IMAGINING ROMAN-NESS: A STUDY OF THE THEATER RELIEFS AT SABRATHA

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ABSTRACT

Ashleigh W. Raabe: Imagining Roman-ness: A Study of the Theater Reliefs at Sabratha
(Under the direction of Dr. Mary C. Sturgeon)

Meticulously restored by Italian archaeologists in the 1930s, the Roman theater at Sabratha in Libya is today one of the most impressive Roman monuments in North Africa. The Sabratha theater is distinctive for its sculptured pulpitum, which is decorated with a variety of mythological, historical, and genre scenes. This paper examines the sculptural decoration of the theater within the historical and social context of the development of Sabratha, examining both the style and content of the program of decoration. The application of ‘Romanization’ in Sabratha will be examined in view of the sculptural decoration as material evidence of the presence and effects of Empire on the provincial city. The Sabratha reliefs and the theater building originally functioned in part to form the face of Sabratha as a ‘Roman’ city.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA Archäologischer Anzeiger
AfrIt Africa italiana
AJA American Journal of Archaeology. The Journal of the Archaeological Association of America
AJP American Journal of Philology
AntAfr Antiquités africaines
ArtB The Art Bulletin
BCH Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
BSR Papers of the British School in Rome
EAA Encyclopaedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale (Rome 1958–1984)
GaR Greece and Rome
JdI Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
JRS Journal of Roman Studies
JSAH Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians
LibSt Libyan Studies
LIMC Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae (Zurich and Munich 1974–)
MAAR Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome
RM Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung
CHAPTER I - INTRODUCTION

*Publick Buildings being the Ornament of a Country... Architecture aims at Eternity.*
  -Sir Christopher Wren\(^1\)

The theater at Sabratha in modern-day Libya, resurrected from the rubble at the behest of Mussolini in the 1930s, today stands as one of the most impressive Roman monuments in North Africa and among the most evocative and complete theaters of Roman creation. The building also remains a legacy to the glory and power of the idea of Rome, meticulously restored because it was seen as the physical embodiment of the supremacy and influence of the Roman Empire. As the largest Roman theater in North Africa, with one of the most complex substructures, it merits admiration in those respects, but the building is equally well-known for its elaborately sculptured pulpitum, or stage front. For the theater’s over 200 years of use, actors, orators, and dancers performed their art above a series of reliefs which weaved across the front of the pulpitum in a succession of projecting and receding bays and niches, an ebullient procession of image and shadow mirroring the dramatics on stage.

The pulpitum sculpture belongs to one of only a handful of decorated theater stage fronts known today.\(^2\) Additionally, the subjects portrayed are composed of an interesting mix of genre, historical, and mythological scenes which distinguish the Sabratha theater even

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\(^1\)Wren 1750, 351

\(^2\)Infra n. 71-76.
further. The building itself has been upheld by scholars as an example of the grandeur of a Roman theater, and several scenes from the pulpitum have been studied apart from the whole. Since the building’s initial publication in 1959, however, little or no attention has been given to addressing in full the entirety of the sculptural program as a unified entity in the manner of more recent studies on the decoration of Roman theaters such as those at Corinth, Hierapolis, and Scythopolis.3 Questions about the meaning or message of the program, patronage, and choice of subjects have been left unaddressed for too long, and the excellent reconstruction and large amount of material at Sabratha provides an invaluable opportunity to further our knowledge of Roman theater sculpture and its regional variants within the Empire.

The work of excavator and reconstructor Giacomo Caputo has been the primary lens through which the theater at Sabratha has been viewed, but it is important to understand the historical context in which he was working. I will briefly discuss the history and dynamic of the early Italian excavations at the site, noting especially their colonial overtones. An act of imagination is involved in any project aiming to revive monuments and moments of the past, and thus we must be careful to understand the context of reconstruction.

To provide a more complete understanding of the theater at Sabratha and its decorated pulpitum, this paper examines the theater and the sculptural decoration of the pulpitum within the historical and social context of the development of Sabratha. It then investigates the individual scenes, drawing conclusions through study of comparanda and site context. While the earlier speculations about the figures and scenes generally hold up under

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3For Corinth, see Sturgeon Corinth IX:2 1977 and Corinth IX:3 2004; for Hierapolis see D’Andria 1985; for Scythopolis see Ovadiah and Turnheim 1994.
renewed scrutiny, I have aimed to clarify and refine the identifications as well as search for connections between the scenes.

Issues of intention and visibility, style, and ideas of interpretation will be discussed as means to explore and excavate more fully the theater of Sabratha as a monument. Built in a town of strong Punic heritage, the message of the theater and the pulpitum sculpture proudly proclaims that city’s identification with Rome and the greater Empire in both style and content. The decoration of the stage and the theater building itself perpetuate even today the identity of Sabratha as a typical Roman city. A re-examination of the theater of Sabratha will hopefully uncover the dynamism of the period and place in which it was created, revealing both nuances of meaning and further questions. Through its excavation and reconstruction the remains of the theater building, persistently resisting the march of time, seem to represent a frozen moment of history; it is only through inquiry and investigation that we can hope to uncover the life and movement of that moment and see the monument for its former vitality.
CHAPTER II – THE HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT OF THE THEATER AT SABRATHA

Sabratha tum Tyrium uulgus Sarranaque Leptis
Oeaque Trinacrios Afris permixta colonos
et Tingim rapido mittebat ab aequore Lixus
-Silvius Italicus, Punica III, 256-258

To modern eyes, the ruins of the city of Sabratha appear to fit the mold of the quintessential Roman city; despite the wear of time, visitors can distinguish the still-standing remains of temples, baths, paved streets, mosaics, and the reconstructed theater building now dominating the landscape (fig. 1). Yet the image of Sabratha that has proved most enduring represents only a brief period of the city’s history: the apogee of her wealth and power in the late second and early third centuries CE under the Antonine and Severan dynasties.

Concerned with their own Imperialist agendas in the first excavations at Sabratha, the Italians in the early twentieth century preserved only the Roman phases of the city, ignoring and clearing away most of the evidences of the earlier Phoenician and later Arabic settlements. Archaeologists have since excavated the site further to reveal the long history that led to the growth of Sabratha into a major Roman city and to the construction of her theater.

Sabratha is located on the northwest coast of modern-day Libya in Africa, and is part of a region known in ancient times as Tripolitania, ‘land of the three cities,’ referring to

\^For more detailed discussion see Altekamp 2004 and Munzi 2004.
\^Altekamp 2004, 60.
\^Munzi 2004, 97. Beginning in 1942, the British took responsibility for excavations in Tripolitania. See Kenrick 1986 for publication of the early British excavations.
Sabratha, Oea (present-day Tripoli) and Leptis Magna. This territory, as attested by authors such as Silvius Italicus, was first settled by Phoenicians as a series of trading settlements along the coast to be used as watering holes and winter ports. It is likely that what were first primitive stopping places along the route to present-day Spain were set up as daughter colonies by Carthage as the Greeks began to encroach on Phoenician waters in Cyrenaica to the East. The earliest evidence from Sabratha suggests only periodic occupation and dates to the end of the sixth century BCE; the foundations of her sister cities Leptis Magna and Oea can be dated to the mid-seventh century and fifth century BCE, respectively. The first full-scale development from a small port into a town occurred in the late fifth to early fourth centuries BCE, focused in a small area beside the shore. In the later fourth century the first stone buildings were erected in that same area.

Sabratha and the other two towns were referred to by the Greeks as the *emporia*, and they prospered as trading centers by connecting the caravans of the Libyan hinterland to the larger Mediterranean trading community. Even though scholars like Antonio Di Vita assert that Sabratha must have grown to be an important trading center by the second century BCE, the physical growth and development of the town was slow and no mention of the emporia occurs before the Roman period, except in Greek geographical treatises. The building phase in the first half of the second century BCE did not reflect the dominant Hellenistic style of city planning, but instead followed the older Punic street pattern. Only in the first century

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8 Mattingly 1994, 50.
9 Kenrick 1985, 2.
BCE did the town begin to expand southward and become organized on a grid pattern, with parallel streets and blocks.\textsuperscript{11}

While Sabratha seems to have been largely independent from Carthage in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, the defeat of her mother city by the Romans in the Punic Wars\textsuperscript{12} in the third and second centuries further left the city to develop and flourish without interference, and indeed with one less commercial rival.\textsuperscript{13} By this time, the Punic colonists of Tripolitania had intermarried with the local population to such an extent that the inhabitants became known as ‘Libyphoenices,’ although they had a culture that was largely Punic in custom.\textsuperscript{14} The transformation from a largely self-governing colony with a distinct cultural heritage to one of the “most Romanized”\textsuperscript{15} provinces of the Roman Empire occurred just as slowly as the town’s initial growth.

After the third and final Punic War, the Romans destroyed Carthage and claimed her lands as their own, establishing the first Roman province (later known as Africa Vetus) near the site of the old city in 146 BC and sending over boatloads of Roman citizens as colonists. Tripolitania was then made subject to the Numidian king in modern-day Algeria, but in the

\textsuperscript{11}Di Vita 1999, 150-151.

\textsuperscript{12}First Punic War (264-241 BCE); Second Punic War (218-202 BCE); Third Punic War (149-146 BCE).

\textsuperscript{13}Kenrick 1985, 4.

\textsuperscript{14}Mattingly 1994, 50.

\textsuperscript{15}Raven 1993, 1. She notes that Roman Africa had over 600 Roman cities to Gaul’s sixty. Raven hypothesizes (56) that the greatest factor in the Romanization of the province was peace. After the annexation into the Empire under Augustus, and aside from a few skirmishes with tribes of the interior, Roman North Africa had no hostilities about which to worry (as compared to more fractious provinces such as Gaul). Inhabitants could instead concentrate on trade and development. The growth of cities then facilitated the spread of Roman ideas, practices and visual identifications of the Empire such as theater buildings and triumphal arches. Raven notes (108) that of all the Roman provinces, North Africa was the richest in the triumphal arch, a quintessentially Roman monument. Peace provided an environment in which Roman ideas could take root and flourish, which led to the visual propagation of the appearance of Romanization, even if, as will be later discussed, Imperial influence may not have penetrated to all layers of society.
subsequent war between Rome and Numidia, the Tripolitanian cities took the side of Rome,\textsuperscript{16} likely maintaining their prosperous ties to Italy after the war, even as nominal dependents of Numidia.\textsuperscript{17} In the Roman Civil War, the emporia sided with Pompey, and were duly punished by the victorious Caesar when he annexed Numidia in 47 BCE: Lepcis Magna was fined an annual restitution payment of 3 million pounds of olive oil as the cities became part of the new province of Africa Nova.\textsuperscript{18} It was not long, however, before the prosperous region once again found favor with Rome; Augustus lifted the fine and integrated the two provinces of Africa Vetus, now heavily populated by Italian settlers, and Africa Nova into one Africa Proconsularis by 27 BC at the latest.\textsuperscript{19} The towns of Tripolitania were allowed considerable autonomy as \textit{civitates}.

Tripolitania, as Birley notes, stood apart from the rest of Africa in the strong retention of its Punic heritage when it entered the empire: “[Lepcis, Oea, and Sabratha] had enjoyed virtual independence for a century and a half, had never been conquered and had not had to surrender land to settlers from Rome. The Punic heritage was thus unusually strong…Lepcis was going to become a Roman city in the end, but on her own terms.”\textsuperscript{20} The sentiments about Lepcis Magna apply equally well to Sabratha: for all her Punic origins and customs, she would be remembered as a typical provincial Roman city.

Archaeologically, it is not until the mid-first century CE that Sabratha showed evidence of Roman influence, and it is in this next phase of expansion that the first Roman

\textsuperscript{16}Mattingly (1994, 50) relates that Lepcis sent an embassy to Rome in 111 BCE.

\textsuperscript{17}Mattingly 1994, 50.

\textsuperscript{18}Mattingly 1994, 51.

\textsuperscript{19}Mattingly 1994, 51.

\textsuperscript{20}Birley 1971, 8.
town planning techniques appeared and the ‘monumental’ look evident today began to emerge.\textsuperscript{21} The first ‘Roman’ buildings to be erected were a series of temples: a Capitolium, a temple to Serapis, and a temple likely dedicated to the Punic Shadrpha/Roman Liber Pater.\textsuperscript{22} After a devastating earthquake around the time of Vespasian, the town was rebuilt as a city, raising more buildings, expanding farther to the south, and establishing a ‘suburb’ to the East.\textsuperscript{23} By the second century CE, Sabratha looked to the Mediterranean world a Roman city: marble was imported to finish and elevate the status of her buildings, more temples were constructed,\textsuperscript{24} a municipal drainage system was set up,\textsuperscript{25} and a wealthy citizen gifted the city with a public water supply of an aqueduct and twelve fountains.\textsuperscript{26} At its largest, the city of Sabratha stretched 2 kilometers from East to West and 0.7 kilometers from North to South, for a total of 140 hectares\textsuperscript{27} with a population from twenty to forty thousand (fig. 2).\textsuperscript{28}

The Antonine and Severan periods (approximately 138 – 211 CE) marked the apogee of Sabratha’s prosperity and development, and along with greater wealth and a larger population, Sabratha also achieved political and economic success in Rome at that time. By 

\textsuperscript{21}Kenrick 1985, 6; Mattingly 1994, 126.

\textsuperscript{22}See Mattingly (1994, 126-127) for further discussion of the syncretizing of Punic with Roman deities.

\textsuperscript{23}According to Kenrick (1985, 6) an earthquake occurred in the city around 64 to 70 CE.

\textsuperscript{24}Kenrick 1985, 7: Temples were built honoring Liber Pater and Isis. Another temple known as the ‘Antonine temple,’ was possibly dedicated to Saturn/Baal, and the ‘South Forum’ temple may have been dedicated to Caelestis/Tanit.

\textsuperscript{25}Kenrick 1985, 7.

\textsuperscript{26}Kenrick (1985, 7) relates that the public water supply was paid for by Flavius Tullus, as recorded in an inscription from the vaults of the Capitolium. The inscription was set up by C. Flavius Pudens, son of Tullus, and is dated tentatively to the late 2\textsuperscript{nd} c. See Shaw 1991 on the significance of a public water supply for a Roman North African town. Shaw argues that in many towns public water systems were actually late additions, and can be considered as symbols of wealth and ‘Roman-ness” rather than as necessities for city life.

\textsuperscript{27}Mattingly 1994, 127.

\textsuperscript{28}Raven 1993, 101.
180 CE at the latest\textsuperscript{29} Sabratha was raised to the status of \textit{colonia}: the highest privilege a province of Rome could achieve.\textsuperscript{30} A mosaic from the Sabrathan merchant’s office in Ostia dating from 190-200 CE places the North African city among the major traders with Rome.\textsuperscript{31} Among the city’s markers of status and wealth, both tangible and intangible, in this period was the theater, situated in the newer quarter east of the old center and dating to the late second century.

The theater building - like the public water system, an act of private patronage - would have marked the newly minted colonia as fully ‘Romanized’ or ‘civilized,’ enjoying all the privileges of Roman culture and way of life. In a way, the theater represents the apex of Sabratha’s development as a Roman city, and the reliefs of the pulpitum must be considered within that historical and social context. The theater can be viewed as a status symbol, a civic achievement, a cultural marker, and a site of spectacle, and its centrality to the identity of the city of Sabratha should be explored in order to understand the context of its sculptural reliefs.

\textit{Theatrum populusque romanus}\ldots \textsuperscript{32}

The tongue-in-cheek comment by Cicero gives a hint of the importance of the theater in the minds and lives of the people of Rome, and theoretically the Romanized inhabitants of

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Haynes (1956, 42) says that Sabratha was granted the status of colonia probably no later than the reign of Antonius Pius (138-161).
\item The title of colonia connoted the early days of Roman colonization, where colonia were cities composed of Roman citizens abroad. For an already established foreign city to be given the status of colonia meant that its residents had been deemed ‘Romans.’ By this time in Sabratha’s history there were many Africans making their mark at the capital. According to Raven (1993, 122) a third of the Senate was African by the 180s. Mattingly (1994, 59) relates that Sabratha had at least one senator in Rome, Messius Rufinus.
\item Di Vita 1999, 158.
\item Cicero, Sest. 106, 116.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
the provinces as well. Theaters were not merely sites of entertainment and diversion, but concrete symbols of power, control, status, and culture. Theater buildings also offered the ‘art of spectacle’, creating a microcosmic world within the larger city.

Like other public buildings erected by private patrons, the theater at Sabratha was part of a culture of conspicuous consumption in a civilization in which the elite rich used public works as an outlet through which to display wealth, elevate their status as benefactors, and compete in a civic contest of sorts for the improvement of the city. No doubt civic pride was a concern in patronage, but equally important would have been the cachet that came with the ability to erect such a costly building for the benefit of the people; as Plutarch wrote, “wealth loses all radiance without an audience.” Though now vanished, there would have undoubtedly been a dedicatory inscription on the theater at Sabratha such as that on the Augustan theater at Lepcis Magna, which declared the theater a gift to the city from an Annobal Rufus. It makes sense that the theater would be constructed at the time of Sabratha’s greatest wealth and importance, when capital was available and the desire to elevate and improve the city had already led to other expensive ‘city beautification’ projects such as the public water supply and the refinishing of buildings in marble. A similar process

33For further discussion on the ‘art of spectacle’ in Roman times, see Bergmann 1999.


35Plut. Mor. 528a.


37MacKendrick 1980, 149; See Fuchs (1987, 150-156) for full epigraphic information. The Lepcis Magna building is dated to 1 or 2 CE. Sear (2006, 21) estimated the cost of Sabratha in HS as 9,056,169 (The Theater of Pompey he estimated at 30,958,387 HS and Leptis Magna at 7,992,939 HS).
first occurred in Rome under Augustus, thus setting the pattern for the ‘Roman’ city. The theater building in Sabratha was not only an outlet for excess wealth, but a way for the city and the building’s patron to identify with Rome at a time when ‘Romanization’ was at its height in North Africa.

In his study of Roman theaters in Palestine and Arabia, Segal noted a similar theater building trend occurring in the Severan age, in which the elite of that area found themselves with a greater amount of wealth and no military need or political way to use it. Building projects became a way to display new civic pride. Interestingly, though Segal states that classical tragedy and comedy had never been prominent in that area before, theater buildings were the chosen means to display wealth. The theater building, therefore, offers additional appeals beyond its own monumentality and signification of expense and status. A theater could also symbolize the ‘Roman-ness’ of a city or the patron’s claim to the culture of the ‘mother city’ in Italy. The presence of a theater building in a provincial city could signify Rome precisely because the theater building itself had become an innate component of the Roman way of life.

Beginning with the theater of Pompey, the induction of the permanent stone theater into Roman society has been well documented and studied. The theater offered the opportunity for statements of politics, class, and power to a large audience that represented the whole society of the city. At the theater, one could ‘see and be seen,’ and the plan of the

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38 As Suetonius poeticized, “Since [Rome] was not adorned as the dignity of the empire demanded, and was exposed to flood and fire, [Augustus] so beautified it that he could justly boast that he had found it built of brick and left it built in marble,” *Augustus* 28. For further discussion on the development and growth of Rome under Augustus, see Favro 1992.

39 Segal 1995, 10.

40 See, for example, Beare 1950; Bieber 1961; Beacham 1991; Sear 2006.
building offered the space for large numbers of people to gather. The entire spectrum of society could attend the theater making it an ideal setting for political assemblies, religious processions, contests both musical and literary, as well as performances.\textsuperscript{41} The building thus functioned as a principal operating mechanism for city life, helping to define the way Romans interacted with each other and among classes. Indeed, the Roman theater reinforced Roman conceptions of society and class, and thus by adopting these buildings into provincial society, Sabratha was taking these conceptions as her own.

In the theater one could escape from the realities of life, enjoy the pantomimes and plays, and even indulge in mockery of the ruling elite and society through satire. At the same time, however, one was constantly reminded of one’s place within that society by the theater building itself. From the time of Augustus, who permanently established theater protocol, seating arrangements were determined by class, with the highest status people (including the ruler and senators) in front in the orchestra, the next highest class of \textit{equites} on the first fourteen rows behind them, and the lower class citizens, women, and foreigners in the very back; the entire body of the audience was separated from the actors by the vertical and horizontal distance to the stage floor.\textsuperscript{42} In this way the theater became a miniature of the Roman social order, an architectural reinforcement of the ideals of Golden Age Rome even in places such as Sabratha, significantly removed from it in time and space. In this hierarchical seating, the viewer’s very experience was determined by his place within society, and conversely, by that seemingly mundane experience (attending a play, a musical contest, or political or religious event, for example) he was reminded of that place and role.

\textsuperscript{41}See Sturgeon 2004, 52-55.

\textsuperscript{42}According to Suetonius (\textit{Aug}, 40), the \textit{Lex Julia Theatralis} establishing this hierarchy was in effect after 5 CE. See Rawson 1987.
This stratified organization of space therefore also established further the power and rank of the patron who funded it.

Within the hierarchy of the theater was also a symbolic space for the ruler and his house, represented by statues found on the stage of many theaters. Along with representation of gods and heroes, members of the reigning Imperial house in Rome were often represented by life-size and over life-size portrait statues placed on the edges and corners of the stage.43 Local elites could also be honored by portrait statues,44 and thus take their places beside the representations of the royal house, proclaiming affinity with them, as well as asserting their loyalty to Rome and helping to perpetuate the Imperial cult.45 The space of the theater, particularly the stage area, thus becomes politicized and charged, and is used to unite in the minds of the spectators both local and Imperial authority, and both local and Imperial interests.46 While no statues or statue bases were discovered in connection with the theater in Sabratha, the reliefs along the pulpitum can be understood in a similar way to the more common freestanding statues, and also as a more permanent, static statement, merged into the very architecture itself. The theater decoration can thus be viewed as central to the theater experience in contributing to the viewer’s making of meaning.47


44 Fuchs 1987, 181-185.

45 For more on the Imperial cult in the Western provinces, see Fishwick, 1987; for the Imperial cult in the East, see Price 1984.

46 See, for example, Gebhard 1996 for discussion of the significance of the presence of Imperial statues in Roman theaters of the East.

47 Beacham (1991, 39) discusses the various elements that would have combined to make meaning of the theatrical experience for the audience: “the representation of the (written or improvised) scenario through the actions and language of the performers; their costumes; the scenic elements; the type and location of the building or place set aside for performance; its amenities, organization, and personnel.” Thus, each experience
A final aspect to consider in the place of the theater in Roman society was the ‘spectacular’ nature of the building and the various types of events for which it was built and used. The word for theater comes from the Greek *theatron*, or ‘seeing-place,’ and as Bergmann discusses in her introduction to *The Art of Ancient Spectacle*, much of the theater revolved around spectatorship: seeing and being-seen.\textsuperscript{48} The stratification of seating meant that one was continually looking at one’s betters and that the elite were constantly being seen. What Parker describes as the ‘paradox of the gaze’ in Roman society comes into play, in which the more powerful aim to be “the observed of all observers,” even as being under the power of another’s gaze made one vulnerable to attack, and *infama*.\textsuperscript{49} Ancient authors also write of the power of the audience’s applause at the entrance of elites into the theater; a career could be made or destroyed by the amount or lack of applause from the spectators above.\textsuperscript{50} The theater building itself was the stage upon which the drama of *spectatio* was enacted; the audience was therefore not a passive receptor, but possessed the power of the ‘outward gaze’ and of applause.\textsuperscript{51} The theater became, then, a place of empowerment for both the elite and the more common man.

The theater decoration at Sabratha must be related to the spectacle of the theater itself. As a statement of status and power, the very building signified achievement and wealth and taste, and any decoration should be considered as part of this construction of patronal

\textsuperscript{48}Bergmann 1999, 11.

\textsuperscript{49}Parker 1999, 167: Actors and other members of disreputable professions were *infames*, the infamous. Orators, politicians, and the elite desired *fama*.

\textsuperscript{50}Parker 1999, 166-170; Cic. *Att*. 2.19.3 is one example from ancient Rome.

\textsuperscript{51}Bergmann 1999, 11.
identity. Within that identity should be considered any political connotations of the
decoration, specifically messages relating to Imperial rule, and the meaning which would
have been intended for the viewer. As a provincial creation built by local elites, the pulpitum
sculpture can be seen as ‘reaching out’ in style and content to the paradigms and
prescriptions preached by Imperial propaganda. The impact of Rome upon the city life of
Sabratha reveals itself in the way in which ‘Roman-ness’ is made manifest in the very
appearance of the city and her decoration. The pulpitum sculpture, as a public and declarative
monument, acts in the construction of local identity.

The question of viewership should also not be ignored in the decoration, which is
why understanding of the hierarchical microcosm and the ‘seeing and being-seen’ of the
theater is important to give some idea to the experience of the Roman Sabrathan within the
theater building. The space of a theater is a charged area, with connotations of wealth and
status as well as power. Understanding the conditions of viewership and the politicized
nature of the space makes a more complete attempt at understanding the program of the relief
decoration possible by taking into account the context in which it was created.
CHAPTER III – THE SCULPTURE OF THE PULPITUM

A. Reconstruction and Description of the Theater Building

Through the streets of the new empire/ which go on across the sea/ we will march/ as the Duce wants/ where Rome has already passed.52

A history of the excavation of Sabratha and reconstruction of the theater building reveals the colonial and nationalistic undertones of the Italian government which funded the projects. Interest in the archaeology of Libya grew after the Italians acquired the territories of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania in the Treaty of Lucerne in 1911, and at first the excavations had the character of ‘rescue missions,’ to protect the ‘European’ artifacts from falling into Turkish hands.53 With the Fascist government’s rise to power in the early 1920s, the archaeological ruins in North Africa were viewed as symbolic of the Roman heritage and presence in Libya, thus becoming the propagandistic justification for Italian occupation as well as markers of the glory of ancient Rome; the Italians saw in the ruins of the North African coast their own ambitions reflected in the accomplishments of the past. Empire was possible, it seemed, because it had happened there once before.

52Hymn of university Fascist groups, in Preti 1968, 15.

Tripolitania, because of its lack of Greek ruins and distance from zones of conflict, rose to the forefront of the fieldwork.\textsuperscript{54} The first major excavation at Sabratha began in the 1920s under the \textit{soprintendente} Renato Bartoccini, who drove the program to maximize both the speed of operation and the resultant visual impact. Consequently, many archaeological elements were poorly recorded and over-simply interpreted.\textsuperscript{55} He was also responsible for the concentration on solely the Roman phases of the town, neglecting the earlier and later periods of occupation by Phoenicians and Arabs in favor of a unified presentation of ‘Roman-ness.’ Tourism was also a factor in the excavation, as the government began to promote the North African coast as a series of archaeological parks, for which great visual impact was necessary.\textsuperscript{56} Monumental restorations and reconstructions became a priority for the archaeologists, and the theater in Sabratha was the largest and most extensive of those projects.\textsuperscript{57} Indeed, for visitors to the city even today, the restored theater building commands attention, rising up from the sand beside the sea.

The excavation of the theater began in 1927 under Bartoccini and was continued under Giacomo Guidi from 1928 to 1932.\textsuperscript{58} Guidi began the laborious task of reconstructing the building using the original excavated materials, an achievement realized by Giacomo

\textsuperscript{54}Altekamp 2004, 59.

\textsuperscript{55}Altekamp 2004, 62. In one example of misinterpretation, archaeologists thought that an influx of Latin immigrants was responsible for the economic growth of Tripolitania in the second century CE, a theory which has since been disproven.

\textsuperscript{56}Altekamp 2004, 64.

\textsuperscript{57}Altekamp 2004, 63. The reconstruction of the Severan basilica at Leptis was planned in 1931 and publicized at the International Colonial Exhibition in Paris.

\textsuperscript{58}The first publications about the excavation at Sabratha are found in the Italian Journal \textit{Africa Italiana}, a non-specialist publication meant for a general audience. In 1930, Guidi discussed the reconstruction of the theater in the journal.
Caputo in 1937 after Guidi’s death.\textsuperscript{59} Benito Mussolini himself visited the completed theater that year to view one of the first performances held in the building for over 1500 years: Sophocles’ \textit{Oedipus Rex}.\textsuperscript{60}

The present restoration and partial reconstruction of the theater is all the more impressive in consideration of its previous condition. The theater had remained in use as the power of the Roman Empire began to weaken in the West, but it was abandoned after a fire in the fourth century and was later used as a quarry for building materials. In the same century the structure was eventually flattened by an earthquake, the state in which it remained until it was approached by Italian archaeologists in the twentieth century (fig. 3).\textsuperscript{61}

The theater is the largest in Africa (and among the largest of the Empire) at a height of 22 meters and with an auditorium of 92.6 meters in diameter. It is no less monumental in its design, which fits within the ‘indented’ or ‘Western’ type with a large, elaborately articulated \textit{scaenae frons}, or stage building.\textsuperscript{62} The semi-circular \textit{cavea} is composed of three stories and the seating area is divided into three sections of 11, 7, and 15 tiers each starting from the ground.\textsuperscript{63} Four low, wide tiers stretched out in front of the cavea, on which the local elite would sit in folding chairs, separated from the rest of the audience by a marble parapet decorated with a dolphin at each end.\textsuperscript{64} The long rectangular stage building is also of three

\textsuperscript{59}Di Vita 1999, 167; Caputo documented the entire reconstruction process in 1959.

\textsuperscript{60}Munzi 2004, 85.

\textsuperscript{61}Di Vita 1999, 175.

\textsuperscript{62}See Sear 2006 for discussion of the ‘indented’ type, and Bieber 1961 for classification of the ‘Western’ type. Di Vita (1999, 173) cites the theater at Sabratha as being able to have held 5,000 people. Sear (2006, 284) cites the capacity at 5,200 or 6,450, based on a sear of 0.5 meters or 0.4 meters, respectively.

\textsuperscript{63}Di Vita 1999, 173. The lower section is further divided by seven staircases into six seating blocks, the middle into into seven, and the upper section into eight.

\textsuperscript{64}Di Vita 1999, 173.
stories, with alternating straight or curved recesses and projections accentuated by rows of ornate columns in various types of marble and fluting: 96 columns in total, and nearly all original to the building. While the principal building material was the local sandstone, covered with stucco for durability, expensive imported marble was used to finish the building, such as in the paving of the orchestra and in the relief decoration of the pulpitum.

The pulpitum is 42.7 meters in length, with a height of 1.37 meters above the floor of the orchestra (Fig. 4). A set of stairs was constructed at each end, hidden from the audience by parapets also decorated in relief to match the stage front (Fig. 5). Like the scaenae frons as a whole, the front of the stage creates undulating architectural cadences and rhythms in a series of alternating rectangular and semi-circular bays and exedras punctuated by rectangular projections. Similar pulpiti can be seen at theaters across the Roman world, from the oldest Roman theater in Ostia to that in Bostra, Syria, which was completed perhaps as late as the Severan dynasty. This type of pulpitum seems to have been especially popular in Africa, and occurs at theaters at Bulla Regia, Djemila, Dougga, Hippo Regius, and Timgad,

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65 See chapter XIV, “Roman Theater Buildings in Italy and the Provinces During the Empire,” in Bieber, 1961. Mackendrick (1980, 168) says that pavonazzetto marble was used on the bottom story, Greek white in the middle, and black granite on top, with the additional use of some black marble and cipollino. Some columns were fluted vertically, some spirally, and some were left unfluted. All the columns are of the composite order, Sear 2006, 284.

66 The floor of the orchestra is 22.4 meters in diameter.

67 Di Vita 1999, 173: the orchestra was paved in marble slabs from the island of Proconnesus (Marmora). The pulpitum was faced with white marble.

68 Caputo 1959, 57; Bieber 1961, 191, 202; For Ostia, see Sear 2006, 129, plan 19; for Bostra, see Sear 2006, 308-309, plan 288.
to name a few.69 Sabratha is unique, however, in the sculptural frieze carved along the front of the stage. This consists of 21 slabs, all but three of which survive. These panels are set into a high molding at the bottom and topped with a heavy patterned cornice accentuated by a laurel garland. The rectangular projecting panels are demarcated by pairs of engaged fluted Ionic columns.70

While many Roman theaters were embellished with copious amounts of sculpture in the round, relatively few, based on surviving evidence,71 were adorned with sculptural friezes.72 Of those that exist today, most, like Sabratha, date to the second century AD when theater design was at its most ornate. The choice for sculptured theater friezes does not seem to be based on location since they are found at sites in both the Western and Eastern provinces, as in modern day France,73 Greece,74 Italy,75 North Africa,76 Sicily,77 and Turkey.78

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70The parapets on either end are set off by pairs of Ionic pilasters in relief, and have no decoration on the cornice.

71There may have originally been more decorated pulpiti; of many unattributed reliefs in museums, some may have originally belonged to a theater frieze, having been lost or divorced from their original contexts. Several such relief fragments are illustrated in Fuchs 1987; see especially 132-140, figs. A II a 1ff; A I I; A II a 1, 2-5; A II a1ff; A II a 1-6; A II a 1; A II a b; A II a 1 ff; A IV b; A II a 1ff; A II c. She has associated, for example, relief fragments in the Capitoline Museum in Rome with the Theater of Balbus, (132, 140, fig, A II a 6); also Fuchs 1984.

72For more complete comparison and discussion, see Sturgeon (Corinth IX:2 1977, 124-128) and Fuchs (1987, 128-145).


75Fragments have been recovered at Fiesole (Fuchs 1986), Volterra (Cateni 1993), Parma (Rossignani 1975), and, according to Fuchs, Falerio and Ferentium (Fuchs 1987, 132-133, A II a 1ff. A IV b and A II a 1ff).
The theaters from Asia Minor are usually decorated at the base of the scaenae frons and the podia, while most theaters from Greece and the Western provinces place the reliefs on the front of the pulpitum like Sabratha. The choice of placement, therefore, seems to reveal regional preferences of the Mediterranean world. As to motifs represented on the reliefs, many are decorative, with scenes of Erotes and/or animals, and several are mythological, with Dionysiac scenes prevalent in Athens and Asia Minor. Other typically Greek themes such as the Gigantomachy, Amazonomachy, and the Labors of Herakles appear at Corinth. Only the late Severan reliefs at Hierapolis represent an Imperial scene, showing the Emperor Septimius Severus as Jupiter with his family on the podium of the second story.

The reliefs from the theater at Sabratha are composed of four types of scenes: those related to the theater, mythological scenes, non-figural objects, and ‘historical’ scenes, or those depicting historical personages. Many panels reveal a dependence on common patterns or figural types, while others are more unusual in their style and iconography. The next section in this chapter presents the interpretations of the Sabrathan reliefs, including the

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79Sturgeon 1977, 129. Fuchs 1987, 132-140. Corinth, which has a western-type scaenae frons, had reliefs at the base of the podia.

80Sturgeon 1977, 125-128.

81Sturgeon 1977, 126; D’Andria 1985, 1. Also on the podia at Hierapolis are reliefs of Apollo and Artemis and a Dionysiac series, D’Andria 1985, 2. Ryberg (1955, 134) discusses how at this period in Roman history Septimius Severus as emperor blurs lines between divine ruler and Olympic gods.
questions of influence, and is derived mainly from Caputo’s readings of the scenes, which have largely been accepted by subsequent scholars.

B. The Historiography and Interpretation of Scenes

Sproni ed esedere, ora curve, ora rettangolari, si animano di figure umane e divine, maschere ed oggetti, riprodotti in mutua definizione scenica.

-Giacomo Caputo

Separated by time and space from the ancient Roman North Africans who created the reliefs on the pulpitum of Sabratha, we attempt to understand the scenes portrayed and the reason for their selection as a way of understanding the society and culture in which they were created. The first efforts at interpretation fell to the Italian archaeologists responsible for the initial excavation and subsequent publication: Guidi and Caputo. Their ideas on subject, style, and intent are presented in Caputo’s monograph on the theater, published in 1959.

Caputo was convinced that a ‘man of letters’ was behind the choice of subjects depicted on the pulpitum because of the diverse types of scenes, which vary from mythology to theatrical props. Supporting this theory was his interpretation of several reliefs as reflecting specific plays or theatrical events, meaning the designer would have been familiar with theatrical literature. While Caputo made every attempt to identify each scene fully

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82Caputo 1959, 16.
84Caputo 1959, 16.
beyond generic representation (in several cases identifying specific theatrical productions),
he stopped short of relating all the scenes in a unified sculptural program. His interpretations
of the reliefs have generally been accepted and in only a few instances have alternate theories
of interpretation been suggested. There has been little other scholarship examining
connections between the reliefs or probing further into the choice of subjects.

The scenes are typically discussed as reading from left to right (fig. 6). The reliefs on
the parapets at each end of the stage depict pairs of dancers in movement, those on the right
(Cat. 21) identified by Caputo as cymbalists. While one of those figures is damaged, the
other dancer does indeed hold two round objects with handholds: ancient Greek cymbals.85
Dancers would have appeared frequently on the stage at the time of the construction of the
Sabratha theater in pantomime, mime and other ‘low’ productions.86 These performers were
often accompanied by percussion and other instruments87; however, the figures here are not
shown as Roman mimes or pantomimes88 but as dancers that appear Greek in costume and
style (Cat. 1).89 The figures bear a similarity to maenads and other Bacchic celebrants
depicted in Greek art, although close examination reveals that they do not conform to a
specific type of maenad as categorized by Touchette.90 Like the Greek depictions, the

85Smith’s Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, ‘Cymbalum,’ 1875.
86See Bieber 1961, 249, fig. 829a-b for statue of female mime; See Jory 1996 for more on the dance and dancers
in Roman society.
87OCD 1004, s.v. ‘Music.’
88See supra n. 86 for an example of the typical dress of a female Roman mime.
89See Beacham (1991, 129-142) on the mime and pantomime in the Roman theater.
90Touchette 1995. She bases her discussion on types established by Hauser 1889 and Fuchs 1959. The dancers
at Sabratha are shown in different poses and in a different composition of dress than the illustrated maenad
types. A relief found at the theater at Hippo Regius more closely conforms to typical maenad types; see Fuchs
1987, 134, pl. 62, fig. 1. Dancing maenads frequently appear on Dionysiac sarcophagi; see Matz (1968-1975), 4
vols.
dancers at Sabratha are shown wearing *peploi*, their drapery swirling in lively folds revealing the body’s form underneath. So while the subject – dancers and cymbalists – would be a familiar sight at the theater, the style of the relief evokes Dionysiac festivals of Greece rather than contemporary theatrical performances.\(^91\)

The first rectangular bay of the pulpitum also depicts figures wearing Greek dress with Classical arrangements (Cat. 2). Caputo identified the scene of six men as an academy of actors or orators, either representing a dispute or a lesson, but Di Vita was not convinced of its certainty.\(^92\) Much of the relief is destroyed, but all the men wear *chitons* and *himations* and the remaining heads are bearded in the style of the Greek philosopher or ‘wise man.’\(^93\) Divided into two groups of three men each, every figure appears to direct his focus to the second figure from the left, which unfortunately is mostly missing except for a hand pointing with two fingers. The relief could be interpreted as divided into two episodes; in the first, the speaker is standing, and in the second he is sitting.\(^94\) The most complete figure – the first at left – is seated in the manner of a dramatic poet or actor, as seen in a relief from the west slope of the Acropolis (fig. 7)\(^95\) and a marble relief in Vienna (fig. 8).\(^96\) All three reliefs show a bearded man in similar pose, with arm tucked into his himation and fist raised to his chin in contemplation. The Sabrathan scene, however, lacks the curtained background.

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\(^91\)See Bieber (1961, “The Rise of the Satyr Play and of Tragedy,” 1-17) for discussion on the development of theater out of the cult of Dionysos.

\(^92\)Caputo 1959, 16-17; Di Vita 1999, 175.

\(^93\)See Dillon (2006, 113-125) for discussion of the poet/philosopher type in Greek portrait sculpture. She writes that the seated format seemed to be the preferred depiction for portraits of poets (119).

\(^94\)Caputo 1959, 17.

\(^95\)Dillon 2006, 124, fig. 169.

\(^96\)Bieber 1961, 82, fig. 300b; in this relief, the figure, presumably an actor, is contemplating a mask.
Caputo also connected this ‘academy’ scene with the relief which it faces (on the left side of the first projecting panel) which depicts a sundial upon a column and a group of scrolls (Cat. 3). He argued that such objects belonged in the realm of the academy and therefore fit with the first relief as a school scene. Indeed, representations of groups of ‘wise men,’ such as the famous theme of the Seven Wise Men seen in a mosaic from Pompeii, are shown with sundials, but in that example to indicate the study of astronomy. The third relief, depicting a standard college of nine muses, each with her attribute, (Cat. 5), could also relate to the first rectangular bay, as muses are often associated with philosophers or poets. Therefore, the two subsequent scenes might fit with an interpretation of the first as a group of actors or orators, creating a section of the frieze that would refer to ‘an ideal academy’ of the theater. The strongest argument against that interpretation, however, is in the consideration of the arrangement and organization of pulpitum of the whole, which, if organized symmetrically, should have the first rectangular bay depicting some type of theatrical production. I will return to this idea in the next section addressing the program of the pulpitum reliefs.

On the projecting panel between the first bay and first exedra is a single figure of which only the feet next to a wheel on rocky ground remain (Cat. 4). In the original

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97Caputo 1959, 18.

98Elderkin 1935, pl. XXII, fig. A; According to Gaiser (1980, 24-31) the identities of the figures are disputed. They are either seen as sages, acolytes of Plato’s academy, or as taken from a scene from the tomb of Isocrates in Athens; cf. Ling 1981, 322.


100According to Shelton (1983, 18), a sundial on a column is a typical device with a group of single philosophers, philosophers with muses, or nine muses in a group.
monograph this female is identified as Nemesis, although Haynes thought it was Fortuna/Tyche. Though the wheel is often associated with Tyche, Hornum argues that it appears earlier as a symbol of Nemesis. He also documents the frequency of association of Nemesis with the theater, offering other examples of Nemesis reliefs at theaters at Hierapolis and Thasos (figs. 9, 10). A hematite gem from the Hoffman Collection in Paris bears an inscription that further connects the goddess to the theater and to the Three Graces, which are also depicted on the pulpitum. I agree that it seems most likely, then, that Nemesis and not Fortuna/Tyche is represented at Sabratha.

The front of the second projection is badly damaged like the first, and only a hem and ankle remain (Cat. 6). I believe that the figure would likely have been a female, and a single figure as on the rest of the fronts of the projecting panels. I will further speculate possible identities for the figure in the section on the Program as a whole. The right side of the projection, though also injured, depicts two objects identified as a chair and a basket (Cat. 7). Caputo classifies the chair as a subsellium, a low bench specifically used in the theater, although I would argue that the remains of the relief indicate a higher chair with turned sides. A representation of a throne or chair on the Gemma Augustea (fig. 11) bears more

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1 Caputo 1959, 18.
2 Haynes 1960, 131.
4 Hornum 1993, 61.
5 Hornum 1993, App. 2, n. 62. Unknown provenence. Hornum’s translation: “The One God says: Whosoever walked upon the stage of the orchestra in good soul, both Nemesis and the Graces accompanied this person. If some untutored person exhibited an overwrought soul, the gods and the assembly of the Paphian One utterly denied this one; therefore, you, become a friend of the methods.”
6 Caputo 1959, 18.
7 See Richter (1966, 98-102) for various types of Roman chairs.
of a resemblance to the Sabrathan relief than the benches in Pompeian frescoes classified by Hug as *subsellia*.109 Caputo categorizes the basket as a *cista*, a wicker-work container110 that he associates with worship of the god Liber Pater/Dionysos.111 He does not connect the two objects in any meaningful way except to suggest that they are meant to signify a general interior, and thus complement the relief at the back of the second rectangular bay. It may be, however, that the inclusion of the reliefs of objects framing the mime scene would have illuminated the mime as a specific theatrical performance in the minds of the contemporary Roman audience. It is not possible to rule out a deeper meaning for the inclusion of seemingly superfluous objects on the theater frieze, and indeed would be folly to do so, knowing as little as we do of contemporary theater performance in Sabratha and Northern Africa.

The second rectangular bay depicts a mime, a type of play which supplanted the comedy in popularity in the Roman world of the second century (Cat. 8). Mimes were performed without masks and often satirized political situations or scenes from everyday life.112 In the scene at Sabratha, all the figures – two standing men and one seated woman – are shown in contemporary Roman dress, and act out the scene against a background of two

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108 For more on the Gemma Augustea, see Pollini 1993.
110 Puhlvel 1977, 150-152.
111 Haynes 1956, 106: Punic deities of old Sabratha were syncretized with Roman gods as the city grew closer ties with Rome. Sharapha was syncretized with Liber Pater or Dionysos. Haynes 1960, 111: There is also a first century temple to Liber Pater in Sabratha.
doors representing the stage building. Bieber describes the scene as one woman ordering about the two men, “one elegant and the other stupid-looking,” and further suggests that it may represent a scene like that in Ovid’s *Tristia* (II, 497-514) of a woman with her “elegant lover and stupid husband.” Guidi also identified the scene as a mime, but possibly one depicting an accusation scene, or discovered adultery. In this case, Guidi suggested that the basket in the preceding scene may be meant to serve as a hiding-place for the now-discovered adulterer. Caputo agreed with Bieber’s interpretation as the most likely. The Sabrathan audience, as previously suggested, may have been able to identify the scene as from a specific play, or, like Bieber and Guidi, been able to recognize a common type of scene, such as the discovery of an adulterous lover or thieving slave.

The objects depicted to the right of the mime scene, on the left side of the third projection (*Cat. 9*), also, according to Caputo, have no connection to the mime scene, and represent a tripod and altar, which he associates with Apollo. The object on the left however, does not resemble a tripod so much as Greek-style three-animal-footed tables that became popular during the Roman period. These tables, often with animal heads above the animal feet, appear in various Roman reliefs and paintings from across the Empire. A table

113 Bieber 1961, 173; Vitruvius 6, 8. Caputo (1959, 18) says the half open door would be the *porta regia*, the central door in the *scaenae frons*, and the closed door would be the left *porta hospitalis*, or guest door, but I am inclined to agree with Di Vita 1999, 175 that the closed door represents the *porta regia*, and the half-open door the right *porta hospitalis*, which, as the ‘guest door,’ could logically be left half-open for visitors.

114 Bieber 1961, 238.

115 Guidi (1930, 40) proposed scenes from Juvenal (*Sat.*, VI, 44) or from *Laureolus* of Catullus.

116 Caputo 1959, 19.

117 Caputo 1959, 19.

118 Richter 1966, 111-112. This type of table is categorized as ‘type three’ in her discussion of Roman tables.

119 Richter 1966, figs. 567-580.
very similar to that which appears on the Sabratha relief was found outside the House of the Cervi at Herculaneum. With the re-identification of the tripod as a table, we can also question Caputo’s classification of the second object as an altar; perhaps it represents a chest, or other piece of interior furniture. It seems likely that these objects, like the relief of the basket and chair which they face, are meant to complement the scene they frame: the mime. They are not religious objects, but simply add to the impression of an interior scene. The next panel, the front of the next projection, is completely lost, but would likely have also held a single mythological figure (Cat. 10).

The central exedra lines up with the porta regia, the royal door of the scaenae frons, and is thus the most significant scene of the relief (Cat. 11); indeed, this scene is the most frequently published of the frieze. The exedra is divided into three scenes, the two outer scenes actually portraying two parts of one sacrifice. On the left is a depiction of a libation at an altar attended by two men, the principal sacrificer and a camillus who offers the jug and patera. Caputo identified the central figure as Septimius Severus, the young man to his right as Caracalla, and the older man to his left as his son-in-law Plautinus. The scene on the right of the exedra depicts the second part of the sacrificial ritual: an ox to be slaughtered.

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120 Richter 1966, fig. 572.

121 Guidi 1930, 33, fig. 29; 34, fig. 30; 35, fig. 31; Ryberg 1955, 136-137, fig. 74; Matthews 1957, 51, pl. 70; Caputo 1959, 19-20, figs. 70-73; Frova 1961, 687, fig. 593; Romanelli 1962, 229; McCann 1968, 78, pl. 96, fig. 3; Wiggers and Wegner 1971, 85 s.v. “Sabratha;” MacKendrick 1980, 170, fig. 6.13; Fuchs 1987, 133; Kleiner 1992, 344, fig.; Di Vita 1999, 178; Romanelli, EAA 6:1057, fig. 1164; di Filippo, LIMC supplement, n. 237 s.v. “Roma;” Henig, LIMC supplement n. 1 s.v. “Sabratha.”

122 Caputo 1959, 19. The central exedra of the theater of Sabratha is mentioned in various portrait studies of Septimius Severus. See Hornbostel 1972, 354 and McCann 1968, 78, pl. 96, fig. 3. Both note that the figures’ faces are too worn to identify clearly and firmly either Septimius Severus or Caracalla based on typology, but conceding that the identification is probable based on similarities in style to other Severan monuments. Hornbostel (354, n. 37) notes that many scholars use the identification of Septimius Severus to date the pulpitum decoration to around 200 CE.
being led to an altar covered with fruit, bread, and pinecones, accompanied by two *victimarii*. Damage to the faces of the figures precludes recognition of portrait types, but similarities to other reliefs depicting Septimius Severus and his family, as mentioned below, add credence to the figures’ identification as such.

Ryberg reads this scene as symbolic of the sacred role of the emperor rather than an historic reconstruction of events precisely because the narrative is split into two parts.\(^{123}\) Furthering the “expressionistic” nature of the relief is the central scene depicting the personifications of Roma and Sabratha, the former dressed as an Amazon while the latter is shown wearing a turreted crown and holding a cornucopia.\(^{124}\) The two clasp hands in a *dextrarum iunctio*, symbolizing *Concordia*, or harmony and agreement between the city and the Empire.\(^{125}\) On either side, soldiers in military dress raise their hands as if in an oath. The scene seems to represent an oath of loyalty by the city of Sabratha to Rome, a political statement conveyed in symbolic terms rather than an historical event.\(^{126}\)

The Severan arch at Lepcis Magna (fig. 12) conveys similar themes.\(^{127}\) In the scene of sacrifice on a panel from the attic of the arch, Roma is portrayed in Amazonian form, but standing next to a laurel-crowned Septimius Severus while his wife, Julia Domna, presides

\(^{123}\)Ryberg 1955, 210. Similar splitting of scenes occurs in the sacrificial scenes at Lepcis Magna and the Arch of the Silversmiths at Rome. Ryberg (1955, 136) also discusses the oath as being taken under the *Genius Augusti* rather than by Jupiter, 137.

\(^{124}\)See Caputo (1940, 40-41) for similarity of the personification of Sabratha to the Genius of Oea.

\(^{125}\)For more on the *dextrarum iunctio* and *Concordia* handshake in Roman art, see Davies 1985, 637-639.

\(^{126}\)Indeed, it is not known whether Septimius Severus visited Sabratha in his visits to Tripolitania, as he did Lepcis Magna, his hometown, although likely he did travel the Carthage-to-Alexandria highway to reach Lepcis, which would have taken him through Sabratha: Birley 1999, 146-148. Kleiner (1992, 344) suggests that this visit took place before 204 CE.

\(^{127}\)For the arch at Lepcis, see Bartoccini 1931; Ward-Perkins 1948; Bandinelli 1966; Floriani-Squarciapino 1966; Stroka 1972; Kleiner 1992, 340-343.
over the sacrifice (fig. 13). Another scene from the attic of the arch shows a scene of Concordia between Septimius Severus and Caracalla, with Geta in between (fig. 14); in another from the interior of a pier, Septimius Severus presents Caracalla to the Tyche of Lepcis. In general, the reliefs from Sabratha are simpler and less detailed than those on the Lepcis arch, but they share a similar frontality, symmetry of composition, rhythmic repetition of figures, and interest in associating the provincial city with Rome, the greater Empire, and the Emperor, similarities which aid in dating the pulpitum to the time of Septimius Severus.128

Caputo notes that while differing in subject from the rest of the pulpitum, the historical scene fits with the overall style in its rigidity and ‘liturgical’ quality, which I question, as the ‘style’ of the frieze is much varied across the pulpitum.129 His comparison of the scene to a fabula saltica pantomime, as well, seems a bit far-fetched.130 The various ‘costumings’ of the figures, however, especially Roma, Sabratha, and the soldiers, do fit in with the theatrical effects presented elsewhere on the stage.

The subsequent relief on the end of the fourth projecting panel depicts Mercury running while carrying the infant Bacchus to Nysa (Cat. 12).131 The type is a common one,

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128Ryberg (1955, 136) also uses stylistic characteristics such as the “band-like folds about the waist” of the victimarius to date the relief close in time to the Arch at Lepcis Magna. Ward-Perkins (1948, 76) discusses the elements of Severan style visible on the reliefs of the arch at Lepcis Magna such as frontality, patterning, and the loss of three-dimensional space compared to previous Imperial reliefs. All of these characteristics are also present on the central relief of the Sabrathan theater. He also argues (78-80), that these new elements of style may have come directly from contact with the Roman East, rather than filtered from Rome itself. The artist responsible for the Severan sculptures in Lepcis, according to Ward-Perkins, would have come from Asia Minor.

129Caputo 1959, 19: “Rappresentazione non mitica, ma storica, questa spiegazione, nel particolare colore della scena, salva la coerenza con tutta l'illustrazione teatrale del pulpito, perché liturgia in atto.”

130Caputo 1959, 19.

131Caputo 1959, 20.
seen on various sarcophagi and vases as well as on the theater reliefs from Perge.\textsuperscript{132} The appearance of the motif on the Sabratha theater is logical, as the god Dionysos/Bacchus was associated with the theater and performance from early Greek times.\textsuperscript{133} Masks, such as those depicted on the left and right sides of the third rectangular bay (\textbf{Cat. 13, Cat. 15}), are also associated with the god. Those on the left represent comic masks and those on the right, tragic. Masks were a common decorative motif throughout the Empire, and were still in use on the stage despite the popularity of mime.\textsuperscript{134} Pollux, writing around the time of Commodus (180-192 CE) describes various types of masks.\textsuperscript{135} While most depictions of masks come from private contexts, some were used as theater decorations, such as at the Theaters of Marcellus, in Rome, and at Ostia.\textsuperscript{136}

The back of the third rectangular bay depicts a scene from a tragedy,\textsuperscript{137} although half of the panel is missing, leaving only two figures wearing tragic masks and Greek dress and standing on the stilts (\textit{okribantes}) used by tragic actors (\textbf{Cat. 14}). Bieber and Caputo are in agreement that these are tragic figures, but Bieber suggests an identification of Theseus and Phaedra, perceiving the first figure as a woman, while Caputo identifies both figures as male.\textsuperscript{138} He suggests that they represent Hercules (with his club) and his son Hyllus from Sophocles’ \textit{Trachinae}. I am inclined to agree with Caputo, as the two figures hardly differ in

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\textsuperscript{132}Sturgeon (1977 “The Reliefs”) has an appendix which lists examples of various types of the representations of Birth of Dionysos theme. She classifies the Mercury and Bacchus at Sabratha as type 5.

\textsuperscript{133}Supra n. 91.

\textsuperscript{134}Bieber 1961, 243-245. See Paris 1990 for an exhibition of masks from antiquity.

\textsuperscript{135}See Pollux Iv, 133-142 for tragic, 142 for satiric, and 143-155 for comic masks.

\textsuperscript{136}For the theater of Marcellus see Rossetto 1990; for Ostia see Bieber 1961, fig. 805.

\textsuperscript{137}Caputo 1959, 20.

\textsuperscript{138}Bieber 1961, 237, fig, 785.
\end{flushright}
costume or appearance, save for the beard and club of the figure on the right. While the scene may not necessarily represent the *Trachinae*, the figure on the right is most certainly meant to be Hercules.\(^\text{139}\) Neither scholar addresses the lost half of the scene and the possible lost figures. If the pulpitum is organized symmetrically, as I believe, there should be three figures in this rectangular bay, and thus a single figure would have been depicted in the now-missing section.

Unlike the mime scene, there is no background indicating the scaenae frons and situating the scene on the stage. Additionally, the style of this panel differs dramatically from the others in its stylization and flatness. There are no exact parallels with this scene, but there are examples of other tragic scenes from the Empire, as on a lamp and cake moulds from Ostia.\(^\text{140}\) A group of mosaics from Porcareccia show tragic pairs akin to the Sabratha relief, depicting masked actors on stilts in similar sleeved costumes.\(^\text{141}\) In each case, the figures are the central, and only, focus, with no details indicating background or setting.

The figure of Hercules decorates the front of the fifth projecting panel (*Cat. 16*).\(^\text{142}\) He is shown in the Classical manner, wearing his lion skin, left hand on his club, and with his right arm outstretched to hold what may have been the apples of the Hesperides.

In the next exedra are depictions of the Three Graces and the Judgment of Paris (*Cat. 17*).\(^\text{143}\) At the leftmost part of exedra are the remains of a rocky landscape and a figure, whom Caputo identifies as a shepherd from Mount Ida. His linking the figure to the

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\(^\text{139}\) Euripides’ *The Madness of Hercules* would also fit the scene.

\(^\text{140}\) Bieber 1961, 241-242, figs. 793, 797.

\(^\text{141}\) Bieber 1961, 240, figs. 789-792.

\(^\text{142}\) Caputo 1959, 20.

\(^\text{143}\) Caputo 1995, 21.
Judgment of Paris scene on the right end would mirror the split scene of the central exedra, but in this case unsymmetrically and with no logical reason for the Three Graces to be included in the middle of the split scene.\textsuperscript{144} The Graces are of the common type seen across the Mediterranean world: all nude, they embrace with the outer two facing the viewer and the middle grace offering her back.\textsuperscript{145} To their right is another group of three women: the three goddesses Venus, Minerva, and Juno waiting to be judged by Paris, who is represented in the costume of a shepherd at the far right of the exedra, standing next to Mercury.\textsuperscript{146} While Minerva and Juno are both clothed with their typical attributes, Venus is depicted swirling off her mantle in order to sway Paris; the whole scene strongly resembles a pantomime described by Apuleius, himself a native African, in \textit{The Golden Ass}:\textsuperscript{147}

\begin{quote}
A young man in the manner of Paris as a Phrygian shepherd, richly dressed with a barbarian cloak flowing from his shoulders, and a golden mitre on his head, pretended to tend the goats. Next to him was a fair boy, naked except for the ephebe’s cloak covering his left shoulder…his caduceus and wand showed he was Mercury…then followed a girl with noble countenance in the likeness of Juno; for her head was bound with a white diadem, and she carried a scepter. Another sprang forward, whom one took for Minerva (for her head bore a shining helmet which was wreathed with a garland of olive leaves), carrying a shield and brandishing a spear as when she fights. After these there came another of surpassing beauty, representing Venus in the glory of her ambrosial color…naked…except that a cloak of sheerest silk veiled her lovely waist…\textsuperscript{148}
\end{quote}

It is possible that audiences would have recognized the scene in this exedra not simply as a mythological theme, but also as a theatrical performance of that myth. As in the depiction of

\textsuperscript{144}The Three Graces may be present for their connection to Venus, in which case they are often shown with Venus at her bath, as her handmaidens: Sichtermann, \textit{LIMC} 3.1:191-210, s.v. “Charis, Charites.”

\textsuperscript{145}Francis 2002, 180-198.

\textsuperscript{146}Caputo 1959, 21.

\textsuperscript{147}Also noted by Caputo 1959, 21.

\textsuperscript{148}Apul. \textit{Meta.} 10.30-1.
the dancers on the parapets, there seems a conscious blurring of past and present theatrical and pictorial traditions. The scenes could at once evoke events that would have actually occurred on the contemporary Roman stage while at the same time referencing Greek artistic traditions known to those of higher learning and culture.

The front of the sixth projecting panel is very poorly preserved, but Caputo, having the benefit of hands-on examination of the piece, labels the figure a Victory based on the surviving remains of a female head and the upper parts of wings (Cat. 18).149 Subsequent scholars such as Di Vita have continued to label it as such. The right of the sixth projecting panel is unfortunately completely lost (Cat. 19).150

The theme of theatrical performances is also represented in the back of the fourth and last bay (Cat. 20). The scene has been described as a ‘tragi-comedy , based on the costumes and masks,’ even though the figures lack the artificial phalluses and chest padding.151 Bieber identifies the scene as a parody of a duel between the two men152 and Caputo goes further to suggest the figures may represent Eteocles and Polyneices fighting in front of Jocasta. It is unclear whether the scene would have been recognizable as a specific farce to the Sabrathan audience, and the closest parallels in art come from Greek vases of Southern Italy of the fourth century BCE, considerably earlier in date.153

149Caputo 1959, 22.

150Caputo 1959, 22.

151Caputo 1959, 22; Plautus discusses this type of play in the prologue to the Amphitruo (59-63): “I shall mix things up: let it be a tragic-comedy! But it wouldn’t suit for me to make it a proper comedy, since there are kings and gods about. What to do? Well, since it’s got a slave role, I’ll make it just like I said: a tragic-comedy.”


C. The Program of the Pulpitum

The pulpitum reliefs at Sabratha were planned and executed with precision and forethought. Now we turn to examine the overall program and composition of the stage front. I believe careful consideration was given to the symmetry of the plan of the pulpitum as well as to the symmetry within the composition of each relief panel. Three of the four rectangular bays portray theatrical productions: a mime (Cat. 8), a tragedy (Cat. 14), and a tragic-comic scene (Cat. 20). The first rectangular bay is identified by Caputo as an actor’s academy (Cat. 2), but if the reliefs are arranged symmetrically, this attribution does not fit. If the scene is indeed divided into two episodes as he contends, it may be that two scenes from a single drama or mime are shown. Typically, no more than three actors would be on the stage at a time, (as depicted in the other theatrical panels) so if the panel is indeed meant to represent a theatrical production, it would have to represent two separate scenes.\textsuperscript{154} Although Romans often used theaters as meeting-places, among other non-theatrical events, the Greek costume of the figures prevents an interpretation of the scene as a contemporary gathering.\textsuperscript{155}

The two outside exedrae (Cat. 5, 17) depict mythological scenes, each with nine figures. Each projecting panel contains one mythological figure, although it is difficult to establish a pattern regarding sex or identity with so many of these panels damaged. The figures that remain are all in some way connected to the theater. Nemesis, as discussed previously, appears often at theatrical sites, and the theme of Mercury carrying Dionysos is

\textsuperscript{154}Arist. \textit{Poet.} 1449a 14-19 discusses the evolution in Greek drama from one actor to two (Aeschylus) to three (Sophocles).

also connected with at least two other theaters.\textsuperscript{156} Hercules was the most popular character in the farces and plays of early Italy and also appears in statue or relief form at other theaters of the Empire.\textsuperscript{157} The there are various possibilities for the missing figures, but they were all likely mythological figures that had some connection to the world of the theater. Apollo would be a likely candidate for a lost panel due to his association with the Muses (represented on the frieze) and because he is represented in the decoration of other Roman theaters.\textsuperscript{158} Without further archaeological evidence, of course, any guesses regarding the missing reliefs are pure speculation.

The sides of the projecting panels all depict objects in groups of two: scroll and sundial (\textbf{Cat. 3}), chair and chest (\textbf{Cat. 7}), table and base (\textbf{Cat. 9}), comic masks (\textbf{Cat. 13}), tragic masks (\textbf{Cat. 15}), and a scene lost (\textbf{Cat. 19}). I believe that the ‘still-life’ scenes are designed to relate to the relief they face or frame. Thus, the scroll and sundial are meant to be read with the scene of six men, and the chair, basket, table, and ‘altar’ are related to the mime, possibly as central props helping the audience identify the scene and specific performance portrayed. The masks then fit with the tragic scene, the only theatrical production shown that used masks. We can only guess at what objects would have been meant to complement the tragic-comedy.

Problems of visibility would have hindered the audience’s complete reading of the frieze. The few other theaters that have decorated pulpiti have straight stage fronts, thereby

\textsuperscript{156}Corinth and Hierapolis, supra n. 3.

\textsuperscript{157}Bieber 1961, 131; Ros (1996, 487-488, fig. 29) discusses the colossal statue of Hercules at the Roman theater at Carthage and dated to the Severan dynasty. See Sturgeon (1977) for the frieze of the Labors of Herakles at the theater at Corinth. A statue of Hercules of the Copenhagen-Dresden type was also found in the theater at Lecce: D’Andria 1999, 42-43.

\textsuperscript{158}See Ros (1993, 486, fig. 28) for the colossal statue of Apollo at the Roman theater at Carthage dated to the Severan dynasty. The Apollo and Artemis frieze at Hierapolis is discussed in D’Andria 1985.
creating a frieze that is visible to the entire audience. In contrast, the ins and outs of the pulpitum at Sabratha would have blocked entire segments of the frieze from view. It may be due to the design of the stage front that the artist/designer worked in segments so that connections between the reliefs occur in sections, as in relations of the ‘still-life’ scenes to the rectangular bays. So, while the larger program is designed to be symmetrical in appearance and balanced in subject matter, sections of the frieze each carry their own meaning, which was possibly deeper for the Roman audience than we could realize. A polyvalent reading of the frieze is also a possibility, with the Graeco-Roman motifs also representing personas, ideas, or stories from the Punic heritage of Sabratha.

The central exedra with the sacrificial/political scene would only have been completely visible to those in the very center of the auditorium and near the front, namely the persons of highest honor in the town. Perhaps Rome would have meant the most to the elites who more likely had the closest contact with the workings of the capital in Italy. The elites would have had considerably far more means and drive to associate themselves with the Empire than the lower classes. Beneath the Roman face of the city created by public monuments such as the theater, literary and archaeological evidence attests to a strong surviving Punic element in city life; Punic was still spoken in non-official settings and likely by the lower classes. Of any population segment, it would have been the elite upper class

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159Fuchs 1987, 140-144: In many theaters the niches of the pulpitum were filled with statuettes, fountains, altars, or candelabra. Even though these objects would also have been difficult to view from certain angles, their very nature makes it less imperative that a viewer be able to see completely the object in order to understand it. The character of reliefs and friezes makes visibility of utmost importance for legibility and the making of (the intended) meaning.

160According to Mattingly (1994, 161-162) while the architecture, sculpture, and painting of Tripolitania “attained the highest standards in Roman provincial art,” a strong Punic character remained just below the surface.
that had the cultural awareness and wealth to buy into the perception of what was “fine” in the realm of art and architecture.

D. Style of the Reliefs

The program of the pulpitum is cohesive and organized, but the reliefs are not consistent in style, which ranges from copies of Classical Greek patterns to what appears to be local innovations. In general, however, the figures are more schematized and squat than Classical style and proportions would dictate. Evidence for the use of copy or pattern books is strong in the case of the reliefs with the figures of Mercury (Cat. 12), Hercules (Cat. 16) and the Three Graces (Cat. 17), but in each case the execution of the pattern resulted in compact, somewhat ‘lumpier’ figures than seen elsewhere or earlier in the empire.\(^{161}\) The figures of the Three Graces, for example, are doughy and stocky compared to sculptures of the same composition such as that in the Louvre.\(^{162}\) Other scenes, too, evidence similar mannerisms of style. The drapery in figures such as Paris (Cat. 17) is indicated coarsely while that of others such as the tragic actors (Cat. 14) is schematic and stylized.

A distinguishing sculptural technique of the frieze is the use of heavy drillwork. Deep holes indicating in-and-out drilling are visible in the hair of figures whose heads have been preserved (e.g. the dancer from the right parapet (Cat. 21), and the Three Graces (Cat. 17)). Also, running drillwork can be seen in the drapery of the figures, which in some cases is

\(^{161}\) For example, see Francis 2002 for comparanda of the Three Graces composition.

\(^{162}\) Francis 2002, 182, fig. 1.
straight and non-continuous (e.g. Mercury’s cloak in the Judgment of Paris scene (Cat. 17)). Such techniques are common in Severan sculpture and can also be seen in the attic panels on the quadrifons arch at Lepcis Magna as well as Severan portraiture.163

Nearly all the figures are frontally oriented as well as depicted with little overlapping of forms and isocephalism is prevalent. Many of the figures are carved onto separate projecting groundlines, a unique practice which gives the appearance of the figures as individual statues with bases running across the frieze.164 Exceptions to these traits are the ‘orator’s school’ panel (Cat. 2), and the oath of loyalty/sacrifice scene (Cat. 11). The central exedra depicting the oath of loyalty scene fits stylistically with other reliefs from the Severan period, as previously discussed, and additionally shows more regard for special depth and overlapping of figures than other reliefs on the pulpitum. The central relief likely represents the contemporary style of State art as dictated, in a way, by the Imperial house. Other scenes are neither well-known patterns nor reflections of current fashions in Imperial art, but something different.

The dancers (Cat. 1, 21), although portrayed in a similar manner to common Graeco-Roman depictions of maenads, do not fit into a known type,165 and may be unique to Sabratha or at least the area of North Africa where the artists of the theater were working as interpretations of a well-known theme. Other scenes depart even further from the more familiar Graeco-Roman artistic canon. The ‘still-life’ scenes (Cat. 3, 7, 9, 13, 15) especially

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163See Kleiner 1992, 319-328. Strong and Claridge (1976, 199-200, 205) describe these drilling techniques for sculpting marble that became popular in the second century CE. The linear use of the drill (the running-drill) was common in the late second and third centuries CE to depict hair and the contours of figures.

164A similar feature is found on a fragment of a sarcophagus from Aphrodisias found in 1904. It shows a relief of a winged boy portraying the season of summer. Like the Sabratha reliefs, he stands on a rounded projecting groundline. Smith 1996, 35, fig. 33. This is not, however, a common feature on Aphrodisian reliefs.

165Supra n. 90.
tempt use of the word ‘provincial’ for their lack of depth and foreshortening, relying on a more symbolic than realistic representation of the object to convey meaning. The theater scenes in the rectangular bays, especially, possess a distinct flatness and show a lack of concern for the realistic representation of space (Cat. 2, 8, 14, 20). Some scenes are flatter than others; while both the orator’s school (Cat. 2) and the tragedy scene (Cat. 8) are depicted in very low relief, only in the tragedy scene are the bodies no longer visible under the garments. Both panels depict men in Greek dress, but it is the former which more closely adheres to the pictorial style of Classical Greece. The depth of the reliefs and the overriding frontality may also relate to their placement on the pulpitum. For the most part, the panels which would have been subject to harsher sunlight (such as the single-figured reliefs on the projecting rectangular panels) were sculpted in higher relief, while those panels that would have received more shade (as do the sides of the projecting rectangular panels) were carved in shallower relief. Such a scheme would provide the maximum clarity and visibility for the audience, allowing spectators to read the scene even from a distance.\footnote{For a similar effect in the pulpitum sculptures at Corinth and Athens see Sturgeon (1978, 231).} In the same way, the frontality and the spacing between the figures would have aided in the intelligibility of the scene for the viewer.

Thus, several aspects of the ‘style’ of the frieze may have been directly related to issues of visibility and legibility. Nonetheless, even accounting for such adjustments, there is a marked difference in execution and style across the pulpitum, running the gamut from more Classically inspired to the distinctly unique or ‘provincial.’ Yet, even in the reliefs which are more unusual and less classical in their composition and style, the effort was made to evoke a Graeco-Roman heritage in the content of the scenes.
The question of artists and workshops is problematic without inscriptions or records of any kind, and the varying stylistic manners visible on the pulpitum at Sabratha only compounds the difficulty. Scholars have demonstrated that it is likely that Septimius Severus imported artists to work in his hometown of Lepcis Magna.\footnote{Raven (1993, 138) relates that Septimius Severus imported architects and sculptors to work on the forum and basilica in Lepcis Magna.} In Tripolitania in the second century CE, the traditional limestone and stucco-and-sandstone decoration for buildings was gradually being replaced by marble, which all had to be imported and was partially prefabricated in the quarry.\footnote{Ward-Perkins 1951, 95.} Based on examples of building projects of which there are contractual records, artists from the same area who were used to working in their native stone would also have come with the marble.\footnote{Burford 1969 discusses the building of the sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidaurus, from which contracts remain detailing how the marble contractors were required to supply skilled craftsmen that knew how to work that specific stone. Walker (1979, 104) posits the same system applying for building projects in the later Roman empire.} As the reliefs on the quadrifons arch at Lepcis Magna share many similarities with the pulpitum at Sabratha, those same artists may also have helped to create the front of the stage, but the question still remains as to whence the artists came.

Bartoccini was the first to suggest that the sculptors of Lepcis Magna’s Severan art were from Aphrodisias, a theory which was followed up and supported by Floriani-Squarciapino.\footnote{Bartoccini 1931; Floriani-Squarciapino 1966.} Ward-Perkins later became skeptical of the idea of Aphrodisian sculptors, and proposed instead that the marble was connected with the quarries of Proconnesus/Marmara.\footnote{Ward-Perkins 1980.} Indeed, using isotopic analysis, Walda has demonstrated that there
was a distinct increase in the importation of Proconnesian marble into Lepcis Magna in the Severan period; the quadrifons arch itself is made from Proconnesian marble.\textsuperscript{172} He also notes that there is a relative absence of Aphrodisian marble used in monuments from Lepcis Magna; thus the influence of Aphrodisian craftsmen may have been far less than previously thought. There may have been a combination of sculptors or workshops working on the frieze which would account for the varying styles of depiction, or simply one group of artists working in different styles depending on the content and placement of each relief.

\textsuperscript{172}Walda 1984, 84.
CHAPTER IV – CONCLUSION

/Publicick Buildings being the Ornament of a Country... Architecture aims at Eternity./
- Sir Christopher Wren

Reconstructed pieces of marble and stone are all that remain to testify to the life of the theater of Sabratha as a city monument. The transient acts such as plays, contests, and meetings have long vanished, leaving only the building as a permanent document of the ephemeral aspects of its use. The public architecture of ancient Rome, such as the theater, was constructed to be such a document, and as such was always ‘message-oriented.’ The building itself speaks as much as its contents, and the decorative frieze on the pulpitum must be taken with the political and social statement of the theater as a whole.

The reliefs in the central exedra, proclaiming both the loyalty of Sabratha to Rome as well as the piety and power of her Emperor, charges the theater with connotations of imperial and local power as discussed in chapter one. The city of Sabratha notably lacks a triumphal arch which is so common in the rest of Roman Africa. The theater itself, with its three doors, serves as a substitute for the tri-partite arch; the sculptural glorification of the emperor and empire portrayed on the stage front serves the same function as those on the Severan arches at Lepcis or Rome. Rather than, or in addition to, dedicating freestanding sculptures to represent the Imperial house and local notaries, at Sabratha the Emperor is a permanent

\[173^{\text{Wren 1750, 351.}}\]

\[174^{\text{Her sister cities of Lepcis Magna and Oea both have triumphal arches. The absence of such a monument in Sabratha could indicate local preferences, the lack of a patron to finance the arch, or the desire to stand apart from her two sister cities.}}\]
feature of the theater building, where he is eternally sacrificing, eternally pious and powerful. The oath of loyalty represented on the frieze thus serves as the actual Oath itself, a permanent reminder of the *Concordia* between Sabratha and Rome. The relief linking the African town with her new mother city empowers the people of Sabratha as Romans, with the theater itself symbolizing the culture which that entails. The pulpitum at Sabratha then functions to anoint the city in the glory of Rome while also proclaiming the power and authority of the Empire.

It is likely no coincidence that the theater, as a monument to ‘Romanization,’ was erected during the Severan dynasty, when a native Tripolitanian rose to the very highest of ranks in the Roman system. With one of their own leading the Empire, the idea of a ‘Roman’ must have taken on a new meaning and new power for the citizens of Sabratha. How fitting that the theater, as a quintessentially Roman building, represents that moment in history in Sabratha, as it is dated to circa 200 CE partly by the inclusion of the likely portrait of Septimius Severus engaged in a Roman sacrificial rite. The political message of the pulpitum sculpture conveyed by the content of the central exedra and the styles of execution would thus have been doubly strong, for under Septimius Severus the province of Africa and Rome were connected as never before: by blood.

The Graeco-Roman content of the frieze and the choice to build a theater building signify the public ‘Roman’ face of Sabratha. By the theater and its decoration the patron of the building claims the Graeco-Roman heritage for the city; he claims the artistic styles of the Empire and the veneration of its ruler; he claims conformity to the codified Roman social situation enforced and promoted by the theater building itself. The theater as a public

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175 While the ‘portrait’ has been deemed inconclusive because of the damaged face (supra n. 122), it has generally been accepted as representing Septimius Severus. Also, the style and content of the relief fits closely with other Severan state reliefs (supra n. 128) such as the quadrifons arch at Lepcis Magna, and was thus likely created during the same time period.
monument looks outward to the Roman world; one must examine the private funerary monuments to discover the more conservative, Punic heritage still alive in the city at the time.\textsuperscript{176} An important aspect of the various styles and mannerisms of the frieze is that despite their variances, each falls within the standard Graeco-Roman artistic mold, deviating however much in terms of execution. These reliefs do not reflect a local artistic heritage of Punic artworks; the pulpitum is a ‘Roman’ creation.

Every attempt at reconstructing a building is a leap of imagination. There is still much missing information that would allow us to understand the theater of Sabratha fully. We lack any statues from the building (if they once existed), inscriptions, and missing pieces of the frieze, any of which could alter our understanding of the theater, its program, and intended message. We don’t have records of events, rituals, or plays that took place, so the building is an empty shell, through which we attempt to reconstruct the world in which it was created and used.

The original creation of the building was an imagining as well: the ‘Romans’ of Sabratha imagining themselves as owners and partakers in a culture grown across the Mediterranean centuries before. The building created an identity of sorts, by which even now the city is identified. In the reconstruction of the theater, it is possible to reconstruct partially – however tentatively – the society in which it was created. If architecture does indeed aim at eternity, Sabratha may have succeeded.

\textsuperscript{176}The encyclopedia study of Roman sarcophagi by Koch and Sichtermann (1982, 579-580) does not cite any Roman sarcophagi from Tripolitania, which is in contrast to several examples from other areas of Roman North Africa. This perhaps signifies that in monuments of a more personal nature, such as private funerary monuments, the people of Sabratha preferred local styles of art and representation. For a similar effect in Lepcis Magna, see Fontana 2001. Not many tombs survive at Sabratha, but there does exist a second century BCE punic-hellenistic mausoleum: Di Vita 1976.
CHAPTER V: CATALOGUE

Cat. 1 Panel 1

Location: Left parapet
Dimensions: h. 0.60 m

Condition: Panel originally composed of two slabs, each containing one figure. Multiple cracks have fractured the surface. On the left side, a V-shaped gouge has destroyed the upper-left part of the figure, including the right and face. The outline of the head and hair remain, as well as a hole for the attachment of the face. Also missing on the left figure is part of the neck and a section of the upper right leg that would have been in highest relief. Other areas such as the feet have been slightly worn through exposure. The figure on the right side of the panel is mostly destroyed; only the lower half and the left elbow remain. The feet of the figure on the right are also worn.

Description: This panel depicts two female figures dancing. The figure on the left moves with her right foot in front of her left, her left arm bent and touching her head, and her right arm down and to her side holding the edge of her mantle. She wears a typical Greek peplos with a high belt, long apoptygma, legs revealed, and the bodice draped to expose her right breast. Her mantle appears hang from her back, flowing downward to the ground and flaring out by her feet. While the dancer’s feet point to the right, her torso and head are turned to the left, giving the impression of movement and action. Also adding to the sense of motion are the swirls and folds in the fabric.
The second dancer, on the right side of the panel, while damaged, appears to be in a pose largely mirroring the first: her left foot is in front of her right, both pointed left, and her right arm up and bent. The figure would not have been an exact inversion of the first, however, as the angle at which her legs are shown would have had her body more in profile than the figure on the left. The second dancer wears a similar costume to the first, legs bare, although less movement of the cloth is depicted. Each figure is provided with its own protruding triangular groundlines.

Bibliography: Guidi 1930, 43; Caputo 1959, 15, fig. 55; Di Vita 1999, 173.

**Cat. 2 Panel 2**

*Location: Back panel of first rectangular bay*

*Dimensions: h. 0.60 m*

Condition: Panel originally composed of multiple slabs. Today the relief is fragmented into over twenty pieces refitted together by the restorers. Many of the sections still retain the markings used to label and identify them during reconstruction. Of the six figures, only the one on the far left of the panel is fairly well preserved. The second figure has only its right hand and lower third, quite worn, remaining. The torso of the third figure is visible, while his lower section is present although very worn. The fourth figure is missing the upper and lower thirds of his body; only the area from his belly to his shin is preserved. The fifth figure also has the middle third of his body remaining, as well as the right side of his head. The head and the fingers of one hand are all that remain of the sixth figure.
Description: The scene is composed of an assembly of six men in Greek dress, wearing himations and chitons, and seems to be divided into two groups. In the first group the man at the very left of the panel is shown seated on a chair with his heels propped against its base, facing right. He is slightly hunched, with his right arm folded across his chest and his left raised and holding his chin. He is shown bearded and mustached, with both head and facial hair composed of curling locks. His eye appears to have a drilled pupil. His garment is draped around his body as indicated by various folds. The seated man seems to be facing the second figure who is indicated mainly by the hand gesture of extending his right hand pointing with two fingers. The second figure may have been facing the first, judging by the folds of the drapery on the lower third of his body, which seem to indicate he was angled to the left. The third figure also faces left, with his feet and torso both angled toward the central figure in that group. His left hand is wrapped in his himation and held against his chest, while his right arm is bent forward at the elbow, possibly indicating his hand would have been making a gesture toward the figure at far left.

The second group of men is grouped more closely together than the first, with the first and second figures overlapping. The first figure in the group is angled to the left, with his body posed in a weight shift, his left knee projecting forward. The second figure is seated and also appears to be bearded, although with hair that is more cap-like than the first bearded man. He is also facing left, in a stricter profile than the first man of this group, and his left arm is raised up under his drapery and closed in a fist, although in the image it is difficult to distinguish between the overlapping figures. The final man in the scene stands behind the seated man with his head shown in profile facing left. He is also bearded with curly hair.
Cat. 3 Panel 3

Location: Left side of first projecting panel
Dimensions: h.0.60 m

Condition: Panel originally carved on two slabs. Multiple cracks run across the relief. Entire scene is fully preserved.

Description: This scene does not contain figures, but a group of objects. On the left is a representation of a spherical sundial atop an Ionic column. The sundial is shown as a circle, slightly flattened at the bottom where it touches the top of the column, which has Ionic volutes and an indication of egg and dart molding around the neck. The shaft is unfluted and rests on a molded three-sectioned base as well as a larger rectangular base.

On the right side, occupying a third of the panel, are two tall pedestals with scrolls. The left pedestal is rectangular with a slightly smaller rectangle outlined inside. A U-shaped pattern is carved onto it, possibly indicating a garland or draping of fabric. Atop the first pedestal is a group of six upright scrolls, bound together across their middle. The second pedestal has plain projecting moldings on top and bottom, and atop is an open scroll supported by some sort of rectangular frame. It is difficult to tell from the image if there was an indication of writing on the open scroll.

Bibliography: Guidi 1930, 43; Caputo 1959, 17-18, fig. 65.
Cat. 4 Panel 4

Location: Front of first projecting panel
Dimensions: h. 0.60 m.

Condition: Most of the relief has been destroyed and only the very bottom of a figure remains.

Description: The feet of a single figure are half-covered by drapery, and to the left of the feet is half of a wheel set on a rocky ground. The feet of the figure are bare and are arranged so the figure would have been frontal.

Bibliography: Guidi 1930, 42; Caputo 1959, 18, fig. 60; Hornum 1993, 48, 52, 61, 67. Pausa, LIMC 6:765, n. 265 s.v. “Nemesis.”

Cat. 5 Panel 5

Location: First exedra
Dimensions: h. 0.60 m.

Condition: The panel was originally carved in several sections. The relief has multiple horizontal cracks running across its face. Of the nine original figures, only four are fairly well preserved. The figures become progressively more damaged from left to right. Most of the faces have been worn or damaged.

Description: This panel depicts nine women in a row, each standing on her own protruding groundline. The figures wear Greek peploi and have bare feet. Their hairstyles are identical
low buns, but each dress is uniquely composed of varying folds and drapery. Each figure holds at least one identifying object: a club, a mask of Hercules, and musical instruments are all fairly well preserved. The women can be identified then as a college of muses, each with an object as her attribute.

Bibliography: Guidi 1930, 40-42, figs. 34, 35; Caputo 1959, 18, figs. 61-64.

**Cat. 6 Panel 6**

*Location: Front of second projecting panel*  
*Dimensions: h. 0.60 m.*

Condition: Very poor condition, only one fragment preserved.

Description: All that remains is an ankle and the hem of a garment.

Bibliography: Guidi 1930, 40; Caputo 1959, 28, no published image.

**Cat. 7 Panel 7**

*Location: Right of second projecting panel*  
*Dimensions: h. 0.60 m.*

Condition: Original panel composed of several slabs. Most of left slab is missing; only a small amount of carving remains. The right side of the panel has a large crack running vertically, and a small portion of the upper left part of the basket is missing.
Description: While not much remains of the object on the left, the remaining relief seems to indicate a chair with carved sides. To the right is what appears to be a type of basket called a cista, carved to resemble the texture of wicker-work. The basket is cylindrical and the lid is rounded.

Bibliography: Guidi 1930, 38; Caputo 1959, 18, fig. 68.

**Cat. 8 Panel 8**

*Location: Back of second rectangular bay  
*Dimensions: h. 0.60 m.*

Condition: The panel was originally carved from two blocks. While the right block of the relief is largely intact, the left has multiple horizontal cracks and has fractured in several places. Almost all the carving has been preserved, however, except for the faces of the three figures, which have been worn away to various degrees of illegibility.

Description: Three figures occupy this scene: two men standing at left and a seated woman at right. The man on the far left is depicted moving toward the second man, with his torso facing forward, but his head and legs turned toward the right. His left arm is raised in a fist toward the face of the second man, and his right arm is held at his side. He has a full head of curly hair and a beard and wears a toga over a tunic and short laced boots. The second man is more static but turns to the left, facing the first man. He is bald and wears a short, belted
tunic, short mantle, and short boots. His hands are both tucked into his mantle, draped across his chest.

Between the two men and the woman on the right is a closed door above three steps. The woman sits beside another, half-open, door. She is shown in a three-quarter pose facing out and looks towards the scene at left. Her right hand is raised with one finger pointing to the left, and her left arm is bent and rests on the back of her chair. Her hair is wavy and pulled back from her face in a bun at the nape of her neck. Her tunic is stretched across her chest to reveal her breasts, under which is a high knotted belt. She also wears a mantle draped over her shoulders and left arm. All of the figures rest on projecting ground lines.

Bibliography: Guidi 1930, 38-40, fig. 32; Caputo 1959, 18-19; fig. 69; Bieber 1961, 238, fig. 786; Wimmer 1963, fig. 58.

Cat. 9 Panel 9

Location: Left side of third projecting panel
Dimensions: h. 0.60 m.

Condition: The panel was originally carved on two blocks. The majority of the relief is destroyed, but the object at left is entirely preserved. Only small fragments remain of the object at left.

Description: This scene contains no figures. On the left is a small three-footed table on a plain square base. The table is claw-footed, with animal heads as decoration on the legs. The
top of the table is flat and empty. To the right is a large, poorly preserved base of some kind, larger than the table but essentially illegible; it could depict an altar.

Bibliography: Guidi 1930, 38, fig. 33; Caputo 1959, 19, fig. 67.

**Cat. 10** Panel 10.

*Location: Front of third projecting panel*

*Dimensions: h. 0.60 m*

Condition: Lost.

**Cat. 11** Panel 11

*Location: Central exedra*

*Dimensions: h. 0.60 m*

Condition: The panel was originally carved in three or possibly four sections. Multiple cracks fragment the surface of the relief, but the majority of the scene is preserved. Five heads are missing and most of the faces of the remaining figures are worn away as well.

Description: The relief panel is composed of three groupings with a total of fifteen figures. On the left is a scene of sacrifice composed of four men standing beside an altar. The two men on the left are bearded, with feet facing outward while their heads and torsos are slightly turned to the right. The first figure holds a long, curved object in his left and a shorted object in his right hand. In his right hand, the second figure holds a patera being offered by the
fourth figure in the scene, who holds a jug and a small box. The second figure also holds an object in his left hand. The third figure in the scene, placed between the second and fourth man, is slightly in the background and has no beard. The three figures at left wear sleeved tunics and togas, but the fourth is wearing a short-sleeved tunic that is bunched above the belt. The altar is shown in three-quarter view with the two visible sides each decorated with two diagonal and one horizontal raised lines. The base of the altar is round, but the upper molding appears straight. On the altar is a small, rectangular box. The entire scene is placed on a protruding groundline.

The central scene shows a line of nine frontal figures. From the left are three men in military dress, wearing helmets, cloaks, and short tunics. Each stands with his right hand raised, palm out, up to his chest. A figure of a woman is depicted next, wearing a long tunic and mantle which may be brought up over her turreted crown. Although the figure is worn, she can be discerned holding a cornucopia and a patera. To the right is another female in military dress, with a helmet, short double-belted tunic arranged diagonally over her chest, and short cloak. She rests her left hand on a shield and appears to have feathers emerging from a quiver on her back. The two female figures are shown shaking hands. To the right are another four military-dressed men, in similar positions to the first three.

On the right is a second sacrificial scene, in which a bull with decorated horns is led from the right towards a rectangular altar covered with fruit, bread, and a pinecone; the upper molding is decorated with a double scroll. In front of the bull and holding his reins is a man wearing only a short skirt and boots; a baldric that holds his sword crosses his chest, and he holds a short stick or whip. Behind the bull and the altar at left is a second topless man who
stands looking to the right with his right hand extended to the left holding an object. A third man, bearded and wearing a toga and cape stands behind the bull at right.

Bibliography: Guidi 1930, 34-38, figs. 29, 30, 31; Ryberg 1955, 136-137, fig. 74; Matthews 1957, 51, pl. 70; Caputo 1959, 19-20, figs. 70-73; Frova 1961, 687, fig. 593; Romanelli 1962, 229; McCann 1968, 78, pl. 96, fig. 3; Wiggers and Wegner 1971, 85 s.v. “Sabratha;” MacKendrick 1980, 170, fig. 6.13; Kleiner 1992, 344, fig. 312; Di Vita 1999, 178; Romanelli, EAA 6:1057, fig. 1164; di Filippo, LIMC supplement, n. 237 s.v. “Roma;” Henig, LIMC supplement n. I s.v. “Sabratha.”

**Cat. 12 Panel 12**

*Location:* Front of fourth projecting panel

*Dimensions:* h. 0.60

Condition: Two cracks run across the face of the relief. While the majority of the figure is preserved, all of his face and the outside of the right leg have chipped.

Description: The central figure in this scene holds his caduceus in his left hand while his right arm is bent to carry an infant Bacchus, indicating him as the god Mercury. He is shown running toward the right with his left leg in front of his right. The god is nude except for his mantle, which flutters around him, and he is supported by a projecting groundline.
Bibliography: Guidi 1930, 34, fig. 28; Caputo 1959, 20, fig. 66; Fuchs 1987, 133. Simon, *LIMC* 6:521, n. 258 s.v. “Mercurius.”

**Cat. 13 Panel 13**

*Location: Right side of fourth projecting panel*
*Dimensions: h. 0.60 m*

Condition: The relief is very well preserved.

Description: This scene is composed of two theatrical masks for the performance of comedy. The mask at left is shown in profile to the left and is of a young person with curly locks and a fringe of hair around his face. The mask at right is facing outward, with a wrinkled forehead, a snub nose, and with no indication of hair. He is shown with a *pedum*, or crook.

Bibliography: Guidi 1930, 32, fig. 27; Caputo 1959; 20, fig. 74; Di Vita 1999, 175.

**Cat. 14 Panel 14**

*Location: Back of third rectangular bay*
*Dimensions: h. 0.60 m*

Condition: The right half of the panel is missing, and the left side has several cracks. The two remaining figures are well preserved.
Description: The two figures in this scene are both men wearing theater costume and tragic masks, and both are carved in lower relief than other figures on the pulpitum. The left figure’s mask is beardless and the right figure’s mask is bearded with signs of age. The man at left is facing to the right with his torso mostly frontal. His left arm is largely hidden under his drapery, but his right arm is bent at the elbow as he points with two fingers out toward the second figure. He is beardless and wears a long-sleeved, belted chiton with a mantle hanging in the back. The second figure faces the first with his left arm held forward by his waist and his right arm resting on a large club before him. He is bearded and also wears a long-sleeved, belted chiton and a mantle. Both figures stand on stilts and have triangular pieces of cloth hanging from their belts.

Bibliography: Guidi 1930, 31, figs. 25, 26; Bieber 1939, 237, fig. 785; Caputo 1959, 20, fig. 77.

**Cat. 15 Panel 15**

*Location: Left side of fifth projecting panel
Dimensions: h. 0.60 m*

**Condition:** The relief is very well preserved.

Description: This scene depicts two tragic masks set facing each other on a base. The left mask is of an older, beardless man with a wrinkled forehead and thick, fleshy cheeks and chin. His hair is organized as if a tube around his face, with patterning on the scalp. At the
nape of the neck is a fringe of short curls. The second mask shows a younger, also beardless, man with a smooth face and full jaw. He wears a hat over wavy hair brushed into an onkos, or a crown of hair, over his forehead. Behind him is a small staff decorated with ribbons.

Bibliography: Guidi 1930, 28, fig. 24; Caputo 1959, p. 20, fig. 75; Wimmer 1963, fig. 59.

Cat. 16 Panel 16

Location: Front of fifth projecting panel
Dimensions: h. 0.60 m

Condition: The upper right corner of the relief panel is lost, as is a small section in the lower left corner. The central figure is mostly preserved except for a worn face and a missing right hand.

Description: There is only one figure in this scene: a nude man carrying a lion skin and club over his left arm, meant to represent the hero Hercules. Frontal, he stands next to a stump against which leans a bow and quiver. His weight is on his left foot, his right leg is forward at an angle, and his right arm is lifted up to the left; as the hand is missing it is unclear what he may have been holding.

Bibliography: Guidi 1930, 27, fig. 23; Caputo 1959, 20, fig. 76. Palagia, LIMC 3:760, n. 626 s.v. “Herakles.”
Cat. 17 Panel 17

Location: Third exedra  
Dimensions: h. 0.60 m.

Condition: The panel was originally carved in four sections. While the second and fourth sections are mostly well preserved, the first is greatly damaged and the third has fractured into several pieces and its figures are very worn.

Description: The first scene is mostly lost, but indications of rocky ground remain, as well as an upraised arm clasping an object. In the second section of the panel are three nude women standing with interlocking arms. As the two outer figures are frontal and the middle is seen in rear view, the women represent the Three Graces in their standard configuration. Their hairstyles are identically pulled back into high buns and drilled to give the appearance of curls. The outer legs of the outer figures act as the weight legs. The woman at left holds out a mirror in her right hand, the woman at right holds a leafy branch in her left hand, and the central figure puts her arms around the other two. All the women wear upper-arm bracelets.

The third and fourth sections of this panel seem to depict the mythical ‘Judgment of Paris.’ In the third section are represented the three goddesses: Venus, Minerva, and Juno. Venus is shown nude, holding the mantle swirling behind her with both hands and facing forward in a sinuous pose. A helmeted Minerva wears a high-belted peplos himation draped around her hips and carries a spear and shield. Juno is wearing a high-belted chiton, a himation draped about the hips, and holds a scepter in her left hand; her right hand is on her hips. Her hair is deeply drilled and she wears a *stephanè* crown.
The fourth scene depicts the god Mercury with the shepherd Paris. Standing next to a small rocky outgrowth, Mercury holds his raised right hand outward, gesturing toward the goddesses while his face turns towards Paris. He has short hair and is nude except for his long traveler’s cloak, or *chlamys*, which is draped around his left arm, in which he holds the caduceus. Paris is shown in a soft cap, a short double-belted tunic, a cloak hanging in back, and carrying a shepherd’s crook. Beneath his tunic he wears a sleeved garment and leggings. He has a full head of hair which extends to the base of his neck.


**Cat. 18 Panel 18**

*Location: Front of sixth projecting panel*

*Dimensions: h. 0.60 m*

Condition: This panel is very poorly preserved, and only a few fragments from the top of the relief survive.

Description: The outline of a female head, her hair pulled into a bun, survives, together with segments of the upper curves of her wings.

Bibliography: Guidi 1930, p.-; Caputo 1959, 22, fig. 78.
**Cat. 19 Panel 19**

*Location:* Right of sixth projecting panel  
*Dimensions:* h. 0.60 m

Condition: Lost.

**Cat. 20 Panel 20**

*Location:* Back of fourth rectangular bay  
*Dimensions:* h. 0.60 m

Condition: The panel was originally carved on at least two blocks. The relief is broken into many segments. Of the figure at left only the central torso and right arm survive. The second figure is missing his left hand and the front of the left foot. The third figure is largely preserved but is missing a small part of its head.

Description: The figure in the center is a young masked male with a frontal torso, face, and left leg. His right leg is turned as if to move to the left, and his right arm is upraised. His left arm holds a fold of his short, flowing cloak. He wears a short, transparent garment, a few folds of which cross the torso, and a bracelet. His hair is loose, short, and curly. The figure to the left, while barely preserved, seems to be wearing a similar costume, with a flowing cloak and an upraised left arm, bent at the elbow; the right arm seems bent and holding the edge of the garment. At the right is a large seated woman, also masked, turned at a three-quarter view with her left foot frontal and her right foot in profile. Her mask has a straight braid on the left side and she holds a long stick in her right hand.
Bibliography: Caputo 1959, 22, fig. 83.

**Cat. 21 Panel 21**

*Location:* Right parapet  
*Dimensions:* h. 0.60 m

Condition: The panel was originally carved on two blocks. The figure on the right is well preserved, but the figure on the left is almost entirely missing except for the left hand and right foot.

Description: Similar to the figures on the left parapet, this panel depicts two female figures dancing, but in this case they hold cymbals above their heads. The figure on the right faces left, moving with her left foot in front of her right. Both arms are raised above her head and she holds a cymbal in each hand. She wears a high-belted Greek peplos with the bodice draped to expose her right breast and a long apoptygma open to reveal her legs. Her mantle appears to be draped at her back, flowing down to the ground. Her drapery swirls away from her body, giving the impression of movement. The second figure also held a cymbal.

Bibliography: Guidi 1930, 22, fig. 18; Caputo 1959, 15, figs. 56, 57.
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