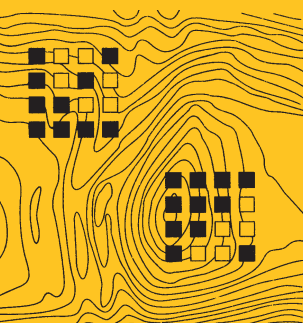


Año 2025. urtea

N.º 37. zk.



# TRABAJOS DE ARQUEOLOGÍA NAVARRA

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## On an imperial portrait from Cara (Santacara) in the Museum of Navarra, Pamplona: From Caligula to Claudius

Hans Rupprecht Goette

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# Sumario / Aurkibidea

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Año 2025. urtea - N.º 37. zk.

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# On an imperial portrait from Cara (Santacara) in the Museum of Navarra, Pamplona: From Caligula to Claudius

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Sobre un retrato imperial procedente de Cara (Santacara) en el Museo de Navarra, Pamplona:  
de Caligula a Claudio

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Caran (Santakara) aurkitutako enperadore baten erretratua Nafarroako Museoan (Iruña):  
Caligularen iruditik Claudioren irudiraino

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## ABSTRACT

The article discusses the fragment of a portrait found in the 1974 excavations in Cara (Santacara) and kept in the Museo de Navarra. It deals, on the one hand, with the identification of the Roman emperor depicted and, on the other hand, with the reworking of portraits of a condemned ruler into that of another. The focus here is on examples from the first half of the first century AD and the techniques used by sculptors in this difficult task, as well as the various traces left on the sculptures after such reuses.

**Keywords:** portrait of Caligula; Augustus; Claudius; re-working; metal attachments.

## RESUMEN

El artículo analiza el fragmento de un retrato hallado en el año 1974 durante excavaciones realizadas en Cara (Santacara) que se conserva en el Museo de Navarra. Aborda, por un lado, la identificación del emperador romano representado y, por otro, la reelaboración de retratos de gobernantes condenados para convertirlos en efigies de otros. Nos centramos en ejemplos de la primera mitad del siglo I d. C. y en las técnicas utilizadas por los escultores en esta difícil tarea, así como en las diversas huellas que se aprecian en las esculturas tras semejantes reutilizaciones.

**Palabras clave:** retrato de Caligula; Augusto; Claudius; reelaboración; apliques de metal.

## LABURPENA

Artikuluak Nafarroako Museoan gordetzen den erretratu zati bat aztertzen du, 1974an Caran (Santakara) egindako indusketa batzuetan aurkitutakoa. Alde batetik, erretratuan irudikatzen den erromatar enperadorea identifikatzen saiatzen da, eta, bestetik, azaltzen du nola berregiten ziren kondenatutako gobernarien erretratuak beste batzuen irudi bilakatzeko. K.o. I. mendearen lehen erdialdeko adibideak ardatz harturik, eskultoreek lan zail hori egiteko erabiltzen zituzten teknikak azaltzen dira, bai eta zer aztarna gelditzen diren eskultoretan halako berrerabilpenak egin ondoren.

**Gako hitzak:** Caligularen erretratu; Augusto; Claudius; berregitea; metalezko apaingarriak.

In 1974, small fragments of one or more marble statues<sup>1</sup> and a badly damaged portrait made of excellent, very transparent Parian marble (Lychnites<sup>2</sup>) were found during excavations of the ancient settlement of Cara (Santacara). The latter is now on display in the Museum of Navarra<sup>3</sup>.

Approximately half of the portrait (figs. 1–5), which was severed from a broad neck, has been preserved, namely almost the entire face and a large portion of the strands of hair above the forehead. The eyebrows and lips show

superficial chipping, there is a blow injury to the left cheek below the eye, and most of the nose and the right side of the chin are missing. While a few locks are still visible on the right side of the head at the edge of the temple, before the fracture's sloping surface begins, the left profile of the portrait is missing from the temples onwards; on that side, only a few ends of strands are visible deep in the neck; the entire back of the head is lost. The portrait was probably split into at least three almost wedge-shaped fragments: traces of a pointed instrument used to separate the rear parts of

1 Romero Novella – Andreu Pintado 2020, 289 fig. 3, 1–4; Romero Novella – Andreu Pintado 2024, 162 f. no. 119–122 with bibliography.

2 Romero Novella – Andreu Pintado 2020, 287–300 figs. 1. 4. 5,1. 6; Romero Novella – Andreu Pintado 2024, 159–162 no. 118 pl. 62, 1–4.

3 Inv. no. CE003132. I would like to thank M. Jover Hernandez and S. Irigaray for their support in my research on the portrait in the Museo de Navarra and for granting me permission to take and publish new photographs. Immediately after the publication of the CSIR volume (Romero Novella – Andreu Pintado 2024) in October 2024, L. Romero Novella made available the pages with the new publication of the portrait as a PDF file, for which I am very grateful. Thanks are due to Carmen Marcks-Jacobs who gave advice and prepared the Spanish translation.

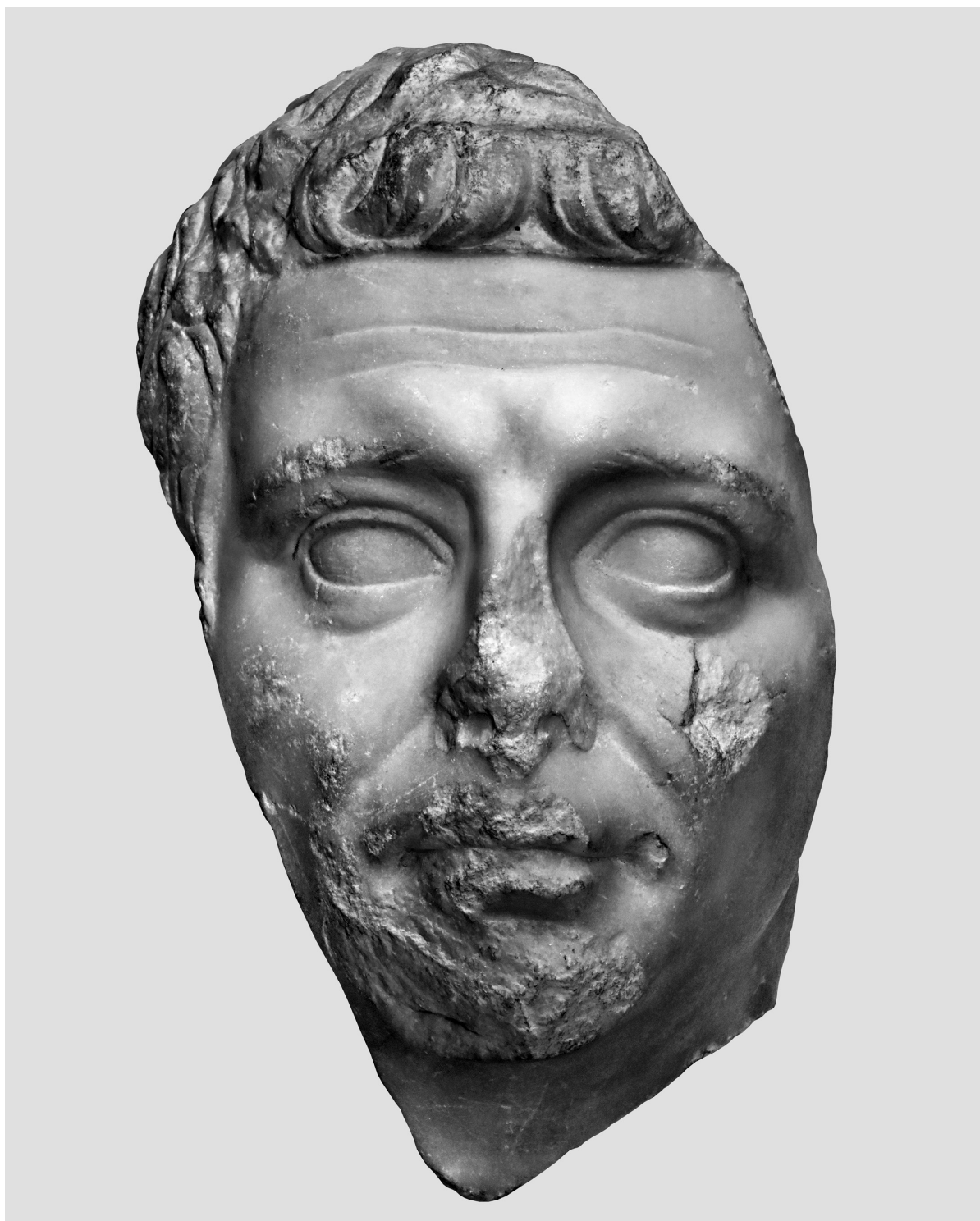


Figure 1. Pamplona, Museo de Navarra inv. no. CE003132: Fragment of a portrait of a Roman emperor, front view. Photo: Hans R. Goette.



Figure 2 as Figure 1: right profile view. Photo: Hans R. Goette.



Figure 3 as Figure 1: left profile view. Photo: Hans R. Goette.

the sculpture are visible on the break's edge on the left side of the head. A piece of iron must have been lying in the ground above the broken surface on the right side of the portrait for a long time, causing oxidation and discolouration of the marble in one large and several small patches; there are no signs of an ancient drill hole or other indications for the attachment of metal additions to the portrait that could have caused damage or discolouration

of the fractures<sup>4</sup>. The left side surface shows an even yellow patina caused by the minerals in the soil.

The physiognomy of the man depicted (figs. 1–3) is rendered with fairly soft, smooth skin and characterised as mature by a few details. This is shown by the two parallel, undulating lines on the high forehead, as well as the shape of the eyes with thick bags under

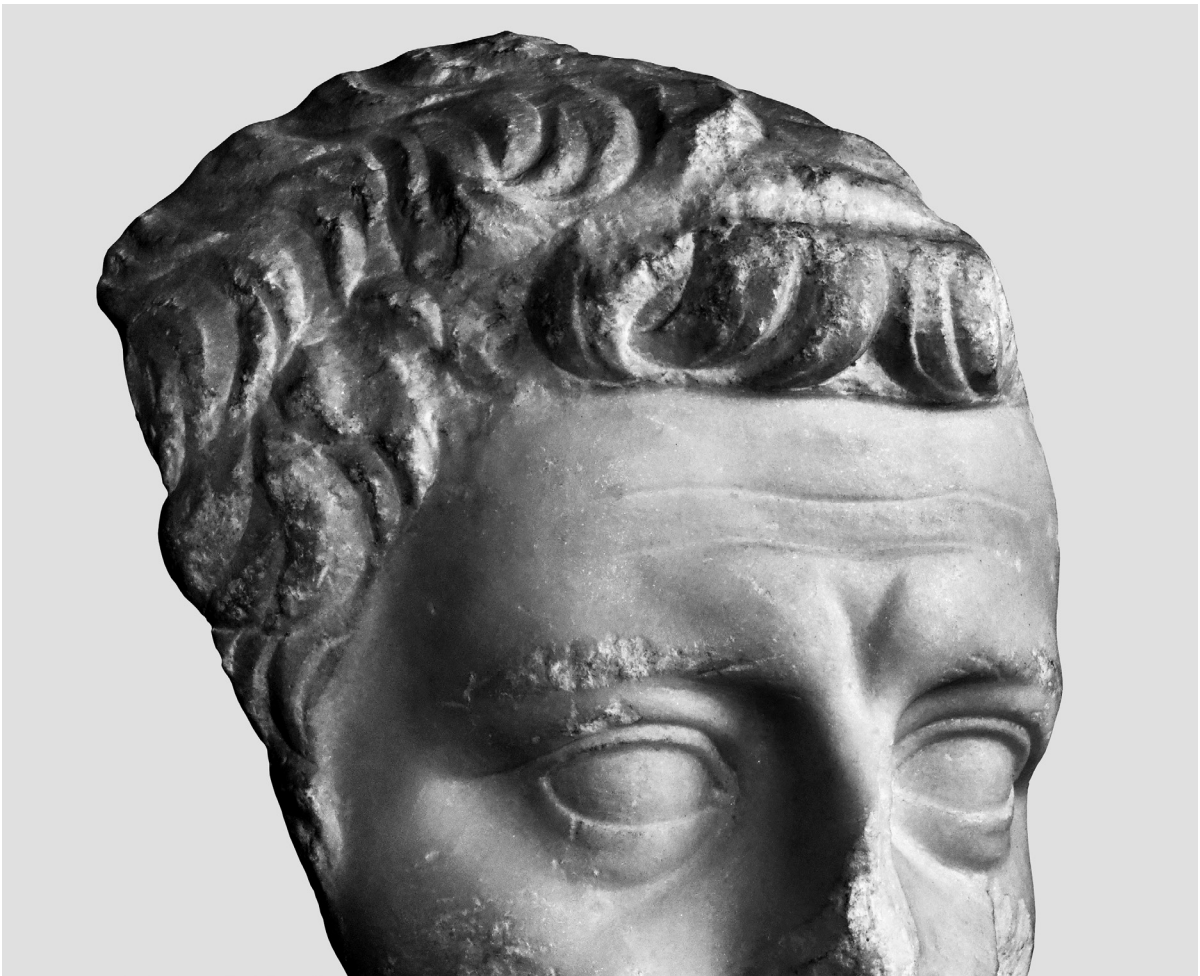


Figure 4 as Figure 1: detail of the hair at the right temple and above the forehead. Photo: Hans R. Goette.

4 This result of my investigation was confirmed by a recent examination by the museum restorer M.<sup>a</sup> del Mara Sánchez Urrea for which I am very grateful.

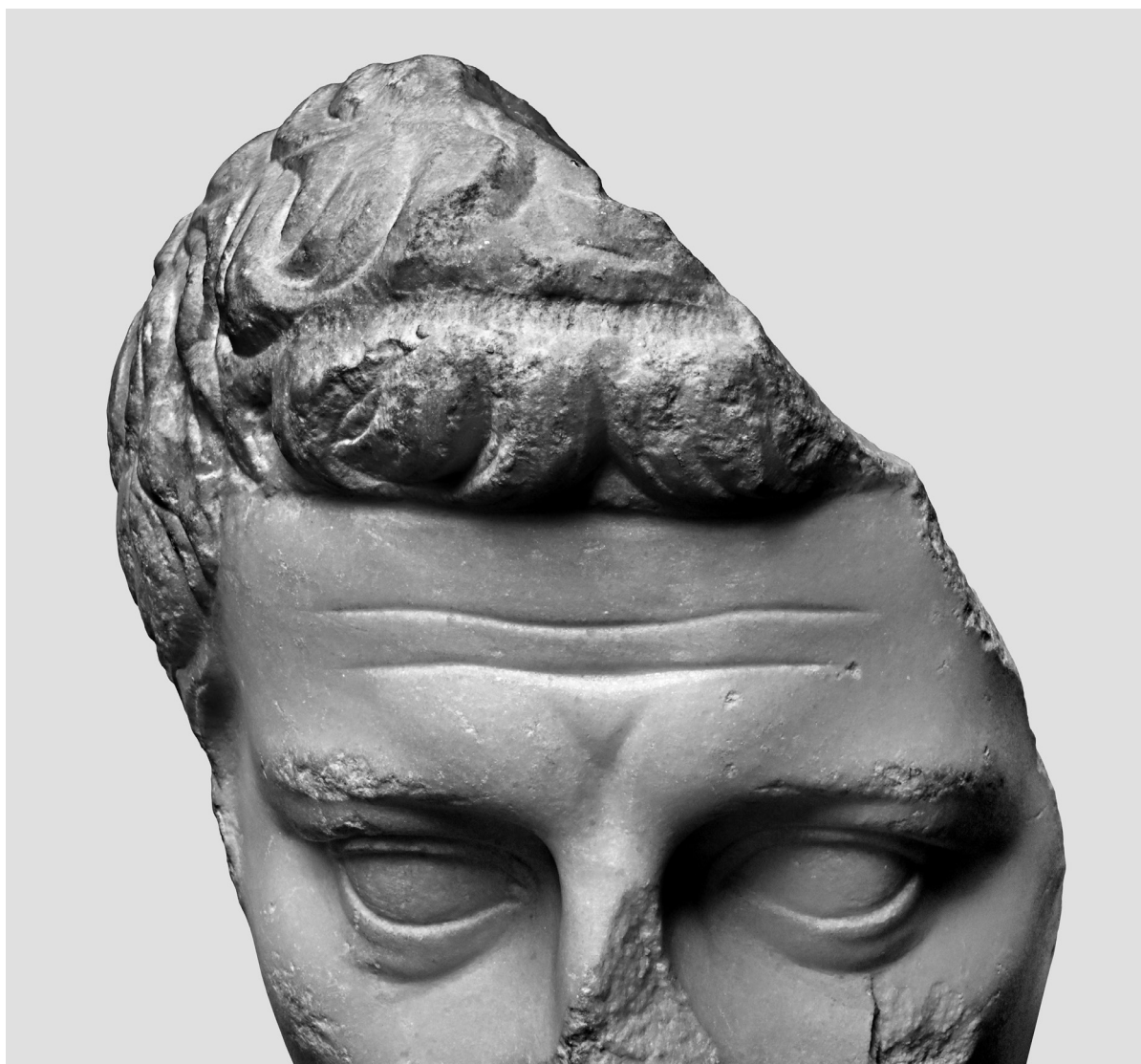


Figura 5 as Figure 1: frontal view of the forehead and the “signature” of the hairline. Photo: Hans R. Goette.

them and the pronounced nasolabial folds. The large eyes, framed by sharp-edged eyelids, lie beneath strongly protruding, narrow orbits; between the inner corners of the eyes and the broad bridge of the nose, they run in a slight arc towards the cheeks, further emphasising the impression of advanced age. The eyebrows, with their fine hairs, are slightly contracted; this has been sensitively and skilfully rendered

by a depression above the nose and, on either side of it, by elevations of the lower forehead. The narrow mouth, with its drawn-in corners betraying a slight tension, is embedded in the soft forms of the lower face.

The hairstyle of the male portrait (fig. 1. 4–5) consists of crescent-formed strands with prism-shaped cross-sections. The hair above

the forehead is dominated by the motif of a fork that is slightly offset from the centre to the left side. To either side of the fork, four strands swing down, each grouped into two compartments. With the right part of this fork, two narrow curls above the right eye, curved towards the centre of the forehead, form a closed pincer motif. Next to this, small strands are directed to the opposite direction and accompany the contour of the temple. Above the left half of the forehead next to the bundle of strands forming half of the center fork, the “signature” of the hair breaks off with a very small remnant of the following curl at the edge of the fracture. The strands’ pattern in the lost area of the hairstyle can only be reconstructed by comparing it with replicas with the same motifs of hairstyle as those preserved on this head – see below.

A striking feature of the portrait from Cara is a distinct edge, approximately 1 mm deep, which slopes down from the hair towards the forehead. It does not follow the contour line of the strands, as one might expect, but runs in an almost straight line below that area. This indicates that the forehead and the entire face were carved deeper, i.e. reworked at a later stage. This finding is consistent with the fact that in the side views, the shapes of the jawbone and chin are blurred, thus lacking a clear edge from the cheeks and chin to the proportionally overly broad neck. And on the side towards the temple hair, one can also see from the front a step that appears as a smooth edge of the curls because material was chiselled away from the narrow temple, while the hair mass remained untouched here. The second-

ary processing of an earlier portrait is particularly evident in the elaboration of a rather deep strip behind the strands of hair on the forehead (fig. 6), in which traces of a narrow flat chisel can be seen; this furrow separates from the unchanged main hair on top of the head the newly chiselled hairstyle of the curly locks above the forehead, chiselled in an almost vertical alignment into the previously more voluminous and further forward-reaching hair of the primary portrait.

Earlier research<sup>5</sup> did already recognise that the portrait fragment was a Roman portrait that initially depicted a Julio-Claudian emperor, and that it has been reworked to depict another ruler. The style of the hair on the one hand – prismatically cut strands, between which small gaps without any characterisation of hair still extant in the unaltered rear area of the head’s crown (fig. 6) – and the rest of strands reaching deep into the neck (fig. 3) – indicate that it was primarily a portrait of Caligula. This has also already been noted<sup>6</sup>.

The third Roman emperor, Caius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, nicknamed Caligula, was assassinated on 24 January 41 AD at the age of 28, after only four years of reign. His successor, Claudius (Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus), ordered that all images of his predecessor be removed from public view. Despite this imperial wish, some of the countless copies of Caligula’s portraits, which were widespread throughout the Roman Empire, remained untouched<sup>7</sup>. Others were deliberately damaged – their faces, especially

5 See note 2.

6 See note 2.

7 Boschung 1989, *passim*. – G. Dontas (1989) suggests in one case a reason for preserving a portrait of Caligula: the emperor’s former personal physician, who returned to his homeland of Kos after Caligula’s assassination, displayed the portrait in his private home because of his former personal relationship with the emperor.

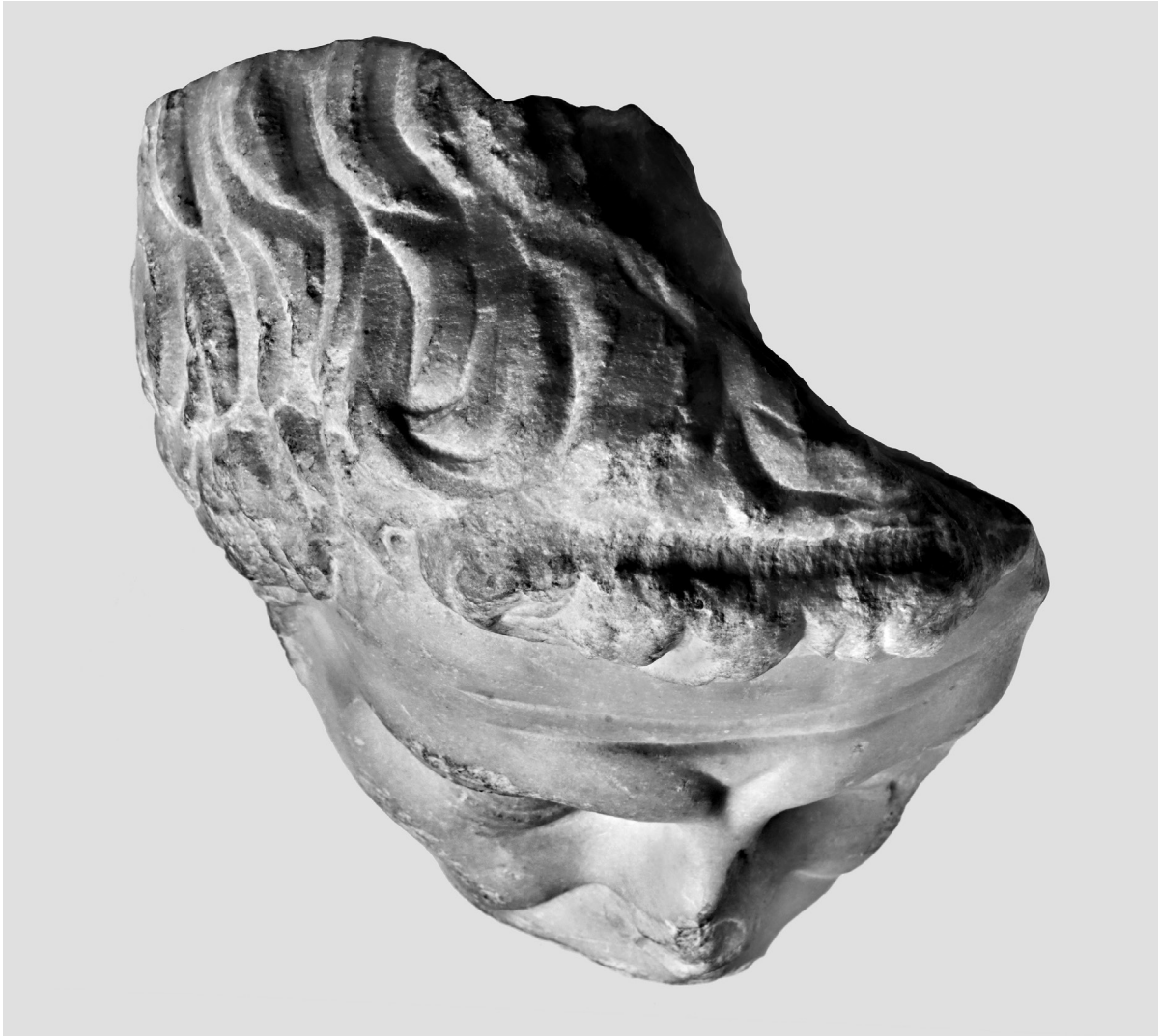


Figure 6 as Figure 1: view on top of the head. Photo: Hans R. Goette.

their eyes, were hammered<sup>8</sup> – and thrown away<sup>9</sup>. Many of them, usually those made of marble, were reused by being remodelled into

portraits of other emperors or princes of the imperial family. As a rule, such remodelling took place soon after the ruler's assassination –

8 Jucker 1981, 256 n. 64; Boschung 1989, 108 f. no. 7 pl. 7; 115 no. 30 pl. 27.

9 Some portraits of Caligula were found in the Tiber – this is reminiscent of the Romans' exclamation after the death of Tiberius: „Tiberius in Tiberim“ (Suet., Tib. 75); Jucker 1981, 256 figs. 20–23; Boschung 1989, 114 no. 27 pl. 25; 112 no. 19 pl. 19; 115 no. 30 pl. 27.

in this case, in 41 AD – and often into the likeness of his successor – in this case, Claudius<sup>10</sup>. However, we also know of cases in which the portrait of the condemned emperor was only remodelled much later, meaning that it was probably kept (in a workshop's storeroom?) for a long time before being used as material for a new sculpture<sup>11</sup>. And, of course, there are also reworkings<sup>12</sup> of a “bad” ruler into one of his esteemed predecessors – in the case of Caligula: Augustus<sup>13</sup> and Tiberius<sup>14</sup> as well as Julio-Claudian princes<sup>15</sup> such as the presumed C. Caesar from the *scaenae frons* of the theatre in Mérida (figs. 7–8)<sup>16</sup>.

Such backward-looking reuse of portraits of rulers who had long since passed away can

be found particularly often in so-called portrait galleries<sup>17</sup>, in which many or all members of an imperial family were displayed next to each other, some even multiple times, with the “good” predecessors of the dynasty intended to support the legitimacy of the ruling emperor.

Paying attention to the motifs of the forehead signet has proven to be a methodologically useful and effective way of determining a portrait type – i. e. an image that is represented by several replicas with the same or at least very similar characteristics – and subsequently naming the person depicted. This is because such details can be measured most accurately during the copying and production

- 10 Jucker 1989, 254–281; Varner 2004, 25–30; recently Goette – Freyer-Schauenburg 2020, 191–196; Goette 2023, 48–51 Taf. 26–30.
- 11 About half a century lies between the primary portrait (statue of Nero) and the secondary portrait (bust of Hadrian) in Vienna: Goette 2025. In late antiquity, the reuse of much, i. e. several centuries, older portraits was extremely common, Jucker 1981, 238 figs. 1–2; Goette – Hitzl 1987, 283–289; Gatti 2018, 240 fig. 27; Prusac 2016 with countless examples.
- 12 There are various techniques: Of course, it was easy to remove the primarily inset heads and replace them with new portraits (examples: Claudius' toga statue from the group from Velleia in Parma [Goette 1990, 119 Ba 104 pl. 7, 5; Boschung 2002, 26 no. 2.9 pl. 17, 2; Varner 2004, 232 f. no. 1.27 fig. 34] or the portrait of Tiberius on a Caligula-style armoured bust in Ephesus [Hertel 2013, 138 no. 7 pl. 1 f.]). – In some cases, smooth cuts between the neck and portrait, which were hidden in the front view by the chin and followed the jawline at the sides, indicate that the entire primary head was removed and a new portrait was created for the reused statue or bust and placed secondarily on the cut (see Appendix I). – Another technique of portrait replacement can be seen in statues whose likenesses have been chiselled down to rough stumps (Bergmann – Zanker 1981, 318 fig. 1; Kreikenbom 1992, 241 f. no. V 11 pl. 30 b; Varner 2004, 117 fig. 118), or in sculptures with the opposite phenomenon, namely hollowed-out portraits that could be mounted on such stumps: Goette 1984, 124 with n. 19 f. figs. 11–13. – Finally, it should be mentioned that parts of bronze portraits of condemned emperors – the face with the hairstyle patterns' “signature” – were also replaced by corresponding areas of the successor, as shown by the equestrian statue of Domitian/Nerva from Misenum (Bergmann – Zanker 1981, 403 no. 41; Bergemann 1990, 82–86 no. P31 pls. 56–58; Varner 2004, 261 f. no. 5.7 fig. 123; Miniero – Zevi 2008, 196–199).
- 13 Jucker 1981, 241–250; Varner 2004, 30–33; Goette – Freyer-Schauenburg 2020, 191 n. 63. For examples see Appendix II.
- 14 Varner 2004, 33; Goette – Freyer-Schauenburg 2020, 191 n. 63. For examples see Appendix III.
- 15 Jucker 1981. Examples in Appendix IV.
- 16 Appendix IV 1. The reworking is evident on the ears and the shortened hair at the nape of the neck (fig. 8). Due to the damage to the hair on the forehead, resulting in the hair signet not completely preserved, it cannot be ruled out that the portrait belongs to the first (Kassel) type of Claudius with a youthful physiognomy.
- 17 Boschung 2002, passim.



Figure 7. Mérida, Mus. Arq. Nac. inv. no. CE37454: reworked portrait of Caligula. Central photo: Mérida, Museo Arqueológico Nacional; left and right: Hans R. Goette.

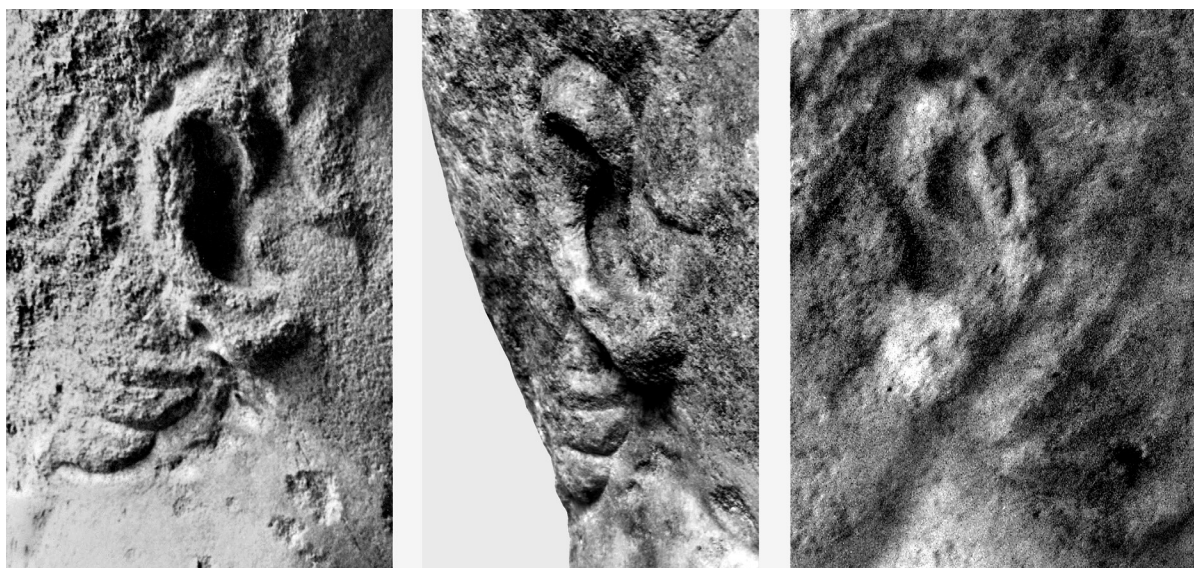


Figure 8 as Figure 7: details of the ears and the strands of hair around them. Photos: Mérida, Museo Arqueológico Nacional.

process and transferred from the model to the new sculpture to be created (fig. 9)<sup>18</sup>.

The portrait type can be compared with depictions of coin images of the respective rulers named in the legends<sup>19</sup>; alternatively, one can deduce the identity of the emperor

depicted by combining various portraits in imperial galleries with those found with associated inscriptions<sup>20</sup> – research into “Who’s Who”, which has been conducted for centuries with now fairly reliable results, particularly with regard to imperial portraits<sup>21</sup>.



Figure 9. Copying with the pointing device during the creation of the portrait bust of a Greek patriarch; on the right the plaster model, on the left the unfinished marble portrait. Photo: Hans R. Goette.

18 For the method and production process using models and the pointing device, see Vierneisel – Zanker 1979, 56 f. fig.; Boschung 1993a, 8–10; Boschung 1993b, 39 f. with bibliography in n. 2; Goette 2023, 48 with n. 7; Fiorello di Bella 2025.

19 Salzmann 1976, 252–259; Vierneisel – Zanker 1979, 26–32; Boschung 1989, 15–26 (H.-M. von Kaenel); Boschung 1993a, 59–61.

20 Boschung 2002, passim; a characteristic example of Claudius’s main type is the bronze statue of the emperor found in Herculaneum with the identifying inscription (Naples, Mus. Arch. Naz. inv. no. 5593; Salzmann 1976, 261 figs. 13–14; Boschung 2002, 119 no. 42.2 pl. 93, 3).

21 Fittschen 1977, esp. 34–62; Fittschen – Zanker 1985; Boschung 1993b; see the series of „Das römische Herrscherbild“.

That is why we are familiar with the portrait types of the Julio-Claudian emperors – Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula<sup>22</sup> and Claudius – and can identify their characteristic hair “signature” above the forehead. Only in the case of Claudius some details of the portrait typology are still under discussion<sup>23</sup>. This is particularly due to the numerous heads that were created in the course of reworking Caligula’s portraits and which, due to the pre-stamping of his hair signet, show slight variations in the

individual motifs. This is because sculptors who were tasked with carving a new physiognomy and a new forehead hairline from the material of an already finished portrait naturally faced considerable problems, as they had to carry out this work using the usual copying technique, but with very little material available, and indeed with material that was largely pre-formed. Numerous examples immediately reveal this in the area of the ears, which, after the temples and sideburns (and sometimes

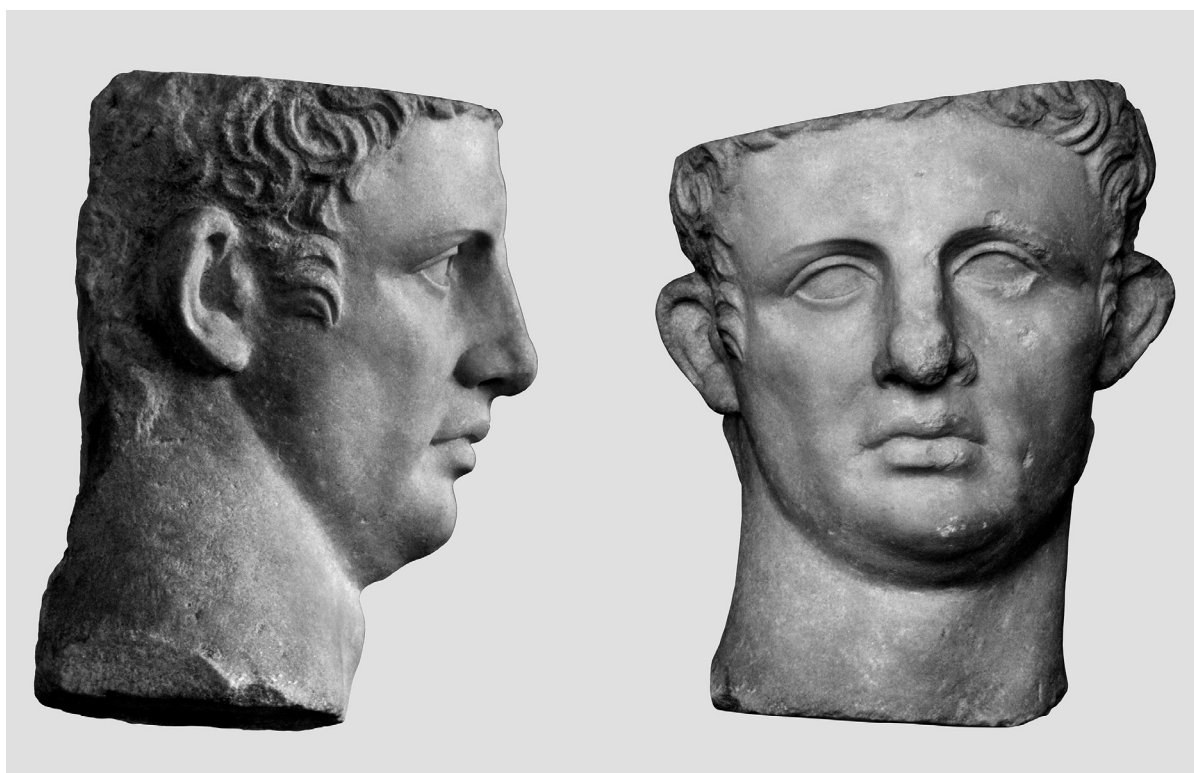


Figure 10. Munich, Glypt. inv. no. DV 94: Portrait of Claudius, reworked from an image of Caligula. Photos: Hans R. Goette.

- 22 Comprehensive documentation of the portraits of Augustus: Boschung 1993; of Tiberius: Hertel 2013; and of Caligula: Boschung 1989.
- 23 Fundamental with regard to the typology of Claudius’s portraits: Salzmann 1976; Fittschen 1977, 50 f. n. 22; 55–58 no. 17; Boschung 1987, 215 with n. 92–98; Fittschen – Zanker 1985, 16 f. no. 15 f.; Boschung 1993, 39–79; Massner 1994; Marcks 2001, 178–185 (no. 9). On reworked portraits of Claudius, which in their original version depicted Caligula, see below n. 34; most recently (with former bibliography): Trunk 2024, 244 f.

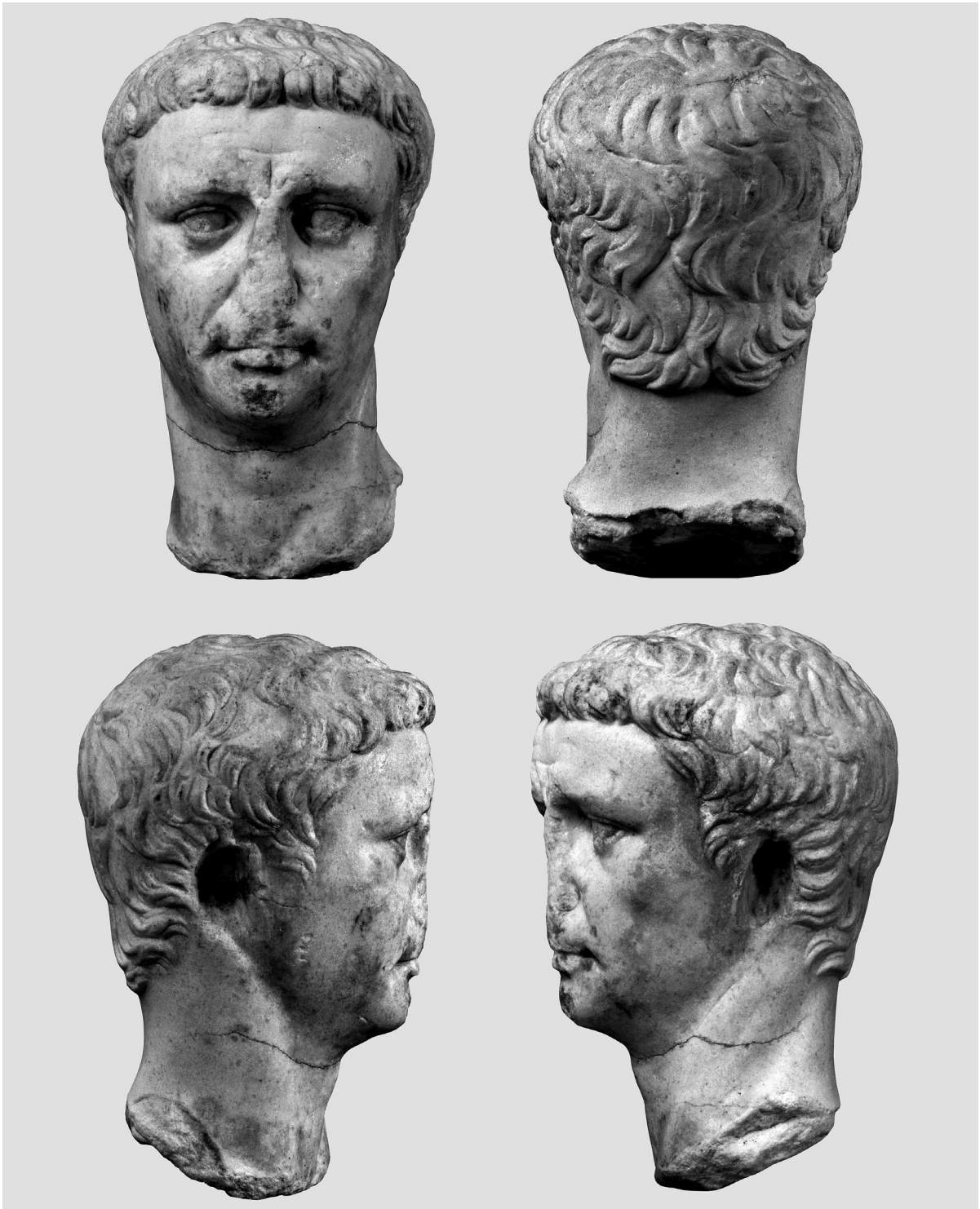


Figure 11. Zaragoza, Mus. Prov.: Portrait of Claudius from Bilbilis, reworked from an image of Caligula. Photos: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Madrid D-DAI-MAD-WIT-R-177-81-06 / 08 / 10 / 12.

also the top and back of the head<sup>24</sup>) of the original portrait had been reworked, were protruding and too large in the secondary portrait (fig. 10).

Therefore, in some cases, the edges of their ears were chiselled away, or the ears were completely removed and replaced with new ones, which were separately attached to the head in recesses and fixed with iron pins<sup>25</sup> – a very well-known example from Spanish soil is the head of Claudius from Bilbilis in Zaragoza,

which was made from a portrait of Caligula (Appendix V 3: fig. 11).

In addition, there is also the recurring phenomenon that the sculptor working on the portrait decided that the existing marble material was insufficient to create the secondary sections of the head, and therefore removed large parts of the head to attach new, separately carved pieces to the smooth surfaces using dowels and/or an adhesive<sup>26</sup>, parts of the sculpture which were then occasionally lost

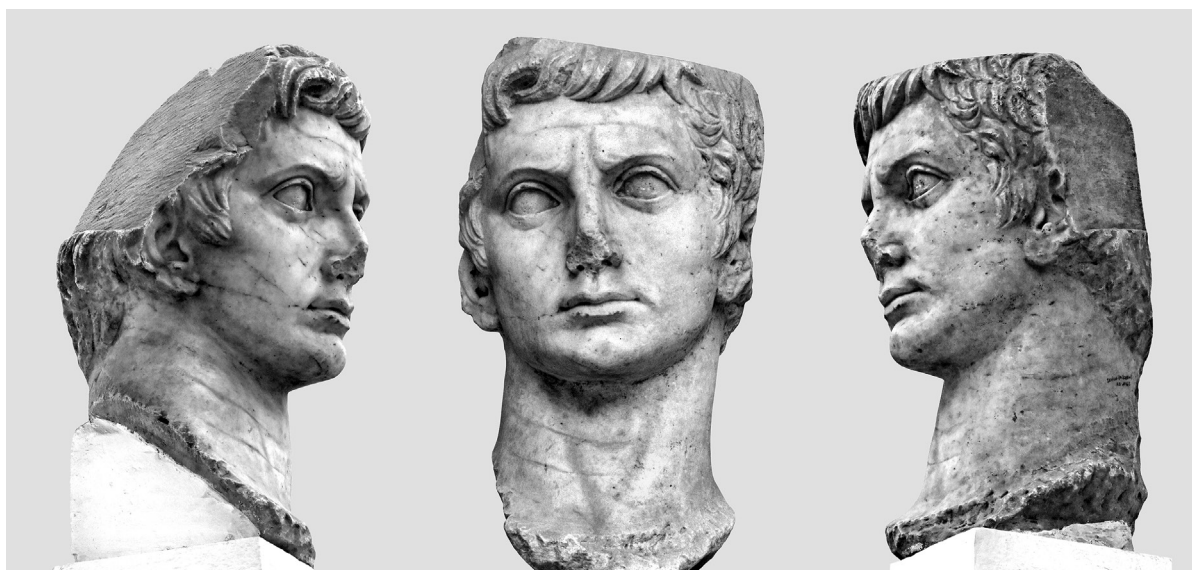


Figure 12. Sevilla, Mus. Arq. inv. no. 144-3: colossal portrait of Augustus, created from a head of Caligula. Photo of frontal view: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Madrid D-DAI-MAD-PLF 551; Photos of profile views: Hans R. Goette.

24 The technical shortcomings are particularly evident in a portrait in Munich, Glypt. inv. no. DV 94, which, judging by the marble and workmanship, is more likely to have been found in Egypt than in Asia Minor: Jucker – Willers 1983, 98 f. no. 39; Knauß – Gliwitzky 2017, 166–168 figs. 4.29–30; 362 no. 51 with 4 figs. – In portraits of Caligula that were to be reworked, his conspicuously long neck strands, which do not occur in this form in other portraits of Julio-Claudian rulers, had to be “shortened”; apparently, existing hairstyle motifs on the back and top of the head were often removed as well: see Appendix V. See also Goette – Freyer-Schauenburg 2020, 191 n. 63.

25 Appendix VI.

26 When dowels were used, they were typically thin metal pins (Appendix VII). In addition, there are also examples of mostly square marble bars that were either left on the main part of the head or carved from the smaller piece that was attached and fitted into a corresponding hole in the head. These pieces were also glued in place. The flat and smoothed connecting surfaces were often pitted with small picks to improve the adhesion of the glue (resin).

in the centuries since antiquity. The colossal portrait of Augustus from Itálica in Seville (fig. 12), which, judging by the long, albeit roughly worked neck hair, the reduced facial depth and the auricles embedded in the hair material, was derived from a portrait of Caligula, is a good example of this phenomenon<sup>27</sup>.

Such a piecing cannot be verified on the head fragment from Cara, because there are no dowel or pin holes; but, as we have seen, there

is sufficient other evidence to conclude that a portrait of Caligula was reused.

Looking now at the frontal hair signet of Augustus in its main type (figs. 13–14)<sup>28</sup> – the head fragment from Cara has been interpreted as a portrait of the first Roman emperor in its “Primaporta type” – it becomes clear that the straight and much more compartmentalised structure of the strands in the portrait fragment has nothing to do with the large-format, widely spread pincer motif of Augustus’ hair.



Figure 13. Schematic drawing of the pattern of strands above the forehead of the Augustus portrait on the Primaporta statue. Drawing: H. R. Goette after Boschung 1993b, Fig. 7ae.

27 Appendix II 36. It is reminiscent of the comparable colossal portrait of Augustus in Alexandria (Appendix II 1), which was also probably reworked from a portrait of Caligula; the back of the head in that portrait may have been made of a simpler material (wooden frame with stucco covering) instead of marble.

28 Boschung 1993a, 41–43 figs. 1–7; Boschung 1993b, Beilage 9: sketches 94–101.

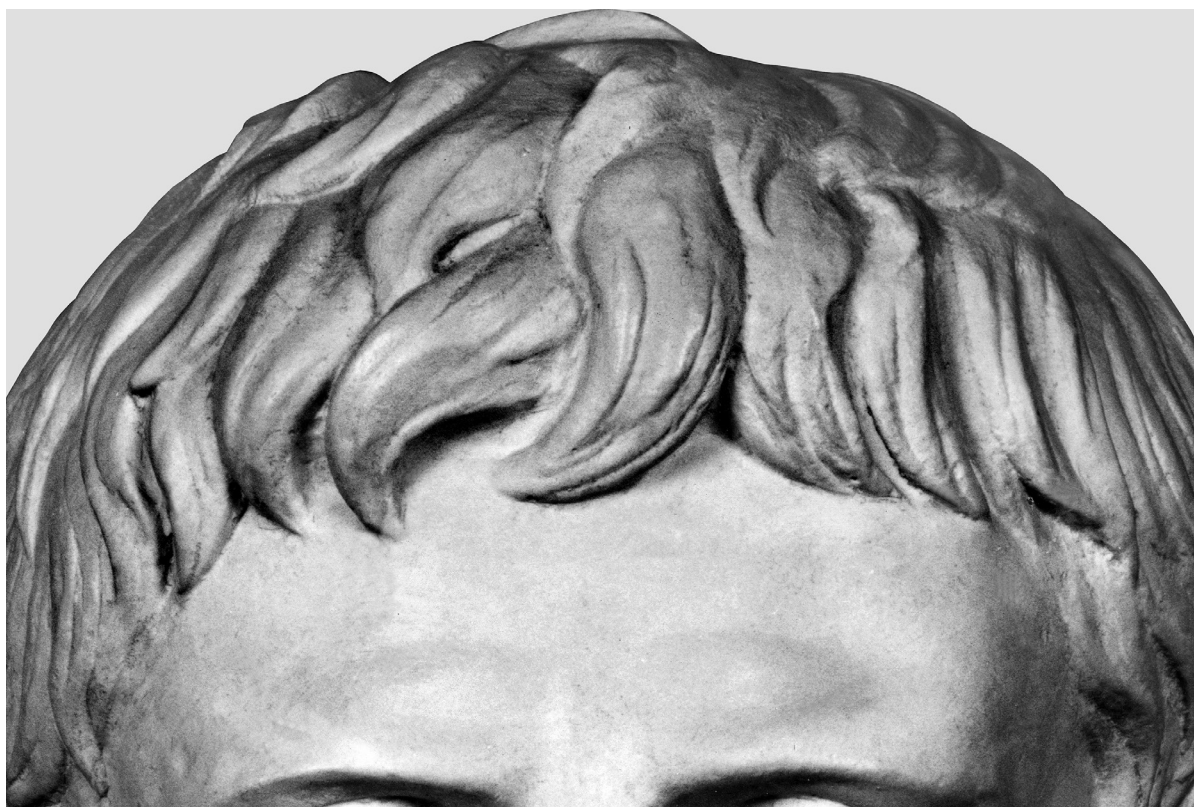


Figure 14. System of strands above the forehead of the Augustus portrait on the Primaporta statue, after cast. Photo: courtesy Museum für Abgüsse der FU Berlin.

A number of examples<sup>29</sup>, some of which were discovered on the Iberian Peninsula, show how such portraits of Augustus, which were chiselled from depictions of Caligula, did look like<sup>30</sup>. The

same applies to portrait types of the second emperor, Tiberius<sup>31</sup>. It must therefore be examined whether the portrait from Cara in its secondary version depicts the emperor Claudius.

29 Appendix II. Nogales Basarrate – Sánchez Sánchez 2022, 235 recently count a total of 20 portraits of Augustus found in Hispania.

30 Recently, Trunk 2024, 245, who mentions the portraits in Cuenca from Segobriga (Appendix II 9), the one from Conímbriga (Appendix II 8) and in Lisbon from Mértola (Appendix II 15). To this should be added the colossal head in Seville (see note 27 and Appendix II 36, fig. 12) and an inserted head in Lora del Rio (Appendix II 17). Another colossal inserted head in Tomar, which was interpreted by Fittschen – Zanker 1985, 5 n. 5 as having been reworked, on the basis of the published photographs (Boschung 1993, 190 no. 198 plate 168) cannot be considered with certainty to have been reused.

31 Hertel 2013, Beilage 1–11. It should be noted that in several cases, Hertel has described reworked portraits as the most accurate replicas of the type; therefore, some of his schematic drawings of Tiberius' portraits, which were reused ones of Caligula, are similar to the forehead hair signet of the head from Cara.

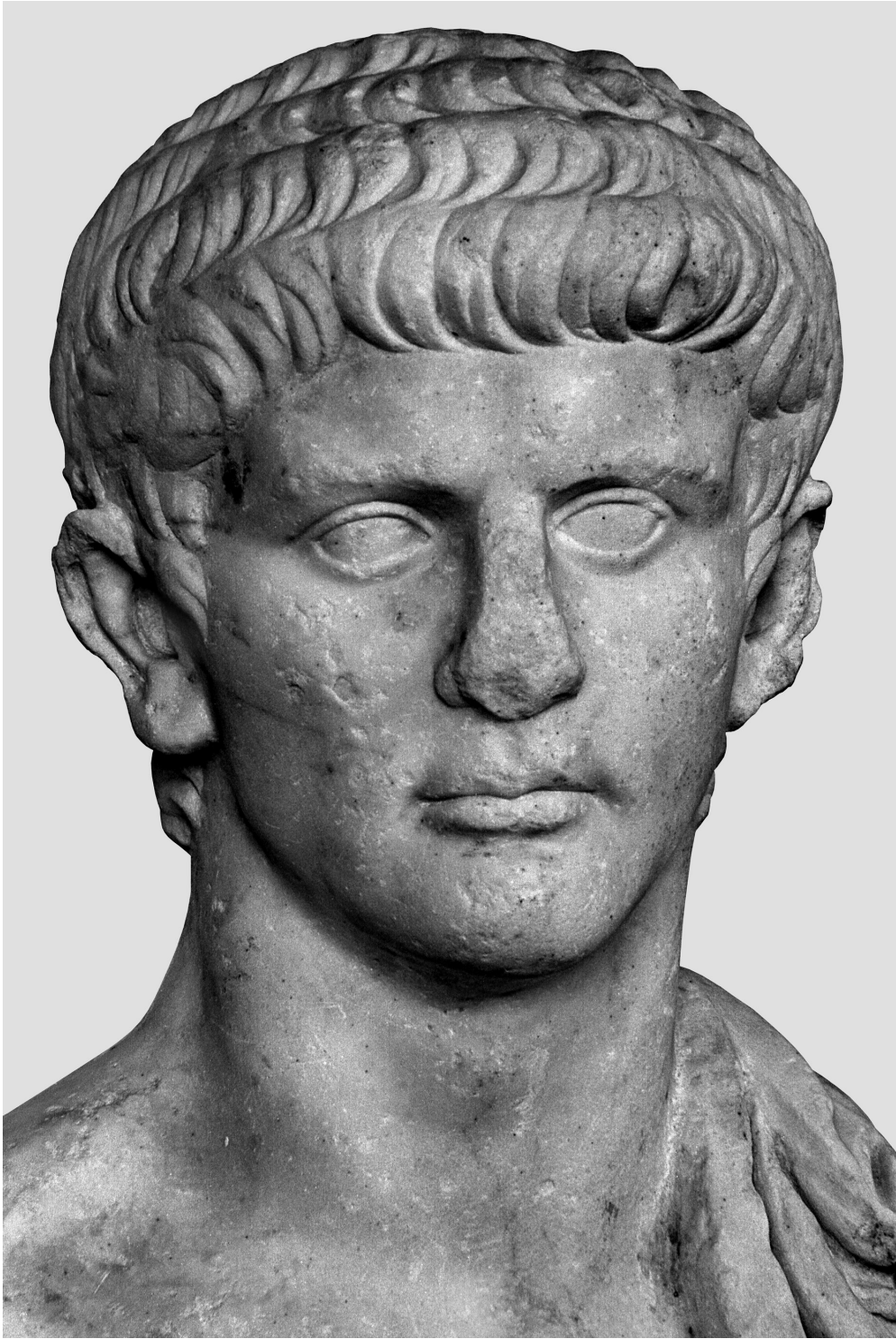


Figure 15. Kassel, Antikenslg. inv. no. Sk 116: portrait of Claudius (first type), reworked from an image of Caligula. Photo: Hans R. Goette.

The first portrait type of Claudius, named after a replica in Kassel (fig. 15; reworked from a portrait of Caligula!)<sup>32</sup>, shows a fork on the right side of the forehead and next to it a paratactic sequence of crescent-shaped strands, which form a pincer on the other side with two curls, while another fork follows next to it towards the left temple. Replicas of this Claudius type<sup>33</sup>, which vary with regard to the forehead hair signet, were often reused

from portraits of his predecessor (fig. 16 shows an example from Hispania, the portrait in Plasencia)<sup>34</sup>, and some of the likenesses display strikingly youthful physiognomies<sup>35</sup>.

Apparently, when Claudius came to power completely unexpectedly and unprepared, there was initially no desire to emphasise that Caligula's successor was a generation older – he was already 51 years old when he began his



Figure 16. Plasencia, collection of D. Luis de Ávila Zúñiga, Marqués de Mirabel: portrait of Claudius (first type), chiselled from an image of Caligula. Photos: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Madrid D-DAI-MAD-WIT-R-16-77-08 / 09 / 11.

- 32 Kassel, Antikenslg. inv. no. Sk 116: Salzmann 1976, 260 f. figs. 9–10; Marcks 2001, 180 n. 113 no. 1; Gerke – Zimmermann-Elseify 2007, 230–232 no. 73 figs. 73, 1–4.
- 33 Lists of replicas: Fittschen 1977, 50 n. 22; Marcks 2001, 180 f. n. 113.
- 34 According to the list compiled by Marcks (2001, 180 f. n. 113), this applies to at least 16 of the listed 24 replicas, as well as the one in Plasencia (fig. 16). Regarding some of the portraits of Claudius mentioned, which were reworked from those of Caligula and depict him wearing wreaths or his head covered: Goette 1986, 724–728 with n. 48; Goette – Freyer-Schauenburg 2020, 172 n. 32; 182 n. 46; 193–196 and Goette 2023, 48–51 as well as Goette – Nagy 2024, 215–220 no. 102 pl. 210–213; Trunk 2024, 244 f.
- 35 These include the replicas in Avellino, Oxford, Williamstown, Athens, and Rostock (Marcks 2001, 180 f. n. 113 nos. 4, 8, 15, 23., and 24), as well as other portraits with less youthful, but still idealised facial features. See for example a head (reworked from Caligula) in Seville, Casa de Pilatos: Trunk 2002, 173–175 no. 13 pl. 20. Fittschen 1977, 56 with n. 7 emphasises the inconsistency of the three-dimensional portraits. This youthful appearance has sometimes led older research to see a young prince of the Julio-Claudian family instead of Claudius.

reign. Therefore, his facial features were made to resemble those of his young and initially extremely popular predecessor. However, the forehead hair style of this first type of Claudius's portrait was soon combined with a more realistic, older physiognomy corresponding to the age of the person depicted<sup>36</sup>. The start of distributing those portraits can be dated already to the year 41 AD, when compared to his images on coins of that year.

Shortly thereafter – probably still in the same first year of reign, so that copyists still had portraits of Caligula available for creat-

ing such copies by reworking them – the imperial court created a new type of portrait that remained in use until the ruler's death (54 AD). It is characterised by a distinct fork in the strands approximately in the middle of the forehead and pincers on both sides of the forehead (fig. 17).

Almost all of these pieces are combined with the mature physiognomy of Claudius. Some other copies, which can be identified as depictions of Claudius based on various criteria, omit one, or even both, of the pincers on either side of the strands' fork<sup>37</sup>. Whether these are

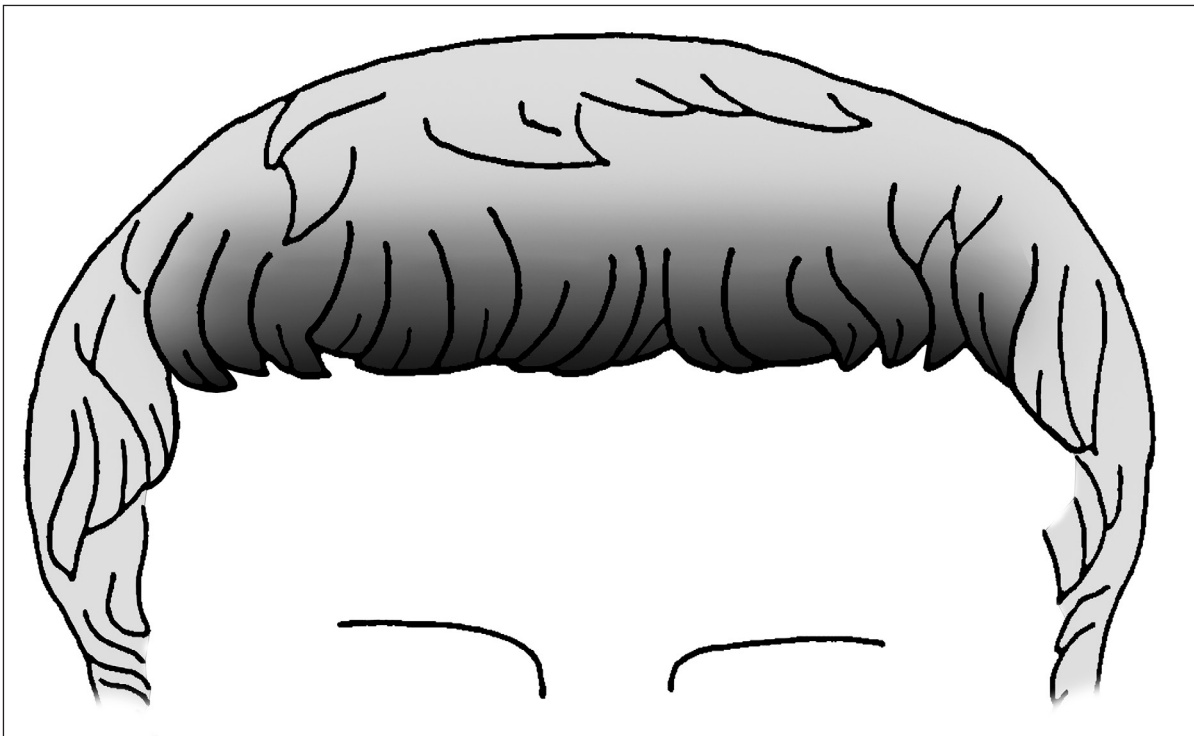


Figure 17. Schematic drawing of the pattern of strands above the forehead of the portrait of Claudius, 2nd (main) type. Drawing: H. R. Goette after Boschung 1993b, fig. 57.

36 After describing the physiognomy of Claudius' portrait in Erbach, Fittschen 1977, 55 speaks somewhat exaggeratedly of the „rendering of realistic, even ugly features“ that introduced the „portrait style of the Neronian-Flavian period“.

37 Compilation of those variants already by Fittschen 1977, 55–58 with n. 4 and 8.



Figure 18. Drawing of the strands' signature of the portrait fragment from Cara in Pamplona (Fig. 1-6) with the reconstructed scheme on its left side. Drawing: H. R. Goette.

simplified variants of the main type or a third type of Claudius's portrait created at the time when Nero was named heir to the throne is a matter of debate among researchers.

A comparison of the preserved portraits of Claudius in the main type with the characteristic signet of the strands above the forehead and the physiognomy described above clearly shows that the head fragment from Cara in its secondary version (fig. 18 and figs. 1–3), still exhibiting the distinct fork of the pre-

vious portrait, is an image of the fourth emperor and not of Augustus. Given the fragmented nature of the surviving material, it can be ruled out that the head once wore a wreath, as neither has one been carved from the primary marble stock, as evidenced by the remaining hair surfaces (fig. 6), nor can any pin or dowel holes be found that would have been used to attach a metal one (even a secondary one), as we know them from other reworked imperial portraits<sup>38</sup>. A very good example of such pinholes, comparable in

38 In addition to Caligula/Claudius in Baena (Appendix VII 1 with fig. 19), see, for example, the portraits mentioned in Appendix VII 2 and 3, as well as the heads with pinholes for other purposes: Appendix VII 4–13.



Figure 19 a. Baena, Mus. Arq.: portrait of Claudius from Torreparedones, reworked from an image of Caligula, belonging to an enthroned toga statue (Fig. 19 b). Photos: H. R. Goette.



Figure 19 b. Baena, Mus. Arq.: toga statue of Caligula / Claudius from Torreparedones. Photo: H. R. Goette.

terms of chronology and content, is a portrait in Baena<sup>39</sup> from a group of Caligulean statues in Torreparedones (fig. 19), which originally featured seated statues of Augustus, Livia and Caligula, the portrait of the latter being remodelled after his death in 41 AD to that of Claudius<sup>40</sup>.

The Parian marble used for the portrait from Cara was also used for many other imperial portraits from the Iberian Peninsula dating from before the middle of the 1st century AD<sup>41</sup>, a period in which numerous imperial portraits and statues were still being imported from workshops in Rome, where Greek marble was used extensively alongside Luna marble<sup>42</sup>. If the import of the portrait from Italy (Rome) to Cara, now in Pamplona, is plausible on the basis of the marble identification, then the successful and, given the sec-

ondary physiognomy, high-quality reworking may perhaps have taken place in Hispania. It is tempting to think of a sculptor or portrait workshop in the western province specialised in such work, since the portrait of Caligula/Claudius from Bilbilis in Zaragoza (fig. 11)<sup>43</sup> or the comparable example from Salacia in Alcacer do Sal (fig. 20)<sup>44</sup> and other reworked heads of the Julio-Claudian dynasty (fig. 7–8. 12)<sup>45</sup> show great similarities in their workmanship.

Because the absence of pinholes for both portrait phases rules out metal additions in the portrait of Caligula/Claudius from Cara, all interpretations associated with the reconstruction of possible types of foliage (oak or laurel) and their significance or with the deification of the emperor (through a radiate crown) are obsolete<sup>46</sup>.

39 Appendix VII 1.

40 It is interesting that the portrait belongs to a seated statue that shows the emperor in civilian *toga* (with a U-shaped *umbo*), but on his feet wearing (military) *mullei* with lion scalps and paws, thus distinguishing him from the figure of Augustus dressed in a *toga (purpurea)* and depicted wearing (civilian) *calcei*. One might consider whether the boots of Caligula's statue were intended to establish a connection for the viewer to the emperor's nickname („little boots“), which had been widespread in the army since his childhood. In the secondary state of the statue as Claudius, the *mullei* were not redesigned, unlike the head, even though they did not correspond to his civilian appearance. For the statue of Augustus, see the extensive bibliography in La Rocca 2024, 13–26 with figs. 1–4 and 11.

41 See e. g. the portrait of Caligula/Claudius from Bilbilis in Zaragoza (above fig. 11 Appendix VI 3; also Pensabene 2006, 111 fig. 12) or that of Caligula/Tiberius in Tarragona: Appendix III 38.

42 Attanasio – Bruno – Prochaska 2019.

43 Appendix VI 3.

44 Alcacer do Sal, Mus.: de Souza 1990, 56 no. 155; Fittschen – Zanker 1985, 5 n. 5; Trillmich 1993, 342 fig. 154; Rodríguez Gonçalves 2007, I 82–84 no. 6; II 16; Márquez – Morena López – Ventura Villanueva 2013, 354–356; Trunk 2024, 244.

45 These include, for example, the portrait of Claudius in Plasencia (Marcks 2001, 178–185 no. 9 pl. 29; see above with fig. 16), three others in Córdoba (a. from the collection Parque “Cruz Conde”: Garriguet 2002, 34 f. pl. 6, 1–2; Pensabene 2006, 111 fig. 11; Trunk 2024, 245. – b. Appendix IV 3. – c. Appendix III 13), the portraits of a Julio-Claudian prince (or Claudius?) in Mérida (see above note 16 figs. 7–8 and Appendix IV 1) and in Málaga from Cartima (Appendix IV 2), as well as probably the portrait of Claudius in Tarragona (Koppel 1985, 52 no. 75; Márquez – Morena López – Ventura Villanueva 2013, 354–356; Trunk 2024, 244 f.) or one of Augustus in Córdoba (from Montemayor: Márquez 2012, 206–211 figs. 1–5).

46 Romero Novella – Andreu Pintado 2020, 294–297; Romero Novella – Andreu Pintado 2024, 161 f. On this topic, see Bergmann 2010, *passim*.

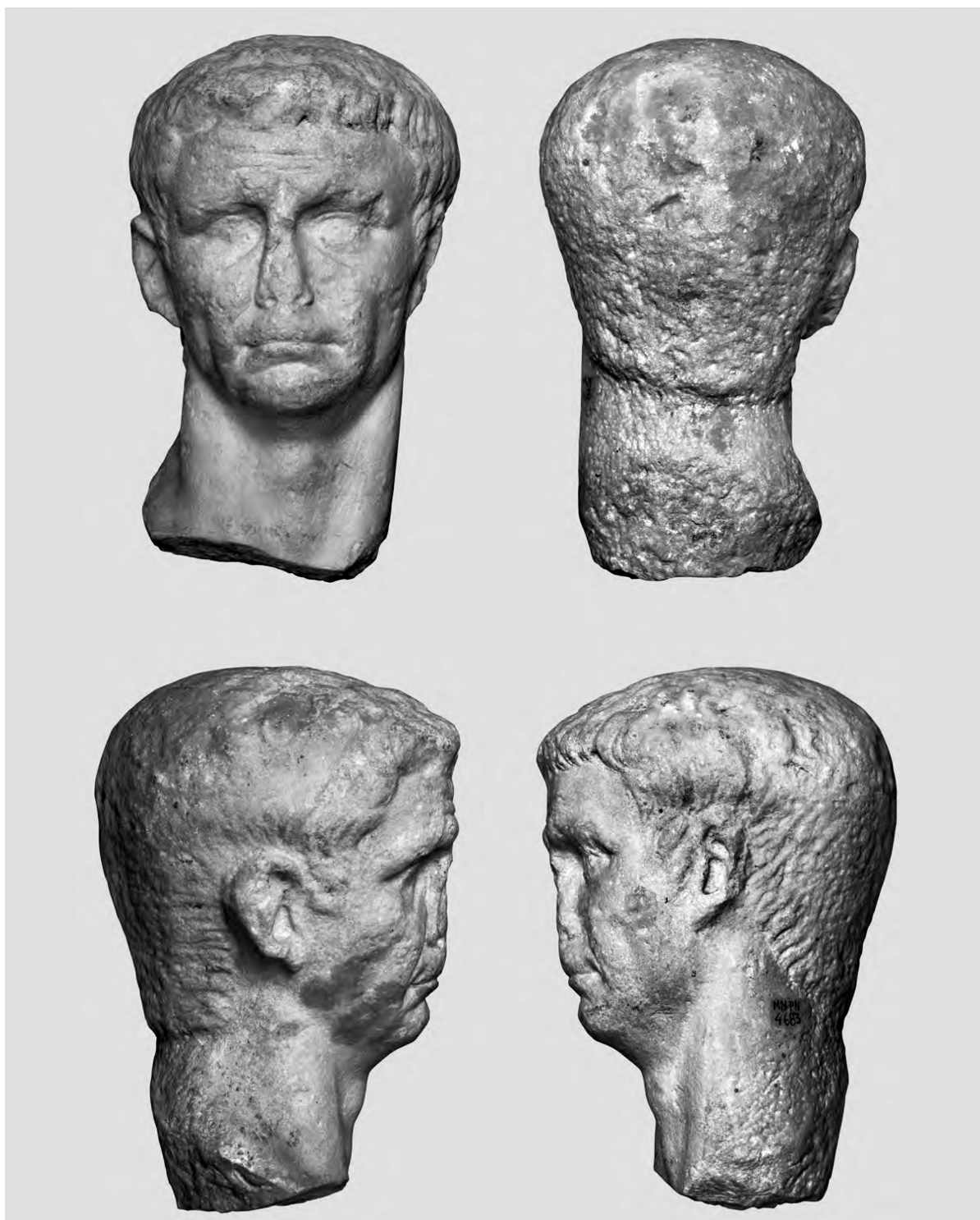


Figure 20. Alcacer do Sal: portrait of Claudius (main type), chiselled from an image of Caligula. Photos: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Madrid D-DAI-MAD-GRU-R-263-84-09 / R-266-84-03 / 06.

## Appendix I:

Portraits that were placed on statues or busts with a smooth cut under the chin in the course of reusing the portrait's statue or bust:

1. Augustus, Thessaloniki, Arch. Mus. inv. no. 1065 : Boschung 1993, 189 no. 197 pl. 117. 217, 1; Despinis – Stephanidou Tiveriou – Voutiras 2003, 108–113 no. 244 figs. 696–706; Daehner 2013, 302 n. 15;
2. Augustus, Rome, Cap. Mus. inv. no. 230: Fittschen – Zanker 1985, 6 no. 5 pl. 8; Daehner 2013, 302 n. 15;
3. Augustus, Sevilla, Mus. Arq. inv. no. 144–3: Boschung 1993, 186 f. no. 188 pl. 115; León 2001, 206 figs. 267–268;
4. Augustus, New York, Met. Mus. inv. no. 07.286.115: Boschung 1993, 166 f. no. 140 pl. 109;
5. Augustus, New York, Met. Mus. inv. no. 08.258.47: Boschung 1993, 167 no. 141 pl. 110;
6. Augustus, Paris, Louvre inv. no. Ma 1278: Boschung 1993, 133 no. 54 pl. 57;
7. Julio-Claudian statue of an emperor, Sassari, Mus. Sanna: Kreikenbom 1992, 240 no. V 7 pl. 29 c;
8. Commodus, Rome, Cap. Mus. inv. no. 10456: Fittschen – Zanker 1985, 83 no. 75 pl. 89; Daehner 2013, 302 n. 15;
9. Commodus, Dresden, Staatl. Kunstslg. inv. no. Hm 392: Goette 1984, 124 n. 20; Daehner 2013, 298–302 no. 67;
10. Septimius Severus, Toulouse, Mus. St. Raymond inv. no. 30113: McCann 1968, 147 f. no. 34 pl. 45; Balty – Cazes – Rosso 2020, 94–104 with 7 figs.; Daehner 2013, 302 n. 15;
11. Septimius Severus, Austrian private collection: Soechting 1972, 153 no. 31 figs. 4 a–d; Daehner 2013, 302 n. 15;
12. Septimius Severus, Maastricht, Mus. inv. no. 131: Soechting 1972, 189 no. 81 figs. 9 a–b; Goette 1984, 124 n. 20; Daehner 2013, 302 n. 15;
13. Septimius Severus, Paris, Louvre inv. no. Ma 1115: McCann 1968, 148 no. 36 pl. 47 a–b; Soechting 1972, 159 f. no. 40; Kersauson 1996, 350 f. no. 160 with 4 figs.; Daehner 2013, 302 n. 15;
14. Septimius Severus, Wallmoden collection: McCann 1968, 149 no. 39 pl. 49; Daehner 2013, 302 n. 15; Fittschen 2015, 97 no. 28 pl. 71 c–d; 72;
15. Polykletan discophoros with Tiberian-Claudian portrait, Chieti, Mus. Naz. inv. no. 4429: Kreikenbom 1990, 21 f. 146 no. I 11 pl. 24 f.;
16. Early Hadrianic portrait of a child, private collection in Hannover: Mlasowsky 1992, 26–31 no. 2;
17. Severan portrait of a man, Ostia, Mus. inv. no. 1386: Prusac 2016, 99 f. no. 460 figs. 140 a–c; Romeo 2019, 75 f. no. 7 figs. 7 a–d (with comprehensive bibliography).

In addition, there are heads that have a straight cut in the middle or below the neck and were therefore mounted (using dowels and/or adhesive) on the body of a statue, a bust or figures on sarcophagus lids, see Fittschen – Zanker 2014, 193 s. v. Aufsatzkopf (with 5 secure and 5 possible examples, including several for insertion into armoured busts as indicated by the rectangular shape of their base of neck).

**Appendix II:**

Portraits of Augustus reworked from older sculptures, many of them from portraits of Caligula:

1. Alexandria, Mus. gr.-rom. inv. no. 24043: Boschung 1993, 139 no. 65 pl. 144; Varner 2004, 2238 no. 2.6;
2. Aquileia, Mus. Arch. inv. no. 12: Boschung 1993, 141 no. 69 pl. 143; Varner 2004, 2238 no. 2.7 fig. 71;
3. Arles, Mus. Lap. inv. no. P 215: Boschung 1993, 141 f. no. 70 pl. 102; Haug – Hoffmann 2022, 188 f. no. 22 with fig.;
4. Barcelona, Mus. Marés no. 4: Boschung 1993, 145 no. 78 pl. 90; Goette – Freyer-Schauenburg 2020, 191 n. 63;
5. Basel, Antikenmus. / Malibu, Getty Mus. inv. no. 78.AA.261: Boschung 1993, 145 f. no. 79 pl. 60, Varner 2004, 226 f. no. 1.8 figs. 19 a–d;
6. Cagliari, Mus. Naz. inv. no. 6123: Boschung 1993, 147 no. 82 pl. 77;
7. Chalkis, Arch. Mus. inv. no. 85: Boschung 1993, 147 f. no. 85 pl. 146;
8. Copenhagen, NCGI inv. no. 746: Boschung 1993, 136 f. no. 60 pl. 64; Johansen 1994, 92 f. no. 34 with 4 figs.; Varner 2004, 226 no. 1.5 fig. 21;
9. Conímbriga, Mus. inv. no. 67.388: Boschung 1993, 149 no. 89 pl. 169; Varner 2004, 225 f. no. 1.4; Rodríguez Gonçalves 2007, 74–77 no. 2; Romero Novella – Andreu Pintado 2024, 161 n. 1188;
10. Cuenca, Mus. inv. no. 162304: Boschung 1993, 150 no. 91 pl. 91; Varner 2004, 226 no. 1.6; Noguera Celdrán 2012, 57–60 no. 32 Taf, 17, 1–4; Garriguet Mata – Romero Vera 2015, 173 n. 3; Romero Novella – Andreu Pintado 2024, 161 n. 1190;
12. Florence, Uff. inv. no. 1914.81: Boschung 1993, 152 no. 100 pl. 106;
13. Istanbul, Arch. Mus. inv. no. 2165: Boschung 1993, 155 no. 107 pl. 75–76;
14. Istanbul, Arch. Mus. inv. no. 4026: Boschung 1993, 155 no. 108 pl. 183;
14. L'Aquila, Mus. Naz. inv. no. 36: Boschung 1993, 158 no. 116 pl. 107;
15. Lissabon, Mus. Nac. inv. no. 21520: Boschung 1993, 158 f. no. 118 pl. 127; Varner 2004, 226 no. 1.7; Trunk 2024, 245; Nogales – Lopes – Lapuente 2024, 461; 475 f. no. 11;
16. London, Soanes Mus. inv. no. 302 M: Boschung 1993, 1137 no. 61 pl. 66;
17. Lora del Rio, private collection: Boschung 1993, 126 f. no. 38 pl. 41; León 2001, 30 figs. 4 a; 242–245 no. 72 with 4 figs.; León 2009, 204 f. figs. 265–266;
18. Luni, Antiqu. inv. no. CM 1033: Boschung 1993, 161 no. 124 pl. 145; Varner 2004, 239 no. 2.8 fig. 73; Goette – Freyer-Schauenburg 2020, 191 n. 63;
19. Mantua, Pal. Duc. inv. no. 6615: Boschung 1993, 162 no. 126 pl. 138; Varner 2004, 227 no. 1.9;
20. Mantua, Pal. Duc. inv. no. 6719: Boschung 1993, 162 no. 127 pl. 132; Bergmann 2010, 281 f. no. 3 figs. 77 a–b;

21. Marburg, Arch. Seminar of the Univ.: Boschung 1993, 162 f. no. 128 pl. 136; Kovacs 2016, 212 n. 31;
22. Munich, private collection, now lost: Boschung 1993, 165 f. no. 136 pl. 135; Kovacs 2016, 212 n. 31;
23. Norwegian private collection: Boschung 1993, 167 f. no. 144 pl. 111;
24. Ostia, Mus. inv. no. 18: Boschung 1993, 128 no. 41 pl. 39;
25. Padua, Mus. Civ. inv. no. 819: Boschung 1993, 168 f. no. 146 pl. 141, Varner 2004, 239 no. 2.9;
26. Palestrina, Mus. Naz. inv. no. 141: Boschung 1993, 149 no. 147 pl. 159, 1–3;
27. Paris, Louvre Ma 1246: Boschung 1993, 171 no. 152 pl. 88; Bergmann 2010, 284 f. no. 7 (whether the cut below the chin is modern or whether the portrait should be listed in Appendix I must be examined during restoration);
28. Pythagoreion (Samos) inv. no. M45: Boschung 1993, 173 no. 156 pl. 176 f.; Freyer-Schauenburg 2020, 180 figs. 20–21;
29. Rome, Mus. Cap. inv. no. 230: Boschung 1993, 176 no. 164 pl. 160, 1–2; Varner 2004, 227 no. 1.10;
30. Rome, Mus. Cap. inv. no. 230: Fittschen – Zanker 1985, 3–6 no. 3 pl. 4–6; Boschung 1993, 175 no. 162 pl. 92; Varner 2004, 227 f. no. 1.11 figs. 17 a–b;
31. Rome, Pal. Colonna no. 54: Boschung 1993, 178 no. 168 pl. 142, 1;
32. Saint Petersburg (USA), Mus.: Boschung 1993, 184 no. 180 pl. 134; Kovacs 2016, 212 n. 31;
33. Saintes, Mus. Arch.: Boschung 1993, 184 f. no. 181 pl. 123; Bergmann 2010, 286 f. fig. 71 g; 72 c; Goette – Freyer-Schauenburg 2020, 191 n. 63;
34. Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Mus. inv. no. 63734: Boschung 1993, 184 no. 179 pl. 142, 2–4; Varner 2004, 240 no. 2.12;
35. Sevilla, Casa de Pilatos: Boschung 1993, 120 f. no. 27 pl. 20; Trunk 2002, 163 f. no. 6 pl. 14;
36. Sevilla, Mus. Arq. inv. no. 1059 (fig. 12): García y Bellido 1949, 22 f. no. 10 pl. 11, 10; Boschung 1993, 131 no. 47 pl. 44; León 2001, 30 fig. 4 c; 248–251 no. 74 with 3 figs.; León 2009, 205 f. figs. 269–271;
37. Sevilla, Mus. Arq. inv. no. 144–3: Boschung 1993, 186 f. no. 188 pl. 115; León 2001, 30 fig. 4 b; 246 f. no. 73 with 2 figs.; León 2009, 206 figs. 267–268;
38. Stuttgart, Württemb. Landesmus. inv. no. I 35: Boschung 1993, 187 f. no. 192 pl. 133; Kovacs 2016, 212 figs. 1–3;
39. Syracuse (NY), Univ. Mus. inv. no. 63318: Boschung 1993, 188 no. 193 pl. 181;
40. Tomar, Convento de Cristo: Boschung 1993, 190 no. 198 pl. 168; Varner 2004, 228 no. 1.13;
41. Toulouse, Mus. St. Raymond aus Auch: Boschung 1993, 121 f. no. 29 pl. 19; Romero Novella – Andreu Pintado 2024, 160 n. 1178;

42. Toulouse, Mus. St. Raymond inv. no. 30007: Boschung 1993, 107 no. 2 pl. 3; Balty – Cazes 1995, 38–43 with 6 figs.;
43. Tunis, Mus. du Bardo inv. no. C 72: Boschung 1993, 191 no. 201 pl. 172; Varner 2004, 228 f. no. 1.14 figs. 22 a–c; Baratte – Bejaoui – Chaisemartin – Naït-Yghil 2023, 20 no. 4;
44. Vatican, Mus. inv. no. 1639: Kreikenbom 1992, 162 no. III 13; Boschung 1993, 181 no. 173 pl. 112; Andreae 1995, pl. 156 f.;
45. Vatican, Mus. inv. no. 9953: Boschung 1993, 182 no. 174 pl. 139; Varner 2004, 228 no. 1.12 figs. 18 a–b;
46. Vicenza, Mus. Civ. inv. no. EI-44: Boschung 1993, 191 f. no. 203 pl. 125; Bergmann 2010, 289 no. 14 fig. 71 k; Goette – Freyer-Schauenburg 2020, 191 n. 63; Romero Novella – Andreu Pintado 2024, 161 n. 1195;
47. Zadar, Mus. inv. no. 1: Boschung 1993, 193 no. 207 pl. 140; Bergmann 2010, 290 no. 15; Goette – Freyer-Schauenburg 2020, 191 n. 63;
48. Zaragoza, Mus. Prov. inv. no. 80-5-1: Boschung 1993, 193 f. no. 208 pl. 199;
49. location unknown, private collection: Boschung 1993, 194 no. 209 pl. 147.

This group probably also includes a portrait in Córdoba, Mus. Arq. from Montemayor (ancient: Ulia; see note 45), in which the back of the head was once attached, while a roughly pecked area at the back of the head is higher than the hairstyle at the front (see Appendix V), which therefore appears to be secondary.

### Appendix III:

Portraits of Tiberius reworked from those of Caligula:

1. Alexandria, Mus. gr.-rom. inv. no. 22237: Hertel 2013, 145 no. 23 pl. 26;
2. Alexandria, Mus. gr.-rom. inv. no. 3368: Hertel 2013, 145 no. 22 pl. 47, 1–2;
3. Ancona, Mus. Arch. inv. no. 62: Hertel 2013, 165 no. 62 pl. 76, 2–3; Goette – Freyer-Schauenburg 2020, 191 n. 63;
4. Arles, Mus. lap. inv. no. P 214: Hertel 2013, 176 no. 84 pl. 87;
5. Avignon, Mus. Calvet inv. no. E-42: Hertel 2013, 161 no. 52 pl. 58, 3–4;
6. Basel, Ant.-Mus. inv. no. 252: Hertel 2013, 140 no. 13 pl. 14;
7. Berkeley, Univ. Mus. inv. no. 8-4587: Hertel 2013, 197 f. no. 121 pl. 114;
8. Berlin (now lost): Hertel 2013, 176–183 no. 85 pl. 85; 88, 3–4;
9. Berlin, Antikenslg. inv. no. Sch 9587: Hertel 2013, 146 no. 25 pl. 38;
10. Boston, MFA inv. no. 1971.393: Hertel 2013, 217 no. 176;
11. Budapest, MFA inv. no. 4804: Hertel 2013, 135 no. 1 pl. 7; Goette – Nagy 2024, 215–218 no. 102 pl. 210–213;
12. Cagliari, Mus. Arch. inv. no. 6113: Hertel 2013, 165 f. no. 63 pl. 69;
13. Copenhagen, NCGI inv. no. 1863: Hertel 2013, 141 no. 15 pl. 15;

14. Córdoba, private collection Porras, Mus. Arq. inv. no. 1673: Garriguet Mata 2002/2003, 122–126 figs. 1 a–b; Hertel 2013, 178 f. no. 86 pl. 84;
15. Cyrene, Arch. Mus. inv. no. C17031: Hertel 2013, 148 f. no. 29 pl. 39;
16. Florence, Uff. inv. no. 1914.140: Hertel 2013, 139 f. no. 11 pl. 11;
17. Florence, Uff. inv. no. 1914.102: Hertel 2013, 162 no. 54 pl. 59, 3–4;
18. Frankfurt, private collection: Hertel 2013, 159 no. 48 pl. 47, 3–4;
19. Grosseto, Mus. Arch.: Hertel 2013, 186 no. 99 pl. 98;
20. Istanbul, Arch. Mus. inv. no. 2163: Hertel 2013, 141 no. 14 pl. 18;
21. Jerusalem, Israel Mus. inv. no. 71.83.297: Hertel 2013, 159 no. 49 pl. 50;
22. Kassel, Antikenslg. inv. no. Sk 140: Hertel 2013, 147 no. 27 pl. 44;
23. Leiden, Rijksmus. inv. no. 1824 H II. BB. 6/7: Hertel 2013, 167 no. 66 pl. 76, 1; 80, 1–2;
24. Leipzig, Univ.-Mus. inv. no. 99.039: Hertel 2013, 198 no. 122 pl. 115;
25. London, BM 1880 inv. no. 1812,0615.2: Hertel 2013, 150 no. 31 pl. 31; [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1812-0615-2](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1812-0615-2);
26. Malibu, Getty-Mus. inv. no. 71.AA.275: Hertel 2013, 189 no. 104 pl. 91;
27. Malibu, Getty-Mus. inv. no. 74. AA.35: Hertel 2013, 169 no. 69 pl. 77;
- Goette – Freyer-Schauenburg 2020, 191 n. 63;
28. Mantua, Pal. Duc. inv. no. 6812 G: Hertel 2013, 137 no. 4 pl. 5;
29. Mérida, Mus. Arq. Nac. inv. no. 7129: Hertel 2013, 152 no. 34 pl. 29;
30. Munich, Glypt. inv. no. 314: Hertel 2013, 137 no. 5 pl. 6; Knauß – Gliwitsky 2017, 158 f. fig. 4.22; 359 f. no. 45 with 4 figs.;
31. Naples, Mus. Arch. Naz. inv. no. 6052: Hertel 2013, 141 f. no. 16 pl. 16;
32. Naples, Mus. Arch. Naz. inv. no. 6051: Hertel 2013, 179 f. no. 87 pl. 81; Goette – Freyer-Schauenburg 2020, 191 n. 63;
33. Nîmes, Mus. Arch. inv. no. 848.4.3: Hertel 2013, 170 no. 71 pl. 65;
34. Paris, Louvre inv. no. Ma 1244: Hertel 2013, 143 f. no. 20 pl. 2;
35. Paris; Louvre inv. no. Ma 1239: Hertel 2013, 180 f. no. 88 pl. 82; Goette – Freyer-Schauenburg 2020, 191 n. 63;
36. Paris, Louvre inv. no. Ma 1248: Hertel 2013, 181 f. no. 89 pl. 86;
37. Rome, Pal. Cons. inv. no. 416: Hertel 2013, 182 no. 90 pl. 83;
38. Tarragona, Mus. Arq. inv. no. 45002: Balty – Cazes – Rosso 2005, 179 fig. 98; Hertel 2013, 173 no. 78 pl. 78; Goette – Freyer-Schauenburg 2020, 191 n. 63;
39. Termini Imerese, Mus. Civ. inv. no. 129: Hertel 2013, 192 f. no. 112 pl. 105, 3–4;

40. Toulouse, Mus. St. Raymond inv. no. 30145: Balty – Cazes – Rosso 2005, 164–179 no. 6 with 8 figs.; Hertel 2013, 173 f. no. 79 pl. 66; Goette – Freyer-Schauenburg 2020, 191 n. 63;
41. Tripolis, Mus. Arch.: Hertel 2013, 174 f. no. 80 pl. 71, 2–4;
42. Vatican, Mus. inv. no. 717: Hertel 2013, 19 f. no. 124 pl. 117;
43. Vatican, Mus. inv. no. 1250: Hertel 2013, 156 no. 42 pl. 35;
44. Vatican, Mus. inv. no. 1641: Hertel 2013, 170 f. no. 74 pl. 73;
45. Vatican, Mus. inv. no. 1642: Hertel 2013, 192 no. 110 pl. 110;
46. Vatican, Mus. inv. no. 4060: Hertel 2013, 199 no. 123 pl. 116;
47. Venice, Mus. Arch. inv. no. 204: Hertel 2013, 176–183 no. 84–91 pl. 81–88;
48. Volterra, Mus. Etr.: Hertel 2013, 195 no. 116 pl. 109;
49. Zadar, Arch. Mus. inv. no. 2: Hertel 2013, 195 f. no. 117 pl. 102.
2. Julio-Claudian prince, Córdoba, Mus. Arq. inv. no. D/99 from Cortijo de Alcurrucén: León 2001, 286 f. no. 86; Garriguet Mata 2002/2003, 126–129 figs. 3 a–b; Pensabene 2006, 111 fig. 10;
3. Julio-Claudian prince (or Claudius?), Málaga, Mus. Arq. aus Cártama: López García 2020, 413–422 figs. 2–7. The following examples were found outside Hispania:
4. Germanicus, Berlin, Antikenslg. inv. no. Sk 1801: Freyer-Schauenburg 2020, 173–180 figs. 1–18;
5. Julio-Claudian prince, Cagliari, Mus. Arch. Naz. inv. no. 6122: Jucker 1981, 304 n. 196; Varner 2004, 237 no. 2.1 fig. 42; Freyer-Schauenburg 2020, 187 figs. 36–40.

Some reworked portraits, whose secondary state has been interpreted as depictions of emperors, deviate so significantly from the known iconography of those imperial portraits that they should be considered as portraits of princes rather than of Augustus or Tiberius; this applies, for example, to the portraits Appendix II 7 or Appendix III 10.

#### Appendix V:

Imperial portraits in which parts of the primary hairstyle (on the top and back of the head) have been removed and not replaced with new motifs of hair:

See, for example, the portraits of Augustus made from images of Caligula in Lisbon from Mértola (Appendix II 15), in Lora del Rio (Appendix II 17), in the Vatican (Appendix II 44), formerly in Munich (Appendix II 22), in St. Germain en Laye (Appendix II 34), in Conímbriga (Appendix II 8), and in Tunis (Appendix II 43). – Hellenistic portraits were used for

#### Appendix IV:

Examples of images of Julio-Claudian princes carved from portraits of Caligula:

1. C. Caesar (or Claudius?), Mérida, Mus. Arq. Nac. inv. no. CE37454 (above n. 16 figs. 7–8): García y Bellido 1949, 23 f. no. 11 pl. 12, 11; Fuchs 1987, 167. 169 pl. 66, 3–4; Boschung 2002, 80 no. 21.11 figs. 66, 1–2; Nogales Bassarrate 2007, 458 fig. 1 a; Ojeda 2018, 194 f. no. 1 fig. 1;

creating portraits of Augustus with removed backs of the head in Istanbul from Pergamon (Appendix II 11), in Saint Petersburg (Florida: Appendix II 32) and in Stuttgart (Appendix II 38).

Portraits of Tiberius made from Caligula portraits in Copenhagen (Appendix III 21), Kassel (Appendix III 20), Cagliari (Appendix II 12), Córdoba (Appendix III 13), and Grosseto (Appendix III 17) show clear indications that their primary surfaces were chiselled off.

Of course, the same applies to portraits of Caligula that were reworked into portraits of Claudius; see, for example, the bust in Kassel (see above, note 32 with fig. 15).

#### Appendix VI:

Portraits of men and boys with separately sculpted, pinned-on (often lost) auricles:

1. Early imperial (or Traianic?) portrait of an old man, Jerez de la Frontera: León 1980, 174 f. pl. 43 / 2019, 48 f. figs. 43 a–b; León 2001, 60–63 no. 9 with 3 figs.; León 2009, 230–231 fig. 323;
2. Tiberius, Leiden: Appendix III 23;
3. Claudius (first: Caligula) from Bilbilis, Zaragoza, Mus. Prov. (Fig. 11): Beltrán Lloris 1981; Trillmich 1993, 342–344 pl. 126 a–d; Pensabene 2006, 111 fig. 12; Nogales Basarrate – Lapuente – Roda 2017, 272 n. 2; Márquez – Morena López – Ventura Villanueva 2013, 354–356; Trunk 2024, 244;
4. Claudius (first: Caligula) from Lanuvium, Vatican, Mus. inv. no. 243: Lippold 1936, 137–140 no. 550 pl. 41–42; Bockmann – Pasička – Unger 2017;
5. Claudian portrait of a prince, private collection Hannover: Mlasowsky 2006, 58–62 no. 7 pl. 10 f.;
6. Nero, Worcester, Art Mus. inv. no. 1915.23: Jucker 1981, 307–309; Bergmann – Zanker 1981, 326–331 figs. 10 a–e; Varner 2004, 68 f. n. 195 fig. 84
7. Vespasian (reworked from Nero), Zaragoza, Mus. Diocesano inv. no. IG 372: Nogales Basarrate – Lapuente – Rodà 2017, 271–274 fig. 1;
8. Flavian portrait of a man, Oslo, Nat. Mus. inv. no. NG. S. 01012: Ahrens – Sande 2014, 145 no. 92 with 3 figs.;
9. Early Hadrianic portrait of a man (chiselled from the portrait of a woman) from Mérida, Madrid, MAN inv. no. 2764: García y Bellido 1949, 57 f. no. 45 pl. 39, 45; Trillmich 1993, 343 fig. 155; Nogales Basarrate 1997, 38 f. no. 26 pl. 23 a–d;
10. Traianic bust with Late Severan portrait of a man, Rome, MNR inv. no. 125566: Cesarano 1988; Fittschen – Zanker 2014, 48 n. 11 b;
11. Caracalla as a young prince (first: Geta), Rome, MNR inv. no. 169: Fittschen – Zanker 1985, 99 no. 25; Fileri 1988;
12. Severus Alexander, Rome: Pal. Cons. inv. no. 2457: Fittschen – Zanker 1985, 121 f. no. 101 pl. 124; Varner 2004, 280 f. no. 7.19; Prusac 2016, 141 no. 200 figs. 15 a–c;
13. Late Severan portrait of a man, German private collection: Beckel 1980; Fittschen – Zanker 1985, 122 n. 4;

14. Maximinus Thrax, Rome, Mus. Cap. inv. no. 473: Fittschen – Zanker 1985, 124–126 no. 105 pl. 128 f.;
  15. Gordian III. (first: Severus Alexander?) from Ostia, Rome, MNR inv. no. 326: Calza 1978, 67 f. no. 84 pl. 62; Wegner 1979, 27 pl. 9; Varner 2004, 191 n. 308; Fittschen – Zanker 2014, 48 n. 11 a; Prusac 2016, 142 no. 204 figs. 16 a–e;
  16. Late Gallienic portrait of a child, Rome, Mus. Cap. inv. no. 1644: Fittschen – Zanker 2014, 45 f. no. 42 pl. 61;
  17. Late Gallienic portrait of a child, Rome, Mus. Cap. inv. no. 483: Fittschen – Zanker 2014, 46–48 no. 43 pl. 62 f.;
  18. Early Severan/Late Gallienic portrait of a man, Rome, Mus. Cap. inv. no. 309: Fittschen – Zanker – Cain 2010, 170 no. 168 pl. 209;
  19. colossal portrait of a man ca. 400 AD, Ostia, Mus. inv. no. 42: Kovacs 2014, 283 f. no. B97 pl. 81, 4; 82, 4 (with bibliography); Prusac 2016, 156 no. 470 figs. 146 a–c; Romeo 2019, 124–127 no. 31 figs. 31 a–d.
- Romero Novella – Andreu Pintado 2024, 161 n. 1193;
2. Nero/Domitian, Munich, Glypt. inv. no. 394: Bergmann – Zanker 1981, 370–373 no. 22 fig. 41; Knauß – Gliwitsky 2017, 184–186 figs. 4.61–63; 367 no. 63 with 5 figs.; Goette – Freyer-Schauenburg 2020, 182 n. 46; Goette 2021, 35 no. 64 fig. 22; Romero Novella – Andreu Pintado 2024, 162 n. 1199;
  3. Domitian?/Traian, Olympia, Arch. Mus. L 129: Goette – Hitzl 1987, 289–293 pl. 27–28; Varner 2004, 267 no. 5.22; Prusac 2016, 138 no. 131; Goette – Freyer-Schauenburg 2020, 182 n. 44; Goette 2023, 53 mit n. 31.
- b) Radiate crowns made of metal and fixed in holes located radially around the head:
4. Augustus, portrait on an altar, Palestina: Boschung 1993, 138 no. 63 pl. 67, 1–2;
  5. Augustus *capite velato*, Venice: Boschung 1993, 109 no. 5 pl. 6; Romero Novella – Andreu Pintado 2024, 161 n. 1194;
  6. Augustus with *corona civica*, Vicenza: Appendix II 46;
  7. Augustus with *corona civica*, Saintes: Appendix II 33;
  8. Augustus, relief portrait with partially attached *corona civica*, Luni: Appendix II 18;
  9. Augustus with *corona civica*, Baena: Márques 2012, 212–220 figs. 6–9; La Rocca 2024 (s. note 40).

## Appendix VII:

Imperial portraits with holes for pins or dowels for the attachment of wreaths and/or other attributes, as well as additions of parts of the hairstyle:

### a) Wreaths:

1. Caligula/Claudius, Baena (fig. 19): Márquez – Morena López – Ventura Villanueva 2013, 354–356 no. 1 fig. 3; Márquez – Morena 2018, 675 fig. 3; 782 figs. 2. 5–7. 10. 12. 24–26. 31. 35; Goette – Freyer-Schauenburg 2020, 182 n. 46; Trunk 2024, 245;

To be excluded from this group b) is a portrait of Augustus *capite velato* with a wreath (former) in Minturno, now lost (Bergmann 1998, 111 n. 687; Bergmann 2010, 282 f. no. 4; Márquez 2012, 216) because the pinholes there served to fix separately produced parts of the wreath attached above the centre of the head, while at the sides it was chiselled from the fabric of the robe next to the temples; the head has been reworked (from one first depicting Caligula?). The head of Augustus in Paris (Appendix II 27) also did not wear a radiate crown (contrary to Márquez 2012, 216), because there is only one single (modern?) hole on the top of the head.

- c) Pinholes used to attach newly sculpted parts of the hairstyle can be seen in two portraits of Claudius created from images of Caligula, as well as in two other examples:

10. Caligula/Claudius, Vatican, Mus. inv. no. 151: Jucker 1981, 271–274 no. 3 figs. 40–43; Varner 2004, 233 no. 1.29 fig. 11;
11. Caligula/Claudius, Hannover, Kestner-Mus. inv. no. 1978.15: Jucker 1981, 277–281 no. 5 figs. 48–52; Varner 2004, 231 no. 1.21 fig. 7; Mlasowsky 1992, 90–92 fig. 14;
12. Caligula?/Nero, Cagliari, Mus. Arch. Naz. inv. no. 6122: s. Appendix IV 5;
13. Nero/Titus, Wallmoden collection: Bergmann – Zanker 1981, 375 f. no. 25 fig. 45; Varner 2004, 247 no. 2.36; Prusac 2016, 135 no. 84; Fittschen 2015, 93 f. no. 25 pl. 66 f.

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