

dess victory, crowning the emperor, and surrounded by soldiers and lictors. Between the imperial pair, the Genius Populi Romani stands on a square plinth, and behind Domitian are the Genius Senatus, lictors, soldiers, and finally vestals. Vespasian's gesture of greeting confirms that the scene depicts his initial entry into Rome which did not occur until September of 70. Domitian welcomes his father, having acted as a kind of legate at the capital from December to September. Frieze B forms a perfect complement to Frieze A. Both depict the triumphant returns of the *princeps* to Rome and underscore the *virtus* of the Flavian *gens* and the parallel positions of father and son. In frieze A, foreign conflicts have been successfully overcome, and in frieze B, civil strife brought to an end.

There are no clear indications that the Cancelleria reliefs were ever set up. They were discovered in 1937 leaning against a wall of the tomb of Aulus Hirtius, together with other sculptural fragments beneath the Palazzo della Cancelleria. The area may have been used in antiquity as storage for a sculptor's workshop, which often occur in close proximity to burial sites or in populous urban areas.<sup>63</sup> Indeed, this entire area of the city has been described by A. Claridge as a "marble workers' quarter."<sup>64</sup> The

hierarchical prominence of the figure in the frieze, ensure that this figure must be Domitian. Evidence for the recarving of the portrait of Vespasian is also scanty, especially in comparison to the indisputably recut features of Nerva in Frieze A. The portrait of Vespasian does not exhibit the overwhelming discrepancies of scale, asymmetricalities and wholesale retention of Domitianic elements, like the deeply waved coiffure, that are apparent in the recarved portrait of Nerva on Frieze A. The relief portrait of Vespasian does contain striking resemblances to likenesses of Domitian, especially in the full head of hair, the smoother facial features, and the slightly receding underlip. However, the portrait is clearly recognizable as Vespasian and resemblances to Domitian must have been intentional and designed to stress the similarities between the father and son. Thus, they are the product of the Domitianic artist originally responsible for the sculpture and not the result of recarving under Nerva. See F. Ghedini (1986) 297-300.

<sup>63</sup> For the sculptor's workshop at Aphrodisias located near the city's Odeum and which functioned both as a working studio and storefront, see P. Rockwell, in R.R. Smith and K.T. Erim (1991) 127-43.

<sup>64</sup> (1998) 180.

iconography of both friezes, strongly suggests that they were intended for the Temple of Fortuna Redux, which Domitian vowed at the time of his return from the Sarmatian campaign in 93 and which was constructed in the Campus Martius.<sup>65</sup> However, they may not have been in place at the time of Domitian's assassination in 96. The recarving of Nerva's portrait was never completed, as evinced by the unarticulated locks over the forehead. The recutting was likely interrupted by Nerva's own death in 98. Clearly, there was no longer enough marble to recarve the portrait features a second time. In addition, the specificity of the events portrayed, as well as the prominence of Minerva, Domitian's protectress in Frieze A, may have added further conceptual difficulties to reusing these pieces. However, the reliefs are of the highest artistic quality and appear to have been preserved in the sculptor's depot as examples of extremely fine workmanship or with the hope that sections of the relief may have been able to be reused at a later date.

An equestrian portrait of Nerva from the sanctuary of the *Augustales* at Misenum is the only surviving bronze imperial image to exhibit signs of reworking and furthermore is one of only three bronze imperial equestrian statues to have survived from antiquity (cat. 5.7; fig. 123a-c).<sup>66</sup> The statue depicts the emperor in cuirass and *paludamentum*. Domitian originally held a lance in his raised right hand while the left hand pulled sharply back on the horse's reins. The head and torso are turned to the right. The partially preserved horse rears up on its hind legs.<sup>67</sup> The

<sup>65</sup> F. Ghedini (1986) 298-300.

<sup>66</sup> Baia, Museo Archeologico dei Campi Flegrei nel Castello di Baia, inv. 155743. The other surviving equestrian statues are the Augustus discovered in the Aegean (Athens, National Museum), and the Marcus Aurelius, on the Campidoglio. The Misenum portrait differs significantly from the other two in both gesture and costume. Augustus and Marcus Aurelius both wear the tunic and paludamentum of the traveling Roman general and raise their right hands in gestures of *clementia*, while Domitian/Nerva wears a cuirass and brandishes a lance.

<sup>67</sup> The composition must have been completed with some supporting element beneath the horses raised forelegs, perhaps a foreigner, the figure of Oceanus, or a decorative support; see R. Cantilena in *Domiziano/Nerva* 37-8; D.E.E. Kleiner (1992) 201.

statue's dynamic disposition indicates that it is ultimately derived from equestrian representations of Alexander the Great.<sup>68</sup> If the statue also included a fallen enemy in front of the horse's raised forelegs, its aggressive military composition would have recalled similar depictions of the emperor on Domitianic coin reverses.<sup>69</sup>

In an extremely effective and practical gesture of reuse, Domitian's facial features have been cut from the head and removed as if they were a mask.<sup>70</sup> A clearly visible line runs beneath the chin, along the jaw line, behind the ears, and over the forehead, documenting the removal of Domitian's face. The coiffure which lies behind this line belongs to the original likeness, a replica of Domitian's third portrait type. In front of the line are the new coiffure and facial features belonging to Nerva. Naturally, individual locks in the two coiffures do not match along the line of removal. However, Nerva's coiffure over the forehead is relatively full and strategically masks these discrepancies when the statue is viewed frontally and from below.<sup>71</sup> Nevertheless, the position of the new face of Nerva does not accurately reflect the torsion of the neck and torso; consequently, and perhaps not surprisingly, the face appears curiously static and mask-like when compared to the fluid motion of the body. Ancient repairs in lead to the statue suggest that the image was attacked and damaged prior to its reuse and Domitian's portrait features may have been vandalized at this time.<sup>72</sup> In any case, the

method of recycling adopted for the statue was certainly more economical than replacing the head in its entirety and, more importantly, the image maintains deliberately readable signs in the coiffure of its original Domitianic identity.

The figural decoration of the cuirass includes a variety of marine creatures, an *aegis* and gorgoneion on the breast, and a representation of the infant Hercules strangling snakes on the left shoulder. Domitian's preparations for a campaign against the Parthians at the end of his principate may have inspired the imagery on the cuirass.<sup>73</sup> Domitian intended to embark on this campaign from Puteoli, and the marine creatures on the breastplate refer to the emperor's coming sea voyage, as well as his dominion over the ocean.<sup>74</sup> A fragmentary Domitianic inscription from the Augustales complex, which was reinscribed under Nerva may have been set up in conjunction with the statue between December of 94 and September of 95, which would further suggest that the image commemorates the completion of the Via Domitiana linking Rome with the port of Puteoli;<sup>75</sup> the new road facilitated transport of troops and supplies from the capital to the port and would have been crucial for the coming Parthian expedition.<sup>76</sup>

Fragments of the statue were excavated in 1968 in Building B of a complex associated with the *Augustales* of Misenum. The statue is likely to have been displayed within the complex, whose main temple contained heroic nude statues of Vespasian and Titus.<sup>77</sup> Despite its specifically Domitianic connotations, as expressed in the

<sup>68</sup> As preserved in a bronze statuette from Herculaneum, now in Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico. The statuette may be based on the equestrian portrait of Alexander by Lysippus from the Granikos Monument, which was transported to Rome by Metellus in 146 B.C.; see J.J. Pollitt (1986) 43, n. 41, fig. 36, and R. Cantilena in *Domiziano/Nerva* 32-33, fig. 30a-c.

<sup>69</sup> As, for instance a *sestertius* from Rome, *BMCRE* 409; *RIC* 361; American Numismatic Society, inv. 1957.172.1603; E.R. Varner, ed. (2000) 154-55, no. 34, with figs.

<sup>70</sup> A colossal marble statue of Elagabalus has undergone the same form of reuse, in which the facial features were removed, and a new face, belonging to Severus Alexander was attached, Naples Museo Nazionale Archeologico, inv. 5993, here, cat. 7.17.

<sup>71</sup> The statue would presumably have been mounted on a base, insuring that the statue was viewed from below.

<sup>72</sup> R. Cantilena in *Domiziano/Nerva* 36; S. Adamo Muscettola in P. Miniero, ed. (2000) 31.

<sup>73</sup> S. Adamo Muscettola in *Domiziano/Nerva* 54-65; B.W. Jones (1992) 159.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> S. Adamo Muscettola (2000) 89; S. Adamo Muscettola in P. Miniero, ed. (2000) 34.

<sup>76</sup> S. Adamo Muscettola in *Domiziano/Nerva* 65.

<sup>77</sup> Alternatively, the statue may have fallen into this area during seismic disturbances which destroyed the complex and other sections of the city at the end of the second century since no base for the statue has been discovered supports this idea. M. Borriello in *Domiziano/Nerva* 18-19; S. Adamo Muscettola in *Domiziano/Nerva* 63. For the portraits of Vespasian and Titus, see *Domiziano/Nerva* figs. 9-10; S. Adamo Muscettola in P. Miniero, ed. (2000) 34-7, figs. 2a-b.

reliefs on the cuirass, the image was nevertheless refashioned as a representation of Nerva, a further example of the rampant visual cannibalism which characterized Nerva's short reign.

### Domitian/Trajan

Nerva reigned approximately seventeen months, and at the time of his death, the fund of Domitianic images available for reuse was by no means exhausted, as evidenced by the numerous portraits recarved into likeness of Nerva's successor, Trajan. Although many of these reworked images have gone unrecognized, most of Trajan's portrait types are attested among the altered representations, and indicate that the sculptural transformation of Domitian's portraits was carried out throughout Trajan's reign.

Most of the likenesses recut to Trajan retain strong aspects of Domitian's more youthful and idealized physiognomy, as is especially apparent in a full length togate statue in Sabratha, refashioned from a provincial variant of Domitian's third portrait type (cat. 5.27; fig. 124).<sup>78</sup> A stylized version of Domitian's coiffure is visible at the back of the head. The coiffure at the front of the head has been largely recut to reflect Trajan's second type (*Bürgerkronen-Typus*) in which the locks over the forehead are combed from proper left to right. This type may have been introduced in 103 to commemorate Trajan's first Dacian Triumph.<sup>79</sup> The statue was discovered during excavations of the Forum at Sabratha, together with a cuirassed portrait of Titus, suggesting the possibility of an original Flavian group dedication consisting of the two brothers.<sup>80</sup> The use of Trajan's second type with its likely date of A.D. 103, indicates that a minimum of seven years elapsed between the time of Domitian's *damnatio* and the portrait's eventual reuse, during which

time, the statue must have been warehoused out of public view.

In addition to the Sabratha statue, a second provincial image of Trajan was recut from a portrait of Domitian. This recarved head was discovered in two fragments near the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (cat. 5.22).<sup>81</sup> The locks over the forehead are a variant Trajan's (fourth) *Opferbildtypus*.<sup>82</sup> However, traces of Domitian's type 3 hairstyle are clearly visible at the back of the head. The use of the *Opferbildtypus*, (which appears on the Column of Trajan and is clearly in use by the time of the Column's dedication on 12 May 113), suggests that a considerable lapse of time (perhaps as many as 17 years) occurred between Domitian's *damnatio* and the reuse of the portrait.

A third provincial portrait of Trajan in Split has also been reconfigured from a likeness of Domitian (cat. 5.28; fig. 125a-b).<sup>83</sup> The oversized head is worked for insertion and may originally have formed part of a Flavian dynastic group decorating the Forum at Issa in Dalmatia. Domitian appears to have initially been depicted together with his father Vespasian. After Domitian's assassination, Trajan usurped Domitian's role in the paired portraits and linked himself to the revered founder of the Flavian dynasty. The Olympia, Sabratha and Split portraits are all important testaments to the recarving of Domitian's portraits in the provinces.<sup>84</sup>

Many vestiges of Domitian's third portrait type are also present in a head of Trajan formerly in Ostia (cat. 5.25).<sup>85</sup> Like the portrait in Sabratha, the hair was recarved into Trajan's second type (*Bürgerkronen-Typus*), but traces of the original Domitianic coiffure are visible above the ears and

<sup>78</sup> Museum.

<sup>79</sup> W.H. Gross (1940) 75-77; W.H. Gross (1965) 1109-10; K. Fittschen (1977a) 71.

<sup>80</sup> Sabratha, Museum; M. Wegner, G. Daltrop and U. Hausmann (1966) 26-7, 29, 95-6, pls. 21c-d, 22b; M. Bergmann and P. Zanker (1981) 404.

<sup>81</sup> Olympia, Museum, inv. A 129.

<sup>82</sup> The Olympia portrait introduces a part over the left eye; on the *Opferbildtypus*, see W.H. Gross (1940) 105-7.

<sup>83</sup> Archaeological Museum, inv. C 271.

<sup>84</sup> H.R. Goette and K. Hitzle mention two additional portraits of Trajan which may be recarved from likenesses of Domitian; both are unpublished: a portrait of Trajan from the theater at Corinth, and a portrait in Larissa, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 802 + 825 (1987) 292, n. 59.

<sup>85</sup> Now lost, formerly Museo, no. 24.

tianic image and not standard in representations of Augustus.

Domitian/Titus

**5.5. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Braccio Nuovo 26, inv. 2282**

h. 0.26 m. (head)

marble togate statue

provenance: Rome, gardens near the Lateran Baptistery (1828)

publications: H.R. Goette (1989) 40, n. 183; 127, no. 290, pl. 12.1 (with earlier literature); M. Donderer (1991-92) 244, no. 27; here, 123-24.

The *coma in gradus formata* arrangement of Domitian's type 3 coiffure has been smoothed over, although its remnants are still visible in left profile. The reworking of the top of the coiffure has resulted in the top of the head being unnaturally flat, especially from the rear. The orientation of the locks over the forehead and left temple have been retained from the Domitianic original. The hair over the right temple has been only slightly shortened. The eyes have been recarved and are currently set well back into the face. The length of the mouth has been reduced by carving in the corners, which has lent a prominence and heaviness to the cheeks which is not a standard feature of Titus's portrait typology. The chin has been recut, causing it to recede slightly from the frontal plane of the face. The entire jawline has also been redone, in order to give the face a more square shape. In its current configuration, the portrait borrows details from both Titus's Erbach and Herculaneum type.

The overall reductions carried out in the volume of the head has caused the neck to be too thick in proportion to the face. The current head, even with its sculptural mass reduced as a result of the reconfiguration is too large for the body, suggesting that head in its original Domitianic incarnation did not belong with this body. The two must have been combined as part of the recycling process. Nevertheless, the discrepancies in the proportions of the head to body would not have been noticeable if the statue were dis-

played fairly high up and viewed from below. That this is the optimal viewpoint for the reworked portrait is borne out by the cursory re-carving of the top of the coiffure.

**5.6. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Galleria Chiaramonti 31.20, inv. 1687**

h. 0.33 m.

marble head worked for insertion

provenance: presumably Rome or environs

publications: M. Bergmann and P. Zanker (1981) 380, no. 29, figs. 48a-d; P. Liverani (1989b) 73 (with earlier literature). G. Legrottaglie (1999) 93, pl. 23a-d; here, 124, 130, n. 156, fig. 128a-d.

The head is worked for insertion into a togate bust or statue and traces of the drapery are still evident on the left shoulder. Traces of Domitian's type 3 hairstyle are plainly visible at the side and back of the head, where the hair exhibits the spiral configuration characteristic of Domitian's portraits. The chin has been recut and somewhat reduced, adding emphasis to the heavy underchin.

Domitian/Nerva

**5.7. Baia, Museo Archeologico dei Campi Flegrei nel Castello di Baia, inv. 155743**

h. 1.28 m.

bronze equestrian statue

provenance: Miseno, *sacellum* of the *Augustales*

publications: A. Amadio, *MusNazRom* 1.9.1, 215; *Domiziano/Nerva* (with earlier literature); *MusNazNap* 1.2, 112, no. 86. G. Dareggi (1982) 9, n.24; M. Torelli in A. M. Vaccaro and A.M. Sommella, eds. (1989) 93, fig. 64; J. Bergemann (1990) 82-6, no. P.31, pls. 56-8; D.E.E. Kleiner (1992) 201; J. Pollini (1993) 425; A. Oliver (1998) 148; S. Adamo Muscettola in P. Miniero, ed. (2000) 29-34, figs. 1a-e; E.R. Varner, ed. (2000) 12; A. Ramage and N. Ramage (2001) 170, fig. 5.26; here, 114, 120-22, 190, 280, fig. 123a-c.

The Misenum statue is the only surviving bronze imperial image to have been altered as a result of condemnation. Domitian's facial features have been severed from the back of the head and replaced with a new face representing Nerva. As a result the entire rear portion of the head from the ears back remains from the original Domitianic likeness. Ancient repairs to the statue suggest that it may have been attacked and damaged at the time of Domitian's overthrow.

**5.8. Berlin, Schloss Klein-Glienicke, inv. G1 324**

h. 1.7 m.  
 fragmentary marble statue  
 provenance: unknown  
 publications: F.W. Goethert (1972) 8, no. 51, pl. 26; N. Himmelman (1972) 275-76; M. Bergmann and P. Zanker (1981) 400-401, no. 38, fig. 59; D. Kreikenbom (1992) 220-21, no. 3.105, pl. 25; here, 115-116.

The orientation of the locks over the forehead and at the temples have been retained from Domitian's likeness. The mouth also has a typically Domitianic cast. The chin has been recut, with the result that it recedes from the frontal plane of the face. The neck is also very thick in comparison to the current mass of the head. The torso of the statue is also preserved and the handling of its musculature finds strong stylistic parallels to that of the green basalt statue of Hercules from the Domus Augustana, now in Parma (Museo Nazionale d'Antichità; D.E.E. Kleiner [1992] 181-3, fig. 152); on the Berlin torso's affinities with the Parma Hercules, see M. Bergmann and P. Zanker (1981) 401.

**5.9. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 542, inv. 1454**

h. 2 m.  
 marble statue (standing Jupiter)  
 provenance: presumably Rome or environs (Palazzo Orsini)  
 publications: M. Bergmann and P. Zanker (1981) 391, no. 32, fig. 53; C. Maderna (1988) 160, no. JS 4, pl. 3.2 (with earlier literature);

F. Johansen (1995a) 84, no. 30 (with figs. n); here, 115-116, fig. 111a-e.

The arms of the statue and large portions of the mantle are modern restorations in marble. Originally a type 3 representation of Domitian, the statue has been refashioned into a likeness of Nerva. Domitian's coiffure is essentially unaltered. However, the addition of a second row of locks over the forehead has caused the forehead to slope back and to be longer and lower than in unworked likenesses of Nerva, especially the portrait in the Vatican (Cortile Ottaviano 101a, inv. 975). The physiognomy also retains much of its youthful Domitianic aspect. The recutting of the chin has caused it to recede from the frontal plane of the face. The mouth has also been considerably shortened in length.

**5.10. Holkham Hall**

h. 0.35 m., 0.77 m. (with bust form)  
 marble head  
 provenance: reportedly Tivoli, 16<sup>th</sup> century excavations; purchased in Rome by Thomas Cook, 1717  
 publications: M. Wegner, G. Daltrop and U. Hausmann (1966) 109 (with earlier literature); M. Bergmann and P. Zanker (1981) 398-400, no. 37, fig. 58a-b; D. Kreikenbom (1992) 220, no. 3.104, pl. 24; E. Angelicoussis (2001) 116-118, no. 22, pls. 42, 43.1-4; here, 116, fig. 114.

Much of Domitian's type 3 coiffure has been left intact in the portrait, although shortened over the forehead and at the temples in order to make the hairline recede. The resulting configuration of the forehead has caused it to appear too narrow in proportion to the more massive area of the cheeks, which has been retained from the original Domitianic image. The thick locks combed forward on the nape of the neck are a well-known feature of Domitian's third portrait type. The hair along the left temple has been clearly cut back and only summarily reworked. The eyes have been recut, in order to make them less wide, but they have maintained their Domitianic length. The mouth and jawline have been altered and