

A New Roman Imperial Relief Said to Be from Southern Spain: Problems of Style, Iconography, and Marble Type in Determining Provenance

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A NEW ROMAN IMPERIAL RELIEF SAID TO BE FROM SOUTHERN SPAIN: PROBLEMS OF STYLE, ICONOGRAPHY, AND MARBLE TYPE IN DETERMINING PROVENANCE

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Abstract

A very fine-grained white marble “historical” relief, featuring three figures and part of a Latin inscription, is said to be from Southern Spain. This privately owned relief, presently on loan to the J. Paul Getty Museum, represents the Emperor Tiberius being introduced by a female personification to an enthroned semi-nude figure holding a cornucopia. This article examines the style, iconography, and marble type in an attempt to determine if it may indeed originally have come from Southern Spain. Based on the combined petrographic, cathodoluminescence and a C and O isotopic analysis, the marble proved to be from the Luni-Carrara quarries. This prestige marble from Italy was used in Roman Hispania for different decorative sculptural programs, especially those of the Augustan and Julio-Claudian period. Explored here are various issues associated with this relief, its provenance, and date.

Keywords

Tiberius Relief, Hispania, imperial cult

Introduction

On loan to the J. Paul Getty Museum at the Villa in Malibu since 2010 is an exceptional, fine-grained white marble relief, featuring three figures and part of a Latin inscription (Fig. 1).² In this paper we present both the results of an analysis of marble used for this important ancient Roman relief, which is said to be from

southern Spain,³ and some observations about the various problems in determining an ancient object's provenance based on marble analysis and other factors, such as style and method of carving.

There are four specific questions that will be addressed in this article.⁴ 1): What can the iconography, style, and chronology tell us about the relief? 2): Was the relief carved in an Iberian marble or in one of the classical marble types? 3): Where was the relief carved? and 4): Where was it set up?

Physical description and iconographical and stylistic consideration

To the left in the relief appears a standing togate figure, identifiable as the Emperor Tiberius by his portrait features, hairstyle, and inscribed name.⁵ In his left hand he holds a book scroll, signifying his magisterial role. In the scene, the emperor is being introduced by a female divinity, most likely the goddess Concordia, to an enthroned, now headless, semi-nude figure holding a cornucopia, whose iconography identifies him in this context as a *genius*, or divine spirit, of some people or city in the Roman Empire.⁶ He is seated on a high-backed throne with footstool that is reminiscent of Macedonian style thrones of the 4th century B.C., like the marble throne of the so-called Eurydike Tomb in Vergina or that dedicated to Dione

1 I + D Spanish Projects HAR 2014-52958-P and HAR2015-65319-P (MINECO / FEDER).

2 We thank Dr. Claire Lyons, Curator of Antiquities at the J. Paul Getty Museum at the Villa, for this information and for her help with this project.

3 This relief was first published in POLLINI 2012, 97-101, and since it is relatively unknown to the scholarly world of classical art and archaeology, it was featured on the cover of this book.

4 Some of these were preliminarily considered in POLLINI 2012.

5 For the identification of Tiberius here, see the discussion in POLLINI 2012, 97-100.

6 For the more usual *genius* type figures of a private and imperial nature, see in general KUNCKEL 1974.

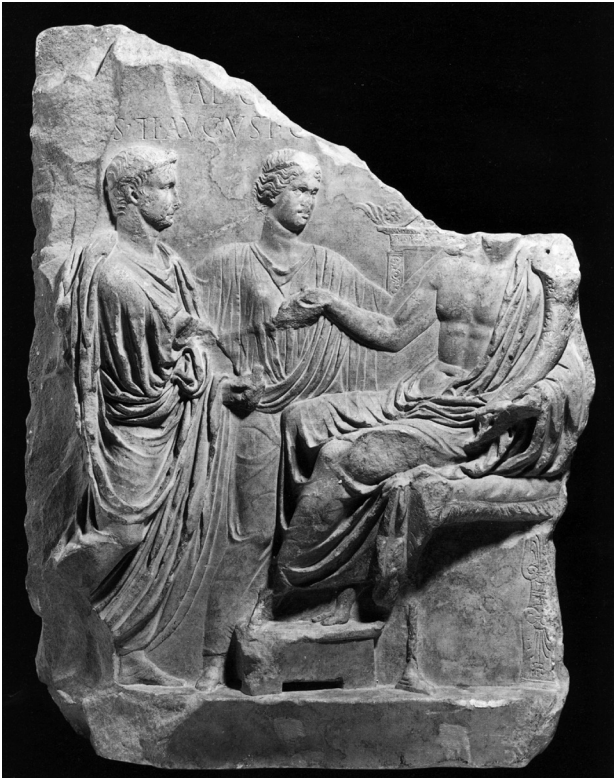


Fig. 1. Tiberius Relief (after POLLINI 2012, fig. II.31a)



Fig. 2. Bronze statuette of an enthroned Concordia from Pilistrello, National Archaeological Museum of Florence (photo: J. Pollini)

from the Athenian Acropolis.⁷ Such thrones are also used for divinities and imperial images in the Roman period⁸ as in the case of a small bronze mid-second century A.D. statuette of an enthroned Concordia from Pilistrello (Italy) in the Medici-Lorraine Collection in the National Archaeological Museum of Florence (Fig. 2).⁹

The somewhat idealized portrait features of

7 For the 4th century B.C. marble throne from the so-called Euridike Tomb at Vergina, see recently ANDRIANOU 2009, 30 (no.9) with further references. For the marble throne from the Acropolis (Acropolis Museum. Inv. 4047), see PALAGIA 2002, 176, fig. 6. The type of legs of such stools is also known earlier for Greek style *klines*. For ancient Greek furniture, see recently in general, ANDRIANOU 2009. I thank J. Herrmann for raising the question of the type of throne at the ASMOSIA conference in Split and both Olga Palagia and Dimitra Andrianou for their comments about the distinctive legs of the throne.

8 For thrones, see LA ROCCA 2007.

9 This figure (mus. inv. 311) was discovered in 1565 in Pilistrello near Vada (Rosignano Marittimo, Livorno): See ARBEID, IOZZO 2015, 142-45 (cat. 115, fig. 115). For other divinities, both male and female, seated on such elaborate thrones, see KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 1998, 210 (fig. 145), 220 (fig. 166), 225 (fig. 173), 304 (fig. 270).

Tiberius, perhaps somewhat assimilated to those of his deified father Augustus, are expertly carved and show that the sculptor was a master and trained as a portraitist, whereas the head of the putative Concordia figure, which follows more idealized high Classical Greek models and appears slightly more provincial in its forms, may have been the work of an apprentice. The type of scene represented and the panel's dimensions suggest further that it was originally part of some now lost public monument most likely set up during the Tiberian period. The relief measures ca. 90cm in height, 68cm in width, and 15.5cm in depth. In its general high quality, style, and size the "Tiberius Relief" comes close stylistically to the Suovetaurilia Relief (also known as the "Grimani Relief") in the Louvre (Fig. 3), which comes from Rome and is generally dated to the Principate of Tiberius (i.e., 14-37 A.D.).¹⁰

In Augusta Emerita (Mérida), capital of the

10 Although some of the figures of the Suovetaurilia Relief are in higher relief, it is of comparable size, measuring some 88 cm in height. For this relief, see RYBERG 1955, 107, pl. 35, fig. 54a; FLESS 1995, cat. 17, pl. 43.1; TORTORELLA 1992, 81-104; LA ROCCA *et al.* 2014, 142-143 (cat. no. 90).

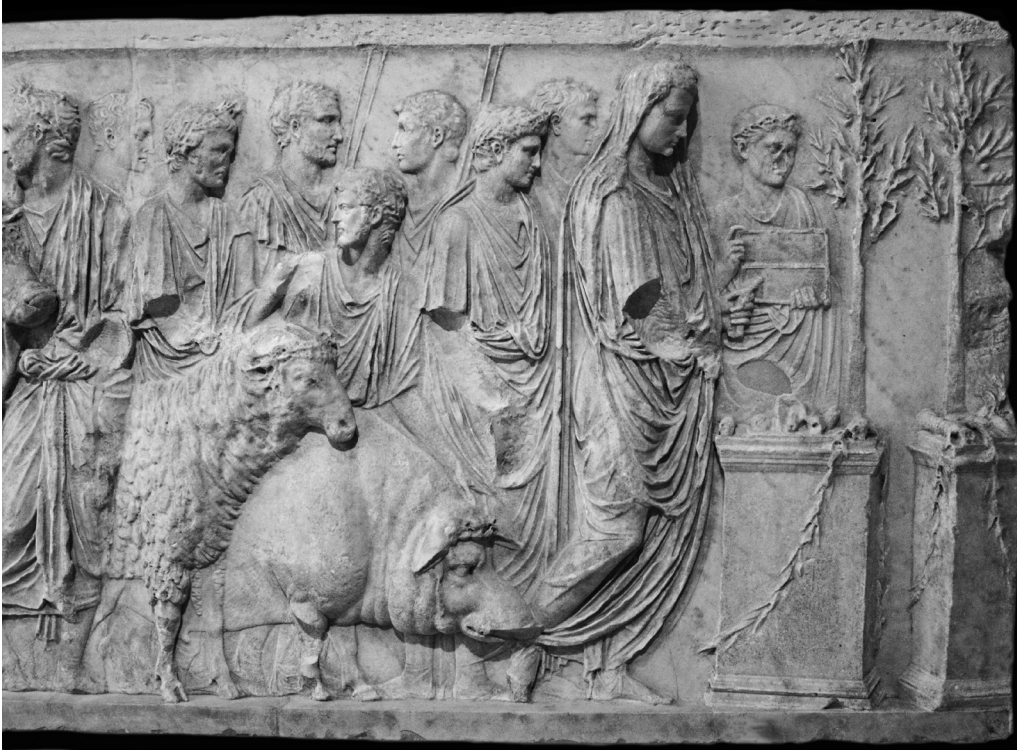


Fig. 3. Detail of the Suovetaurilia ("Grimani") Relief, Louvre, Paris (photo: J. Pollini)



Fig. 4. Composite photo by T. Nogales Basarrate of marble fragments that may be from an Ara Providentiae at Augusta Emerita, National Museum of Roman Art, Mérida, Spain, and inner altar precinct of the Ara Pacis (lower right) (after NOGALES BASARRATE 2007, fig. 12)



Fig. 5. Representation of the Ara Providentiae on a provincial coin of Tiberius (inv. CE27799) (photo: Archivo Fotográfico MNAR/José Luis Sánchez)



Fig. 6. Back of the Tiberius Relief (photo: courtesy of the J. Paul Getty Museum at the Villa, Malibu)

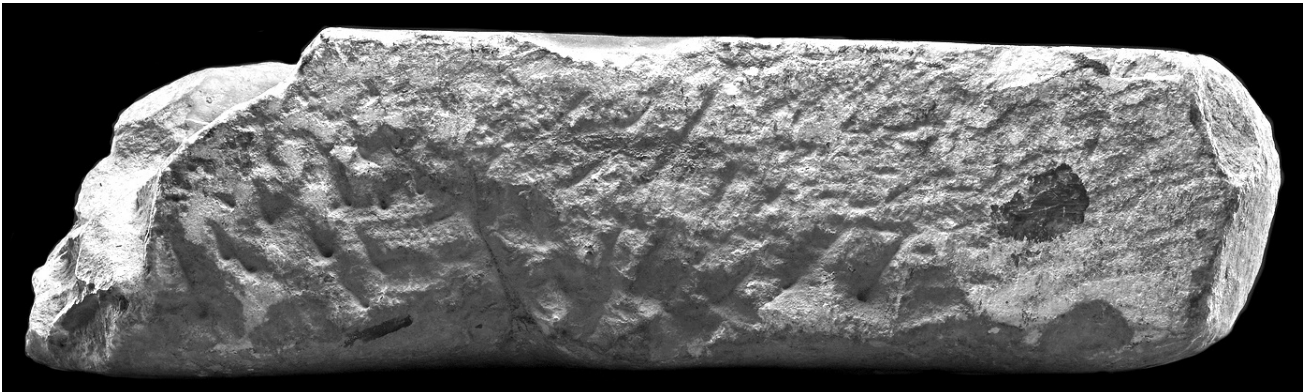


Fig. 7. Bottom of the Tiberius Relief (photo: courtesy of the J. Paul Getty Museum at the Villa, Malibu)

province of Lusitania in Roman Hispania, an “historical” relief and several associated decorative elements have been identified as belonging to an Ara Providentiae (Fig. 4) on the basis of colonial coins of Emerita that are of Tiberian date (Fig. 5)¹¹. Such a provincial altar, a *templum minus*, would appear to have been modeled on the Ara Providentiae Augustae that was set up in Rome by Tiberius and was itself influenced by the Ara Pacis Augustae¹². It is possible that this altar was once located in the Emerita colonial forum and represented the historical

founding of the colony by Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, *patronus coloniae* and son-in-law of Augustus.

The back of the Tiberius Relief is smoothly finished rather than roughly worked, indicating that it was probably reused later on for some other purpose (Fig. 6).¹³ The relatively level bottom has been rough-worked with a pick (Fig. 7). The left side of the relief has been hacked at, or cut down, as evidenced by the large chips along most of its left edge (Fig. 8). At the top of the left side, however, enough of the finished vertical edge is preserved unchipped to indicate that this marks the end of the panel, which would have once abutted on another

11 NOGALES BASARRATE 2000a, 31-34, figs.1- 9 ; NOGALES BASARRATE 2000b.

12 For the Ara Providentiae Augustae set up in Rome by Tiberius and the Ara Pacis Augustae, see POLLINI 2012, 204-308, 354-357 with further bibliography.

13 According to Jerry Podany, the mount anchor-points on the back of the relief were installed by the private collector.



Fig. 8. Left edge of the Tiberius Relief (photo: courtesy of the J. Paul Getty Museum at the Villa, Malibu)



Fig. 9. Right edge of the Tiberius Relief (photo: courtesy of the J. Paul Getty Museum at the Villa, Malibu)

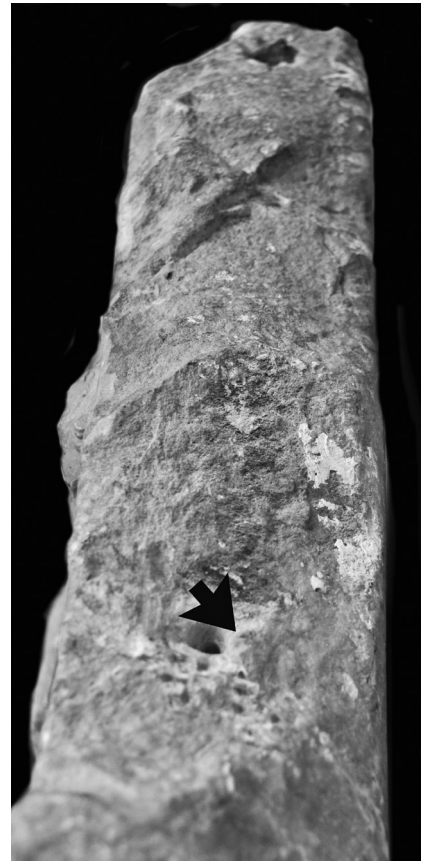


Fig. 10. Top right side of the Tiberius Relief with pre-existing drill hole: arrow by J. Podany, indicating area from which marble samples were taken (photo: J. Pollini)

relief panel to the immediate left. On the partially broken right side of the relief (Fig. 9) enough of the edge is preserved to indicate that it was beveled in at an angle to form a miter joint with another now missing relief panel. Along this beveled edge traces of rough picking are evident, suggesting that this was once the corner of a square or rectangular monument.

The broken section with the now missing head of the *genius*, the hacking along the left side of the relief, and the smoothly finished back of the panel indicate that the original monument may have been intentionally destroyed, probably in late antiquity by Christian fanatics, who destroyed a great deal of polytheistic material culture throughout the former Roman Empire.¹⁴ Subsequently, the relief was reused for some other purpose. The well preserved condition of the figural scene and the smoothly finished back suggest that at some point the panel may have been placed face down as a pavement stone, immured to form part of a wall revetment, or served as a marble screen. The concealment in this way of the figural scene is, therefore, likely to have contributed to its preservation.

As in the case of most high quality relief sculpture, the Tiberius Relief would have been carved in place after the roughly worked blank marble panels had been set on the monument that they were designed to decorate. This method of carving reliefs in place can be established in part by the fact that sculptors often had to carve figures over two adjoining panels, as can be seen, for example, in the case of the Actium, Ara Pacis, and Cancellaria Reliefs,¹⁵ as well as the relief associated with the Ara Providentiae in Augusta Emerita.¹⁶ Setting adjoining marble panels in place before carving prevented damage to the figural scenes along the joined edges of the relief panels. The principle is the same for cutting the flutes of

columns, once the drums have been set in place on top of one another.

Although no figures extend beyond the edges of the Tiberius Relief, there may have been figures or objects overlapping joins on other, now missing panels of the original monument that the relief once adorned. Given the subject matter represented here, it is likely that this monument was a statue base or altar, probably set up in the context of the “imperial cult,” a usage for which imported prestige marbles would have been especially appropriate.

The marble provenance: Iberian or classical?

The Tiberius Relief, once in a private collection in Seville and reported to be from southern Spain, was recently purchased by another private collector.¹⁷ Discussed in John Pollini’s book, *From Republic to Empire: Rhetoric, Religion, and Power in the Visual Culture of Ancient Rome* (Norman, Oklahoma, 2012) were the iconography of this relief, its inscription, its importance, and why it might have once decorated a monument in either of the two provincial capitals of southern Spain (Fig. 11), Colonia Augusta Emerita in Lusitania (modern Mérida) or Colonia Patricia or Corduba in Baetica (modern Córdoba).¹⁸

Although Pollini was inclined to accept the reported provenance of the relief as coming from southern Spain, he was also interested in trying to determine if the marble might be from the quarries of the Estremoz Anticline¹⁹ (labeled EA on the map: Fig. 11) or of the Almadén de la Plata district²⁰ (labeled AP on map: Fig. 11) in what is now Alto Alentejo in Portugal and in the Andalusia region of southern Spain. Marbles from these quarries were commonly used in the southwestern part of Spain, but were generally not widely exported elsewhere. Thus far several archaeometric analyses have

14 The amount of Christian destruction and mutilation of images of classical antiquity is truly astounding, though rarely recognized as such. Of the three monotheistic religions, Christianity proved to be the most destructive to the polytheistic peoples of the former Roman Empire, not to mention to the native inhabitants of the New World. See recently in general POLLINI 2013; KRISTENSEN 2013; POLLINI 2014 with earlier literature on the subject.

15 For the Actium Reliefs: LA ROCCA *et al.* 2014, 292-295 (266-276), which indicates that these reliefs were discovered in the Kingdom of Naples in the sixteenth century. They are to be published soon in a separate monograph by Thomas Schäfer. For the Ara Pacis: POLLINI 2012, 204-308; for the Cancellaria Reliefs: POLLINI 2012, 103, 309 with earlier literature.

16 NOGALES BASARRATE 2000a,b.

17 According to Christie’s, the relief was formerly owned by D. Arturo Moya Moreno of Seville, Spain, and was acquired by him in the 1950s. According to Trinidad Nogales Basarrate, after Mr. Moya Moreno’s death, the reliefs were sold. The Spanish export license for the relief from the Ministry of Culture is no. 237/2008. The relief was illustrated in the 10 June 2010 issue of *Antiquities*, Christie’s NY (NY), sale 2323, lot 135. We thank Molly Morse Limmer, Vice President, Business Development, Midwest Regional Office of Christie’s, for this information.

18 See POLLINI (above n. 2).

19 For the geology, see LAMBERTO, CAETANO 2008; for a look into the updated characterization of the Estremoz Anticline versus Almadén de la Plata marbles, see LAPUENTE *et al.* 2014.

20 BELTRÁN *et al.* 2011.

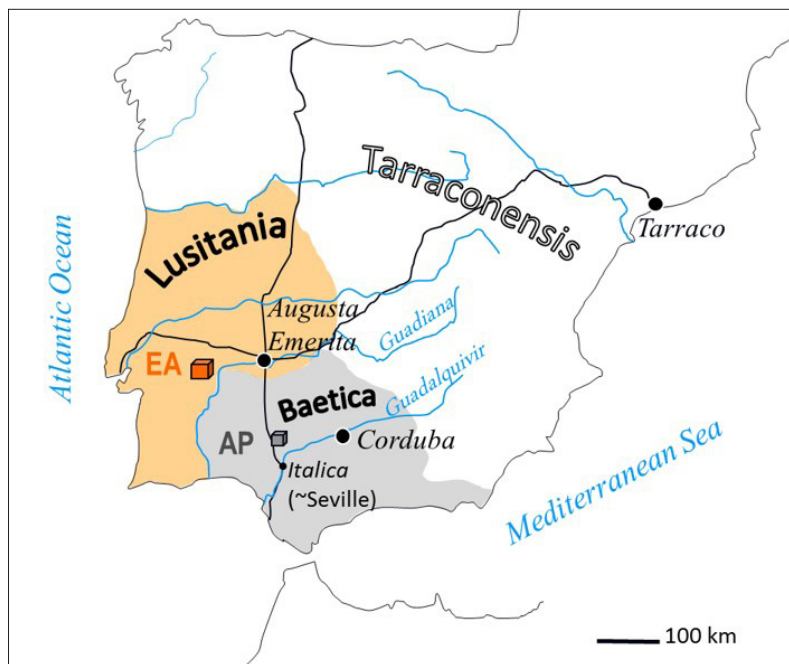


Fig. 11. Map of Hispania with the location of the Roman provinces and their capitals. Principal marble quarry districts are located: EA (Estremoz Anticline, Alto Alentejo, Portugal) and AP (Almadén de la Plata, Seville province, Andalusia) (photo: P. Lapuente)

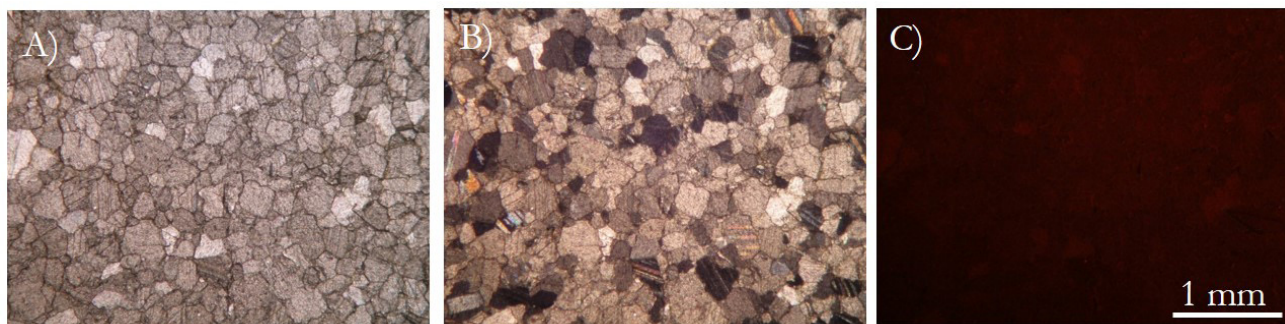


Fig. 12. Photomicrographs in plane (A), crossed polarized light (B) and cathodoluminescence (C) (photo: H. Royo)

revealed their use only in places in the northern part of Africa²¹ and more recently in Caesar Augusta (northeastern Hispania) in the case of a portrait carved in marble from Estremoz Anticline²².

Accordingly, Pollini requested and received permission in 2014 from the present owner of the relief to have marble samples taken from it for scientific analysis.

21 Several cases in the province of Mauretania Tingitana detected the use of Iberian marbles: ANTONELLI *et al.* 2009, found Estremoz marbles in Volubilis (Morocco) and ORIGLIA *et al.* 2011, and ANTONELLI *et al.* 2015, identified Almadén de la Plata in Thamusida and Banasa, respectively, which were jointly used together with dolomitic marbles from the current Málaga province (Andalusia), those of Mijas-Coín and Alhaurín el Grande marbles.

22 The analyses are in LAPUENTE *et al.* 2016; and in NOGALES, LAPUENTE, RODÀ 2017, where the possible Tiberian portrait is also discussed.

Two small samples were taken by Jerry Podany at the Getty Villa in Malibu, California, from the area of a pre-existing drill hole at the top of the relief, where there was prior fracture damage (Fig. 10: see arrow). Taking two samples of the same piece was necessary in order to compare their microstructure and texture, as some Hispanic marbles have the characteristic of being highly variable even on a microscopic scale. These marble samples were analytically studied to try to establish whether the marble was from quarries in southwestern Spain and Portugal or, instead, from one of the classical marble quarries.

Analytical study of the marble type

Both samples were photographed and embedded in an epoxy resin to facilitate their manipulation. The small blocks were cut, and the resulting mounted slices were then ground down to the standard thickness of 30µm. The uncovered thin sections were used for both petrographic and cathodoluminescence studies (CL).

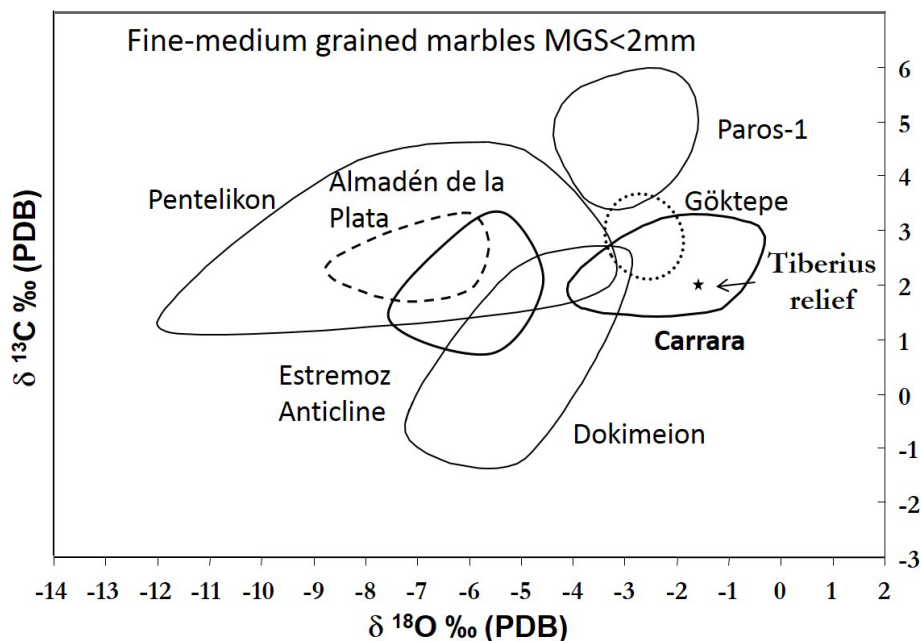


Fig. 13. Isotopic diagram originally according to GORGONI *et al.* (2002) for the fine-grained classical marbles, modified with the Göktepe isotopic field compared with data from ATTANASIO *et al.* (2009), and the updated Iberian isotopic fields (quarries of Estremoz Anticline district and Almadén de la Plata) (LAPUENTE *et al.* 2000, 2014)

Optical microscopy (NIKON Eclipse 50iPOL) was used to examine the mineralogy, fabric, texture, and grain-boundary shape and to determine the maximum grain size (MGS). CL microscopy was carried out with CL8200 Mk5-1 cold equipment coupled to the optical microscopy.²³ The electron energy was 15-20kV and the beam current was operated at 250-300 μ A. The observed luminescent colors, their intensity and distribution, were recorded with an automatic digital NIKON COOL-PIX 5400 camera. These images were automatically controlled (29mm focal length, f/4.6 aperture, 1s exposure, ISO-200) to obtain comparative images of the CL intensity. The color of calcite and dolomite under CL microscopy is usually distinguished by the combination of yellow, orange, and red. While dolomite exhibits a red luminescence, calcite is typically yellow-orange.

The same CL microphotographs were also taken in parallel and crossed polarizers (Fig. 12 A, B), which were checked with those available from several classical marble quarries²⁴ and from ancient Iberian ones.²⁵ In order to verify the absence of dolomite crystals, both thin sections were later stained with S Red Alizarin.

After a petrographic and a CL examination, both samples were shown to exhibit the same mineralogical and textural characteristics, confirming their compositional and textural homogeneity. The samples turned out to be a calcitic marble, very fine-grained in size with an MGS <0.6 mm in length. They are also of an isotopic fabric and granoblastic with mainly straight to curved boundaries, which form an almost polygonal texture.

These microscopic features match well those of Luni-Carrara marbles, from the ancient quarries of Luna (modern Luni), although some other varieties from local Iberian quarries such as Borba in the Estremoz Anticline and some types of Göktepe marble exhibit similar characteristics.

CL microscopy showed a homogeneously dark orange color, with a faint intensity (Fig. 12C). This is also true of Carrara marble, but is not typical of the other marbles already mentioned. However, with only the results of petrographic and CL analyses, it is risky to eliminate from consideration other possible marble sources, for which reason it is also necessary to make use of isotopic data. Prior to this study, C and O isotopic analyses had been performed by Marc Walton, formerly of the Getty Conservation Institute, and Jerry Podany, formerly of Getty Villa Conservation.

The provided isotopic values are: 2.02 ‰ ($\delta^{13}\text{C}$) and -1.65 ‰ ($\delta^{18}\text{O}$). These data were plotted on the corresponding isotopic diagram (Fig. 13) for fine-grained calcitic marbles, which are distinctive. They clearly plot outside any of the fine-grained calcitic marbles of Iberia, but fall within the Carrara isotopic field. This isotopic diagram for fine classical marble types was modified to include both the Göktepe and the most important Iberian isotopic fields; namely, the quarries of the Estremoz

23 The analyses were performed at ICAC (Institut Català d'Arqueologia Clàssica, Tarragona, Spain) within the I+D+i HAR2011-25011 research project funded by the Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación of the Spanish Government. We thank H. Royo for his help.

24 BARBIN *et al.* 1989; 1992; LAPUENTE *et al.* 2012; 2014.

25 LAPUENTE *et al.* 2000; 2014; LAPUENTE, BLANC 2002; ÁLVAREZ *et al.* 2009.

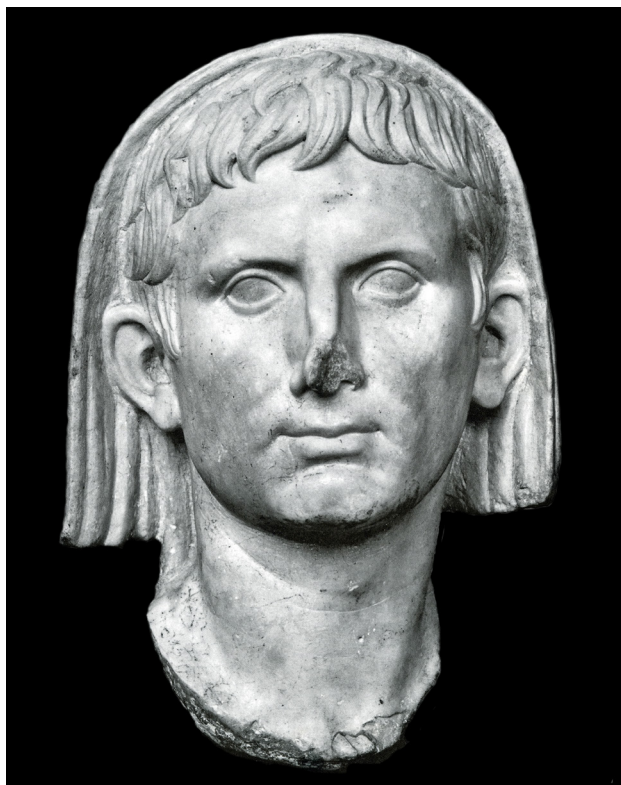


Fig. 14. Head of Augustus *capite velato*, National Museum of Roman Art, Mérida, Spain (photo: courtesy of DAI, Madrid)

Anticline and Almadén de la Plata districts in the province of Seville.

Results and discussion

By employing a multi-method approach, Iberian marble quarries can now be definitively ruled out as the source of the marble type of the Tiberius Relief. The marble provenance is undoubtedly Luni-Carrara²⁶. As already noted, the Tiberius Relief was in a Spanish collection in Seville and is reported to be from Southern Spain. Since our analysis has shown that the relief is carved in Luni-Carrara marble, can we determine whether it was originally set up in the Roman province of Lusitania or Baetica (Fig. 11), based on our present state of knowledge about the use of imported marbles in Roman Spain?

In the last two decades, research on the type of marble used in Roman Spain has made great progress²⁷. As a first step, research based on petrographic features was carried out in more than 400 archaeological artifacts stored or

exhibited at the most important museums in Spain located especially close to the ancient quarry areas of the Southwest Iberia.²⁸ Through CL and isotopes, our knowledge of the use of local Hispanic and imported marbles has been refined. Over the last ten years, the collaboration of various interdisciplinary groups²⁹ has helped to advance research in this area of study. However, there are still many ancient sculptural works waiting to be analyzed by a combination of techniques or a multi-method approach.

Recent multi-method analyses of the marble of about 50 objects in the National Roman Art Museum of Mérida³⁰ showed that the vast majority of architectural relief sculpture and a great deal of three-dimensional statuary from Lusitania were carved in the local marble of the Estremoz Anticline. Nevertheless, the presence of sculptures carved in Luni-Carrara marble is also attested from the outset of the Roman colony (i.e., after 25 B.C.), partly for reasons of prestige³¹ and, in many cases, because of this marble's close association with the imperial cult³². For example, the high quality portrait head of Augustus with head veiled (*capite velato*) from an imperial cult room at Augusta Emerita was carved in Luni-Carrara marble (Fig. 14)³³. It is often assumed that some high quality works carved in imported marble, like this portrait of Augustus, were produced elsewhere, most notably in Rome or Italy, and imported into southern Spain.³⁴ Although this is certainly possible in the case

26 PENSABENE 2004, where the distribution of Luni-Carrara marble in western Roman provinces is considered.

27 See, e.g., NOGALES BASARRATE, BELTRÁN FORTES 2008; ÁLVAREZ *et al.* 2009.

28 LAPUENTE *et al.* 1988; 1999; 2000 and unpublished reports; NOGALES, GONÇALVES, LAPUENTE 2008.

29 Collaboration first with Bruno Turi and Maria Preite-Martinez (from the Laboratory of Stable Isotopes of "La Sapienza", Rome), and Mauro Brillì (Istituto de Geologia Ambientale e Geoingegneria, CNR, Rome); and secondly with Philippe Blanc (Quantitative CL-SEM at the Université "Pierre et Marie Curie", Paris); Hernando Royo (CL equipment at the Catalan Institute of Classical Archaeology).

30 NOGALES, GONÇALVES, LAPUENTE 2008; LAPUENTE *et al.* 2014.

31 PENSABENE 2004; NOGALES BASARRATE 2007, 446.

32 NOGALES BASARRATE 2007, 455-456.

33 This head, one of the oldest imperial portraits found in Mérida, came from the so-called *aula sacra* in the portico of the theater at Mérida: LAPUENTE *et al.* 1999; NOGALES BASARRATE 2007, 461-463, fig. 2.

34 For this head of Augustus, see, e.g., BOSCHUNG 1993, 163 (cat. 130) pl. 74, 165.5, who assumes this and many other marble portraits found in the Roman West would have been imported from Rome or Italy (85-86). See also n. 18 above. Cf., however, POLLINI 1999, 728-729; NOGALES BASARRATE 2007, 461-463, fig. 2.

of relatively small works like the head of Augustus, they could also have been produced locally in an imported marble. A well trained portrait specialist in a leading provincial workshop would have been capable of closely copying official models in plaster or clay commissioned in Rome and distributed throughout the Empire via the art market.³⁵

Because high quality sculpture was produced in southern Spain from the late first century B.C. in Luni-Carrara, Parian, Pentelic, and Docimium marble, as well as in local Iberian marbles, from the first century A.D., we can only assume that sculptors from Rome, or some other major Italian or provincial centers, set up workshops in Roman colonies and used marbles with which they were long familiar.³⁶ However, to meet the growing demand for Greco-Roman style sculpture in prosperous provincial Roman cities like Augusta Emerita and Corduba, sculptors would also have naturally looked for new local sources of high quality white marbles, especially the finer-grained varieties, whose physical and compositional properties were similar to those classical marbles that artists were already accustomed to using. Readily accessible local marbles would obviously have been less expensive because it did not need to be transported over long distances³⁷. In southern Roman Spain, the quest for high quality marble led to the discovery and exploitation of the marbles from the Estremoz Anticline and Almadén de la Plata districts³⁸ (Fig. 11).

Despite these new local marble sources, classical marble types continued to be imported, even into late Roman times³⁹, probably in part because of their symbolic and prestige value, especially in the context of the imperial cult. This continued usage of classical alongside local Iberian marbles has been demonstrated by a number of sculptural works in the National Museum

of Roman Art in Mérida.⁴⁰ As demand for sculpture increased, first-generation sculptors from abroad would have undoubtedly trained local craftsmen⁴¹. By the time of Tiberius' Principate (from 14-37 A.D.) the colonial forum of Augusta Emerita and its statuary, which followed models at Rome, were made entirely of marble, mostly from local quarries.⁴² Among the classical marbles imported into Lusitania, Luni-Carrara was the most used⁴³, but from marble analyses carried out thus far, this type of marble appears to have been employed more for three-dimensional sculptures and architectural elements than for figural relief sculptures like the Tiberius Relief.

Based on more recent marble analyses of different Spanish researchers, it appears that Luni-Carrara marble was far more commonly used in Baetica, especially during and after the Augustan period.⁴⁴ The fact that a number of colored stones and granites were imported into Baetica, along with classical marbles from around the Mediterranean,⁴⁵ suggests that Baetica was more accessible to the Mediterranean Sea than the Romanized areas of Lusitania. Also, unlike Lusitania's capital Augusta Emerita, which lies along the only partially navigable Guadiana River, Baetica, with its capital of Corduba, and other towns like Italica benefited from being on the highly navigable Guadalquivir River.

Conclusions

In conclusion, based on petrographic and CL features, as well as Carbon to Oxygen isotopic values, it can be conclusively established that the Tiberius Relief is carved in a fine-grained calcitic marble from the ancient quarries of Luni-Carrara. Secondly, because of its subject matter, method of carving, and physical features, the Tiberius Relief was carved in place and was undoubtedly only one of several figural panels that once decorated some now lost monument, probably a statue base or altar connected with the imperial cult. And thirdly, although we cannot rule out that the Tiberius Relief was originally set up in a prominent city like Augusta Emerita in

35 On the matter of distribution via the art market, see POLLINI 1999, 731 with further literature on this subject; for provincial markets and *officinae* in Hispania: PENSABENE 2006; NOGALES BASARRATE 2009; NOGALES, RODÀ, 2011.

36 See preceding note and POLLINI 2012, 100 with n. 147 with further references.

37 BELTRÁN 2012.

38 See MAYER, RODÀ 1998; NOGALES BASARRATE, BELTRÁN FORTES 2008, with further literature on this subject; RODRÍGUEZ *et al.* 2012.

39 For a late sculpture program in Aphrodisian marble from a Lusitanian Roman Villa: NOGALES, CARVALHO, ALMEIDA 2004; NOGALES BASARRATE 2013.

40 These statues have already been analyzed and published: See LAPUENTE *et al.* 2014; NOGALES BASARRATE *et al.* 2015.

41 NOGALES BASARRATE 2009; 2011.

42 NOGALES, ÁLVAREZ 2006; NOGALES BASARRATE 2007; 2009.

43 PENSABENE 2004.

44 PENSABENE 2004; ÁLVAREZ *et al.* 2009; RODRÍGUEZ 2008; BELTRÁN *et al.* 2011; GUTIÉRREZ GARCIA-M., RODÀ, 2012, 295-296.

45 DE NUCCIO *et al.* 2002; GNOLI 1971; 1988.

Lusitania,⁴⁶ it is perhaps more likely that it came from an important, but less land-locked colonial city like Corduba in the Roman province of Baetica.

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46 See, for example, the discussion in POLLINI 2012, 100-101.

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