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IMPERIAL VISITS AS OCCASION FOR THE ERECTION OF PORTRAIT STATUES?

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IMPERIAL VISITS AS OCCASION FOR THE ERECTION OF PORTRAIT STATUES?

In studies of portraits of Roman emperors, little attention is generally paid to the question of when and why portrait statues were erected. Rather, the main objective is to determine the date of the original or “Urbild” for each portrait type from which subsequent images were reproduced and distributed throughout the empire. Whenever the practical aspects concerning the erection of imperial statues are discussed occasions directly related to the emperor, accession to the throne, military victories, jubilees, the holding of magistracies, marriage and important events in the life of a designated heir, figure among the most frequently cited.¹ In addition, imperial visits in cities around the empire have been seen as the most obvious moment for a city to show its loyalty towards the emperor by setting up his image. Imperial statues were sometimes erected when emperors visited a city, but the extent to which this practice was followed has never been fully investigated. Nevertheless the assumption has influenced the interpretation of imperial portraits, most notably those of Hadrian, who shared his time almost equally between Rome and the provinces.

Hadrian’s travelling activities have been thought to have had an effect on the general output of portrait statues as stated in a recent handbook on Roman sculpture: “There are more surviving portraits of Hadrian than of any other emperor besides Augustus. This was owing to two factors: because Hadrian was emperor for twenty-one years and because statues of him were erected in cities throughout the empire in anticipation of or in appreciation of his visits.”² Hadrian’s visits to provincial towns have also influenced the established chronology of the portrait types: “Das besonders zahlreiche Vorkommen von Bildnissen des Hadrian aus den Provinzen wird durch diese Reisen erklärt, und es liegt nun nahe, zu erwägen, welche provinziellen Bildnisse sich mit dem jeweiligen Aufenthalt des Herrschers in einer bestimmten Provinz in Verbindung bringen lassen, und ferner zu prüfen, ob sich daraus nennenswerte zeitliche Anhaltspunkte für eine Datierung der Bildnisse ergeben.”³ None of the portrait types of Hadrian have been dated exclusively on the basis of provincial portraits thought to have been dedicated at the time of Hadrian’s visit, but Wegner used these to support his chronological sequence of the portrait types.⁴ Thus it is of importance both to the chronology of imperial portraits as well as to our understanding of the general principles governing the erection of imperial statues to establish the extent to which statues of the emperor were erected as a consequence of his travels through the empire.

One overlooked and often misinterpreted source does in fact offer a reliable answer to this question. That is the statue bases or the “non-extant portraits”. By comparing the dated statue bases with the itineraries of emperors we can determine whether visits correlate with dedications of statues. Three emperors, Trajan, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, have been chosen for this case study. This succession of emperors is ideal for two reasons. First, because there are minimal differences in time and in the length of their reigns, factors which could affect the pattern of distribution and chronology of the dedications. Secondly, because the number, destination, and duration of their journeys and their reasons for under-

¹ The to date most encompassing study of the subject, T. Pekáry, *Das römische Kaiserbildnis in Staat, Kult und Gesellschaft. Das römische Herrscherbild. III. Abteilung, Band 5* (1985), 22–28, draws on a selection of both literary and epigraphic evidence. Pekáry sees dedication of statues primarily as an expression of loyalty towards the emperor that needs no specific occasion. Nevertheless all his examples of occasions except one relate to the emperor’s person or to his acts.

² D. E. E. Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture* (1992), 238.

³ M. Wegner, *Hadrian. Das römische Herrscherbild II. Abteilung Band 3* (1956), 54.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 57–62. Wegner cites the portraits in Virunum (Klagenfurt, Landesmuseum), the Bronze head found in the Thames (Brit. Mus.), the nude statue in Vaison-la-Romaine (Musée Municipal), the cuirassed statue from Hierapetra (Istanbul Arch. Mus. 585), the nude statue with base in Pergamon (Bergama Mus.), the portrait from Ephesos now in Vienna (Antikensammlung Inv. Nr. I857), in Athens (Nat. Mus. 249) and from Diktyннаion (Chania Mus. Inv. 77).

taking them were widely different. If imperial visits ever served as occasion for erecting imperial statues, it should be clearly reflected in the surviving evidence for these three emperors.

The statue bases

Statue bases constitute the most numerous source concerning the erection of imperial portrait statues.⁵ Furthermore, owing to the emperor's name formula appearing in the dedicatory inscription they can, contrary to the portraits, often be dated quite accurately. The term statue base here signifies any monument designed to carry a three-dimensional representation of the emperor. Regular statue bases, arches, columns and consoles fall within this definition; temples dedicated to the emperor containing his image and decrees mentioning statues do not. The primary criterion for identifying statue bases is the dedicatory inscription mentioning the emperors name in the dative case in Latin and in the accusative case in Greek. If a reliable description of the monument on which the inscription is cut is not available, the formulation and design of the inscription is usually adequate to determine the character of the monument involved.⁶

One should keep in mind that the preserved statue bases only represent a fraction of the statues originally set up, and in some respects they do not constitute a random selection. Ancient and modern factors such as durability of the materials used, level of re-use, and level of excavation and publication have had a considerable effect on the composition of the preserved material, especially with regard to the geographical distribution. For the present purpose these discrepancies are less significant since the main concern is chronological.

Regarding the chronological representativeness of the material, I will presume the following:

- 1) Portrait statues of the emperor of the type under discussion, which could be termed "honorific statues", were as a rule accompanied by an inscription on the base. Furthermore, there is no chronological discrepancy between statues set up with and without accompanying inscription.⁷
- 2) Cities, officials or private individuals setting up a statue of the emperor while he was present would not be less inclined to record the date of the event in the accompanying inscription.⁸
- 3) Chronology is not a determining factor for the preservation of each individual statue base. Within the material as a whole inconsistencies in the level of preservation may have resulted in a chronological bias but locally the statue bases constitute a chronologically random sample.

⁵ The importance of a systematic investigation of the epigraphical evidence for the understanding of imperial portrait statues was first shown by M. Stuart, *The Portraiture of Claudius* (1938) and *How Were Imperial Portraits Distributed throughout the Empire?*, *AJA* 43 (1939), 601–617. In recent years several studies on imperial portraiture have included the epigraphical evidence from the statue bases, among these: R. H. W. Stichel, *Die römische Kaiserstatue am Ausgang der Antike. Untersuchungen zu plastischen Kaiserporträts seit Valentinian I. (365–374 n. Chr.)* (1982). J. Fejfer, *The Portraits of the Severan Empress Julia Domna. A New Approach*, *AnalRom* 14 (1985), 129–138. D. Boschung, *Die Bildnisse des Caligula. Das römische Herrscherbild. I. Abteilung, Band 4* (1989). C. Evers, *Les portraits d'Hadrien. Typologie et ateliers* (1994).

⁶ For identification of portrait inscriptions, see the criteria set up by M. Stuart, *The Portraiture of Claudius* (1938), 13–14.

⁷ Since the ratio between preserved portraits and statue bases is constant for most emperors during the first and second century A.D. regardless of their length of reign, it follows that portraits with accompanying inscriptions had approximately the same chronological distribution as those without, typically statues set up in private contexts where inscriptions were superfluous, see J. M. Højte, *The Epigraphic Evidence Concerning Portrait Statues of Hadrian's Heir L. Aelius Caesar*, *ZPE* 127 (1999), 228–229.

⁸ Imperial visits were even occasionally used as the basis for reckoning time: Athens (IG II², 3190) and Epidaurus (IG IV², 384).

Dated inscription

Only inscriptions datable within a time span of approximately one year according to a system of reckoning that is uniform throughout the reign are included in this survey.⁹ The vast majority of these are dated on the basis of the number of times the emperor held tribunician power, which was conferred on accession and renewed annually – in the second century A.D. usually on 10 December.¹⁰ Since the system of calculation is relatively simple, we can assume that the information supplied in the inscription is fairly accurate. At least if the monument was intended actually to be seen by the emperor himself or was to commemorate an imperial visit, the donor must have taken extra care in getting the imperial titles correct. Thus any inaccuracies in the reckoning would only lead us to find more conjunctions between travels and statue bases.

In some cities in the eastern provinces, the year of reign was used sporadically as it had been in the Hellenistic period,¹¹ and sometimes local systems of reckoning years appear in the inscriptions. Unfortunately the most common type of calendars – the ones using eponymous magistrates – are for the most part meaningless to us. Only the date of the inscriptions which use the type of calendar that calculate the years from a known event can be determined.¹² Finally, the governor of the province can be used to date inscriptions if the year of his term of office is known.¹³

The number of inscriptions which qualify under these conditions vary greatly from emperor to emperor. There is, however, a close relation between the number of datable inscriptions and the total number of statue bases known to us (see Fig. 1).¹⁴ The datable inscriptions for Trajan and Hadrian are listed in appendix 1.

Emperor	Total number of bases	Datable bases	% of total
Trajan	208	51	24.5%
Hadrian	427	102	23.9%
Antoninus Pius	300	80	26.7%

Fig. 1. Number and percentage of bases datable according to the criteria set up

The datable statue bases have a very wide geographical distribution with 148 different cities represented among the total of 233 specimens. The samples are too small to allow comparison of the geographical

⁹ A small number of inscriptions dated to a specific year according to the number of consulships held are excluded since they would inflate the number of inscriptions in years in which the emperor was not travelling, since the emperor most likely would reside in Rome when holding the consulship.

¹⁰ Early in his reign Trajan seems to have changed the date of renewal from the *dies imperii* to the traditional date for electing tribunes, 10 December. Hadrian probably started out using his *dies imperii* but later changed it to 10 December. See H. Mattingly, *Tribunicia Potestate*, *JRS* 20 (1930), 78–91. M. Hammond, *The Tribunician Day from Domitian through Antoninus: A Reexamination*, *MAAR* 19 (1949), 36–76. D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle. Grundzüge einer römischen Kaiserchronologie* (1990), 122–124 & 128–131.

¹¹ Mopsuestia: *IGRR* III, 914. Salamis: *IGRR* III, 987 (these may be the same inscription erroneously listed under two different locations in *IGRR*). Soli: T. B. Mitford, *Opuscula Archaeologica* 6 (1950), 32–33. Comana Cappadocia: *IGRR* III, 121. Hamadié: *TAM* IV, 23.

¹² Sebastopolis: *SEG* 41, 1109 & 1110. Emerita Augusta: *AE* 1990, 515. Traianopolis: *IGRR* IV, 623. Panticapaeum: *IGRR* I, 877. Amastris: *SEG* 41, 106.

¹³ Trajan: Miletus: A. Rehm, *Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899. Band VI, Teil 1. Inschriften von Milet* (1997), 41, no. 226 (A.D. 103) & 43, no. 229 (A.D. 117), *CIG* 2876 (A.D. 106). Ephesus: *IGSK* 15, 1500. Hadrian: Ephesus: *IGSK* 17, 2, 4333 (A.D. 118) & *IGSK* 12, 276 (A.D. 123). Capsa: *CIL* VIII, 98 (A.D. 135). Megara: *IG* VII, 70–72 & 3491 (A.D. 136).

¹⁴ The figures derive from a database under preparation containing all statue bases for emperors in the period from Augustus to Commodus. Because of the size of a full catalogue only the datable inscriptions for Trajan and Hadrian are listed in Appendix 1. Note that the number of inscriptions for Hadrian is somewhat higher than the figure in C. Evers, *Les portraits d'Hadrien. Typologie et ateliers* (1994), 35.

distribution of the datable bases with the undated ones in more than general terms. Under Trajan and Hadrian the datable inscriptions are distributed evenly between the western Latin-speaking and the eastern Greek-speaking provinces; this reflects the distribution of the whole body of statue bases (Fig. 2–3). Relatively few of the inscriptions for Antoninus Pius in the eastern provinces can be dated and the North African provinces alone contribute with more than 50%. The same tendency is noticeable among the less well-dated bases but not to the same extent (Fig. 4).

The itineraries

Imperial travels have been treated in a thorough study by Helmut Halfmann and the itineraries presented below (appendix 2) generally follow his work.¹⁵ Whereas the general outlines of Trajan's journeys are fairly easy to reconstruct because his primary purpose was to move from Rome to a theatre of war in the most efficient way,¹⁶ the situation for Hadrian is much more complex. The early studies by Dürr¹⁷ and Weber¹⁸ frequently and uncritically used inscriptions mentioning the emperor's name, including statue bases, as evidence for imperial visits. In return, this may to some extent have given rise to the notion that imperial statues were erected on the occasion of imperial visits.¹⁹ Halfmann's study does much to redeem this situation. His stated purpose is to present only the places Hadrian definitely visited, even if it results in gaps in the itineraries.²⁰

The only substantial issue left for discussion is whether Hadrian himself took the field against the Jewish rebellion in A.D. 132. Halfmann leaves the question open, since he can find no proof either way. Syme, on the other hand, argues that Hadrian moved within reach of Palestine for his winter quarters in A.D. 132/33 and places his visit to the northeastern frontier, not as Halfmann in A.D. 131 on his way to Athens, but in A.D. 133 on his way back to Rome.²¹ Both options will have to be taken into account when comparing the itineraries with the statue bases.

Only journeys in the provinces come into consideration. Naturally, the emperors travelled within Italy, much more so than in the provinces, but our sources for imperial travels in Italy are not always sufficient to produce the consistent itineraries necessary for this type of investigation.²² Whenever the emperor went abroad vows were made for his safe return and the event was most likely to find its way into the annals. Going to an imperial villa in Tibur or by the bay of Naples for example, which some emperors frequently did, was not necessarily recorded anywhere. In addition, imperial visits were, at least in western central Italy, not unusual and therefore less likely to have been an event worth commemorating with a statue. Hadrian's tour of Italy in A.D. 127, the nature of which was more like his inspection tours of the provinces, may be seen as an exception to the general purpose of imperial travels in Italy.

¹⁵ H. Halfmann, *Itinera principum. Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im römischen Reich* (1986). Note the comments in the reviews by R. Syme, *Journeys of Hadrian*, *ZPE* 73 (1988), 165–169 and T. D. Barnes, *The Emperor on the Move*, *JRA* 2 (1989), 247–261. See also, U. Schachinger, *Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian nach Aussagen der Münzbilder*, *NumZ* 104–105 (1997) 83–108.

¹⁶ Difficulties arise when trying to follow the emperor's movements during campaigns, see K. Strobel, *Untersuchungen zu den Dakerkriegen Trajans* (1984) and C. S. Lightfoot, *Trajan's Parthian War and the Fourth-century Perspective*, *JRS* 80 (1990), 115–126.

¹⁷ J. Dürr, *Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian* (1881).

¹⁸ W. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrian* (1907).

¹⁹ For example, D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the Third Century after Christ* (1950), 611–629.

²⁰ H. Halfmann, *op. cit.* (n. 15), 189. An exception is his use of the arches set up in the province of Lycia et Pamphylia to establish his voyage back from Egypt in A.D. 131 (pp. 130–131, 194 & 208).

²¹ R. Syme, *Journeys of Hadrian*, *ZPE* 73 (1988), 165–169.

²² The evidence of Hadrian's travels in Italy has been collected by M. T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and Italian Cities*, *Chiron* 19 (1989), 250–271. His presence at specific locations is almost entirely deduced from dedications of buildings thought to have been initiated by him.

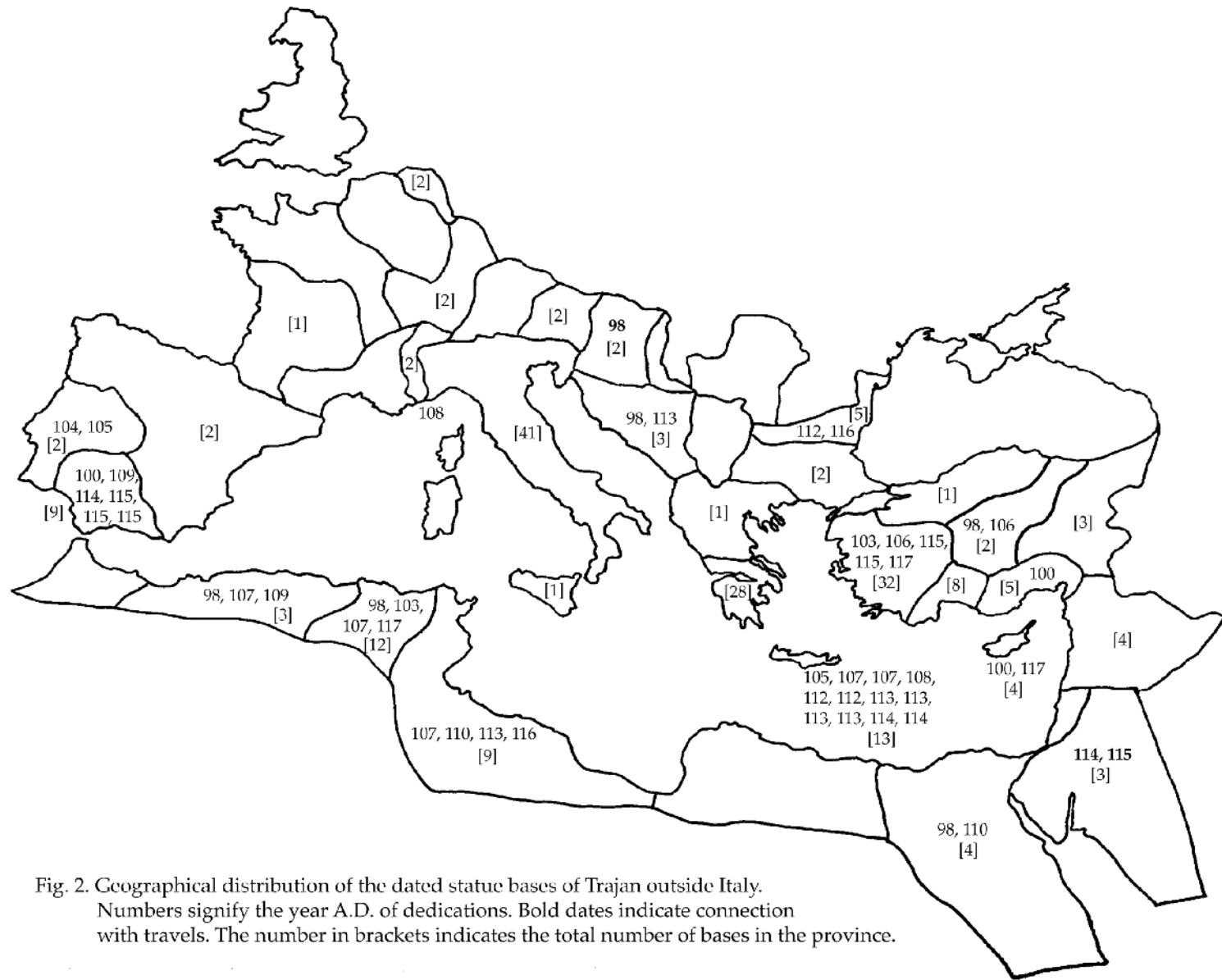


Fig. 2. Geographical distribution of the dated statue bases of Trajan outside Italy. Numbers signify the year A.D. of dedications. Bold dates indicate connection with travels. The number in brackets indicates the total number of bases in the province.

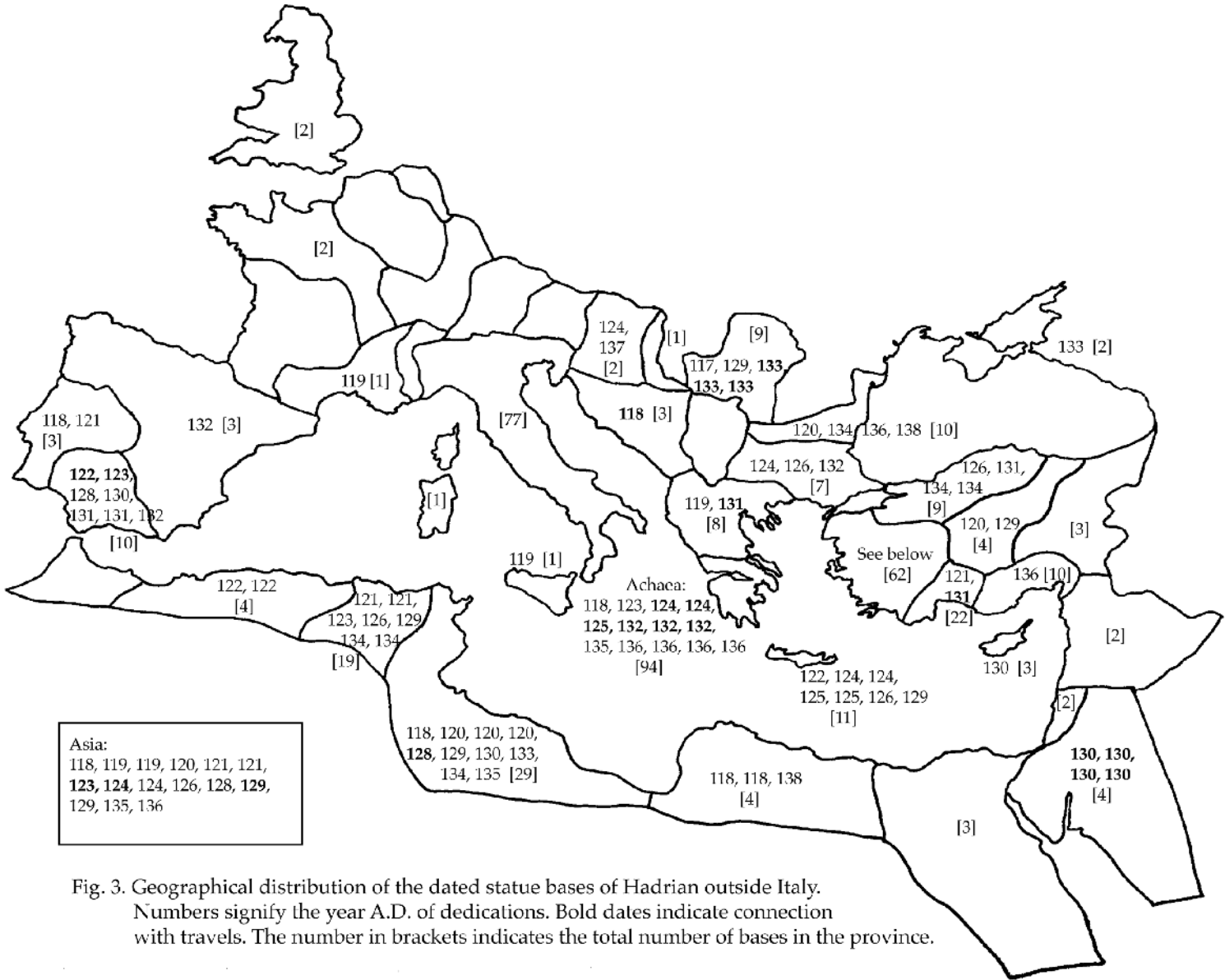


Fig. 3. Geographical distribution of the dated statue bases of Hadrian outside Italy. Numbers signify the year A.D. of dedications. Bold dates indicate connection with travels. The number in brackets indicates the total number of bases in the province.

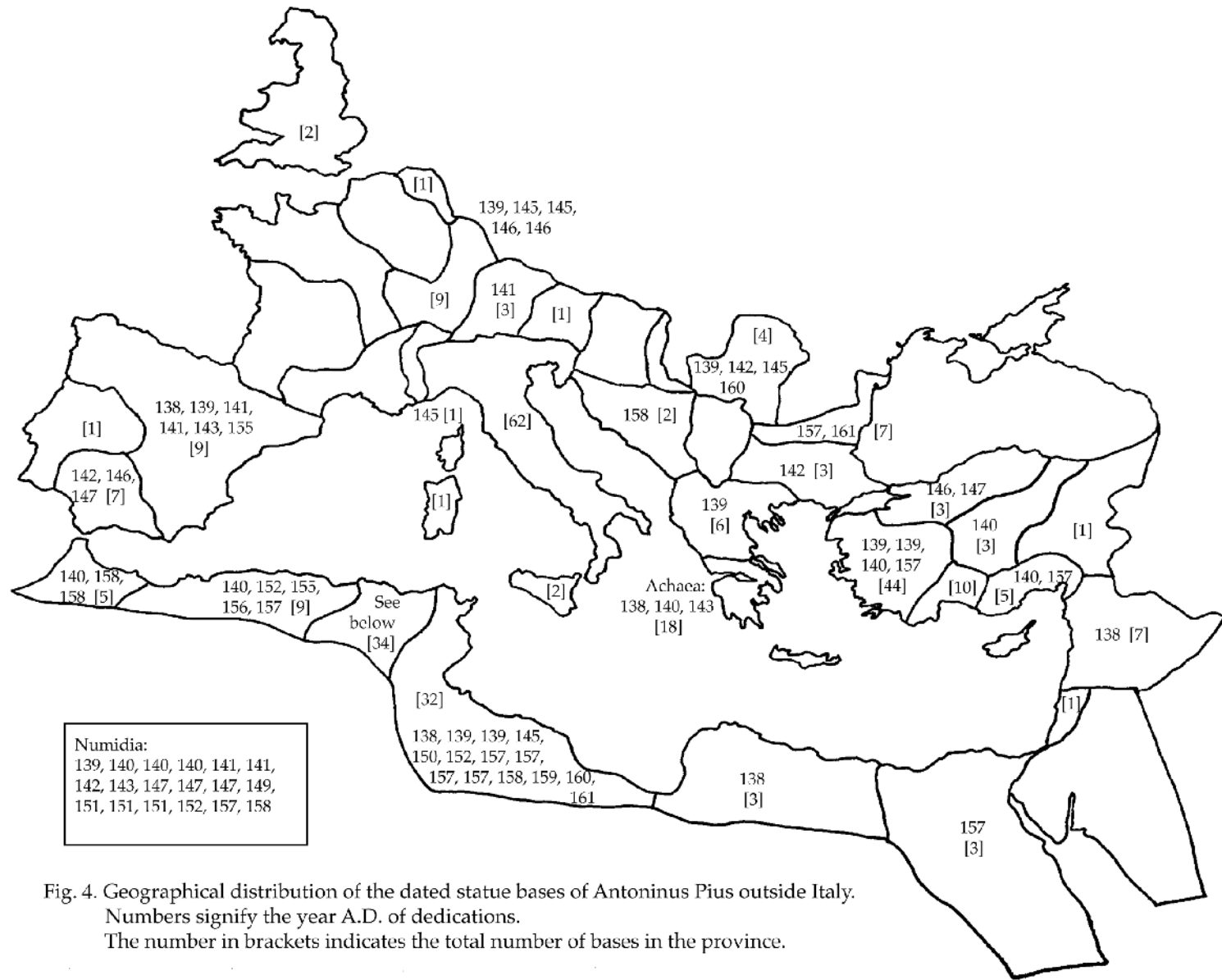


Fig. 4. Geographical distribution of the dated statue bases of Antoninus Pius outside Italy. Numbers signify the year A.D. of dedications. The number in brackets indicates the total number of bases in the province.

The itineraries compared with the chronology and distribution of the statue bases

Trajan's journeys went mostly to regions where little evidence of imperial statue bases has been found. Whether this is a consequence of our lack of knowledge or whether there were originally few portrait statues in existence, we must expect to find relatively few connections between imperial visits and statue bases.

Two inscriptions dated to A.D. 98 have been found in the north-eastern provinces: one in Neviodunum in Pannonia Superior, the other in Doclea in Dalmatia. Trajan could have visited Neviodunum if he did not follow the Danube on his way east to Moesia. He was certainly in the near vicinity of the city around the time of the dedication.²³ Doclea, on the other hand, is not likely to have received the emperor, although Trajan probably passed through Dalmatia some time before his return to Rome in A.D. 99.

Trajan's two Dacian campaigns seem to have left no trace in the form of dedications of statues in the area. The inscriptions are either earlier than A.D. 102 or significantly later than A.D. 107 and the number of statue bases for Trajan in the area is lower than for both Hadrian and Antoninus Pius.²⁴ The *tropaeum* at Adamclissi was erected fairly close to the time when Trajan was present in A.D. 109, but the monument probably did not include a statue of Trajan.²⁵ The statue base found there was not set up until seven years later in A.D. 116.

In the fall of A.D. 113 Trajan left Rome and arrived at Antiochia two months later.²⁶ None of the statue bases dated that year or the following are close to any of the possible routes Trajan could have followed. His sojourn in the East seems to have had at least some influence on dedicatory practices. Only seven portrait inscriptions for Trajan have been found in Syria, Judaea and Arabia compared to eight for both Hadrian and Antoninus Pius but three of these belong to arches, two of which can be dated to A.D. 114 and 115 respectively.²⁷ We do not know if or when Trajan visited Petra, Gerasa and Dura Europos, where the arches were set up, and it is difficult therefore to determine whether they were a direct consequence of an imperial visit or whether they were inspired by the military advances in general.²⁸

Of the total of 51 dated inscriptions for Trajan, only one statue base and two arches were dedicated when the emperor was in the vicinity. In addition, there are fewer bases for statues of Trajan than for his two successors in the two regions where Trajan spent considerable time. Although Trajan travelled in regions with relatively little evidence for imperial statues this is not what we would expect if cities showed their loyalty to the emperor by dedicating a statue at the time of his visit.

The number of datable inscriptions for Hadrian in the provinces is fairly stable throughout his reign. Apart from the years A.D. 127 and 137 (the years of the tenth and twentieth anniversary!) with only one statue base each, between three and eight inscriptions are known each year.²⁹ There are no apparent differences in the number of inscriptions between years in which Hadrian was travelling and years in which he stayed in Rome and Italy (see Appendix 1).

²³ Unless otherwise noted the inscriptions referred to in the text are listed in Appendix 1 under the year in question.

²⁴ Trajan 13; Hadrian 23 and Antoninus Pius 16.

²⁵ F. B. Florescu, *Das Siegesdenkmal von Adamklissi. Tropaeum Traiani* (1965), 61–67.

²⁶ See H. Halfmann, *op. cit.* (n. 15), 184–185.

²⁷ Petra: *SEG* 32, 1550. Gerasa: *SEG* 7, 844. The arch in Dura Europos (*AE* 1933, 225), although not dated precisely, was probably set up in A.D. 114 or 115 as well.

²⁸ C. S. Lightfoot, Trajan's Parthian War and the Fourth-Century Perspective, *JRS* 80 (1990), 115–126.

²⁹ In A.D. 117 and 138 Hadrian was only emperor approximately half a year and the number of dated inscriptions is accordingly lower.

Hadrian was in Antiochia when Trajan died at Selinus, and although the succession apparently had adversaries in Rome,³⁰ the new emperor decided (like Trajan had done twenty years before) to inspect the north-eastern frontier himself before going to Rome. According to *Historia Augusta* he came to Rome *per Illyricum*.³¹ This may have taken him to or near Burnum in Dalmatia, where a statue base was dedicated in A.D. 118. The other six inscriptions that year were set up far from regions Hadrian passed through.

The first half of Hadrian's first grand tour A.D. 121–125 went to the north-western provinces where a total of only five statue bases have been found. None of these were set up in A.D. 121/22, and the situation is similar in Tarraconensis where Hadrian had winter quarters in A.D. 122/23. Here, only three bases have been found compared to nine for Antoninus Pius. The cities of Baetica could reasonably have expected that after his stay in Tarraco, Hadrian had plans to visit Italica where he grew up. Two bases set up there in A.D. 122 and 123 could possibly have been inspired by the prospect of an imperial visit. Hadrian was, however, not going to Baetica, which must have been clear at the time of the dedication of the second base. Ironically, Baetica is one of the few provinces Hadrian did not visit as emperor. Instead he went to Syria to inspect the eastern frontier from Syria to Trapezus.³² From there he went along the coast of the Black Sea to winter quarters in Bithynia, possibly at Nicomedeia. The following year he went through Asia to Ephesus, where he set sail to Athens.³³ Over this long stretch the only possible connection between visit and the dedication of a statue is at Ephesus. Bases were dedicated here in both A.D. 123 and 124 – the second probably at the time of his visit. In Miletus a base was set up in A.D. 124 as well; though Hadrian was nearby, he only visited the city five years later in A.D. 129. Hadrian participated in the Eleusinian mysteries in October A.D. 124 and he probably also visited the Peloponnesus that year.³⁴ In Epidaurus, which seems a likely destination for the religiously interested emperor, a base was dedicated in A.D. 124. Hadrian's visit to Epidaurus is further implied from an inscription on an altar in the sanctuary set up ten years after his sojourn;³⁵ the location of the sojourn must be Epidaurus, not just the province of Achaëa. Hadrian spent the winter of A.D. 124/25 in Athens, where the bases in the Theatre of Dionysus dedicated by the twelve *fylai*, four of which are preserved, are generally assumed to have been dedicated at the time of his second visit to the city.³⁶ The inscriptions, however, contain no information as to their date, and a similar arrangement of statues set up in honour of Antoninus Pius in the theatre in Ephesus shows that imperial presence was not a prerequisite for this type of dedication.³⁷ It seems fairly certain that Hadrian travelled through central Greece to a harbour on the Adriatic in the spring of A.D. 125. An inscription from a base in Elatea in Locris mentions Hadrian having tribunician power for the eighth time. Hadrian almost certainly was in Coronea in A.D. 125 and possibly in nearby Abea and Hyampolis as well,³⁸ and the base in Elatea was thus dedicated shortly before his arrival to the area, possibly in anticipation of an imperial visit. With regard to the base set up in the sanctuary in Delphi in A.D. 125, there can be little doubt that it was a consequence of Hadrian's visit; perhaps it was even dedicated when Hadrian was present.

³⁰ R. Syme, *Hadrian and the Senate*, *Athenaeum* 62 (1984), 32–35. E. Mertens, *Die Adoption Hadrians*, in *Bonner Festgabe Johannes Straub zum 65. Geburtstag am 18. Oktober 1977* (1977), 247–260.

³¹ HA, *Hadr.* 5. 10.

³² The statue of Hadrian of poor quality on the water front in Trapezus mentioned by Arrian, *Periplus* 1.3 may have commemorated Hadrian's visit to the city but was evidently never seen by Hadrian himself. How long this disgrace had gone unnoticed is impossible to say; perhaps not all imperial legates had the refined taste of Arrian.

³³ H. Halfmann, *op. cit.* (n. 15), 197–202.

³⁴ H. Halfmann, *op. cit.* (n. 15), 202–203.

³⁵ IG IV², 842.

³⁶ IG II², 3287 A–D. P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien* (Cairo 1934), 18–20.

³⁷ IGSK 16, 2050.

³⁸ H. Halfmann, *op. cit.* (n. 15), 192. Paus. 10. 35. 4–6.

Before setting out on his second grand tour in A.D. 128, Hadrian went for a short visit to Sicily and North Africa. This was the first and only imperial visit to the North African provinces during the first two centuries A.D. Nineteen datable bases for Hadrian have been found in Western North Africa, but only one of them, the one found in Tipasa, was set up in the year of his visit. Whether that city was on his itinerary remains unknown. If there was no correlation between imperial visits and dedication of statues, 1 out of 21 (the length of Hadrian's reign in years) bases would statistically have been set up in the year of his visit. The actual figure is remarkably close to this. Furthermore, far more statue bases for Antoninus Pius who did not visit the area have been found in North Africa (Fig. 3–4).

The first stop on the second grand tour was Athens, where Hadrian spent the winter of A.D. 128/29. Even though Hadrian probably went on excursions from Athens (we only know of visits to Sparta and Eleusis), no bases dated to either year have been found in the province of Achaëa. In Ephesus, which Hadrian visited next, a base was dedicated in A.D. 129 reading: "because of his unsurpassed gifts to Artemis: he granted the goddess rights over inheritances and deposits and her own laws, he provided shipments of grain from Egypt, he made the harbors navigable and diverted the river Kaystros which silts up the harbors . . ." ³⁹ This illustrates the type of problems a city could attract the emperor's attention to during a personal visit and the value of the benefits in this instance clearly outweighed the cost of entertaining the emperor and his train. Two further bases were set up in Asia Minor in A.D. 129, both in cities that Hadrian did not visit. ⁴⁰

In Gerasa in the province of Arabia, which Hadrian visited on his way to Egypt, there can be no doubt that Hadrian's visit had an effect on the number of dedications. Seven inscriptions from Gerasa record the erection of imperial statues during the second century A.D., four of them belong to statues of Hadrian set up in A.D. 130. In connection with Hadrian's visit to Gerasa an enlargement of the city took place, quite similar to the extension of the Olympieion district in Athens from where he had just come. ⁴¹ This ambitious building programme was surely a contributing factor to the sudden eagerness to erect statues of Hadrian. Even with the inclusion of the four bases from Gerasa the total number of statue bases for Hadrian in the East is not higher than for Antoninus Pius. In Egypt, where Hadrian spent the winter of A.D. 130/31, only three bases have been found compared to four and three for Trajan and Antoninus Pius respectively; none of them can be dated with any precision. ⁴² After leaving Egypt in A.D. 131 Hadrian travelled along the coast of Syria and the southern shore of Asia Minor; the arch erected in Phaselis that year probably reflects one of his stops along the way. ⁴³

The next conjunction between Hadrian's presence and dedication of statues belongs to A.D. 131/32 when Hadrian had winter quarters in Athens and inaugurated the temple of Zeus and founded the Panhellenion. ⁴⁴ Pausanias, in his description of the Olympieion, enumerates all the statues of Hadrian in stone and bronze dedicated by different Greek cities, perhaps the member cities of the Panhellenion, which filled the precinct. ⁴⁵ The large number of statue bases preserved in the Olympieion and in other

³⁹ *IGSK* 12, 274. Translated by N. Lewis, *Greek Historical Documents. The Roman Principate: 27 B.C.–285 A.D.* (1974), 17.

⁴⁰ Asia, Heraclaea ad Salbacum: L. & J. Robert, *La Carie* II, no. 151 and Cappadocia, Colonia Archelais: *AE* 1976, 675.

⁴¹ C. H. Kraeling, *Gerasa* (1938) 50–51.

⁴² Tentyra: *AE* 1975, 855 & 856. Siwa: *SEG* 8, 791. The date given for the inscription from Siwa is a restoration and Hadrian probably never visited the oasis, see P. J. Sijpesteijn, A New Document Concerning Hadrian's Visit to Egypt, *Historia* 18 (1969), 109–118.

⁴³ H. Halfmann, *op. cit.* (n. 15), 130–131.

⁴⁴ *IG* IV², 842 inform us that the third year after the inauguration equalled the tenth year after Hadrian's visit, which can only be the one in A.D. 124/25. See also A. J. Spawforth & S. Walker, The World of the Panhellenion, *JRS* 75 (1985) 78–104.,

⁴⁵ Paus. 1. 18. 6.

parts of Athens dedicated by Greek cities undoubtedly belonged to these statues.⁴⁶ The majority of the inscriptions are in Greek and follow the normal Greek scheme of recording the emperor's name without any mention of offices and titles and thus contain no dating criteria. However, three of them were set up by Roman colonies that used Latin for their dedication and included the full imperial name and titles in the inscriptions. All three can be dated to A.D. 131/32 since Hadrian holds tribunician power for the sixteenth time and it is assumed, therefore, that all the bases found in the Olympieion were dedicated simultaneously with the inauguration. One inscription calls Hadrian *theos*, which does not necessarily imply that Hadrian was deified at the time of the dedication, but since it is the only one that deviates from the otherwise very standardised formulation of the inscriptions it seems likely that it was dedicated after A.D. 138; perhaps the city of Ceramiae which set up the statue only became a member of the Panhellenion after the death of Hadrian.⁴⁷

If Hadrian, as Halfmann assumes, went to the Danube frontier in A.D. 131 before going to Athens he probably visited Philippi, where a base was set up that year. If on the other hand he first attended to the Jewish rebellion and came to the area in A.D. 133 on his way to Rome, there could be a possible connection with four inscriptions dated to A.D. 133 found in two military camps in Dacia. It is not entirely clear, however, whether these inscriptions cut on plaques belong to monuments that carried portrait statues of Hadrian, or whether they record dedications of buildings.

Of the 102 dated statue bases of Hadrian from the provinces twelve were set up in the same year that Hadrian visited the city where the base was found. Three to five further bases, depending on when Hadrian visited the north-eastern frontier for the second time, were set up in cities that Hadrian could possibly have visited and four bases were set up in cities that Hadrian did not visit but where he was in the vicinity around the time of the dedication (Fig. 3). The number of bases related to visits thus amounts to 20% of the total, which is slightly higher than to be expected if conjunctions between statue bases and visits were merely coincidental. His travels in the west seem to have left no trace at all, but in the east, particularly in the provinces of Achaëa and Arabia, did his travels exert some influence on the decision to erect statues. It is striking, however, that nine of the twelve bases with a definite connection to visits were set up in three cities only: four in Gerasa, three in Athens⁴⁸, and two in Ephesus. In Athens the occasion for setting up the statues of Hadrian in A.D. 131/32 was certainly extraordinary, and in Gerasa and Ephesus the visit was likewise accompanied by substantial largesse from the emperor. It seems therefore that the emperor's benefactions to the city during his stay were an important factor in the decision to erect his statue.

The statue bases show that portraits found in cities Hadrian visited cannot be used in the discussion of the chronology of the portrait types unless there are other reasons for the proposed date of a portrait. Hadrian visiting a city is no proof in itself. Too many statues were erected continuously throughout his reign in all parts of the empire (Fig. 3). Likewise it is manifestly wrong to postulate imperial visits to a city merely on the ground of the presence of a statue base.

Antoninus Pius did not leave Italy in the 21 years he reigned nor did he, for all we know, contemplate doing so; consequently there can be no connection between travels and erection of statues.

Italy and the provinces

As shown above there is little evidence to support the view that statues of the emperor were dedicated when the emperor was actually present. The second question is whether statues were set up in anticipa-

⁴⁶ *IG* II², 3289–3307, 3308–3309?, 3310; *AE* 1947, 17; *CIL* III, 7282–7283. At least six further bases in the Olympieion were dedicated by individuals or groups (*IG* II², 3313, 3315, 3318, 3319, 3320, 3381).

⁴⁷ *IG* II², 3310. *Theos* is frequently used in inscriptions on statue bases in an emperor's lifetime, for example: *IG* II², 3264–65; *IG* IX, 2, 46; *IGSK* 36, 1, 39; *IGRR* I, 875; *IGRR* III, 719; *IGRR* III, 721; *SEG* 14, 557; *SEG* 41, 143.

⁴⁸ With the likely inclusion of approximately another thirty or more undated bases from the Olympieion.

tion or in appreciation of imperial visits. We do not know how far in advance cities were notified of the emperors' arrival, but in most instances there must have been ample time to acquire statues even in the most remote places; other facilities were expected to be provided by the host city.⁴⁹ In addition, when news arrived that Hadrian had left Rome for the second time in A.D. 128 almost any city around the empire could anticipate his arrival at some point and start making preparations well in advance.

Since Hadrian visited almost all the provinces at least once he must have been through a large proportion of the cities in the empire. If many of these set up a statue of Hadrian in appreciation of his visit the proportion of statues of Hadrian set up outside Italy should be higher than for Antoninus Pius who never left Italy.

Emperor	Total number of bases	In Italy	Outside Italy	% outside Italy
Trajan	208	41	167	80.3%
Hadrian	427	77	350	82.0%
Antoninus Pius	300	62	238	79.3%

Fig. 5. The percentage of bases set up outside Italy

As seen in Fig. 5 the differences in the percentage of bases outside Italy for the three emperors are minuscule. The slightly higher percentage under Hadrian can be ascribed to the exceptional find of more than 50 bases for Hadrian in Athens, 30 of these in the Olympieion alone.⁵⁰ If the evidence from Athens is excluded, the proportion of bases for Hadrian outside Italy is in fact lower than for Antoninus Pius. Provincials were thus not any more eager to set up statues of Hadrian than the Italians even though Hadrian visited almost every part of the empire.

Conclusion

The epigraphic evidence from the statue bases of Trajan, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius show that imperial visits generally did not motivate cities or individuals in the provinces to immediately erect statues of the emperor and basing a chronological sequence of portrait types on portraits found at places visited by an emperor is consequently unjustified. These portraits could statistically have been erected at any time during the reign. Neither can travelling alone explain why there are more surviving portraits of one emperor than of another. The number of portraits of an emperor was determined by a whole range of factors: level of economic activity, the spread of the habit of erecting imperial statues, imperial policy, popularity of an emperor etc. In this case we should probably look for characteristics in the policies of the three emperors towards the provinces and imperial benefactions to the cities of the empire, particularly in the province of Achaëa, in Asia Minor and in North Africa where the largest fluctuations in the number of statue bases occur (Fig. 2–4).⁵¹ This, however, falls outside the scope of this investigation of imperial travels as occasion for erecting portrait statues.

⁴⁹ Evidence from Egypt shows that preparations started almost a year before Hadrian's arrival in the fall of A.D. 130, P. J. Sijpesteijn, *op. cit.* (n. 42), 116–118, but this of course depended on the circumstances of the journey. Members of the imperial family could arrive unexpectedly (Nic. Dam. *FGrHist* 90 F 134) but this is not likely to have happened in the case of the emperor. Suitable portraits of a new emperor could be obtained in a matter of months and it is probable that already finished portraits were on store in workshops, see examples in M. Stuart, *op. cit.* (n. 5, 1939), 607–609.

⁵⁰ A. S. Benjamin, The Altars of Hadrian in Athens and Hadrian's Panhellenic Program, *Hesperia* 32 (1963), 57–86.

⁵¹ M. T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire* (2000) have collected the evidence concerning Hadrian's benefactions to cities. Between donations of buildings whether utilitarian or religious and statue bases no immediate correlation can be established beyond that of the material from Athens and the horrea in Myra (*CIL* III, 6738) on which portrait busts of Hadrian and Sabina were set above the central doorway. Change in city status (Boatwright, 39–40), on the other hand, served as occasion for the erection of statues in several cities, particularly in North Africa, as witnessed by the epithets *conditor municipii* (Althiburus: *CIL* VIII, 27775; Avitta Bibba: *CIL* VIII, 799; Choba: *AE* 1949, 55; Ilugo: *CIL* II, 3239; Turris Tamalleni: *CIL* VIII, 83), *conditor coloniae* (Parium: *IGSK* 25, 7–9; Lysimachea: *AE* 1938, 140) or just *conditor* (Musra: *CIL* III, 3279). Since, however, the dedications in Choba, Mursa, and Turris Tamalleni are posthumous, it is

Appendix 1

Dated inscriptions from statue bases for Trajan and Hadrian in the provinces arranged chronologically (the number in parentheses indicate the number of inscriptions that year):

Trajan

- 98 (6) Aegyptus, Syene: *CIL* III, 14147, 2. Cappadocia, Sebastopolis: *SEG* 41, 1109. Dalmatia, Doclea: *CIL* III, 12681. Mauritania Caesariensis, Sitifis: *AE* 1949, 42. Numidia, Thubursicu Numidarum: S. Gsell, *Inscriptions Latines de l'Algérie* I (Paris 1922) 120, no. 1243. Pannonia Superior, Neviodunum: M. Lovenjak, *Inscriptiones Latinae Sloveniae, Neviodunum* (Ljubljana 1998) 71–72, no. 24 = *CIL* III, 3924.
- 100 (3) Baetica, Iulipa: *CIL* II², 7, 903. Cilicia, Mopsuestia: *IGRR* III, 914. Cyprus, Salamis: *IGRR* III, 987.
- 103 (2) Asia, Miletus: *Inchriften von Milet* (Berlin 1997) 41, no. 226. Numidia, Calama: *CIL* VIII, 5325.
- 104 (1) Lusitania, Pons Alcantara: *CIL* II, 759 & 760.
- 105 (2) Creta, Lyttus: *IC* I, XVIII, 17. Lusitania, Emerita Augusta: *AE* 1990, 515.
- 106 (2) Asia, Miletus: *CIG* 2876. Cappadocia, Sebastopolis: *SEG* 41, 1110.
- 107 (5) Africa Proconsularis, Uzae?: *AE* 1938, 43. Creta, Lyttus: *IC* I, XVIII, 18. Creta, Lyttus: *IC* I, XVIII, 19. Mauritania Caesariensis, Cuicul: *CIL* VIII, 8315. Numidia, Rusicade: *CIL* VIII, 7967.
- 108 (2) Alpes Graiae et Poeninae, Axima: *CIL* XII, 105. Creta, Lyttus: *IC* I, XVIII, 21.
- 109 (2) Baetica, Nescania: *CIL* II², 5, 846. Mauritania Caesariensis, Sitifis: *CIL* VIII, 8464.
- 110 (2) Aegyptus, Philae: E. Bernard, *Les inscriptions grecques de Philae* II (Paris 1969) 154–155, no. 163. Africa Proconsularis, Lepcis Magna: *CIL* VIII, 22670.
- 112 (3) Creta, Lyttus: *IC* I, XVIII, 22. Creta, Lyttus: *IC* I, XVIII, 23. Moesia Inferior, Troesmis: *AE* 1991, 1381.
- 113 (6) Africa Proconsularis, Mactaris: *AE* 1963, 96. Creta, Lyttus: *IC* I, XVIII, 29. Creta, Lyttus: *IC* I, XVIII, 27. Creta, Lyttus: *IC* I, XVIII, 28. Creta, Lyttus: *IC* I, XVIII, 30. Dalmatia, Asseria: *AE* 1908, 193.
- 114 (4) Arabia, Petra: *SEG* 32, 1550. Baetica, Cisimbrium: *CIL* II, 2097. Creta, Lyttus: *IC* I, XVIII, 33. Creta, Lyttus: *IC* I, XVIII, 32.
- 115 (6) Arabia, Gerasa: *SEG* 7, 844. Asia, Ephesus: *IGSK* 15, 1500. Asia, Heraclea ad Salbacum: *AE* 1937, 85. Baetica, Arsa: *CIL* II, 5543. Baetica, Municipium Flavium V...: *CIL* II², 7, 888. Baetica, Olvera: *AE* 1987, 499.
- 116 (2) Africa Proconsularis, Mactaris: *CIL* VIII, 11798. Moesia Inferior, Tropaeum Traiani (Adamclissi): *CIL* III, 12470.
- 117 (3) Asia, Miletus: *Inchriften von Milet* (Berlin 1997) 43, no. 229. Cyprus, Soli: T. B. Mitford, *New Inscriptions from Roman Cyprus, Opuscula Archaeologica* 6 (1950) 32–33, no. 16. Numidia, Thamugadi: *CIL* VIII, 2356.

Hadrian

- 117 (1): Dacia, Sarmizegethusa: *CIL* III, 1445.
- 118 (7): Achaea, Lebadea: J. Jannoray, *BCH* 64–65 (1940–1941) 57–58. Africa Proconsularis, Thugga: *CIL* VIII, 1479. Asia, Ephesos: *IGSK* 17, 2, 4333. Cyrene, Cyrene: *AE* 1946, 177. Cyrene, Cyrene: *AE* 1974, 678. Dalmatia, Burnum: *CIL* III, 2828. Lusitania, Civitas Aravorum: *AE* 1954, 87.
- 119 (5): Asia, Miletus: *AE* 1966, 449. Asia, Traianopolis: *CIG* 3865 b. Macedonia, Stobi: *CIL* III, 629. Narbonensis, Vienna: *CIL* XII, 1797. Sicilia, Mazara: *CIL* X, 7202.
- 120 (6): Africa Proconsularis, Lepcis Magna: *IRT* no. 358a. Africa Proconsularis, Lepcis Magna: *IRT* no. 358b. Africa Proconsularis, Lepcis Magna: *IRT* no. 359. Asia, Pergamum: *IvP* 397. Cappadocia, Comana Cappadociae: *IGRR* III, 121. Moesia Inferior, Tomis: *SEG* 27, 400.
- 121 (6): Asia, Magnesia Maeandri: O. Kern, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Mäander* (Berlin 1900) 127, no. 174 + 175. Lusitania, Olisipo: *CIL* II, 186. Lycia et Pamphylia, Perge: *IGSK* 54, 94 + 95. Numidia, Thamugadi: *CIL* VIII, 17844. Numidia, Thibilis: *AE* 1907, 7.
- 122 (4): Baetica, Singilia Barba: *CIL* II², 5, 775. Creta, Lyttus: *IC* I, XVIII, 40. Mauritania Caesariensis, Cuicul: G. Zimmer, *Locus datus decreto decurionum. Zur Statuenaufstellung zweier Forums-*

clear that the honorific statues were not necessarily erected immediately after the new status had been granted. The bulk of the evidence relate to the areas mentioned above but due to the lack of comparative studies for Trajan and Antoninus Pius it is difficult to assess its importance for the erection of imperial statues.

- lagen im römischen Afrika*, SBMünchen, Heft 102 (1989) 65, no. C 44. Mauritania Caesariensis, Tubusuctu: *AE* 1967, 641.
- 123 (4): Achaea, Heraeum of Argos: J. L. Caskey & P. Amandry, *Hesperia* 21 (1952) 219–221, no. 7. Asia, Ephesus: *IGSK* 12, 276. Baetica, Saepo: *CIL* II, 1339. Numidia, Rusicada: *CIL* VIII, 10877.
- 124 (8): Achaea, Elatea: *IG* IX, 1, 144. Achaea, Epidaurus: *IG* IV², 1, 606. Asia, Ephesus: *IGSK* 12, 266. Asia, Miletus: *Inscriptionen von Milet* (Berlin 1997) 44, no. 230. Creta, Gortyn: *IC* III, 274. Creta, Lyttus: *IC* I, XVIII, 41. Pannonia Superior, Siscia: *CIL* III, 3968 a. Thracia, Callipolis: *IGSK* 19, 12.
- 125 (3): Achaea, Delphi: *Fouilles de Delphes* III, IV, 4, 153, adn. 1. Creta, Lyttus: *IC* I, XVIII, 42. Creta, Lyttus: *SEG* 42, 810.
- 126 (5): Asia, Miletus: *Inscriptionen von Milet* (Berlin 1997) 44–45, no. 231. Bithynia et Pontus, Hamidié: *TAM* IV, 23. Creta, Lyttus: *SEG* 37, 753. Numidia, Gemellae: *AE* 1950, 58. Thracia, Perinthus: *CIG* 2020.
- 127 (0):
- 128 (3): Africa Proconsularis, Tipasa: *CIL* VIII, 17143. Asia, Alexandria Troas: *IGSK* 53, 20. Baetica, Callenses?: *CIL* II, 1371.
- 129 (7): Africa Proconsularis, Vicus Haterianus: *CIL* VIII, 23125. Asia, Ephesus: *IGSK* 12, 274. Asia, Heraclea ad Salbacum: L. & J. Robert, *La Carie* II, no. 151. Cappadocia, Colonia Archelais: *AE* 1976, 675. Creta, Gortyn: *IC* III, 275. Dacia, Inlaceni: *AE* 1960, 375. Numidia, Lambaesis: *CIL* VIII, 2533.
- 130 (7): Africa Proconsularis, Tepeltense: *CIL* VIII, 12248. Arabia, Gerasa: *AE* 1935, 96. Arabia, Gerasa: *IGRR* III, 1347. Arabia, Gerasa: *SEG* 7, 813. Arabia, Gerasa: *SEG* 7, 828. Baetica, Urgavo Alba: *CIL* II², 7, 74. Cyprus, Salamis: J. Pouilloux & P. Roesch & J. Marcillet-Jaubert, *Salamine de Chypre* XIII (Paris 1987) 63, no. 143.
- 131 (5): Baetica, Munigua: *AE* 1966, 182 a. Baetica, Munigua: *AE* 1966, 182 b. Bithynia et Pontus, Claudiopolis: *IGSK* 31, 51. Lycia et Pamphylia, Phaselis: *TAM* II, 1187. Macedonia, Philippi: *AE* 1935, 48.
- 132 (6): Achaea, Athenae: *CIL* III, 7281. Achaea, Athenae: *CIL* III, 7282. Achaea, Athenae: *CIL* III, 7283. Baetica, Aratispi: *CIL* II², 5, 731. Tarraconensis, Civitas Limicorum: *CIL* II, 2516. Thracia, Samothrace: *IG* XII, 8, 243.
- 133 (6): Africa Proconsularis, Lepcis Magna: *IRT* no. 362. Dacia, Bivolari: *CIL* III, 12601 a. Dacia, Bivolari: *CIL* III, 12601 b. Dacia, Radacinești: *CIL* III, 12604. Dacia, Radacinești: *CIL* III, 12605. Regnum Bospori, Pantikapaeum: *CIRB* no. 47.
- 134 (6): Africa Proconsularis, Thabborra: *CIL* VIII, 23896. Bithynia et Pontus, Claudiopolis: *IGSK* 31, 52. Bithynia et Pontus, Claudiopolis: *IGSK* 31, 53. Moesia Inferior, Tomis: *CIL* III, 765. Numidia, Rusicada: *CIL* VIII, 7968. Numidia, Thamugadi: *AE* 1920, 121.
- 135 (3): Achaea, Syros: *IG* XII, suppl., 239. Africa Proconsularis, Capsa: *CIL* VIII, 98. Asia, Hadriani: *IGSK* 33, 41.
- 136 (7): Achaea, Megara: *IG* VII, 70; *IG* VII, 71; *IG* VII, 72 & *IG* VII, 3491. Asia, Miletus: *AE* 1909, 89. Cilicia, Anazarbus: *AE* 1891, 26. Moesia Inferior, Nicopolis ad Istrum: *IGBulg* II, 601.
- 137 (1): Pannonia Superior, Arrabona: *CIL* III, 4366.
- 138 (2): Cyrene, Cyrene: *SEG* 9, 136. Moesia Inferior, Nicopolis ad Istrum: *SEG* 44, 629.

Appendix 2

The itineraries of Trajan and Hadrian

Trajan:**98–99: Returning to Rome from Germania by way of the North-eastern frontier**

98–99: Germania Sup. & Inf., Raetia, Noricum, Dalmatia, Pannonia Sup. & Inf., Moesia Sup. & Inf.

101–102: The First Dacian War

101–102: Dalmatia, Pannonia Superior and Inferior, Moesia Superior and Inferior

105–107: The Second Dacian War

105–107: Dalmatia, Pannonia Superior and Inferior, Moesia Superior and Inferior

113–117: The Parthian War

113: Achaea, Asia, Lycia et Pamphylia, Cilicia, Syria

114–116: Syria

117: Syria, Cilicia

Hadrian:

117–118: Returning to Rome from Syria by way of the north-eastern frontier

117: Syria, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Galatia, Bithynia et Pontus

118: Bithynia et Pontus, Thracia, Moesia Superior and Inferior, Pannonia Superior and Inferior, Dalmatia

121–125: 1st grand tour

121: Narbonensis, Lugdunensis

122: Lugdunensis, Germania Superior & Inferior, Raetia, Noricum, Britannia, Belgica, Aquitania, Tarraconensis

123: Tarraconensis, Syria, Cappadocia, Bithynia et Pontus

124: Bithynia et Pontus, Asia, Achaea

125: Achaea, Macedonia, Epirus, Sicilia

128–132: 2nd grand tour

128: Sicilia, Africa Proconsularis, Numidia, Mauretania Caesarensis, Achaea

129: Achaea, Asia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Syria

130: Syria, Arabia, Iudaea, Aegyptus

131: Aegyptus, Lycia et Pamphylia, Asia, Thracia, Moesia Inferior, Macedonia, Achaea

132: Achaea