ has a preserved side face (figs. 94-95). The maximum depth of the side surface as preserved is 4.1 cm. No change in the tooling is visible across the face of this side surface. The more smoothly worked outer edge of the anathyrosis would probably have been much wider than 4.1 cm; by comparison, the anathyrosis on the voussoirs of the arch was ca. 15-20 cm wide.⁵⁰ The side surface (fig. 95) is worked more roughly than the front surface (fig. 94), which is very smooth. This suggests, as Ramsay notes, that the side surface was probably not visible.⁵¹

Ramsay suggests that the ten inscribed blocks were arranged in two rows of five blocks each, and he suggests that the rows were positioned facing one another on the walls of the central passageway of the arch.⁵² With five columns arranged side-by-side, each 0.76 m wide, the total width of the inscription would have been 3.8 m. The passage

⁴⁷ See Drew-Bear and Scheid 2005, figs. 1-11.

⁴⁸ My thanks to Albert Sperath and Bill Griffith of the University Museum for allowing me to examine and photograph the fragments.

⁴⁹ Ramsay and Von Premerstein 1927, 91 and plates 7 and 14.

⁵⁰ Estimate based on photographs in the Kelsey Museum Archives that show a voussoir and a meter stick, such as photo 7.1385.

⁵¹ We should note that the large Mississippi fragments comes from the left edge of column 8, which would have abutted on the right side of column 7 in Robinson's reconstruction.

⁵² Ramsay and Von Premerstein 1927, 4, 10.

walls of the Augustan arch at Philippi in northern Greece would have been wide enough to accommodate an inscription with these dimensions.⁵³ Other arrangements are possible, such as three columns stacked over two columns on each wall for a width of 2.28 m. Yet Ramsay's placement conflicts with Woodbridge's reconstruction of the arch, because Woodbridge depicts a transverse passageway piercing the walls of the central archway. The existence of the transverse passage, however, is not certain (an issue discussed further below). In the end, it is not possible to place the *Res Gestae* inscription with certainty given the current state of knowledge. What we know for certain is that 1) the first two columns of the inscription were displayed next to one another, because the preface spans both blocks,⁵⁴ and 2) the inscription was probably located somewhere on or very near the arch, because the fragments of the inscription were discovered among the collapsed remains of the arch.

Assessment of Woodbridge's Restored Plan and Section of the Arch of Augustus

Most details of Woodbridge's section and plan of the arch are conjectural, but the layout of the stairs and the four fountain bases appears to be correct (fig. 96). Because most of the relevant blocks went missing prior to excavation, all suggested reconstructions of the plan of the arch itself are conjectural. The most important question is the layout of the piers. The foundations of the arch were not discovered in situ, so Woodbridge had to deduce the plan of the monument based on the blocks of the superstructure and parallels with other arches. His final reconstructed plan, and the

⁵³ Heuzey and Daumet 1876, 118 and pl. 2.3. On the Philippi arch, which was standing in 1876 but has since been destroyed, the flat wall surface inside the passageway between the pilasters that articulated the corners was 4.35 m wide.

⁵⁴ Ramsay and Von Premerstein 1927, pl. 1.

section he drew based on that plan, is one among many different possibilities. Some scholars have suggested alterations to Woodbridge's plan, and I will suggest additional possibilities here.

Because the architectural recording in 1924 focused on decorated elements, little information is available concerning the undecorated blocks that formed the greater part of the piers. Peterson's architectural inventory includes descriptions of a number of undecorated blocks that he considered to be architecturally significant, but their descriptions are too general and their drawings too schematic to be helpful today. Woodbridge's notebooks include no undecorated structural pieces besides **Pilaster Shaft 2**. His records for the Hadrianic arch have comparatively more information on undecorated elements, which suggests that further evidence of the layout of the Augustan piers might not have been available or he would have recorded it.

Woodbridge's plan of the piers seems to have been largely based on three elements: the **Engaged Columns, Springer 3**, and **Narrow Arches 1-4**. **Springer 3** is an L-shaped springer block, with the moldings that decorated the faces of the arched openings preserved on one arm of the L (fig. 97). Sandwiching an engaged column between two blocks like **Springer 3** creates the shape of the outer parts of Woodbridge's piers (fig. 98). The inner part of the piers, which is represented with a transverse passageway between two solid halves, is based on Woodbridge's interpretation of **Narrow Arches 1-4**.

From the earliest conception, Woodbridge pictured the piers with a transverse passageway. A sketch in the Woodbridge notebook seems to be his earliest rendering of the piers in plan (fig. 99), and the overall plan of the imperial cult complex that he

completed in 1924-5 also has the transverse passageway (fig. 100). Only one drawing in the entire Kelsey Museum Archive depicts solid piers with no transverse passageway, shown here in figure 101. This drawing dates to 1971, when Woodbridge returned to the American Academy in Rome and finally finished his work on Pisidian Antioch.⁵⁵ In this drawing he must have momentarily forgotten his preference to include a transverse passageway, because every subsequent rendering, including his final version, depicts a transverse passageway. On these later drawings, the distance that he shows between the pier halves is the same 1.30 m that he calculated for the diameter of the arches on **Narrow Arches 1-4**. Woodbridge's restored section shows the narrow arch blocks covering the transverse passageway (fig. 96); here I provide a sketch showing the way the hypothetical transverse passage would have been constructed (fig. 102). This arrangement is possible, but without further information we cannot say that it is probable, much less certain. As a result Woodbridge's preferred layout of piers pierced by a transverse passageway should also be considered to be possible but not certain.

For comparison, we should mention that the only other securely dated Augustan arch in Asia Minor, the arch of Mazaeus and Mithridates in Ephesus, was pierced by two transverse passageways that were punctuated by statue niches at either end (fig. 103). Furthermore, the arch of the Gavii in Verona, a first-century C.E. funerary arch in Italy (fig. 104),⁵⁶ provides a close architectural parallel for the arrangement of the piers with a transverse passage as depicted by Woodbridge. The single-bayed Veronese arch has a wide transverse passageway accessed by an arched opening on each short side of the monument, and the interior of the arch is basically hollow (figs. 105-106). The interior

⁵⁵ Woodbridge had been a practicing architect for most of the intervening years between 1924 and 1971. See Ossi 2005/2006 for further discussion of the timeline of Woodbridge's academic pursuits.

⁵⁶ Kleiner 1985, 37-38.

space is roofed with a trabeated coffered ceiling that probably was not strong enough to support attic statuary.⁵⁷ Instead, the arch of the Gavii has niches on the main façades of the piers to display statues of the honorands (fig. 104); the names of the men depicted are inscribed below the niches. The arch of Augustus at Pisidian Antioch also had special arrangements for the placement of statuary, as noted above. Holes in the top surface of **Cornice 5** indicate that statues stood directly atop the engaged columns on the façade of the arch, a location that could easily support the weight of a statue. This could be a sign that the arch had a trabeated ceiling that could not be trusted to support large statues without collapsing.

Despite Woodbridge's confidence that the narrow arch blocks represent a transverse passageway, these elements can be interpreted in other ways. For example, they could have been incorporated into the piers as niches for statuary. The closest parallel for similar blocks in this arrangement is on Antioch's Hadrianic city gate, where several blocks that are similar to the Augustan narrow arch blocks were discovered in 1924 (see Chapter 4). For the Hadrianic arch, it is certain that the blocks were situated in the faces of the piers to create niches for statuary. The narrow arch blocks from the Augustan arch could have created similar niches, either on the eastern façade of the arch facing the temple, or on the inside of the passageways like the statue niches on the Augustan arch in Ephesus (fig. 103). The number of possibilities is too great, and the basis for each one too conjectural, to consider one possibility as more likely than another. The question of the layout of the piers of the arch of Augustus must remain open given the current state of knowledge.

⁵⁷ Kleiner 1985, 38.

The Eastern Façade of the Arch of Augustus

Because of a lack of evidence, the Michigan team did not attempt to reconstruct the eastern façade of the arch. The plan and section drawn by Woodbridge suggest that the Michigan team considered the eastern face to have been articulated identically to the western face in terms of its architectural appearance, with four engaged columns and projecting ressaults (fig. 96). Taşlıalan suggests that the eastern face was probably not articulated with engaged Corinthian columns,⁵⁸ and Mitchell and Waelkens accept this suggestion.⁵⁹ We cannot say with certainty that more than four engaged Corinthian columns adorned the arch. As mentioned above, however, there were no fewer than four of them. It is possible, but not likely, that the four engaged columns were divided, two on the western face, two on the eastern face. Also, as mentioned above, it is possible that the eastern face had statue niches in the piers rather than engaged columns. A series of niches in this location would have presaged the niches on the Hadrianic city gate.

There is some indication that the eastern façade had some relief decoration, at least in the spandrel zones. Robinson mentions that at least one of the spandrels on the eastern face must have been decorated, probably with a winged victory,⁶⁰ because at least four unique right spandrels were discovered (**Spandrels 2, 4, 5, and 6**; possibly also **7**). Rose suggests additional decoration on the eastern façade based on the monument's sculptural parallels with the Hadrianic city gate; he suggests that the spandrel figures of standard and vexillum bearers on the city gate probably had Augustan predecessors on the eastern façade of the propylon of the imperial cult sanctuary.⁶¹ Because of the

⁵⁸ Taşlıalan 1994, plan 3.

⁵⁹ Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 146.

⁶⁰ Robinson 1926a, 21.

⁶¹ Rose 2005, 56.

similarity between the Hadrianic representation of the standard bearer and Augustan representations of Parthians with Roman standards, and because of the other parallels between the decorative programs of the two arches in Antioch (discussed below in Chapters 3 and 5), this assertion seems highly likely. The eastern façade, then, probably had standard and vexillum bearers over the central passageway, and victories holding garlands over the side passageways.

Other aspects of the decoration of the eastern façade are more conjectural. In 1924 the Michigan team discovered two cornice blocks with a profile similar to that of the cornice of the arch, but with less decoration. Whereas the majority of cornice blocks had a series of decorated modillions and soffit panels on the underside of the cornice (fig. 10), the two more plainly decorated blocks had a continuous molding with a profile similar to that of the modillions in this position (figs. 110-111). These two blocks, which are still on site today, could have come from the eastern face of the arch. If so, the temple-facing façade would have been somewhat less elaborate than its city-facing counterpart. The two blocks, however, could have come from another building in or near the *Tiberia Platea*.

The decoration of the frieze and architrave on the eastern façade are unknown. By comparison with the Hadrianic city gate, the Augustan propylon might have had a frieze of vegetal motifs on its eastern face, possibly not unlike that of the Augustan arch in Ephesus (figs. 108-109). No such vegetal frieze blocks, however, have been discovered in or near the *Tiberia Platea*. It is also unknown whether the architrave of the eastern façade would have been inscribed like the western architrave seems to have been. Finally, we should note that Woodbridge's section drawing shows statues above the

engaged columns on both facades. As we have seen, the engaged columns on the eastern face are conjectural; accordingly, the statues positioned above them are conjectural as well.

Conclusion

This review of the remains of the arch of Augustus as excavated by the University of Michigan in 1924 has shown the archaeological basis for the reconstruction of particular aspects of the monument, and indicates that the primary reconstructions drawn by Frederick J. Woodbridge in 1924 and 1971 vary in the certainty of their depictions. Woodbridge's elevation of the western façade drawn in 1971 is fairly accurate, and most of its details, with the exception of the placement of the *Res Gestae* on the pedestals on the staircase, can be used for further analysis. Recent scholars have for the most part accepted Woodbridge's elevation drawing, although they have often incorrectly omitted the pedestals on the staircase for lack of evidence of them on site today. The archival materials show that these pedestals did exist and should be considered part of the overall design of the entrance to the sanctuary.

In contrast to the relative certainty with which we can reconstruct the western façade of the arch, the plan of the monument and the eastern façade are full of uncertainties. The transverse passageway shown by Woodbridge in his reconstructed plans has parallels in contemporary arches, but the archaeological evidence for such a passageway is scant. On the other hand, there is no positive evidence that suggests the arch did *not* have a transverse passageway, so the speculation proffered by recent scholars on the matter should be taken for what it is. Regarding the eastern façade of the

monument, the decoration of the spandrels with victories and standard bearers seems fairly certain, but all other architectural and decorative details are left to conjecture. Since we have evidence for only four projecting ressaults, we do not know whether engaged columns articulated the eastern façade. Also, the blocks that Woodbridge interpreted as belonging to an arched transverse passage could equally belong to statue niches located on the eastern façade (or elsewhere on the piers). The eastern architrave, frieze, and cornice likewise are unknown.

The fairly secure reconstruction of the western façade of the arch allows us to analyze its details within the broader context of its construction. In the following chapter I will contextualize the arch of Augustus in its historical situation and analyze its symbolic content in comparison with contemporary arches throughout the empire. This discussion will take into consideration the arch's iconographic program, preceding and contemporary architectural influences, and the placement of the monument within the urban layout.

Chapter 3.

The Arch of Augustus in Context: A Visual *Res Gestae Augusti*

This chapter addresses several issues that arise from published scholarship concerning the arch of Augustus in Pisidian Antioch (figs. 91, 96). Several authors suggest that the arch represents a “triumphal” monument, where the term “triumphal” is understood generically as an overt expression of imperial hegemony over the region, rather than as a commemoration of specific triumphal honors voted by the Senate. In contrast, my analysis suggests that the arch is a monument to Augustus personally rather than a generic expression of Roman hegemony. In order to prove this assertion, I describe a number of Augustan arches elsewhere in the empire, with a particular emphasis on the motivation for their construction, their placement within the urban landscape, and their decorative programs. This discussion shows that the celebration of military accomplishments is only rarely the reason for the construction of an arch, and that the form of an arch does not on its own contain generic triumphal associations. Military iconography must be added to an arch in order to create such associations. Furthermore, I show that the decoration of any particular arch is tied to the person honored by its construction, so that any supposedly triumphal imagery on a given arch should be analyzed in the context of the life and deeds of the honorand, rather than as a generic expression of imperial hegemony.

My discussion of Augustan arches leads into an analysis of the iconography of the arch of Augustus in Antioch. Here I divide the imagery into two primary groups: elements directly related to Augustus, and those of a more general symbolic character. I show that, by including numerous references to the deeds of Augustus and the honors received by him, the arch in Antioch paints a more comprehensive picture of the reign of Augustus than any arch yet known elsewhere in the empire. I also show that the aspects of the iconographic program that are of a more general character embody multivalent symbolism that is expressed in consciously Hellenizing forms that differ from the imagery on arches in the west. I suggest that these details were included by the arch's designer in order to integrate the monument into the regional sacro-architectural landscape.

In discussing the details of the arch that directly relate to the deeds and honors of Augustus, another issue arises from within the published scholarship. Many scholars suggest that the arch in Antioch was built in imitation of the Parthian Arch in the Forum Romanum, but my analysis shows that these two monuments are not as closely related as has been previously assumed. The arch in Antioch actually paints a much broader picture of Augustus as an individual, and on the Antioch arch a lone reference to his Parthian triumph is the only iconographic connection to the arch in Rome. I also discuss other details that scholars suggest may have been inspired by the Parthian Arch—including the triple-bayed form and the supposed placement of the inscribed *Res Gestae Augusti*—and I show that these comparisons do not stand up to scrutiny.

In the penultimate section of this chapter I discuss the form and placement of the arch of Augustus. Most scholarship takes the arch to be an “alien novelty,” as

MacMullen describes it,⁶² but my analysis shows that the designer of the arch included architectural details that distinguish the arch from its western cousins. I show that the arch of Augustus in Antioch is the earliest archaeologically attested use of an honorific arch as the propylon of a sanctuary. I also show that certain details of the arch, such as the four massive engaged columns on its façade and the placement of honorific statues directly above these columns, are also unparalleled in the west at this time. I argue that, as with the Hellenizing aspects of the iconographic program, these details serve to integrate the monument into the regional architectural landscape, particularly with reference to sacral architecture. The arch of Augustus in Antioch, therefore, is shown in this chapter to be an independent creation that is unique among all known Augustan-era arches. The arch was specifically designed for the cultural context of colonial Antioch by combining features borrowed from both eastern and western sources to create a new type of sanctuary gateway that effectively reflected the hybrid nature of Pisidian Antioch's multicultural population.

History of Research

The arch of Augustus has never been fully published. In consequence, perhaps, scholarly discussion of the monument has lacked detailed consideration of the decisions that went into its design. D. M. Robinson published an illustrated discussion of the monument's sculpture in 1926.⁶³ Robinson's discussion is primarily concerned with the artistic relationship between the Antioch sculptures and great works of ancient art, such as the Gigantomachy frieze on the Great Altar at Pergamon. Robinson published a

⁶² MacMullen 2000, 20.

⁶³ Robinson 1926a, p. 21-41.

preliminary reconstruction drawing of the western façade of the arch, drawn by F. J. Woodbridge.⁶⁴ This lone drawing was the only published graphic representation of the monument for most of the twentieth century, and Robinson did not explain the archaeological basis for the reconstruction in his publication.

Robinson's publication allowed other scholars to analyze the arch briefly as one example among a number of other arches or monuments. For example, C. Vermeule (1968) and F. Kleiner (1985) both suggest that Hellenistic Greek models had an influence on the decorative program.⁶⁵ Yet neither of these scholars delves into the intended meaning of the iconography, or why a Roman colony would have preferred Hellenistic Greek decoration on an honorific arch. As discussed below, I believe the Hellenistic Greek elements of the arch represent conscious design decisions that differentiate the arch in Antioch from its contemporary cousins.

In a discussion of the imperial cult sanctuary with a primary focus on the temple building, K. Tuchelt (1983) describes the arch as Italic in form, and its iconography as triumphal.⁶⁶ Tuchelt also stresses the possible Anatolian character of the busts of two divinities from the frieze, one of which was housed in the Konya Museum at the time and which he was the first to identify as part of the arch in Antioch.⁶⁷ I believe that the attribution of this block to the arch in Antioch is accurate, and its presence on the arch added an additional dimension of multi-cultural valence to the monument (discussed further below).

⁶⁴ Robinson 1926a, fig. 31.

⁶⁵ Vermeule 1968, 78; Kleiner 1985, 39.

⁶⁶ Tuchelt 1983, 513-14.

⁶⁷ Tuchelt 1983, 518-19. In 1983, the block that depicts a helmeted male god (**Frieze 19**) was in the Konya Museum, but Tuchelt's identification has since been accepted and the block has been moved to the Yalvaç Museum.

S. Guven (1983) includes the arch of Augustus in Antioch among the fifteen honorific arches in Asia Minor analyzed in her dissertation.⁶⁸ Guven asserts that “the most important function of the arch by far, was its use as a meaningfully planned, triumphal icon.”⁶⁹ Her choice of the adjective “triumphal” to describe the arch is deliberate,⁷⁰ and, following Robinson, she interprets the bound captives represented in two of the spandrels as vanquished Pisidian chiefs.⁷¹ In contextualizing the arch, Guven mentions the cultural variety that characterized Antioch in its early days as a Roman colony, which would have been home to residents of Italian, Greek, and indigenous Anatolian descent,⁷² but she attributes the construction of the arch to the Roman population as “one way among many to give legitimacy, civic pride, as well as a sense of civilising mission to the Roman presence in Antioch.”⁷³ My analysis, however, suggests that Guven’s interpretation is too rigid in its emphasis on the arch as an example of overtly Romanizing propaganda. As discussed below, the arch has numerous Hellenistic Greek elements that are unparalleled in the arches of the western empire, particularly in Italy and Rome itself.

Like Guven, Roehmer (1997) also sees the arch as an explicitly triumphal monument that was set up by the colonists “as a visible sign of the economic strength of the city, combined with a proof of their loyalty to Rome.”⁷⁴ Roehmer suggests that the

⁶⁸ Guven 1983, 55-71, which also includes discussion of Antioch’s city gate. Guven mistakenly describes the columns on the façade of the Arch of Augustus as “detached from the main body of the arch and raised on pedestals,” like those of the Arch of Hadrian in Antalya (1983, 64); as described above in Chapter 2, these columns were engaged, not freestanding.

⁶⁹ Guven 1983, 64.

⁷⁰ Cf. her discussion of the history of use of the term “triumphal arch” (Guven 1983, 6-9): “it is commonly, although erroneously, assumed that most Roman arches are triumphal monuments” (1983, 6).

⁷¹ Guven 1983, 55 and 64, following Robinson 1926a, 25-6.

⁷² Guven 1983, 57-62.

⁷³ Guven 1983, 62.

⁷⁴ Roehmer 1997, 69.

arch had no specific relationship with the temple, even though it acted as a propylon to the sanctuary.⁷⁵ Furthermore, according to Roehmer, the arch lost its triumphal character because of its use as a propylon, and the relief decoration was probably added to the arch to re-emphasize the triumphal symbolism of the arch form.⁷⁶ Roehmer assumes that the *Res Gestae* inscription was carved directly onto the arch, and suggests that the construction of the arch in honor of Augustus and the posthumous addition of the *Res Gestae* indicate that the colonists perceived Augustus himself to be the primary symbol of the security and economic status of the city.⁷⁷ Roehmer's emphasis on the close connection between the iconography of the arch and the person of Augustus seems valid, but I believe the triumphal character of the monument is overstated, and that its supposed lack of symbolic connection with the adjacent sanctuary and temple is simply unfounded.

Mitchell and Waelkens provide the most extensive discussion of the arch of Augustus produced since Robinson's original publication of the sculptures.⁷⁸ The authors emphasize that the entire imperial cult complex—the temple, the enclosing porticoes, the arch as propylon, and the Tiberia Platea as an entrance plaza—should be analyzed as a unified ensemble.⁷⁹ They also assert that the elements taken separately, including the arch itself, are “characteristic of specifically Roman design,” although the only honorific arch they mention in comparison is the Augustan triple-bayed arch in Ephesus, which itself, as the authors mention, contains a combination of Hellenistic and Roman design elements.⁸⁰ According to Mitchell and Waelkens, the sculptural program

⁷⁵ Roehmer 1997, 69-70, following Tuchelt's (1983, 514-19) suggestion that the deity worshipped at the temple was an Anatolian deity, perhaps Cybele.

⁷⁶ Roehmer 1997, 69-70.

⁷⁷ Roehmer 1997, 70.

⁷⁸ Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 161-164.

⁷⁹ Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 160.

⁸⁰ Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 161.

of the arch in Antioch clarifies the Roman and imperial associations of the arch.⁸¹ While many of the authors' interpretations of the symbolic meaning of the iconographic program seem to be correct, my comparison of the arch with contemporary monuments in the west shows that Hellenistic Greek design elements influenced both the architectural and sculptural design of the arch of Augustus.

Most recently, Rose (2005) describes the arch as “the first triumphal arch per se in Asia Minor,” which “was clearly intended to be read as such.”⁸² He suggests that the decoration of the arch “seems to have been substantially influenced by the Parthian Arch in Rome,”⁸³ which was erected by the Senate and People of Rome in the Forum Romanum after Augustus' Parthian victory.⁸⁴ Rose points out many of the allusions to the deeds of Augustus in the sculptural program, including two captive Gauls,⁸⁵ and even adds two previously unidentified elements to the list. He suggests that two standard-bearing barbarians depicted on Antioch's Hadrianic city gate were probably copied from similar representations on the arch of Augustus, and he identifies one figure as a Gaul, the other as a Parthian.⁸⁶ Despite the prevalence of Gauls in the iconography, Rose suggests that the arch was primarily a memorial of the Parthian victory, perhaps erected in connection connected with Gaius' journey eastward to the Parthian border where he would be mortally wounded in 3 C.E.⁸⁷ Rose's addition of the standard bearers to the decoration of the arch is an important contribution for our understanding of the

⁸¹ Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 161.

⁸² Rose 2005, 54.

⁸³ Rose 2005, 29 n. 52.

⁸⁴ Rose 2005, 54-57.

⁸⁵ Rose 2005, 55.

⁸⁶ Rose 2005, 56.

⁸⁷ Rose 2005, 57.

monument. I believe, however, that he overstates the monument's connection with the Parthian victory and the Parthian Arch in Rome.

While each of these theories contributes to our understanding of this unique monument, each one seems to draw conclusions based on a specific subset of the monument's characteristics. My analysis seeks to integrate an analysis of both the architectural and sculptural characteristics of the arch, and to determine its place in the architectural landscape of the early Roman empire by comparison with numerous similar monuments from the same and earlier periods. My analysis of the iconographic program strongly indicates that the arch was intended to be a monument to Augustus as an individual, rather than a commemoration of Roman domination in general. Many of its iconographic elements refer to specific deeds performed by and honors voted to Augustus, and, as I demonstrate below, the aspects of the decorative program that have a more multivalent character are executed in a Hellenizing style that distinguishes the monument from its western counterparts. These details helped to integrate the arch as a propylon into the regional sacro-architectural landscape.

The arch of Augustus stood as an elaborate monument to the colony's founder, as a person to whom the inhabitants of the city—certainly the Italian colonists, but perhaps also the Greek and native Phrygian residents—owed a great deal for the prosperity of their city. Perhaps to appeal to the multicultural population, the designer of the arch incorporated architectural elements that recalled Hellenistic monuments familiar to local residents as well as contemporary honorific arches in the west known to the Italian colonists. My analysis suggests that the arch should not be monolithically considered as

one of the “important elements in a deliberate program of Romanization.”⁸⁸ Rather, it stands as an attempt to integrate the multicultural population, not by turning Greeks and Phrygians into Romans, but by melding aspects of each cultural tradition into a new provincial culture.

Historical Background

The historical situation in Pisidia at the time of construction of the arch of Augustus in Antioch provides essential context for our understanding of the symbolic meaning of the arch, the unique phenomenon of its creation, and the cultural composition of the local population. Pisidian Antioch was founded as a Seleucid colony in the third century B.C.E., with settlers from Magnesia on the Meander,⁸⁹ but no remains dating to this period have yet been identified on the site itself.⁹⁰ A city named Antioch sent a diplomatic letter to Magnesia in the late third century B.C.E., which was inscribed in Magnesia’s civic agora.⁹¹ This letter may have come from Pisidian Antioch, since it refers to kinship between the two cities.⁹² The fact that the Antioch in the letter refers to its own typical Greek civic institutions indicates that Pisidian Antioch was probably a Hellenized city by the late third century B.C.E.⁹³

Strabo reports that the city’s major extramural sanctuary, that of Mên Askaênos, owned many slaves and significant amounts of property in the area,⁹⁴ a fact that leads some scholars to interpret Hellenistic Antioch as a temple-town governed by the priests

⁸⁸ Guven 1983, 69.

⁸⁹ Strabo 12.8.14. The Seleucid kings also established colonies nearby at Apollonia and Sidera to help exert some control over the turbulent region of Pisidia (Jones 1983, 127).

⁹⁰ Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 5-6.

⁹¹ Kern 1900, nos. 79-80; Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 16 n. 27.

⁹² Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 7.

⁹³ Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 7.

⁹⁴ Strabo 12.8.14.

of the sanctuary.⁹⁵ The site of the sanctuary, three kilometers from the city atop a mountain called Kara Kuyu today, provides the only potential archaeological evidence for this period.⁹⁶ Based on a comparison of the ground plan of the temple of Mên with other peripteral temples in Asia Minor, Mitchell suggests a date of construction between 175 and 125 B.C.E., perhaps under the influence of the Attalid kings of Pergamon.⁹⁷ As attested by Strabo, Antioch was nominally a free city at that time,⁹⁸ but Mitchell suggests that the construction of a major temple by the Attalids may have been an attempt to exert political influence in the strategically important city.⁹⁹ Lane suggests that a series of coins minted in Antioch could date to this period; these depict a bust of Mên on the obverse and a standing bull on the reverse.¹⁰⁰

Direct Roman involvement in the region increased after the creation of the province of Cilicia in 100 B.C.E. The province was primarily established to deal with pirates along the southern coast, but the responsibilities of the governor also extended northward into the mountainous regions, including Pisidia.¹⁰¹ Servilius Isauricus led the most significant incursion into the mountains, when, after defeating a petty pirate-king based in Lycia, he earned his cognomen by subduing the Isaurians, the Pisidians' southeastern neighbors.¹⁰² In 36 B.C.E., Antony handed control of Pisidia, Pamphylia, and Lycaonia to Amyntas, the client-king of Galatia.¹⁰³ Because the region had remained unruly, Amyntas had to use force to bring it under his control. His efforts failed,

⁹⁵ Jones 1983, 127-8; Magie 1950, 457.

⁹⁶ The sanctuary is discussed at length by Mitchell and Waelkens (1998, 37-90).

⁹⁷ Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 67-8.

⁹⁸ Strabo 12.8.4. See also Jones 1983, 130.

⁹⁹ Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 67-8.

¹⁰⁰ Lane 1976, 55.

¹⁰¹ Jones 1983, 131.

¹⁰² Jones 1983, 131-2.

¹⁰³ Jones 1983, 132.

however, when in 25 B.C.E. he was killed while fighting the mountain-dwelling Homanadensian tribe of southeastern Pisidia.¹⁰⁴

Augustus immediately reorganized the former kingdom of Amyntas into the province of Galatia. Pliny reports that the new province encompassed 195 different peoples.¹⁰⁵ A. H. M. Jones emphasizes the wide variety of civic organization that could be found in the region, from tribes governed by elders to cities with fully Hellenized constitutions.¹⁰⁶ It was at this time that Augustus re-founded Pisidian Antioch, under the official name of Colonia Caesarea.¹⁰⁷ The colonists were veterans from the fifth and seventh legions,¹⁰⁸ many of whom were natives of Italy, and the lands they received had probably been seized by Augustus from the estates owned by Mên Askaênos.¹⁰⁹ In the final decade of the first century B.C.E. Augustus completed the war that Amyntas had started against the Homanadenses, and afterwards in 6 B.C.E. he founded several more colonies in Pisidia. According to B. Levick, Augustus intended these colonies to be a pacifying presence in the region.¹¹⁰ Because Antioch had been a Roman colony for almost two decades before the other Pisidian colonies were founded, it acted as the center of official Roman presence in the region. This centrality is proved by the fact that milestones on the newly constructed road system, the Via Sebaste, recorded distances to Antioch as the system's regional hub.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁴ Jones 1983, 132.

¹⁰⁵ Pliny *NH* 5.42

¹⁰⁶ Jones 1983, 134-5. See also Magie 1950, 458.

¹⁰⁷ The early coins minted by the city are labeled Col. Caes.; only later, in the reign of Titus, did the name Antiochia appear on the colonial coinage (Magie 1950, 460 and 1319-20 n. 31).

¹⁰⁸ Magie 1950, 459.

¹⁰⁹ Levick 1967, 73; Jones 1983, 134.

¹¹⁰ Levick 1967, 29-41.

¹¹¹ Levick 1967, 38-41. Levick compares the Via Sebaste in Asia Minor with the Via Augusta in Spain, another road system that was extensively repaired or improved by Augustus. The Spanish Via Augusta was commemorated with a series of honorific arches, discussed further below.

It appears that from early in its existence, Antioch had a relatively close relationship with the imperial circle. Inscriptions record that four individuals related to the emperor held honorary positions in the colony. These included P. Sulpicius Quirinius, who conducted the war against the Homanadenses for Augustus; M. Servilius, a friend of Tiberius; Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the father of Nero; and Drusus, the son of Tiberius, who was duovir twice in Antioch.¹¹² Since all these individuals had a personal relationship with Tiberius, Levick suggests that Tiberius might have established a close relationship with Antioch prior to his accession while traveling to Syria in 20 B.C.E.¹¹³ According to Mitchell, such honorary magistracies might have been opportunities for imperially-connected individuals to provide funding for construction projects in the new colony, possibly even the imperial cult sanctuary.¹¹⁴

In this setting the construction of the arch of Augustus was completed in 2/1 B.C.E. The city's imperial cult sanctuary, and the arch that served as its entryway, can be seen as a physical manifestation of Antioch's preeminent position in the region. At the sanctuary, colonists, locals, and residents of neighboring cities could gather for rituals that would help to propagate a sense of involvement in the imperial system and thereby the acceptance of Roman rule.¹¹⁵ The arch itself was designed to augment the symbolic associations of these rituals by melding Roman and Greek forms into a type of monument that was comprehensible to all residents of the city, regardless of their cultural backgrounds. When compared with contemporary honorific arches in other parts of the empire, the arch of Augustus displays several layers of cultural influence that are

¹¹² Levick 1967, 81; Boatwright 2000, 63.

¹¹³ Levick 1967, 81 n. 6.

¹¹⁴ Mitchell 1987, 349.

¹¹⁵ Price 1984; Rubin 2008.

identifiable in each of its major formal characteristics: its architectural form, sculptural decoration, and placement within the urban fabric.

Contemporary Honorific Arches: Motivations, Locations, and Decoration

The following discussion briefly surveys Augustan-era arches throughout the empire, with a particular emphasis on the motivations for their construction and the sculptural programs chosen to decorate these arches. My analysis of these arches demonstrates that the form of an arch as an honorific monument does not on its own symbolize military victory or imperial hegemony, and that in some cases military imagery had become a conventionalized form of decoration for monuments to members of the imperial household. Scholars' penchant for interpreting the Pisidian Antioch arch as a supposedly clear example of a provincial "triumphal arch" stems, I believe, from the persistent and erroneous association created by the adjective "triumphal," which by its frequent use suggests that the default symbolic meaning embodied by an honorific arch was one of military domination. Despite copious evidence to the contrary, and frequent mention of this fact by scholars who specialize in Roman arches,¹¹⁶ scholarly opinion has not been able to divorce the term "triumphal" from "arch," nor to alter the view that the arch as a form of monument embodies an overt expression of imperial hegemony.

The scholarly literature on the meaning of the arch as a monument type, and its lack of universal "triumphal" associations, is extensive and has a long history dating back to the early twentieth century. As early as 1905 Frothingham wrote an article on "the true meaning of the Roman monuments that are called 'triumphal arches,'" in which he argues that provincial honorific arches were built by various municipalities as an

¹¹⁶ E.g. Frothingham 1905, 217; Collart 1937, 321; Lugli 1966, 1047; Guven 1983, 8-9; Arce 1987, 74-5.

expression of civic freedom, not as symbols of imperial hegemony.¹¹⁷ Frothingham's conclusion has been shown to be too monolithic based on the variety of available evidence, but the general force of his argument remains valid. A century ago, just as now, the data lead to the conclusion that arches are not by nature "triumphal," and they should be referred to by another adjective, such as "honorific," in order to deflect the connotations associated with the former adjective. The evidence is simple: honorific arches, even in the Augustan period when they first became widely used, were built for a wide variety of occasions that, in the majority of cases, were unrelated to military victory.

A number of Augustan arches were built as funerary monuments for individuals or families. These include: in Gaul, the arch of L. Pompeius Campanus at Aix-les-bains,¹¹⁸ and two arches built for L. Donnius Flavos on the so-called Pont Flavien at St. Chamas (fig. 113);¹¹⁹ and in Istria, the arch of the Sergii at Pula (fig. 114).¹²⁰ To these we may add the arch of the Gavii in Verona (fig. 104), which is dated somewhat later in the Julio-Claudian period.¹²¹ Inscriptions on the monuments show that these private funerary arches were constructed by members of the family to recognize and honor their illustrious ancestors. Two of the arches carried at least four portrait statues, and a third had sculptural representations of as many as fourteen relatives.¹²² The arches differ in certain aspects of their relief decoration. The arch of the Sergii at Pula honored three individuals who had military careers, and the relief decoration on the arch reflects both

¹¹⁷ Frothingham 1905, entitled "De la véritable signification des monuments romains qu'on appelle 'arcs de triomphe.'"

¹¹⁸ Kleiner 1985, 41-42, pl. 9.2.

¹¹⁹ Lugli 1966; Kleiner 1985, 42-43. These twin arches stand at either end of a small bridge.

¹²⁰ Traversari 1971; Kleiner 1985, 36-37; De Maria 1988, cat. no. 33; Woodhull 2004.

¹²¹ Tosi 1983; Kleiner 1985, 37-38; De Maria 1988, cat. no. 113.

¹²² Four statues: the Arch of Sergii (originally three, with a fourth representing the arch's dedicator added upon her death) and the Arch of Gavii (which has four statue niches in its piers; additional statues may have stood atop the attic). Fourteen representations: Arch of Campanus (some depictions as freestanding statues, some as relief portraits).

the commemorative and funerary functions (fig. 114). To commemorate the military careers of the honorees, the spandrels of the arch have flying victories in relief,¹²³ and on the short sides of the arch the frieze shows piles of weapons and armor.¹²⁴ Funerary and sacral imagery dominates the rest of the decoration. On the main façade, the frieze contains garlands draped between putti and bucrania,¹²⁵ as well as rushing chariots driven by Selene.¹²⁶ The pilasters that frame the passageway are covered in spiraling vegetal motifs,¹²⁷ and the archivolt has rosettes decorating its coffers.¹²⁸ A large diamond-shaped panel is centered at the top of the vault of the arch, framing a relief of an eagle carrying a snake.¹²⁹ The representations of Selene and the eagle carrying the snake are clear examples of funerary imagery,¹³⁰ while the putti, garlands, and bucrania further emphasize the sacral associations of the funerary monument. By comparison, the arch of the Gavii at Verona has less decoration, and none of it is military in nature (fig. 104). The pilasters that support the archway are decorated in vegetal motifs, and the coffers of the flat internal roof of the monument have gorgon heads in the large central panels. Likewise, the two arches of the Pont Flavien are sparsely decorated and contain no military iconography (fig. 113). Two small statues of crouching lions stand atop each arch,¹³¹ vegetal motifs decorate the majority of the friezes, and eagles punctuate the portions of the frieze that project over the pilasters at the edges of the arches.

¹²³ Traversari 1971, fig. 34-5.

¹²⁴ Traversari 1971, fig. 45-50.

¹²⁵ Traversari 1971, fig. 38-41.

¹²⁶ Traversari 1971, fig. 36-7.

¹²⁷ Traversari 1971, fig. 14-22.

¹²⁸ Traversari 1971, fig. 26-9.

¹²⁹ Traversari 1971, fig. 26 and 30.

¹³⁰ Traversari 1971, 54-55 and 71-2.

¹³¹ One of the lion statues is ancient, and the other three are modern restorations (Lugli 1966, 1053).

Funerary arches were also constructed in honor of members of the imperial family. Augustus himself built an arch in honor of his biological father on the Palatine Hill in Rome.¹³² Pliny the Elder praised the statue group that stood atop this arch, which, following the Republican tradition of depicting deities in the attic statuary, represented Apollo and Diana in a chariot.¹³³ Another arch was built for Drusus, the father of Claudius, on the Via Appia outside Rome in 9 B.C.E.,¹³⁴ and the citizens of Pisa built one in their forum in honor of Gaius Caesar in 4 C.E.¹³⁵ A numismatic representation of the arch of Drusus shows a statue of the honorand on horseback flanked by trophies (fig. 115).¹³⁶ For the arch of Gaius Caesar in the forum of Pisa, an inscription (our only evidence of the arch) specifies that the monument would be decorated with the spoils of Gaius' conquered enemies. Despite the military iconography, it is clear that each of these arches was not erected in honor of a specific victory, but rather as a funerary monument for the honorand as an individual. The military iconography that decorated these arches was a result of the deeds of the man honored, not a result of the form of the monument. As shown in the Verona, St. Chamas, and Aix-les-Bains examples, the form of the monument was not necessarily the result of military deeds by the honoree; those arches had no known military iconography. The lack of military iconography on the two Gallic examples is especially telling, considering the regional penchant for trophies, captives, and weapons as decorative elements on arches.¹³⁷ Even in a province where military

¹³² Kleiner 1985, 22-23; De Maria 1988, cat. no. 57; Tomei 2000.

¹³³ Pliny *HN* 36.36

¹³⁴ Mentioned by Suetonius (*Claud.* 1); Kleiner 1985, 34; De Maria 1988, cat. no. 60.

¹³⁵ *CIL* XI 1421; Kleiner 1985, 35; De Maria 1988, cat. no. 32.

¹³⁶ On a coin minted by Claudius; see Kleiner 1985, 34.

¹³⁷ Kleiner 1985, 49: "arches with tropaic and battle reliefs were not confined to Carpentras, Glanum, and Orange, but were common features of the Gallo-Roman cities of the early Empire."

iconography could cover an entire arch, as at Orange (fig. 116),¹³⁸ some arches could be devoid of military imagery.

Another possible reason for the construction of an arch seems to have been the recognition or celebration of a change in civic status. The arch of Augustus at Susa in Italy was erected in honor of a treaty between fourteen Alpine tribes and Augustus (fig. 117).¹³⁹ The arch is still preserved in excellent condition, straddling a road that approaches the city. The inscription, originally in bronze letters inserted into the attic, commemorates the treaty signed by M. Iulius Cottius, the representative of 14 Alpine tribes, and Augustus.¹⁴⁰ The arch is rather severe in its architectonic form and decoration, but, in addition to the long inscription on its attic, it has a figural frieze that represents the signing of the treaty, a procession, and a *suovetaurelia* sacrifice (fig. 118). The inscription makes it clear that the arch was built at the behest of the tribal communities in honor of their new ally, rather than as an imperially-ordered sign of military dominion. The arch commemorates a change in political status, for which the residents were indebted to Augustus, and the preserved decoration of the arch reflects this primary purpose.

Scholars have suggested similar reasoning—thank offerings for a change in political status—for the erection of another series of arches, which includes arches in Italy at Aquino (fig. 119) and Aosta (fig. 120),¹⁴¹ in Gaul at Glanum (fig. 121),¹⁴² and in Greece at Philippi (fig. 123).¹⁴³ In 40 B.C.E. the triumvirs founded Aquino as a colony,

¹³⁸ Kleiner 1985, 47-48.

¹³⁹ Ferrero 1901; Kleiner 1985, 32-33; De Maria 1988, cat. no. 110; Pensabene 2005.

¹⁴⁰ *CIL* V 7231.

¹⁴¹ Aquino: Kleiner 1985, 18-19; De Maria 1988, cat. no. 4. Aosta: Kleiner 1985, 20-21; De Maria 1988, cat. no. 3; Pensabene 2005.

¹⁴² Rolland 1977; Kleiner 1985, 45-47.

¹⁴³ Heuzey and Daumet 1876, 117-120; Collart 1937, 319-24; Kleiner 1985, 20.

and later Augustus founded or re-founded the cities of Aosta, Glanum, and Philippi as colonies.¹⁴⁴ Colonial status gave a city improved standing within the imperial administration, and the residents may have erected these arches in honor of their respective founders in thanks for the conferral of the status. Yet no epigraphic evidence survives from these arches to confirm this hypothesis, and the primary evidence in favor of this interpretation is the placement of the monuments.¹⁴⁵ Like the arch at Susa, each of these arches is situated on a primary road that approaches one of the city's main gates. Some scholars suggest that this placement represents the spot where the road crosses the pomerium of the colony.¹⁴⁶

We should note, however, that deducing the function of these arches based on their placement alone is by no means certain, because, as noted above, funerary arches were often erected outside the city walls. Both the arch of Drusus in Rome and the arch of the Gavii in Verona were constructed on major roads approaching their respective cities. For the arch of the Gavii in Verona, it seems likely that without the evidence of the four surviving inscriptions that identify the arch as a funerary monument, scholars would interpret it as a pomerial arch, considering that the *municipium* of Verona too may have been re-founded as a colony in the Augustan period.¹⁴⁷ By comparison, the arches of Aosta, Aquino, Glanum, and Philippi could themselves be extramural funerary arches.

¹⁴⁴ Aquino and Aosta: Salmon 1969, 161. Glanum: Christol and Janon 2000. Philippi: Koukouli-Chrysantaki 1998, 8.

¹⁴⁵ Some scholars associate the arch at Aosta with the "trophy-bearing arch" (*apsis tropaiophoros*) mentioned by Cassius Dio (53.26), which was erected somewhere in the Alps in honor of Augustus' victories there and in Spain and Germany, for which he declined full triumphal honors in Rome. Besides the location of the arch outside an Alpine city, there is no evidence to support this connection.

¹⁴⁶ Frothingham 1905, followed by Kleiner 1985, 18, 21, 46, etc. The Philippi arch was located 2.5 km from the city gate, in the plain that was the site of the battle of Philippi, where Antony and Octavian defeated Julius Caesar's assassins. Early scholarship (Heuzey and Daumet 1876, 117-120) suggested that the arch represented a memorial arch in honor of the battle, but that interpretation was later supplanted by the pomerial interpretation (Frothingham 1915, 170; Collart 1937, 321).

¹⁴⁷ Sartori 1960, 191-2; Conforti Calcagni 1999, 19.

Of these four arches, only the arch at Glanum has preserved sculptural decoration. It has reliefs depicting bound captives flanking trophies on the piers of the arch, flying victories in the spandrels, and vegetal motifs on the face of the voussoirs. Such imagery does not necessarily indicate that the individual or individuals to whom the arch was dedicated were part of the imperial family. As mentioned above, the arch of the Sergii in Pula, dedicated to several private individuals who had military careers, has flying victories in its spandrels and reliefs of weapons in the frieze on its lateral faces. The arch at Glanum could be an elaborate private funerary monument, like the adjacent tower monument of the Julii;¹⁴⁸ so too the arches in Aquino, Aosta, and Philippi.

Several Augustan arches in Italy and possibly Spain were erected by the Senate and People of Rome in commemoration of imperially-funded road construction and repair. Two are known on the Via Flaminia in Italy, one at the Milvian Bridge, now lost, the other at Rimini, still standing as the city gate (fig. 124).¹⁴⁹ The arch at Rimini is fairly severe in its preserved decoration.¹⁵⁰ Like the arch at Susa, the attic carried a long inscription in bronze letters,¹⁵¹ but unlike the Susan arch, the one at Rimini has a plain frieze. Roundels with busts of Jupiter,¹⁵² Apollo, Neptune, and Roma decorate the spandrels, and a bull's head protrudes from the keystone. On the main cornice, the soffits between the consoles have a variety of decorative elements, notably eagles and gorgon heads on the ressaults that project over the engaged columns that flank the passageway. These iconographic features can be interpreted in several ways. The sacral symbolism

¹⁴⁸ Rolland 1969.

¹⁴⁹ Both mentioned by Cassius Dio (53.22.2). Milvian Bridge arch: De Maria 1988, cat. no. 58. Rimini: De Maria 1988, cat. no. 48; Kleiner 1985, 28-30.

¹⁵⁰ De Maria 1988, pl. 37.

¹⁵¹ CIL XI.365.

¹⁵² De Maria 1988, pl. 38.

could reflect the use of the arch as a city gate, with the placement of images of the gods and other symbols as apotropaic emblems for the protection of the city.¹⁵³ Notably, however, all of the gods depicted, particularly Apollo, had close connections with Augustus, to whom the arch was dedicated.¹⁵⁴ The arch probably also had attic statuary; by comparison with numismatic representations of arches commemorating road construction, discussed below, it seems likely that this attic statuary would have depicted Augustus in a chariot or on horseback. De Maria suggests that the central statue group may have been flanked by trophies.¹⁵⁵

Additional evidence of arches built in commemoration of road construction comes from a series of Augustan coins minted in Spain. The obverse of all of these coins bears a portrait of Augustus and an inscription SPQR CAESARI or SPQR CAESARI AUGUSTO.¹⁵⁶ Four different types of arch are represented on the reverses, but the inscription is the same on each type: QUOD VIAE MUN(itae) SUNT.¹⁵⁷ This cryptic legend does not identify where the roads in question were located. Some scholars suggest that these coins refer to the construction of the Via Augusta in Spain,¹⁵⁸ while others interpret them as referring to road improvements in Italy, including Augustus' work on the Via Flaminia, mentioned above.¹⁵⁹ Wherever the arches were built, the motivation for their construction is clear, and the numismatic representations preserve at least part of their decorative programs. Based on this evidence, it seems clear that

¹⁵³ Gualandi 1979, 112-3.

¹⁵⁴ De Maria 1988, 261.

¹⁵⁵ De Maria 1988, 261.

¹⁵⁶ Kleiner 1985, 30.

¹⁵⁷ Kleiner 1985, 30.

¹⁵⁸ Kleiner 1985, 30-2. Further evidence of at least one arch associated with the Via Augusta in Spain comes from a number of inscriptions that mention a *Ianus Augusti* that was located on the road at the boundary between the two Spanish provinces at the Baetis River (Kleiner 1985, 32).

¹⁵⁹ Pensa 1979, 24-7; Laurence 1999, 42-3; Patterson 2003, 93-4.

grandiose images of military victory had to a certain extent become conventionalized on monuments dedicated in honor of Augustus. One coin shows two arches at either end of a bridge, not unlike the Pont Flavien mentioned above, but here each of the arches is surmounted by an equestrian statue and a trophy (fig. 125a).¹⁶⁰ Two of the coins show a double-bayed arch at the center of a bridge. On one coin the double-bayed arch is decorated with rostra on its piers and is surmounted by a horse-drawn quadriga driven by Augustus, who is crowned by winged Victory (fig. 125b);¹⁶¹ on the other, the rostra are absent and the quadriga is replaced by an elephant-drawn biga (fig. 125c).¹⁶² A final representation shows a single-bayed arch, likewise surmounted by an elephant-drawn biga, but set within an arcuated colonnade rather than on a bridge.¹⁶³ The inscriptions on these coins make it clear that the reason for the construction of these arches (if indeed all four represent built monuments) was the celebration of the construction or refurbishment of a number of roads at the expense of Augustus. On these arches, the grandiose triumphal imagery containing equestrian statues, trophies, a quadriga, rostra, and bigas derives from the most celebrated deeds of the honoree. Augustus' military prowess overshadowed his mundane largess.

According to the literary sources, the Senate and People of Rome built several arches in the Forum Romanum in honor of Augustus. These include arches for his victories over Sextus Pompey at Naulochus¹⁶⁴ and Mark Antony and Cleopatra at Actium,¹⁶⁵ and for the return of captives and legionary standards from Parthia.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁰ Stuart 1945, fig. 3b; Lugli 1966, fig. 8a; Pensa 1979, pl. 3.3; Kleiner 1985, pl. 6.4.

¹⁶¹ Stuart 1945, fig. 3f; Lugli 1966, fig. 8b; Pensa 1979, pl. 4.1.

¹⁶² Stuart 1945, fig. 3g; Pensa 1979, pl. 4.2.

¹⁶³ Stuart 1945, fig. 3a; Pensa 1979, pl. 4.3; Kleiner 1985, pl. 6.3.

¹⁶⁴ Cassius Dio 49.15.1, although this arch might have been one of the honors that Augustus, still called Octavian at the time, refused (49.15.3).

¹⁶⁵ Cassius Dio 51.19.1

Scholars do not agree on the interpretation of the physical evidence of these arches, which includes visual representations on a series of coins minted in Rome and in the provinces, foundations uncovered to the north and south of the temple of Divus Julius in the Forum Romanum, and architectural fragments discovered in various places in the eastern end of the Forum. The scholarly debate concerning these arches is too extensive to summarize here; the reader is referred to the discussion and bibliography written by E. Nedergaard in *LTUR*.¹⁶⁷ The details of the debate aside, scholars agree on several issues that are relevant to the current discussion. First, one of these arches dedicated to Augustus was a triple-bayed arch that stood on foundations uncovered south of the temple of Divus Julius (fig. 126).¹⁶⁸ Second, this same arch is depicted on a coin type minted in Rome by L. Vinicius in 16 B.C.E. (fig. 127).¹⁶⁹ And third, some architectural fragments discovered in the area belong to this arch.¹⁷⁰ Most scholars identify this monument as the Parthian Arch,¹⁷¹ although some, notably Coarelli,¹⁷² suggest that it was the Actian Arch. For the purpose of this discussion, I follow the majority opinion and refer to the triple-bayed arch that stood south of the temple of Divus Julius as the Parthian Arch.

As mentioned above, the preferred reconstruction of the Parthian Arch is based on archaeological and numismatic data.¹⁷³ Like most Augustan-era numismatic

¹⁶⁶ Cassius Dio 54.8.3.

¹⁶⁷ *LTUR* 1.81-5, s.v. "Arcus Augusti (a. 19 a.C.)" (E. Nedergaard).

¹⁶⁸ Andraea 1957, 149-157.

¹⁶⁹ Nash 1961, fig. 101; Pensa 1979, pl. 2.3; Kleiner 1985, pl. 4.1; *LTUR* 1, fig. 44.

¹⁷⁰ As indicated on the reconstruction drawing published in Andraea 1957, fig. 16. Note, however, that Nedergaard (*LTUR* 1.85) doubts the attribution of the spandrel block depicting Victory.

¹⁷¹ Kleiner 1985, 25-6; De Maria 1988, cat. no. 59; Richardson 1992, 23; *LTUR* 1.81-85; Rose 2005, 29.

¹⁷² Coarelli 1983, 262-5.

¹⁷³ The most accepted architectural reconstruction is that drawn by G. Ioppolo after the excavations of Gamberini Mongenet in 1950 (Andraea 1957, fig. 16; republished in Nash 1961 v. 1, fig. 102; Kleiner 1985,

representations of arches,¹⁷⁴ the representation of the Parthian Arch on the coin of Vinicius emphasizes the attic statuary, which has a horse-drawn quadriga flanked by two statues of Parthians who offer military standards to Augustus in the chariot. The set of marble fragments discovered between the temples of Divus Julius and Castor in the Forum Romanum that have been associated with the Parthian Arch have elaborate sculptural decoration, but almost none of it is figural. Only one figural fragment, which is housed in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek and depicts a flying victory, has been associated with the arch (although Nedergaard has disputed this attribution in the most recent analysis).¹⁷⁵ Thus, the restored iconographic program of the Parthian Arch contains Augustus in a quadriga, two Parthians offering standards to the emperor, and possibly winged Victories in the spandrels over the central archway. Even though the return of captives and standards was a diplomatic victory that required no military force, the event was treated as a military victory in the iconography of the arch. Two statues that represented Parthians returning the standards, as well as (we can assume) the attic inscription, identified the specific event for visitors passing through the arch.

In all of the examples mentioned above, an individual or a group of people decided to erect an arch in honor of another person or group of people after a significant event: a death, the establishment of a treaty, the foundation of a colony, the construction of a road, or a political or military victory. The variety of motivations for construction indicate that military victory was seldom the reason for the selection of an arch as the type of monument to be built. Yet some of these arches, even when constructed for

pl. 4.3), which did not include the attic statuary. Rose (2005, fig. 8) has published a version that is architecturally based on Ioppolo's reconstruction and includes the attic statuary.

¹⁷⁴ Pensa 1979.

¹⁷⁵ *LTUR* 1.85.

mundane reasons such as the construction of a road, were decorated with military imagery, a fact that has encouraged the interpretation of all arches as “triumphal” monuments. I believe that the presence or lack of such iconography on a particular arch can be explained by the appropriateness of such decoration for the honorand, rather than by the form of the monument. The reason for the creation of each arch was the commemoration of a person or group of people, and the decoration of the monument followed from the major deeds of the honorand(s). For arches built in honor of Augustus, grandiose triumphal imagery could be used to decorate monuments that celebrated non-military events, such as the construction of a road or a diplomatic victory. At Pisidian Antioch, however, residents chose to decorate their arch with an iconographic program that painted a more comprehensive picture of the princeps and his deeds than any other Augustan arch known today.

The Iconographic Program of the Arch of Augustus: A Visual *Res Gestae Augusti*

The iconographic program of the arch of Augustus at Pisidian Antioch stands in stark contrast to the known imagery of Augustan arches elsewhere in the empire (figs. 91, 96). As I argue below, the iconographic program of the arch of Augustus embodies a visual *Res Gestae Augusti* framed in a Hellenizing sculptural and stylistic context. This consciously multivalent iconographic program echoes the hybridized architectural form of the monument (discussed below), which allowed the entire ensemble to be relevant to both Augustus as a person and to the act of worship at a temple in the Greek east. Instead of one or two specific references to a single deed of the emperor, as on the arch at Susa or on the Parthian Arch in Rome, or generic references to his glory in the form of grandiose

yet conventionalized imagery of military victory, as in the numismatic representations of arches built in celebration of road construction, the arch at Pisidian Antioch contained specific, recognizable references to many of the deeds and honors that were most utilized by Augustus in his empire-wide campaign of visual propaganda.¹⁷⁶ These individualized iconographic elements were accompanied by a number of iconographic features that had a more fluid symbolic character. Certain viewers could have read these multivalent images as references to deeds of Augustus, yet the formal characteristics of these representations seem to derive from Hellenistic models of architectural sculpture that differ from the decoration of arches in the western part of the empire. These Hellenizing aspects place the arch of Augustus in dialogue with earlier monuments in the region.

The known sculptural program of the arch at Antioch was concentrated in the spandrels over the archways on both faces of the monument, as well as on the frieze on the western, or outer, face (fig. 91). The spandrels depict various types of figures standing on short pilasters, while the frieze contains weapons, armor, tritons with trophies, and other symbols. While most of the iconographic program discussed below was discovered in 1924 among the rubble of the collapsed arch, some of the specific elements are known through their inclusion on the Hadrianic city gate in Antioch, which contained numerous sculptural and architectural references to the arch of Augustus. The clearest iconographic parallels between the two arches are the tritons flanking trophies in the friezes of both arches and the garland-bearing victories and genii in their spandrels.¹⁷⁷ These parallels ensure that the sculptural elements from the city gate discussed here almost certainly had counterparts on the arch of Augustus.

¹⁷⁶ Zanker 1988.

¹⁷⁷ Additional sculptural and architectural parallels are discussed below in Chapter 5.

Two surviving iconographic elements on the arch of Augustus corresponded to Augustus' parentage and early development as a political figure. First, the frieze contained a capricorn, his astrological sign (fig. 128). This symbol, which he used on coins early in his reign (fig. 129), alluded to his destiny as the savior of Rome, which had been reported by the astrologer Theogenes and had inspired a number of stories about signs and portents that had occurred in his early life.¹⁷⁸ Second, the frieze also contained a *sidus iulium* (fig. 131; cf. fig. 130), which referred to the deification of his adoptive father, Julius Caesar, and the inherited responsibility that came with being the son of the greatest man in Rome. The *sidus iulium* recalled Augustus' title of *divi filius*, one of the earliest he received, which itself was included in the inscription on the architrave of the arch (see above, Chapter 2).

In 27 B.C.E. Augustus symbolically restored the Republic, and in thanks the Senate voted him a series of traditional Roman honors.¹⁷⁹ These honors included the *clipeus virtutis*, a golden shield hung in the Curia, and the *corona civica*, an oak-wreath crown.¹⁸⁰ Evidence for the inclusion of these two honors in the iconographic program of the arch of Augustus comes from the remains of the Hadrianic city gate in Antioch. A block from the frieze of the Hadrianic arch shows two winged male figures carrying a circular shield (fig. 132) that bears a striking resemblance to the combined representation of the *corona civica* and *clipeus virtutis* on an Augustan coin.¹⁸¹ Another coin shows

¹⁷⁸ Zanker 1988, 48.

¹⁷⁹ Note, however, the alternate interpretation of these honors suggested by Wallace-Hadrill (1990, 167), who sees the voting of these honors not as purely Republican in tradition, but rather as a newly invented sort of "coronation ritual" that translates Greek honorific practice into the Roman sphere.

¹⁸⁰ Zanker 1988, 92-97.

¹⁸¹ Coin: Zanker 1988, fig. 76a. For the representation on the arch, many second century C.E. and later sarcophagi have a similar motif of two Erotes or unwinged nude youths carrying a *clipeus* between them, usually with a bust of the deceased displayed within the *clipeus* (e.g. Koch and Sichtermann 1982, pls. 232, 250, 257, 259, 283-5, 340-1, 348, and 483).

Augustus himself holding the *corona*-decorated *clipeus* while he attaches the *sidus iulium* to the cult statue of Divus Julius,¹⁸² and an altar of the Genius Augusti in Pompeii is decorated with a similar motif.¹⁸³ Other Augustan coins show winged Victory carrying the *clipeus virtutis* in a number of ways.¹⁸⁴ Earlier versions of this type of arrangement, with tritons flanking a round shield, are known on a Hellenistic grave stele from Chalcedon in Asia Minor¹⁸⁵ and on the Monument of the Julii at Glanum in southern Gaul.¹⁸⁶ The parallel with the Monument of the Julii is especially apt because the tritons-with-shield element decorates a frieze on the tower tomb's second level, which takes the form of a quadrifrons arch (fig. 121), and the shield is centered over the archway (fig. 122), exactly like the probable position of the *clipeus* on the arch of Augustus in Antioch.

The arch of Augustus probably had images of two barbarians carrying Roman military insignia, a possibility first suggested by C. Brian Rose based on several blocks from the Hadrianic city gate in Antioch (as noted in Chapter 2).¹⁸⁷ These standard bearers would have been located in the spandrels over the central arch on the eastern façade, which faced the temple. In the Hadrianic depiction, one figure is clothed in trousers and carries a standard (fig. 133), while the other is nude and carries a vexillum (fig. 134). The trousered barbarian carrying a standard represents Augustus' victory over the Parthians, in honor of which, as mentioned above, the Senate erected the Parthian Arch in the Forum Romanum in 19 B.C.E. Rose suggests that the nude barbarian carrying the vexillum probably represents a Gaul, another foreign people from whom

¹⁸² Koortbojian 2006, fig. 57.

¹⁸³ Published descriptions (e.g. Mau 1907, 107 and Richardson 1988, 193) mention only the oak wreath, but the wreath is clearly depicted as superimposed on a round shield.

¹⁸⁴ E.g. Zanker 1988, fig 80b.

¹⁸⁵ Ridgway 2002, pl. 98.

¹⁸⁶ Rolland 1969, pl. 14.

¹⁸⁷ Rose 2005, 56.

Augustus recovered lost standards.¹⁸⁸ As mentioned by Rose, both of these images parallel representations on Augustan coin types (figs. 135-136).¹⁸⁹ On both of the coin types, the standard held by the kneeling figure is angled backward, toward the figure, so that the entire composition could fit on the round surface of the coin. In the depiction on the arches in Antioch, the barbarians hold the standards in their outstretched arms, angling away from the figures.

The *sidus iulium*, capricorn, *clipeus virtutis*, *corona civica*, and barbarians carrying standards are unmistakable references to specific honors and deeds of Augustus. These visual elements were accompanied by specific verbal references to Augustus' honors and deeds. The dedicatory inscription in bronze letters contained many of the titles and offices voted to Augustus over the course of his reign, including *divi filius* as already mentioned, but also *augustus* (received in 27 B.C.E.), *pontifex maximus* (received in 12 B.C.E.), and his most recent title at the time of the construction of the arch, *pater patriae*, voted for him in 2 B.C.E. These titles would not have been unusual on any dedication to the emperor in this period,¹⁹⁰ but they were optional.¹⁹¹ The inclusion of these titles on the Augustan arch in Antioch helped to fill out the picture of Augustus' many honors and deeds.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁸ Rose 2005, 56.

¹⁸⁹ Rose 2005, 56 and figs. 1 and 24. Robinson (1926a, 46) noted the similarity between the Antioch standard bearer and the one depicted on the breastplate of the Prima Porta Augustus.

¹⁹⁰ The Augustan arch in Ephesus includes all of these titles except *pater patriae*, which had not been voted for Augustus at the time of its construction.

¹⁹¹ For example, the temple of Rome and Augustus in Pula, Croatia, was dedicated to *Romae et Augusto Caesari divi f. patri patriae* (ILS 110, quoted in Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 147), leaving out *imperator* and *pontifex maximus*, as well as the consular and tribunician designations that would indicate the year of construction.

¹⁹² The possible display of the *Res Gestae* of Augustus on the arch, which would have been a posthumous addition, will be discussed further below.

A number of other iconographic elements on the arch of Augustus have clear naval symbolism. Individually, these elements have a somewhat more general character, but their consistent use in Augustus' empire-wide program of visual propaganda closely associated them with certain specific deeds of the emperor. At least two ships' prows were represented in the frieze (e.g. fig. 131), along with a third element that is probably the ram of a warship. Also in the frieze, two figural groups that each show a pair of tritons flanking a trophy were probably positioned over the two side arches (figs. 137-138). The final surviving naval element is a bust of Poseidon flanked by dolphins that was positioned on one of the projecting elements of the frieze (fig. 18). All of these iconographic elements—ships' prows, tritons, trophies, dolphins, and Poseidon holding a trident—were frequently used by Augustus in his visual propaganda after the battle of Actium.¹⁹³ Because these naval images were located side-by-side with numerous other elements that symbolize specific deeds and honors of Augustus, a knowledgeable ancient viewer would probably have associated the naval imagery with Augustus' naval victories. Foremost among these was the battle of Actium in 31 B.C.E., which led to his restoration of the republic and acceptance of the title *augustus* a few years later.

Compared to the decorative elements discussed above, the remaining imagery on the arch of Augustus has a more multivalent character that helped to integrate the monument into the regional landscape of Hellenistic architectural sculpture. These elements include bound captives, weapons, armor, winged Victories, nude Erotes or Genii, and hanging garlands.

¹⁹³ Zanker 1988, 82-85.

There are two preserved spandrel figures that represent bound captives, one nude and one partially draped, who are represented kneeling on pilasters (figs. 139-140).¹⁹⁴ These were placed over the central archway on the western façade (fig. 91), visible as a visitor approached the sanctuary. Robinson and Guven thought that the captives represented Pisidians or Homanadensians,¹⁹⁵ the tribe from near the southeastern border of Pisidia that Augustus defeated sometime in the final decade of the first century B.C.E. (as mentioned above).¹⁹⁶ Recently Rose has identified these captives as Gauls,¹⁹⁷ while Mitchell and Waelkens suggest that they could simply represent non-specific barbarian enemies of Rome.¹⁹⁸ On a parallel spandrel from the Hadrianic city gate, one of the captives kneels on a pilaster decorated with a torc (fig. 141), which strengthens the identification of the captives on the Augustan arch as Gauls. Augustus won a number of victories over various Gallic tribes, which were commemorated by a massive trophy monument in the Alps, partly reconstructed today at La Turbie, France.¹⁹⁹ Accordingly, certain visitors could have identified the Gallic captives on the Augustan arch in Antioch as symbolic representations of specific Augustan victories.

The depiction of conquered Gauls, however, would also have resonated with other historical events, especially the well-publicized Attalid victories over the Gauls.²⁰⁰

Pergamene kings erected monuments commemorating these victories in both Asia Minor

¹⁹⁴ Similar bound captives, standing rather than kneeling, are depicted on pilasters in the spandrels of the city gate of Sepino in Italy (Zanker 1988, fig. 258). According to the inscription, the city walls and gates were erected by Tiberius and Drusus in 2/1 B.C.E., the same year as Antioch's arch. Zanker suggests that the captives in Sepino represent Germanic tribesmen (Zanker 1988, 330). Aside from the two arches in Antioch, the Sepino gate is the only arched monument that shows its primary spandrel figures standing on pilasters.

¹⁹⁵ Robinson 1926a, 25-6; Guven 1983, 64.

¹⁹⁶ Levick 1967, 203-14.

¹⁹⁷ Rose 2005, 55.

¹⁹⁸ Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 162.

¹⁹⁹ Formige 1949.

²⁰⁰ Gruen 2000.

and Greece. In Pergamon, the statues of Gauls stood in an uncertain arrangement on large bases in the sanctuary of Athena on the acropolis.²⁰¹ In Athens, the Attalid Gallic victory monument, which according to Pausanias depicted scenes from four different mythological and historical battles,²⁰² was located on the acropolis just south of the Parthenon.²⁰³ As mentioned by Rose, the small temple of Roma and Augustus built on the Athenian acropolis to the east of the Parthenon established an iconographic relationship between Augustus and various Greek victories over foreign foes that were commemorated by various dedications on and around the Parthenon.²⁰⁴ These victories included the Athenian victory over the Persians at Marathon, commemorated by the Parthenon itself; Alexander the Great's victory at Granikos, commemorated by shields attached to the façade of the Parthenon; and the Attalid victory over the Gauls, represented in the elaborate monument mentioned above.²⁰⁵ Accordingly, for some viewers the two bound Gauls represented on the outer, western face of the arch of Augustus in Pisidian Antioch would have situated the emperor's deeds within this continuum of famous Greek victories, thereby establishing the emperor as the worthy successor of these defenders of Greek civilization.

Continuing the analysis of multivalent symbols on the arch of Augustus at Antioch, the weapons and armor displayed on the frieze represent rather generic references to military victory that would have been familiar decorative elements both east and west. The armor preserved from the frieze includes five different types of shield (e.g.

²⁰¹ Marszal 2000, 206-9.

²⁰² Gigantomachy, Amazonomachy, the battle of Marathon, and the Attalid Gallic victory (Pausanias 1.25.2).

²⁰³ Marszal 2000, 211.

²⁰⁴ Rose 2005, 50-51.

²⁰⁵ Rose 2005, fig. 20.

figs. 22, 142a, 142b), two types of cuirass (figs. 142a, 142c), and greaves (fig. 20). The shields are sometimes accompanied by spears or swords crossing behind them (figs. 142a, 142b), and a bow with a quiver of arrows rounds out the display of weapons (fig. 142d). Rose suggests that the bow and quiver embody a specific reference to Augustus' Parthian victory,²⁰⁶ but as a whole the weapons frieze seems to have a more general character.

In the Augustan period, displays of weapons could be pictorially arranged in two different ways, either in an orderly row or in a jumbled mass.²⁰⁷ The orderly arrangement, which we find on the arch in Antioch and which has parallels both east and west, originated with the hanging of actual weapons and armor on public buildings as trophies. Salient examples of this type dating to the Hellenistic period are found in Asia Minor and in the broader Aegean region.²⁰⁸ Notably, in Pisidia and Pamphylia representations of weapons and armor were prominently displayed on city gates at Side,²⁰⁹ Selge,²¹⁰ and Sagalassos.²¹¹ The decoration of Antioch's propylon, another type of gateway, would have resonated with these nearby monuments. The representation of the weapons at Side shows the relationship between weapons depicted in relief and actual

²⁰⁶ Rose 2005, 55.

²⁰⁷ These two methods of pictorially arranging weapons are discussed by Edwards 1994, 289-291.

²⁰⁸ Orderly depictions of shields and/or weapons decorate bouleteria at Miletus (Knackfuss 1908), Sagalassos (Waelkens and Loots 2000, figs. 54-57), and Ariassos (Mitchell et al. 1989, 65-66 and pl. 12b); fortification towers at Perge (Lanckoronski 1890, fig 48); commemorative monuments, such as the trophy base at Leuktra (Daux 1959, 675-77) and the Lion Tomb at Knidos (Webb 1996, 121); and monuments of uncertain form at Amphipolis (Miller and Miller 1972), Dion (Pantermalis 1974, 699, cited by Holzmann 1994, 105), Thasos (Holzmann 1994, 103-105 and pl. 31-33), and Veria (Markle 1999).

²⁰⁹ Mansel 1968.

²¹⁰ Machatschek and Schwarz 1981, 42-46.

²¹¹ Loots et al. 2000, 605.

mounted objects, since the swords are depicted as suspended by their baldrics looped over pegs in the wall.²¹²

The earliest example of the second type of representation, which shows weapons and armor in a jumbled mass, is usually attributed by scholars to Pergamon based on the decoration of the balustrade of the sanctuary of Athena (fig. 143).²¹³ Although this type of representation seems to have been invented in the east, it was appropriated by the Romans as the preferred method for depicting arms and armor.²¹⁴ In the Augustan period it is found on the frieze of the arch at Pula in Istria,²¹⁵ and on several arches in Gaul that are generally dated to the Julio-Claudian period, the best preserved of which is at Orange (fig. 116).²¹⁶ In contrast to these arches in the west, the arch in Antioch follows the more prevalent local tradition of an orderly row of military implements arranged with little overlap. For the culturally diverse residents of Antioch, the weapons frieze would have connected the arch to similarly decorated monuments in the region, while simultaneously creating a link with the broader imperial monumental landscape.

Further multivalent imagery was displayed in the spandrels over the side passageways. As mentioned above, the figures over the central archway on the western, outer face of the arch represented captive Gauls, while Parthian and Gallic standard bearers took their place in the center of the eastern, inner face. In contrast to these rather historical or earthly representations, winged figures of supernatural character decorated

²¹² Mansel 1968, figs. 34, 36, and 39.

²¹³ E.g. Edwards 1994, 289; Holzmann 1994, 105; Webb 1996, 33.

²¹⁴ For example, the monumental Altar of Domitian in Ephesus, now in the Seljuk Museum, had piled spoils in relief on its front face, and the base of Trajan's column in Rome depicts a jumble of arms and armor. Jumbled masses of spoils could also be used as subsidiary decoration, as in the frame around the relief at the top of the vault of the Arch of Trajan at Benevento, Italy.

²¹⁵ Traversari 1971, fig. 45-50.

²¹⁶ Orange: Amy 1962. Fragments of similar motifs that may have come from honorific arches are known from Avignon (Kleiner 1985, 45) and Biot (Kleiner 1985, 49),

the spandrels of the side archways on both faces of the arch. On the western face they were nude winged males (fig. 43), identified as Eroses or Genii by various scholars,²¹⁷ while on the eastern face they were draped female figures of Victory (fig. 44). Garlands hung from behind these figures across the top of each archway.²¹⁸ Two aspects of these figures require discussion: first, their unusual depiction as standing atop short pilasters (fig. 46) and accompanied by draped garlands, and second, their multivalent symbolic character.

The depiction of the winged spandrel figures on the arch of Augustus is, as far as I know, unique among Augustan and Julio-Claudian arches anywhere in the empire. Based on the characteristics of the depiction of these figures, I would argue that the unique rendering served to emphasize the sacral character of the arch as a propylon to a functioning sanctuary. Several arches of this era are known to have carried representations of Victories in the spandrels, including arches in Gaul at Cavaillon (fig. 144) and Glanum (fig. 121),²¹⁹ in Istria at Pula (fig. 114),²²⁰ and probably in Italy at Rome.²²¹ Yet the depiction of the Victories on each of these arches differs from that of the arch in Antioch. In the Gallic, Istrian, and Italian examples, the Victories are shown in a dynamic pose flying toward the center of the arch, while carrying a symbol of victory such as a trophy or a palm branch. In contrast, the preserved Victory from the arch of

²¹⁷ Genii: Robinson 1926a, 21-22; Vermeule 1968, 78; Guven 1983, 64; Tuchelt 1983, 513-14; Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 161. Eroses: Rose 2005, 55.

²¹⁸ As discussed in Chapter 2, Woodbridge's depiction of these draped garlands in the form of a W over the arch is unparalleled in Hellenistic and Roman art; the ends of garlands are always attached to some sort of iconographic element, usually bucrania. On the Hadrianic City gate of Antioch, bucrania are preserved from a central position over the archways; it is possible, and perhaps likely, that such bucrania once existed on the Augustan arch as well.

²¹⁹ Cavaillon: Gros 1979, fig. 22. Glanum: Rolland 1977, pls. 52-3.

²²⁰ Traversari 1971, fig. 32-5.

²²¹ The Parthian Arch in the Forum Romanum may have had victories in its spandrels (De Maria 1988, pl. 45.3), although the attribution of the relevant block has recently been disputed (*LTUR* 1.85). Also, a coin depicting an arch in honor of one of Augustus' victories has objects in the spandrels that may represent victories (Pensa 1979, pl. 2.1).

Augustus at Antioch is a more static figure standing on a pilaster (fig. 44). One could argue that this depiction was merely a stylistic choice on the part of the arch's designer. Yet, because nude winged male figures stand in an analogous position on the western face of the Antioch arch, it seems that the designer drew on a separate formal repertory of iconographic symbols. I know of no other arch of any period (save for the Hadrianic city gate in Antioch) that has nude winged males in place of Victories in its spandrels.²²² The nude winged males, whether they should be identified as Erotes or as Genii, clearly refer to peaceful, sacral activities, as opposed to the military imagery that Victories tend to suggest.²²³ The position of the nude winged males on the main façade of the arch—the western, outer face (fig. 91)—shows that sacral symbolism was, in fact, one of the primary decorative aspects of the arch.

The garlands associated with the winged spandrel figures confirm their sacral associations. Garlands draped between a variety of static elements were common decorative elements of sacral architecture in the Hellenistic world (e.g. fig. 143).²²⁴ The most common type of depiction shows garlands draped between inanimate symbols, most often bucrania. On the Augustan arch in Antioch, the garlands start behind the winged figures, but the figures do not pictorially interact with the garlands—that is, the figures are not depicted holding up the garlands with their hands (figs. 43-44). As mentioned in

²²² Some later arches had other types of figures besides Victories in the spandrels, including reclining personifications on the arch of Nero in Rome and on one face of the arch of Trajan at Benevento, and chariots pulled by griffins on the arch of Marcus Aurelius in Tripoli. On the arch of Trajan at Benevento and the arches of Septimius Severus and Constantine in Rome, small nude males are positioned at the feet of the primary spandrel figures, but unlike the nude winged males on the arch of Augustus in Antioch, these figures were subsidiary spandrel decoration, not the primary motif.

²²³ Koortbojian 2006.

²²⁴ E.g. at the Smintheon, Chryse (Webb 1996, 52 and fig. 6); on several temples and buildings in Pergamon (Webb 1996, 55, 56-7, 60-61, 68, and 68-69); on an altar at Claros (Webb 1996, 75); on the temple of Artemis at Ephesus (Webb 1996, 81); on the temple and altar at Magnesia on the Meander (Webb 1996, 89-90 and 94-96); in the lower gymnasium at Priene (Webb 1996, 100-1); on an altar at Tinos (Webb 1996, 133); and on a stucco frieze in Delos (Webb 1996, 137).

Chapter 2, it is possible that, as on the Hadrianic city gate in Antioch, bucrania were positioned over the center of the side archways as a point of connection between the two ends of the garland. The existence of such bucrania would turn the spandrel zones of the side archways into a frieze-like representation of draped garlands and static elements that would parallel numerous garland friezes on sacral buildings in the Hellenistic world, as noted above. The sacral character of the arch was further emphasized by the torches and wreaths that filled the pictorial space adjacent to the Gallic captives on the outer façade.

The symbolic resonance of the winged figures and the associated garlands would have cast a broad net. The use of winged Victories as iconographic elements in sculptural displays was widespread in both the Hellenistic and Roman worlds, and their inclusion on the arch of Augustus in Antioch added to the multivalent nature of the iconographic program. Winged Victories were common in the architectural sculpture of Hellenistic Greek sanctuaries, particularly as acroteria on temples.²²⁵ Augustus' most conspicuous use of a figure of Victory was the placement of a Hellenistic statue of Victory taken from Tarentum atop a column in the newly completed Curia Julia,²²⁶ and numismatic representations show that the central acroterion of the building's main façade was also a massive statue of Victory, here perched on a globe.²²⁷ With their consistent use and symbolic meaning in both the eastern and western Mediterranean, the Victories on the arch of Augustus would have been legible as symbols of divinely sanctioned victory to all residents of Antioch.

²²⁵ Victories as acroteria at Pergamon (Webb 1996, 55-6), Delos (Webb 1996, 135-6 and 138-9), and Samothrace (Webb 1996, 144-7); other uses at Ephesus (Webb 1996, 82), Magnesia on the Meander (Webb 1996, 92-3), and Tinos (Webb 1996, 133).

²²⁶ Zanker 1988, 79-80.

²²⁷ Zanker 1988, figs. 62a-b.

The nude winged males, in contrast, could have suggested a number of different associations depending on the viewer. As Rose suggests, they could have been interpreted as Erotas, which could suggest a connection with Venus, and thereby a reference to the divine descent of the Julian family from Venus through Aeneas and his son, Iulus.²²⁸ Alternatively, they could have been interpreted as Genii,²²⁹ which would represent a peaceful divine power analogous to the military power implied by the Victories on the arch. The male figures hold grapes in one hand that probably symbolize abundance. One of them holds a lituus in his other hand, symbolizing the augural power held by Augustus as well as the beneficial auspices that governed his actions seemingly in perpetuity.²³⁰ Tuchelt suggests that the Genius figures more specifically represent the seasons,²³¹ as commonly seen on much later sarcophagi. The lack of significant differentiation between the figures, however, makes this possibility unlikely.

The garlands associated with the Victories and the winged male figures further embodied the theme of abundance that the grapes held by the male figures probably represent. As mentioned above, such garlands were common decorative elements of Hellenistic sanctuaries, but they would have been familiar to a Roman viewer as well. A knowledgeable viewer might have associated them with the imagery on the Ara Pacis Augustae in Rome, which was decorated with reliefs of similar garlands draped between bucrania on the inner wall surface of the structure (fig. 145).²³² In Antioch, the temple of Augustus itself also had a frieze of garlands and bucrania (fig. 146).²³³ On the arch in

²²⁸ Rose 2005, 55.

²²⁹ Robinson 1926a, 21-22.

²³⁰ Koortbojian 2006, 207-10.

²³¹ Tuchelt 1983, 513-14.

²³² Zanker 1988, fig. 96.

²³³ Robinson 1926a, figs. 13-23; Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, pls. 90-2.

Antioch, the emphasis on the abundance that comes through peace was punctuated by a relief of a goddess on one of the projecting elements of the frieze (figs. 19, 21). This figure has a crown of leaves and fruits woven into her hair, and the side of the block is decorated with a vase that overflows with fruit. Robinson identifies this figure as Ceres, but also suggests that to local inhabitants the figure might relate to Mên Askaênos, despite the difference in gender.²³⁴ Tuchelt identifies her as Demeter, and suggests that the local population would have closely associated her with Cybele.²³⁵ Whatever her identity, the fruits in her hair and in the adjacent vase clearly symbolize agricultural abundance, a theme that is also reflected in the winged male figures on the outer face and the garlands on both faces of the monument.

The final image to consider, a cap-wearing god on another projecting part of the frieze (fig. 20), may have been a pendant image to the bust of Ceres/Demeter/Cybele. This image is the third (and final preserved) relief depicting the bust of a god, which Tuchelt identified in the museum at Konya and which has since been relocated to the museum in Yalvaç.²³⁶ The image shows a youthful male figure wearing a cap or helmet that is decorated with laurel leaves across the brow, horns projecting from the sides, and a sash that drapes from the top of the cap. The body of the figure has a strap that extends diagonally from his left shoulder across his chest. Like the images of Poseidon and Demeter mentioned already, the figure is flanked by associated symbols on the sides of the block, here a pair of greaves on one side and a round shield with a spear on the other. The identity of the figure is not certain, but based on the horned cap he is most likely a

²³⁴ Robinson 1926a, 26-29.

²³⁵ Tuchelt 1983, 519.

²³⁶ Tuchelt 1983, 518-19.

version of Mên Askaênos.²³⁷ This youthful god is more commonly shown in a Phrygian cap with the horns of the crescent moon rising from his shoulders, as on Hellenistic and Antonine coins minted in Antioch,²³⁸ but the greaves and shield associated with the image on the arch indicate that here we have a more militaristic version of the god.²³⁹ The Phrygian cap is replaced by a more helmet-like representation, with the horns of the bull, Mên's most closely associated animal, decorating his headgear and replacing the horns of the moon that normally rise from his shoulders.²⁴⁰ The laurel wreath that he wears in the representation on the arch frequently adorns his cap in other representations as well.²⁴¹

Other symbols on the arch would have resonated with the cult of Mên Askaênos. In Asia Minor, Mên was often worshipped together with a mother goddess, who in the cult in Antioch was identified as Demeter.²⁴² On the arch of Augustus, the militaristic representation of Mên was, perhaps, intentionally paired with the figure of Demeter in order to emphasize both the fertility and military aspects of their dual cult. This pairing mirrors the pairing of Genii on the western face of the arch with Victories on the inner face. Two other symbols on the arch may also relate to the cult of Mên. The grape seems to have been a crop closely associated with the god,²⁴³ so the bunches of grapes held by the Genii could have added another layer of meaning to the already multivalent symbolism of the winged figures, as discussed above. Lane also notes that torches were

²³⁷ This identification was first suggested by Tuchelt (1983, 519), and has been accepted by Mitchell and Waelkens (1998, 162) and Rose (2005, 55).

²³⁸ Lane 1976, 55.

²³⁹ Lane (1976, 106) points to the trophy-bearing Victory carried by the cult statue of Mên Askaênos as depicted on the Antonine coins from Antioch as evidence of his military associations.

²⁴⁰ Lane 1976, 102. The Hellenistic coins from Antioch have a bull on the reverse, and the Antonine coins show the god resting his foot on a bucranium.

²⁴¹ Lane 1976, 106.

²⁴² Lane 1976, 81-5.

²⁴³ Lane 1976, 105.

not uncommon aspects of the iconography of Men, particularly in his association with Demeter.²⁴⁴ On the arch in Antioch, torches were located in the central spandrels of the western face, next to the bound captives. The images of Men, Demeter, grapes, and torches on the western face of the arch (fig. 91) would have created a web of associations relating to ritual activities at the city's major extramural sanctuary.²⁴⁵ These references to the cult of Mên on the arch of Augustus are, in fact, the only evidence of an active cult of Mên in Antioch in the Augustan period, save for the reference to the temple of Mên at Antioch in Strabo.²⁴⁶ All other archaeological evidence of the cult dates to the Antonine period or later.²⁴⁷ The inclusion of Mên Askaênos and other symbols associated with him on the arch of Augustus created a symbolic link between the tutelary deity of the city and the founder of the colony.

The final question concerning the arch of Augustus in Antioch to be discussed must remain undecided because of the state of evidence available to us: the possible addition of the *Res Gestae* to the monument after the death of Augustus, 15 years after the arch was constructed (fig. 147). This long inscription described nearly all of the deeds included in the iconographic representations on the arch, as well as many others that were not referred to in the visual program. As discussed in Chapter 2, the exact placement of the inscription is unknown, and cannot be determined given the current state of the evidence.²⁴⁸ Yet because the hundreds of fragments of the inscription were discovered in and among the rubble of the arch, it seems likely that the inscription and

²⁴⁴ Lane 1976, 100.

²⁴⁵ If, as suggested above, the arch had bucrania over the side archways like its Hadrianic successor, the bull's skulls should also be added to the list of symbols that could refer to the worship of Men.

²⁴⁶ Strabo 12.8.14.

²⁴⁷ Khatchadourian forthcoming.

²⁴⁸ As mentioned in Chapter 2, the inscribed fragments are currently inaccessible because they are encased in cement. An avenue of further research could be to remove the fragments from the cement in order to re-analyze the physical evidence of the original arrangement of the inscription.

the arch were somehow closely related. Even if the *Res Gestae* inscription was displayed on another monument in the sanctuary, that monument would have been in close proximity to the arch. In this case, the *Res Gestae* would still have had a strong association with the arch, because the inscription would have represented a complementary verbal record of the deeds symbolically embodied by the iconographic program. The proximity of the *Res Gestae* inscription confirms that the iconography of the arch was intended to record the depth and breadth of deeds performed by Augustus and the honors accorded him. If the *Res Gestae* inscription was in fact carved on the arch itself, the association would have been powerful and direct.

In sum, the iconographic program of the arch of Augustus consisted of an array of multivalent symbols that wove a layered web of interrelated messages. The arch contained no known iconography that recalled the empire or the city of Rome in a general way,²⁴⁹ securely focusing the symbolic content of the arch on the person of Augustus, both as mortal honorand and, simultaneously, as a figurehead worthy of being the object of cult. A particular subset of the symbols would have reminded certain viewers of the verifiable deeds performed by Augustus and the honors subsequently voted to him. These symbols were framed by images that represented the divine sanction of his deeds, such as the tritons representing naval victory and the winged Victories flanking the images of identifiably mortal standard bearers.²⁵⁰ In addition, the images of conquered Gauls positioned the deeds of Augustus as continuing episodes in the ongoing Greek

²⁴⁹ Unlike the lost Tiberian arch at Antioch on the Orontes that is reported to have been decorated with a relief or statue of the She-Wolf suckling Romulus and Remus (Güven 1983, 71-77), or the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias, which had a relief depicting Dea Roma in its extensive iconographic program (Rose 2005, fig. 6).

²⁵⁰ As noted by Rose (2005, 57), this arrangement of mortals flanked by divinities is similar to the scene depicted on the breastplate of the Prima Porta Augustus.

struggle against barbarism. And finally, symbolic content specifically related to cult activities at the local sanctuary of Mên Askaênos sought to integrate the rituals that took place at the imperial cult sanctuary into the preexisting sacral landscape. This deeply layered iconographic program was eminently suited to the cultural situation at Antioch, where several population groups had been artificially blended into a single community.

The Arch of Augustus at Antioch and the Parthian Arch in the Forum Romanum

The close association of the arch at Pisidian Antioch with Augustus has caused scholars to associate it with one particular monument in Rome, the Parthian Arch of 19 B.C.E. (mentioned above; figs. 126-127).²⁵¹ The overstated association turns the arch of Augustus in Antioch into a derivative provincial monument that merely imitates its supposedly more important model. Such an interpretation posits an inherent desire on the part of provincials to emulate activities in the capital, and adds little else to the discussion of Roman colonial or provincial society. In contrast, my interpretation suggests that the arch of Augustus at Pisidian Antioch was a unique creation that drew broadly on the form of the Roman honorific arch, but spun the monument into a type not seen elsewhere in the empire. The following discussion highlights the major differences between the Parthian Arch in Rome and the arch at Pisidian Antioch, in order to show that both monuments were innovative creations in their own right, but that the arch in Antioch has nothing in its form or iconographic program that would connect it more strongly to the Parthian Arch than to other arches erected in honor of Augustus.

Scholars point to three characteristics of the Antioch arch to support the supposedly close connection between it and the Parthian Arch in Rome: the relief

²⁵¹ Levi 1952, 8-9; Vermeule 1968, 79; Roemer 1997, 70; Rose 2005, 57.

decoration, the supposed position of the *Res Gestae* inscription, and the triple-bayed form. The arguments that these characteristics imitate the Parthian Arch, however, do not stand up to scrutiny. For the arch in Pisidian Antioch, the relief decoration covers a much broader range of Augustan accomplishments than the Parthian triumph alone. The *Res Gestae* inscription may not have been displayed where scholars assume, and it was certainly a posthumous addition to the monument. Finally, other design considerations are likely to have led to the triple-bayed form of the Augustan arch in Antioch.

Based on the sculpture known to have decorated the Parthian Arch (described above), Rose suggests that the decoration of the arch at Pisidian Antioch was “substantially influenced by the Parthian Arch in Rome.”²⁵² Yet, comparison of the decorative programs makes it clear that only one element of the Antioch arch can be definitively compared to an element of the Parthian Arch. First, the quadriga on the Parthian Arch seems to have had no parallel on the Antioch arch. As the dowel holes in the top surface of one of the cornice blocks show, individual statues were placed atop the engaged columns on the Antioch arch, and in the excavation archive there is no recorded evidence of an attic story or large statue base above the level of the cornice (see Chapter 2).²⁵³ Second, Nedergaard has recently questioned the identification of the Victory spandrel in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek with the Parthian Arch.²⁵⁴ Yet even if flying Victories were displayed on the Parthian Arch, their representation would differ from the standing Victories on the Antioch arch, as mentioned above. The Roman example is depicted in flight, while the Antioch example stands on a pilaster and is accompanied by a draped garland. Finally, the Parthians on the two monuments are depicted differently.

²⁵² Rose 2005, 29 n. 52.

²⁵³ Closer study of the many cornice blocks that are preserved on site could alter this conclusion.

²⁵⁴ *LTUR* 1.85.

The statue on top of the arch in Rome seems to have been standing, in a posture much like the Parthian on the breastplate of the Prima Porta Augustus statue (cf. figs. 127 and 148),²⁵⁵ while the Antioch figure carved in relief was kneeling, in a posture comparable to the Parthian depicted on an Augustan coin, mentioned above (cf. figs. 133 and 135).²⁵⁶ These iconographic differences between the two arches suggest that the inclusion of a standard-bearing Parthian on the two arches is due to a desire to reference the same momentous event, rather than a desire on the part of the designer of the arch in Antioch to imitate the Parthian Arch in Rome. As discussed above, the preponderance of evidence suggests that the Antioch arch honored all of Augustus' deeds, with no particular emphasis on his Parthian triumph. In fact, as mentioned above, more Gauls were depicted on the Antioch arch than Parthians; one spandrel has a Gaul carrying a vexillum (fig. 134), while the two bound captives from the opposite façade of the arch may also have been Gauls (figs. 139-140).

The Parthian Arch in Rome seems to have been the monument on which the *Fasti Consulares* and *Fasti Triumphales*, the lists of Roman consuls and triumphators, respectively, were located; the lists were probably inscribed on the passageway walls of the piers.²⁵⁷ As mentioned above, Augustus' *Res Gestae* was not published until his death in 14 C.E.; by this time the arch in Pisidian Antioch had already been standing for 15 years. If the *Res Gestae* inscription was carved on the monument,²⁵⁸ it would not have been part of the original design from fifteen years earlier; it would have been added to the preexisting monument, just as the document was carved onto the preexisting

²⁵⁵ Rose 2005, fig. 4.

²⁵⁶ Rose 2005, fig. 1.

²⁵⁷ Kleiner 1985, pl. 5.1. The evidence of this placement is spelled out in detail by Nedergaard (2001).

²⁵⁸ As mentioned before, the exact placement of the inscription cannot be determined given the current state of evidence; see Chapter 2.

temple of Augustus in Ankara.²⁵⁹ If the inscription in Antioch was located on the inside of the passageway walls of the arch, as Ramsay suggests,²⁶⁰ that would have been a decision made out of necessity, rather than a decision made in imitation of the Parthian Arch in the Forum Romanum. With engaged columns and possibly statue niches taking up most of the space on the external faces of the piers, the internal faces could have offered a convenient flat stretch of wall surface large enough to accommodate the lengthy inscription. The arch of Mazaeus and Mithridates in Ephesus (fig. 108) shows that such a monument could become the site of an epigraphic archive of sorts; many of the surfaces of the Ephesian arch are covered in inscriptions, including the faces of the pilasters and the curved fasciae of the voussoirs (fig. 149).²⁶¹ If the *Res Gestae* inscription was carved onto the Antioch arch inside the passageways (a placement that is by no means certain), it need not have been in imitation of the Parthian Arch in the Forum Romanum.

The third aspect of the propylon at Pisidian Antioch that scholars regularly associate with the Parthian Arch is its triple-bayed form. Many scholars assume that the Parthian Arch was the first triple-bayed arch in the empire, and that the forms of subsequent Augustan triple-bayed arches were directly inspired by the Parthian Arch.²⁶² The assumption that it was the first such arch is demonstrably untrue. Although earlier examples are scarce, the earliest known triple-bayed arch is the forum gate in Cosa, dated to the early second century B.C.E.,²⁶³ and M. A. Tomei has found evidence that the arch constructed by Augustus on the Palatine hill in 25 B.C.E. was a triple-bayed arch.²⁶⁴

²⁵⁹ Guven 1998.

²⁶⁰ Ramsay and Von Premerstein 1927, 4.

²⁶¹ Wilberg and Keil 1923, 101-7.

²⁶² E.g. Holland 1946, 56-7; Kleiner 1985, 27; Frenz 1989; Roehmer 1997, 69; Bru 2002, 359.

²⁶³ Brown et al. 1993, 123-8, fig. 48.

²⁶⁴ Tomei 2000.

Scholars depend on the scarcity of earlier examples to emphasize the supposedly innovative character of the Parthian Arch in Rome. Close comparison of the architectural form of the Parthian Arch and the two Augustan triple-bayed arches in Asia Minor, at Ephesus and Antioch, shows that, besides the existence of three passageways, there are virtually no architectural features that suggest a connection between either of these arches and the Parthian Arch.²⁶⁵

The favored reconstruction of the form of the Parthian Arch is based on the same evidence used to reconstruct its iconographic program, outlined above: the coin from the mint in Rome, the fragments of marble decorative elements, and the foundations excavated in the area adjacent to the temple of Divus Julius.²⁶⁶ The reconstruction depicts a monument with a central arched bay flanked by two lower trabeated openings (cf. fig. 127). The monument does not have a continuous entablature that spans all three openings; rather, the primary entablature spans only the two central piers, while the side openings are each capped by a pediment at a lower level. The aedicula-like side openings are shown in the Doric order, while the arched central opening is flanked by larger engaged Corinthian columns.

At least one Augustan arch, also in Rome, did have architectural features that might have intentionally echoed the architectural form of the Parthian Arch in the Forum Romanum: the so-called arch of Gallienus, constructed in the Augustan period as a new city gate on the Esquiline Hill and rededicated to Gallienus at a later date.²⁶⁷ This arch had a tall central opening flanked by lower side openings, and, like the Parthian Arch in

²⁶⁵ The Ephesus arch is published in Wilberg and Keil 1923, 40-75.

²⁶⁶ As mentioned above, the various data sources and scholarly opinions concerning the Parthian Arch, its location, and its reconstruction are discussed by E. Nedergaard in *LTUR* 1 s.v. "Arcus Augusti (a. 19 a.C.)."

²⁶⁷ Nash 1968, s.v. "Arcus Gallieni," fig. 119.

the Forum, the higher central entablature was separate from the entablatures over the lower side passageways. Unlike the Parthian Arch in the Forum, however, all three passageways of the Esquiline monument were arched. These architectural details differentiate the Augustan Porta Esquilina from other known triple-arched city gates in Italy. In the city gates of Fano, Spello, and Aosta (fig. 150), the central archway was larger than the side arches, sometimes drastically so, but these gates were capped by a continuous entablature.²⁶⁸ The differences from contemporary city gates and the similarities with the Parthian Arch suggest that the Augustan Porta Esquilina, the so-called arch of Gallienus, may have architecturally emulated the Parthian Arch in the Forum Romanum.

The Augustan arches in Asia Minor differ from the two monuments in Rome in many aspects of their architectural form. The most obvious difference in the form of the monuments is that the side openings of the arches in Antioch and Ephesus are more nearly equal in size to the central archway, which creates a very different rhythm across the width of the façade. Furthermore, the continuous entablature that spans all three openings on both arches acted as a unifying structural element. In Antioch, massive engaged columns punctuate the rhythm created by the archways, making the entire monument read as a unified structure composed of complementary arcuated and columnar elements (fig. 91). In Ephesus, the designer added variation in vertical planes, rather than horizontal planes as in the two arches in Rome. The façade of the central archway is set back, creating a pi-shaped ground plan that emphasizes the two side

²⁶⁸ Fano: De Maria 1988, fig. 19. Spello: Bacchielli 1984, fig. 1. Aosta: Pensabene 2005, fig. 15.

passageways (fig. 108).²⁶⁹ Because the arches in Asia Minor do not emulate the Parthian Arch in Rome in elevation, I would argue that the simple presence of three passageways in all three monuments is not sufficient evidence to postulate a direct imitative relationship between them.

No modern author mentions the fact that the triple-bayed form of the arches in Pisidian Antioch and Ephesus might have been necessary because of practical considerations, particularly the amount of traffic passing through the gate. Practical considerations clearly influenced the form of other triple-bayed gateways, especially those situated in high-traffic areas. Several examples mentioned above fall into this category: the forum gate in Cosa,²⁷⁰ which was positioned at the entrance to the city's civic and commercial center, and the Augustan city gates at Fano, Spello, and Aosta (fig. 150) in Italy. In all of these examples, the large central archway was for wheeled traffic, while the smaller side openings were for pedestrians. This arrangement of large and small passageways parallels the pattern on the Parthian Arch (cf. fig. 127), yet because the practical function of these gateways is so obvious scholars do not associate them with the Parthian Arch in Rome.

Like these arched gateways in Italy, the practical function of the triple-bayed arches in Asia Minor also might have been a significant factor in the design of their basic form. Traffic was clearly a concern at Ephesus, where the arch acted as the entrance to a

²⁶⁹ Wilberg and Keil 1923, pl. 2. In creating this unique feature, the designer may have drawn inspiration from the dual nature of both the dedicators and dedicatees. The arch was dedicated by two imperial freedmen, Mazaeus and Mithridates, in honor of the imperial couple Augustus and Livia together with Agrippa (already deceased) and Julia. Visually, the monument reads as two single-bay arches side-by-side, connected by a subsidiary third archway. The distinction between the two halves of the monument is emphasized by the split inscription, the left attic inscribed for Augustus and Livia, the right attic for Agrippa and Julia.

²⁷⁰ Brown et al. 1993, figs. 48 and 50.

busy commercial agora at the intersection of several major streets,²⁷¹ analogous in its position to the forum gate at Cosa. Because the Augustan arch at Pisidian Antioch was the entrance to a sanctuary rather than to a busy commercial space, ritual rather than commercial considerations would have been primary. The broad plaza in front of the imperial cult temple was designed to accommodate large crowds, and the entrance to that space would have to allow for peak access on festival days (fig. 2).²⁷² Such festivals also likely included processions that would have moved through the arch, much like the procession instituted by C. Vibius Salutaris at Ephesus in 104 C.E. in which statues, including a number related to the imperial cult, were paraded through the city.²⁷³

The preponderance of evidence—the broader range of iconographic elements on the Antioch arch, the possible addition of the *Res Gestae* inscription 15 years after the construction of the arch that precludes its inclusion as an integral part of its original design, and the total lack of architectural similarities between the two arches besides the existence of three passageways—suggests that we should abandon the notion that the design of the arch of Augustus at Pisidian Antioch imitates the Parthian Arch in the Forum Romanum. The two arches have some symbolic resonance because of their mutual dedication to Augustus and a lone reference to the Parthian triumph on the Antioch arch, but this resonance should not be overstated. The Parthian Arch in Rome was dedicated in honor of a single deed performed by its honoree, the return of the standards from Parthia. The arch of Augustus in Pisidian Antioch arch painted a much

²⁷¹ Scherrer 2001, fig. 3-14. The street that originally passed in front of the arch led to the harbor. This street was later blocked by the construction of the so-called Serapeion, and the disuse of this street allowed the Library of Celsus to be sited adjacent to the arch across the former path of the street (Scherrer 2001, 75-77).

²⁷² Price 1984, 107 and 108-14; Rubin 2008, 47.

²⁷³ Rogers 1991, 80ff; Ng 2007, 163-7 and 218-32.

broader picture of its subject. It included the Parthian victory in its commemorative program, but as only one deed among the full range of deeds and honors attributed to the honoree, Augustus. The scholarly insistence on an emulative relationship between the arches has obscured the full range of symbolic meaning embodied in the architectural form and iconographic program of the arch in Pisidian Antioch.

Hellenistic Architectural Attributes of the Arch of Augustus

The following examination of the architectural aspects of the arch of Augustus in Pisidian Antioch, including details of its form as well as its broader architectural context, highlights several unusual elements that are not found in contemporary arches in the western empire. Primarily, I show that the placement of the monument as the gateway to an enclosed sacral space is an unparalleled use of an honorific arch at this time. Also, details of the arch's form that are rarely seen at this time in arches elsewhere in the empire, such as the connection with a stairway, the four engaged columns on the façade, and the statues placed above the columns, might have been derived from regional Hellenistic monument types. These elements, I believe, are the result of the designer's attempts to incorporate Hellenistic Greek architectural forms in the design of the monument in order to harmonize the appearance of the monument with the regional architectural landscape. The combination of eastern and western elements transformed a seemingly typical Roman honorific arch into a multivalent monument that could effectively communicate its symbolic meaning to all residents of the city and the broader region.

The arch of Augustus at Pisidian Antioch is the only securely known example of the use of an arch as the propylon of a sanctuary in the Augustan period. In Italy, when an arch was built in association with a temple, the arch typically flanked the temple as a visual extension of the temple's façade. In the Hellenistic Greek east, on the other hand, a propylon that was an entrance to a sanctuary space was commonly built opposite the main temple of the sanctuary. Accordingly, the unique placement of the arch of Augustus in Antioch opposite the temple as the propylon of the imperial cult sanctuary is a Hellenizing characteristic of the architectural complex. In order to appreciate the uniqueness of the position of the arch in Antioch, we must examine the evidence of earlier and contemporary arches that were built in proximity to temples.

Several of the earliest arches in Rome, known only through literary references, were associated with temples. Three arches built by Stertinius in 196 B.C.E. are the first known honorific arches, and two of these are said to have been placed in front of the temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta in the Forum Boarium.²⁷⁴ Although these two temples have been identified with those uncovered near the church of Sant' Omobono,²⁷⁵ no archaeological remains of the arches have been found. We cannot be certain, therefore, whether the arches functioned as the entrance to the sanctuaries, or if the temples are mentioned by Livy only as a nearby landmark. Six years after Stertinius built his arches, Scipio Africanus built an arch on the Capitoline Hill on the Clivus Capitolinus, in a position described by Livy as *adversus viam*.²⁷⁶ Scholars disagree on what Livy means by *adversus viam*; some suggest that the arch faced the road rather than

²⁷⁴ Livy 33.27; see also Kleiner 1985, 14-15; De Maria 1988, cat. no. 49-50. The third arch was built in or near the Circus Maximus.

²⁷⁵ Richardson 1992, s.v. "Area Sacra di Sant'Omobono."

²⁷⁶ Livy 37.3.

spanned it,²⁷⁷ while others assume the arch must have been an entrance to the Area Capitolina.²⁷⁸ The exact location and position of the arch cannot be determined given the present state of knowledge, because no archaeological evidence of the arch has been discovered. Like the arches of Stertinius, it is possible but not certain that the Fornix Scipionis acted as a propylon. Another arch probably built in the Republican period on another approach to the Capitoline Hill was the Fornix Calpurnii, which is known from a reference in Orosius.²⁷⁹ The passage describes the arch as standing at the top of a flight of steps that descend from the top of the Capitoline Hill. One of the fragments of the Severan marble plan shows an arch that might be the Fornix Calpurnii spanning a long switch-back stairway on the western flank of the Capitoline Hill.²⁸⁰ These four Republican arches—the two arches of Stertinius, the arch of Scipio, and the Calpurnian arch—are clearly associated with temples by their literary descriptions, but we cannot be certain of their exact physical relationship to the associated sanctuary space.

Pliny the Elder reports that Augustus built an arch dedicated to his biological father on the Palatine Hill.²⁸¹ The gods represented in the attic statuary—Apollo and Diana in a quadriga—have led scholars to speculate that the arch was an entrance to the sanctuary space associated with the temple of Apollo,²⁸² which was built by Augustus in 28 B.C.E.²⁸³ Recently M. A. Tomei has associated a set of architectural blocks discovered in the 1860s on the Palatine Hill with this arch, and she has proposed a

²⁷⁷ De Maria 1988, cat. no. 52; Coarelli in *LTUR* 2 s.v. “Fornix Scipionis.”

²⁷⁸ Kleiner 1985, 15-16; Richardson 1992, s.v. “Fornix Scipionis.”

²⁷⁹ Orosius 5.9.2. See also Kleiner 1985, 16; De Maria 1988 cat. no. 53; Richardson 1992, s.v. “Fornix Calpurnii.”

²⁸⁰ *LTUR* II, s.v. “Fornix Calpurnius,” figs 126-126a.

²⁸¹ Pliny HN 36.36.

²⁸² Kleiner 1985, 22-23; De Maria 1988, cat. no. 57; Richardson 1992, s.v. “Arcus Octavii;” *LTUR* I, s.v. “Arcus Octavii.”

²⁸³ *LTUR* I, s.v. “Apollo Palatinus.”

reconstruction of the arch as an axially-aligned entrance to the precinct of Apollo.²⁸⁴ Yet the reconstruction is based entirely on fragments of the superstructure, and no archaeological remains of the foundations of the arch have been found. Thus, the placement of the arch as a propylon remains hypothetical.

The Fornix Fabianus, the earliest arch that can be securely associated with the celebration of a triumph, was built by Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus in celebration of his triumph over the Allobroges, a tribe in Gaul, in 121 B.C.E.²⁸⁵ The placement of this arch is fairly certain, because it is one of the topographical markers of the boundaries of the Forum Romanum that ancient authors commonly mention.²⁸⁶ The arch straddled the Via Sacra next to the Regia on the eastern side of the Forum Romanum, and most scholars agree that it was located along the northern flank of the Regia.²⁸⁷ Prior to the construction of the temple of Divus Julius, the arch would have been located close to the edge of the open plaza of the Forum.²⁸⁸ The placement of the Fornix Fabianus directly adjacent to a significant temple at the entrance to a multi-purpose civic space would become the model for many subsequent arches in the Augustan period and beyond.

As mentioned above, in the Augustan period the Senate erected at least one arch, and possibly as many as three, adjacent to the temple of Divus Julius in the Forum Romanum. Clearly, proximity alone would have closely associated these arches built in honor of Augustus and the imperial family with the temple of his deified father, and the arches would have acted as monumental entrances to the open space of the Forum as a

²⁸⁴ Tomei 2000, fig. 12 (hypothetical plan) and pl. 1 (restored elevation).

²⁸⁵ Kleiner 1985, 16-17; De Maria 1988, cat. no. 54; *LTUR* II, s.v. "Fornix Fabianus."

²⁸⁶ De Maria (1988, 265-66) lists many of these sources with full quotations.

²⁸⁷ Some scholars, notably Gamberini Mongenet, suggest that the arch was located on the southern flank of the Regia. See the discussion and bibliography in De Maria 1988, cat. no. 54, and *LTUR* II, s.v. "Fornix Fabianus."

²⁸⁸ De Maria 1988, fig. 39.

visitor approached from the east. Yet the visual association between the arches and the temple would have been strongest not as one approached the Forum, but from within the open space of the Forum. From this vantage point, the arches on either side of the temple would have acted as a visual extension of the façade of the temple itself. The temple of Divus Julius was fronted by a speaker's platform decorated with ships' prows, making it a true rostra like the older one at the western end of the Forum.²⁸⁹ From the perspective of a crowd standing in the open plaza, the temple and its flanking arches would have acted as a monumental backdrop for a speaker standing on the temple's rostra.²⁹⁰

In the Tiberian period, the placement of an arch next to a temple became a common phenomenon. In 16 C.E., the Senate erected an arch in honor of Tiberius and Germanicus adjoining the temple of Saturn where the Vicus Iugarius entered the Forum Romanum.²⁹¹ Two years later, the Senate constructed two arches, in honor of Germanicus and Drusus, flanking the temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus.²⁹² In the course of the Julio-Claudian period, numerous other cities in Italy also followed the convention of placing arches next to temples at the entrance to fora. Examples are found in Cupra Marittima, Falerii, Pompeii, Spoleto, and Terracina.²⁹³ The arch in Spoleto has a preserved inscription dating its construction to the Tiberian period,²⁹⁴ but the date of the arches in the other cities is not as certain. Based on construction techniques and parallels with the dated examples in Rome and Spoleto, scholars date the other arches to the Julio-

²⁸⁹ Richardson 1992, s.v. "Iulius, Divus, Aedes."

²⁹⁰ The adlocutio frieze on the Arch of Constantine in Rome shows such a scene in progress, with the architectural backdrop rendered in detail. The scene takes place on the western rostra in the Forum Romanum, and the Arch of Septimius Severus is conspicuous in the background on the right.

²⁹¹ Tacitus *Annales* 2.41.1. See also De Maria 1988, cat. no. 62; *LTUR* I, s.v. "Arcus Tiberii (Forum)."

²⁹² Tacitus *Annales* 2.64.1. See also De Maria 1988, cat. nos. 63-64; *LTUR* II, s.v. "Forum Augustum."

²⁹³ Cupra Marittima: De Maria 1988, cat. nos. 16-17. Falerii: De Maria 1988, cat. no. 20. Pompeii: De Maria 1988, cat. nos. 36-37 and Richardson 1988, 207. Spoleto: De Maria 1988, cat. no. 109. Terracina: De Maria 1988, cat. no. 111-112.

²⁹⁴ *CIL* IX, 4776-4777.

Claudian period.²⁹⁵ The Augustan and Tiberian arches in Rome together with the Julio-Claudian arches in other Italian cities make it clear that in Italy in the Augustan period and in the early the first century C.E., an arch constructed in association with a temple was most often built adjacent to the temple to create a visual connection between the arch and temple from within the forum.

Compared to the placement of these Italian arches, the arch of Augustus in Pisidian Antioch clearly draws on a different tradition (fig. 2). I would argue that the position of the arch in Antioch is derived from the common Hellenistic Greek placement of a propylon facing the main temple of a sanctuary across an open plaza. Increased elaboration and regularization of this type of space occurred in the Hellenistic period, especially with the addition of stoas or colonnades delimiting the edges of the sacred precinct. By the late Hellenistic period, numerous sanctuaries that had a monumental propylon axially aligned with the main temple had been constructed.²⁹⁶

For the present discussion, the two most salient examples of propyla placed opposite a temple are found in sanctuaries closely associated with Pisidian Antioch: Antioch's own extramural sanctuary of Mên Askaênos (fig. 151),²⁹⁷ and the sanctuary of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia on the Meander (fig. 152), the mother city of Hellenistic Antioch.²⁹⁸ These two cases differ in their structural details, but the relationship between the propyla and the temples is similar. In Antioch, the sanctuary of Mên had a small, probably tetrastyle propylon that pierced the substantial temenos wall

²⁹⁵ Cupra Marittima: De Maria 1988, cat. nos. 16-17. Falerii: known from an inscription, *CIL IX*, 5438, which gives a *terminus ante quem* of 119 C.E. Pompeii: De Maria 1988, cat. nos. 36-37. Terracina: De Maria 1988, cat. nos. 111-12.

²⁹⁶ Coulton suggests that this regularization and tendency toward axial planning may reflect Egyptian influence by way of Ptolemaic Alexandria (Coulton 1976, 171).

²⁹⁷ Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, fig. 6.

²⁹⁸ Parrish 2001, fig. 1-9.

opposite the front of the temple. Neither the temple nor the propylon were axially aligned within the space bounded by the temenos wall. At Magnesia, the propylon connected the sanctuary of Artemis and the agora, and it had a massive tetrastyle-in-antis form with a pedimented façade on both faces. Both the temple and the propylon were axially aligned within the colonnaded sanctuary space, although the façade of the propylon was not parallel to the façade of the temple. Numerous other sanctuaries with arrangements that parallel these two examples are found throughout the Greek world. Some had entrances that were off-axis, as in the sanctuaries of Demeter at Pergamon and Athena at Priene.²⁹⁹ Others had temples that were not aligned within the sanctuary space, as in the sanctuaries of Athena at Pergamon and at Ilion, where the porticoes surrounding the space were probably an attempt to regularize an older, more irregular space.³⁰⁰ The most advanced types were fully regularized, with axial design, colonnades on all four sides of the enclosure, and the temple directly opposite the main entrance, as at Megalopolis and Messene.³⁰¹

The preponderance of propyla facing the main temple at sanctuaries in the Greek east and the tendency of western arches to flank their associated temples suggest that the placement of the arch of Augustus as a propylon was an innovation specifically introduced to integrate Antioch's imperial cult complex into the regional architectural landscape. Somewhat paradoxically, the placement of an honorific arch at the entrance to a sanctuary would have been novel from both a western and an eastern perspective. The Italian colonists would have expected the arch to flank the temple, as in the many examples listed above. Greek and Phrygian inhabitants who were familiar with

²⁹⁹ Pergamon: Coulton 1976, fig. 101; Winter 2006, fig. 68. Priene: Winter 2006, fig. 79.

³⁰⁰ Pergamon: Coulton 1976, fig. 102. Ilion: Parrish 2001, fig. 1-11; Aylward 2005, fig. 1.

³⁰¹ Messene: Coulton 1976, fig. 85. Megalopolis: Coulton 1976, fig. 83; Winter 2006, fig. 66.

Hellenistic architecture would have found the placement of the gateway to be unsurprising, but the arched passageways themselves would have been a new form for a sanctuary propylon. Residents of the Greek east would have been familiar with the arch as a structural form, which had been used as early as the fourth century B.C.E., and the use of the arch as a form of passageway was particularly common.³⁰² In the Hellenistic period, many city gates had arched passageways, and the entrances to entertainment venues such as stadia and theaters also were often arched in form.³⁰³ Yet in the Hellenistic Greek east the arch was not often used as an element of sacral architecture,³⁰⁴ so the arched form of Antioch's propylon would have been a novel characteristic from the Greek perspective.

Perhaps to balance the appearance of the unusual arched passageways, the designer of the propylon in Antioch took steps to signal the monument's function as a sanctuary gateway and honorific monument in the Hellenistic mode by the addition of three features (fig. 91). First, he placed the arch at the top of a monumental flight of 12 stairs, which limited access to the sanctuary to individuals on foot. This feature is unparalleled in the corpus of contemporary arches. Virtually all of the arches discussed as comparanda in this chapter, particularly the extramural funerary and colonial arches, were built to straddle preexisting roadways that presumably carried vehicular traffic. The arch at Antioch, in contrast, was part of a complex with an integrated design that required

³⁰² Boyd 1976; 1978.

³⁰³ Boyd (1976) has catalogued Hellenistic-era arched entrances at numerous sites. These include: city gates at Assos (2), Corinth, Doura-Europos, Heracleia on the Latmos (5), Kassope, Oinidai (3), Palairos, and Samothrace; vaulted entrances to theaters and stadia at Eretria (3), Pergamon (2), Epidauros, Olympia, Didyma (2), Alinda (3), Assos (2), and Sikyon (2); and arched entrances to other public buildings at Alinda (3), Assos, Delos, Ephyra, and Priene.

³⁰⁴ The arched passageways that lead to the hypaethral court of the temple of Apollo at Didyma are one of the few uses of the arch in Hellenistic sacral architecture. Notably, the entrances to these vaulted passageways at Didyma were faced with trabeated doorframes.

massive terracing, including the excavation of a large hemicycle out of bedrock to frame the temple. The sanctuary terrace was designed so that its entryway was situated at a point where a change in ground level was necessary. In this way, the effort of climbing the stairway leading up to the arch and the concomitant change in elevation would have emphasized the visitor's transition from the secular space of the city to the sacral space of the sanctuary.³⁰⁵ Second, the designer of the arch added four engaged columns across the width of the façade. This arrangement, although common in later arches, is not represented in the archaeological record prior to the arch of Augustus in Antioch. I would suggest that this arrangement was meant to emulate the prostyle propyla, often tetrastyle in form, that were common elements of Greek sanctuaries, as seen in numerous locations throughout the Greek world (e.g. fig. 143).³⁰⁶ Finally, the placement of statues above the columns may have been a nod to Greek honorific traditions. In a passage often cited by specialists in Roman arches, Pliny the Elder describes the different methods by which Greeks and Romans raised the images of honored individuals above other mortals—the Greeks by means of columns, the Romans by means of the “new invention” of the arch.³⁰⁷ In her study of honorific monuments in Sagalassos, Vandeput shows that such honorific columns may have been a particularly common feature of the honorific landscape of Pisidia, even into the imperial period.³⁰⁸ On the arch at Antioch, statues stood directly atop the four columns on the façade, creating the image of four columnar monuments aligned in a row. If these statues represent the only sculpture atop the arch, the comparatively sedate portraits on the Antioch arch would have stood in stark contrast

³⁰⁵ Hollinshead 1992.

³⁰⁶ Carpenter 1970, 191.

³⁰⁷ Pliny *HN* 34.12.27

³⁰⁸ Vandeput 1993.

to the massive quadrigas that graced the attics of many arches in the west (cf. figs. 91 and 125a-c).

Conclusion

This analysis of the remains of the arch of Augustus leads to several interrelated conclusions. First, certain aspects of the iconography of the arch amount to a visual *Res Gestae Augusti*, with a full range of symbols that refer to numerous deeds performed by and honors voted for Augustus. This indicates that the arch was not a general expression of Roman dominion, but rather a personal monument to the city's founder. This association places the arch in a continuum of Hellenistic monuments to city founders—*ktistes* monuments such as the Telephos frieze on the Great Altar of Pergamon and the Heroon of Androklos in Ephesus.³⁰⁹ The arch, therefore, could represent an attempt by the local population to integrate their city's recent history into the regional system of honorific practice, by means of the construction of a *ktistes* monument that contained close personal references to the founder, and that could survive as a symbol of the city's preeminent status in the region for years to come. Second, the arch was not an imitation of another monument in Rome or elsewhere, but rather it embodied an independent design. The architectonic form of the arch is a culturally layered creation that blends elements of Hellenistic and Roman derivation into a form uniquely suited to the colonial situation. The honorific arch as a form would have been familiar to the Italian colonists, while the placement of the arch as a propylon and certain details of its architectural form and decorative program recalled Hellenistic antecedents from throughout Asia Minor that would have been familiar to the local Greek and Phrygian population.

³⁰⁹ Pergamon: Dreyfus and Schraudolph 1996. Ephesus: Thur 1995.

These conclusions point to the involvement of a designer or patron who was engaged with the imperial system, but who was also conscious of the regional cultural and architectural landscape. Such multicultural fusions are visible in many aspects of the city's life. Roman offices were listed alongside traditional Greek ones in inscriptions. Priesthoods existed for Roman, Greek, and indigenous Anatolian gods. Other examples of architecture and sculpture in the city also reflected influences from multiple cultures, particularly the form and decoration of the imperial cult temple itself.³¹⁰ The arch of Augustus at Pisidian Antioch stands as a prime example of the need for scholars to approach the study of provincial monuments from a local contextualizing perspective, rather than being content with identifying superficial monumental characteristics that can be construed to emulate more famous monuments in the capital.

³¹⁰ Rubin 2008.

Chapter 4.

The Arch of Hadrian at Pisidian Antioch: Assessment of the Archaeological and Archival Evidence

This chapter assesses the archival and archaeological data available concerning the architectural form and decorative program of the city gate at Pisidian Antioch, also called the arch of Hadrian. The Hadrianic arch was in a much better state of preservation than the arch of Augustus, both in 1924 and in 2004. Accordingly, Woodbridge's reconstruction of the Hadrianic arch is much more secure. Most aspects of his reconstruction can be correlated with blocks that were recorded in the architectural notebooks, are visible in photographs from 1924, or are present on the site today. Woodbridge was aware that both faces of the gate were decorated and that there were variations between the decoration of both sides. For illustrative purposes, he included decorative elements from both façades in his final reconstruction of the arch of Hadrian. The amount of information available today allows for the reconstruction of both façades, with an emphasis on the differences between them, which I offer at the end of this chapter.

Current State

In 2004, the locations of all four piers of the arch of Hadrian could be identified; for the purposes of this discussion I number them 1-4 from west to east.³¹¹ Piers 3 and 4 are the best preserved (fig. 153). Both have orthostats in situ on top of a complete base molding course, and on Pier 4, the orthostat course is fully preserved.³¹² For Pier 2, fragments of the base molding course, as well as two lower foundation courses, are preserved in situ. Pier 1 has almost completely vanished, but a low foundation course is visible in situ (fig. 154). The pier bases were composed of a dark gray limestone to a height of approximately 1.6 m above the street paving. The many fragments of the gate's superstructure that the excavators have laid out along the approach to the gate indicate that the gate's superstructure was built of white limestone, which would have contrasted with the gray pier bases.³¹³

The excavations sponsored by the Yalvaç Museum have revealed a great deal about the city gate's surroundings (fig. 155). Much of the street paving in the vicinity of the arch is preserved, including the paving in each of the three passageways. The paving of the west passageway is at a lower level than that of the central and east passages, and a step just inside the western passageway makes up the difference in level (fig. 154, upper right). North of the gate, a cascading water channel ran down the middle of the street toward the arch, and shops lined the roadway on both sides of the street. The lower parts of many of the shops on the eastern side of the street are partly carved out of bedrock.

³¹¹ Following the convention established in the 1924 *Journal of Excavations*, entry for August 30.

³¹² At the time of excavation in 1924, all but one of the orthostats that today are scattered around pier 3 were also in situ on the pier base.

³¹³ A similar colorific effect is present in the Arch of Augustus, where the steps in front were of gray limestone while the plinths on the steps and the arch itself were of white limestone. Also, cf. the Arch of Mazaeus and Mithridates in Ephesus, where the gray voussoirs of the passageways contrast with the rest of the structure, which is of white marble.

The remains of the arch visible at the site today allow a few conclusions. First, it seems that the arch was never fully finished in all of its architectural details. The base molding of Pier 4 is unfinished on its north, west, and south sides (fig. 156),³¹⁴ and the faces of the orthostats on its west and north faces are only roughly tooled. Unfinished carving is visible on several other blocks from the collapsed superstructure. The Ionic molding on a base attributed to a large pilaster from one of the piers is uncarved, with only rough fasciae in its place. In some cases, the faces of pilasters that would have been visible on the short eastern and western sides of the arch were only roughly finished. On the architrave, the joints between some stones were not smoothed over.³¹⁵ The scrolls on the brackets of the cornice are unfinished in places, particularly on one of the corner cornice stones, and on the same stone the palmettes of certain portions of the sima have not been given their final surface decoration. It is clear that many of these unfinished aspects would have been located at the edges of the monument or on the short lateral sides, which would have been less visible to visitors.

Next, certain details suggest that the city gate, which was not a closeable gateway as originally designed, was connected to a wall and converted into a true closeable gateway in a later period. Hadrien Bru suggests that the city gate was connected to the city's fortification wall when it was first built,³¹⁶ but it is more likely that the arch was originally freestanding and the wall was connected to the arch at a later date. The section

³¹⁴ This unfinished molding provides a snapshot of the stonecarver's techniques. First, he carved the final profile of the molding in a narrow line at the joint between two stones. Then, with that carved profile as a register, he began to cut away the overlying stone across the whole length of the molding. Several different stages of this process are preserved on this pier base. The stones of the east face and the northeast corner have only the register positions carved, while in the northwest corner and on the west face the molding has been roughed in.

³¹⁵ Byrne 2002, 194 and 199 pl. 3. These moldings apparently were carved in a different sequence than the base molding of the piers, since the joints between the stones were left to be carved last.

³¹⁶ Bru and Demirer 2006, 583.

of wall that abuts on the eastern face Pier 4 contains many reused stones mixed with course rubble masonry (fig. 156, at left), suggesting that it was built in a later period.³¹⁷ A line of apparently reused stones laid out south of the western passageway may have been the foundation of a wall that blocked access through the passageway. In addition, cuttings visible in the pavement of the east passageway and on the west face of Pier 4 may have been for the insertion of a threshold and doorpost, by which the passageway could have been closed.³¹⁸ Other arches in the eastern Roman empire underwent similar conversions, including the arch at Patara in Asia Minor³¹⁹ and the arch at Isthmia in Greece.³²⁰

Finally, we should note the fragmentary remains of a series of bases on axis with and abutting on the southern face of each of the four piers. These bases have narrower dimensions than the piers of the gate. The most visible of these bases sits south of Pier 4 (fig. 153, at lower right) and has a molded edge on all four sides. This base is missing only one corner stone, and its top surface is flush with the bottom of the pier's base molding course. South of Pier 3 the top surface of a stone that probably belongs to a similar base is visible, but it has not been excavated (fig. 153, at left). The western edge of the base associated with Pier 2 protrudes from the scarp left by incomplete excavation (fig. 154, partly visible at lower right). This base has a partly unfinished Ionic molding, and its top surface is approximately 40 cm lower than the top surface of the easternmost base. Finally, a set of foundation stones abutting on the southern side of the remains of

³¹⁷ Other portions of the city wall also contain reused material (Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 93-4). The modifications to the city gate may be contemporaneous with these parts of the city wall.

³¹⁸ A base attributed to a large pilaster from one of the piers, now lying south of the arch, has an analogous cutting.

³¹⁹ Işık and Yılmaz 1989, 7

³²⁰ Gregory and Mills 1984, 411

Pier 1 indicate that another base once existed in this location as well (fig. 154, at left). These four bases could have been for statues placed on axis with the piers of the arch, whose height could have been low enough not to obstruct the view of statues in the niches behind them. Bases in this position would have mirrored the plinths on axis with the piers of the Augustan propylon, which the city gate partially emulated, both architecturally and sculpturally. The dimensions of the bases are appropriate for statues of reclining animals, such as lions. Alternatively, as Bru suggests, these four bases could have been the piers of a triple-bayed arch that was demolished and replaced by the preserved one.³²¹ Further excavation would be required to reveal the answer, but I would point to one detail that suggests the southern set of bases were built after the city gate, and therefore do not represent an earlier arch. The Ionic molding on the base south of Pier 2 does not continue all the way around the stone; where it abuts on the foundations of the city gate, the stone is flat (fig. 157). This suggests that the foundations of the city gate were already in place when the base was added.

1924 Excavation and Reconstruction

When they were originally excavated in 1924, the fragments of the superstructure of the arch of Hadrian were in a jumbled mass lying on top of, between, and around the bases of the piers that remained in situ. On July 7, excavation serendipitously began above the two central piers, and for the first few weeks the team concentrated their efforts on this central zone. In order to expose the original street pavement between the two piers, the team moved blocks that had fallen into the passageway. Some of the removed blocks were laid out in the vicinity, much as they are displayed at the site today, while

³²¹ Bru and Demirer 2006, 607-9.

others were moved to a position slightly farther away, down the hill from the area of excavations (fig.158). For some time the Michigan team thought that the two central piers represented the entire width of the monument, because piers 1 and 4 were not discovered until the end of August. A preliminary reconstruction drawn by Woodbridge between July 11 and August 10 shows the arch in a hypothetical single-bayed form (fig. 160).³²² Certain details, such as the lack of a crowning molding on the bases of the piers, verify that the team had not discovered pier 4 when Woodbridge drew this reconstruction. Only pier 4, the easternmost pier, had part of its crowning molding still in situ, and it was not discovered until several weeks after Woodbridge drew the arch with only one bay.

As excavation progressed, the team followed the majority of the debris from the arch, which was massed toward the east in a pile of blocks much larger than what they had previously encountered. The team ceased attempts to move the blocks when this large pile was uncovered, and satisfied themselves with documenting the remains graphically and photographically. It is unclear what caused this larger pile of debris to be so well preserved on the eastern part of the arch. Alluvium from the hill above may have covered the eastern part of the area more quickly than other parts of the monument, protecting the remains from reuse, or the entire monument may have fallen toward the east when it collapsed and deposited the majority of its architectural members in that vicinity. Pier 4, the easternmost pier, was eventually discovered beneath the large pile of debris, and the team surmised that a fourth pier may have existed to the west of the original two piers excavated. An entry in the daily log for August 31 reports success in uncovering the foundations of pier 1, the westernmost pier, which was probably no better

³²² The Journal of Excavations reports that during a break in excavations between these dates Woodbridge worked on several reconstruction drawings, including one of the “triumphal arch.”

preserved in 1924 than it is today. Woodbridge sketched the arch in its triple-bayed form on a note card (fig. 161) soon after the fourth pier was uncovered, and subsequently refined the reconstruction in two larger drawings (discussed below).

Some fragments of the arch of Hadrian were discovered outside of excavations near the foundations of the arch. One fragment of the frieze depicting a double-eagle shield was found higher up on the hill, to the north of the imperial cult sanctuary near what is probably one of the main north-south streets of the city. The Michigan team also discovered two fragments farther removed from the ancient site. One block, an architrave fragment with holes for the attachment of bronze letters, was identified in the cemetery nearby the site. Local officials allowed the Michigan team to remove the block, and today it is located with the other fragments of the arch on the ancient site. A second block was identified “near a stream” in Yalvaç; the team removed this block as well, and today it is housed in the yard of the Yalvaç Museum.

Back at the site, the team expanded excavations at the arch of Hadrian toward the north, where they uncovered the foundations of the semi-circular terminal fountain of the cascading water channel that can be seen on the site today. They also opened two trenches farther north in an attempt to uncover part of the street that passed through the arch, ca. 35 and 70 m north of the arch’s foundations.³²³ The approximate location of these two trenches is indicated on Woodbridge’s plan of the site, published by Robinson in 1926 (fig. 162).³²⁴ In one trench they succeeded in exposing the paving of the street and part of the eastern foundations of the water channel (fig. 163), but they did not pursue these excavations further west and did not identify the water channel that led to the

³²³ Journal of Excavations, entry for August 12.

³²⁴ Robinson 1926a, fig. 2.

fountain they had discovered earlier. In two of his reconstruction drawings (figs. 161 and 164), Woodbridge included a hypothetical elevation of the fountain visible through the central passageway of the arch. In the larger of these two sketches (fig. 164) Woodbridge expanded the gate's urban context by including a number of hypothetical buildings visible through the archways—buildings located in areas that went unexcavated during the summer of 1924. As mentioned above, recent excavations have uncovered a more orderly arrangement of buildings in this area, with shops lining the street on either side. In his final ink-and-wash reconstruction of the city gate, created in early 1925 after his return to Rome, Woodbridge omitted these contextual features and presented the monument as a stand-alone object on a blank background (fig. 165). This drawing has become the standard reference for discussions of the arch,³²⁵ yet no scholar has analyzed the evidence for the accuracy of the reconstruction in detail. New excavations have revealed further information that allows for a more complete reconstruction of the arch (fig. 159).

Evidence of the Architectural Form

Several authors have asserted that Woodbridge's reconstruction of the arch of Hadrian seems to be correct in its architectural details, but none has published a detailed study in support of that claim.³²⁶ The following discussion fills that gap in scholarship. I begin with a description of the architectural form of the arch as reconstructed by Woodbridge, followed by a detailed discussion of the evidence used for his reconstruction as recorded in the drawings and photographs in the Kelsey Museum

³²⁵ Woodbridge's reconstruction has been reproduced repeatedly, e.g. Robinson 1926a, fig 1; Ingholt 1954, pl. 5.1; Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, fig. 19b; Bru 2002, pl. 11; Demirel 2002, 49.

³²⁶ E.g. Bru 2002, 360; Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 96.

Archives and as seen through my own first-hand observation of the remains as laid out on the site in 2004.

Woodbridge's reconstruction depicts the base of each pier with lower and upper moldings separated by an orthostat course (fig. 166). The bases are articulated with a pilaster at each corner. Above the pier bases is an intermediate course with a series of small moldings at the top and bottom. The Ionic bases of the Corinthian pilasters that articulate the corners of the main section of the piers rest on top of the intermediate course. A tall arched niche stands between these Corinthian pilasters on the face of each pier. Above these pilasters is an architrave that delimits the top of each pier and forms the springer blocks for the three arched passageways. The molded surface of this architrave has three fasciae that run the entire width of the gate by curving, uninterrupted, over each archway. Atop the architrave there is a smaller Corinthian pilaster above each pier. The inner two pilasters are centered over the inner two piers, while the outer two are situated at the edges of the arch. The main entablature of the monument rests above these pilasters and runs the entire width of the arch. This entablature includes a larger, more complex architrave that bears an inscription, a sculpted frieze, and an elaborate cornice.

My analysis of the remains visible on site and the drawings in Woodbridge's notebooks confirms the accuracy of the architectural form of this reconstruction. Woodbridge's process of reconstruction was aided by the fact that parts of all four pier bases were still in situ, providing a secure ground plan for the monument.³²⁷

Woodbridge's measurements indicate that the central passageway was slightly wider than

³²⁷ By comparison, his efforts to reconstruct the Arch of Augustus were more difficult because the foundations of that monument were not in situ, forcing him to infer the arrangement of the piers from the fragmentary blocks of the superstructure.

the side passages—3.90 m versus 3.70. Piers 2 and 3 were fully uncovered in 1924 (fig. 167) and could be measured for a detailed plan of the piers (fig. 168). As described above, pier 4 had part of the crowning molding in situ (fig. 169); today these molded blocks are no longer in situ, but they are stacked near the foundations of the arch. Woodbridge restored this type of molding on top of all four bases. The reconstruction does not show the unfinished aspects of pier base 4, as described above. This could be because Woodbridge chose to draw an idealized reconstruction of the monument, or because the pier base was not entirely excavated in 1924. There is no mention of the unfinished aspects of pier base 4 in the *Journal of Excavations*, which suggests that it was not fully uncovered.

Woodbridge's reconstruction shows an intermediate course with simple moldings above the pier bases, below the lower Ionic pilaster bases (fig. 166). Woodbridge drew two examples of this type of block in his notebook (fig. 170), but I have not been able to identify any such blocks in the archival photographs. One drawing shows the elevation and profile of one of these blocks (fig. 170, top), which seems to be preserved on the site today (fig. 171). Below this drawing is the plan of another block with a note that indicates that two sides of the block had a "profile like the above stone" (fig. 170, bottom). The plan shows that the second block formed part of a corner pilaster, a continuation of the pilasters that articulate the corners of the pier bases. One detail of this drawing strongly suggests that the association of this block with the pier bases is correct. Woodbridge indicates that the stone has a vertical "later cut" on its long side, which seems to match similar cuts (mentioned above) that are found on the paving stones

between piers 3 and 4, on the western face of pier 4, and on one of the Ionic pilaster bases discussed below.

Above this intermediate molded course, Woodbridge depicts an Ionic molding that acts as the bases of the large Corinthian pilasters (fig. 166). Although no photographs were taken specifically of these Ionic base blocks in 1924, several of the blocks can be identified in the background of photographs and as many as eight examples of this element are preserved on the site today (fig. 172). Woodbridge drew a plan and elevation of one of these blocks (fig. 173), and “later cuttings” indicated on the drawing probably correspond to the cuttings on the intermediate molded block mentioned above (fig. 170). An Ionic base block with two later cuttings on the site today is similar to the one drawn by Woodbridge (fig. 174). These Ionic bases make up the bottom course of the statue niches found in each pier, indicated by the blocked-in area on Woodbridge’s plan of the arch (fig. 175). Four of the blocks together make up the roughly H-shaped base. The examples preserved on the site show that the Ionic molding continued all the way around the pier.

Another type of fragment, several of which are visible in archival photographs and at least three of which are still on site today, represents the vertical shaft of the pilasters that rose from these H-shaped bases and formed the side walls of the tall niches (fig. 176). On one example preserved today the shaft flares out at the bottom and ends in an astragal molding that runs along the bottom edge of the block, indicating that it was the lowest block of the pilaster shaft that rested directly on top of one of the Ionic bases. At least two other pilaster shaft fragments without such a molding are also preserved; these are not as tall as the molded example. Both the tall and short pilaster shaft blocks

are identifiable in Woodbridge's final reconstruction drawing (fig. 165). The team also uncovered several pilaster blocks with curved surfaces that spring from the side of the pilaster shaft (fig. 177). Woodbridge recognized that these arched blocks represent the tops of the niches in the piers, and he illustrated the relationship between the pilaster shafts and the arched top of the niches (fig. 178). Another type of block with the shaft of a pilaster on it, but no empty space for a niche, indicated to Woodbridge that at least one course of stone stood between the niche arch blocks and the large pilaster capitals above. Woodbridge drew a plan of one such block in his notebook (fig. 179), and the blocks can be identified on his final reconstruction. At least one of these blocks is also preserved on site today (fig. 180).

Woodbridge caps the pilasters with large Corinthian capitals. At least nine such capitals are preserved on the site today (e.g. figs. 181-182). Each block has two sculpted faces, one that was on the main façade of the arch, while the other faced into the adjacent passageway. Woodbridge drew sample elevations of both types of capital face (fig. 183-184). The width of the forward-facing side of each capital was narrower than that of the side facing the passageway. The face of each capital is flanked by two acanthus leaves, and an egg-and-dart molding delimits the bottom of the capital between the acanthus leaves. On the long sides, three egg motifs fit between the acanthus leaves, while on the short sides only one egg is present. On both faces of each capital, a central vegetal motif is positioned above the egg-and-dart molding between the flanking acanthus leaves. The nine capitals that are still preserved on site show that no two of these central decorative elements were exactly alike (e.g. figs. 181-182). A photograph of a tenth example is published by Mitchell and Waelkens, who report that it was located in a street in Yalvaç

when the photograph was taken.³²⁸ On both decorated faces of each block, the Corinthian capital was flanked by a series of moldings that delimited the top of the flat wall surface of the piers.³²⁹ The top surfaces of the Corinthian capitals represent the tops of the piers, above which the arches sprang over the passageways.

The architrave with three fasciae that Woodbridge placed on top of the piers (fig. 166) and curved over the arches is represented in both the archival and the preserved material. At least one springer block was uncovered in 1924 (fig. 185-186), and at least two other examples are preserved on the site today. A total of only twelve voussoirs are mentioned in the *Journal of Excavations*.³³⁰ It seems likely, however, that more voussoirs were discovered and not recorded in the log book, because the many blocks decorated with relief sculpture occupied the attention of the excavators once they began to appear. A group of voussoirs are still preserved today (fig. 187). The horizontal depth of these voussoirs and the lack of moldings on their rear faces indicate that the passageways were fully barrel-vaulted. This detail differs from the voussoirs of the arch of Augustus, all of which had molded surfaces on both their front and back faces.

The Michigan team uncovered a number of fragments of the pilasters that Woodbridge positioned above the lower architrave separating the spandrel zones from one another (fig. 166), and many of these blocks are preserved on the site today. These upper pilasters consist of a modified Ionic base, a shaft decorated with relief sculpture, and a Corinthian capital. In each case, the modified Ionic base and the lower part of the shaft of these pilasters are carved from one block (figs. 188-193). There are at least two

³²⁸ Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 14 pl. 7.

³²⁹ The sequence of moldings in this location are similar to several moldings discovered among the rubble of the Arch of Augustus (**Molded Blocks 1-3**). These parallels will be discussed in Chapter 5.

³³⁰ *Journal of Excavations*, entries for July 7 (3 voussoirs), July 8 (1), and July 10 (8).

intermediate shaft blocks preserved on the site and in the notebooks (figs. 194-196), and several of the topmost shaft blocks are also preserved today and drawn in the notebooks (figs. 197-200). Several of the blocks are corner pilasters that are decorated on one face and blank on the other (figs. 188-189), indicating that they were situated at the edges of the monument. Other examples preserve the engaged wall surface on both sides of the pilaster (figs. 193 and 197), indicating that they were situated in the middle of the monument's façade rather than at its edges. Several of the upper Corinthian pilaster capitals were preserved in 1924 (figs. 201, 212, 219), and at least one additional one was uncovered in the recent excavations (fig. 202). The capitals of the outer pilasters had decorated faces on both the main façade of the arch and the short sides (figs. 201-202). These upper capitals differed in their decorative elements from the larger lower Corinthian pilaster capitals. Whereas the lower capitals had two acanthus leaves flanking a varying central decorative element and an egg-and-dart molding (fig. 181), the smaller upper capitals had three simple rows of acanthus leaves with no additional ornament. The four upper pilasters divide the spandrel zones from one another and create a rhythm across the upper part of the monument that echoes the four piers below (fig. 165).

Woodbridge caps the monument with a massive entablature that includes an architrave, frieze, and cornice (figs. 166 and 203). The upper architrave (fig. 204), divided into three fasciae, has more elaborate moldings than the lower architrave. Many fragments of this element were discovered, some pierced with holes for the attachment of bronze letters, some blank. G. R. Swain, the expedition's official photographer, took photographs of each of the inscription-bearing blocks, but as late as 1953 Robinson had

still been unable to decipher the inscription.³³¹ The team also uncovered many fragments of the frieze, decorated with two distinctly different motifs—military and vegetal—that will be discussed further below. The blocks with vegetal motifs have a convex profile, while the military motifs are carved onto a flat background. All four corner frieze blocks are preserved today, three on the site and one in the museum (figs. 205-208). The sides of these corner frieze blocks are undecorated, but, as shown in Woodbridge’s final reconstruction, they share the same convex profile as those decorated with vegetal motifs. The final element of the arch is the elaborate cornice, decorated with scroll-shaped consoles, vegetal motifs in the soffit panels, and a palmette- and lion head-decorated sima. The Michigan team discovered many fragments of the cornice, including several corner blocks (fig. 209). All of the evidence for the main entablature preserved in the Kelsey Museum Archives and on site today suggests that the upper part of the monument was a continuous element that ran uninterrupted around all four sides of the monument, as shown in Woodbridge’s reconstruction. There are no preserved projecting elements like those found in the excavation of the arch of Augustus, indicating that the entablature of the arch of Hadrian was probably not visually divided into smaller increments the way its earlier counterpart was.

The evidence overwhelmingly suggests that Woodbridge’s analysis and reconstruction of the architectural form of the arch of Hadrian is correct. Further close study of the remains preserved on site today could suggest minor adjustments, but it is unlikely that the overall form would be drastically altered. The hypothetical decorative

³³¹ According to a letter from Robinson to Harald Ingholt dated November 13, 1953, a copy of which is housed in the David M. Robinson Collection, Archives and Special Collections, J.D. Williams Library, University of Mississippi.

program of the arch as drawn by Woodbridge, however, can be updated with a more complete reconstruction based on all of the information available today.

Evidence of the Decorative Program

In his final reconstruction drawing, Woodbridge did not attempt to illustrate the original appearance of one façade of the arch,³³² nor to document all of the fragments discovered in 1924. Woodbridge included decorative elements from both façades in his drawing with the intention of illustrating a broad range of the material uncovered.³³³ Yet Woodbridge entirely omitted the vegetal frieze from the final reconstruction, even though he had extensively documented the fragments of this element in his notebooks. He also found no way to include the block decorated with a kneeling spandrel figure found near a stream in Yalvaç (mentioned above). The following discussion reviews all of the evidence available for the decorative program of the arch, including photographs and drawings in the Kelsey Museum Archives and newly excavated material on the site today, in order to create a new reconstruction that includes both faces of the arch.

³³² In 1926, Robinson published two reconstructions of the arch drawn by Woodbridge. One (Robinson 1926a, fig. 1) is the final measured, inked drawing; the other (Robinson 1926a, fig. 67) is an unmeasured pencil sketch. Mitchell and Waelkens (1998, 96) incorrectly distinguish these two drawings as reconstructions of the inner and outer faces of the gate. While it is true that Woodbridge reconstructs the gate slightly differently in these two drawings, it is apparent that he does not intend separate inner and outer views. First, the inscriptions on both reconstructions include the C·IUL·ASP sequence of letters, and in different positions. Second, the excavators were aware that one face bore a weapons frieze while the other had a vegetal frieze (Robinson 1926a, 56). Both of the reconstructions by Woodbridge show the weapons frieze; neither drawing shows the vegetal frieze, as we would expect if he was trying to show differences between the two faces of the gate. Third, the pencil sketch includes an attic story above the sima, a feature for which there must have been no evidence, and which was thus omitted in the final drawing. The pencil drawing is an early, though rich, draft of Woodbridge's final reconstruction of the outer façade of the city gate.

³³³ It was common for students of the American Academy in Rome, where Woodbridge had most recently undertaken architectural study, to combine multiple views and decorative aspects of a monument into a single graphic representation. The architectural notebook (e.g. Ossi 2005-6, fig. 15) preserves examples of Woodbridge's use of this practice.

Woodbridge's general placement of the different types of decorative features seems to be correct. His reconstruction (fig. 165) shows the upper pilasters with decorative panels running the length of their shafts; each of the inner pilasters is decorated with a thyrsus, the outer with vegetal motifs. In the spandrel zones above the arches Woodbridge locates several types of figures, each positioned atop a short pilaster. Woodbridge places standing figures of victories in the spandrels of the left passageway and winged genii over the right passageway. Garlands hang between these figures and bucrania located above the keystones of each of the side archways. Rosettes are positioned above the draped garlands. In the spandrels of the central archway Woodbridge restores kneeling figures who hold Roman legionary standards. Over each archway, the left spandrel pilaster is decorated with a torc, while the right spandrel pilaster has a rosette. He depicts a large scroll-decorated console above the keystone of the central arch between the tips of the legionary standards. The main entablature above the spandrel zones is also highly decorated. Woodbridge places a long inscription on the upper architrave, but besides the letters "C. IUL. ASP." he has made no attempt to decipher the pattern of holes for the attachment of the inscription. His depiction of the sculpted frieze consists of tritons flanking trophies over each passageway, hippocamps at either end of the frieze, and shields, armor, and weapons filling the remaining space. The cornice is decorated with scroll-shaped consoles, and the sima features a row of palmettes and alternating male and female lion heads.

Today there is enough evidence to reconstruct both façades of the city gate, with a greater appreciation of the differences between them. Along with an inscription dedicating the gate to Hadrian and Sabina, the outer face presented bound captives and

garland-bearing genii in the spandrels and a frieze of military implements and fantastic creatures, including tritons, hippocamps, and two winged figures carrying a shield (fig. 210). The inner face, decorated with standard bearers, garland-bearing victories, and a frieze of vegetal motifs, carried the inscription crediting Gaius Julius Asper Pansinianus with the gate's construction (fig. 211). In the following discussion I provide a detailed review of the evidence for the placement of the sculptural decoration, starting with the decoration of the upper pilasters.

Upper Pilasters. The surviving examples prove that Woodbridge's depiction of the decoration of the upper pilasters is correct. All of the surviving blocks with pilasters that were situated on the edges of the monument have vegetal motifs on their front surfaces, and they are undecorated on the faces that were positioned on the short eastern and western faces of the arch. On each of these outer pilasters the vegetal motif starts in a calyx just above the modified Ionic base, but the three preserved calyx examples all differ in their structure and details (figs. 188-190). Two intermediate shaft blocks with vegetal decoration are preserved (figs. 194-196). Three of the uppermost shaft blocks are preserved, which show that in each case the vegetal motif terminated in a half-palmette (figs. 198-200). As with the other decorative elements, these half-palmettes all differ from one another in their details. The preserved blocks that represent pilasters located in the middle of the arch are all decorated with a double-tipped thyrsus with a ribbon tied around the shaft. Three bases of these pilasters are preserved today (figs. 191-193), along with two from the upper part of the pilaster shaft (figs. 197 and 66). Many of these thyrsus pilaster fragments preserve the flat wall surface attached to both sides of the

pilaster, which shows that the thyrsus pilasters were positioned in the middle of the monument, as shown in Woodbridge's reconstruction.

Spandrel Decoration. As many as 27 fragments visible in photographs from 1924 and on site today preserve parts of the decoration of the spandrel zones. A cursory examination of the evidence (figs. 212-222) shows that Woodbridge's general arrangement of these figures is correct. Many of the fragments show winged male (figs. 212-215) and female (figs. 218-221) figures standing on pilasters and holding garlands; other fragments show that the other ends of the garlands connect to bucrania (fig. 223). Parts of the standard bearers that Woodbridge places over the central archway are also preserved (figs. 133-134), including one fragment that shows the lower half of the right standard bearer kneeling on a pilaster capital (fig. 222).³³⁴ As we shall see below, we can add a fourth category, bound captives (fig. 141), to the three types of spandrel figures illustrated by Woodbridge (genii, victories, and standard bearers). Two questions arise when observing the mass of evidence for the decoration of the spandrels: how many unique spandrels of each type are preserved, and where were they originally located on the arch?

The spandrels that depict genii are the easiest to count, because four separate blocks preserve the heads, torsos, and arms of nude winged males. Two of these blocks are left spandrels. One has a Corinthian capital to the left of the figure (fig. 212), and the other shows the garland moving off the block to the right (fig. 214). The other two blocks are right spandrels. One is nearly the mirror image of the previous block, with the garland moving off the block to the left (fig. 213). The other right spandrel figure is

³³⁴ In 2004 three of the standard bearer fragments were on display in the yard of the Yalvaç museum, while the fourth block, which depicts a vexillum, was on the ancient site away from the remains of the arch on the Tiberia Platea.

partly preserved on a fragmentary block (fig. 215). The fully displayed wing shows that the garland would have been to the left of the figure, and the partly preserved bare chest shows that the figure was a nude male, not a draped female. Other fragments that have parts of genius figures preserved include the lower parts of two right spandrel figures (figs. 216-217), which probably join the right spandrels mentioned above, and the hand of a left spandrel figure that probably joins the one in figure 212.

The victory spandrel figures are not as well preserved as the genii. There is evidence for two unique victory spandrel figures, one left and one right. The lower part of the left figure is preserved on a block that also shows the pilaster on which the figure stands (fig. 221). The angled lower right edge of the block and the tips of two ribbons on the top right part of the block indicate that the block was a left spandrel. For the right victory spandrel figure, the head, torso, and arm are preserved on one block, and the garland moves off the left side of the block (fig. 218).³³⁵ Two other blocks also show parts of right spandrel victories, one with a Corinthian capital to the right of a draped female figure (fig. 219), the other with the shaft of a pilaster to the right of the lower part of a draped figure (fig. 220). It is possible that all three of the preceding blocks join one another.

Two blocks depict standard bearers, one left and one right. The left spandrel figure is partially nude, his only drapery being a cape attached at the neck (fig. 134). The figure faces to the right and holds a pole that moves off the right side of the block. This pole joins the vexillum depicted on another block. The right spandrel figure is clothed

³³⁵ One block depicting a winged female published by Robinson (1926a, fig. 81) as part of the sculptures from the Hadrianic arch actually derives from the arch of Augustus. Photographs from 1924 show that it was excavated in the Tiberia Platea. The second victory block mentioned above, fig. 64, was excavated at the Arch of Hadrian in 1924 but not published in Robinson's 1926 article. In this case, the wrong photograph was probably supplied to the publisher.

and faces left (fig. 133). One of his hands is depicted holding a legionary standard on a block that joins the preceding block on the left. A more fragmentary block depicts the lower part of this figure (fig. 222). Here a trousered leg crouches atop a pilaster capital similar to those mentioned above for the genius and victory figures. One of the figure's hands is also depicted on this block. The lower left part of the block is angled, confirming that it represents a right spandrel block.

As mentioned above, a fourth category of spandrel figure is preserved in a single block that was not included in Woodbridge's final reconstruction drawing. This block was found near a stream in Yalvaç in 1924, and today it is on display in the yard of the Yalvaç Museum (fig. 141). Robinson included this block in his publication of the sculptures from the arch of Hadrian.³³⁶ Swain photographed the block and refers to it as "from the city gate" in the photo captions.³³⁷ Woodbridge himself drew an elevation of the block in his notebook in the section dedicated to the arch of Hadrian. The characteristics of the block verify its association with the arch of Hadrian. The shape of the block and the position of the pilaster on it mirror the best preserved of the right spandrels (cf. fig. 217), indicating it is a left spandrel. Above the pilaster on the block, the lower legs and thighs of a kneeling or crouching individual are depicted, with the figure's draped garment ending mid-thigh. The body of the figure would have faced left. On the right side of the block, a curious pointed element extends at a forty-five degree angle upwards and away from the figure's heel. To identify the figure represented on this block, we must compare the decoration of Antioch's arch of Augustus.

³³⁶ Robinson 1926a, fig. 72.

³³⁷ Kelsey Museum Archives, caption for 7.1585.

As previously mentioned, the decoration of the arch of Hadrian partially emulates that of the arch of Augustus. This emulation is strongest in the representation of the spandrel figures. The victories and genii holding garlands on the Hadrianic arch are closely derived from those on the arch of Augustus. Comparison of the Hadrianic block under discussion with one of the bound “barbarians” from the Augustan arch indicates that Hadrianic block also represents the legs of a bound captive (cf. figs. 140-141). On the Augustan block (fig. 140), the figure is preserved in its entirety, but the pilaster below would have been on an adjoining block (such as Appendix 1, **Spandrel 8**). The figure’s arms are bound behind his back, and his head twists to look backwards. A torch seems to hover at an angle in the pictorial space behind the figure. The position of the captive’s legs, the length of the figure’s tunic, and the position of the pointed end of the torch on the Augustan block are precisely the same as those elements on the block from the arch of Hadrian (fig. 141). Thus, somewhere on the Hadrianic arch we must reconstruct at least one captive as a left spandrel figure.

In sum, there is currently evidence for nine unique spandrel figures from the arch of Hadrian (see table 1). Since there are twelve spandrels in all on the front and back of a triple-bayed arch, we lack evidence for only three spandrel figures. If we assume that the figures were symmetrically balanced, we can reconstruct two additional victories, one in a left spandrel and one in a right spandrel, and an additional captive balancing the newly identified one.

Preserved spandrels from the arch of Hadrian by figure type and position		
4 genii:	2 left (figs. 212 and 214)	2 right (figs. 213 and 215)
2 victories:	1 left (fig. 221)	1 right (fig. 218-219)
2 standard bearers:	1 left (fig. 134)	1 right (fig. 133)
1 bound captive:	1 left (fig. 141)	
9 total figures	5 total left spandrels	4 total right spandrels

Determining the likely placement of the spandrel figures is somewhat more complicated. One block preserves part of two different types of figure (fig. 220). The block is divided vertically by a pilaster shaft decorated with a thyrsus, indicating that the block was positioned over pier 2 or 3. On the left side of the block, the lower part of a draped figure, presumably a victory, stands on a pilaster capital. On the right side, a piece of wind-blown drapery continues off the right edge of the block. As mentioned above, the left part of the block possibly joins the only preserved right victory spandrel figure (fig. 218-219). The drapery on the right part of the block is probably the end of the flying cape attached to the neck of the left standard bearer (fig. 134). On both pieces of drapery, two parallel folds delimit the bottom part of the cape, and the upper part is represented in flowing waves. This block shows that, in at least one case, a victory and a standard bearer were located on the same face of the arch. This is the only certain evidence we have for the relative placement of the spandrels, but circumstantial evidence suggests the likely position of the others.

The Michigan team inferred from the arrangement of the pile of rubble uncovered during excavations that many of the blocks were found where they had fallen when the arch of Hadrian collapsed. They recorded the find spots for three of the spandrel figures

from the arch, all of which were genii. These three genius blocks were all found towards the southern side of the monument (fig. 224 J, L, N). Two genii, one on a right spandrel (fig. 224 N) and one on a left spandrel (fig. 224 L), were found in the vicinity of the eastern archway; one genius, on a right spandrel, was found near the western archway (fig. 224 J). This evidence suggests that the outer, southern façade of the arch had genii over both side arches. Unfortunately, the Michigan team did not precisely record the find spots of each individual block, and I have not been able to identify the excavated location of any other spandrel blocks using the photographic archive.

Based on the parallelism between the decoration of the Augustan and Hadrianic arches, we may cautiously refer to evidence from the excavation of the Augustan arch to aid in our reconstruction of its Hadrianic counterpart. The find spots of the bound captives from the arch of Augustus strongly suggest that they were located on the same façade as the genii, the façade that greeted the viewer as he or she approached the sanctuary.³³⁸ Since the genii on the Hadrianic arch seem to have been located on the southern façade, which itself greeted visitors as they approached the city, we should place the corresponding captives from the city gate over the central archway on the southern face. By process of elimination, we may then place the standard bearers and victories on the inner, northern face of the city gate. The two standard bearers would be in the spandrels of the central arch, and two victories would flank each side arch. The lone victory excavated from the arch of Augustus was found in an analogous position on the east side of that arch.³³⁹

³³⁸ The genii and captives were all found at the bottom of the steps leading up to the propylon from the west (Robinson 1926a, 21-22 and 25); see above, Chapter 2.

³³⁹ Robinson 1926a, 21.

The Michigan team excavated two additional blocks that Woodbridge placed in the zone above the archways, in the form of large scroll-decorated consoles (figs. 225-227). Woodbridge situated these elements above the keystone of the central arch, between the two standard bearers. The placement of the so-called “keystone,”³⁴⁰ which is not an actual keystone but rather a decorative console, is perhaps the most questionable aspect of Woodbridge’s reconstruction based on the current state of knowledge. Two such blocks were discovered in 1924, and like other elements of the arch they differed from one another in their decorative details (fig. 227). One has acanthus leaves encircling the scroll, while the other has palmette leaves. As shown by the shadow extending from the “keystone” bracket on Woodbridge’s reconstruction, these elements project from the façade of the arch. In order to be placed in this position, both brackets would need a substantial tenon protruding from the back surface that could be embedded in the fabric of the structure. The existence of such a tenon, however, is unknown. Today the two blocks are on display in the yard of the Yalvaç Museum, but they are resting on their back surfaces. Woodbridge’s consolidated drawing of the two brackets does not indicate the existence of a tenon, either broken or whole (fig. 227). A photograph in the Kelsey Museum Archives shows the back surface of one bracket during the course of excavation, but the picture is too blurry to tell whether a tenon existed. Without further research it is not possible to verify whether these blocks were in fact brackets.

Two other arches in Asia Minor have simple brackets projecting from their façades that seem to have supported small statues. The Trajanic arch of Modestus in Patara has a total of twelve brackets, six on each face (fig. 228). The later Severan arch

³⁴⁰ Identified as a “keystone” in Robinson 1926a, 46.

at Ariassos has eight brackets, four per face (fig. 229). On these arches the brackets are located in the spandrel zones flanking the archways (Patara, Ariassos) or on the face of the outer piers (Ariassos); no preserved example is located above the keystone of one of the archways. The amount of decoration in the spandrel zones of the arch of Hadrian at Antioch seems to preclude the placement of these brackets in a position analogous to these other arches, and the space above the keystone seems to be the only available location on the main façades of the arch. Such a placement seems counterintuitive to the presumed function of such a bracket, because a statue standing on it would have partially blocked the arch's dedicatory inscription. Yet the Antioch brackets are much more highly decorated than those in Patara and Ariassos, and the top surface of the Antioch brackets has no dowel holes or other identifying toolmarks that could indicate the presence of a statue (fig. 230). Elsewhere in the empire the keystones of arches could be highly decorated, often with scroll motifs and figural representations of deities.³⁴¹ Accordingly, the "keystone" brackets in Antioch might have been decorative architectural embellishments rather than functional statue bases. Alternatively, the brackets could have been positioned on the short lateral faces of the arch. The Flavian arch at Perge has a projecting element in such a position,³⁴² and one of the "keystone" brackets was found toward the eastern side of the arch (fig. 224 I). Yet, because Woodbridge seems to have been correct in all other respects regarding the placement of architectural elements in his reconstruction, I have deferred to his judgment regarding the "keystone" brackets in my own new reconstruction.

³⁴¹ E.g. the Arch of Titus in Rome, the Arch of Trajan at Benevento, and the Arch of Trajan at Ancona.

³⁴² Inan 1989, fig. 2.

Inscribed architrave. Among the remains of the arch of Hadrian that the Michigan team excavated was a series of architrave blocks with holes in them that once supported bronze letters (fig. 231). The letters themselves were still attached to some of the stones, and several other detached letters were found among the rubble. Based on this evidence, Woodbridge placed a long inscription on the upper architrave in his reconstruction, although he made no attempt to reconstruct the actual words of the inscription. The text he inserted in place of the inscription reads “C. IUL. ASP. These bronze letters were found in place. Holes indicate inscription that ran nearly entire length of architrave.” In a letter to Harald Ingholt dated November 13, 1953 (mentioned above), Robinson admits that he was never able to decipher the pattern of holes by which the inscription was attached.³⁴³

Recently, Maurice Byrne has analyzed the pattern of holes and presented a reading of the majority of the surviving inscription blocks.³⁴⁴ Byrne first arranged the architrave blocks into two groups based on various characteristics, and he identified adjoining blocks whenever possible. The primary differentiating characteristic is the shape of the holes in the stones, a characteristic that was noted by the Michigan excavators.³⁴⁵ In one group, the holes are vertically wider and have rough edges (fig. 232); in the other group, the holes are long and narrow with finely cut edges (fig. 233). Deciphering the pattern of holes, Byrne reads the following in the first group of stones:

³⁴³ Box 5, David M. Robinson Collection, Archives and Special Collections, J. D. Williams Library, University of Mississippi.

³⁴⁴ Byrne 2002; Demirer 2002, 51-54; Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 97-99.

³⁴⁵ Journal of Excavations, entry for August 31, regarding a newly found inscribed architrave block: “The holes were evidently cut by some other person than the one who cut the other stones. The holes seem more regular, smaller, not so roughly broken around the edges.” Bru (2002, 361) also noted the two types of holes.

C(aius) Iul(ius) Asp(er) Pansini[an]us, IIvir V, trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) I, praef(ectus) al(ae) [- - -] d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecit) et ornavit.

Gaius Julius Asper Pansinianus, duovir for the fifth time, military tribune of the first legion, prefect of the cavalry... (here a stone is unread) constructed and ornamented (this gate) from his own money.³⁴⁶

This inscription indicates that a man named Gaius Julius Asper Pansinianus paid for the construction and decoration of the arch. In the second group of stones, Byrne reads:

[Imperatori Caes]ari divi[Traiani filio divi Nerva]e [nepoti Traiano H]adriano Au[gusto, pontifici]max(imo), trib(unicia) [p]ot(estate) XIII, co(n)s(uli) III, p(atrici) p(atriciae), et Sabinae Au[gustae - - -] co[lonia].

For the Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, son of the deified Trajan, grandson of the deified Nerva, pontifex maximus, holding tribunician power for the 13th time, consul for the 3rd time, father of the fatherland, and for Sabina Augusta... the colony.³⁴⁷

The second inscription dedicates the arch to the emperor Hadrian and his wife Sabina, possibly as a gift from the entire colony.

The find spots of several inscribed architrave blocks are instructive in deciding where to place the two inscriptions. The first block still had the letters C·IUL·ASP attached. It lay on a layer of earth 60 cm above the ancient pavement of the roadway, and leaned against the northern face of the eastern inner pier of the arch (fig. 224 F).³⁴⁸ Since the bronze letters were still attached, the block very likely was found in the position where it landed when it first fell from the arch. This suggested to both Byrne and Bru that the C. Julius Asper Pansinianus inscription was located on the northern or inner face

³⁴⁶ Adapted from Demirer 2002, 54. Byrne's reconstruction of this inscription is bolstered by a stone inscription, also from Pisidian Antioch, that records the same name with the same titles (Byrne 2002, 195 and 200 pl. 5; Calder 1912, no. 37; Ramsay 1924, no. 1; Robinson 1925, 253).

³⁴⁷ Adapted from Demirer 2002, 54.

³⁴⁸ Entry for August 26 from the 1924 Michigan expedition journal.

of the monument.³⁴⁹ The Journal of Excavations reports that two other blocks that Byrne associates with the Pansinianus inscription—one reading]V·TRIB[and the other]ORNAVIT—were discovered on the same side of the arch. In fact, the]V·TRIB[block was found close to the C·IUL·ASP[block (fig. 224 E), and the]ORNAVIT block, which represents the final word of the inscription, was found farther to the west, below where it would have been positioned on the façade (fig. 224 D).

The entry in the Journal of Excavations for August 31 reports that an architrave block “lying face down on the pavement south of pier 3” (fig. 224 Q or R) was turned over and found to have an inscription that was “evidently cut by some other person than the one who cut the other stones. The holes seem more regular, smaller, not so roughly broken around the edges.” This description matches Byrne’s description of the blocks inscribed to Hadrian and Sabina. Although I have not been able to identify the specific stone referred to in this journal entry, it seems likely that this block belonged to the imperial inscription. The find spot of this stone serves as confirmation that the inscription dedicating the gate to Hadrian and Sabina would have been positioned on the outer, southern face of the gate—an unsurprising conclusion since this façade would have been much more prominent, especially for visitors approaching the city. Note, however, that the inner inscription would also have received its share of attention, because it was visible from the area inside the city gate that was lined with shops and featured the cascading water channel.

Frieze. The Michigan team uncovered frieze blocks that were decorated with two distinct types of motifs. One set contained figural and military decoration (figs. 234-

³⁴⁹ Bru 2002, 362; Byrne 2002, 195.

242), while the other had spiraling vegetal motifs (figs. 243-251). Woodbridge measured blocks of both types and drew them in his notebooks. He included the known elements of the figural frieze in his final reconstruction, but he omitted the vegetal frieze entirely (fig. 165). A drawing in one of the notebooks showing the vegetal frieze arranged together with the cornice and upper architrave (fig. 203) confirms that Woodbridge considered the vegetal frieze to have been in the same position as the figural frieze in his final reconstruction. In his publication of the sculptures, Robinson suggested that the vegetal frieze was positioned “on the sides and rear of the triple gate.”³⁵⁰ The find spots of blocks of both types bolster the conclusion that the two frieze types occupied opposite faces of the arch, but evidence suggests that the short lateral sides of the frieze were undecorated (e.g. fig. 252).

In Woodbridge’s reconstruction, the figural frieze consists of three groups of tritons flanking military trophies, with one group positioned over each archway, and a hippocamp at each end of the frieze. The space between the triton/trophy groups and the hippocamps is filled with a number of military implements, including swords, quivers, and several types of shields. There is evidence for each of these elements in the archival materials and on the site today. The team excavated two triton/trophy groups, one of which is at the Yalvaç Museum, the other of which is on the site (figs. 236-239). One hippocamp currently on the site was discovered in 1924 (fig. 208), and another, the existence of which was hypothesized by Robinson,³⁵¹ is displayed at the museum (fig. 207). Several fragments with various kinds of military implements were also uncovered (fig. 240-242). Robinson emphasizes that Woodbridge’s arrangement of the elements on

³⁵⁰ Robinson 1926a, 56.

³⁵¹ Robinson 1926a, 52.

the frieze is hypothetical,³⁵² but certain new information has recently come to light that helps to clarify the organization of the frieze.

During the 1998 season of excavations, Mehmet Taşlıalan, former director of the Yalvaç Museum, excavated several new blocks that belong to the figural frieze (figs. 234, 238).³⁵³ The most important block shows the top half of two figures flanking a round shield (fig. 132).³⁵⁴ The left figure has a wing coming out of his back, while the right figure runs off the edge of the block, indicating that his back was depicted on an adjacent block. The arms of both figures reach out to support the top and bottom of the shield, as if to present the shield to the viewer. A garland or wreath surrounds the flat, raised center of the shield. This motif was previously unknown on the arch, but it probably joins a stone discovered in 1924 (fig. 235). This second stone has a double-eagle shield at its center, and a sword with baldric at the right. On the left is a motif that Robinson describes as a winged helmet.³⁵⁵ This “winged helmet” is actually the shoulder and wing of the right figure flanking the circular shield, showing that the two winged figures were depicted only from the waist up. The other two figural frieze blocks excavated in 1998 include the second hippocamp block (fig. 207) and a block depicting a helmet flanked by a bow with eagle-head finials and the tail of one of the tritons (fig. 238). The triton tail joins one of the blocks excavated in 1924 (fig. 236).

The location of many of these fragments in the frieze can be inferred based on their characteristics, and the find spots suggest additional possibilities. The symmetrical arrangement of the winged figures flanking the round shield parallels the arrangement of

³⁵² Robinson 1926a, 52.

³⁵³ Taşlıalan 2000.

³⁵⁴ Taşlıalan 2000, 11 and fig. 10.

³⁵⁵ Robinson 1926a, 52.

the tritons flanking trophies from elsewhere in the frieze (cf. figs. 132 and 239).

Woodbridge plausibly centers the triton groups over the archways in his reconstruction, and he restores a third triton group since only two were discovered in 1924. It seems most likely, given the new information available, that the round shield block was located over the central opening, while the two triton/trophy compositions were symmetrically placed over the side archways. The fact that the block that joins the round shield block (fig. 235) was found between the two central piers (fig. 224 K) supports this conclusion.

One of the triton/trophy groups (fig. 236) was found near the eastern passageway (fig. 224 P).³⁵⁶ The tails of both tritons are depicted on adjoining blocks. The block depicting the right triton's tail also had two shields, one a double-eagle shield, the other oval in shape (fig. 237). It is possible that this block abutted on the left side of the hippocamp block at the right edge of the entire frieze (fig. 208), but detailed measurements of the blocks would be required to verify this hypothesis. The left edge of this triton/trophy group joins a recently excavated block with the tail of a triton at its right edge (fig. 238). To the left of the triton's tail are a helmet seen in profile and a bow with eagle-head finials. Another block, excavated in 1924, has a quiver full of arrows on the right and a cuirass on the left (fig. 241). The Michigan team discovered this block just south of pier 3 (fig. 224 O),³⁵⁷ a location that suggests that the quiver might have been located next to the bow on the frieze, a logical placement. A few meters south of this block (fig. 224 S), the team found another frieze block decorated on the right with a frontally-depicted helmet and on the left with an oval shield overlapping a spear (fig.

³⁵⁶ Robinson 1926a, 55.

³⁵⁷ Robinson (1926a, 55) incorrectly states that this block was found "in front of the third pier from the right." The *Journal of Excavations* (entry for August 13) states that this block was found in front of the third pier from the *left*, and photographs in the archive confirm this find spot.

242). This block could have been positioned to the left of the quiver block. The left edge of the oval shield and spear block might have abutted on the right edge of the pair of blocks depicting the winged figures flanking the round shield. With the hippocamp block that was situated at the right edge of the entire frieze, this potential sequence of blocks represents almost the entire right half of the frieze. Further study is required to verify the placements suggested here.

Three other frieze blocks are extant. One is the second hippocamp block, originally positioned at the left edge of the frieze (fig. 207). The second is the central part of the other triton/trophy group, excavated in 1924 and currently housed at the Yalvaç Museum (fig. 239). The final block was discovered by the Michigan team to the north of the imperial cult sanctuary, far away from the remains of the arch (fig. 240). The measurements of the stone and its decorative motifs—a double-eagle shield and a sword in its scabbard—confirmed that it was originally part of the frieze of the arch. This block's migration up the hill into the center of the city illustrates the fate of many of the missing elements of the arch, which were removed to be used in later construction projects.

Robinson published 7 blocks of the vegetal frieze,³⁵⁸ but archival photographs show that the team discovered many smaller fragments that were not published. Many of these blocks are still preserved on the site today. The entire frieze has a convex profile, and the vine-like elements of the frieze are organized in a repeating pattern with leafy swirls surrounding a variety of finial elements.³⁵⁹ Close study of the fragments would be

³⁵⁸ Robinson 1926a, figs. 91-97.

³⁵⁹ The finials inside the spiraling vine elements vary greatly across the length of the frieze, and no two adjacent finials are identical. There are at least four types of frontal flower, two types of flowers in profile, four types of stalks with small leaves, four bushy groupings of leaves, and several other forms of uncertain

required to determine exactly which blocks were located next to one another, but the position of certain blocks in the frieze can be discerned based on decorative and structural characteristics. Four blocks on the site today, three of which were excavated in 1924, have palmette elements in the midst of the ubiquitous spiraling vines (figs. 243-246). One block has a large palmette that consists of a central stalk flanked by three leaves on either side (fig. 243). Another block has a similar palmette with three leaves on each side, but here there is no central stalk (fig. 244). Two other blocks have half-palmettes at one end of the block (figs. 245-246). The side surface of these two blocks is curved, indicating that they were positioned at the edges of the frieze like the hippocamp blocks on the opposite face. The two palmette-decorated blocks were probably positioned over the archways, the block with the larger palmette over the central archway, the smaller one over one of the side archways. We can restore another small palmette over the third archway. The arch of Hadrian in Antalya has symmetrical vegetal motifs in its frieze centered over each of its three passageways, and half-palmettes punctuating the ends of the frieze (fig. 253).

The find spots of the majority of known fragments of the two types of frieze blocks confirms where they were positioned on the arch. As mentioned above, many of the figural frieze fragments were found to the south of the piers of the arch (fig. 224 O, P, S). A number of vegetal frieze fragments were concentrated to the north of piers 1 and 2 (fig. 224 A, B, C). This information suggests that the figural frieze was located on the outer, southern face of the arch, and the vegetal frieze was on the inner, northern face.

character. I have included all of these elements in my reconstruction, with no attempt to identify the exact original position of particular finials.

Cornice. Woodbridge's reconstruction accurately portrays the cornice of the arch as shown in the evidence available on site today. The bottom edge of the cornice block has a dentil course, which is surmounted by a series of scroll-decorated consoles that support the actual projecting part of the cornice (figs. 254-258). The sima that surmounts the projecting cornice is decorated along its entire length with palmettes. The palmettes alternate between having inward-curving and outward-curving leaves. The line of palmettes is punctuated at intervals by feline heads. Some of the heads have manes and represent male lions (fig. 256), while others have no manes and were interpreted by the Michigan team to have been female lions (fig. 257), although they could represent some other type of large feline.

The cornice is represented by three types of fragments, each of which is indicated on Woodbridge's final reconstruction. One type has two consoles with one soffit panel between them, with a feline head positioned above the central soffit (fig. 256). The second type has two soffit panels with one console between them, and the feline head is positioned over the central console (fig. 257). Robinson published photographs of each of these two cornice types.³⁶⁰ The third type represented are the corner blocks, which have a console that extends at a 45 degree angle to the tip of the corner (fig. 258). A brief examination of the top surface of the cornice blocks in 2004 revealed no evidence for an attic story or any other type of block above the cornice, but further close study is required. In his preliminary large-scale reconstruction, Woodbridge included an attic story atop the arch (fig. 164), but he omitted this feature from his final reconstruction (fig. 165). Other arches, such as the Flavian arch in Perge,³⁶¹ have cuttings on the top

³⁶⁰ Robinson 1924, figs. 98-99.

³⁶¹ Inan 1989.

surface of the cornice blocks for the placement of statue bases, or, as in the Augustan arch at Pisidian Antioch, dowel holes for the direct attachment of statues (see Chapter 2). The freestanding sculpture of the Hadrianic arch in Antioch, with up to eight niches in its piers, may have been restricted to the lower part of the monument.

The New Reconstruction

Combining all of the evidence discussed above, we now have enough information to reconstruct both façades of the city gate, with a greater appreciation for the differences between them. The outer, southern face presented spandrel figures of bound captives and garland-bearing genii, and a frieze of military implements and fantastic creatures, including tritons, hippocamps, and two winged figures carrying a shield (fig. 210). The inscription on this face dedicated the gate to Hadrian and Sabina. The inner, northern face was decorated with spandrel figures of standard bearers and garland-bearing victories, surmounted by a frieze of vegetal motifs (fig. 211). The inscription on this face credited Gaius Julius Asper Pansinianus with the gate's construction and decoration. I have also reconstructed niches in all four piers on both faces of the arch, because at least nine examples of the large-scale Ionic bases that formed the lowest course of the niches (figs. 172-174) are preserved. With two Ionic bases per niche, the nine preserved bases show that at least five of the pier faces must have been pierced by a niche. It seems reasonable to reconstruct a total of eight niches. The statues that stood inside the niches, however, remain entirely unknown.

Chapter 5.

The Arch of Hadrian in Context

The following discussion offers an integrated contextual analysis of the arch of Hadrian at Pisidian Antioch from both architectural and historical perspectives. Previous scholarship on the arch has largely been based on an incorrect dating of the monument offered by the Michigan excavators in 1924. In 2002, Maurice Byrne deciphered the pattern of holes for the attachment of the bronze dedicatory inscription and proved that the monument dates to the reign of Hadrian.³⁶² In order to assess the monument in its proper historical context, I survey the development of the honorific arch as a form in Asia Minor and Greece up to the Hadrianic period. My analysis shows that in these provinces in the Julio-Claudian period, the honorific arch was used almost exclusively as the entrance to public spaces, both civic and sacral, which suggests that residents of the eastern empire conceived of the arch as a type of propylon. This conception differs from the western empire, where, as described above in Chapter 3, the honorific arch had been built in a much wider variety of locations as early as the Augustan period. I also show that in the Flavian period in the east, the arch broke its strict association with propyla, first by being associated with city gates, and later by spreading to other locations where no typical Greek gateway would have been built, such as at the intersection of two major streets in a city. I offer two case studies of contemporary Hadrianic arches as exemplars

³⁶² Byrne 2002.

of other developments in the form, decoration, and epigraphic content of the honorific arch in Asia Minor, including an increasing emphasis on the display of freestanding statuary.

These discussions provide the backdrop for a detailed analysis of the architectural form, decorative program, and epigraphic content of the arch of Hadrian at Pisidian Antioch. My analysis highlights both the independent design of the Hadrianic arch and its decorative references to and adaptation of the arch of Augustus. I show that the combination of these two characteristics creates a blend of symbolic content that uses the local history of the city itself to make favorable comparisons between Hadrian and his imperial predecessor Augustus. Analysis of the arch within its immediate surroundings combined with close observation of the decorative program clarifies how the dedicator of the arch, C. Julius Asper Pansinianus, intended for his benefaction to be a functional monument for the use of his fellow residents of Antioch. To this end, I show that the arch was probably constructed as part of a larger renovation of the entrance to the city, a project that included the widening of the roadway, the addition of shops along the street, and the construction of the cascading water channel that carried flowing water down the middle of the street. In the end, the arch of Hadrian proves to be a locally-inspired monument with a particular emphasis on the relatively recent colonial past of the city. Surrounded by cities that perhaps had greater claims of antiquity and Hellenism, Pansinianus and the colony of Antioch chose to emphasize their city's historically superior imperial connections, in the form of a comparison between Hadrian and the city's divine founder, Augustus.

Past Research on the Arch of Hadrian

The architectural form and sculptural program of the city gate have been the subject of several discussions over the years. Some scholars have primarily concerned themselves with subjective criticism of the aesthetic differences between the sculptural decoration of the city gate and that of its Augustan predecessor. Others have approached the topic more objectively, leading to greater understanding of the political and social context surrounding the creation of the arch. Yet the incorrect date of construction supplied by Robinson, which was accepted by most scholars prior to 2002, has rendered most of these interpretations moot.

David M. Robinson discusses the sculptures from the arch in his original publication of the sculptures excavated in 1924, and his publication includes numerous photographs of sculpted fragments and Woodbridge's final reconstruction drawing of the arch.³⁶³ Based on the bronze letters C.IUL.ASP found still attached to one of the inscribed blocks, Robinson dated the arch to the early third century C.E. when a certain C. Julius Asper was consul in Rome.³⁶⁴ Based on this date of construction, now known to be erroneous, Robinson's article seeks to contextualize the sculptures within the broad scope of the history of classical sculpture. To this effect, Robinson's emphasis is on the "degeneration in style between the first century sculptures" of the arch of Augustus and the supposedly third century sculptures from the city gate.³⁶⁵ Robinson repeatedly mentions the influence of the sculptures from the arch of Augustus on those from the later city gate,³⁶⁶ but his final analysis is that the later sculptures "failed to catch the

³⁶³ Robinson 1926a, 45-56.

³⁶⁴ Robinson 1926a, 45.

³⁶⁵ Robinson 1926a, 46.

³⁶⁶ Robinson 1926a, 46, 51, 56.

beauty, life, and masterly technique of their models.”³⁶⁷ Robinson’s interpretations of the sculptures in their social and political context are limited. For example, he states the opinion that the depiction of the foreign standard bearers on the city gate communicates “much boldness and even dignity... even though subject to the great Roman military power, [these individuals] are proud of themselves and their vocation.”³⁶⁸ For all its limitations, Robinson’s prompt publication of the sculptures allowed subsequent scholars to offer their own interpretation.

In his study of Roman imperial art in Asia Minor, C. Vermeule suggests that, in comparison with the Hellenistic-influenced decoration of the arch of Augustus, the decorative motifs on the city gate “have come to assume a character specifically Roman imperial rather than simply vestigial Hellenistic.”³⁶⁹ He suggests that the Parthian carrying the standard on the city gate might have been derived from the decoration of the Parthian Arch of Augustus in Rome, and he compares its representation to the image on the Augustan coin mentioned above in Chapter 3.³⁷⁰ Vermeule seems to assume that the bound captives on the arch of Augustus were omitted on the city gate in favor of the standard bearers, which he identifies as a more characteristically Roman imperial motif. Because of the incorrect date of construction suggested by Robinson, Vermeule connects the decoration of the city gate to the triumph celebrated by Septimius Severus over the Parthians in 198 C.E., but unlike Robinson he avoids any negative subjective criticism of the sculptural style.

³⁶⁷ Robinson 1926a, 46.

³⁶⁸ Robinson 1926a, 51.

³⁶⁹ Vermeule 1968, 78.

³⁷⁰ Vermeule 1968, 79.

In his overview of Roman imperial architecture, J. B. Ward-Perkins offers a more negative assessment of the city gate and its sculptural program that is primarily concerned with the monument's aesthetic quality. He characterizes the arch as "a nightmare blend of Early Imperial motifs and of others derived from the contemporary marble architecture of the coast."³⁷¹ According to Ward-Perkins, the combination of Augustan motifs and later architectural forms, which following Robinson he dated to the third century, represent "a typically provincial product of baroque taste misunderstood."³⁷² For Ward-Perkins, the city gate serves as an example of how the Augustan investment in Antioch failed. He states that "the colony does not seem to have maintained its early promise but to have settled back into comfortable mediocrity."³⁷³

In 1983, Suna Guven completed the most thorough examination of honorific arches in Asia Minor to date. Her analysis of the arches in Antioch echoes and expands the suggestions offered by the preceding scholars. Without resorting to subjective visual criticism, she highlights the "different aesthetic effect" of the decoration of the Hadrianic arch as compared with its earlier cousin.³⁷⁴ In terms of their symbolic meaning, she reads the two arches as "important elements in a deliberate program of Romanization."³⁷⁵ Like Vermeule, Guven assumes that the captives displayed on the Augustan arch were modified to become standard bearers on the later city gate.³⁷⁶ She points out some of the new motifs that were added to the frieze of the city gate, such as the hippocamps and the double-eagle peltae, but she emphasizes that these new elements "still convey a military

³⁷¹ Ward-Perkins 1980, 280.

³⁷² Ward-Perkins 1980, 280.

³⁷³ Ward-Perkins 1980, 280.

³⁷⁴ Guven 1983, 67.

³⁷⁵ Guven 1983, 69.

³⁷⁶ Guven 1983, 66.

spirit.”³⁷⁷ Again like Vermeule, Guven connects the construction of the arch and its lone Parthian standard bearer to the victory of Septimius Severus over the Parthians, and she suggests that the arch “could not have failed to take note of the Arch of Septimius Severus” in the Forum Romanum.³⁷⁸

The mid-1990s witnessed a rebirth of scholarly interest in Pisidian Antioch, including its city gate. M. Taşlıalan, at that time director of the Yalvaç Museum, re-excavated the city gate in 1998, and expanded the excavations to reveal the street paving, water channel, and shops to the north of the gateway.³⁷⁹ Taşlıalan’s excavations uncovered a number of additional decorated fragments of the arch, but some of his interpretive arguments are not supported by the evidence. Taşlıalan suggests that the gate was built as an undecorated arch in the Hadrianic period, and that the sculptural decoration was added later, perhaps in A.D. 212.³⁸⁰ The style of the decorative sculpture, however, is paralleled in the Hadrianic nymphaeum uncovered in 2003-4 at Sagalassos in Pisidia,³⁸¹ so there is no reason to suspect that the arch was not a unified construction of the Hadrianic period. Taşlıalan also suggests that the northern, inner face of the gate had plain, undecorated spandrels;³⁸² however, the number of unique spandrel figures that are preserved, discussed above in Chapter 4, contradicts this hypothesis.

Stephen Mitchell and Marc Waelkens briefly describe the city gate in the publication of their architectural survey of the site, and they suggest that Woodbridge’s reconstruction of the gate appears to be “correct at the essential points.”³⁸³ Like previous

³⁷⁷ Guven 1983, 66-7.

³⁷⁸ Guven 1983, 70.

³⁷⁹ Taşlıalan 2000.

³⁸⁰ Taşlıalan 2000, 13.

³⁸¹ Mägele et al. 2007.

³⁸² Taşlıalan 2000, 10.

³⁸³ Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 96. My own research (above, Chapter 4) has confirmed this assertion.

scholars, they point out the city gate's emulation of the arch of Augustus.³⁸⁴ In a preliminary publication of their study, Waelkens suggests that, based on the evidence of the style of the architectural sculpture, the arch should be dated earlier than Robinson suggested, to the late Antonine period.³⁸⁵ Before the final results of their study were published, Maurice Byrne had revealed the preliminary results of his analysis of the dedicatory inscription. Mitchell and Waelkens include a summary of Byrne's work in their publication, and the authors accept his re-dating of the arch to 129 C.E.³⁸⁶

Byrne's work on the city gate's inscription has redefined the social and political context that surrounds the creation of the city gate of Pisidian Antioch, which can now be referred to with equal accuracy as the arch of Hadrian. Byrne's work has not been published in its entirety, but preliminary results have been made available in several reports. Besides the discussion in Mitchell and Waelkens' study just cited, Byrne published his preliminary results in an edited volume in 2002,³⁸⁷ and he provided a more complete version of the restored inscription in Ünal Demirer's archaeological guidebook to the site of Pisidian Antioch in the same year.³⁸⁸ In Appendix 2, I compare Byrne's suggested reconstruction with photographs of the inscribed blocks in the Kelsey Museum Archives. His reconstruction encompasses the vast majority of the surviving evidence, leaving unread only two small portions of the inscription. My investigation confirms that Byrne's reconstruction is correct, and his suggested date of construction in 129 C.E. should be considered certain.

³⁸⁴ Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 97.

³⁸⁵ Waelkens 1985, 194; Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 97 and 111 n. 19; Vandeput 1997, 39.

³⁸⁶ Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 97-99.

³⁸⁷ Byrne 2002.

³⁸⁸ Demirer 2002, 51-54.

The most recent discussion of the city gate is that of Hadrien Bru, who has published two articles that discuss various features of the monument in detail.³⁸⁹ The first article is a preliminary report on the early stages of his project, with a primary focus on reconstructing the architrave of the gate from the surviving fragments. Byrne's work, mentioned above, made use of Bru's drawings of the architrave blocks.³⁹⁰ Bru's second article deals with iconographic and archaeological aspects of the city gate in much greater detail. Bru discusses many of the individual iconographic elements of the decoration of the gate, and provides useful comparanda to aid in their interpretation. Bru interprets many of the iconographic features of the arch that differ from its Augustan predecessor as evidence of the influence of the cult of Dionysus on the practice of the imperial cult in the late second century C.E. Yet Bru's study has a fundamental flaw that I believe overshadows his historical interpretation of the arch: he suggests that the Hadrianic dedicatory inscription as reconstructed by Byrne belongs to an earlier arch that once stood in the same location, and that the arch as we know it dates to the late second century C.E. Bru does not explain why a late Antonine-era arch would have a dedication to Hadrian that is written in terms that imply Hadrian was still alive at the time of construction. Rather, he relies heavily on his interpretation of the dating of the architectural sculpture to deny the Hadrianic date. Yet the Hadrianic nymphaeum in Sagalassos, mentioned above, has now provided a securely dated monument (129-132 C.E.) in the same region that has very similar architectural decoration and figural reliefs.³⁹¹ Furthermore, as mentioned in Chapter 4, the bases that Bru postulates were

³⁸⁹ Bru 2002; Bru and Demirer 2006.

³⁹⁰ Byrne 2002, 193.

³⁹¹ Mägele et al. 2007.

those of the supposedly earlier arch actually must have been installed sometime after the construction of the city gate as we know it.

With incorrect dates of construction dominating the previous scholarship, the arch of Hadrian has never been analyzed in its proper historical context. This chapter seeks to rectify this situation by delving into the unique circumstances that led to the creation of the arch of Hadrian. Why did the citizens of Antioch choose to construct a new city gate at this time? Furthermore, why did their new city gate contain numerous architectural and sculptural references to the gateway to their imperial cult sanctuary?

Historical Context for the Creation of the Arch of Hadrian

The historical situation in the early second century C.E. provides essential contextual information for the interpretation of the arch of Hadrian at Pisidian Antioch. Compared to other cities in Pisidia, Antioch had a head start on its urban development due to the intensity of Augustan investment. Over the course of the first century C.E. Antioch to a certain extent maintained this preeminent status, but by the Hadrianic period other cities had caught up with and surpassed Antioch in regional importance. Under Hadrian, the neighboring city of Sagalassos was declared the metropolis of Pisidia, and a massive temple to Hadrian and Antoninus Pius was built there to house the imperial cult.³⁹² By this time, Antioch had become one among many prosperous cities in Asia Minor as the region flourished in the early second century.

Before the turn of the second century, Antioch already had two citizens who had risen to the senatorial order and who had been appointed consul in Rome, L. Sergius

³⁹² Waelkens 2002, 351.

Paullus in 70 C.E. and C. Caristianus Fronto in 90 C.E.³⁹³ Into the early second century, however, the advancement of Antioch's citizens beyond the equestrian order remained rare.³⁹⁴ In the absence of advancement to the senatorial order, equestrians, such as C. Julius Asper Pansinianus, were the leading citizens of Antioch in the Hadrianic period.

With the accession of Hadrian, the cities of the empire received their greatest benefactor to date. Hadrian donated funds for public works projects, festivals, and grain distributions to hundreds of cities throughout the empire. He also visited many cities in various provinces; 17 provinces are recorded on the series of imperial *adventus* coins issued toward the end of his reign.³⁹⁵ He was honored as benefactor, founder, or savior in many of these cities. New imperial cult temples were built in numerous cities. Asia Minor was one of the places Hadrian visited most; he made three trips through the region, first at the beginning of his reign in 117 C.E. as he traveled from Syria to the Danube to broker peace with local tribes,³⁹⁶ and later in 123-4 and 129-31 as journeys undertaken for the purpose of visiting provincial cities.³⁹⁷ In 129 Hadrian's known route brought him close to Antioch;³⁹⁸ considering the dedication date of the city gate, he probably visited Antioch at this time.

A date in the Hadrianic period places the construction of Antioch's city gate in a period of publicly and privately funded civic building that was particularly intense in Asia Minor. Wealthy citizens could enhance their social status by donating funds for public building projects, such as baths, aqueducts, gymnasia, porticoes, and theaters.

³⁹³ Paullus: Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 10. Fronto: *ILS* 9485.

³⁹⁴ Levick (1967, 107 n. 4) counts eight senators from Antioch, most of whom date to the mid-second century and later (113-19).

³⁹⁵ Magie 1950, 628-9.

³⁹⁶ Magie 1950, 611-2.

³⁹⁷ Magie 1950, 613.

³⁹⁸ Birley 1997, 224.

Such buildings were often dedicated jointly to the people (*demos*) of the city and to the emperor. Yet no private citizen could match the spending capacity of the emperor, and Hadrian was a prolific benefactor of provincial cities, donating funds to more than 130 cities throughout the empire.³⁹⁹ He also traveled widely to visit the provincial cities in his empire. Cities minted coins that celebrated the visit of the emperor⁴⁰⁰ and erected statues in preparation for his visit.⁴⁰¹ Even if there was no chance of an imperial visit, many cities voted honors for the emperor, such as making him an honorary citizen, electing him to the city's highest civic position or priesthood,⁴⁰² establishing festivals and games in his honor,⁴⁰³ or even re-naming entire cities after him.⁴⁰⁴ In this way, cities competed with one another to be recognized as preeminent within their individual provinces and within the broader empire. Wealthy individuals with imperial connections often took the lead in these civic rivalries by donating funds for specified purposes. If a private citizen funded a building dedicated to the emperor, the benefits could potentially be twofold; the citizen's personal connections with the emperor might be strengthened, and his or her city might rise in stature within the imperial administration. In this era of civic benefaction, city gates or other honorific arches spanning major streets were among the popular donations that could be considered both gifts to the public from wealthy citizens and honors voted to the emperor by the city as a whole.

³⁹⁹ Boatwright 2000, 5.

⁴⁰⁰ Toynbee 1934, 4.

⁴⁰¹ E.g. at Phaselis, where several bases for statues for Hadrian have been found, some of which were erected by neighboring cities that he was apparently not planning to visit (Bean 1968, 157).

⁴⁰² Boatwright 2000, 58-72.

⁴⁰³ Boatwright 2000, 94.

⁴⁰⁴ Boatwright 2000, 105.

The Development of Arches in Asia Minor and Greece from Augustus to Hadrian

By the Hadrianic period, honorific arches in Greece and Asia Minor had become a highly flexible type of monument, capable of being deployed in a variety of locations within a city. The following discussion reviews the developments in the placement of arches in Asia Minor and Greece from the Augustan period to that of Hadrian. As we shall see, the placement of the arch of Hadrian in Pisidian Antioch is a direct result of these developments.

The two earliest arches in Asia Minor and Greece were the Augustan arch in Ephesus of 4/3 B.C.E. (fig. 108) and the arch of Augustus in Pisidian Antioch of 2/1 B.C.E. (fig. 259). These two triple-bayed arches acted as entrances to enclosed public spaces, in Ephesus to the commercial agora and in Antioch to the imperial cult sanctuary. As I have argued above in Chapter 3, in terms of their location these arches were conceived as propyla in the Hellenistic Greek tradition, and the architectural form of the arches, particularly the one in Antioch, reflected their multivalent character as Roman honorific monuments built in a Greek architectural setting. By closely associating the honorific arch with the Hellenistic Greek propylon, the designers of these two arches set a precedent for arch construction in Asia Minor and Greece that continued until the Flavian period.

As discussed above in Chapter 3, by the Augustan period arches in the western part of the empire were being built in a wide variety of locations. Arches could decorate bridges, mark territorial or pomerial boundaries, act as city gates, stand as extramural funerary monuments, and mark entrances to civic spaces. In Asia Minor and Greece, however, arches continued to be built nearly exclusively as entrances to civic and

religious spaces through the end of the Julio-Claudian period. Examples are preserved in Asia Minor at Sagalassos and Assos, as well as in Greece at Corinth, Olympia, and Isthmia. In Sagalassos, twin arches were built at the southeastern and southwestern entrances to the upper agora, the first in honor of Caligula, the second in honor of Claudius; the arch of Caligula was subsequently rededicated to Claudius upon his accession.⁴⁰⁵ These two single-bayed arches faced one another across the open space of the upper agora, and the arch at the southeastern corner stood at the top of a flight of steps that ascended from the city below. In Assos, another arch of uncertain date may have been erected in honor of Caligula. The remains of a single-bayed arch were excavated at the western entrance to the agora in Assos, straddling the road that led from the western city gate (fig. 260).⁴⁰⁶ No inscription is preserved, but circumstantial evidence suggests that the honorand may have been Caligula. When he was six years old Caligula had visited Assos and, despite his young age, addressed its citizens.⁴⁰⁷ An inscribed bronze tablet found near the bouleterion records the council's decision to send an embassy to Caligula upon his accession, whereby the city declared its allegiance to the new emperor and reminded him of his promise to take care of the city—a promise that he must have been declared during his earlier visit.⁴⁰⁸ If the arch at the western entrance to the agora was erected in honor of Caligula, as seems probable based on the interaction between the city and the emperor,⁴⁰⁹ it would be yet another first-century arch located at

⁴⁰⁵ Waelkens 2002, 341, fig. 8.

⁴⁰⁶ Bacon 1902, 63.

⁴⁰⁷ Barrett 1990, 13.

⁴⁰⁸ *IGR* 4.251; Bacon 1902, 66; Merkelbach 1976, no. 26.

⁴⁰⁹ Alternatively, as Vermeule (1963, 114) suggests, the arch may have been erected in honor of Gaius Caesar in 1-4 C.E. Vermeule implicitly associates the arch with an inscription found on the opposite side of the agora near the bouleterion (*IGR* 4.248; Sterrett 1882-3, no. 13; Merkelbach 1976, no. 13), which records the erection of a statue in honor of Gaius Caesar by the merchants of Assos. This earlier dating would still be in line with the conclusions suggested here.

the entrance to a public space. An arch built at Cyzicus in Asia Minor in honor of the Britannic victory of Claudius is epigraphically attested, but its location within the urban layout is unknown.⁴¹⁰

The chronology of the evidence from Greece is not as certain due to a lack of epigraphic material. At Corinth, two arches were built in the first century C.E. at different entrances to the forum, one in the southwest corner where the road from Acrocorinth enters the plaza, the other on the northern edge where the Lechaion Road enters the forum.⁴¹¹ The arch in the southwest corner was a single-bayed arch built in association with a long rectangular building to its west.⁴¹² The construction of the long rectangular building is dated to the Neronian period based on stratigraphic evidence, and the arch seems to have been built contemporaneously.⁴¹³ The Lechaion Road arch had two phases. In its first phase the monument was triple-bayed, and its construction dates to the first century C.E.⁴¹⁴ At both Olympia and Isthmia, triple-bayed arches were built as monumental sanctuary entrances, probably in the first century C.E. In Olympia, the arch was located at the southeastern entrance to the Altis not far from the so-called House of Nero (fig. 261).⁴¹⁵ The most recent analysis of the remains refutes the traditional attribution of the arch to Nero's visit in 69 C.E., and suggests that the arch must have been constructed earlier, perhaps even in the Augustan period in honor of Agrippa for his

⁴¹⁰ *CIL* III.7061; *ILS* 217.

⁴¹¹ Edwards 1994, fig. 1.

⁴¹² Williams and Fisher 1976, 135-7.

⁴¹³ Williams and Fisher 1976, 131-3.

⁴¹⁴ Edwards 1994, 273. The second phase dates to the Trajanic period (Edwards 1994, 292-95), and will be discussed later.

⁴¹⁵ Mallwitz 1999, 270-4. The base of the arch, which is still in situ, is largely composed of re-used blocks, including numerous statue bases with the footholes clearly visible. The arch is shown in the plan in Coulton 1976, fig. 95.

repairs to the temple of Zeus.⁴¹⁶ Yet the absence of epigraphic evidence and the lack of any surviving part of the superstructure that might have had stylistically datable architectural sculpture allows only a general attribution to the first century C.E. In Isthmia, a triple-bayed arch was built on the road that approached the sanctuary from the northeast; the arch was later incorporated into the defenses of the Hexamilion fortress.⁴¹⁷ No epigraphic remains of this arch are preserved, but stylistic analysis of the few fragments of the superstructure that were uncovered in excavations suggest a date in the mid-first century, perhaps around the time of Nero's visit in 66 or 67 C.E.⁴¹⁸

This list of arches shows a clear pattern of use for honorific arches in Asia Minor and Greece as entrances to civic and religious spaces, following the precedent set by the two Augustan-era arches in the region. The only exception is the arch at Philippi in Greece, which stood 2.5 km outside the city near the battlefield where Caesar's assassins were defeated, and which has been stylistically dated to the Augustan period. Notably, most of the post-Augustan arches mentioned here were built as freestanding monuments, rather than as gateways attached to a defined enclosure in the manner of the Augustan arches in Ephesus and Pisidian Antioch. This phenomenon may reflect a growing conceptualization of the arch as an independent monument type, rather than simply an alternate form of a traditional trabeated propylon. Nevertheless, it is clear that the vast majority of Augustan and Julio-Claudian arches in Asia Minor and Greece did not stray far from the entrances to civic and sacral spaces, which suggests that at this time the residents of the eastern provinces probably still closely associated the honorific arch as a form with traditional trabeated propyla.

⁴¹⁶ Mallwitz 1999, 274.

⁴¹⁷ Gregory and Mills 1984, figs. 1 and 3.

⁴¹⁸ Gregory and Mills 1984, 424-25.

The archaeological record suggests that in the Flavian period a change in the placement of arches occurred; they began to be built at the entrances to cities, rather than exclusively as entrances to civic and sacral spaces. Such city gate arches were not usually closeable defensive gateways; rather, they were monumental decorative markers of the transition from countryside to urban space, sometimes but not always connected to the city wall. City gate arches built in the Flavian period are preserved in Lycia at Xanthos, in Bithynia at Nicaea, and in Phrygia at Hierapolis and Laodicea on the Lycos. The single-bayed arch in Xanthos was added to a preexisting classical-era gate (fig. 262).⁴¹⁹ Its simple form is free of architectural elaboration beyond a simple molding on the voussoirs and a combined Doric-Ionic entablature. In Nicaea, two identical city gate arches survive, the so-called Lefke Kapı and Istanbul Kapı (fig. 263). Based on the dedicatory inscriptions, the construction of these arches dates to the reign of Vespasian, when M. Plancius Varus was governor of Bithynia.⁴²⁰ In Phrygia, Hierapolis did not have a defensive wall until the 4th century C.E.,⁴²¹ but the arch of Domitian located at the northern edge of the city was designed with two large round pseudo-defensive towers flanking a triple-bayed arch, giving the monument a distinctive gate-like appearance even though it was not attached to a city wall (fig. 264).⁴²² At Laodicea on the Lycos, at least two city gates of this era are known. The preserved superstructure of the west gate, the so-called Porta Efesia (fig. 265),⁴²³ is very similar to the arch in Hierapolis, although the

⁴¹⁹ Cavalier 2005, 27-29.

⁴²⁰ Şahin 1979, nos. 25-8.

⁴²¹ De Bernardi 1963-4, 3; D'Andria 2001, 112.

⁴²² De Bernardi 1963-4, 2. The triple-bayed south gate of the city, which was flanked by square rather than round towers, is also commonly dated to this period (D'Andria 2001, 101), but the partially-exposed remains are built in a masonry style that differs from the Domitianic north gate. If two gates were built by Frontinus, the south gate as it exists today may have been a later reconstruction of the original Domitianic monument.

⁴²³ Bejor and Bonetto 2000, 105-14.

Porta Efesia has square rather than round flanking towers. It is not known whether the Porta Efesia was attached to a city wall when originally constructed, or if it was freestanding like the arch in Hierapolis. No epigraphic remains of the Porta Efesia are known. The fragmentary remains of the east gate in Laodicea, the so-called Porta Siria, are very similar to the Porta Efesia, which suggests that the two gateways were built contemporaneously.⁴²⁴ Inscriptions preserved from the Porta Siria date its construction to the reign of Domitian—to the same year, in fact, as the gate in Hierapolis.⁴²⁵

The sudden change in the placement of arches in the Flavian period is rather striking, but the effect may have been amplified due to the vagaries of preservation. As mentioned above, in the western empire arches built as city gates are known as early as the Augustan period, and the Augustan arch at Philippi in Greece was built outside the city walls, although at a distance (ca. 2.5 km) that is too far from the city wall to suggest that the monument was conceived as a city gate. Yet, given the current state of knowledge, it appears that in the Flavian period the conceptualization of arches primarily as a type of propylon underwent a change, and arches became associated with another major type of gateway, the city gate. The epigraphic evidence associated with these Flavian arches suggests that the driving force behind this change may have been the initiative of provincial governors. Governors were involved with the construction of four arches in the Flavian period, at Xanthos, Nicaea, Hierapolis and Laodicea; to these we may add the Trajanic arch in Patara, which also involved the governor. In three of these cases—Nicaea, Hierapolis, and Laodicea—multiple arches seem to have been built contemporaneously in the same city, suggesting that they were part of larger development

⁴²⁴ Bejor and Bonetto 2000, 112.

⁴²⁵ Corsten 1997, no. 24.

projects funded or at least sponsored by the governor. In Hierapolis, the arches were constructed in association with the extension of the city's primary colonnaded street at both the north and south ends of the city. Because the Flavian arches in Nicaea and Laodicea were also built in pairs in different sectors of the same city, their construction might have been associated with similar city-wide projects. In Patara, the arch may have been part of a larger public works project that involved the construction of an aqueduct, and the arch itself, in fact, may have been the terminus of the aqueduct (fig. 228).⁴²⁶ In Xanthos, decorative details of the arch suggest that it might have been constructed in connection with some project that involved the Letoon, the city's primary extramural sanctuary. Busts of Leto, Apollo, and Artemis decorated the metopes on the Doric frieze of the arch, and the combination of Doric frieze and vaulted passage is replicated at the Letoon itself, as the south entrance to the theater (fig. 266).⁴²⁷

To return to the chronological development of the function of arches, only one intramural arch is known from the Flavian period in Asia Minor and Greece, a Domitianic single-bayed arch punctuating a major intersection in the center of Perge in Pamphylia (fig. 267).⁴²⁸ The placement of the Domitianic arch in Perge at an intramural crossroads is not paralleled by any type of Greek gateway, neither propylon nor city gate. This suggests that by the end of the Flavian period the honorific arch had been freed from strict association with other types of gateway, to stand on its own as an independent and multifunctional monument type.

The arches of the Trajanic and Hadrianic periods exemplify the multifunctionality of the honorific arch as a monument type. Only one arch in Asia Minor or Greece is

⁴²⁶ Burrell 2004, 254.

⁴²⁷ Cavalier 2005, 27-29.

⁴²⁸ Inan 1989.

securely dated to the Trajanic period, that being the arch at Patara in Lycia, mentioned above (fig. 228). Other arches stylistically or archaeologically dated to the Trajanic period are preserved in Greece at Athens and Corinth, and in Asia Minor at Ephesus. In Athens, a single-bayed arch was built spanning the roadway that connected the agora with the Roman market. This arch seems to have been built contemporaneously with the Library of Pantainos, which is adjacent to the arch and which is securely dated based on epigraphic evidence to the early Trajanic period.⁴²⁹ In Corinth, the second phase of the Lechaion Road arch was a single-bayed arch that took the place of its first-century, triple-bayed predecessor. C. M. Edwards has associated a series of fragmentary reliefs, one of which shows a bound Parthian captive, with this arch, and he dates its construction to the end of Trajan's reign.⁴³⁰ In Ephesus, an intramural arch stands facing the Embolos near its intersection with the Marble Street (fig. 268). This arch has been stylistically dated to the late Trajanic or early Hadrianic period.⁴³¹

Under Hadrian, the number of arches built in Asia Minor and Greece expanded dramatically. Securely dated Hadrianic arches are known in Asia Minor at Antalya, Isaura Vetus, Perge, Phaselis, and Pisidian Antioch, and in Greece at Athens. The Flavian arches at Nicaea in Asia Minor were rededicated to Hadrian.⁴³² Arches at Mylasa in Asia Minor and at Thasos in Greece have been dated to the Hadrianic period based on style.⁴³³ About half of these arches are city gates or are part of city gate complexes: Antalya (fig. 269), Mylasa (fig. 270), Nicaea (fig. 263), Perge (figs. 271-

⁴²⁹ Thompson and Wycherly 1972, 114 and pl. 62a; Camp 1986, figs. 157-58.

⁴³⁰ Edwards 1994, 292-95.

⁴³¹ Late Trajanic: Scherrer 2001, 76. Early Hadrianic: Thur 1989.

⁴³² Şahin 1979, no. 29-30.

⁴³³ In Thasos, the surviving inscription dedicates the arch to Caracalla, but J.-Y. Marc (1999) has identified physical evidence that the original inscription was erased to make room for the dedication to Caracalla; based on the architectural sculpture, he dates the original construction of the arch to the Hadrianic period.

273), and Pisidian Antioch (figs. 155, 274). The others vary in their placement. The arch at Isaura Vetus stands at an entrance to the agora (fig. 275),⁴³⁴ and the arch at Thasos stood at the entrance to a broad plaza that served as a forecourt to the sanctuary of Herakles (fig. 276).⁴³⁵ At Phaselis, the arch stood at the end of a major street near the south harbor, which was the city's most important resource (fig. 277).⁴³⁶ In Athens, the intramural arch is traditionally interpreted as a symbolic gateway straddling the road between the old city and a new urban quarter founded by Hadrian (fig. 278).⁴³⁷

The two honorific arches at Pisidian Antioch bracket this chronological development and illustrate the changes that took place in the function of arches. The Augustan arch was built as the gateway to an enclosed sanctuary space, and its architectural form recalled that of earlier Hellenistic propyla (see above, Chapter 3). The arch of Hadrian, in contrast, was a freestanding monument erected as an ornamental city gate, with an architectural form that reflects additional developments in the honorific arch as a type (discussed below). The change in location (fig. 1) suggests a difference in the intended audience for the two arches. The propylon, located at a sanctuary in the heart of the city, would have been highly visible on festival days when numerous visitors would have filled the city, but for the majority of the year it would have primarily been viewed by the various residents of Antioch—Roman, Greek, and Phrygian. The city gate, in contrast, was located where any visitor to the city would have encountered it as the very first urban monument within the city itself—or, perhaps more accurately, as the

⁴³⁴ Verzone 1959, 7-8.

⁴³⁵ Marc 1993; 1994; 1999. Reconstruction of the arch in its surroundings: Grandjean and Salviat 2000, fig. 95.

⁴³⁶ Schläger and Schäfer 1981, 88-9.

⁴³⁷ Camp 2001, 201-2.

monument that marked the transition from countryside to city.⁴³⁸ The fact that the city gate partially emulated the decorative program of the propylon (discussed further below) indicates a very close relationship between the two monuments. The construction of what is in effect a new imperial cult propylon at the entrance to the city reflects an intentional communal emphasis on the symbolic meanings associated with the imperial cult sanctuary as one of the primary characteristics of the city's externally-projected identity. This relationship, which depends on the placement, form, and decoration of the two monuments, is unique among extant arches in Asia Minor and Greece. Comparison with two contemporary arches from the Hadrianic period will allow us to draw out further details of the close relationship between the two arches in Antioch, and in particular the varied meanings associated with the arch of Hadrian.

Form, Sculpture, and Inscription: the Cases of Phaselis and Perge

Location, of course, is not the only symbolically meaningful characteristic of an honorific arch. As compared with the development of their positions within the urban landscape, the arches of Asia Minor and Greece do not show such a clear sequence of development in their architectural forms, decorative programs, and epigraphic content, but certain general tendencies can be observed. The arch of Hadrian at Pisidian Antioch conforms to several of these tendencies, which will be summarized below. Because a detailed discussion of the characteristics of each of the arches built in Asia Minor and Greece is beyond the scope of this study, I offer here two case studies that show the range of possibilities in the architectural form, sculptural decoration, and epigraphic content of

⁴³⁸ Note that before reaching the arch an approaching visitor would have noted other structures in the landscape, such as the aqueduct, stadium, city walls, and numerous funerary monuments that must have lined the approach road as in most other Roman-era cities.

arches in the Hadrianic period, followed by an analysis of the characteristics of the arch of Hadrian at Pisidian Antioch within this continuum.

Over the course of the first and early second centuries C.E., arches in Asia Minor and Greece generally tend toward more complex architectural forms that allow for a greater amount of freestanding statuary to be displayed within the fabric of the monument, rather than exclusively atop the monument as with earlier arches in the east. Along with this emphasis on freestanding statuary comes a general decrease in emphasis on sculptural relief decoration, although the arch of Hadrian at Pisidian Antioch is an important exception to this trend.⁴³⁹ Epigraphic evidence shows that the types of individuals and collective entities who dedicated arches remained much the same from Augustus to Hadrian. Along with the arches mentioned above that were dedicated by provincial governors,⁴⁴⁰ inscriptions record five arches dedicated by cities as a whole⁴⁴¹ and four arches dedicated by imperially-connected individuals, including C. Julius Asper Pansinianus of Pisidian Antioch.⁴⁴² The method of inscription, which itself was an iconographic feature that could carry meaning even if the textual content could not be read by a given viewer, varied from arch to arch. Six arches had bilingual inscriptions, emphasizing the multicultural character of the dedicators and perhaps the city,⁴⁴³ and three were exclusively in Latin—two of the Latin-inscribed arches being at the colony of

⁴³⁹ The other major exception to this tendency is the Trajanic arch in Corinth. If the relevant sculptures are correctly attributed, this arch had weapons and armor decorating its frieze and two historical scenes decorating the interior walls of the passageway (Edwards 1994, 292-3), an arrangement that, given the dearth of relief sculpture on other arches in the region, must have been influenced by contemporary arches in the west, such as the elaborately sculpted arch of Trajan at Benevento, Italy (Rotili 1972). The relief decoration of the arch of Hadrian at Pisidian Antioch will be discussed further below.

⁴⁴⁰ At Xanthos, Nicaea (Flavian), Hierapolis, Laodicea, and Patara.

⁴⁴¹ At Cyzicus, Isaura Vetus, Phaselis, Antalya, and Nicaea (Hadrianic).

⁴⁴² At Ephesus (Augustan), Perge (Flavian and Hadrianic), and Pisidian Antioch (Hadrianic).

⁴⁴³ Bilingual inscriptions survive at Ephesus (Augustan), Sagalassos (Caligulan and Claudian), Hierapolis, Laodicea, and Perge (Hadrianic).

Pisidian Antioch.⁴⁴⁴ Expensive materials could also be employed to emphasize the importance of an inscribed text. Inscribed marble plaques were set into the frieze of the travertine arch in Hierapolis, and bronze letters were affixed to six arches, including both arches at Pisidian Antioch.⁴⁴⁵ The designer of any given arch could muster these decorative characteristics, both sculptural and epigraphic, in a wide variety of combinations to create a particular symbolic effect. The Hadrianic arches of Phaselis and Perge illustrate the range of possibilities.

As mentioned above, the arch at Phaselis was located on the city's largest street, which connected its three ports with one another (fig. 277).⁴⁴⁶ The arch stood at the south end of the street, adjacent to the port on the southern side of the peninsula occupied by the city. The simple single-bayed arch was ca. 9.1 m wide and 1.65 m deep with a 5.8 m opening.⁴⁴⁷ The two piers were articulated with pilasters at each of the four corners, and benches surrounded the base of each pier.⁴⁴⁸ Molded capitals crowned the piers (fig. 279),⁴⁴⁹ and the molded voussoirs had three fasciae. Atop the piers, the curve of the arched opening was framed by Ionic pilasters that were decorated with reliefs depicting vines growing from an open vessel (fig. 280).⁴⁵⁰ The main entablature that rested on top of these pilasters consisted of an architrave with three fasciae, a vegetal frieze, and a cornice with palmettes and lions' heads on the sima. The dedicatory inscription, carved in three lines onto the architrave at the top of the arch, honors Hadrian as savior and

⁴⁴⁴ The third Latin-only inscription was at Cyzicus. Considering that the inscription is our only evidence of the arch at Cyzicus, it is possible that a Greek version of the inscription once existed.

⁴⁴⁵ At Ephesus (Augustan), Pisidian Antioch (Augustan and Hadrianic), Philippi, Antalya, and Perge (Hadrianic).

⁴⁴⁶ The remains of the arch are briefly described in Schläger and Schäfer 1981, 88-9, with pls. 41-4.

⁴⁴⁷ Piers 1.65 x 1.65 m; arch radius 2.9 m (Schläger and Schäfer 1981, 89).

⁴⁴⁸ Schläger and Schäfer 1981, pl. 42.1.

⁴⁴⁹ Schläger and Schäfer 1981, pl. 43.2.

⁴⁵⁰ Schläger and Schäfer 1981, pl. 42.3.

benefactor, *soter kai euergetes*, with credit for the construction of the monument given to the entire city, *boule kai demos*.⁴⁵¹ Several freestanding statues must have stood on top of the arch, and a statue base that was discovered lying against western pier is inscribed to the divine Plotina, Hadrian's adoptive mother.⁴⁵² The arch in Phaselis was probably erected for the emperor's visit, which is recorded on several inscriptions in the city. The citizens of Phaselis erected an altar explicitly in honor of Hadrian's visit, and construction of the agora was dedicated to Hadrian.⁴⁵³ Two neighboring cities, Corydalla and Acalissus, also erected altars in Phaselis for the explicit purpose of honoring his visit.⁴⁵⁴ With their neighbors dedicating monuments to the emperor in their own city, it seems possible that the Phaselitans erected the arch so as not to be outdone by their neighbors when he arrived.

A very different type of arch in Perge weaves a more complex picture that combines local history and imperial connections (figs. 271-273). This is the triple-bayed arch built as part of an elaborate reconfiguration of the Hellenistic southern city gate (fig. 281). The arch is much larger than that in Phaselis, 20 m wide and 9.1 m deep.⁴⁵⁵ Columns stood on bases in front of the four piers, much like on the reconstructed arch in Antalya (fig. 269), and two statue niches are preserved in each of the outer piers.⁴⁵⁶ As compared with the arch in Phaselis, the greater width of the Pergaian monument would have allowed for the display of many more statues on top of the arch. Each architectural member of the monument was carved with intricate moldings, but, except for a frieze of

⁴⁵¹ Schläger and Schäfer 1981, 151-4.

⁴⁵² Schläger and Schäfer 1981, 154.

⁴⁵³ Schläger and Schäfer 1981, 153.

⁴⁵⁴ Bean 1968, 157; Schläger and Schäfer 1981, 153.

⁴⁵⁵ Mansel 1956, 111-12.

⁴⁵⁶ Mansel 1956, 111-12.

vegetal motifs, no relief sculpture adorned the arch. The arch stood at the north end of a small (20.3 x 17.8 m) oval courtyard that was enclosed on the east and west by curved walls, and on the south by the two massive round towers of the Hellenistic gateway (fig. 273).⁴⁵⁷ The curved walls had two rows of seven statue niches, with an applied network of columns and projecting entablatures framing the niches. A visitor entering the city from the south would pass between the Hellenistic towers, across the oval courtyard, through the triple arch, and into the city's main north-south colonnaded street.

The elaborate architectural form of this city gate complex was primarily a framework for an extensive sculptural and epigraphic program, all of which was sponsored by a single resident, Plancia Magna. M. T. Boatwright has shown that Plancia Magna's influence in the society and governance of Perge was expansive.⁴⁵⁸ As the daughter of M. Plancius Varus, she may have been partly inspired by her father's construction of several city gate arches in Nicaea during his governorship of Bithynia (mentioned above). The sculptural and epigraphic program of her city gate complex wove together themes of Perge's mythological and historical past, Plancia Magna's family lineage, civic deities, and the reigning imperial family into a comprehensive picture of Perge's place within the broader empire.

The curved walls of the central courtyard had niches for up to 28 statues (fig. 271). Fragments of over-life-size statues of gods were found during excavations, including Apollo, Hermes, Aphrodite, Pan, Heracles, and the Dioscouroi, all of which, based on their size, must have stood in the larger lower tier of niches.⁴⁵⁹ Preserved Greek-inscribed statue bases indicate that the smaller upper niches held statues of at least

⁴⁵⁷ Mansel 1956, 104-6.

⁴⁵⁸ Boatwright 1991.

⁴⁵⁹ Mansel 1956, 106-111.

seven mythological founders of Perge derived from the Hellenic mythological tradition,⁴⁶⁰ as well as statues of Plancia Magna's father and brother, both identified by their relationship with the donor.⁴⁶¹ Like the mythological founders, the inscriptions identifying the Plancii described them each as *ktistes*, or founder.

The triple-bayed arch was reserved for the display of larger statues depicting the imperial family and Perge's civic deities. The members of the imperial house included living and deceased individuals: Hadrian, Sabina (fig. 282), and Plotina, all living at the time of construction, as well as divine Augustus, Nerva, Trajan (fig. 283), Marciana, and Matidia.⁴⁶² Artemis Pergaia, object of the most important and ancient cult in Perge, was present, along with the Tyche of the city.⁴⁶³ The statues that stood on the arch were all identified in both Greek and Latin, and each base recorded the name of Plancia Magna as donor, also in both Greek and Latin.

When standing between the Hellenistic towers and looking north, a visitor would have been faced with a panoramic sculptural display (fig. 271). The curved walls of the courtyard appear to converge as they approach the arch, so that the walls of statues on either side of the arch act as side wings to the elaborate display of larger statuary on the arch itself. From this vantage point, a visitor could note a clear distinction between the sculpture on the walls as opposed to the sculpture on the arch. Olympian gods and local mythological founders dominate the walls, while imperial portraits, accompanied by two important local deities, decorate the arch. Parallel symbolism could bridge the gap between the two displays. One might read the Olympian gods on the walls as forerunners

⁴⁶⁰ Şahin 1999, nos. 101-7

⁴⁶¹ Şahin 1999, nos. 108-9.

⁴⁶² Şahin 1999, nos. 91-9.

⁴⁶³ Şahin 1999, nos. 89-90.

and models for the rule of the imperial house shown on the arch, while the legendary founders and Plancia Magna's family on the walls can be seen as predecessors of Plancia Magna and her support of Pergaian interests, symbolized by the Tyche of the city and Artemis Pergaia on the arch.

Notably, the entities with the greatest impact on the contemporary world—the imperial administration, active cult institutions, and the generalized economic and social well-being of the city—were given the central position in this panoramic display. It is not a coincidence, however, that the name repeated most often in the inscriptions is Plancia Magna. It is likely that the imperial statues would have loomed larger from a more central position, but it would have been perfectly clear to any viewer, no matter his or her native language, who was the guiding force behind this display. Interestingly, Hadrian himself is not described as *ktistes* anywhere on the arch (as far as we know), even though in the second century this was a common honorific title both for the emperor and for non-imperial individuals, such as the Plancii mentioned above. One wonders if Plancia Magna herself wished not to be overshadowed in her dedication by a reference to the generosity of the individual she was honoring. Furthermore, numerous cases of elite euergetism throughout the Greek-speaking world are dedicated to the ruling emperor, even if the emperor might never set foot in the building donated, and the vast majority of honorific arches were primarily dedicated to the emperor. Yet in the primary dedicatory inscription of her arch, displayed in bronze letters framed by *tabulae ansatae*, Plancia Magna donated her arch to the fatherland, written, as elsewhere on the arch, in both Greek and Latin (*patriidi* and *patriae*, respectively). This seems to indicate that for

Plancia Magna imperial connections were highly important, but only in the service of Pergaian interests.

The arches of Phaselis and Perge represent the two extremes in a continuum of architectural, sculptural, and epigraphic display on an honorific arch. The arch in Phaselis is a communally-dedicated honorific monument to the emperor, the construction of which was probably inspired by his impending visit to the city. The arch in Perge is highly complex, weaving a tapestry of connections between the imperial house, the Olympian gods, the legendary history of Perge, and the family of the Plancii. Unlike the Phaselitan arch, a single figure emerges from the display as the driving force. These differences suggest differing audiences for the two arches. The Phaselitan arch reads as a monument primarily intended to honor and impress the emperor, and perhaps visitors from other cities who might come to the city (and set up their own smaller dedications to the emperor). The audience of the Pergaian arch, in contrast, seems to be the people of Perge themselves, and the content of the message seems to be equal parts honor for the imperial family, honor for the gods, and honor for Plancia Magna.

The Design of the Arch of Hadrian

In terms of its form, decoration, and inscriptions, the arch of Hadrian at Pisidian Antioch is more similar to the arch of Plancia Magna in Perge than to the arch in Phaselis. A lack of preserved evidence in Antioch allows us only to speculate on certain aspects of the design, such as the identity of the individuals depicted in freestanding statuary. The preserved relief sculpture, in contrast, is a decorative element that has no parallel on the two arches described in detail above, one that incorporates a totally

different range of symbolic meanings. Accordingly, the symbolic meanings communicated by Pansinianus via the arch of Hadrian differ greatly from those expressed by Plancia Magna in Perge. To a large degree, these meanings are embodied in the unique relationship between the Hadrianic and Augustan arches in Antioch. No other arch known so closely emulates the decorative program of another arch in the same city, while simultaneously changing the architectural form and setting to reflect its new purpose.⁴⁶⁴ An analysis of the form, decoration, and epigraphic content of the arch of Hadrian, particularly as it relates to the arch of Augustus, draws out these symbolic meanings. Compared to the arch in Perge, the Antioch arch has a much greater emphasis on imperial connections, including the influence of imperial activities in the history of the city.

The arch of Hadrian was clearly an independently-conceived monument that drew on developments in the design of honorific arches that had taken place over the course of the first and early second centuries C.E. As discussed above, the placement of the arch as a city gate (fig. 1) reflects a change in the general conception of honorific arches, which by the Hadrianic period were seen as highly flexible monuments rather than strictly as ornamental propyla. Furthermore, comparison of the Augustan and Hadrianic arches in Antioch illustrates the changing emphasis on freestanding statuary. On its façade, the Augustan arch had large engaged Corinthian columns, on top of which stood statues (fig. 91). As discussed in Chapter 3, this arrangement may have been a reflection of

⁴⁶⁴ Here the reader might recall the Caligulan and Claudian arches in Sagalassos, which are very similar to one another. The relationship between the two, however, is clearly not emulative. The Caligulan arch was rededicated to Claudius during Caligula's *damnatio memoriae*, an action that represents a clear attempt to break with the past, rather than the construction of an ongoing reflexive relationship. The construction of the second arch in honor of Claudius may be seen as emphasizing the discontinuity, as if rededicating the older arch was not sufficient to express honor and loyalty to the new regime.

Hellenistic columnar monuments. In contrast, the form of the Hadrianic arch was specifically designed to incorporate a greater number of freestanding statues, with eight statue niches in the piers of the arch itself, and an unknown number of additional statues standing atop the arch (fig. 210). The display of a greater number of statues would have allowed the monument to express a wider range of symbolic meanings, as shown in the comparison between the arches in Phaselis and Perge. Certain decorative details also relate the Hadrianic arch to developments in contemporary monuments. The vegetal frieze displayed on the north, inner face of the arch has parallels on several other Hadrianic arches,⁴⁶⁵ and there is no evidence of such a frieze on the Augustan arch in Antioch. Furthermore, the palmette- and lion-decorated sima that crowns the city gate is paralleled on the same Hadrianic arches, and the corresponding element on its Augustan predecessor is undecorated.

Woven into the architectural design of the city gate are a significant number of formal and decorative references to its Augustan predecessor. In size and general form, the monuments are comparable: both are triple-arched gateways just over 20 m wide, with a central opening slightly wider than the lateral openings.⁴⁶⁶ In terms of formal details, the bases of the piers of the city gate may be a reference to the pedestals that projected onto the steps in front of the propylon. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the stairway was an unusual feature of the Augustan propylon, and the projecting pedestals were the element that unified the composition of the arch and the staircase (fig. 259). The designer of the Hadrianic arch seems to have recognized and responded to this unusual characteristic of the Augustan arch. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the bases of the piers of

⁴⁶⁵ At Antalya, Perge, Phaselis, and Thasos.

⁴⁶⁶ Arch of Augustus, 21 m wide; arch of Hadrian, 23 m.

the city gate were composed of a dark gray limestone, while the superstructure of the arch was of white limestone (fig. 274). These bases are unusual when compared with other arches in Asia Minor and Greece; most do not have separately-articulated bases at all, let alone substantial bases that are distinguished by the color of the building material. I would suggest, therefore, that these gray bases are a formal reference to the pedestals that projected onto the staircase below the arch of Augustus. Furthermore, as mentioned in Chapter 4, there is evidence of four long bases to the south of the piers of the city gate that seem to have been added sometime after the foundations of the arch were built (fig. 153). Appearing to project from the southern façade of the Hadrianic arch, these bases would have been even closer parallels to the pedestals on the stairway of the arch of Augustus.

Another unusual formal feature found on both of the arches is an intermediate course with simple moldings that was positioned on each arch just above the level of the pedestal/piers base feature just described (fig. 166, cf. fig. 91). It seems once again that the designer of the city gate incorporated this feature as a reflection of the form of the propylon; this element is not found on contemporary Hadrianic arches. The final parallel formal aspect is more uncertain, but worth discussing. Three molded blocks found among the rubble of the arch of Augustus (Appendix 1, **Molded Blocks 1-3**) have moldings that are somewhat similar to those that decorate the space on the Hadrianic arch at the top of the four piers between the large pilaster capitals (fig. 90). As mentioned in Chapter 2, the placement of the Augustan molded blocks is unknown, but, if in fact they were in a location similar to the comparable Hadrianic moldings, they represent another possible connection between the two arches.

Within this revised architectural framework, many details of the city gate's decorative program emulated those of the propylon, but in a different sculptural style and with a certain amount of iconographic revision. In passing, I have already noted a number of decorative parallels between the arches, but a comprehensive summary is necessary.⁴⁶⁷ The figural elements in the spandrels and on the sculpted frieze are the most closely related elements. The spandrels of the central passageway on both arches were decorated with bound captives on one face (figs. 140-141) and barbarian standard bearers on the other. In the spandrels of the side archways, both monuments had genii and victories that are similarly posed and hold garlands draping between them (figs. 284-285). In 1926, D. M. Robinson claimed that the propylon could conjecturally be reconstructed with its spandrel figures standing on pilasters, based on the occurrence of such pilasters on the city gate.⁴⁶⁸ In reality, the presence of these pilasters on both arches is certain; examples from both arches are preserved on the site today.⁴⁶⁹ Like the spandrel figures, the tritons flanking trophies in the friezes of both arches are almost identically posed, with one hand of each triton touching the helmet on top of the trophy, and with tritons' fishy tails looping behind them (fig. 286). The two winged figures flanking the *clipeus* found on a block from the city gate (fig. 132) probably also had a predecessor on the Augustan propylon, but this assertion is conjectural given the present state of knowledge.

⁴⁶⁷ Some of these parallels have been discussed previously, e.g. Robinson, 1926, 46 and 51; Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 97; Rose 2005, 56.

⁴⁶⁸ Robinson 1926a, 21.

⁴⁶⁹ Propylon: Appendix 1, **Spandrel 9**. City gate: figs. 4.62-63 and 71. Robinson's statement that the spandrel figures "stood on pedestals, if we can draw this conclusion from the poor imitations on the third century city gateway" (1926, 21) must have been an oversight on his part. In the Kelsey Museum Archives there are photographs of such a block from 1924, as well as a drawing of the same block in one of Woodbridge's notebooks. Robinson, who wrote the text of the publication, must not have been as well informed of the parallels between the two monuments as his architect, Woodbridge, who had extensively studied each block and drew the reconstructions.

Many other elements on the two friezes, such as the weapons and armor, are also similar, although some elements seem to have been omitted or altered on the city gate. For example, the *sidus iulium* and the ship's prows seem not to have been included on the Hadrianic frieze. Also, two hippocamps, positioned on the city gate at either end of the frieze facing away from the center, may be a re-imagining of the capricorn from the sculpted frieze on the propylon (fig. 287). Both of these fantastic creatures have the front half of a quadruped—a horse and a goat respectively—and the tail of a fish. The final decorative parallel between the arches comes in the form and execution of their inscriptions. Both were inscribed in Latin using bronze letters that were attached to the architrave of the arch by means of lugs inserted into rectangular holes (figs. 288-289).

These numerous parallels between the arches of Augustus and Hadrian verify that the designer of the later arch wanted to include unmistakable references to the propylon of the imperial cult sanctuary as a significant architectural marker of Pisidian Antioch, while at the same time creating a new monument that would be even more visible to visitors because of its placement at the entrance to the city. Yet upon closer inspection, the references to the earlier monument were probably also meant to make a favorable comparison between the individuals honored by the two monuments.

Imperial Associations: Hadrian and Augustus

Two factors likely led to the selection of the propylon of the imperial cult sanctuary as the inspiration for the new city gate: a spirit of cultural renewal and local history encouraged by Hadrian, and a desire to make a favorable comparison between the reigning emperor and his imperial ancestor, Augustus. First, as M. T. Boatwright points

out, “the actual interaction between Hadrian and many cities was associated with a renewal, preservation, or promotion of the unique history of that place.”⁴⁷⁰ Perge, as we have seen, laid claim to ancient Hellenic foundation myths while simultaneously advertising the importance of the cult of its local Anatolian goddess. In Antioch, the reflexive relationship between the city gate and the imperial cult propylon suggests that the city’s primary identity in the imperial period was as head of the group of colonies founded in the late first century B.C. in Pisidia, at that time part of the province of Galatia. The elaborate imperial cult complex, including the arch of Augustus, was the crown jewel symbolizing Antioch’s preeminent position among these colonies. The spirit of historical memory and cultural renewal encouraged by Hadrian could have been one factor that led the citizens of Antioch to emulate the propylon of their sanctuary in their new city gate. The imperial cult sanctuary was, in effect, a locus of cult for the city’s deified founder.

Furthermore, the close association between the city gate and the propylon implies an intentional comparison between Hadrian and Augustus. This may reflect a broader empire-wide political program, because in many ways Hadrian styled himself as a new Augustus. In the 120s he minted coins which abandoned the usual lengthy dynastic titles in favor of the simple title “Hadrianus Augustus,” drawing a close connection between himself and the first emperor, Augustus.⁴⁷¹ In Rome, Hadrian rebuilt the Pantheon, a temple which originally had been constructed by Agrippa, and which probably had a role in the fledgling imperial cult in the city of Rome.⁴⁷² Out of deference to the memory of Agrippa and Augustus, Hadrian famously did not change the building’s inscription,

⁴⁷⁰ Boatwright 2000, 13.

⁴⁷¹ Birley 1997, 147.

⁴⁷² Boatwright 1987, 263; Zanker 1988, 141.

which gave credit for its construction to Agrippa. Furthermore, Hadrian's mausoleum on the banks of the Tiber was partly inspired by that of Augustus on the opposite bank of the river.⁴⁷³ This iconographic and architectural association extended to the provinces. For example, the Hadrianic nymphaeum in Sagalassos, mentioned above, had associations with Augustus and the imperial cult. The central figure in the decorative scheme of the nymphaeum, a colossal statue of Apollo Clarios, was a direct reference to the temple of Apollo Clarios established in Sagalassos in the Augustan age, which probably also served as the city's first imperial cult shrine.⁴⁷⁴ To solidify the Hadrianic association with the Augustan imperial cult, a gilded bronze statue of Hadrian stood in a niche directly above the colossal Apollo.⁴⁷⁵

Like their neighbors in Sagalassos, the citizens of Antioch likely perceived the associative power of their imperial cult sanctuary, which was dedicated to Augustus. There is evidence of cult activities taking place at the sanctuary at a number of historical moments. An inscription uncovered in 1999 during construction activities in Yalvaç records the dedication of a statue, games, sacrifices, and a beast hunt in honor of Claudius' Brittanic victory.⁴⁷⁶ This series of rituals and festivals has been associated with the imperial cult.⁴⁷⁷ Excavation in 1991 uncovered a portrait of Marcus Aurelius in the portico of the sanctuary itself,⁴⁷⁸ and excavation in 1924 revealed that a small Severan-era tholos was built in the platea in front of the propylon, probably in honor of

⁴⁷³ Davies 2000, 158-163.

⁴⁷⁴ Talloen and Waelkens 2004, 2005.

⁴⁷⁵ Mägele et al. 2007, 490-1.

⁴⁷⁶ Christol et al. 2001.

⁴⁷⁷ Christol et al. 2001, 20; Standing 2003, 281-2.

⁴⁷⁸ Taşlıalan 1993, fig. 21; Rubin 2008, 48-9.

Caracalla.⁴⁷⁹ Clearly, ritual activities in the imperial cult sanctuary would have been ongoing in the Hadrianic period as well. Creating a new version of the sanctuary's propylon at the very entrance to the city and dedicating it to Hadrian would announce the city's dedication to the emperor; it would stress Hadrian's association with Augustus; and it would exemplify the spirit of historical renewal which was promoted by the well-traveled emperor.

Ritual activities at the imperial cult sanctuary may have included processions through the city, such as that instituted by C. Vibius Salutaris in Ephesus in the Trajanic period. This procession led from the extramural sanctuary of Artemis Ephesia, through the city with a stop at the theater, and back to the sanctuary. In Antioch, it is possible that processions would have been used to link cult activities at the imperial cult sanctuary and the extramural sanctuary of Mên Askaênos. In this case, the arch of Hadrian would have been a major architectural marker along the procession route. The route of such a procession would have followed the so-called Via Sacra, which starts at the sanctuary of Mên and leads down the slopes of Sultan Dağ. The route down the mountain can still be traced today by following the numerous dedications to Mên Askaênos that take the form of aediculae carved into the bedrock. At the base of the mountain the route would probably have crossed the River Anthius and skirted the southern edge of the city to reach the city gate. After passing through the arch of Hadrian, the procession would probably have turned east at the end of the city gate's entrance platea and climb the hill past the theater. As at Ephesus, the theater could have been a stopping point along the procession route where a large crowd could gather to observe the procession and to take

⁴⁷⁹ -]i antonini aug[is all that is preserved of the dedicatory inscription of the tholos. Robinson (1924, 441) identifies the honorand as Marcus Aurelius, but based on the style of the architectural decoration Mitchell and Waelkens (1998, 156-7) suggest a Severan date, with Caracalla as the most likely candidate.

part in the ritual. From the theater, the procession would have continued east to the Tiberia Platea, where the procession would encounter a view of the arch of Augustus framing the imperial cult temple behind it. Climbing the stairs and passing through the arch of Augustus, the procession would reach its destination at the imperial cult sanctuary.

Given the amount of space on the arch of Hadrian devoted to the display of freestanding statuary, it seems highly likely that Mên Askaênos was among the figures included. Elsewhere in Asia Minor, arches placed as city gates emphasized the connection between the city and its primary extramural sanctuary. The Vespasianic arch in Xanthos had reliefs of Leto and her children in the metopes of its Doric frieze (fig. 262), and the road through the arch led to the Letoon, a major Lycian sanctuary controlled by Xanthos. Similarly, the arch in Mylasa has a relief of a double axe on its keystone (fig. 270), which refers to the cult of Zeus Labraundos, and the road through the arch likewise led to the sanctuary of the god in the hills outside of the city. Inscriptions indicate that statues of Artemis Pergaia stood on both the Domitianic and Hadrianic arches in Perge,⁴⁸⁰ and a figure of Zeus Soter was probably displayed on the Domitianic arch at Laodicea on the Lycos.⁴⁸¹ These parallels indicate a high probability that the freestanding sculpture on the Hadrianic city gate at Antioch contained a depiction of Mên Askaênos together with a number of imperial portraits. Such a connection between the imperial cult and the cult of Mên had already been made on the Augustan propylon, with its imperial statuary and the depiction of a bust of Mên Askaênos in relief (see above, Chapters 2-3). Statues of Hadrian and Mên on the Hadrianic city gate would have acted

⁴⁸⁰ Şahin 1999, nos. 56 (Domitianic) and 89 (Hadrianic).

⁴⁸¹ Corsten 1997, no. 24.

as visual reminders of the connection between the sanctuaries, while the position of the arch would have been a marker of the physical and ritual connection between them. A procession from one sanctuary to the other would have made such connections clear and direct.

Such hypothetical links between the two sanctuaries aside, the evidence provided by the preserved iconographic program of the city gate indicates that, of the two sanctuaries controlled by Antioch, the imperial cult sanctuary was held to be preeminent in the externally-projected identity of the city. Hadrian's visit to the city in 129 C.E. would have been a short, albeit memorable, event, but the city gate dedicated to him would live on as a monumental emblem that the city's residents would pass through on a daily basis. Pansinianus was certainly aware of this when he built the arch; after all, his name would be affixed to the monument along with those of Hadrian and Sabina. Evidence suggests that Pansinianus designed his monument not simply as a decorative archway, but as part of a perpetually functional gift to the city.

Local Interests: City Gate, Platea, and Cascade

A number of architectural details suggest that the city gate was built in conjunction with a major renovation of the platea to which it gave access (figs. 155 and 274). A glance at the city plan shows that the platea inside the city gate is not aligned with the street grid (fig. 1), which indicates that this stretch of roadway probably followed the topography of the hill to provide easier access to the city. This detail suggests that the city gate, cascade, and platea with shops may have been a renovation and monumentalization of an earlier entrance to the city. Inside the gate, the roadway is

precisely as wide as the arch, and the cascading water channel is axially aligned with the central opening of the gate. The rooms on either side of the roadway, which were certainly shops, may also have been part of this renovation. The remains visible on the site today show that the shops on the east side of the roadway were partially cut out of the bedrock, which suggests that the renovation required a substantial construction operation.

Certain details of the city gate itself affirm its connection with the platea, and in particular its close association with the cascading water channel. Several iconographic features of the arch, namely the hippocamps that were positioned at both ends of the frieze and the thyrsoi that decorated the upper pilasters, are decorative elements that elsewhere are found on monumental nymphaea. For example, the Hadrianic nymphaeum in Sagalassos contained a number of aquatic symbols in relief, including tritons blowing shell horns, nymphs standing on dolphins, and reclining river deities.⁴⁸² In Perge, crossed thyrsoi decorated a frieze on the Hadrianic North Nymphaeum, which itself was the origin of a long water channel similar to that in Antioch.⁴⁸³ On Antioch's city gate, the hippocamps and thyrsoi are new iconographic elements, not directly copied from the decoration of the Augustan propylon. When viewed in their sculptural and architectural context, these symbols emphasize the association between the Hadrianic city gate and the cascading water channel to the north.

The hippocamps probably replaced the capricorn from the frieze of the Augustan arch (fig.45). The capricorn of Augustus was associated with Hadrian in other media,⁴⁸⁴ so placing a capricorn on the arch of Hadrian would not have been inappropriate.

Accordingly, the choice to replace the Augustan capricorn with hippocamps may have

⁴⁸² Mägele et al 2007.

⁴⁸³ Mansel 1975, 367-372.

⁴⁸⁴ Grant 1952.

been an intentional iconographic change meant to emphasize the aquatic elements of the frieze. In this revised framework, the triton groups positioned over the lateral passageways may also be read as more generic aquatic symbols (fig. 286), like the tritons on the Hadrianic nymphaeum in Sagalassos, rather than as references to the battle of Actium, which they symbolize on the Augustan arch in Antioch. The thyrsoi that decorated the upper pilasters on the city gate also belong to this web of aquatic associations (fig. 197). The thyrsus was a symbol of Dionysus, the god of wine and theater who often appeared in the context of monumental nymphaea accompanied by statues of his companions, satyrs.⁴⁸⁵ Moreover, in 1924 the Michigan team uncovered a statue of a dolphin in the vicinity of the city gate (fig. 290), which the excavators associated with the semicircular terminal fountain of the cascade. If this attribution is correct, the aquatic imagery would have carried from the hippocamps and tritons on the frieze of the arch into the central passageway, where the dolphin statue would have complemented the sight and sound of actual flowing water—according to E. J. Owens, both cascading down the channel into the terminal basin and flowing out of the top of a pedestal fountain located in the center of the terminal basin.⁴⁸⁶

The inscriptions on the arch also relate to the entrance platea complex as a gift to the local population. As noted in Chapter 4, the dedication to Hadrian was displayed on the southern, outer face of the arch, and the dedication by Pansianianus was on the northern, inner face. This arrangement suggests that, symbolically, the imperial inscription addressed the outside world, while the Pansinianus inscription addressed the

⁴⁸⁵ Statues of Dionysus and a satyr are preserved from the Trajanic nymphaeum in Ephesus (Ng 2007, 202-3), and the Hadrianic nymphaeum at Sagalassos had a satyr and a male nude that may be Dionysus or Apollo (Mägele et al 2007, 484 and 489).

⁴⁸⁶ Owens forthcoming.

local population. While symbolically addressing the city, the dedication by Pansinianus would literally have been visible from the platea inside the city gate, which would have been filled with bustling activity centered on the shops lining the roadway. If, as at Perge, the cascading water channel originated from a monumental nymphaeum at the unexcavated north end of the entrance platea, the complex would have been bracketed by monumental facades at both ends (fig. 274). The platea would act as a visually defined space with a coherent organization. The combination of the dedicatory inscription and the probable association between the city gate, the platea, and the cascade suggests that Pansinianus' benefaction was not simply the construction of a personally-aggrandizing honorific imperial monument, but rather the creation of a highly functional urban space that was crowned by the imperial honorific monument, the presence of which might raise the profile of the city within the regional political landscape and in the eyes of the imperial administration.

Conclusion

The arch of Hadrian at Pisidian Antioch is a monument uniquely inspired by its colonial situation. In the second century C.E., the cities of Asia Minor competed with one another for regional prestige in order to increase their status within the imperial administration, which could lead to social and economic benefits.⁴⁸⁷ One major field of competition involved claims of ancient Hellenic history, manifestations of which were of interest to and often subsidized by Hadrian himself. Cities searched for and even invented local links to legendary Greek figures and claimed particular heroes as founders. In this competitive situation, Pisidian Antioch used its own local history to follow a

⁴⁸⁷ Ng 2007.

different route. The city had been founded as a Seleucid colony in the Hellenistic period, and the cult of Mên Askaênos may have been a manifestation of a more ancient past, but the symbolic content of the arch of Hadrian seems to favor the city's more immediate colonial history. Pansinianus, the donor of the gate, must have realized that, if the goal of such intercity competition was recognition within the imperial community, an emphasis on the first and greatest emperor as the city's founder may well have been the city's most noticeable claim—especially compared with other cities in the region that were advertising Homeric hero after Homeric hero as founders. The imperial cult sanctuary was the primary monumental manifestation of Antioch's foundation by Augustus, and ongoing ritual activities at the sanctuary would have given this imperial past a tangible presence in Antioch's civic and religious life right up to the time of Hadrian. By incorporating numerous references to the propylon of the sanctuary into the new city gate, Pansinianus emphasized the foundation by Augustus as one of the primary characteristics of the city's externally-projected identity. References to the arch of Augustus on the arch of Hadrian also implied a favorable comparison between the reigning emperor and his imperial forefather, a comparison that Hadrian clearly welcomed, encouraged, and fostered. In a certain sense, the placement of the arch of Hadrian as a city gate may have implied greater loyalty to and appreciation for Hadrian over and above the memory of Augustus. While the imperial cult sanctuary was dedicated to Augustus, the city gate effectively rededicated the entire city to Hadrian.

Chapter 6.

Conclusion

This study has provided the first detailed discussion of the honorific arches at Pisidian Antioch, covering both the archaeological basis for their reconstruction and an interpretive analysis of the monuments in their historical and regional context. Throughout this study, I have supplemented my arguments concerning the arches of Pisidian Antioch with comparative evidence from other cities in the region and in the broader empire. When appropriate, I have discussed diachronic developments in the form and decoration of arches in the region using geographically distinct examples. I have also discussed two specific arches from the Hadrianic era as comparative case studies. When considered together, all of these geographically wide-ranging examples provide a broad context for the construction of the two arches that are the focus of this study. Yet, it remains to be seen how the arches of Antioch as embodiments of two historical moments in the life of one city compare with similar diachronic developments in another specific city. Accordingly, in this concluding discussion I consider the monumental development of the city of Sagalassos as a foil for Pisidian Antioch. For the sake of brevity, I focus on Sagalassian monuments that are comparable to one or more functional aspects of the arches of Antioch, i.e. gateways and honorific monuments. By means of this comparison with an important and well-excavated neighboring city, I highlight the important interpretive conclusions offered in the preceding chapters.

The Monumental Development of Sagalassos

The Augustan monuments of Sagalassos are conservatively Hellenistic in design. M. Waelkens points out that the basic form of each of the individual monuments is based on Hellenistic precedent, and only the use of the Corinthian order betrays their Augustan date.⁴⁸⁸ This observation applies to monumental propyla and various types of honorific monuments that dotted the city's two agoras. In the Augustan period, both the upper and lower agoras of Sagalassos were home to a number of pier- and column-form commemorative monuments, each of which is essentially a tall, elaborate base for a single statue.⁴⁸⁹ Two so-called heroa were built just north of the upper agora.⁴⁹⁰ The northwest heroon has been partially re-erected. Its form is that of a small aedicular shrine that stands atop a tall pedestal, which is encircled by a frieze that depicts dancing female figures.⁴⁹¹ The northeast heroon has not been excavated, so its exact form is unknown, but it too is dated to the Augustan period based on its architectural sculpture.⁴⁹² In the open space of the upper agora, a canopy monument composed of four columns supporting a curved pyramidal roof was erected.⁴⁹³ As emphasized by Waelkens, the form of each of these Augustan honorific monuments—pier- and column-monuments, aedicular heroa, and a canopy monument—was derived from the Hellenistic architectural tradition, while the surface decoration contained a certain amount of imperial Roman influence.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁸⁸ Waelkens 2002, 334, 336.

⁴⁸⁹ Vandeput 1993, 193-202; Waelkens 2002, 333.

⁴⁹⁰ Waelkens 2002, 334.

⁴⁹¹ Waelkens et al. 1997, 173-193.

⁴⁹² Kosmetatou et al. 1997, 353-66.

⁴⁹³ Waelkens 2002, 333.

⁴⁹⁴ Waelkens 2002, 334, 336.

Two gateways were built in Sagalassos in the Augustan and Tiberian periods. One was a propylon to a sanctuary that housed a small Doric temple possibly dedicated to Zeus, located near the bouleterion just west of the upper agora.⁴⁹⁵ The propylon was built as part of a renovation of the preexisting late Hellenistic sanctuary space, and it had the typical pedimental form of Hellenistic propyla, here built in the Corinthian order like the honorific buildings mentioned above.⁴⁹⁶ Later, the Sagalassians built an elaborate gateway probably in honor of Tiberius at the southern entrance to the lower agora, standing atop a tall flight of steps and overlooking one of the main roads into town.⁴⁹⁷ Like the propylon of the Doric temple, this gateway was trabeated (although not pedimented), and it was six columns wide with a projecting wing at either end to form a pi-shaped plan. The entablature of this gate contained a frieze with decorative reliefs depicting garlands hung between theater masks.⁴⁹⁸

In this architectural context, the arches of Caligula and Claudius were erected in the upper agora at Sagalassos.⁴⁹⁹ The form of these arches makes them the first honorific monuments built in Sagalassos that were primarily inspired by the Roman, rather than the Hellenistic, architectural tradition. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the arch and the vault were well-known in the Hellenistic period as structural forms, and residents of cities in the east would have passed through numerous arched city gates in their lifetimes.⁵⁰⁰ In Sagalassos, in fact, the postern entrance to the Hellenistic market building was a vaulted tunnel.⁵⁰¹ Yet in the Hellenistic period the arch was rarely incorporated into formal civic

⁴⁹⁵ Waelkens et al. 2000, 217-231.

⁴⁹⁶ Waelkens 2002, 317, 335.

⁴⁹⁷ Waelkens et al. 1997, 205-8; Waelkens et al. 2000, 362-7; Waelkens 2002a, 341.

⁴⁹⁸ Waelkens et al. 1997, figs. 167-8.

⁴⁹⁹ Waelkens a, 341; Talloen and Waelkens 2004, 181-2.

⁵⁰⁰ Boyd 1978.

⁵⁰¹ Waelkens et al. 1997, figs. 34-6; Waelkens a, 315.

and sacral architecture. The appearance of arched gateways in the agora of a Greek town like Sagalassos, which clearly had clung to its Hellenistic architectural tradition throughout the Augustan period, would have been notable. The form of these arches was rather simple.⁵⁰² The arches have undecorated rectangular piers crowned by a simple molding, from which the vault of the arch springs. Small underdecorated pilasters frame the spandrel zone, and an Ionic entablature caps the monument. The solid design minimizes the use of an applied columnar order in favor of an emphasis on the solid architectonic forms that comprise an honorific arch.

By the Hadrianic period, Sagalassos had attained great economic and political influence, such that it could claim to be “the first city of Pisidia.”⁵⁰³ The city began to erect an imperial cult temple under Hadrian, and it was completed under Antoninus Pius.⁵⁰⁴ The colossal head of Hadrian recently found in the bath complex at Sagalassos is visually-impressive, tangible evidence of the relationship between the city, Hadrian, and his successors.⁵⁰⁵ Of the monuments erected in Sagalassos in honor of Hadrian, the nymphaeum over the upper agora is most relevant to the current discussion,⁵⁰⁶ considering the fact that Antioch’s city gate was probably built as part of a larger complex that included similar hydraulic installations (above, Chapter 5). Like Antioch’s city gate, the Hadrianic nymphaeum in Sagalassos contained sculptural references to Augustan monuments in the same city. On the façade, a statue of Hadrian stood above a statue of Apollo Clarios,⁵⁰⁷ whose temple in the city had probably been the center of

⁵⁰² Talloen and Waelkens 2004, fig. 5.

⁵⁰³ *IGR* 3.348; Waelkens 2002a, 352.

⁵⁰⁴ Waelkens 2002, 351.

⁵⁰⁵ Opper 2008, 24-5, figs. 8-11.

⁵⁰⁶ Mägele et al. 2007.

⁵⁰⁷ Mägele et al. 2007, 495.

imperial cult activities since the Augustan period—activities that were officially recognized under the Flavians.⁵⁰⁸ Also, the podium of the nymphaeum was decorated with reliefs of nymphs, river gods, and muses.⁵⁰⁹ Several of the muses, the central figures in the arrangement, are direct adaptations of dancing women on the podium of the Augustan northwest heroon, mentioned above.⁵¹⁰

Pisidian Antioch and Sagalassos

With the chronological development of the two cities in mind, comparison of the monuments of Pisidian Antioch with the contemporary monuments of Sagalassos bolsters my analysis of the symbolic meaning of the arches of Antioch. As I have argued, the arch of Augustus in Antioch can be seen as a fusion of the very types of monuments found in Augustan and Julio-Claudian Sagalassos—both in terms of function and in terms of form. In Sagalassos, columnar monuments commemorate important individuals, a pedimental trabeated propylon marks the entrance to a sanctuary, an elaborately-decorated trabeated propylon stood at the top of a flight of steps at the entrance to a public space, and eventually honorific arches reflected the city's growing participation and influence in the imperial system. In Pisidian Antioch, the arch of Augustus fulfills all of these functions in an architecturally melded form that combines these Hellenistic precedents with that of the Roman honorific arch. As I have argued, the architecturally and sculpturally layered design of the arch of Augustus in Antioch was an intentional feature meant to act as an integrative element in the city's colonial context. In the early imperial period, Sagalassos was able to maintain its Hellenistic cultural roots. In

⁵⁰⁸ Waelkens 2002, 346; Talloen and Waelkens 2004, 207-8; Talloen and Waelkens 2005, 222.

⁵⁰⁹ Mägele et al. 2007, 476-7.

⁵¹⁰ Mägele et al. 2007, 497.

contrast, the establishment of Antioch as a colony created an artificially blended cultural context that required an integrative hybrid form.

The later monuments in Sagalassos, including both of the Julio-Claudian arches and the Hadrianic nymphaeum, contain references to the local history of the city that extends back into the Hellenistic period and, perhaps, beyond. Both of the arches have relief-decorated friezes, and each one has a so-called Macedonian shield as one of the elements.⁵¹¹ This type of decorative emblem is found on a number of different monuments in the city. Kosmetatou and Waelkens have interpreted this common Sagalassian symbol as a reference to the city's Hellenistic past—more specifically, a reference to Macedonian soldiers from Alexander's army who probably settled here, and whom certain Sagalassians considered to be their own ancestors.⁵¹² The honorific arches have a Roman form, but they make reference to the pre-Roman history of the place, similar to but on a smaller scale than the Hadrianic city gate complex in Perge discussed above in Chapter 5. The Hadrianic nymphaeum in Sagalassos also contains references to the Hellenistic past. Talloen and Waelkens have shown that the worship of Apollo in the city probably had roots in the worship of the local pre-Hellenic god Sozon, whose cult was syncretized with that of Apollo under the Seleucids.⁵¹³ Conveniently for the Sagalassians, their primary civic deity also happened to be the patron of the first Roman emperor. The placement of a colossal statue of Apollo Clarios in the central niche of the Hadrianic nymphaeum was not, then, merely a reference to the imperial cult; rather, it was a reference to the local history of Sagalassos through a long-standing cult that had proved to be politically useful under a number of different external rulers. The images of

⁵¹¹ Kosmetatou and Waelkens 1997, 280, 282.

⁵¹² Kosmetatou and Waelkens 1997, 288-90.

⁵¹³ Talloen and Waelkens 2005, 219-21.

muses in relief brought another local monument, the northwest heroon, into this network of images. The hero or deity honored by the heroon is unknown, so the exact nature of the relationship between the monuments cannot be ascertained. The excavators suggest that the honoree may have been Alexander the Great himself;⁵¹⁴ if this is the case, the nymphaeum would be creating a link between the city's current and past rulers, using the local cult of Apollo Clarios as a bridge.

With this in mind, Pisidian Antioch's reference to its own colonial foundation by means of the decoration of the arch of Hadrian seems all the more telling. The city's name itself—officially *Colonia Caesarea Antiochia*—contained a vestige of its Hellenistic past in the re-use of the city's Seleucid name, and the sanctuary of Mên Askaênos was a physical and ritual reminder of the city's pre-imperial history. Yet as a historical memorial, the city gate seems primarily to have been a monument to the Roman colonial foundation. This interpretation suggests that the meaning of the arch of Augustus may have changed over the century between Augustus and Hadrian. What was built as an integrative monument may have become a symbol of the colonizing event, by means of a narrow focus on the person of Augustus as founder. In this way, in its later life the arch of Augustus can be seen as a *ktistes* monument, not unlike the monument of Androklos in Ephesus or the Telephos frieze from the Great Altar at Pergamon.⁵¹⁵ These Hellenistic monuments extended the history of their respective cities into the legendary past, as did the Hadrianic city gate in Perge (above, Chapter 5). Several of the Sagalassian monuments described above also created links with a legendary pre-Roman past, to the extent that Alexander the Great had achieved heroic status. In Pisidian

⁵¹⁴ Waelkens et al. 1997, 184.

⁵¹⁵ Ephesus: Thür 1995a, 1995b. Pergamon: Dreyfus and Schraudolph 1996. Both monuments are discussed by Ng (2007).

Antioch, however, the Hadrianic emphasis on the arch of Augustus as a significant monumental civic emblem had the effect of narrowing the historical scope of the city's identity to the recent colonial past. This emphasis might have been softened if, as I have hypothesized, a statue of Mên Askaênos stood on the city gate as a visual link between the contemporary colony and the city's pre-Roman history.

Conclusion

This study has, for the first time, offered a firm archaeological basis for the reconstructions of the arches of Augustus and Hadrian at Pisidian Antioch. My interpretive analysis of the arches based on those reconstructions emphasizes the need to examine arches within their local context and on their own terms. The scholarly insistence on an imitative relationship between the arch of Augustus at Pisidian Antioch and the Parthian Arch of Augustus in Rome has diminished the interpretive value of the arch in Antioch. My study has restored the monument to its rightful place as a fully independent creation that, in fact, paints a broader picture of the life and deeds of Augustus than any other arch yet known. Somewhat ironically, scholarly criticism of the arch of Hadrian as an aesthetically inferior imitation of the arch of Augustus has likewise diminished its interpretive value. My study has likewise placed the arch of Hadrian into its proper historical framework as an independent creation. Its numerous references to the arch of Augustus prove to be important clues to its symbolic meaning, and comparison with contemporary developments in other cities in Asia Minor shows that the arch of Hadrian was an emblem of the colonial identity of Pisidian Antioch at that time.

The detailed analysis of the two honorific arches at Pisidian Antioch offered here begins to fill part of a larger gap in scholarship on the monumental architectural landscape of the eastern Mediterranean region, where the study of honorific arches has lagged behind other part of the empire. As scholarship on the topic advances, the arches of Pisidian Antioch should play a major role in any such study.

Appendix 1.

Arch of Augustus, Inventory of Fragments

This appendix is primarily a transcription of the information provided in the notebooks and inventories in the Kelsey Museum Archives about specific blocks excavated at Pisidian Antioch in 1924. Most of the information derives from the architectural inventory, and the sculpture inventory provides information on the architectural blocks that carried relief decoration. The appendix is arranged from the top of the monument down, starting with the cornice. Each entry also includes information on whether drawings and/or photographs of the block in question are extant in the archives. I also indicate whether I have been able to identify the specific block on the site or in the Yalvac Museum in 2004.

Contents

Cornice Blocks, 195	Voussoirs and Springer Blocks, 219
Frieze Blocks, 200	Corinthian Pilasters, 220
Architrave Blocks, 206	Blocks Forming a Narrow Arch, 223
Engaged Column Capitals, 211	Pedestals on Staircase, 224
Engaged Column Drums, 212	Molded Blocks of Uncertain Placement, 225
Spandrels, 214	

CORNICE BLOCKS

The 1924 inventory records 17 cornice blocks or fragments, one of which (**Cornice 2a-c**) was broken into three pieces. 6 cornice blocks can be correlated to blocks on site today with certainty, and 3 more with high probability. 1 block on site today does not seem to correlate with any description or photograph from 1924. See chart for summary (“prob” indicates “probably”). No cornice fragments were published in Robinson 1926.

Woodbridge drew a full-scale profile of one of the cornice blocks (in the Kelsey Museum Archives). The rather simple moldings on the cornice consist of a cyma recta over an astragal with a vertical fascia below. The underside of the cornice was decorated with scroll-shaped consoles decorated with acanthus leaves on the bottom surface. The soffit panels between the consoles had relief decoration primarily of floral motifs, with a few notable exceptions (e.g. a dolphin).

The total width of the excavated cornice fragments, as reported in the 1924 architectural inventory, was approximately 20.20 m. This amounts to about 39% of the total length of cornice around the perimeter of the entire monument (appx. 51.76 m) as measured on Woodbridge’s final reconstructions.

Cornice num	Has 1924 inv num	Has 1924 drawing(s)	Has 1924 photo(s)	Extant today
1	x	x	x	x
2	x		x	x
3	x		x	
4	x		x	x
5	x	x	x	x
6	x		prob	prob
7	x		prob	prob
8	x			prob
9	x		x	x
10	x	x	x	
11	x		x	
12	x	x	x	x
13	x		x	
14	x		x	
15	x			
16	x		x	x
17	x			
18			x	
19			x	
20				x

Cornice 1.

1924 arch inv: ACE11

1924 description: 2 consoles and part of a third, 3 panels with floral designs, anathyrosis on right end, left end broken. Max width 1.15 m.

Drawings: arch inv ACE11 (section with molding profiles, plan of soffit panel, side elevation of console, section of soffit panel, plan of top surface of block)

1924 Photos: 7.1474 (bottom surface), 7.1136 (detail of soffits), maybe 7.1203 (top surface)

Extant today: yes

Cornice 2a-c.

1924 arch inv: ACE12

1924 description: One large block broken into three fragments. Anathyrosis on left end, right end broken. 7 consoles, 7 panels with floral designs. Total width approx. 2.6 m. Found on steps in front of central archway area, just south of Cornice 5.

Drawings: none

1924 Photos: 7.1118

Extant today: yes

Cornice 3.

1924 arch inv: ACE13

1924 description: Both ends broken. Four consoles, two badly broken; three panels with floral designs and part of a fourth broken panel. Max width approx. 1.56 m.

Drawing: none

Photo: maybe left cornice in 7.1474

Extant today: unknown

Cornice 4.

1924 arch inv: ACE14

1924 description: Anathyrosis on right end, left end broken. 3 consoles and part of a third on left end; four panels, three with floral designs, one with a dolphin. Max width 1.76 m. The leftmost panel and console were broken off before 1924 photo 7.1511 was taken.

Drawing: none

1924 Photos: 7.1511 (detail of soffits)

Extant today: yes

Cornice 5.

1924 arch inv: ACE15

1924 description: Projecting part of cornice. Anathyrosis on both ends. 7 consoles; 7 panels with floral designs and part of an eighth. Bottom surface has two dowel holes under the projecting portion; top surface has eight round holes arranged in an oval over the projecting portion. Width 2.31 m. Found on steps on top of north-central fountain base, to the north of Cornice 2a-c.

Drawing: FJW notebook (plan of bottom surface, elevation of projecting portion); arch inv (plan of bottom surface)

1924 Photos: 7.1119, KR043.03, (bottom surface); KR043.06, pisid-antioch0205 (top surface)

Extant today: yes

Cornice 6.

1924 arch inv: ACE16

1924 description: Both ends broken. 4 consoles, 3 panels with floral designs and part of a fourth. Max width 1.69 m.

Drawing: none

1924 photos (probably): rightmost cornice above staircase, visible from front in 7.1117 (identified based on number of consoles described in arch inv; no other fragment has 4 consoles preserved)

Extant today: probably

Cornice 7.

1924 arch inv: ACE17

1924 description: Both ends broken. 3 consoles, 2 panels with floral designs, 2 broken panels (one at each end). Max width 1.43 m.

Drawings: unknown

1924 photos (probably): central cornice above staircase, visible from front in 7.1306 (identified based on description in arch inv, and based on proximity to ACE16 which was near it in 1924)

Extant today: probably

Cornice 8.

1924 arch inv: ACE18

1924 description: Anathyrosis on both ends. 2 consoles; 2 panels with floral designs, one of which is incomplete and must have continued on the next stone. Max width 0.76 m.

Drawings: none

1924 photos: none

Extant today: probably

Cornice 9.

1924 arch inv: ACE19

1924 description: Both ends broken. 2 consoles, 2 panels with floral designs. Max width 0.77 m.

Drawings: none

1924 Photos: KR048.12 (bottom surface)

Extant today: yes

Cornice 10.

1924 arch inv: ACE110

1924 description: Corner piece. "Along right end stone has one panel forming corner then console then panel which is not complete but stone is plain the rest of the way." 3 total consoles, two on front and one on right end; parts of 4 total consoles, on front- 2 complete and leftmost one broken, on right end- one incomplete as described above. Max width 1.06 m. Found in room north of steps.

Drawings: sketch plan of right end in arch inv.

1924 photos: visible in KR049.05, KR030.02 at left, KR049.10 in bg near 2 men, 7.1477 in stone pile, and KR030.07 (side view).

Extant today: unknown

Cornice 11.

1924 arch inv: ACE111

1924 description: "Small fragment of end piece," exact layout is unclear from the description. 2 panels, one with a 6-pointed star, the other floral design, both on front of stone; "all panels gone on end." 2 total consoles, one on front, one end. Not stated whether "end" is the right or left end of the stone. Max width 0.86 m.

2 panels on front has 2 panels and 1.5 consoles. 6 pointed star in one panel.

1924 photos: KR047.08

Extant today: unknown

Cornice 12.

1924 arch inv: ACE112

1924 description: End piece. 3 consoles, two on front, one on left end. 4 panels, two on front at right, one at front on left which is a convex corner, one on left end which is a concave corner. Approx width 1.17 m. Found in room south of steps.

Drawings: plan of bottom surface with three dowel holes in arch inv.

1924 Photos: KR041.05 (bottom surface, consoles visible); 7.1547 (bottom surface, consoles obscured); 7.1120 at bottom right (bottom surface, consoles visible); 7.1306 at bottom center (bottom surface)

Extant today: yes (broken since 1924)

Cornice 13.

1924 arch inv: ACE113

1924 description: Very small fragment. 1 console on left and part of 1 panel on right preserved. Width in front 0.31 m, at rear 0.54 m.

Drawings: none

1924 Photos: KR038.05 (profile view)

Extant today: unknown

Cornice 14.

1924 arch inv: ACE114

1924 description: Anathyrosis on right end. 2 consoles. 2 panels and part of a third, but all decoration broken off. Max width 0.87 m.

Drawings: none

1924 photos: one console visible in KR044.02

Extant today: unknown

Cornice 15.

1924 arch inv: ACE115

1924 description: End fragment. 2 panels and 1 console all on front; no consoles or panels preserved on end. Floral design in one panel, decoration in the other gone.

Drawings: none

1924 photos: none

Extant today: unknown

Cornice 16.

1924 arch inv: ACE116

1924 description: Anathyrosis on one end (not specified), the other broken. 1 console, 1 panel with floral design. Width 0.41 m.

Drawings: none

1924 Photos: 7.1327 (detail of soffit)

Extant today: yes

Cornice 17.

1924 arch inv: ACE117

1924 description: "Very much corroded stone. One panel showing." Max width 1.26 m.

Drawings: none

1924 photos: none

Extant today: unknown

Cornice 18.

1924 arch inv: none

1924 description: none (probably is a fragment of a projecting cornice, specifically the soffit panel at one of the salient corners)

Drawings: none

1924 photos: 7.1427 (upper stone); KR023.07

Extant today: unknown

Cornice 19.

1924 arch inv: none

1924 description: none

Drawings: none

1924 photos: 7.1119 (small fragment at left)

Extant today: unknown

Cornice 20.

1924 arch inv: none/unknown

Drawings: none

1924 photos: none/unknown

Extant today: yes (this block does not seem to match any of the entries in the 1924 architectural inventory)

FRIEZE BLOCKS

The fragments of the frieze discovered in 1924 were all decorated with relief sculpture and were included in the sculpture inventory rather than the architectural inventory. Almost all of these fragments were published in Robinson 1926; for reference I have included their figure numbers in that publication.

The frieze consisted of a flat background for the relief sculpture surmounted by two moldings, egg-and-dart over bead-and-reel. The total height of the frieze blocks ranged from 0.63 to 0.67 m. The total width of the measured elements is about 14.37 m. This amounts to about 29% of the total length of the frieze around the perimeter of the entire monument (appx. 49.22 m) as measured on Woodbridge's final reconstructions.

Frieze 1.

1924 Sculpture inventory: 2

Robinson 1926 fig num: 38-39

Description: Projecting frieze block with relief sculpture on three sides. Front face has bust of Poseidon holding a trident; a dolphin adorns on each of the side faces. Back surface broken. Top moldings partly preserved on front and left faces. Two square dowel holes in top surface. Width 0.74 m.

Drawings: Colby/Woodbridge notebook (elevation and profile of front and left side)

1924 photos: 7.1376, 7.1377, 7.1378

Extant today: yes

Frieze 2.

1924 Sculpture inventory: 30

Robinson 1926 fig num: 40

Description: Projecting frieze block. Front and right faces partly preserved, left face broken. Bust of a female goddess, possibly Ceres, on front face. Vase overflowing with fruit on right face. Top moldings partly preserved on front and right faces. Back surface has a projecting tenon. One dowel hole preserved in top surface. Width 0.66 m.

Drawings: Colby/Woodbridge notebook (elevation and profile of front and right side)

1924 photos: 7.1372 (front), 7.1373 (oblique front and right), KR040.09 (right surface, with profile of front and rear)

Extant today: yes

Frieze 3.

1924 Sculpture inventory: 8

Robinson 1926 fig num: 43 (left)

Description: Front, top, bottom, and left surfaces preserved. Broken right end joins **Frieze 4**. Front surface depicts a triton facing right holding a spear in his right hand. Part of top moldings preserved. Left surface slants to the right from top to bottom. Several (unspecified) dowel holes preserved in top surface. Width 1.07 m.

Drawings: none

1924 photos: 7.1391 (left)

Extant today: yes

Frieze 4.

1924 Sculpture inventory: 16

Robinson 1926 fig num: 43 (right)

Description: Front, top, bottom, and right surfaces preserved. Broken left end joins **Frieze 3**. Front surface depicts a triton facing left holding an object (now broken) in his left hand. To the left there is a trophy consisting of a helmet and cuirass; the bottom of the trophy is missing. The triton's right hand reaches out to touch the brim of the helmet; the hand of the triton from **Frieze 3** can be

seen on the left part of the helmet. Right surface slants to the left from top to bottom. Width 1.24 m.

Drawings: none

1924 photos: 7.1391 (right)

Extant today: yes

Frieze 5.

1924 Sculpture inventory: 23

Robinson 1926 fig num: 44 (left)

Description: With **Frieze 6**, another joining pair of fragments depicting tritons flanking a trophy. Front, top, bottom, and left surfaces preserved. Broken right end joins **Frieze 6**. Triton at left facing right. Trophy at right consisting of helmet, cuirass, and fringe of leafy elements hanging from the bottom of the cuirass. The triton's left hand touches the shoulder of the cuirass. The left surface of the stone slants to the right from top to bottom. Width 1.35 m.

Drawings: none

1924 photos: 7.1390 (left)

Extant today: yes

Frieze 6.

Sculpture inventory: 13

Robinson 1926 fig num: 44 (right)

Description: Top and bottom surface preserved. Broken left edge joins **Frieze 5**. Right surface broken. Triton at left facing left, holds a sword in his left hand; his right arm reaches out to touch the shoulder of the cuirass on the joining block. Width 0.80 m.

Drawings: none

1924 photos: 7.1390 (right)

Extant today: yes

Frieze 7.

1924 Sculpture inventory: 40

Robinson 1926 fig num: 45 (left)

Description: Top and bottom surfaces preserved. Left and right faces broken; right edge joins **Frieze 8**. Front depicts an 8-pointed rosette or star, and part of the ship on the adjoining fragment is visible at right near the bottom. Parts of top moldings preserved. Width 0.55 m.

Drawings: Colby/Woodbridge notebook (front elevation)

1924 photos: 7.1453 (center)

Extant today: unknown

Frieze 8.

1924 Sculpture inventory: 15

Robinson 1926 fig num: 45 (right)

Description: Top and bottom surfaces preserved. Left face broken, joins **Frieze 7**. Right face slants to the right from top to bottom. Front depicts the prow of a

ship that has a ram with a serrated tip. Top moldings mostly gone except a bit of bead-and-reel. Width 0.68 m.

Drawings: Colby/Woodbridge notebook (front elevation)

1924 photos: 7.1453 (right)

Extant today: unknown

Frieze 9.

1924 Sculpture inventory: 20

Robinson 1926 fig num: 46

Description: Top and bottom surfaces preserved. Left face broken. Right face possibly slants to the right from top to bottom. Front face depicts at right a boat ram shown at an angle in the picture plane, and at left the end of another element, possibly a bow. Part of top moldings preserved. Width 0.93 m.

Drawings: Colby/Woodbridge notebook; drawings0025

1924 photos: 7.1427

Extant today: yes

Frieze 10.

1924 Sculpture inventory: 34

Robinson 1926 fig num: 47

Description: Very fragmentary bit of frieze broken on all sides except bottom.

Front depicts the prow of a ship with a blunt ram. Width 0.23 m.

Drawings: drawings0025

1924 photos: 7.1457, KR025.02

Extant today: unknown

Frieze 11.

1924 Sculpture inventory: 37

Robinson 1926 fig num: 48

Description: Top and bottom surfaces preserved. Left and right surfaces broken.

Front face is mostly undecorated, with a hint of much corroded relief sculpture at right end. This probably depicts the back of a ship's prow (cf. the ship on **Friezes 7-8**). The opposite end has a roughly worked surface that may represent a relief element that was intentionally removed. A bit of bead-and-reel visible at top. Width 0.86 m.

Drawings: drawings0025

1924 photos: KR044.09 (the photograph needs to be flipped horizontally)

Extant today: unknown

Frieze 12.

1924 Sculpture inventory: 27

Robinson 1926 fig num: 49

Description: Top broken, bottom preserved. Left broken, right preserved and slants to right from top to bottom. Front depicts at left the edge of a shield, at right a spear tip and a sword hilt emerging from behind the shield. Width 0.66 m.

Drawings: drawings0026
1924 photos: KR025.12
Extant today: unknown

Frieze 13.

1924 Sculpture inventory: 18
Robinson 1926 fig num: 50
Description: Bottom surface preserved; top, left, and right broken. Front depicts at left a cuirass standing upright, at right part of the edge of a shield with the tips of two pointed objects emerging from behind it. Width 0.61 m.
Drawings: none
1924 photos: 7.1454
Extant today: yes

Frieze 14.

1924 Sculpture inventory: 12
Robinson 1926 fig num: 51
Description: Top and bottom surfaces original. Left surface original, right broken. Top moldings partly preserved. Front depicts a decorated shield. A cylindrical shaft emerges from behind the shield to the right and extends off the broken right edge of the stone. The front surface of the stone is roughly worked on its left edge from top to bottom in a strip about 10 cm wide, and the top moldings appear to have stopped at the right edge of this rough strip. Width of stone 1.07 m.
Drawings: Colby/Woodbridge notebook (drawing does not depict the roughly worked strip on front surface at left).
1924 photos: As excavated: KR020.02, KR020.03. At museum after cleaning: 7.1272
Extant today: yes

Frieze 15.

1924 Sculpture inventory: 21
Robinson 1926 fig num: 52
Description: Broken right, left, and bottom. Top preserves part of top moldings. Depicts a quiver with arrow tips extending out of it to the right, a fringed baldric, and part of a bow that extends off the stone at left and right. Width 0.67 m.
Drawings: Colby/Woodbridge notebook; drawings0026
1924 photos: 7.1453
Extant today: yes

Frieze 16.

1924 Sculpture inventory: 41
Robinson 1926 fig num: 53
Description: Top surface preserved. Broken left, right, and bottom. Depicts a cuirass lying with its top to the left, decorated with a gorgon head on its chest;

the left arm of the cuirass, part of the gorgon, and a curvy element to the right of the gorgon are preserved. A small section of bead-and-reel is visible at top. Width 1.15 m.

Drawings: none

1924 photos: 7.1452

Extant today: unknown

Frieze 17.

1924 Sculpture inventory: none

Robinson 1926 fig num: 54

Description: Top surface and small part of bottom preserved. Left and right broken. Front depicts a capricorn moving right, with head turned back to look left. Part of another element visible at right edge. Top moldings partly preserved. The stone was discovered by Ramsay in 1914 and moved by him to the Konya museum. It has since been moved to the Yalvaç Museum.

Approximate width 1.10 m.

Drawings: none

1924 photos: none extant, but published in Robinson 1926

Extant today: yes

Frieze 18.

1924 Sculpture inventory: none

Robinson 1926 fig num: none

Description: Small fragment, bottom surface preserved, others broken. Front depicts part of a shield with a raised element at its center; the shield extends off the left edge of the stone.

Drawings: none

1924 photos: KR019.03

Extant today: unknown

Frieze 19.

1924 Sculpture inventory: none

Robinson 1926 fig num: none

Description: A projecting frieze block (cf. **Friezes 1-2**). Front, left, and right faces original. Front depicts the bust of a male, possible Mên Askaênos, wearing a horned helmet with a long tassel. Part of top molding preserved on front face. Left face depicts two greaves; right face, the inside surface of a round shield with a spear crossing through the handle. According to Mitchell and Waelkens (1998, 160), "The bust of Men, which was acquired by Konya Museum without a firm provenance fifteen years before the propylon was excavated, is only conjecturally, although not implausibly, assigned to the building..."

Drawings: none

Extant today: yes

ARCHITRAVE BLOCKS

The architectural inventory lists 21 architrave fragments that derive from the arch of Augustus, inventory numbers AA1-AA20, with no. AA18 given to two entries. The molding profile is drawn and its measurements are given in the entry for AA1. Only 6 of these stones can be identified in photographs from 1924, and only 3 can be definitively correlated with fragments on site today. No architrave blocks were published in Robinson 1926. A few unidentifiable architrave fragments are present on site today, and several more are visible in photographs from 1924.

In the 1924 architectural inventory, measurements are given for 14 of the 21 architrave blocks excavated. The total width of these fragments was approximately 14.44 m. This amounts to about 29% of the total length of architrave around the perimeter of the entire monument (ca. 49.30 m) as measured on Woodbridge's final reconstructions. If measurements for the additional seven stones had been given, the percentage would have been greater. 5 stones are reported to have holes for bronze letters (Architraves 6, 11, 12, 13, 20), and the entry for Architrave 12 implies that Architrave 5 did as well, for a total of 6 fragments with holes for letters. There are photographs from 1924 of all 6 architrave blocks with holes for bronze letters, but two of these cannot be definitively correlated with an inventory entry. Diagrams for the holes are given for two stones (Architraves 6 and 20). One stone (Architrave 11) reportedly had only one letter hole.

Architrave num	Has 1924 inv num	Has 1924 drawing	Has 1924 photo	Extant today	Has holes for inscrip
1	x	x			
2	x				
3	x	x			
4	x	x			
5	x		x	x	prob
6	x	x	x	x	x
7	x	x			
8	x	x	x	x	
9	x	x	x		
10	x	x			
11	x	x	x		x
12	x				x
13	x				x
14	x	x			
15	x	x			
16	x	x			
17	x				
18	x				
19	x				
20	x	x	x		x
21	x				

Architrave 1.

1924 arch inv: AA1

Description: Both ends broken. Top moldings badly broken. No width given.

Drawings: arch inv (profile and top surface plan).

1924 photos: unknown

Extant today: unknown

Architrave 2.

1924 arch inv: AA2

Description: No description of ends of block. Top moldings almost completely gone. Lower band completely gone. No width given.

Drawings: none

1924 photos: unknown

Extant today: unknown

Architrave 3.

1924 arch inv: AA3

Description: Anathyrosis on both ends. Top moldings completely gone. Front right edge beveled: "this end slants in ca. 0.10 from outer edge top band. This slanting part is all anatherosis [sic]." Also has a cross-section sketch of what is meant here, as well as sketch of dowel holes on bottom surface. Width of stone 1.02 m.

Drawing: arch inv (plan of right end, plan of bottom surface, partial profile of top band)

1924 photos: unknown

Extant today: unknown

Architrave 4.

1924 arch inv: AA4

Description: Slight anathyrosis on left end. Top moldings gone. Max width 0.78 m.

Drawings: arch inv (plan of top surface)

1924 photos: unknown

Extant today: unknown

Architrave 5.

1924 arch inv: AA5

Description: Both ends broken. Top moldings partly preserved. Max width 2.14 m. This stone is likely the long architrave block with holes for bronze letters, since the entry for Architrave 12, which mentions similar holes, says to compare Architrave 5.

Drawings: none

1924 photos: 7.1135

Extant today: yes

Architrave 6

1924 arch inv: AA6

Description: Anathyrosis on left end. Front left edge beveled. Top moldings gone. "Back seems to have been hollowed out." Has holes for bronze letters. Width 1.36 m.

Drawing: arch inv (diagram of holes for bronze letters)

1924 photos: 7.1494 (front), KR048.06 (front and left end, shows beveled left edge), KR043.09 (front and left end, lighting not as good)

Extant today: yes

Architrave 7.

1924 arch inv: AA7

Description: Very fragmentary. Anathyrosis on right end. Left end broken. No width given.

Drawings: arch inv (outline of front elevation)

1924 photos: unknown

Extant today: unknown

Architrave 8

1924 arch inv: AA8

Description: Projecting element, molded on three faces. Top moldings gone. On right and left faces toward rear, moldings terminate in a vertical beveled edge; stone is roughly finished from this edge back. Two square dowel holes in bottom surface. Max width 0.71 m.

Drawing: FJW notebook ("plan looking up" and side elevation); arch inv (sketch of section through bevel)

1924 Photos: 7.1510

Extant today: yes

Architrave 9.

1924 arch inv: AA9

Description: Anathyrosis on left end. Right end broken. Top surface and moldings gone. Front left edge beveled. Max width 0.55 m.

Drawings: arch inv (front surface elevation)

1924 photos: 7.1386 (left end only, partly obscured; shows label)

Extant today: unknown

Architrave 10.

1924 arch inv: AA10

Description: Both ends broken. Top moldings gone. Three dowel holes in bottom surface. Width of front surface 0.74 m.

Drawings: arch inv (plan of bottom surface)

1924 photos: unknown

Extant today: unknown

Architrave 11.

1924 arch inv: AA11

Description: Anathyrosis on right end. Top moldings and part of top band gone. One hole in top band for bronze letter. Front right edge beveled. No width given.

Drawings: arch inv ("front in contour")

1924 photos: KR054.04

Extant today: unknown

Architrave 12.

1924 arch inv: AA12

Description: Top moldings gone. Top and middle bands have holes for bronze letters; says compare with Architrave 5. No other information given.

Drawings: none

1924 photos: unknown

Extant today: unknown

Architrave 13.

1924 arch inv: AA13

Description: Top badly broken. Has holes for bronze letters, specific arrangement not indicated. Width 1.95 m.

Drawings: none

1924 photos: unknown

Extant today: unknown

Architrave 14.

1924 arch inv: AA14

Description: Part of top moldings and top band preserved, the rest gone. Max width 0.74 m.

Drawings: arch inv (outline of unknown surface)

1924 photos: unknown

Extant today: unknown

Architrave 15.

1924 arch inv: AA15

Description: Very fragmentary. Part of upper and middle bands preserved.

Drawings: arch inv (drawing of unknown surface)

1924 photos: unknown

Extant today: unknown

Architrave 16.

1924 arch inv: AA16

Description: Left end partly preserved. Right end broken. Parts of all moldings preserved. Max width 0.78 m.

Drawings: arch inv (outline of bottom surface)

1924 photos: unknown

Extant today: unknown

Architrave 17.

1924 arch inv: AA17

Description: Parts of middle and lowest bands preserved. Top moldings gone.

Max width 1.46 m.

Drawings: none

1924 photos: unknown

Extant today: unknown

Architrave 18.

1924 arch inv: AA18(a) [number duplicated in 1924 arch inv]

Description: All bands almost intact. One dowel hole in top surface. One dowel hole in bottom surface. Max width 0.88 m.

Drawings: none

1924 photos: unknown

Extant today: unknown

Architrave 19.

1924 arch inv: AA18(b) [number duplicated in 1924 arch inv]

Description: Both ends broken. Part of top moldings gone. Max width 0.77 m.

Drawings: none

1924 photos: unknown

Extant today: unknown

Architrave 20.

1924 arch inv: AA19

Description: Part of top and middle bands preserved, with holes for bronze letters.

One dowel hole on top surface. Max width 0.56 m.

Drawings: arch inv (diagram of holes for bronze letters)

1924 photos: KR042.08

Extant today: unknown

Architrave 21.

1924 arch inv: AA20

Description: Entry is blank, with the note "Go to school for it." The local school served as depot and museum during excavations in 1924.

Drawings: none

1924 photos: unknown

Extant today: unknown

ENGAGED COLUMN CAPITALS

Four engaged Corinthian column capitals from the arch of Augustus are listed in the 1924 architectural inventory. Three are mentioned in the journal of excavations; two were discovered on May 20 and the third on May 26. If Woodbridge is correct in placing four columns on each façade of the arch for a total of eight, the four engaged capitals excavated in 1924 amount to a 50% survival rate. Two surviving capitals are currently housed in the yard of the Yalvaç Museum.

Engaged Capital 1.

1924 arch inv: ACL21

Description: Engaged Corinthian capital. Three dowel holes in bottom surface.

Height ca. 0.77 m.

Drawings: arch inv (plan of lower surface)

1924 photos: KR048.02 (possibly, or it could be Engaged Cap 4)

Extant today: yes

Engaged Capital 2.

1924 arch inv: ACL22

Description: Engaged Corinthian capital “similar to ACL21.” Badly broken on top. Three dowel holes in bottom surface.

Drawings: none

1924 photos: 7.1431, KR026.05, KR032.03, KR048.01

Extant today: unknown

Engaged Capital 3.

1924 arch inv: ACL24

Description: Engaged Corinthian capital. One dowel hole in top surface. Height 0.78 m.

Drawings: none

1924 photos: KR020.09

Extant today: yes

Engaged Capital 4.

1924 arch inv: ACL25

Description: Engaged Corinthian capital. Six dowel holes, locations not specified. Height 0.78 m.

Drawings: Colby/Woodbridge notebook (front elevation and restored plan)

1924 photos: 7.1430, KR049.03

Recent photos: none

ENGAGED COLUMN DRUMS

10 engaged column drums that are recorded in the architectural inventory can be definitively associated with the arch of Augustus based on descriptions and photographs. Photographs from 1924 show that many more fragments of similar deeply-fluted engaged drums were discovered, and a further 13 entries in the inventory might have derived from the monument. Because the attribution is not certain, however, these 13 entries are not included in this inventory.

More than half of the circumference of the column drums projected from the façade of the monument. The columns were engaged to the fabric of the monument by means of a tenon projecting from the back surface of the circular part of the drum. The dimensions of this tenon differed on each drum.

The total height of the eight measured fragments is approximately 8.00 m. This represents a little more than the height of one column shaft. If Woodbridge's reconstruction is correct in placing eight total columns on the monument, this amounts to a preservation rate of 12.5%. The percentage would have been greater if there were measurements for a larger number of the fragments, including **Engaged Drum 2**, one of the largest and best-preserved drums.

Engaged Drum 1.

1924 arch inv: ACN23

Description: Top or bottom partly preserved with one dowel hole. Parts of 11 flutes preserved. Max height 1.02 m.

Drawings: none

1924 photos: none

Extant today: unknown

Engaged Drum 2.

1924 arch inv: ACN25

Description: Top and bottom surfaces partly preserved; bottom surface has indication of five dowel holes, top surface has circular anathyrosis and three dowel holes. Parts of all 13 flutes preserved. Tenon extends the full height of the drum. Right and left surfaces of tenon smoothly finished except for top part which is more roughly finished. Height not given.

Drawings: arch inv (restored plan of surface with anathyrosis)

1924 photos: 7.1546 (top or bottom), 7.1116 (side), 7.1477 (side), KR022.04 (bottom or top)

Extant today: yes

Engaged Drum 3.

1924 arch inv: ACN27

Description: Top and bottom broken. Parts of all 13 flutes preserved. Tenon does not extend the full height of the drum and much of it is broken. Max height ca. 1.50 m.

Drawings: none
1924 photos: probably KR010.03 (at lower left)
Extant today: probably

Engaged Drum 4.

1924 arch inv: ACN29
Description: "Similar to ACN27 [Engaged Drum 3]." Parts of 13 flutes preserved. Dimensions of tenon differed from Engaged Drum 2. Max height 0.91 m.
Drawings: none
1924 photos: none
Extant today: unknown

Engaged Drum 5.

1924 arch inv: ACN210
Description: Top and bottom: one broken, the other preserved (not specified). Parts of four flutes remain. Max height ca. 0.99 m.
Drawings: arch inv (plan of tenon?); Colby/Woodbridge notebook (plan of drum and engaged wall section?)
1924 photos: 7.1528, 7.1529
Extant today: yes

Engaged Drum 6.

1924 arch inv: ACN211
Description: Parts of 13 flutes preserved. Tenon badly broken. "Similar to ACN210 [Engaged Drum 5]." Max height 0.78.
Drawings: none
1924 photos: none
Extant today: unknown

Engaged Drum 7.

1924 arch inv: ACN213
Description: "Like ACN25 [Engaged Drum 2]." Top or bottom broken, other end perhaps preserved. Parts of 9 flutes preserved. Max height 0.66 m.
Drawings: none
1924 photos: none
Extant today: unknown

Engaged Drum 8.

1924 arch inv: ACN215
Description: Top broken. Bottom surface has circular anathyrosis. Small parts of eight flutes remain and show that this was a bottom drum. Right face of tenon is as in preceding examples, but left face of tenon shows that the column had part of the wall surface attached. Height not given. Diameter about 0.75 m.

Drawings: arch inv (diagram of bottom surface); Colby/Woodbridge notebook
(detail of corner btw drum and attached wall surface)
1924 photos: 7.1627 (behind car); KR049.10 (at center)
Extant today: yes

Engaged Drum 9.

1924 arch inv: ACN217
Description: "Much broken." Parts of 10 flutes remain. No height given.
Drawings: none
1924 photos: none
Extant today: unknown

Engaged Drum 10.

1924 arch inv: ACN219
Description: Top and bottom broken. Parts of 11 flutes remain. On the face
visible in 1924 photo, side surface of tenon is smoothly worked for half its
preserved height and roughly worked for the other half. Max height 1.02 m.
Drawings: none
1924 photos: 7.1516
Extant today: unknown

Engaged Drum 11.

1924 arch inv: ACN220
Description: Part of top or bottom surface preserved with three dowel holes; other
surface broken. Parts of 10 flutes remain. Tenon broken. Max height 0.78 m.
Drawings: Colby Woodbridge notebook (partial plan)
1924 photos: 7.1515
Extant today: unknown

Engaged Drum 12.

1924 arch inv: ACN221
Description: "Much broken." Parts of 11 flutes remain. Photograph shows top or
bottom surface broken, tenon broken. Max height 0.34 m.
Drawings: none
1924 photos: 7.1524
Extant today: unknown

SPANDRELS

The spandrels were made up of several different blocks that can be identified based on their shape and their decorative reliefs. All of the spandrel zones had reliefs depicting figures standing or kneeling on pilasters. Over the side arches, garlands were depicted draped between the two figures. In each spandrel, the pilaster was carved onto one block and the figure was on the block above it. The garlands spanned several blocks that rested on the extrados of the arch between the figured blocks. All of these blocks except

Spandrel 7 have one curved edge that matches the curved extrados of the arched opening.

Spandrel 1. Draped captive

1924 sculpture inv: 14

Robinson 1926 fig num: 42

Description: Left spandrel. Left surface broken. Top, bottom, and right partly preserved. Concave curved portion at lower right. Front depicts at left a draped crouching figure, body facing left with head turned to look right. To the right, a wreath and a torch are depicted above the curved lower right edge of the block. Height 1.20 m, width of preserved top surface 1.70 m, max depth 0.44 m..

Drawings: Colby/Woodbridge notebook (elevation)

1924 photos: 7.1275

Extant today: yes

Spandrel 2. Nude captive

1924 sculpture inv: 10

Robinson 1926 fig num: 41

Description: Right spandrel. Left half of block gone. Parts of top, right, and bottom surfaces preserved. No concave curved portion remaining. Front depicts at right a nude crouching figure, body facing right with head turned to look left. No other decorative elements preserved. Height 1.20 m, width of preserved top surface 0.55 m, max depth 0.51 m.

Drawings: Colby/Woodbridge notebook (elevation)

1924 photos: 7.1281

Extant today: yes

Spandrel 3. Genius

1924 sculpture inv: 29

Robinson 1926 fig num: 36

Description: Left spandrel. Parts of top, bottom, left, and right surfaces preserved. Concave curved surface at lower right. Front depicts at left a nude winged male figure, face partly preserved, facing right. The figure holds a cluster of grapes in his right hand. The object in the right hand is broken but shows the tips of two ribbons or palm fronds. Tree stump left of figure. A garland extends from behind the figure's head in a curve to the right and off the right edge of the stone. Two ribbons hang from the garland. Height 1.22 m, width 1.50 m, depth 0.52 m.

Drawings: Colby/Woodbridge notebook (elevation)

1924 photos: 7.1370

Extant today: yes

Spandrel 4. Genius

1924 sculpture inv: 17

Robinson 1926 fig num: 37

Description: Right spandrel. Parts of top, bottom, left, and right surfaces preserved. Concave curved surface at lower left. Front depicts at right a nude winged male figure, face broken, facing left. The figure holds a partly broken cluster of grapes in his left hand. Right hand and object being held missing. A garland extends from behind the figure's head to the left and off the left edge of the stone. Two ribbons hang from the garland, the left ribbon in a loop. Height 1.20 m, width 1.46 m, max depth 0.51 m.
Drawings: Colby/Woodbridge notebook (elevation)
1924 photos: 7.1279
Extant today: yes

Spandrel 5. Genius

1924 sculpture inv: 28
Robinson 1926 fig num: 35
Description: Right spandrel. Parts of top, right, and bottom preserved. Left mostly broken. Part of concave curved surface might be preserved at lower left. Front depicts at right a nude winged male figure, head missing, facing left. The figure holds a cluster of grapes in his left hand and a spiral object, possibly a lituus, in his right. A garland extends from behind the figure's right shoulder to the left and off the left edge of the stone. Two ribbons hang from the garland, the left one in a spiral. Height 1.22 m, width 1.50 m, depth 0.50 m.
Drawings: Colby/Woodbridge notebook (elevation)
1924 photos: 7.1371
Extant today: yes

Spandrel 6. Victory

1924 sculpture inv: 22
Robinson 1926 fig num: 34
Description: Right spandrel. Right, bottom, and left surfaces partly preserved. Top broken. Concave curved surface preserved at lower left. Front depicts at right a draped winged female figure, head missing, facing left. The extended right hand holds a circular wreath; the left hand holds a long object tucked into the crook of the elbow. A garland extends from behind the figure's head and right shoulder and extends to the left off the left surface of the stone. Two ribbons hang from the garland. Preserved height 1.12 m, width 1.62 m, depth 0.55 m.
Drawings: none
1924 photos: 7.1139
Extant today: yes

Spandrel 7. Victory

1924 sculpture inv: none
Robinson 1926 fig num: 81 (mistakenly published as part of the city gate/arch of Hadrian, in place of the block in KR105.08; see discussion in Chapter 1)

Description: Possibly a right spandrel. Parts of top, right, and bottom preserved. Left broken. Front surface largely damaged but at left shows the left shoulder, left wing, and neck of a draped winged figure. On right surface about halfway towards the back of the stone is a vertical offset of about 0.10 m. Height ca. 0.45 m, width of front surface from left at edge of figure's neck to right edge ca. 0.70 m, depth unknown but possibly 0.75-1.00 m.

Drawings: none

1924 photos: 7.1522

Extant today: yes

Spandrel 8. Central arch pilaster

1924 architecture inv: AP1

Robinson 1926 fig num: none

Description: Left spandrel. Top partly preserved. Convex curved surface at lower right partly preserved. Left, bottom, and right broken. Front has a pilaster in relief 0.37 m wide across the shaft. Several decorative moldings preserved at top of pilaster shaft, but capital broken. Below the moldings is a decorative rosette. The depth of relief of the pilaster shaft's left edge diminishes from top to bottom until the shaft vanishes near the bottom. The shaft's right edge runs to the edge of the convex curved surface. Preserved height of stone 1.02, preserved width 0.94, depth unknown.

Drawings: Colby/Woodbridge notebook (elevation); arch inv (elevation)

1924 photos: 7.1496

Extant today: unknown

Spandrel 9. Side arch pilaster

1924 architecture inv: AZ28

Robinson 1926 fig num: none

Description: Left spandrel. Parts of all surfaces preserved. Convex curved surface at lower right. Front has a pilaster in relief 0.31 m wide across shaft. Capital completely missing. Much damaged rosette on shaft. The depth of relief of the shaft diminishes towards the bottom as in **Spandrel 8**. Height 1.07 m, width 1.01 m, depth 0.48 m.

Drawings: Woodbridge notebook (elevation); arch inv (outline of elevation, reversed for some reason)

1924 photos: 7.1523

Extant today: yes

Spandrel 10. Side arch pilaster

1924 architecture inv: AZ43

Robinson 1926 fig num: none

Description: Right spandrel. Parts of all surfaces preserved. Convex curved surface at lower left. Front has pilaster in relief 0.29 m wide across shaft. Moldings at top partly preserved, but capital is missing. Broken area on face of pilaster where rosette once was. Depth of relief of the pilaster diminishes

towards the bottom as in **Spandrel 8**. Height 1.11 m, width 1.05 m., depth 0.50 m.

Drawings: Woodbridge notebook (elevation); arch inv (elevation outline, reversed for some reason)

1924 photos: 7.1526

Extant today: unknown

Spandrel 11. Garland

1924 sculpture inv: 31

Robinson 1926 fig num: 33 (left)

Description: Right spandrel. Top broken, left and right partly preserved. Convex curved lower surface, other surfaces flat. Front depicts a garland angled slightly downward from left to right, approximately parallel to the curved lower edge. One ribbon hangs from garland in a loop. Height at left ca. 0.70 m, height at right greater; width 0.46 m; depth 0.55 m.

Drawings: Colby/Woodbridge notebook (elevation)

1924 photos: 7.1329 (left)

Extant today: unknown

Spandrel 12. Garland

1924 sculpture inv: 32

Robinson 1926 fig num: 33 (right)

Description: Left spandrel. All surfaces partly preserved. Convex curved lower surface, other surfaces flat. Front depicts a garland angled slightly upward from left to right, approximately parallel to the curved lower edge. One ribbon hangs from garland in a loop. Height at left 0.89 m, height at right less; width 0.46 m; depth 0.55 m.

Drawings: Colby/Woodbridge notebook (elevation, bottom surface rendered in reverse to make it fit adjacent rendering of **Spandrel 11**)

1924 photos: 7.1329 (right)

Extant today: yes

Spandrel 13. Garland

1924 sculpture inv: 33

Robinson 1926 fig num: 32

Description: Right spandrel. All surfaces partly preserved. Convex curved lower surface, other surfaces flat. Front depicts a garland angled slightly downward from left to right, approximately parallel to the curved lower edge. One ribbon hangs from garland in a loop. Height at left 0.74 m, at right 0.84 m; width 0.47 m; depth 0.44 m.

Drawings: Colby/Woodbridge notebook (elevation)

1924 photos: 7.1454 (right)

Extant today: yes

VOUSSOIRS AND SPRINGERS

On a large-scale drawing, Woodbridge calculated the radius of the central arch to have been 2.10 m, and the radii of the side arches to have been 1.70 m. There is insufficient evidence in the Kelsey Archives to verify these measurements; direct measurements of the blocks preserved on site today might be possible in the future.

The voussoirs were molded on both faces, which shows that the arch was not barrel vaulted from front to back like many later arches. There may have been a barrel vault above the voussoirs. The archivolt, or the underside of the voussoirs, had a recessed panel with a convex curved surface running its length.

The Michigan team also discovered three springer blocks, which show that the moldings of the arch terminated as a so-called Syrian lintel.

Voussoir 1.

1924 arch inv: AV5

Description: Molded on front and back surfaces. Anathyrosis on both side faces.

Convex molded panel on bottom surface. Height ca. 0.64 m, width along top band 0.46 m, depth along top surface ca. 1.00 m.

Drawings: arch inv (section)

1924 photos: 7.1385

Extant today: unknown

Voussoir 2.

1924 arch inv: AV11

Description: Molded on front and back surfaces. Two dowel hole on one side surface with grooves leading to them. Two dowel holes in top surface.

Bottom broken. Width along top band 0.46 m.

Drawings: Colby/Woodbridge notebook (front elevation; elevation of surface with dowel holes and pour channels)

1924 photos: 7.1513

Extant today: unknown

Springer 1

1924 arch inv: AZ5

Description: Left surface broken. Top, bottom, right, and front partly preserved.

Back surface unknown. Top has 4 dowel holes, three with grooves leading to them. Front surface has moldings that are vertical and curved on left end, make a right angle turn, and terminate prior to right end. Right end of front surface is flat. Height 0.86 m, width 0.56 m, depth 1.00 m.

Drawings: arch inv (elevation), Woodbridge notebook (better elevation)

1924 photos: 7.1514

Extant today: yes

Springer 2

1924 arch inv: AZ8

Description: Parts of all surfaces except back preserved. One dowel hole preserved on top surface. Top moldings broken. Other moldings similar to **Springer 1**.

Drawings: arch inv (elevation), Colby/Woodbridge notebook (better elevation)

1924 photos: 7.1497

Extant today: unknown

Springer 3

1924 arch inv: AZ9

Description: Left broken, other surfaces partly preserved. Block is L-shaped in plan. One arm of the L is molded on two surfaces like **Springer 1** (top moldings broken), the other arm has flat surfaces. Three dowel holes in top, three dowel holes in bottom.

Drawings: arch inv (elevation of bottom surface with dowel holes), Colby/Woodbridge notebook (elevation of bottom surface without dowel holes)

1924 photos: none

Extant today: unknown

Springer 4

1924 arch inv: AZ15

Description: Part of top and front surfaces preserved. Front surface has moldings like **Springer 1**, top moldings broken.

Drawings: arch inv (elevation, doesn't match 1924 photo)

1924 photos: 7.1321

Extant today: unknown

CORINTHIAN PILASTERS

Three Corinthian pilaster capitals were recovered in excavations. None are present on the site today. The capitals had an egg-and-dart pattern along the lower surface. Acanthus leaves decorated the corners, and volutes sprang from the acanthus leaves. A floral element on a thick stalk rose from the center egg. The abacus molding is partly preserved on one stone (**Pilaster Capital 3**).

Pilaster Capital 1.

1924 arch inv: ACE30

Description: Corinthian pilaster capital. Top, bottom, and front surface partly preserved. 3 dowel holes in top, 2 in bottom. One sculpted surface of capital partly preserved, shows egg-and-dart molding along bottom, fragments of acanthus leaves at corners, and stalk of central floral element. Height 0.44 m.

Drawings: none

1924 photos: maybe KR041.02 (in background)

Extant today: unknown

Pilaster Capital 2.

1924 arch inv: ACE31

Description: Corinthian pilaster capital. Top and bottom surfaces partly preserved. Two sculpted faces of capital partly preserved, as well as part of wall surface adjacent to sculpted face along one surface. Sculpted surfaces show egg-and-dart molding along bottom, acanthus leaves at corners, parts of floral elements at center. Volute at corner mostly broken. 4 dowel holes in top, 3 in bottom. Height 0.44 m, width of sculpted part along one face 0.67 m.

Drawings: Colby/Woodbridge notebook (elevation, partial plan)

1924 photos: 7.1387

Extant today: unknown

Pilaster Capital 3.

1924 arch inv: ACE36

Description: Corinthian pilaster capital. Top, bottom, and two sculpted surfaces preserved. Egg-and-dart visible on both sculpted surfaces. Fragments of acanthus leaves at corners. Part of central floral element and abacus molding visible on one face. 3 dowel holes in top. Height 0.44 m.

Drawings: none

1924 photos: 7.1388

Extant today: unknown

Pilaster Shaft 1.

1924 arch inv: AP2

Description: Top, left, right, front, and back surfaces partly preserved. Bottom broken. Front surface has at left a pilaster shaft, 0.62 m wide, with astragal molding at top. Front surface surface at right is smoothly worked for 0.35 m adjacent to pilaster, more roughly worked for 0.16 m at right edge. 5 dowel holes in top surface. Total width of stone 1.12 m, max height 1.50 m.

Drawings: arch inv (elevation)

1924 photos: KR048.12

Extant today: unknown

Pilaster Shaft 2.

1924 arch inv: none

Description: Top, bottom, left, front, and back surfaces partly preserved. Right broken. Front surface at left has a pilaster 0.64 m wide. To the right of the pilaster, a 0.27 m wide vertical strip of smoothly finished stone. Right of this, a roughly finished vertical strip 0.18 m wide. Right of this, at right edge of stone, a roughly-finished area inset vertically about 0.10 m, as if to accept the tenon of an engaged column shaft. Anathyrosis on back surface at intersection with left surface. Back surface at right projects backward ca. 0.20 m further than the line of anathyrosis at right. Two dowel holes in top surface. Total

width of stone ca. 1.39 m. Height unknown. Depth at left 0.36 m, at right 0.52 m.

Drawings: Woodbridge notebook (elevation and plan)

1924 photos: 7.1474 (from rear)

Extant today: unknown

Pilaster Base 1.

1924 arch inv: none

Description: Rectangular pilaster base with Ionic moldings. Front surface 0.95 m wide at base. Top surface 0.70 m wide, 0.50 m deep. Total height of base 0.33 m.

Drawings: Woodbridge notebook (elevation)

1924 photos: none

Extant today: unknown

Pilaster Pedestal 1.

1924 arch inv: cf. AP5, "pilaster with cornice attached," which has a similar profile to that described below.

Description: Front, top, and bottom surfaces partly preserved. Right surface possibly partly preserved. Left broken, back unknown. Right part of front surface is a pilaster ca. 0.90 m wide. A series of moldings line the entire bottom edge of the front surface, covering the pilaster and the adjacent surface at left. Molding consists of, from bottom to top a fascia surmounted by a cyma reversa, with a 0.02 m groove in the face of the pilaster located 3 cm above the top of the cyma reversa. Ca. 0.27 m above this groove is another groove; by comparison with **Pilaster Pedestal 2**, the same moldings here were inverted and repeated at the top of the stone. Total height 0.57 m, depth 0.75 m.

Drawings: Woodbridge notebook (elevation)

1924 photos: 7.1474 (at bottom center, front and left surfaces)

Extant today: yes

Pilaster Pedestal 2.

1924 arch inv: AZ46

Description: Top, bottom, left, right, and front partly preserved. Back unknown.

Block has the same moldings at top and bottom of front face as in **Pilaster Pedestal 1**. Height of flat space between the two grooves 0.28 m. At left center, the front surface has a corner where the moldings turn and project forward from the front of the stone. Here the profile of the moldings is revealed. Left of this projection, the raised front surface has anathyrosis.

Total height of stone 0.57 m, width of stone 0.80 m, depth ca. 1.20 m.

Drawings: arch inv, Woodbridge notebook

1924 photos: 7.1474 (at center, front and bottom surfaces)

Extant today: unknown

BLOCKS FORMING A NARROW ARCH

These blocks are the fragments that Woodbridge reconstructed as part of a transverse passageway through the arch. While this hypothesis is possible, these blocks could also represent statue niches, which could have been located in the faces of the piers that were not occupied by the engaged Corinthian columns (e.g. inside the passageways or on the eastern façade, if that façade had no engaged Corinthian columns).

Narrow Arch 1.

1924 arch inv: AZ2

Description: Parts of all surfaces preserved. Front surface has pilaster at left, width 0.36 m. Bottom surface of adjacent wall surface at front right is curved. Pilaster projects 0.33 m below bottom of curve. Right face is slanted to the right from top to bottom to fit a keystone and has anathyrosis. Back has anathyrosis. Dowel hole in bottom, clamp hole on back surface near slanted edge. Height 1.40 m, width 83.5 m, depth 0.58 m.

Drawings: arch inv, Colby/Woodbridge notebook, large scale drawing (overlaid with **Narrow Arch 2**)

1924 photos: 7.1384 (front), KR040.05 (back)

Extant today: unknown

Narrow Arch 2.

1924 arch inv: maybe AZ4

Description: Similar to **Narrow Arch 1**, but bottom and right surfaces are broken. Pilaster width 0.48 m. Arch curve partly preserved at lower right.

Drawings: arch inv, Colby/Woodbridge notebook, large scale drawing (overlaid on **Narrow Arch 1**)

1924 photos: none

Extant today: unknown

Narrow Arch 3.

1924 arch inv: maybe AP4

Description: Mirror image of **Narrow Arch 1**, with bottom part of pilaster broken. Pilaster width 0.40 m. Most of arch curve preserved at lower left. Max height 1.10 m, width 0.84 m, depth 0.59.

Drawings: arch inv, Woodbridge notebook, large scale drawing

1924 photos: 7.1117

Extant today: yes

Narrow Arch 4.

1924 arch inv: AP6

Description: Similar to **Narrow Arch 1**, but bottom and right surfaces are broken. Pilaster width 0.48 m. Max height 1.00 m.

Drawings: arch inv, Colby/Woodbridge notebook

1924 photos: none

Extant today: unknown

PEDESTALS ON STAIRCASE

Each of the four pedestals was composed of a molded base, two orthostats, and presumably a capping molding. Woodbridge restores the Molded Blocks (see below) as the capping molding, but the shape of those blocks makes this placement unlikely. No other candidates for such a capping molding were discovered in 1924.

Stair Pedestal Base 1.

1924 arch inv: none

Description: Parts of all surfaces preserved, block was in situ in 1924 at north edge of staircase. Front and right surface partly molded. From the top, moldings included an inverted cyma recta over a torus, followed by smaller series that included a cyma reversa, fascia, and an inverted cyma reversa. The left setion of the front face was smooth and unmolded for ca. 0.59 m. 4 dowel holes in top surface. Top surface was partially inset at back right corner in a rectangle ca. 0.47 m wide x 0.30 m deep. Total width of stone 2.17 m, height 0.33 m, depth ca. 0.70 m.

Drawings: Colby/Woodbridge notebook (elevation and plan); large-scale drawing (full size profile)

1924 photos: 7.1114 (front and right), KR042.01 (front)

Extant today: no

Stair Pedestal Base 2.

1924 arch inv: none

Description: Parts of top and front surface preserved. Left broken. Similar to **Stair Pedestal Base 1**, but reversed; front surface molded at left, flat at right.

Drawings: none

1924 photos: 7.1115, KR043.10, KR044.02

Extant today: no

Stair Pedestal Base 3.

1924 arch inv: none

Description: Top and bottom partly preserved, other surfaces broken. Top has three dowel holes.

Drawings: none

1924 photos: 7.1133, 7.1119 (in background), KR042.05

Extant today: no

Stair Pedestal Orthostat 1.

1924 arch inv: none

Description: Height 1.10 m, width 0.88 m. About 25% of the front surface preserved at the bottom of the block. Depth unknown. Two dowel holes on bottom surface.

Drawings: Woodbridge notebook (elevation and plan of dowel holes)

1924 photos: KR047.11

Extant today: unknown

Stair Pedestal Orthostat 2.

1924 arch inv: none

Description: Height 1.10 m, width 0.88 m. About 75% of the front surface preserved, with the top of the block mostly broken. Depth unknown. Three dowel holes on bottom surface.

Drawings: Woodbridge notebook (elevation and plan of dowel holes)

1924 photos: unknown

Extant today: unknown

MOLDED BLOCKS OF UNCERTAIN PLACEMENT

Woodbridge restored these blocks as capping the stair pedestals, but their forms are too complex for that position. None was found in situ, so their placement is unknown.

Molded Block 1.

1924 arch inv: ACE21

Description: Width 1.38 m, height 0.47 m. From the architectural inventory, "Cornice, perhaps over a pilaster. This piece is an end piece." Dowel hole in bottom surface.

Drawings: arch inv (profile)

1924 photos: 7.1517

Extant today: unknown

Molded Block 2.

1924 arch inv: ACE22

Description: Front surface articulated like a pilaster, with the moldings running across all of the projecting and recessed faces. Width of the "pilaster shaft," 0.97 m. Other measurements unknown.

Drawings: Colby/Woodbridge notebook

1924 photos: 7.1519

Extant today: unknown

Molded Block 3.

1924 arch inv: ACE25

Description: Front surface is mostly flat and unmolded, with a recessed area at left. The molding caps the front face of this recessed area and terminates into the left face of the recessed area. Five dowel holes in top surface.

Width 1.28.

Drawings: Colby/Woodbridge notebook

1924 photos: 7.1520

Extant today: unknown

Appendix 2.

The Dedicatory Inscription of the Arch of Hadrian

In this appendix, I have attempted to match the restored dedicatory inscription of the arch of Hadrian, as read by Maurice Byrne,⁵¹⁶ to the pattern of sockets on the architrave blocks themselves. I identify the blocks by the letters assigned by the Michigan team in 1924 (Blocks A-P and X). My analysis is based on an examination of numerous photographs in the Kelsey Museum Archives, but I have not been able to check these conclusions by directly examining the preserved blocks.

In the archives, the pattern of sockets on each block is recorded on a series of photographs, and here I have digitally combined the photographs of each block. From these photographic records I have created a diagram of the location of the sockets on each block, and I also include a diagram with the letters in their hypothetical positions overlapping the sockets. Some blocks have sockets that are not used in the reconstructed inscriptions. In the relevant diagrams, these unused sockets have a slash through them, and unused sockets are omitted from the diagrams with overlaid text. Several of the blocks have sockets that do not seem to have been read by Byrne. I include these unread blocks here, but I have been unable to suggest readings for them.

The inscription, according to Byrne, reads:

On the architrave of the southern/outer face, in one line:

[- -]ARI · DIVI[- -]E · [- -]ADRIANO · AU[- -]MAX · TRIB · [-]OT · XIII · COS ·
III · P · P · ET · SABINAE · AU[- -] · CO[- -]

On the architrave of the northern/inner face, in one line:

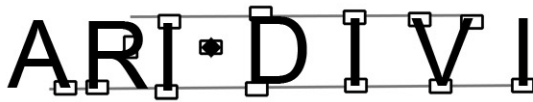
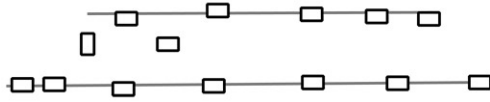
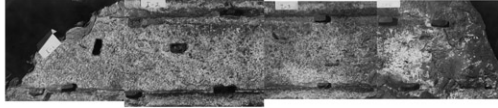
C · IVL · ASP · PANSINI[.]VS · II · VIR · V · TRIB · MIL · LEG · I · PRAEF · AL ·
[- -] · D · S · P · F · ET · ORNAVIT

The following illustrated discussion is arranged according to Byrne's restored sequence of the blocks: in order, Blocks I, P, M, X, Na, Nb, and O on the south face, and Blocks C, D, G, F, K, A, E, and B on the north face. I then illustrate two blocks (H and L) that seem not to have been read by Byrne, and conclude with the text of Byrne's fully restored inscription.

⁵¹⁶ Byrne presented preliminary results in Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 99 and Byrne 2002. He provided the most complete version of the text to date in Demirer 2002, 54.

South Face
(Blocks I, P, M, X, Na, Nb, and O)

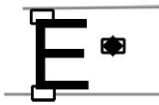
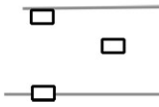
Block I



Comments:

In this reading, the R would have been attached by one dowel at the bottom and one on the right side of the curve of the R. This arrangement is different from the other five letters R. Four are attached by one dowel at the top and two at the bottom (on Blocks N, X, A, and B), and the R on Block F would have been attached with only two dowels, but their arrangement would have been different than here.

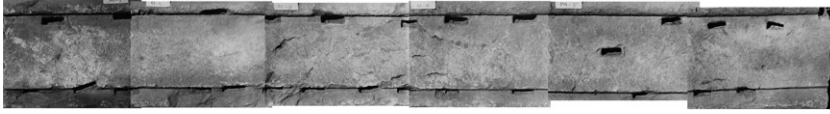
Block P



Comments:

No irregularities.

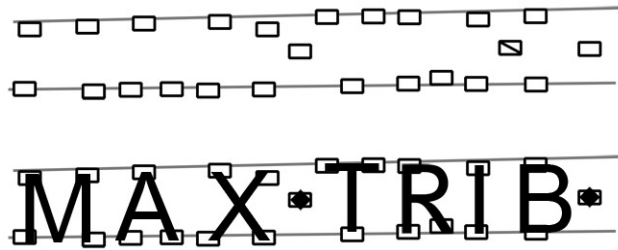
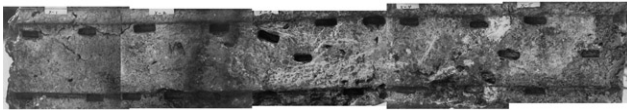
Block M



Comments:

No irregularities.

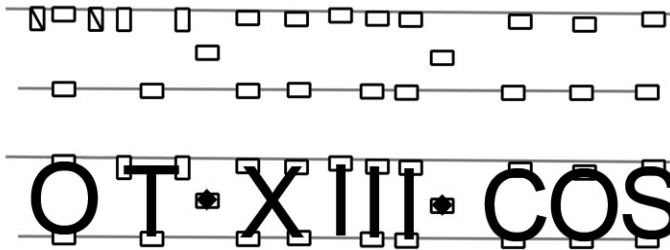
Block X



Comments:

There is an unused socket between I and B, positioned at the same level as the dots elsewhere in the inscription. This socket was probably a carving error.

Block Na

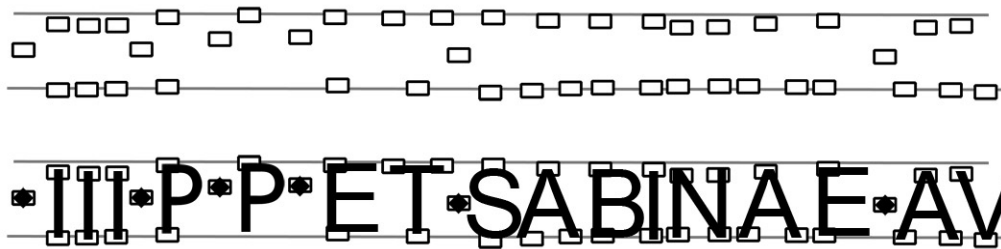


Comments:

Blocks Na and Nb are actually one long block that was discovered broken into two pieces in 1924. There are two unused sockets above the first O. It appears that the stonemason started to carve the T one space too early and corrected the mistake.

The first I has only one dowel, at the top.

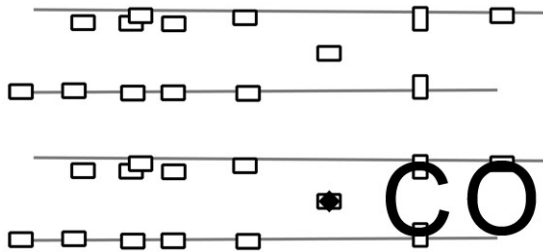
Block Nb



Comments:

The second P has only one socket, at the top, as noted by Byrne (2002, 197).

Block O

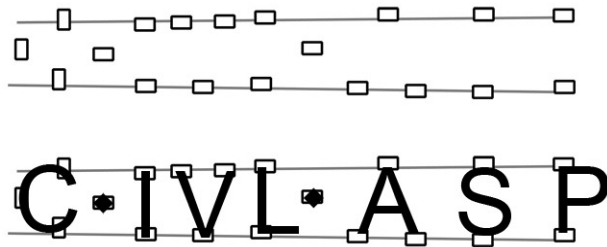


Comments:

If I have correctly identified the block read by Byrne as CO[L], there is a dot to the left of the C, and there are nine unread sockets to the left of the dot. Among these unread sockets, one of the top sockets was double-carved, probably to correct an error.

North Face (Blocks C, D, G, F, K, A, E, and B)

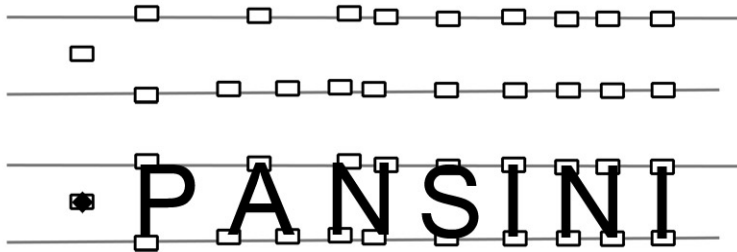
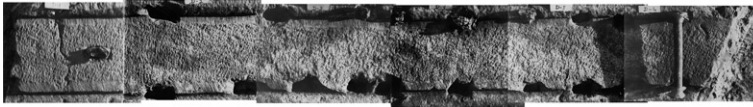
Block C



Comments:

No irregularities. The reading is certain, because the bronze letters were found in place on this block when it was excavated in 1924.

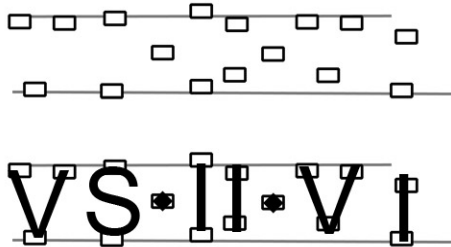
Block D



Comments:

No irregularities. The final letter I was found in place in 1924.

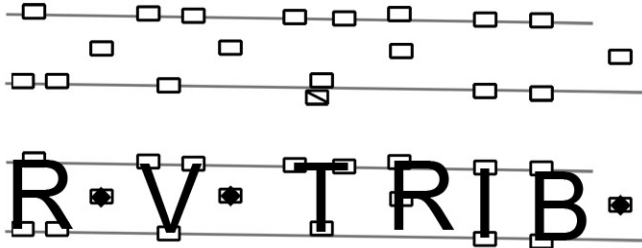
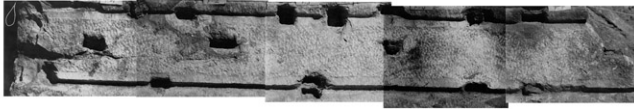
Block G



Comments:

The second I of II has sockets that are closer together than is typical for this letter in the inscription. This can be explained by the inconsistent placement of dowels on the letters; several bronze letters I were discovered among the ruins of the arch in 1924, and one of them has dowels that are closer together than the others.

Block F



Comments:

The bottom socket of the T is double carved. The R of TRIB is attached with only two posts, one at the top and one in the center of the vertical bar of the R. A photograph in the archives shows the architect, Frederick J. Woodbridge, holding the letters R and B in place on this stone, with the I also set in place (see fig. 231).

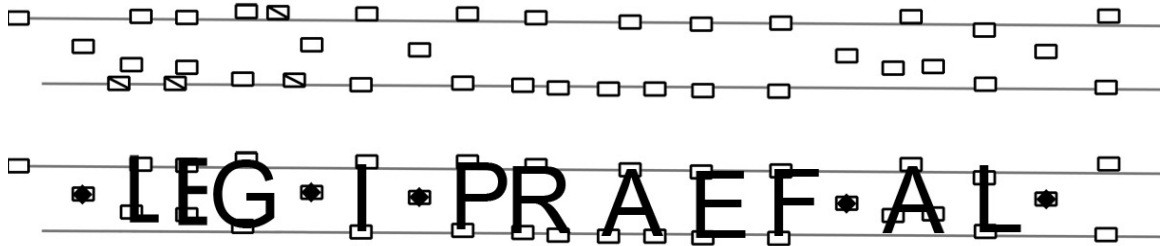
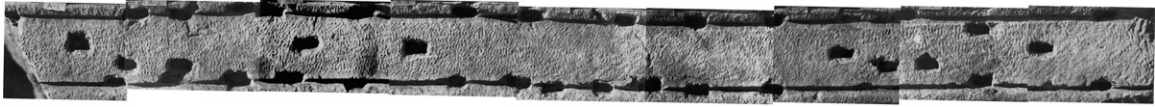
Block K



Comments:

Only three lower sockets are preserved on this very fragmentary stone. The block might join the right end of block F, as Byrne (2002, 196) suggests, although I suspect that it might join the left end of Block A. All of the relevant edges of these three blocks are extant today, so both of the hypotheses could be tested.

Block A



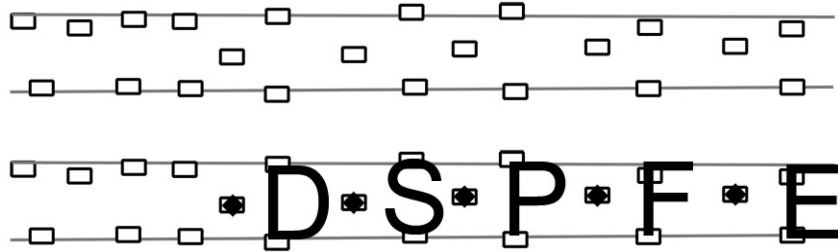
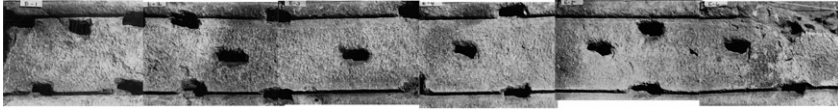
Comments:

The leftmost socket might be the top socket of the letter L from the word MIL, if in fact Block A (the previous block) joins this one at the left.

The sockets read as LEG are problematic, particularly the G. There are ten total sockets between the first two dots. Two of the sockets are double-carved, which leaves eight sockets to account for. L and E are paralleled elsewhere, even on this same block, with two posts, one at the top and one at the bottom of the vertical bar of each letter. That leaves four sockets for the G in LEG. One of these remaining sockets is halfway underneath the second dot. The letter G does not appear elsewhere in the restored inscription. The restored letters C, the most similarly shaped letter, have either three posts (on Block C) or two (on Blocks Na and O). It seems likely, then, that there were two unused sockets near the G in LEG.

The two lower posts of A in AL are higher than usual, but they are within the range suggested by the varied posts on the two preserved bronze letters I (mentioned above, Block G). There is one unidentified letter to the right of the period after AL. Block H, which is entirely unread (see below), might fit into the space between Blocks A and E, both of which have some unread sockets.

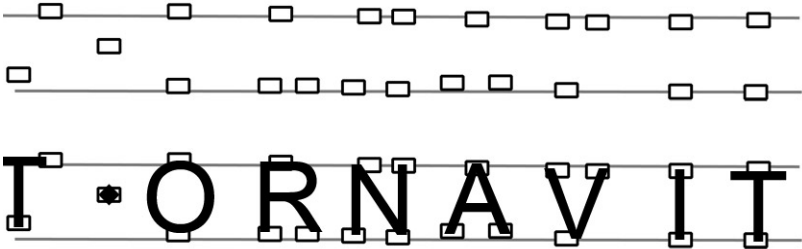
Block E



Comments:

There are seven unread sockets to the left of the first dot.

Block B

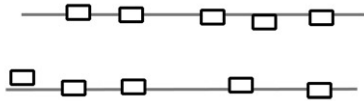
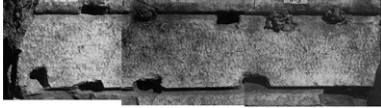


Comments:

The T of ORNAVIT is the only T attached with two rather than three dowels.

Unread Blocks
(Blocks H and L)

Block H



Comments:

This block seems not to have been read by Byrne. Ten sockets are preserved. Bru (2002, 361) suggests that Block H might join Block E (in the order H+E).

Block L



Comments:

Only one (or possibly two, according to Byrne 2002, fig. 4) socket is preserved, preventing the block from being read. If the fragment is extant today, perhaps it could be fitted to one of the other extant blocks.

Byrne's restored inscription

On the architrave of the southern/outer face, in one line:

[Imperatori Caes]ari divi[Traiani filio divi Nerva]e [nepoti Traiano H]adriano
Au[gusto, pontifici]max(imo), trib(unicia) [p]ot(estate) XIII, co(n)s(uli) III,
p(atri) p(atriciae), et Sabinae Au[gustae - - -] co[lonia].

On the architrave of the northern/inner face, in one line:

C(aius) Iul(ius) Asp(er) Pansini[an]us, Iivir V, trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) I,
praef(ectus) al(ae) [- - -] d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecit) et ornavit.

Appendix 3.

Figures

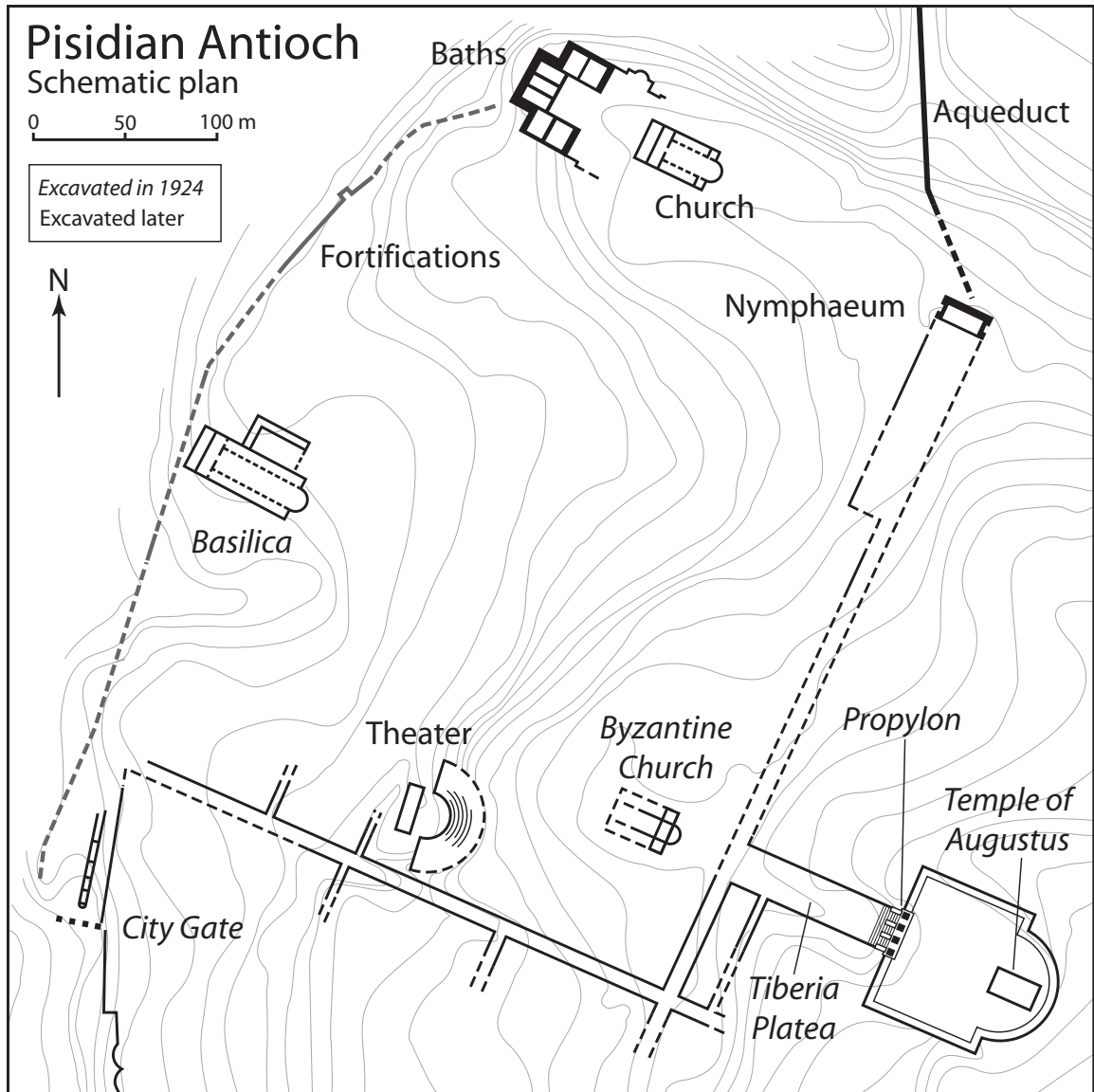


Figure 1. Plan of Pisidian Antioch. Drawing by the author.

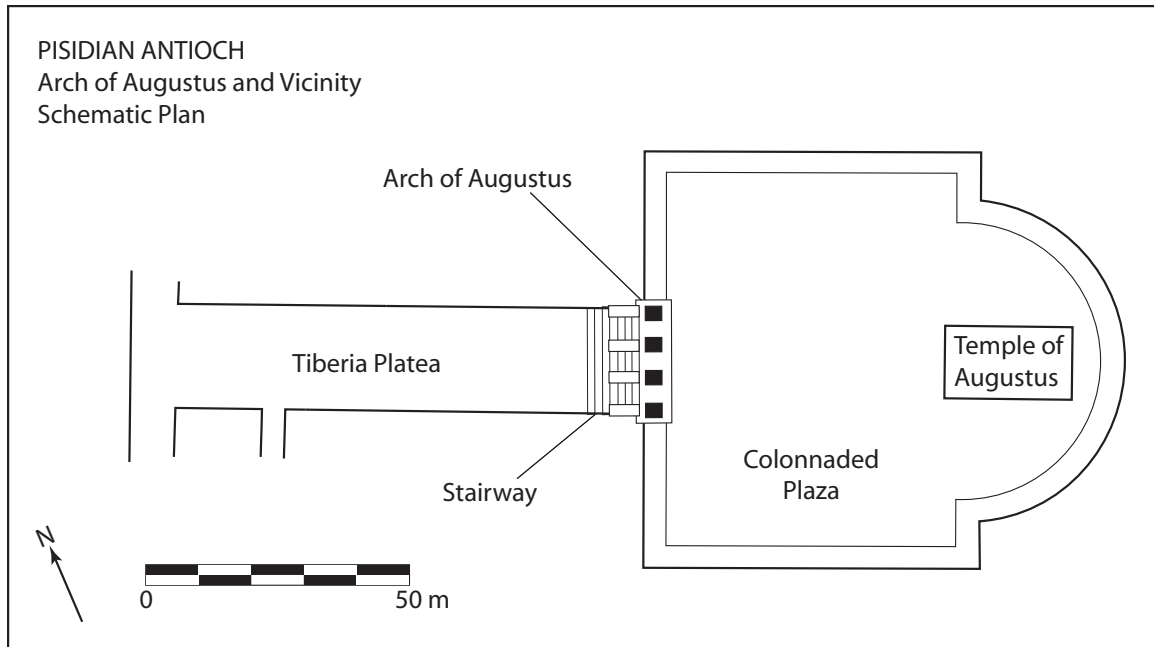


Figure 2. Pisidian Antioch, schematic plan of the arch of Augustus and vicinity.
Illustration by the author.



Figure 3. 1924 view of the foundations of the arch of Augustus (at left a top stairs), the Tiberia Platea stairs, and the paved plaza (at right). Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1116.



Figure 4. The same view as figure 3 today. Photo: author.



Figure 5. The foundation of the lowest step (line of stones in middle) and of two fountains (paired stones in foreground and at top right). Photo: author.



Figure 6. Three paving stones in situ at the base of the steps, and the square fountain base. Photo: author.



Figure 7. View of the Tiberia Platea from on top of the stairs. The paving is partially preserved in the distance at right. Photo: author.

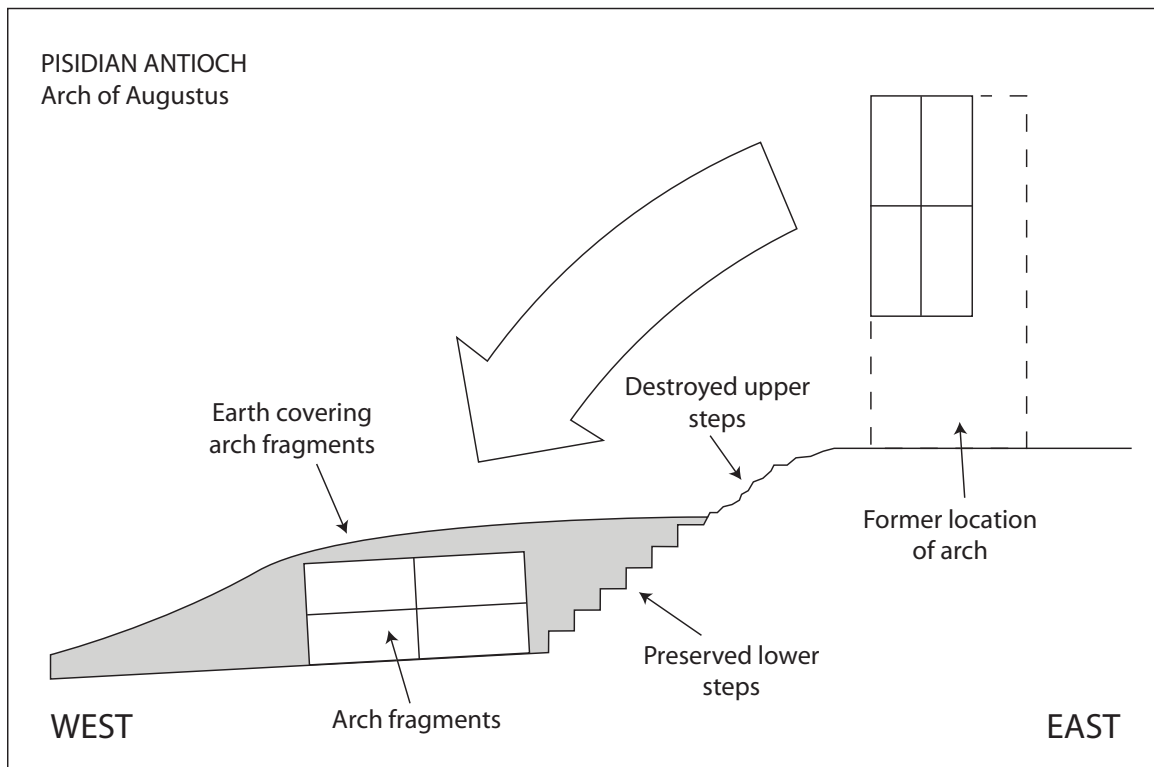


Figure 8. Conjectural section of the steps and foundations of the arch of Augustus prior to excavation in 1924, with hypothetical collapse of upper levels of arch to base of steps. By the author.

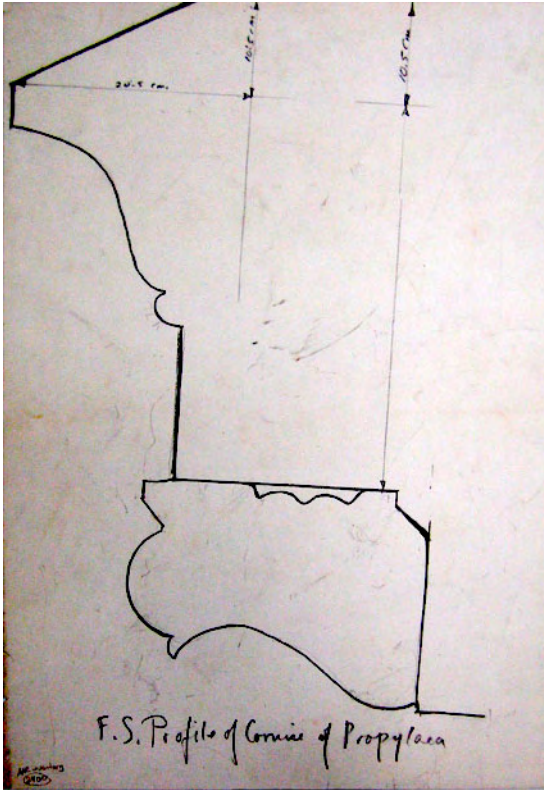


Figure 9. Profile of the cornice of the arch of Augustus. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge drawing.



Figure 10. Underside of the coffers and consoles of **Cornice 1**. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1136



Figure 11. Top surface of **Cornice 5**. Kelsey Museum Archives KR043.06



Figure 12. Bottom surface of **Cornice 5**. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1119

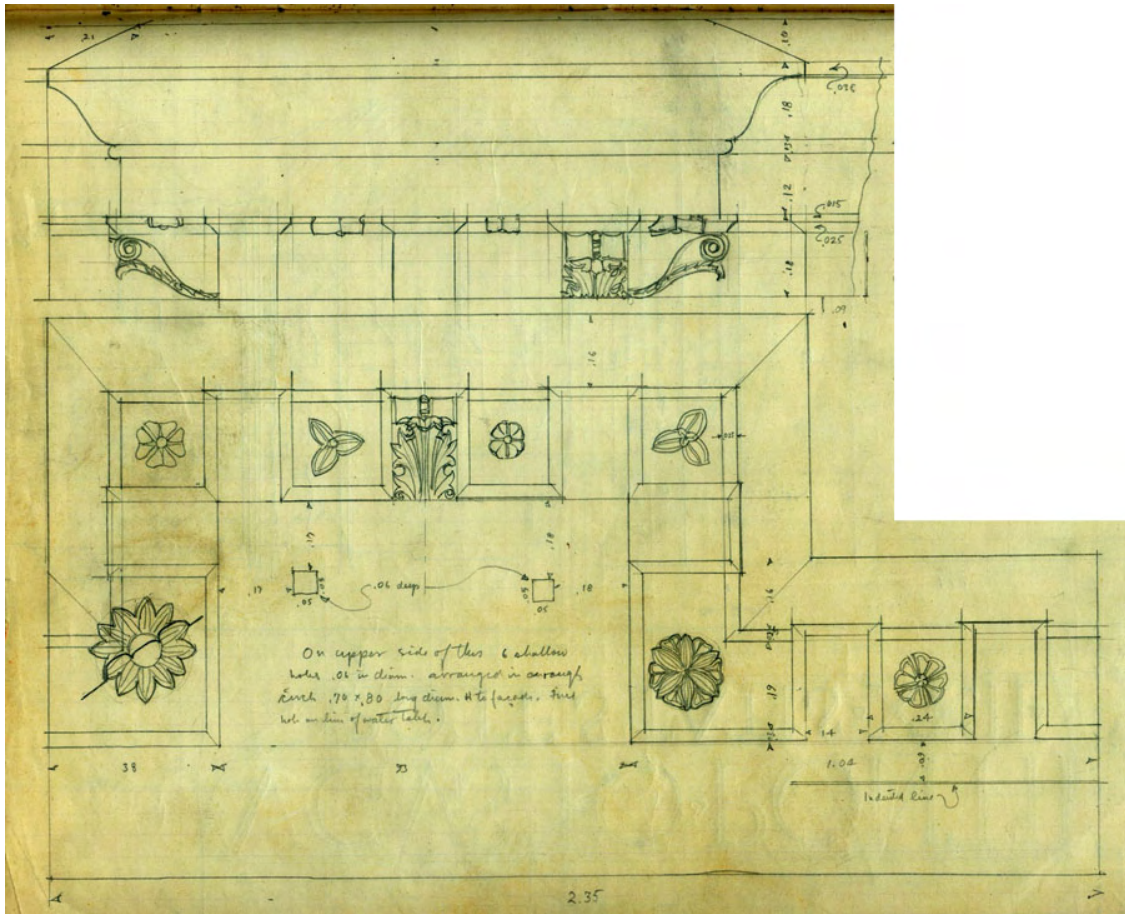
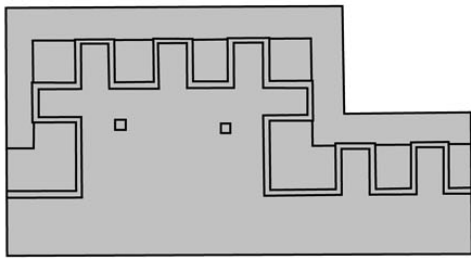
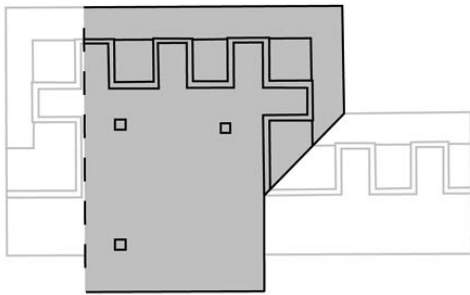


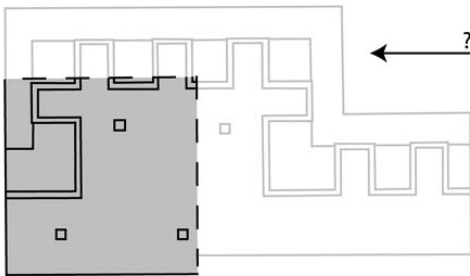
Figure 13. Elevation drawing of the front of the projecting portion (top) and bottom surface (bottom) of **Cornice 5**. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge notebook.



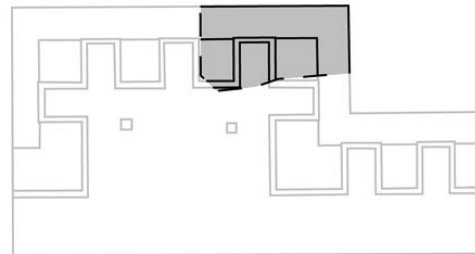
Cornice 5



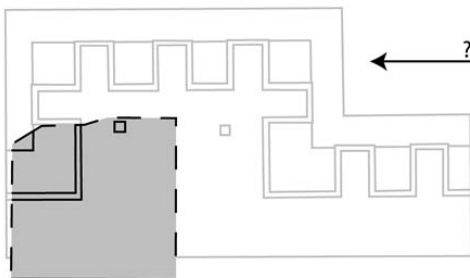
Cornice 10



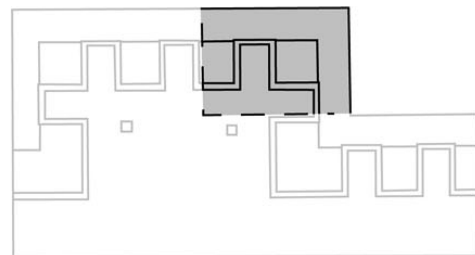
Cornice 12



Cornice 15



Cornice labeled 217 on site



Cornice 11

Figure 14. Approximate outlines of corner cornice fragments superimposed onto the drawing of **Cornice 5**. Drawing by the author.

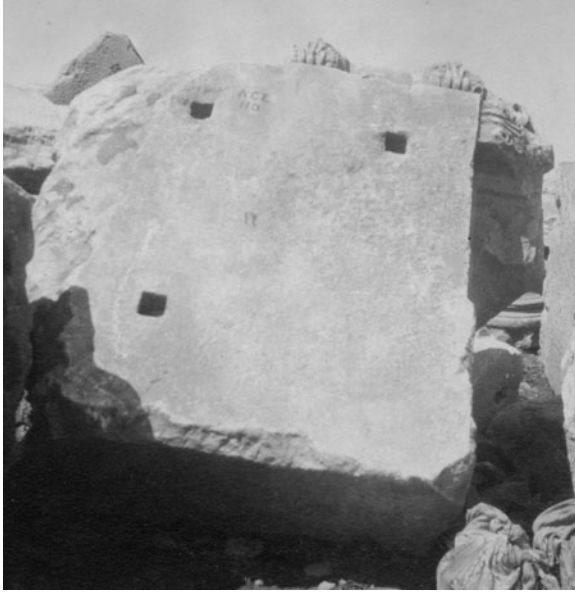


Figure 15. Bottom surface of **Cornice 10**.
The beveled edge is visible in silhouette at right.
Kelsey Museum Archives KR049.05

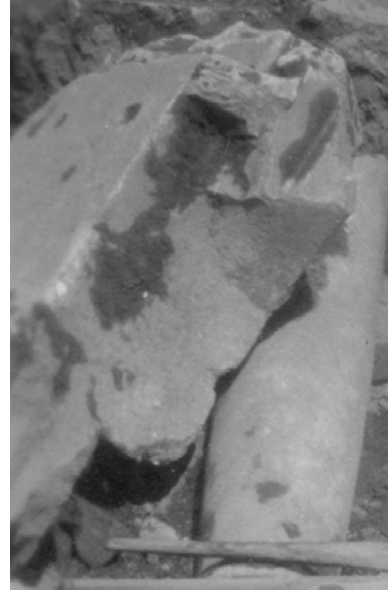


Figure 16. Right surface of **Cornice 10**. The beveled projection is visible at top. Kelsey Museum Archives KR030.02

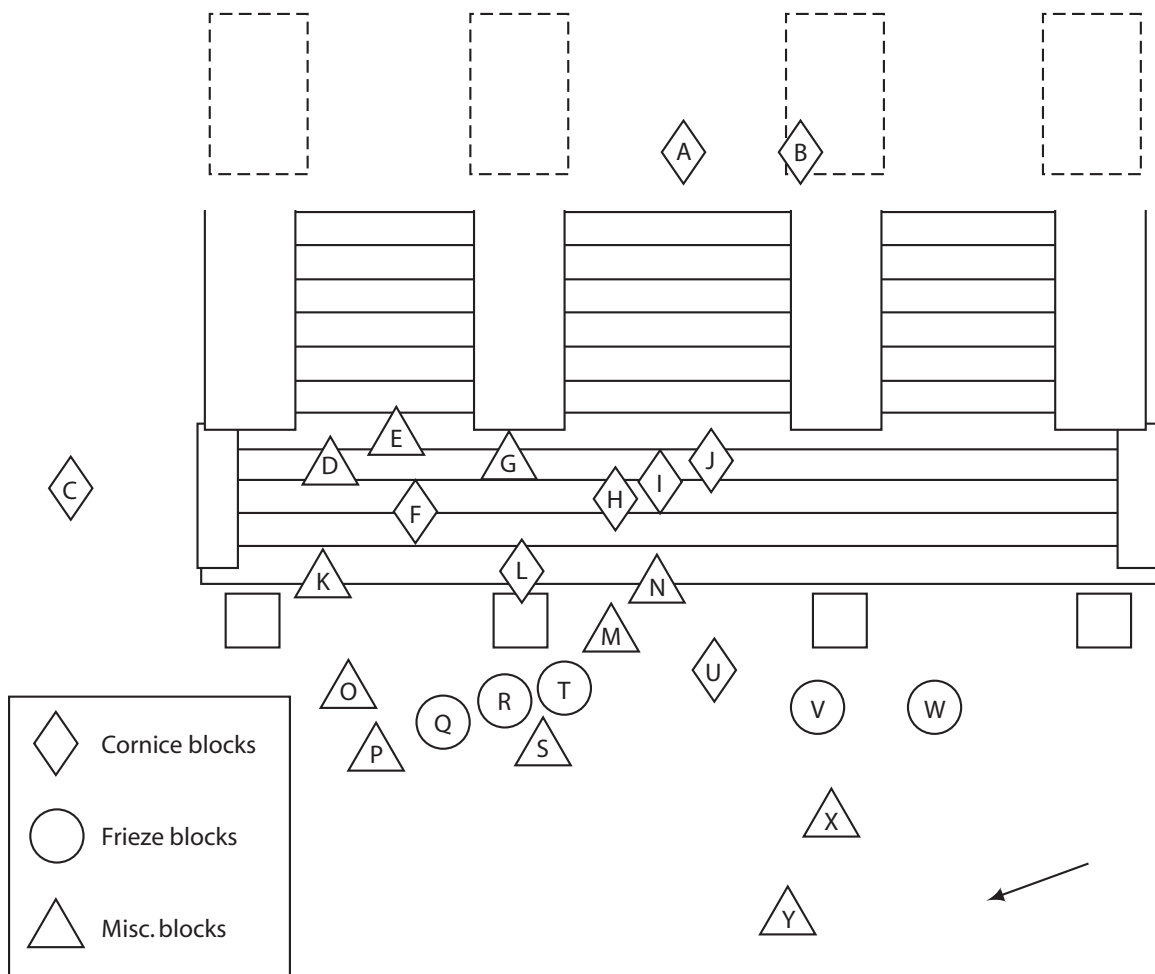


Figure 17. Schematic plan of the approximate location of certain blocks of the arch of Augustus as excavated in 1924. Illustration by the author.

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| A. Unidentified cornice | M. Unidentified architrave |
| B. Unidentified cornice | N. Unidentified architrave |
| C. Cornice 10 (figs. 15, 16) | O. Spandrel 3 (fig. 43) |
| D. Stair Pedestal Orthostat 1 (figs. 75, 79) | P. Spandrel 5 (fig. 284) |
| E. Unidentified architrave | Q. Frieze 3 (fig. 24) |
| F. Unidentified cornice | R. Frieze 4 (fig. 24) |
| G. Architrave 6 | S. Spandrel 1 (fig. 42) |
| H. Unidentified cornice | T. Frieze 2 (fig. 19) |
| I. Unidentified cornice | U. Unidentified cornice |
| J. Unidentified cornice | V. Frieze 1 (fig. 18) |
| K. Unidentified engaged column capital | W. Frieze 4 (fig. 138) |
| L. Cornice 5 (figs. 11, 12, 13) | X. Engaged Drum 2 (fig. 37) |
| | Y. Unidentified engaged drum |



Figure 18. **Frieze 1**, front (at right) and left (at left) surfaces. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1376



Figure 19. **Frieze 2**, front (at left) and right (at right) surfaces. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1373



Figure 20. **Frieze 19**, front surface depicting a bust of Men Askaenos and left surface depicting a pair of greaves. Photo: J. Matthew Harrington.



Figure 21. **Frieze 2**, right surface. The bust of Ceres is visible in profile at left, and the projecting tenon at right. Kelsey Museum Archives KR040.09.



Figure 22. **Frieze 14**, front surface. A 10 cm-wide vertical strip is visible at left. Photo: author.

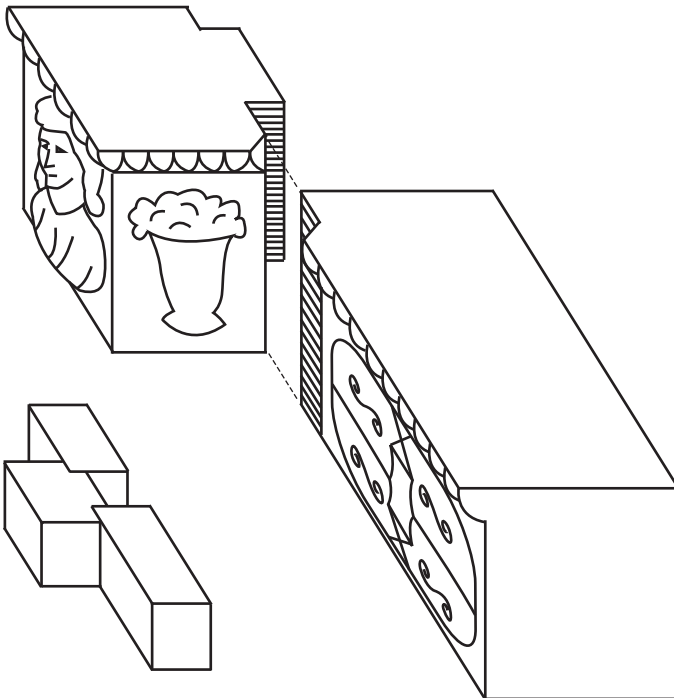


Figure 23. Sketch of the joint between **Friezes 2 and 14** (cf. figs. 21-22). By the author.



Figure 24. **Friezes 3 and 4**, joined. Note slanted edges at right and left. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1391



Figure 25. **Architrave 8** (upside down). Tenon visible at left. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1510



Figure 26. **Architrave 8**, bottom surface with two dowel holes. Photo: author.

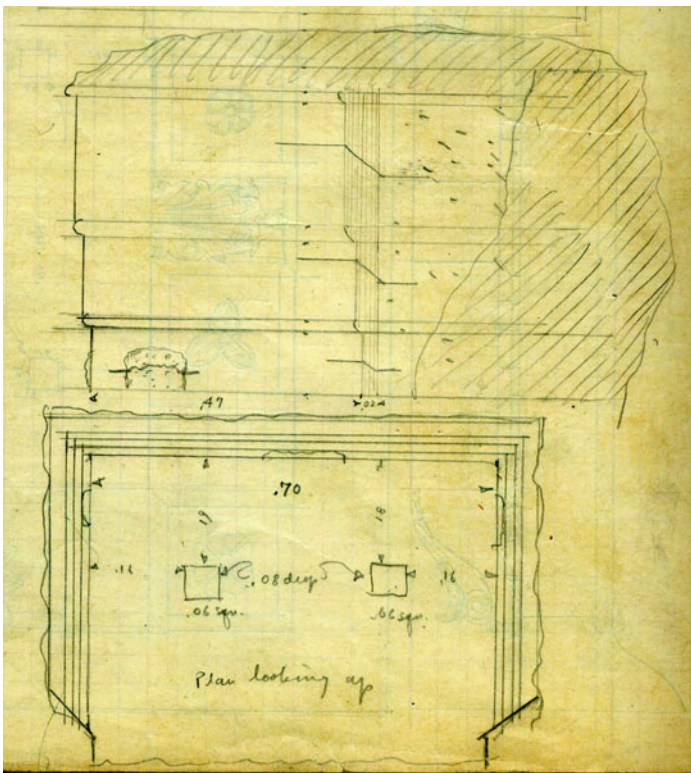


Figure 27. Drawing of right surface (top) and bottom surface (bottom) of **Architrave 8**. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge notebook



Figure 28. Architrave fragment with beveled edge on site today. Photograph by the author.

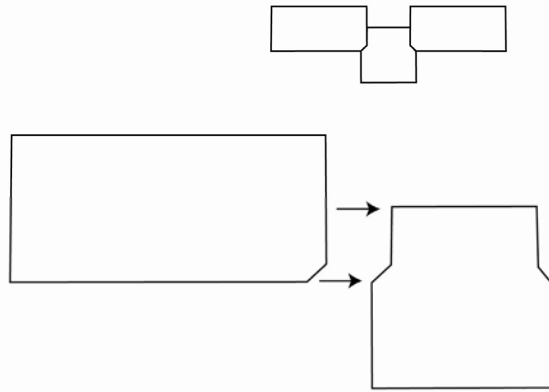


Figure 29. Schematic plan of the joint between architrave with beveled corner (left) and projecting architrave block (right). Drawing by the author.

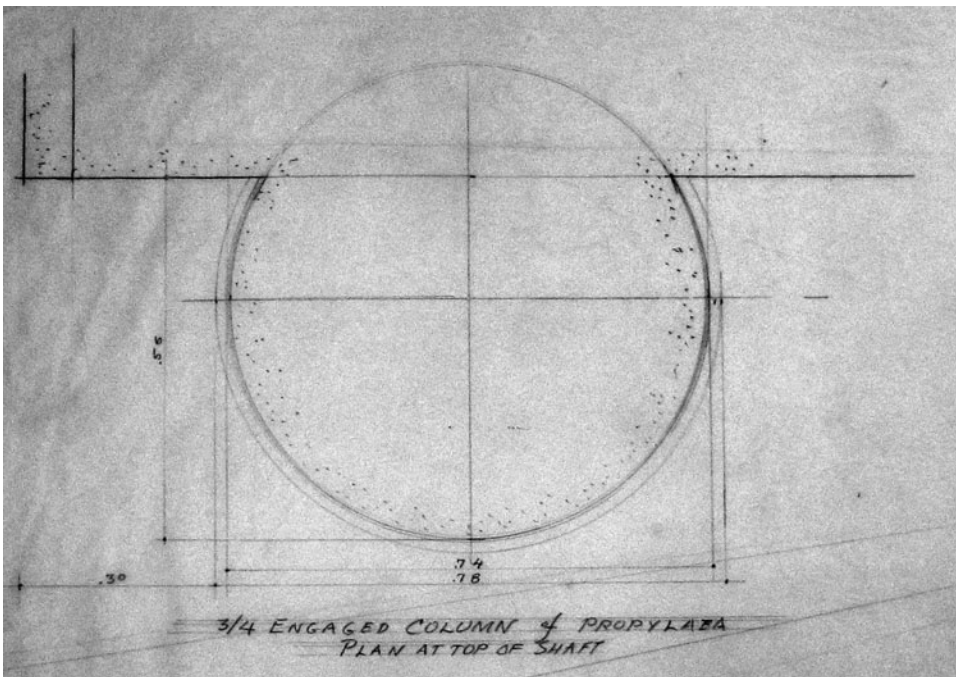


Figure 30. Plan of an engaged column. Kelsey Museum Archives, large Woodbridge drawing.

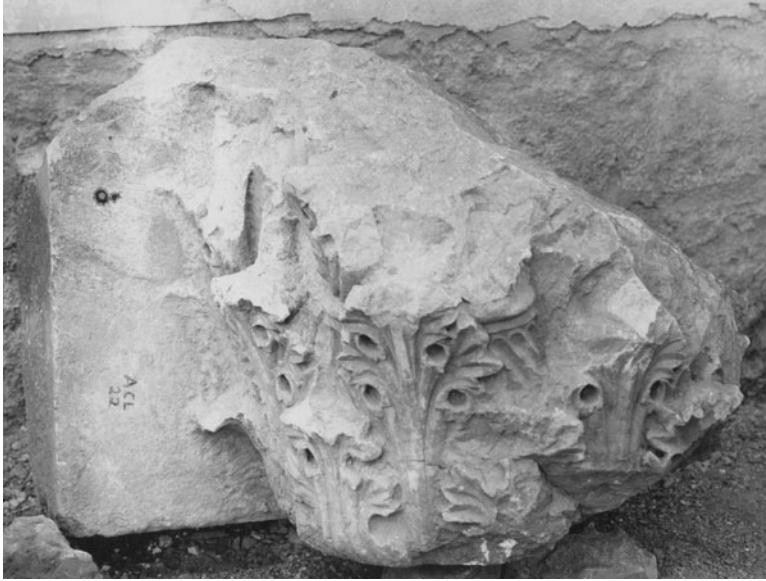


Figure 31. **Engaged Capital 2**, with attached section of wall at left.
Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1431



Figure 32. **Engaged Capital 4**, with attached section of wall at left.
Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1430



Figure 33. Side view of **Engaged Capital 4**. Photo: Leah Long.

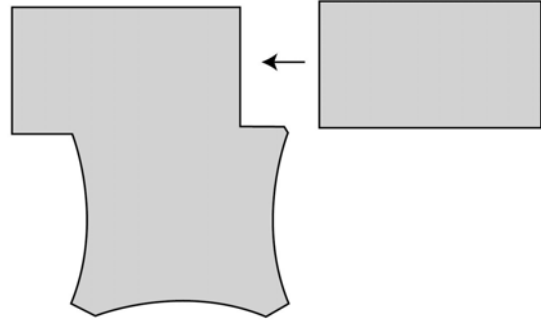


Figure 34. Sketch plan of the joint between **Engaged Capitals 2 and 4** and the adjacent wall. By the author.



Figure 35. **Engaged Capital 1**, bottom surface with three dowel holes. Kelsey Museum Archives KR048.02



Figure 36. **Engaged Capital 2**, bottom surface with three dowel holes; bottom surface of attached wall surface visible at lower left. Kelsey Museum Archives KR026.05



Figure 37. **Engaged Drum 2**, top or bottom surface with three dowel holes. The tenon extends the full height of the drum. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1546



Figure 38. **Engaged Drum 3**. The tenon extends only part of the height of the drum. Photo: author.



Figure 39. **Engaged Drum 8**, left surface. The attached part of the wall is visible at left. Photo: author.



Figure 40. **Engaged Drum 8**, right surface, which is worked like the tenons on the other engaged drums. Photo: author.



Figure 41. The spandrel zone of one of the side archways, with the outlines of the sculpted blocks indicated. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge drawing (detail).



Figure 42. **Spandrel 1**, front surface. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1275.



Figure 43. **Spandrel 3**, front surface, depicting a genius figure. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1370



Figure 44. **Spandrel 6**, front surface, depicting a victory. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1139.



Figure 45. **Spandrel 9**, with a narrow pilaster in relief. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1523.

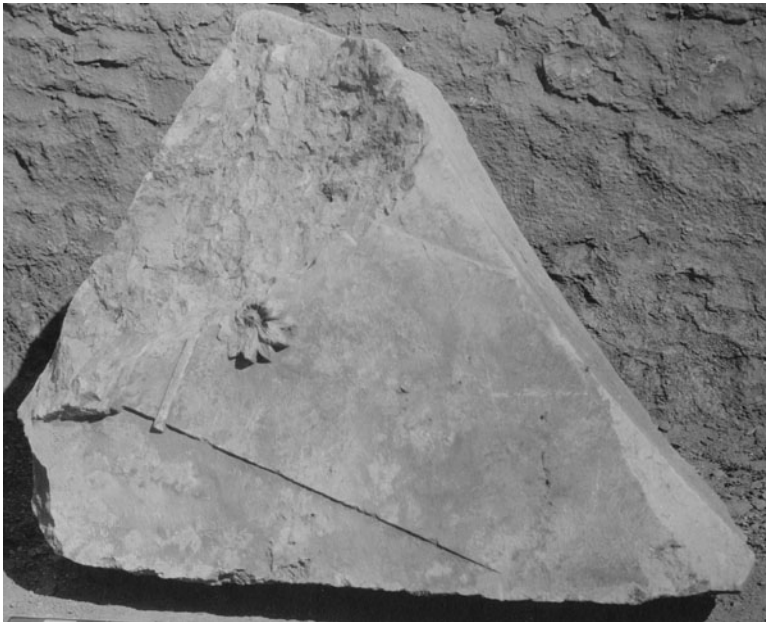


Figure 46. **Spandrel 8**, with a wide pilaster in relief. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1496.



Figure 47. **Spandrels 11-12**, with curved surfaces at bottom. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1329



Figure 48. **Spandrel 7**, front surface with fragment of a draped shoulder and a wing. Note roughly worked vertical strip at right. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1522



Figure 49. **Spandrel 7**, top, front, and right surfaces. Winged figure relief visible at left. Note the notch in right surface. Photo: author.

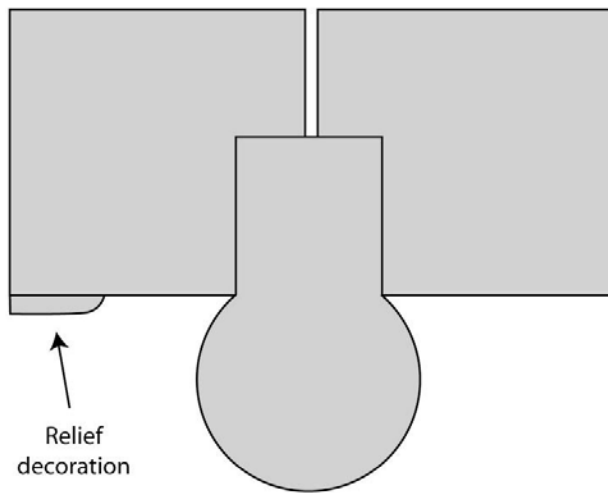


Figure 50. Schematic plan of the possible relationship between **Spandrel 7** (at left) and an engaged column drum with projecting tenon (at center). Drawing by the author.



Figure 51. Comparison of draped shoulders of **Spandrel 7** (left) and **Spandrel 6** (right). Photos: left, Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1522; right, Diana Ng.

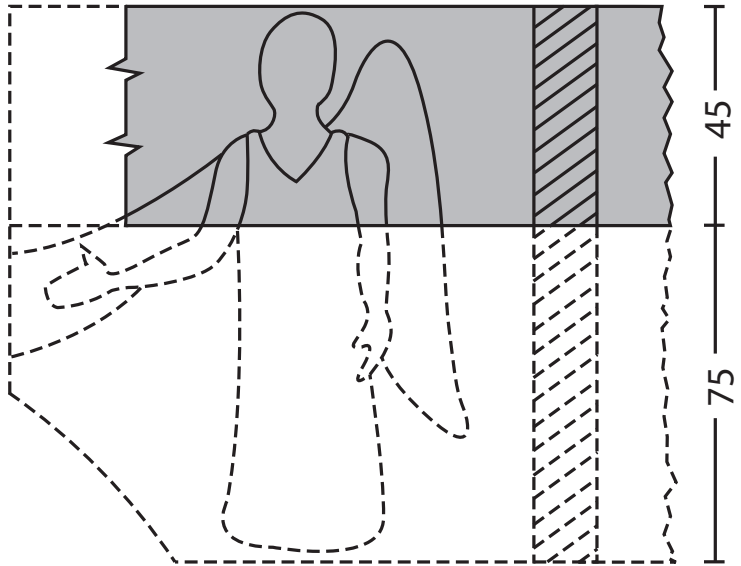


Figure 52. Sketch of **Spandrel 7** (in gray) and a conjectural stone completing the figured part of the spandrel. Illustration by the author.

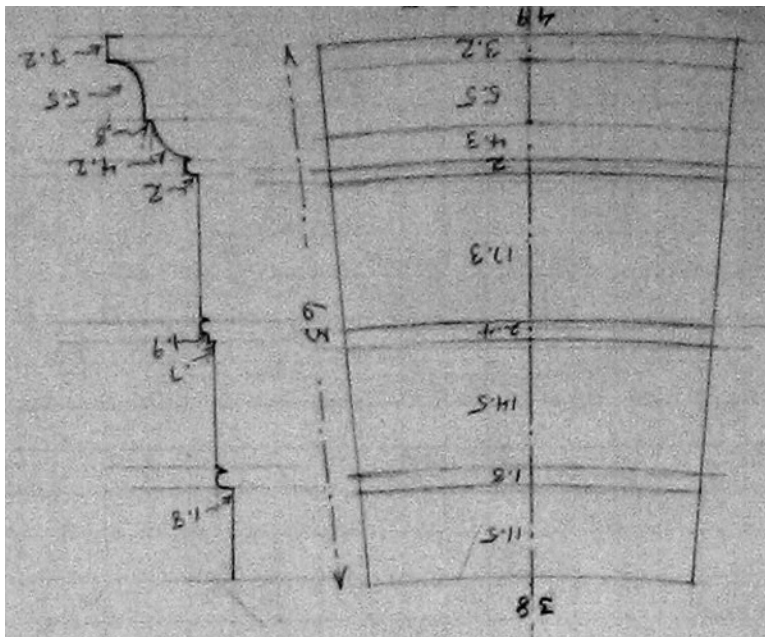


Figure 53. Voussoir moldings of the central archway. Kelsey Museum Archives, Colby/Woodbridge notebook.



Figure 54. **Vousoir 1**, with front moldings at left and inset panel on archivolt at right.
Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1385



Figure 55. **Springer 1.** Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1514

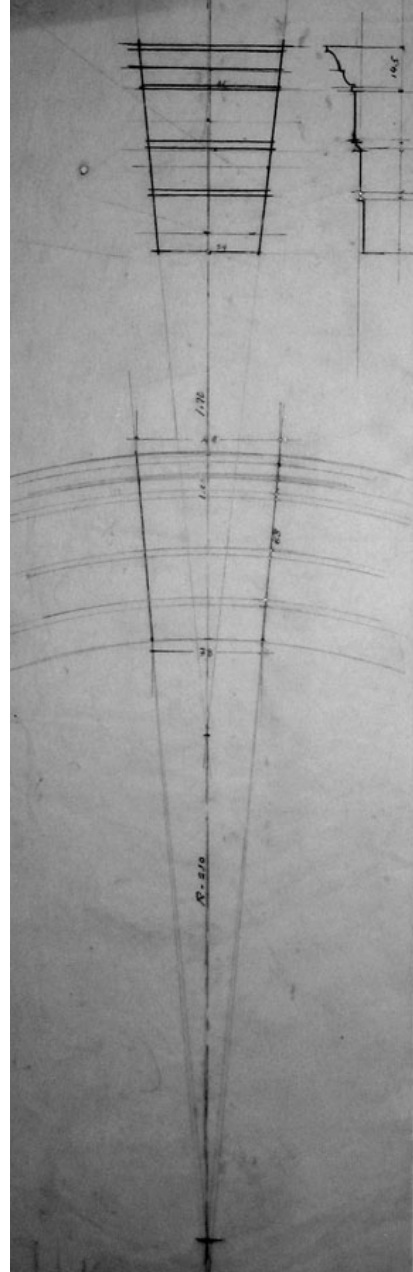


Figure 56. Calculation of the radii of the central and side arches. Kelsey Museum Archives, Colby/Woodbridge notebook



Figure 57. **Pilaster Capital 3.** Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1388

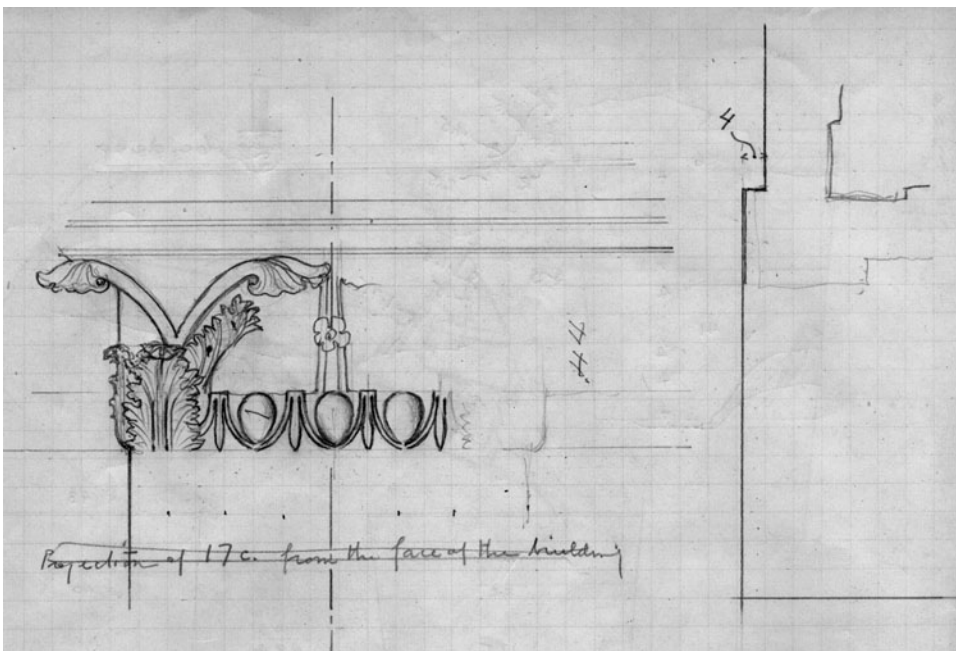


Figure 58. Elevation of pilaster capital as preserved. Kelsey Museum Archives, Colby/Woodbridge notebook.

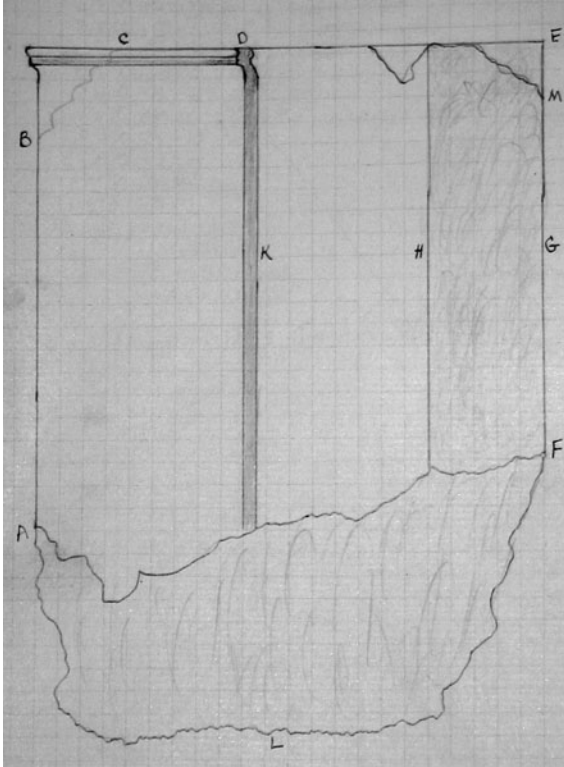


Figure 59. Elevation of **Pilaster Shaft 1**. Pilaster at left. Roughly worked strip at right. Kelsey Museum Archives, Architectural Inventory



Figure 60. **Pilaster Shaft 1**, front face. Kelsey Museum Archives KR048.12

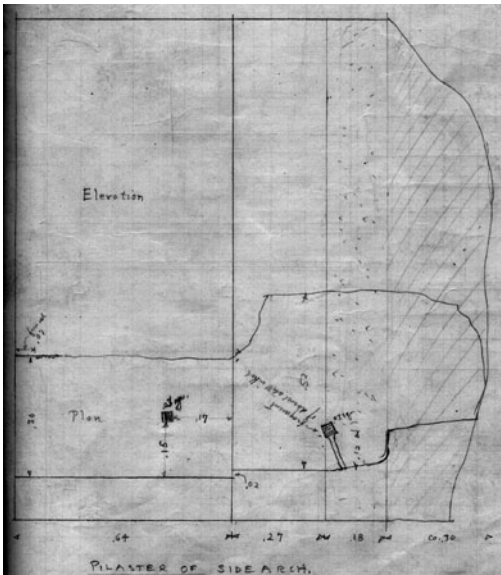


Figure 61. **Pilaster Shaft 2**, elevation and plan. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge notebook.

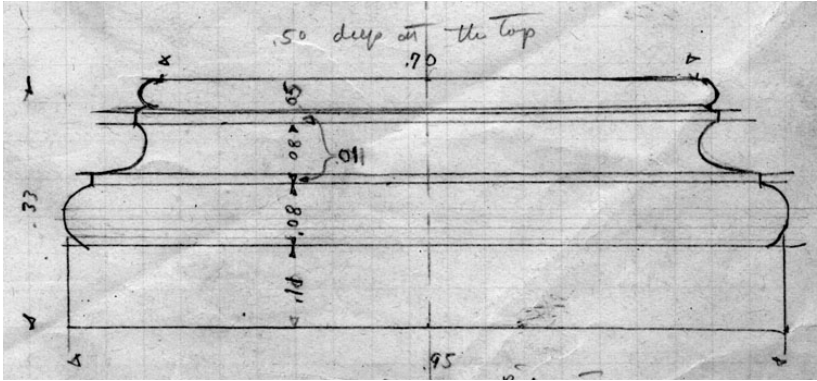


Figure 62. **Pilaster Base 1**, elevation. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge notebook.



Figure 63. **Pilaster Pedestal 1** as preserved today. Photo: author.

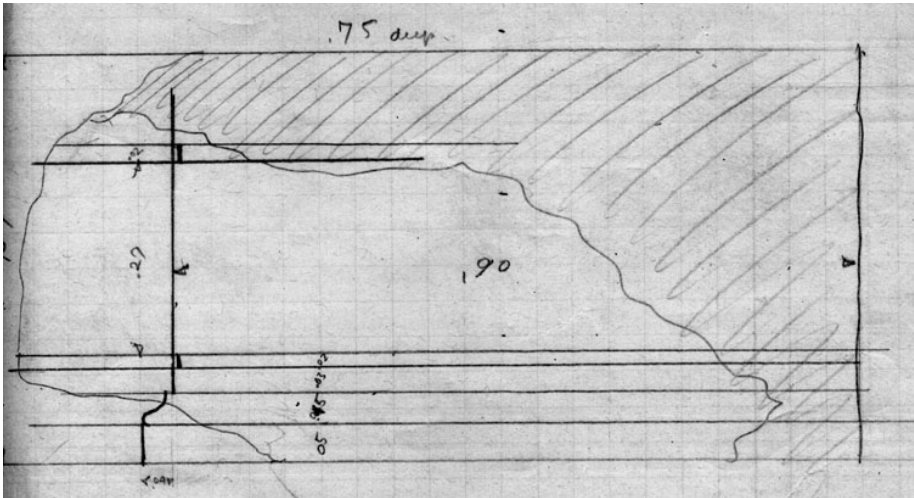


Figure 64. **Pilaster Pedestal 1**, elevation. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge notebook.



Figure 65. **Narrow Arch 1.** Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1384.



Figure 66. Possible euthenturia course, northern part of arch foundations, from northwest. Steps visible at lower right. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1116



Figure 67. Same as fig. 59, viewed from east. Kelsey Museum Archives KR034.06



Figure 68. Possible euthynteria course, southern part of arch foundations, viewed from the southwest. Kelsey Museum Archives KR047.06



Figure 69. Same as fig. 68, viewed from east. Kelsey Museum Archives KR034.04

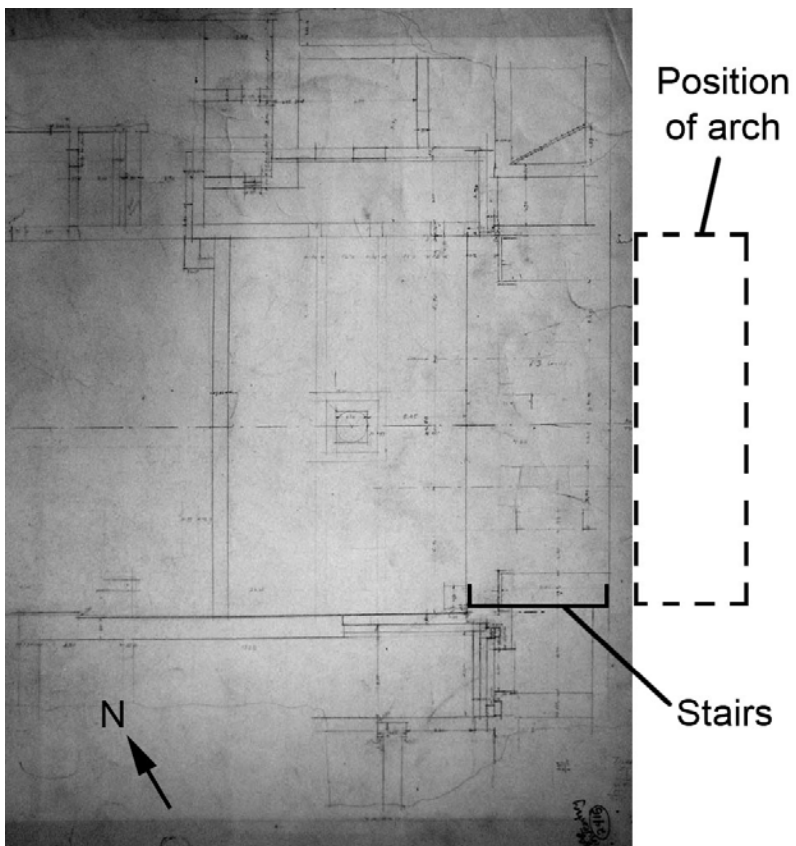


Figure 70. Working plan of the Tiberia Platea and stairs. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge drawing



Figure 71. Twelve stairs as preserved at northern end of the staircase. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1211



Figure 72. Seven stairs preserved at north end of staircase. The top six steps have slumped forward, and the riser of the second step is nearly flush with the riser of the first step. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1116



Figure 73. **Stair Pedestal Base 1**, on north end of steps. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1114



Figure 74. **Stair Pedestal Base 2**, on south end of steps. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1115

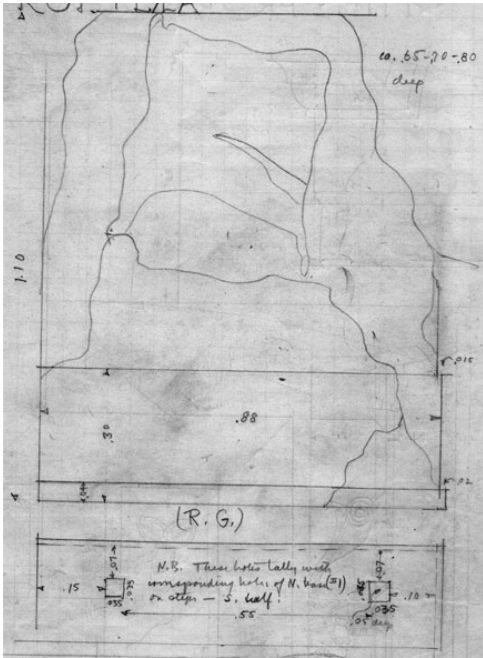


Figure 75. **Stair Pedestal Orthostat 1**, elevation (top) and dowel holes in bottom surface (bottom). Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge notebook.

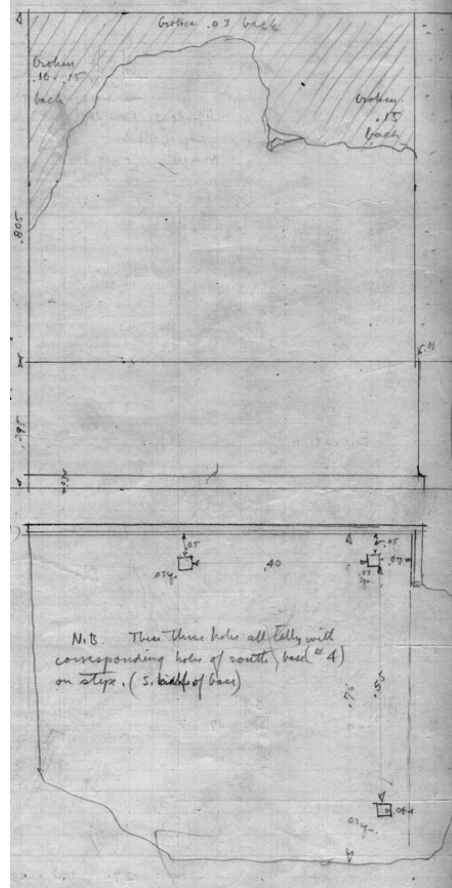


Figure 76. **Stair Pedestal Orthostat 2**, elevation (top) and dowel holes in bottom surface. (bottom). Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge notebook.

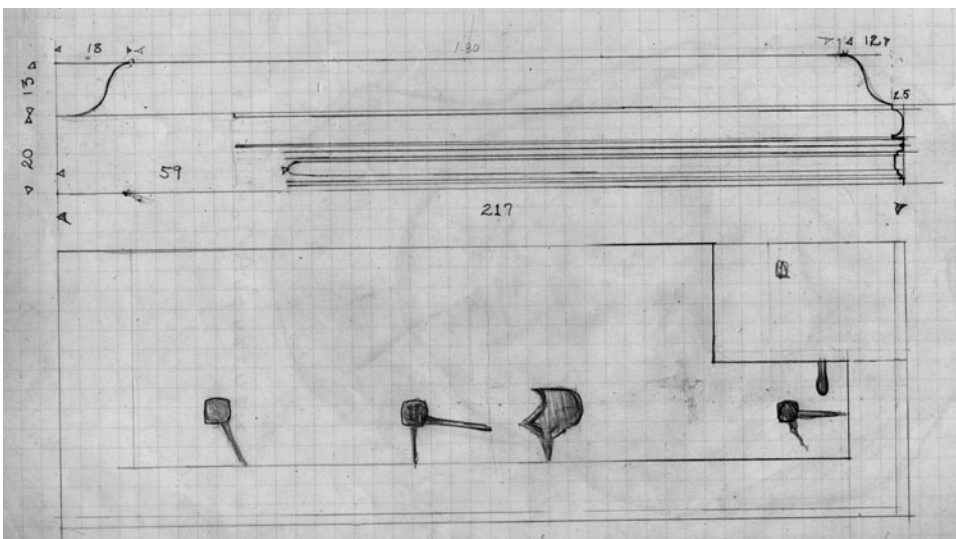


Figure 77. **Stair Pedestal Base 1**, elevation (top) and plan of dowel holes in top surface (bottom). Kelsey Museum Archives, Colby/Woodbridge notebook.

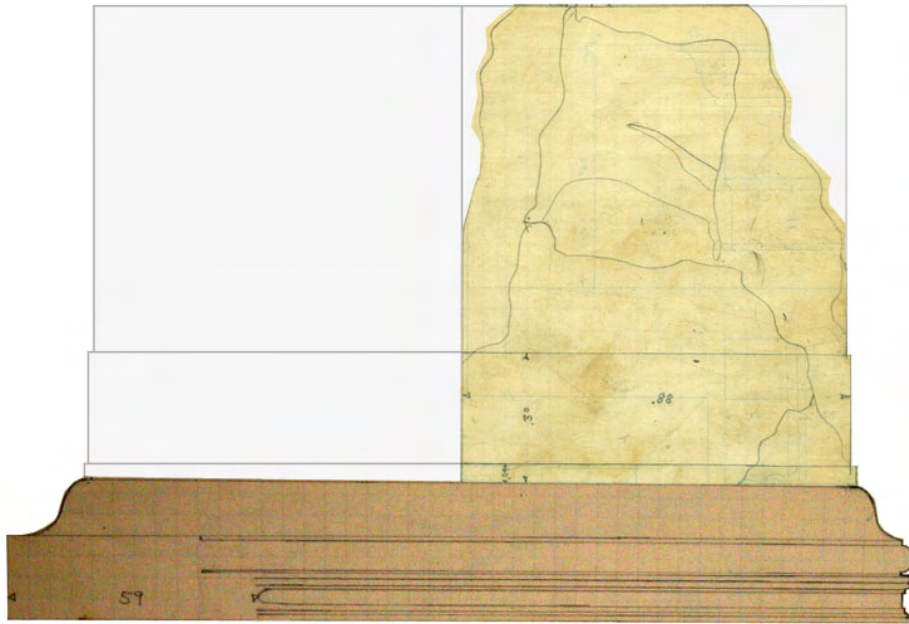


Figure 78. Woodbridge's drawings of **Stair Pedestal Base 1** and **Stair Pedestal Orthostat 1**, digitally joined by the author.



Figure 79. **Stair Pedestal Orthostat 1**. Kelsey Museum Archives KR047.11



Figure 80. **Stair Pedestal Base 3**, with moldings broken off. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1133



Figure 81. Robbed out area where the fourth pedestal base would have been located. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1211

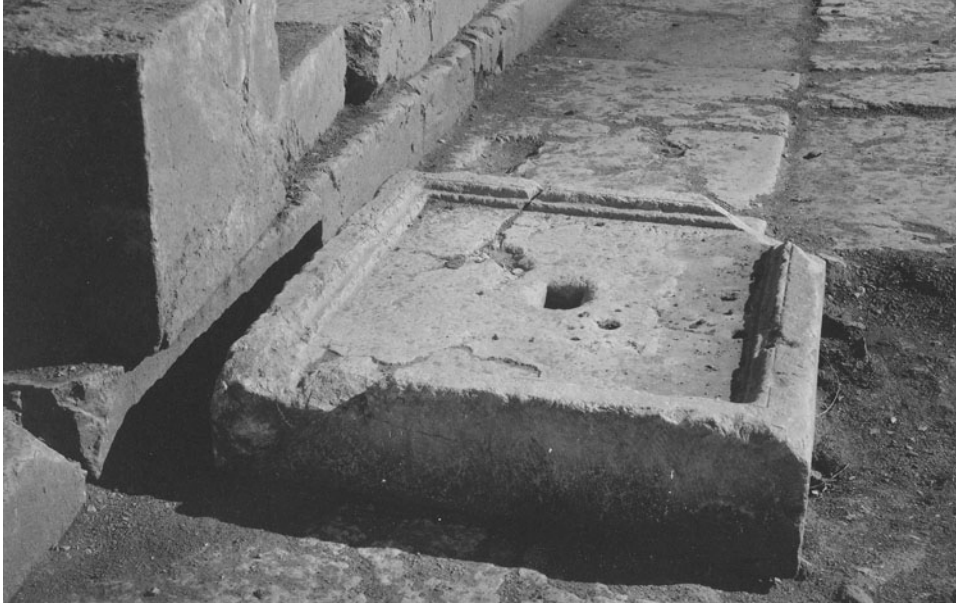


Figure 82. Fountain base at the bottom of the steps in situ in 1924. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1476



Figure 83. Terra cotta drain pipe discovered beneath the fountain base shown in figure 74a. The bottom surface of the fountain base, with the hole at its center, is visible at top. Kelsey Museum Archives KR044.04.



Figure 84. Bronze pipe found in situ beneath the foundations of the third fountain. Kelsey Museum Archives KR049.09

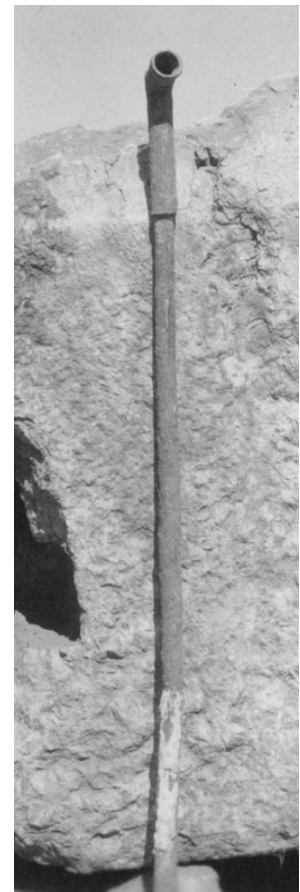


Figure 85. Bronze pipe (seen in fig. 84) after removal. Kelsey Museum Archives KR052.06



Figure 86. At lower right, small pedestal base on top of bottom step at southern end of stairway. Two courses of stone still in situ on top. **Stair Pedestal Base 2** visible at left. Kelsey Museum Archives KR044.02

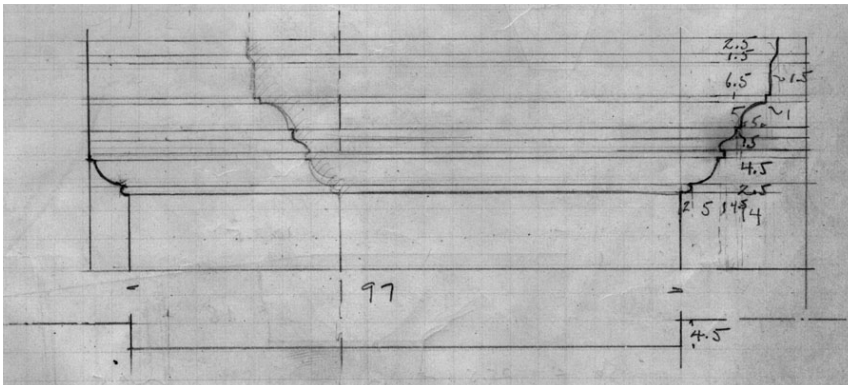


Figure 87. Elevation and partial plan of **Molded Block 2**. Kelsey Museum Archives, Colby/Woodbridge notebook



Figure 88. **Molded Block 2**, front surface (upside down). Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1519



Figure 89. **Molded Block 3**, bottom surface at right. The moldings terminate into a vertical surface. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1520

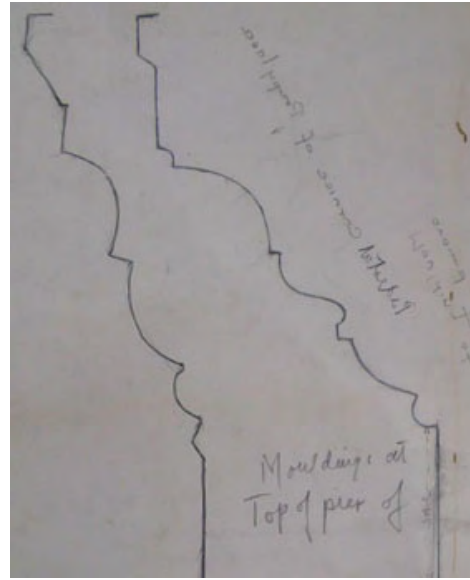


Figure 90. Comparison between moldings on **Molded Blocks 1-3** (at right) and the upper molding of the piers of the Hadrianic city gate. The moldings are depicted at the same scale. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge drawings

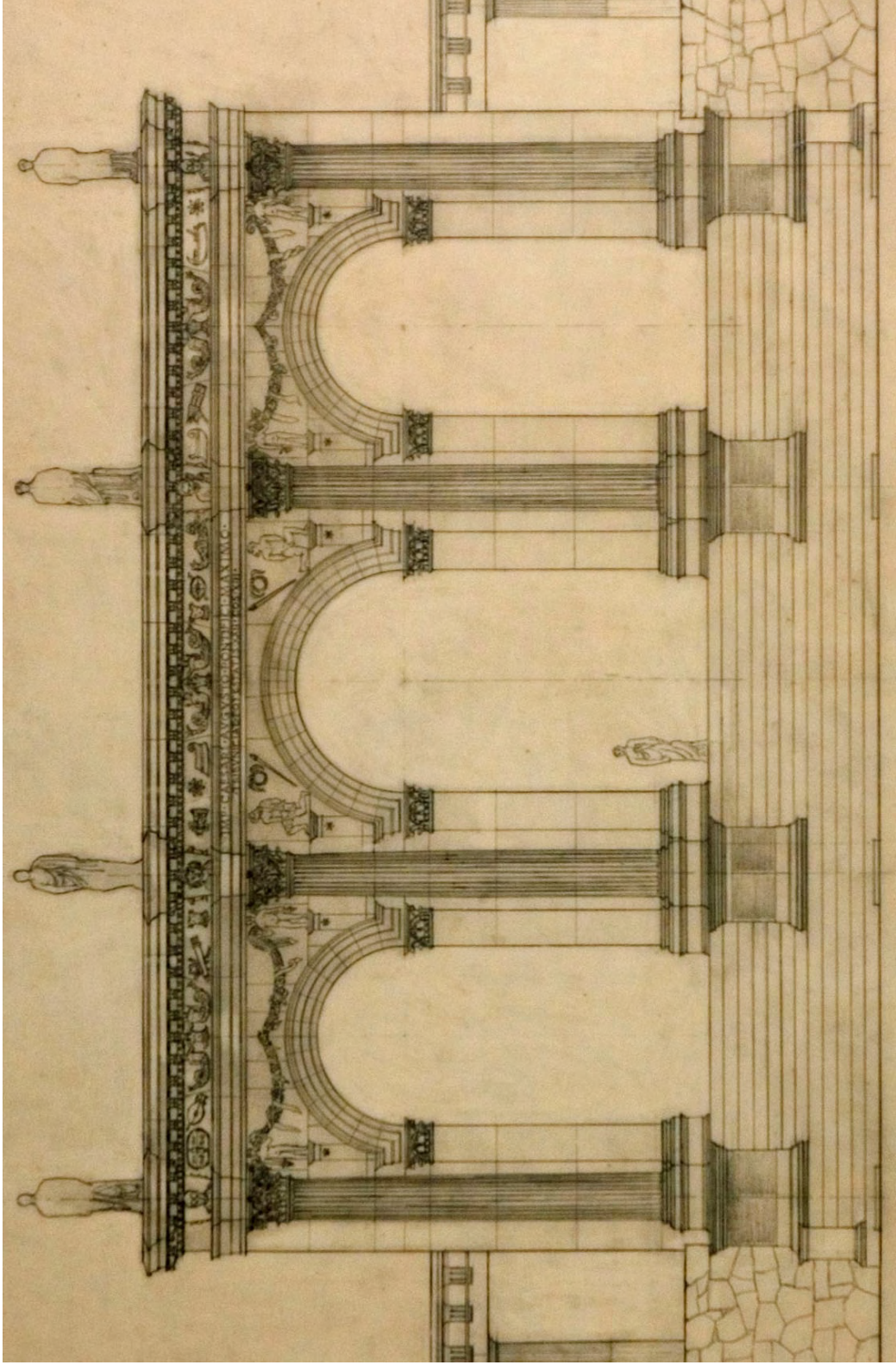


Figure 91. Woodbridge's final reconstructed elevation of the arch of Augustus. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge drawing.



Figure 92. Diagram with the uncertain elements of Woodbridge's reconstructed elevation of the arch of Augustus blocked out. Illustration by the author.



Figure 93. Three fragments of the *Res Gestae* from Pisidian Antioch currently housed in the University Museum at the University of Mississippi. Photo: author.



Figure 94. *Res Gestae* fragment 28a (as numbered by Ramsay and Von Premerstein 1926), front surface, with side surface visible at top. Photo: author.



Figure 95. *Res Gestae* fragment 28a (as numbered by Ramsay and Von Premerstein 1926), side surface. In this photograph, the fragment is resting on its inscribed face. Photo: author.

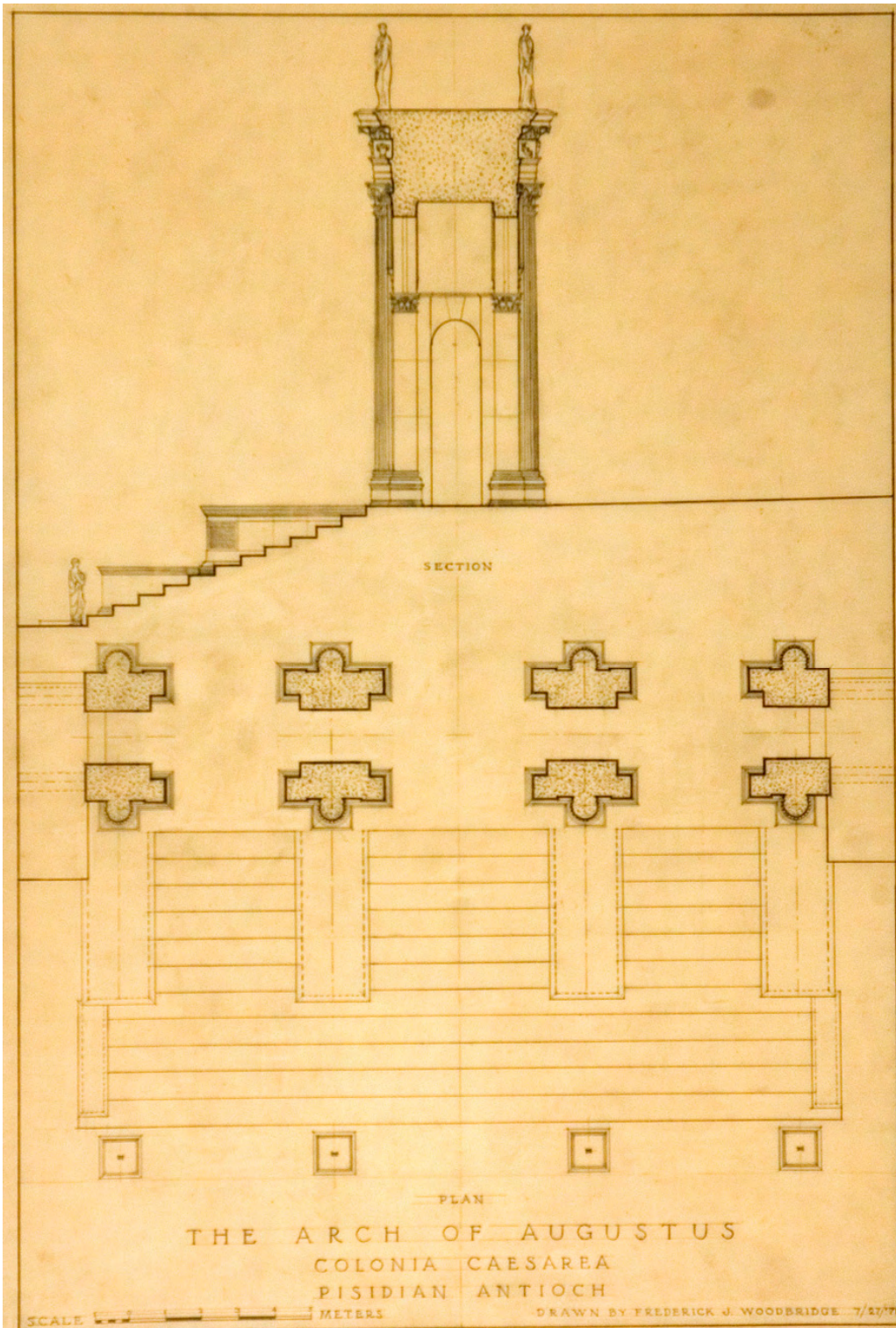


Figure 96. Woodbridge's final reconstructed section and plan of the arch of Augustus. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge drawing

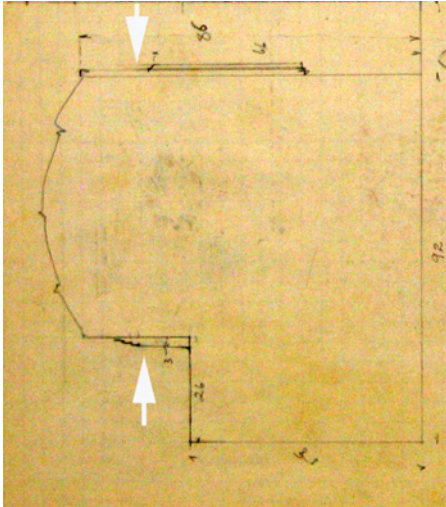


Figure 97. Plan of **Springer 3**, with molded surfaces indicated. Kelsey Museum Archives, Colby/Woodbridge notebook.

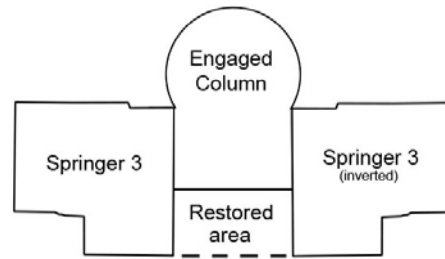


Figure 98. Reconstruction of half of one pier of the arch of Augustus, based on **Springer 3** and an engaged column. Illustration by the author.

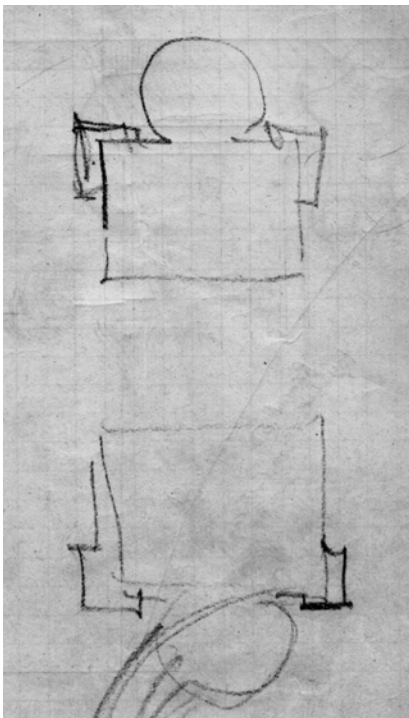


Figure 99. Preliminary sketch of the piers of the arch of Augustus in plan. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge notebook.



Figure 100. Plan of the arch of Augustus on the earliest restored plan, dated to 1925. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge drawing.

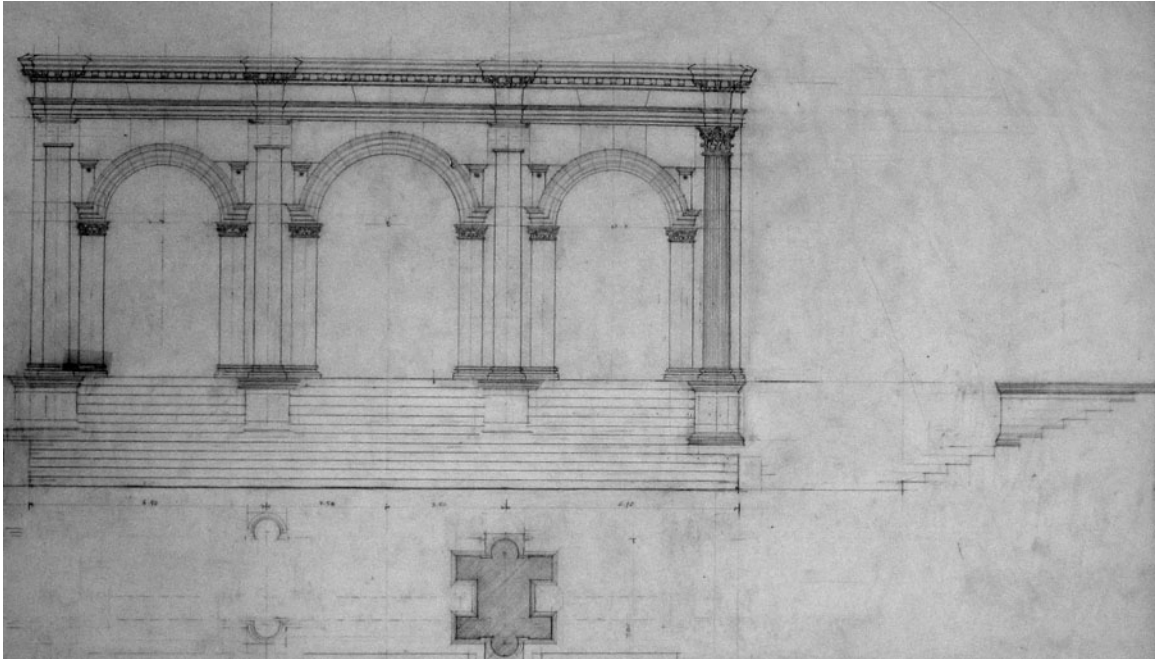


Figure 101. Working drawing for Woodbridge's final reconstruction of the arch of Augustus. This is the only drawing in the entire archive that shows the arch with solid piers. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge drawing.

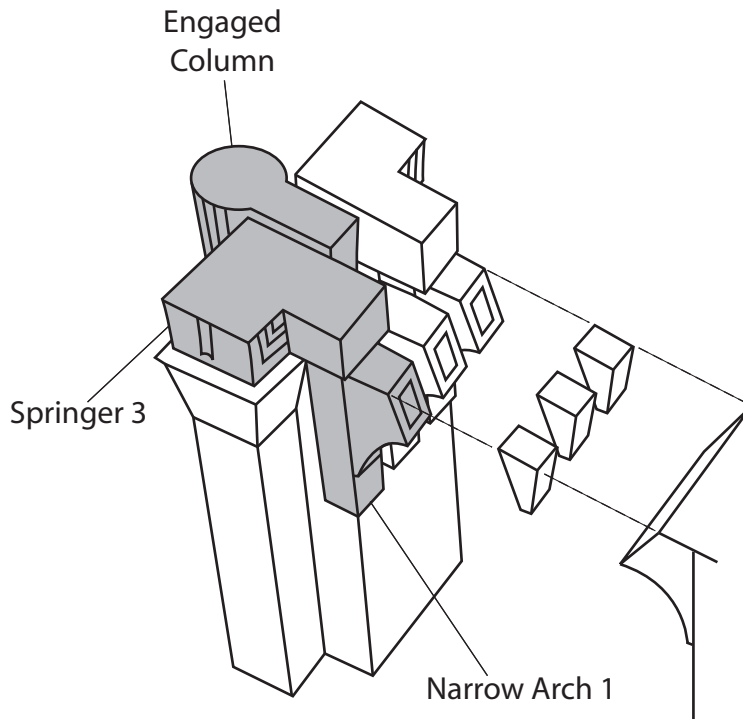


Figure 102. Hypothetical arrangement of **Springer 3**, the narrow arch blocks, and an engaged column in a pier of the arch of Augustus with a transverse passageway. Illustration by the author.



Figure 103. Ephesus, Arch of Mazaeus and Mithridates, view from the central archway through one of the transverse passageways to the statue niche at one end of the arch. Photo by the author.



Figure 104. Verona, Arch of the Gavii, main façade. Photo: Wikimedia Commons user “MM,” released into public domain.



Figure 105. Verona, Arch of the Gavii, side view. Photo: Wikimedia Commons user “MM,” released into public domain.



Figure 106. Verona, Arch of the Gavii, view through the transverse passageway. Photo: Wikimedia Commons user “MM,” released into public domain.

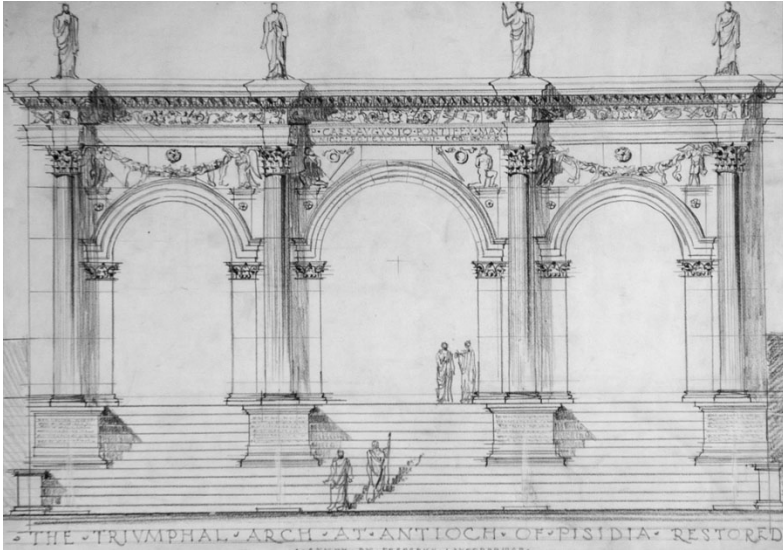


Figure 107. Woodbridge's preliminary reconstruction of the arch of Augustus, dated to 1925 and published in Robinson 1926. Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge drawing.



Figure 108. Ephesus, Arch of Mazaeus and Mithridates, main façade. Photo by the author.



Figure 109. Ephesus, Arch of Mazaeus and Mithridates, vegetal frieze. Photo by the author.



Figure 110. Cornice block with no consoles found in the *Tiberia Platea*. View of front surface (at left) and bottom surface (at right). Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1570

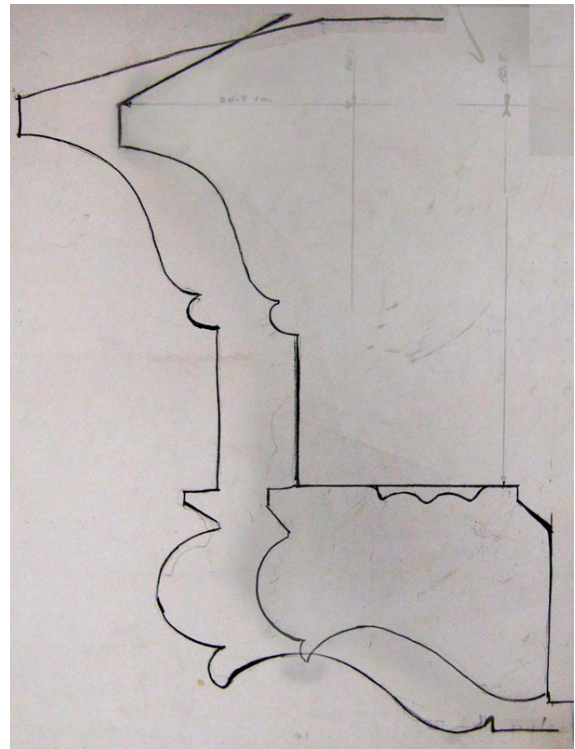


Figure 111. Comparison of profiles of the cornice of the Arch of Augustus (at right) and of the more plainly decorated cornice blocks (at left). Kelsey Museum Archives, Woodbridge drawings, digitally merged by the author.



Figure 112. Oblique view of the arch at Carpentras, France. After Esperandieu 1907, 179.



Figure 113. The so-called Pont Flavien at St. Chamas, France. After Esperandieu 1907, 100.



Figure 114. The arch of the Sergii at Pula, Croatia. After Frothingham 1908, 19.



Figure 115. Drawing of a Claudian coin depicting the Augustan arch of Drusus. After Donaldson 1859, pl. 55.



Figure 116. The Tiberian arch at Orange, France. After Frothingham 1908, 15.

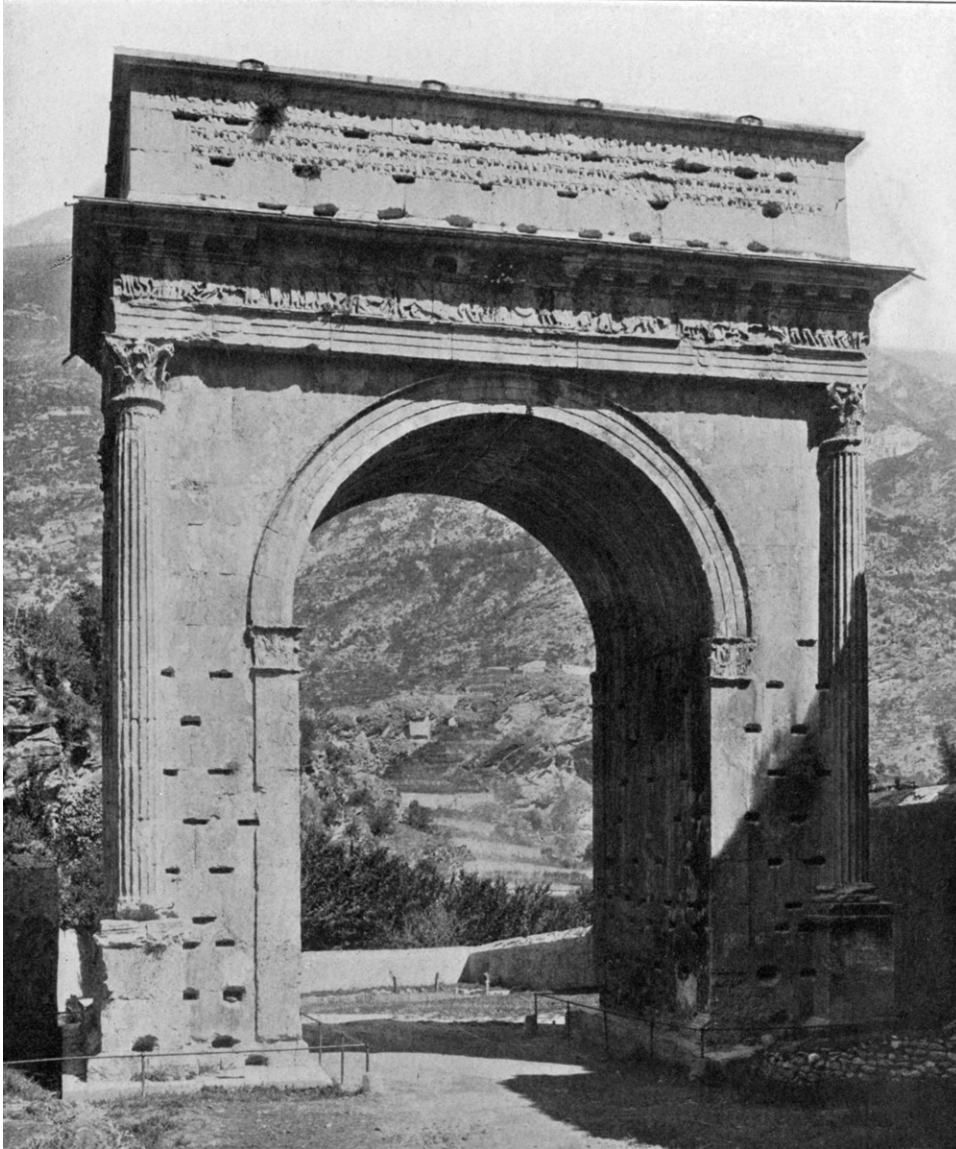


Figure 117. The arch of Augustus at Susa, Italy. After Frothingham 1908, 13.



Figure 118. The frieze of the arch of Augustus at Susa, Italy. Top: treaty signing, after Esperandieu 1907, 16. Bottom: suovetaurelia sacrifice, after Esperandieu 1907, 19.



Figure 119. The arch at Aquino, Italy. After Frothingham 1910, pl. 34b.



Figure 120. The Augustan arch at Aosta, Italy. After Frothingham 1908, 12.



Figure 121. The Augustan arch at Glanum, France, with the funerary monument of the Julii in the background. After Frothingham 1908, 17.

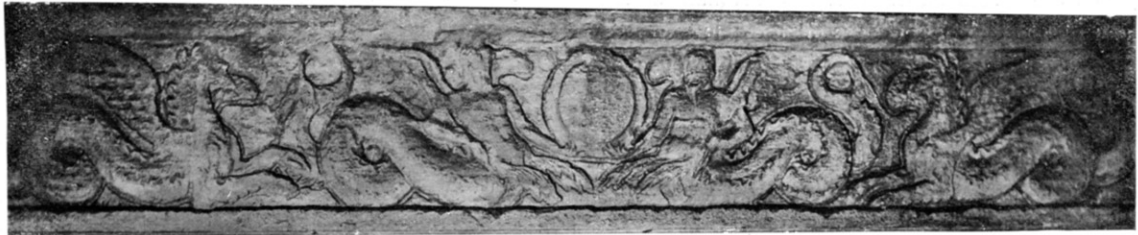


Figure 122. Frieze from the monument of the Julii at Glanum, with tritons holding a shield. The tritons-with-shield motif is centered over the archway on the second level of the tower tomb (see fig. 121). After Esperandieu 1907, 97.

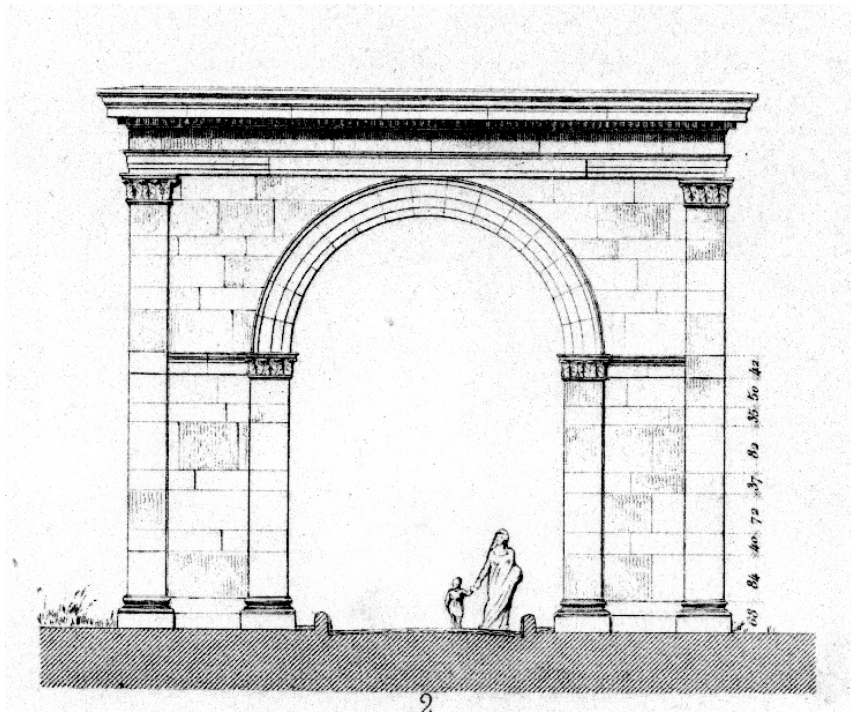


Figure 123. Restored elevation of the Augustan arch at Philippi, Greece. After Heuzey and Daumet 1876, pl. 2.2.



Figure 124. The arch of Augustus at Rimini, Italy. After Frothingham 1910, pl. 35a.



a.



b.



c.

Figure 125a-c. Three Spanish coins depicting arches erected in commemoration of imperial road construction. A: after Donaldson 1859, pl. 60. B: after Donaldson 1859, pl. 61. C: after MacDonald 1905, pl. 7.20.



Figure 126. Foundations of the Parthian Arch (labeled “Arch of Augustus”) adjacent to the Temple of Divus Julius in the Forum Romanum. After Firth 1902, pl. following p. 188.



Figure 127. Drawing of an Augustan coin minted in Rome, depicting the Parthian Arch in Rome. After Donaldson 1859, pl. 59.



Figure 128. Capricorn from the frieze of the arch at Antioch. Photo: author.



Figure 129. Coins of Augustus featuring a capricorn with a globe and a cornucopia. Photo: Photoservice Electa Mondadori / Art Resource, NY



Figure 130. Coin of Augustus showing the façade of the temple of Divus Julius, with the sidus iulium in the pediment. Photo: Snark / Art Resource, NY



Figure 131. Sidus iulium and a rostrum from the frieze of the arch at Antioch. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1453



Figure 132. Combined corona civica and clipeus virtutis carried by winged Victories, from the Hadrianic arch at Antioch. Photo: author.



Figure 133. Parthian standard bearer from the Hadrianic arch at Antioch. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1613

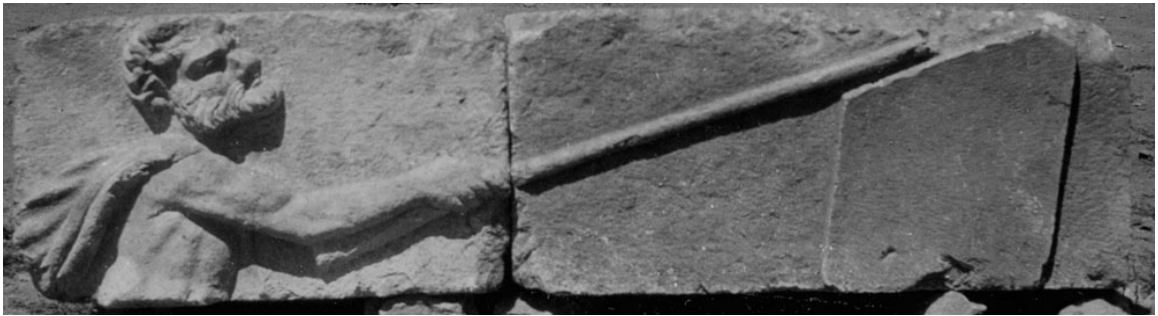


Figure 134. Gallic standard bearer from the Hadrianic arch at Antioch. Kelsey Museum Archives KR110.04



Figure 135. Augustan coin depicting a kneeling Parthian carrying a Roman standard. Photo: Yale University Art Gallery / Art Resource, NY



Figure 136. Augustan coin depicting a kneeling Gaul carrying a Roman vexillum. Photo: Werner Forman / Art Resource, NY



Figure 137. Tritons and trophies from the frieze of the arch at Antioch. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1391.



Figure 138. Tritons and trophies from the frieze of the arch at Antioch. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1390.



Figure 139. Captive from the arch of Augustus at Antioch. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1281.



Figure 140. Captive from the arch of Augustus at Antioch. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1275.



Figure 141. Lower part of a captive from the Hadrianic arch at Antioch. Photo: author.



a



b



c



d

Figure 142a-d. Arch of Augustus at Pisidian Antioch, frieze blocks depicting (a) bow and quiver, (b) cuirass and part of a shield, (c) sword hilt, spear head, and part of a shield, and (d) cuirass with gorgoneion. Kelsey Museum Archives 7.1453, 7.1454, KR025.12, and KR040.12, respectively.



Figure 143. The tetrastyle propylon of the sanctuary of Athena at Pergamon. Jumbled masses of weapons and armor are displayed on the second story balustrade, and a frieze of garlands draped between bucrania and eagles decorates the upper frieze. Photos by Wikimedia Commons user “Gryffindor,” released into public domain, digitally merged by the author.

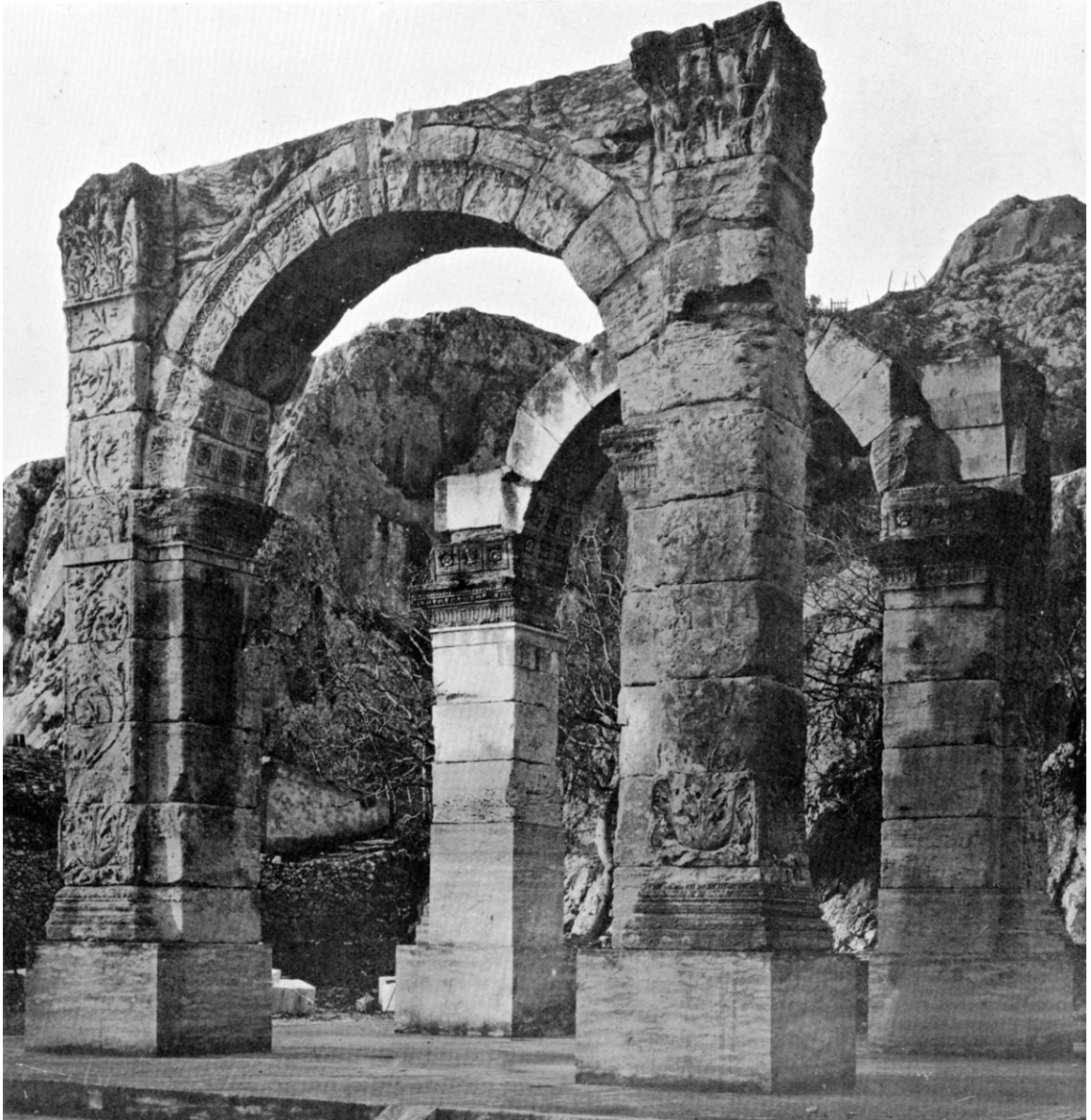


Figure 144. The Augustan quadrifrons at Cavillon in France. After Esperandieu 1907, 173.



Figure 145. Garland from the Ara Pacis Augustae in Rome. After Strong 1907, pl. 20.



Figure 146. Garland frieze from the temple of Augustus at Antioch. Kelsey Museum Archives 5.0250.

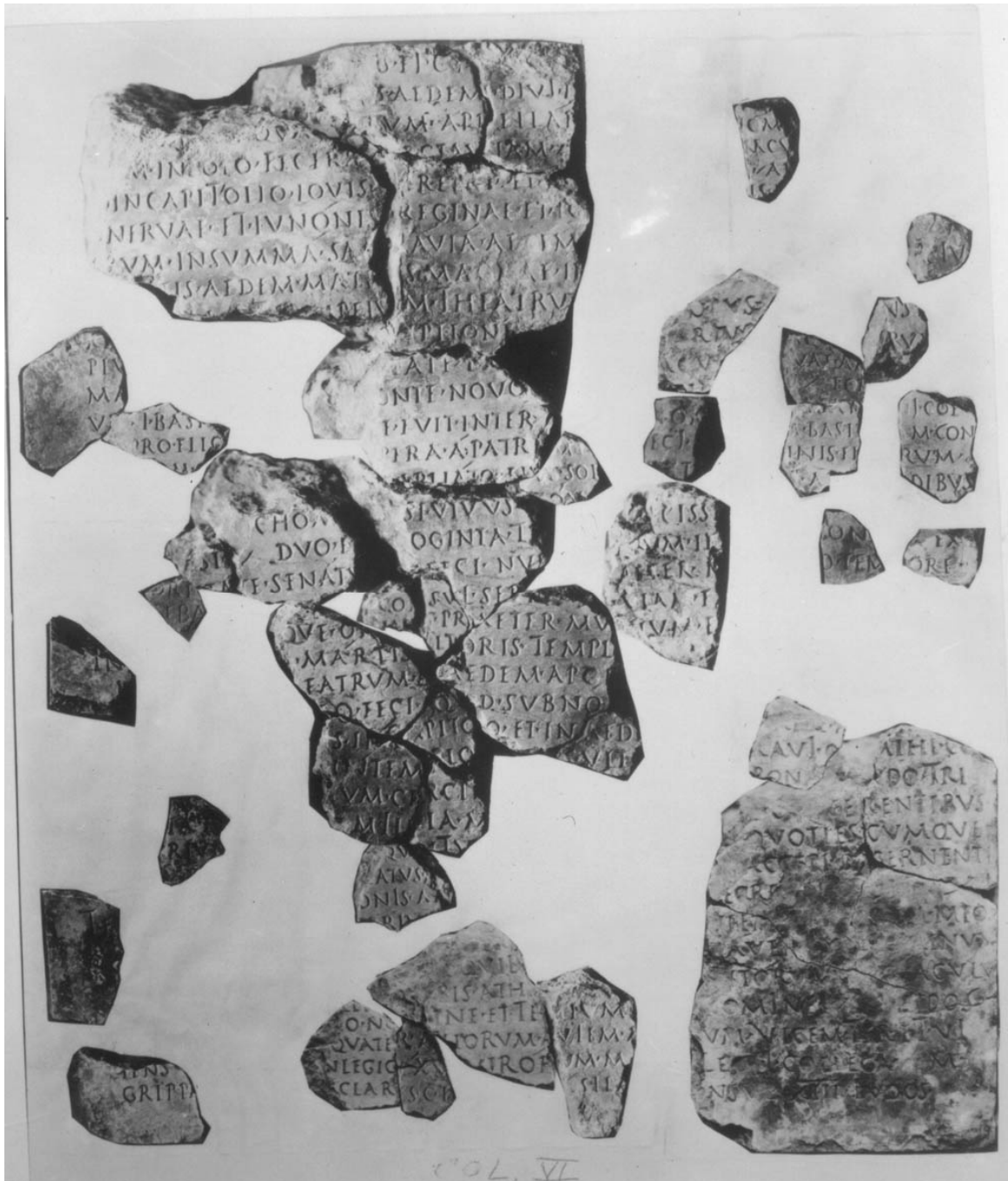


Figure 147. Restored tablet of the Res Gestae from the arch of Augustus at Antioch. Kelsey Museum Archives 4.4270.