Monuments and Inscriptions in Republican Rome: Linguistic Framework for Interpreting Art and Text

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation focusses on the interaction between monuments and inscriptions in Republican Rome, by using a linguistic framework to demonstrate that a strong interconnection exists between them. The communicative power of Roman art was one of the most important way for ambitious men to self-present and to compete in the political arena in Rome, but only by combining the visual elements of their monuments with the language of inscriptions it was possible to make the most of its communicative power. In ancient Rome monuments had a significant role in all aspects of social and political life, but their visuality was only powerful inasmuch as its message could be understood by the audience. Inscriptions, in this sense, had an enormous role in guiding the viewers in understanding the significance of monuments' messages. Inscriptions required the active participation of their audience in completing the meaning of the monuments and thus they were heavily used by dedicators to create specific strategies for their self-presentation. This dissertation develops a model that relies on linguistic semiotics to demonstrate how the mechanics of interaction between monuments and inscriptions, and between visual and textual compositions as a unique set and their audience work. Monuments and inscriptions are discussed as part of the same syntax, in which their visual and textual elements can be combined in a unique and consistent narrative. The series of observations that this model raises have a significant impact not only on the way ancient people approached inscribed monuments, but also on the way we understand and rethink them. It is argued that monuments now considered lost are only fragmentary, and their fragments are in fact their surviving inscriptions. Inscriptions as such participated in the stylistic and iconographic evolution that Roman self-presentative and celebrative art underwent from the Republic to the Principate.

MONUMENTS AND INSCRIPTIONS IN REPUBLICAN ROME

LINGUISTIC FRAMEWORK FOR INTERPRETING ART AND TEXT

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List of Abbreviations

AE	*L'Année épigraphique.* Paris 1888–.
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, consilio et auctoritate Academiae litterarum regiae Borussicae editum*. Berlin 1853–.
FRH	Cornell, T. J. (ed.) 2013. *The Fragments of the Roman Historians*. (Vol. 1-3). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
HRR^{2}	H. Peter 1914. *Historicorum Romanorum reliquiae*. Leipzig.
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae.* Berlin 1873–.
ILLRP	A. Degrassi 1957-63. *Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae*. Florence: La Nuova Italia
ILS	H. Dessau 1892-1916. *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*. (Vol. 1–3). Berlin: Weidmann.
Inscr. It.	A. Degrassi 1937. *Inscriptiones Italiae.* Rome: Libreria dello Stato
IvO	*Inschriften von Olympia*
LTUR	E. M. Steinby (ed.) 1993-2000. *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae.* Rome: Quasar
MRR	T.R.S. Broughton 1951–1986. The Magistrates of the Roman Republic. New York
RRC	M. H. Crawford 1974. *Roman Republican Coinage*. Cambridge
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
Syll^{3}	W. Dittenberger 1917–1920. *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.* Leipzig. (3rd ed.)

The abbreviations of journal titles are given according to those used in *L'Année Philologique*.

Most abbreviations of ancient works and authors are given according to those used in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (4th ed.).

STATEMENT OF COPYRIGHT

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INTRODUCTION

This dissertation demonstrates that between monuments and inscriptions of Republican Rome there exists a strong interconnection which combines them as a whole set. The implications of their relationship raise a series of questions that are addressed in this work. I show how the combination of monuments and inscriptions created specific messages that suited the political needs of their dedicators. I then analyse the mechanics of interactions between monuments and inscriptions, and how such mechanics were acknowledged and used by the audience to understand the messages of the dedicators' compositions. From this picture emerges two fundamental questions: one regarding the extent to which inscriptions, considered as integral part of their monuments, contributed to the evolution of Roman art; the second focusses on how the combination of monuments and inscriptions created clear political messages.To answer all these questions, I theorise a linguistic framework capable of integrating visual and textual elements into a metaphorical syntax in order to (re-)create the single and consistent narrative of Republican monuments. By looking in linguistic terms at those compositions formed by artworks and inscriptions, it is possible to distinguish syntactic connections between their visual elements and the words they carried. This metaphorical syntax can reassert the importance of inscriptions as concrete part of the artworks, no differently from how art historians treat a limb as a fragment of a sculpture. At this point, a formal analysis of an artwork must include the meaning of the inscribed words to clarify the composition's message, the patron's agenda, and how the audience interacted with the whole composition and/or understood its meaning. Along with all these factors, perhaps the most important one is that this syntactic structure, by relating visual and textual elements of a composition in a single narrative, enhances our understanding of how, when and why

the conceptualization of stylistic elements in abstract ideal values assume certain meanings.

The dialogue between art and text had never been fully recognised as a part of, much less as the catalyst for, the history of Roman art. Scholars working on visual culture have concentrated on its assertive communicative power, underestimating the function of text in the construction of meaning in Roman art as a communicative system.[1] The figurative 'language' of Roman art analysed by Hölscher derives from the interactions of social factors, with ideological messages as result of the abstraction and the conceptualization of stylistic elements. Hölscher and others (e.g. Zanker) did not put enough stress on the role of language in terms of spoken or written words, although they used a linguistic structure based on semiotic methodology. Approaching Roman art, its formation and its evolution, is a task that cannot be performed by analysing only a 'mute' visual culture or a 'blind' epigraphic tradition. Roman art as a communicative system needs both 'senses' at work, in a joint and synergic effort to produce a consistent reconstruction of the multiple aspects that rotate around the monuments and inscriptions in the Roman society.

For long time studies of epigraphy and classical art history have followed separate tracks. This idiosyncrasy has often overshadowed the opportunity that an analysis of inscriptions and artworks as a whole might achieve. In most manuals on classical art history, the inscriptions connected to artworks are frequently used to describe the subjects depicted. For instance, In D. E. E. Kleiner's *Roman Sculpture*, the funerary relief of Lucius Vibius and Vecilia Hila (13 BC – 5 AD) in Rome is analysed by using the inscription as the portrait's caption: 'the epitaph tells us that the father is Lucius Vibius, the freeborn son of Lucius Vibius, and a member of the Tromentina tribe. The man's

[1] Zanker 1987; Hölscher 1987, 2004, 2006, 2018; Elsner 1996; Stewart 2003; Galinsky 2016.

portrait is in the veristic style of the republic'. It is interesting to note how these two sentences are conceptually (and grammatically) separated, without any interconnection between the two descriptive assessments.

In epigraphic collections and manuals, the objects on which inscriptions were carved are often overshadowed or even omitted. The analysis is strictly confined to the inscriptions, and there is usually limited room for discussing their material supports. Only in more recent epigraphic manuals are the visual features of these inscribed objects considered (e.g. A. E. Cooley, *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy* 2012), yet the standard layout of epigraphic publication still makes it difficult to fully integrate artworks in the analysis of inscriptions..

In two more recent volumes, one edited by S. Goldhill and R. Osborne, *Art and Text in Ancient Greek Culture* 1994, and the second edited by J. Elsner, *Art and Text in Roman Culture* 1996, ancient cultures of viewing are more integrated with what texts have to offer. In the first volume however, the division of essays (four deal with artefacts and four analyse texts) speaks loudly about the (unconscious) tendency to keep images and text separated. The overall argument undoubtedly offers interesting theoretical approaches, and emphasises the complexity of the viewing process; yet it does not provide a full methodological toolbox to engage with the dimensions created by art and text as an integrated whole. The second volume by J. Elsner moves forward, analysing more directly the combination of visual culture and text. For example, in the essay by M. Koortbojian, the funerary relief of Lucius Vibius is analysed by combining the inscription with its monument, a rather different analysis when compared to Kleiner's approach. Another example is the essay by Elsner himself, which focusses on the 'monumentality' of text, by engaging the *Res Gestae* with a 'fresh look' that relies on the combination between inscriptions and monumental contexts to landmark the Augustan 'signature of empire'.

More recent works on art and text demonstrated that there is an increasing focus on cross-disciplinary analysis in the visual and textual culture of the ancient world.[2] John Ma's 'Statues and Cities' provides one of the most important contributions towards understanding not only how art and text interacted with their space and audience, but also the physical interplay between art and text themselves. He analysed statues and inscriptions in Hellenistic poleis by using linguistic tools to determine the hierarchical order and interactions between different agents involved in honorific dedications.

With the construction of a syntactic approach capable of creating a single narrative between art and text of monuments, the ultimate aim of this dissertation consists not only to provide a 'fresh eyes' look at the evolution of the Republican art in Rome, but also to mark those turning points of the history of Rome that determined shifts in the values and ideals of Roman society. In fact, the advantage of using a syntactic approach capable of combining the epigraphical lexicon and the visual language of Roman art is to benefit from a strong tool that is built upon the interaction between two disciplines, epigraphy and history of art. Ultimately, the application of this model helps to rethink the evolution of Roman art as a response to changes in the social and political fabric of the Urbs, stemming from crucial events of its history and reflected by the use of a different visual and textual language: from the Punic Wars to the first Civil War ending with the dictatorship of Sulla, Pompey's and Caesar's military successes, and their impact on Roman institutions.

[2] In art history, the first word encountered when dealing with image and text is '*ekphrasis*', literally 'writing on art'. The approach developed in this field (already know by ancient author such as Pliny, Vitruvius, Lucian, Philostratus and Pausanias) offered today important studies on the intertextuality between art and text (Robillard and Jongeneel, 1998; Webb 1999; Elsner, 2002, 2007, 2010; Goldhill 2007; Squire 2015; Roby 2016). In another subfield of scholarship, inscriptions are at the centre of multidisciplinary analysis which focusses on the physicality of the inscriptions and their relationship with the space and the ancient viewers: Cooley 2008; Ma, 2013; Sears, Keegan and Laurence (eds.), 2013; Petrovic, Petrovic and Thomas (eds.), 2018). In these works, as in my own, inscriptions are also integral part of their monuments, and they work to reshape their physical features as well as their political meanings.

The case studies of this dissertation are chosen from the very limited evidence, mostly epigraphic, that survives from Republican Rome. However, this project makes the best use of these evidence, exploiting their text through the construction of a syntactic model capable of integrating more and different elements in its analysis, such as artworks and monuments, the space where they were placed and the role of the audience in approaching them. This syntactic model does not offer a solution to the problem of identity of those lost monuments that were attached to the inscriptions in this work. Rather, it demonstrates that monuments and inscriptions were interconnected and that their relationship created powerful messages, once they were combined into a single set by their viewers.

More examples are drawn from literary sources and coinage to amplify the spectrum of possibilities that monuments and inscriptions formed. The case studies chosen are also the best-attested and well-known evidence of Republican Rome, and thus they offer important benefits: on the one hand, by approaching well-studied and familiar materials through a new model, it can be helpful to emphasises the results and their differences with previous studies and interpretations. On the other hand, these case-studies involve important men that attempted to leave an imprint not only on the history of the Republic, but also on its topography and on its monumental landscape.

In this dissertation, the analysis of the interactions between monuments and inscriptions will be developed in three main parts that build upon each other in a systematic way to show different aspects of such a relation.

The first part focusses on the creation of methodological principles that are at the core of the relationship between monuments and inscriptions. In this section I demonstrate how the relationship between monuments and inscriptions can be analysed on a syntactic level. The tenets of the syntactic approach are discussed and compared in light of previous scholarship that engaged visual art with linguistic models, with a specific

focus on Tonio Hölscher's semantic system and John Ma's grammar interface. My syntactic approach is thus tested to show its validity by focussing on a specific test-case: an inscription set in Rome by M. Claudius Marcellus in 211 BC. Through this example, I explore how a visual object, usually a dedicated piece of spoils, works within the syntax of its inscription as an accusative, which in all cases is textually omitted. The 'visual accusative' thereby formed in Marcellus' inscription is then compared with other inscriptions from the third and second century BC, to demonstrate how it was used by dedicators to achieve different visual-textual strategies. A specific focus is given to the role of the audience in approaching compositions created by inscribed monuments, and to their active participation in restoring the meaning that the relationship between art and text conveyed.

Having theorised the principles of the syntactic approach and having practically demonstrated them through the Marcellus test-case, the second part engages with a different range of sources to show the applicability and versatility of my syntactic approach. The interplay between monuments and inscriptions was not used only for spoils of war, but it had a wider applicability on different dedications or buildings in Rome. In this wide range of examples, including votive dedications, honorific statues, complexes and temples, the syntactic model worked in different ways depending on the strategy adopted by the dedicators' political agenda. However, the mechanics between monuments and inscriptions were always exploited in a similar way; what changed was the different contents and narratives that their interaction produced. I also offer a counter-example to show that even with the absence of an inscription its function is presented and exploited to maximise the visual effect of a monumental landscape.

The third part concentrates on applying the syntactic approach to the monuments of three individuals of the first century BC, namely Sulla, Pompey and Caesar. The first century BC was introduced by two conflicts, the Jugurthine war and the war against

Cimbrians and Teutones and the Jugurthine war, which in different ways unbalanced the relationship between Roman commanders and the institutions of the Republic. Accordingly, the way Roman commanders celebrated and represented their victories was also altered from the previous honorific system. In this sense, the syntactic model offers an important tool to analyse these differences and how the combination of monuments and inscriptions was pivotal to introducing new messages. The ideology of victory was increasingly combined with the idea of political legitimation and supremacy, which became the prerogative of single individuals. Their monumentalisation reflected their political supremacy by combining new visual and textual elements in an integrated whole. In fact, the content of their messages changed to support the representation of new prerogatives and powers, and inscriptions played a fundamental role in supporting these changes. The syntactic model does not only offer insights into the content of these new messages, but it also shows how changes in Roman figurative art could easily be understood by their audience, the people of Rome, because the mechanics of interaction between audience and inscribed monuments remained unchanged from the previous honorific system.

PART I

INSCRIPTIONS AND MONUMENTS AS PART OF THE SAME SYNTAX

INTRODUCTION

In this first section it is argued that a strong relationship exists between Roman republican dedicatory inscriptions and their related artworks that can be analysed on a syntactic level. This working assumption is developed by looking at specific test cases that comply with the general rules which regulate the interconnection between text and art. The result is the development of a methodological model capable of investigating the meanings and messages produced by the combination of monuments and inscriptions. Through this model, it is demonstrated how much easier it was for the monuments and inscriptions to communicate and interact with their original audience through the single narrative created by the combination of text and art with the aim of delivering a simplified and intelligible message. It is also emphasised that the audience played an active role in determining the meanings of such a narrative.

When we look at an inscription that is associated with an artwork or monument, attention is usually paid to what information is provided by that inscription. In many cases, the inscription is considered as a 'caption' for its related visual object. This approach is useful for answering important, but general questions, for example, the identity of the honoured person and/or the dedicator(s), the historical circumstances of such an honour or whatever other issues are addressed by the information included in the inscription. The major risk in considering inscriptions as captions is to regard the role of the inscription as subordinate to the whole composition, which drastically limits its potential. It is worth strongly emphasising that an inscription is not only the caption for a composition, but is a concrete and stand-alone object that is correlated with its artwork.

Before undertaking a close analysis of the interactions and interconnections between art and text, it is helpful to remember that they originate from the same matrix. Inscriptions and monuments are produced by those historical contingencies (events, actions and consequences) that were considered worthy of being remembered and celebrated. In this light, inscriptions and monuments are equally vehicles of information, but they diverge with respect to the way in which they deliver the message to their audience: the first in linguistic form, the latter in visual form.

In a single composition, for example, if we consider a statue placed over an inscribed base, both its artistic features and textual languages communicate a certain message to the audience. The main feature of this double channel of communication is how the two different vehicles work together to avoid an overlap of information, without generating redundancy or even confusion in creating and delivering their messages to the audience. What was crucial for the patrons of honorary dedications was to deliver clear and consistent messages. This is not too hard to imagine if we think about the importance of honorary practice in republican Rome and how crucial the display of power, prestige, values and ideals was in competition between families and individuals.

Words and images function in different ways because of their contrasting textual and visual natures. Whereas words need to be read, images are appreciated for their visual features: theme, iconography and style. Understanding the content of an inscription required the ability to read simple Latin.[3] In addition, visual features could not speak by themselves unless the audience were familiar with local and foreign artistic traditions and capable of distinguishing the differences between one and the other. Connoisseurship in art was more easily accessible to the elite class. However, it is absurd to think that the

[3] In some cases, it was not even necessary to have a high level of literacy because the honorary inscriptions of the Republic were quite concise and tended to resort to well-known words (e.g. names with filiation, titles, offices) framed in formulaic sentences (Corbier 2013, 13–38; Revell 2013, 231–233). On the nature of inscriptions, see an interesting essay by Panciera 2012.

consumption of compositions of artworks and inscriptions was restricted to the elites, not only considering the location chosen for honorary dedications, such as in the Forum, but also because they addressed a heterogeneous public, including a solid base of clients and supporters, to increase the prestige of the honoured individuals and their families.

Inscriptions had a pivotal role in forming the message of the whole composition. Their words guided the audience in discerning the meaning, not only of the event that was being celebrated by the honorific dedication, but also in understanding the connection between the visual object – its content, style and iconography – and the words expressed in its inscription. Through the repetition of epigraphic formulaic sentences, the audience became accustomed to an epigraphic landscape that helped them to immediately grasp what the composition was about.

The combination of political, social and military ideal values (such as *auctoritas*, *clementia*, *concordia*, *pietas*, *maiestas*, *virtus*) was traditionally understood in the Roman culture via individual cases as exempla. One of the channels through which these ideal values were communicated was figurative art, by associating ideal values to the various stylistic forms drawn from Greek artistic tradition. The abstraction of ideal values became a link between subjects represented and forms of imagery, creating a versatile and adaptive system for Roman art. As Hölscher pointed out, this 'ideological system', formed during the Republic and consistently applied during the following centuries, was used to exemplify intellectual ideals more than to record historical reality.[4] Although this system is now well accepted, it is less clear how the process of abstraction worked and how the artistic forms were understood by the audience.

Inscriptions can be much more helpful in understanding the conceptualisation of artistic forms. Although artistic styles became understood as connected to particular ideal

[4] Hölscher 2004, 88–9.

values, each individual artwork was also the result of a historical event that generated, in the first place, the visual and textual compositions. In this respect, inscriptions informed the audience about which event was commemorated and why. This information contained abstract concepts: for example, an inscription can inform its viewers about the capture of a city, but it is not limited to the factual event. Inscriptions contain far more information, or they can imply something, such as the narrative of a successful military action performed by a commander and, thus, the ideal values connected to it: the *virtus* of the commander who achieved it, but also the euergetism of the commander who dedicated a beautiful artwork to the city or his *pietas* in dedicating it as a votive offer. Thus, inscriptions pointed more directly at specific ideal values from the Roman value system. By juxtaposing inscriptions with artworks, any ideal values connected with the inscriptions (from the previous example, *virtus*, euergetism or *pietas*), were also attached also to the artistic style of the visual object. Only subsequently could artistic forms, whose meaning was translated and understood with the support of the language in the form of inscribed letters, be conceptualised into ideals and values. In other words, the ideal values produced by the significance of the event remembered by the words of an inscription were transferred to the style of the artwork.

The major questions that stem from this set of assumptions are, first, how inscriptions helped viewers understand what the images represented and, second, how two different communicative systems could be integrated into a single and consistent narrative. The answers can only be found by looking at the interaction between language and image and at the processes that establish such an interaction. It is useful to borrow the notion of syntax from linguistics exclusively for the purposes of this discussion and apply it as an effective solution for analysing the interactions between language and image.

In linguistics, ‘syntax’ means a set of rules and tenets of a language that organise and arrange words, phrases and clauses to fully form logical sentences. From this generic definition of syntax, it is possible to narrow down, for the benefit of this discussion, the grammatical function of the syntax to the way in which a specific word or element of a sentence can be arranged and defined in its function with other words or elements of the same sentence.[5]

In Latin, unlike in English, in order to accomplish the formation of sentences and their subsequent meanings, words, in our cases the words of an inscription, adopt specific grammatical cases that define what function they play within the sentence. In fact, the role of each word in a sentence is defined by its grammatical function, and the correlation between the words is determined by a specific syntax. The syntax, in organising the words, creates logic and clear phrases. Roman dedicatory inscriptions are expressed through sentences that can also be analysed in terms of ‘grammar’ and ‘syntax’. Each word of an inscription is related to the others to form a complete sentence. As is demonstrated in this section, not all the syntax contained in all the inscriptions of Roman dedications has been completed and, as a result, needs to find its connections and relationships ‘outside’ of the text.

In fact, although Roman dedicatory inscriptions are expressed by words alone, their meanings only became complete and intelligible to their readers with the integration of non-textual elements related to the inscriptions, namely, the artwork itself and, in some circumstances, the space in which it was placed. In this study, the grammar and syntax of Roman dedicatory inscriptions play a central role not only in revealing the grammatical

[5] The defining contribution to linguistic semiotics was made by Ferdinand de Saussure’s *Course in General Linguistics*, published in 1916. In Saussure’s formulation, language is a system of signs, each sign consisting of, that are distinguished by a signifier, the actual form which the sign takes, and a signified, the concept that it represents. The relationship of the signifier and signified is *conventional*, which means that it is dependent on the social context and its particular cultural conventions.

function of the words of the inscription, but also in distinguishing and emphasising the correlation between the textual and non-textual elements and their respective and metaphorical roles. In fact, the verbal syntax of the inscriptions is integrated with the non-textual elements, such as the monument itself and the space in which it has been placed. In this way, the syntax is not only able to complete the meaning of the whole composition by considering all its elements at once, but it also cooperates in translating the artistic form into intellectual ideals. The final result is the presentation of a single consistent and intelligible narrative of the whole composition to its audience.

The integration of the non-textual elements of a monument's syntax with textual ones might provide extra devices for the epigraphic toolbox, especially in reconstructing those inscriptions that have survived as fragments. One of the epigraphist's tasks is to reconstruct and supplement the text of an inscription when its fragmentary status and abbreviated text require it. The importance of epigraphic techniques in reconstructing an inscription and then integrating it with its associated artwork is beyond doubt. In epigraphy, the reconstruction of a text is achieved by using different techniques and considering many factors. The remaining words will be analysed, looking at their shape, the language used and the chronology of the inscription. The original location of the inscription will be considered whenever possible, also the material used and the function of the inscription: funerary, honorary, sacred, decrees, electoral notices, etc. Following this, epigraphists then propose what text might be integrated with the original, taking into consideration a comparison with other similar inscriptions of the same period, possibly from the same region. Finally, in most cases, the inscription is restored and its meaning completed. However, restoring fragmentary and incomplete inscriptions to their full versions to understand their condensed text does not automatically reinstate and promulgate the meaning of their messages. In some cases, the epigraphic reconstruction

might even mislead the reader in understanding the message of an inscription, unless more elements, namely non-textual components, are considered in the analysis.

When classical archaeologists and art historians deal with artworks, they follow a similar process. They analyse the characteristics of the surviving artworks or their fragments: materials used; location; function; and what they were part of – a frieze, a statue, a building, a funerary monument, etc. Following all these considerations and based on the remaining elements of an artwork, attention is then focused on what style was used and what kind of iconography was present in its surviving elements, as well as on the comparison with other similar artworks in the same area or in different regions.

The methodologies used in epigraphy and art history are very similar in this sense. In the same way in which the message of an inscription is restored by the integration of new text, the physical features of an artwork are conceptually restored to complete its message, a physical restoration being impossible, of course. When inscriptions and artworks are part of the same set, as my syntactic model demonstrates, it is possible to imagine the inscriptions as fragments belonging to a statue or a monument, in the same way that an arm, a torso or a capital is conceptually reimagined in the analysis of a monument. The most important contribution of this interpretation system is that it helps us to understand the evolution of Roman art, which in this perspective can be analysed through both textual and visual elements.

In the next section, my syntactic methodology is discussed and compared with different systems that engage art and inscriptions in linguistic terms. Major attention is given to Tonio Hölscher who, employing structural linguistics, analyses Roman art in terms of a semantic system, aiming to establish a connection between artistic Greek forms and the ideological messages contained therein that was then adopted for Roman art. In other words, we are looking at a system of values that creates a bridge between form and meaning. On the epigraphic level, a fundamental interpretative model is given by John

Ma, who theorises the 'grammar interface' as a model capable of underlining the interactions between honorific statues and their audience by looking at the syntax of Hellenistic inscriptions.[6]

The second half of this part focuses on the core of this methodological section. The main tenets of the syntactic model are defined, showing the applicability of this model and its advantages for the study of Roman dedicatory inscriptions. Subsequently, I propose a specific test case. This sets the tenets of the visual accusative and demonstrates how it works within the syntactic methodology. The final result reveals how dedicators adopted this syntactic system to present themselves and their achievements to their audience. Their syntactic strategies had a significant role in determining the messages conveyed by the inscriptions and the meanings that their dedications communicated to the audience. Finally, Part I as a whole will provide the methodological guidelines for both the third- and second-century BC artworks and inscriptions analysed in Part II and those belonging to the first century BC that are considered in Part III.

HÖLSCHER'S SEMANTIC SYSTEM AND THE SEMIOTIC APPROACH TO ROMAN ART

A decisive contribution to the study of Roman and Greek art was made in the second half of the twentieth century by a series of scholars, mostly German, who employed semiotic theories to focus on Roman and Greek monuments as expressions of social practice, manifestations of political and social power, indications of political and social values, and representations of ideological concepts.[7] The most important aspect of this new approach

[6] Ma 2013.
[7] The most relevant works are Brilliant 1963; Bianchi Bandinelli 1969; Hölscher 1971, 1987; Zanker 1988, 1995; Torelli 1982; Giuliani 1986; Coarelli 1996a. For images as objects of social practice see Gazda 1991; D'Ambra 1993, 1998; Elsner 1995; Stewart 2003; Tanner 2006; Hölscher 2012.

to Roman and Greek art was that it replaced a series of standpoints that were not much concerned with the social function of figurative art. These earlier scholars investigated the questions of 'origin' and 'originality' in terms of the stylistic tradition of Roman art, a concern that has only recently lost its original impetus.[8] Further, they renegotiated the formal structural approach to Greek and Roman art as an autonomous media that sprung from the 'Vienna school' (Franz Wickhoff's *Die Wiener Genesis* (1985), Alois Riegl's *Spätrömische Kunstindustrie* (1901) and Heinrich Wölfflin's *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* (1915)) at the beginning of the twentieth century and which gradually took precedence over the function of art as a social practice to privilege the aesthetic dimension of the stylistic forms.

Tonio Hölscher's *Römische Bildsprache als semantisches System* (1987) and Paul Zanker's *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder* (1988) strongly advocated the restoration of importance to the images of Roman and Greek art as part of social and cultural life without, however, undermining the role of style in favour of the content *tout court*. Hölscher offered the most significant contribution to introducing new questions about the function of Roman and Greek art. He approached Roman and Greek art as the expression

[8] This view of Roman art was affected by the great influence and resonance of the founder of Classical art history in Germany, Winckelmann, with his historical reconstruction of ancient art intended as a rigid scheme entangled with aesthetic and idealistic values. Winckelmann emphasised the recognition of Classical art as 'rising' during early Archaic Greece and 'falling' during the Hellenistic period. In Winckelmann's view, Roman art was not even considered a style; therefore, the 'fall' started from the Hellenistic period. Winckelmann (1764, x.2.4) considered that the zenith of human artistic achievement coincided with a period of democracy, *conditio sine qua non*, in order that the artistic Greek genius could explore the potentiality of its creativity and surpass nature itself to reach perfection. For the relationship between the end of the democracy and the decline and fall of art, see Potts 1994; Tanner 2006, 4–6. It is noteworthy that the powerfulness of this concept is still used in a 'political' way by the United States. In 1993, the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in collaboration with the Greek Ministry of Culture organised an exhibition entitled, 'The Greek miracle: Classical sculpture from the dawn of democracy, the fifth century BC', evoking the role of the United States as the political leader and the exponent of democracy ingrained in (Classical) Greece. 'Roman art', conversely, is not even mentioned in *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, being replaced by 'Greek art under the Romans' at the end of the 'downfall of art under Septimius Severus'. Although Winckelmann claimed the absence of specific Roman style, he was aware of the peculiarities of Roman art, such as portraits and sarcophagi. (*Geschichte der Kunst*, 248).

of a system of meanings that was deeply influenced by structural linguistic and modern semiotics, and which was originally developed as a conceptual framework to analyse social and cultural practice on the basis of signs and as a process of signification. Hölscher identified the importance of Panofsky's iconology and iconography as an interpretative protocol of social and political content, but he argued that their semantics must also be integrated with a formal and stylistic analysis.[9] Hölscher dismissed the assumption that there is a predetermined relationship between style and meaning; this is a view that does not consider that each society develops a specific system of contents and forms, and that to a certain meaning is assigned a specific sign; in other words, a 'relativistic semiotic'.[10] Hölscher's conceptual framework approaches Roman art as a 'semantic system': a model crafted by approaching the imagery in Roman art through a linguistic model. The 'semantic system' works by following a sort of grammar, which does not have systemic and rigid principles. It is rather formed by a flexible interplay between its elements: 'figure', which determines figural types and themes and remains consistent throughout Roman art; and 'style', which is related to the physical and technical qualities of the sculpture and determined almost as a chronological and geographical marker. As linguistic theory proposes for language, meaning does not emerge directly from style, but becomes associated with it through repetition and juxtaposition. Styles were diachronically drawn from Greek models and (synchronically) used side by side (e.g. the altar of Arezzo dating to the Augustan period). In other words, Greek forms, from any period, were re-functionalised to express Roman ideals and values.

In this sense, the *language* of Roman image is created by the connection between figure and style that constitutes its grammatical principles. As Hölscher stressed, these principles do not have a rigid structure, but contain a degree of inconsistency in their

[9] Panofsky 1939; see Hölscher 2004, 1–5.
[10] Hölscher 2014, 6. For the fundamental aspect of the semiotic in Roman and Greek art see Vernant and Bérard 1984. See also Bal and Bryson 1991.

expressions because of the complexity, differences and exemptions that originate from the cultural set of a society.

Hölscher's semantic system, as a theoretical framework for analysing the language of images in Roman art, is formed by categories of emotional qualities, such as *pathos*, *auctoritas*, *maiestas*, *pondus*, *gravitas*, *dignitas*, *sanctitas*, codified through Greek stylistic forms and adopted in Roman art.[11] At first glance, the language of Roman art seems to be firmly based on Greek foundations, reintroducing Brendel's question, 'What is Roman about Roman art?' However, Hölscher's identification of the role of Greek art in building the language of Roman art dismissed the idea of a hierarchal submission of Roman art to Greek art, demonstrating, on the contrary, the high level of autonomy and innovation of Roman art.[12]

The semantic system is not a static process, but a dynamic one, because it was mediated by the development of style and used in different social contexts. Zanker showed the versatility and plurality that the word 'images' (*Bilder*) contains in terms of social and cultural practice: in religious settings such as cult statues of gods and goddess in temples; in daily life images such as dresses and fashion or decorations on utensils for various functions; and in political ceremonies with their objects, gestures and rituals.[13] Monuments and statues and, more generally, images, are considered, like language, as a social communication system that is conceived as a product of a particular culture and historical moment.[14] Their 'power' is effectively recognised when these images are decoded within their context of ideologies and cultural and social values. This is the case

[11] Not only sculpture, such as the Ara Pacis Augustae, or Roman portraits, but also paintings recorded only in literary sources, for example, the *Triumph of Pompey* in 61 BC described by Appian, *Mith.* 117; the *Triumph of Caesar* in 54 BC, App., *B. Civ.* 2,101. For the concept of ἐνάργεια see Polyb. 6; Hölscher 2004, 21–42. Zanker pointed out the influence of Hellenistic themes on Augustus' art after his triumph (1988), More in general Hölscher 1987.
[12] Brendel 1953, 29. This issue was also highlighted by Zanker 2008, viii. Cf. Gazda 2002; Perry 2005.
[13] Zanker 1988, 5. See also Price, 1984 and Gregory 1994, 80–99.
[14] Zanker 2008, vi.

with regard to the Greek and Roman portrait statues, which became not the mere expressions of individuals but a representation of political and social values. Zanker's 'Macht der Bilder' (literally, 'power of images') is a fitting example of how the Roman figurative language of the Augustan order, and in general during the Empire, is understood as a bearer of ideological concepts.

By using semiotic 'tools' it was possible for Roman art scholarship to analyse the meanings of monuments and artworks by looking at their semantics. This means to discern on a semantic level the relationship between the form and content of the represented object by distinguishing its 'denotation' (physical appearance) from its 'connotation' (meanings). A statue of Augustus wearing a toga and depicted *capite velato* represents, in terms of denotation, a man (Augustus) wearing a toga and having a covered head – a representation of an object as such. The connotation is the cultural significance given to that image by its society; the cultural significance, of course, depends on the context (historical framework, social and political structure, cultural and religious mores, collective and cultural attitude and mentality) and the personal cultural code of the recipients, arising both out of their cultural framework and their own personal life experiences. In the example given, the image of the *togatus* statue of Augustus *capite velato* means for a contemporary Roman citizen the ritual of sacrifice as a demonstration of *pietas*, but also the role of Augustus as *pontifex*, or even both meanings. In terms of Panofsky's system, the meaning of the *togatus* statue of Augustus is not limited by the factual theme represented (man with toga, priest or sacrifice) as a unique 'truth'. Conversely, the image has a number of conceptual meanings depending on the 'question(s)' that the viewers 'ask' when they look at this image (interpretation and appropriation), always bearing in mind their own cultural frameworks and life experiences.

Hölscher's methodology rightly points to the importance of cultural frameworks by emphasising the dynamism of the semiotic pattern: 'forms' have multiple meanings and multiple contexts, and contexts can to a certain extent define the meaning of the forms. Contexts, however, are not static agents that rigidly define what kind of object should be created by artists/patrons and consumed by their recipients. Conversely, context is at the same time 'a premise and a result of cultural practice'.[15] An artwork produced in a certain context can confirm its general conditions (forms–meaning; style–iconography); yet, an artwork can also change and modify the context in which it was conceived. When the Bocchus Monument was erected on the Capitoline to honour Sulla in 91 BC, its figurative programme focused on the image of Sulla sitting on a chair and surrounded by two kings, one of them captured.[16] For a Roman citizen, the chair could represent the *sella curulis* used by Roman magistrates (a familiar 'sign', with all its implications), but it could also be interpreted, and this is more likely for foreigners, as a throne, considering its proximity to, and affinity with, the two kings next to Sulla's statue. The ambiguity of the message served to introduce new meanings to the figurative language of Roman art by using a familiar image (the *sella curulis*), which is arranged in a specific manner (i.e. syntactically) with other signs/images (the two kings), in one of the most prominent and known contexts of Rome. In any case, the Capitoline, as *the* prominent space used to erect honorary monuments, contains the premise for erecting such a monument, as it was normal custom to dedicate honorific monuments here, but its context was modified by Bocchus' monument itself. The Capitoline became a prime venue for the display of predominant political power of single individuals, and at the end of the first century BC it reached the height of its significance in this respect.

[15] Hölscher 2014, 11.
[16] See Part III about the Bocchus Monument.

In the system of semiotics Hölscher summarises three levels at which figurative arts can be discussed. The first is that of semantics, which is the relationship between signs and real or ideal objects (distinguished by denotation and connotation). The second is pragmatics, which is the impact of signs on a particular society and the interactions between the two, in other words, how previous specific messages were communicated between senders and recipients.

The third is syntactics, which is the formal relationship between the elements (signs) in the system. Syntax itself is not concerned with meaning, but through syntax different elements can be combined to create meanings. On a linguistics level, syntax works by two factors: the notion of a general 'code' and a 'specific message'. The code is the entire grammatical structure and rules of a specific language, whereas a specific message means a sentence that is produced by the combination of different elements drawn from the linguistic system (code) in which the syntax is working. On the figurative level, the code contains the formal principles of a specific society's figurative art, whereas the specific message is an image which is produced by using the elements within that society's figurative art (indeed, its code). With regard to the visual word we might think of the systems of 'Classical' Greek art, or 'Hellenistic' Greek art as codes, with their artistic norms, tenets and principles, and of single statues (e.g. Polyclitus' *Doryphoros* or Lysippus' *Apoxyomenos*, Figure 1) as messages, which work in their own respective systems, and are created by taking elements from their appropriate figurative art (code), respectively. For example, the *Doryphoros* drew from Classical Greek art (code) the tension and distension of the 'contrapposto' (one element or *sign* of that code) and uses an appropriate hairstyle (another element or *sign* of that code), which aims to create the representation of the ideal beauty and valour of the human body (specific message). The *Apoxyomenos* drew from Hellenistic Greek art (code) the upward development of a compact body (one element or *sign* of that code) with its various parts having different

proportions, a smaller head, for example (another element or *sign* of that code). The tousled hairstyle in this instance is a further element or *sign* of that code, and the whole of the statue aims to express the energy conveyed by the human body (specific message).[17]

In this scheme, Hölscher argued that there was a substantial difference between the signs of figurative art considered 'natural', because they have a sort of affinity with the object they represent, and the signs of language considered 'conventional' because a series of sounds are conventionally assigned to express an object or action. However, visual 'signs' can be divided into at least three types: symbol, index and icon.[18] Of these, only *icon* is a sign that has enough natural traits in common with the object: a human, even if is stylized with four lines and a circle. The symbol is a conventional sign that has nothing in common with the object. Examples of these are the fasces, which was, in fact, the symbol of the power of magistrates, or the eagle, which was the symbol of a Roman legion. Finally, the index is something not self-evident. For example, smoke is an index of fire, or a gesture such as kneeling is an index of subordination (e.g. in the Bocchus Monument, which depicts two kings kneeling in front of Sulla). Among the three classes of signs of figurative art, only the icon preserves 'natural' traits in common with the object represented, whereas symbol and index, like language, have nothing in common with the object.

[17] In these two examples I arbitrarily chose only a few elements or *signs* to highlight their affinity (and so their differences) within their own respective code or figurative language (Classical and Hellenistic). There is no space here to discuss all of them; however, it is important to point out that *signs* of these figurative languages can be both objects, for example spear or strigil or even their pose: the *Doryphoros* is developed in two-dimensions, whereas the *Apoxyomenos* exploited the three-dimensional space.
[18] Peirce 1931. See also Hasenmueller 1978; Holly 1984; Bal and Bryson 1991.

THE LANGUAGE OF INSCRIPTIONS IN ROMAN ART

The semiotic analysis of Hölscher applied to the figurative language of Roman art is an excellent tool to analyse its complexity. However, it left out a fundamental element of Roman visual art: almost every monument and artwork placed in both public and private spaces in Rome was paired with inscriptions.[19] Hölscher's overall model undervalues the power of text as a constituent part of the artworks he discusses and, as a matter of fact, his analysis works for inscriptions too.

The underestimation of the power of text is again present in reconstructing how viewers of Roman and Greek art might have experienced the artworks, which is to some extent conjectural. The conceptual meanings that stem from images of Greek and Roman art depend, as has been noted, on an individual's pre-existing knowledge and his/her cultural attitudes within a certain cultural framework. From Hölscher's analysis of the conceptual meaning of images we gain the impression that language is considered to be merely the 'caption' for the figurative art:

> linguistic terms … are essentially insufficient for defining the multiplicity of visual meanings, but on the other hand, they are unavoidable for communicating about visual meaning. Again, we must be aware of the fact that language is never an equivalent to visual forms but can only point to the phenomena of visual art.[20]

However, by looking at words as part of the artworks, we can greatly restrict the range of conceptual meanings that the senders intended to communicate to the recipients; more importantly, words support images in creating meanings.

An example that will be discussed in Part III might be used at this point to give an interesting overview on how the powerful combination of figurative language and

[19] The title of this section is an obvious allusion to Hölscher's *The Language of Image in Roman Art*. The allusion seeks to stress the equal importance that inscriptions had in the understanding of Roman art, and especially by using the same semiotic approach.
[20] Hölscher 2014, 19.

inscription works. A statue of Caesar, standing over a globe, was erected on the Capitoline in Rome in 46 BC and its inscription addressed him as as ἡμίθεος (demi-god). The combination of the pose of Caesar with the text ἡμίθεος created in a single and consistent narrative a divine figure of Caesar.[21] The message was so clear that its disruptive effect forced Caesar to remove the inscriptions. The statue itself already hinted at divinity, but the inscription narrowed down to one the range of interpretative possibilities for its audience: there was no longer any way to claim ambiguity. This means that although Hölscher is right in saying that 'conceptual meaning is never unequivocal', by looking at artwork and inscriptions we can certainly gain a clearer idea of how the recipients perceived the composition, softening the idea that 'reconstructing how they might have experienced works of art is a highly conjectural matter'.

Language seems not to be part of Hölscher's semiotic approach, although it is recognised that language and image, given all their differences, are inextricably interwoven and complementary to each other, without any hierarchy. When an image represents a certain theme (e.g. the Battle of Issus, a mythical scene, an episode of the Trojan War) only the use of language can give the prerequisite knowledge to the recipient in order for him/her to discern those icons that are culture-specific, as opposed to those icons that can be experienced purely visually and from personal experience: plants, mountains, rivers, animals, humans.

For example, looking at the Alexander Mosaic in Pompeii without having knowledge of the historical event would not have communicated to its viewers the historical significance or the political implication of that military victory. Yet, such knowledge is not required to appreciate the fine quality of the mosaic, its colours, the details of the faces, the clothes worn, the horses, and so on. Every viewer had a different

[21] Cass. Dio, 43.14.6.

response according to what taste they had or what they cared about in looking at that mosaic. However, if an inscription was placed, for example to inform the viewers about the historical implications of the battle between Alexander the Great and Darius III, the combination of the inscription and the mosaic would have certainly guided the viewers to match to a certain extent the meaning of the composition with the purpose of its patron.

In 1929 the surrealist painter René Magritte painted what he called *La Trahison des images*. The painting depicts a pipe or a representation of such. Beneath the pipe there is a sentence that says: 'Ceci n'est pas une pipe.' ('This is not a pipe.'). By adding this sentence, the painting is no longer showing a pipe or the representation of a pipe. The written text in the painting changed an apparently simple drawing into something more sophisticated, and this began a never-ending debate as to its meaning.[22]

Any artistic image is limited in representing the comprehensive historical consequences of the events it is meant to portray; rather, it represents a static picture of the moment to which it refers. Only by adding extra knowledge to the 'static picture', knowledge that is provided by linguistics, is it possible to disclose its meaning and justify the reason for its form.[23] The statue of a Greek athlete is a mute image. It shows an athlete, perhaps the representation of an ideal body or whatever a viewer's interest is in looking at that statue. However, what happens when an inscription is attached to a statue of a Greek athlete that reports the name of the honoured and his victory at the Olympic Games

[22] Foucault 1983 (1968) and the correspondence between Foucault and Magritte himself in 1966.
[23] See Hölscher 1994, 90–4. The debate on which themes were selected to represent significant historical events and how they were perceived affected both the elements of figurative art: form and meaning. Hölscher criticised the precedence of form over meaning, the former being more easily decoded through historical, political and sociological analysis. It is important to bear in mind that themes cannot be decontextualised from their visual expression (style) no less than, for instance, the historical consequences of the Battle of Issus can be analysed without using language to describe it (the form of its expression). The style is itself part of the message conceived by the monument's meaning and responds to a system of meanings defined by the cultural framework of the society in question. The meaning of the Battle of Issus represented as a mosaic in the House of the Faun in Pompeii during the second century BC was understood differently by its recipients than was a painting in the late fourth century BC in Greece.

in a certain year? The statue regains its voice because a specific event is commemorated, and it also assumes a historical dimension. In addition, an individual is celebrated, perhaps along with his family and/or his community.

Following on from this, language also benefits from the semiotic scheme. On the level of semantics, images can have both denotation and connotation, as can texts, especially inscriptions. In fact, inscriptions are not only texts, but also visual signs.

When we approach an inscription, we may encounter a full and lengthy text but, more often, especially in Latin epigraphy, we find an abbreviation of it.[24] In either case, inscriptions are signs that can be separated into the three signs sub-categories: icon, symbol and index. The word '*consul*' can be considered as a sign/icon that has the 'natural' traits in common with what it represents. A consul of Rome is what is read, and that person is called '*consul*'. The contracted form of *consul* is '*cos*', which is a sign/symbol. '*Cos*' does not mean anything unless its other missing letters are integrated with the rest; it is, rather, a symbol. However, the integration process can be only achieved in the mind of the recipients; only modern scholars transcribe on paper the words of inscriptions to disclose their full text. Ancient people were not completing inscriptions by carving the rest of the letters on the original material or transcribing them on to paper to understand their significance. It was not possible and was unnecessary. The people of Rome (and not only them) recognised that the sign/symbol '*cos*' meant the word '*consul*', by its repetition, and according to the cultural framework within which they lived. The word *cepit* (the perfect of *capere*), commonly used in honorific dedications in Rome by victorious commanders during the third and second centuries BC (as I shall discuss later on in this Part I), is a sign/index. *Cepit* points to something that is not self-evident, such

[24] Here lies the fundamental difference between Greek dedicatory inscriptions, analysed through the 'grammar interface' of John Ma, and Roman dedicatory inscriptions, as I will discuss later in this section.

as the *imperium militiae* that was necessary to lead armies and, therefore, to attack and plunder enemy cities.

In this sense, inscriptions are signs that have their denotation – in the example used above, the physical rendering of the signs '*cos*', '*consul*' and '*cepit*' – and their connotation, which is in this instance the meaning and implication of the office of consulship, the higher rank of the *cursus honorum* – prestige, military power, conquest, and victory over enemies.

Hölscher argues that whereas images have infinite ways of expressing concepts or actions (e.g. between youth and old age there is an infinite spectrum of describing a human being), language does not possess such multiplicity of expression. However, certain words do have a plurality of meanings. For example, the word 'boy' bounds its meaning in a series of human characteristics (age, size, weight, body), but everybody has, in their own mind, different imaginings of what a 'boy' is, according to their own experience. In its most basic sense, the symbol '*consul*' or '*cos*' refers to an office of the Roman institutional system, but it has, as a 'sign', a range of conceptual meanings, such as power, prestige, fear and reverence, depending on who the recipients of the word are. For example, the family member of a consul would feel proud and benefit from the prestige of his office, whereas his political enemies might feel concern, respect, hate, or a whole range of emotions.

On the level of syntactics it is obvious: inscriptions benefit from grammar, because they are both signs and language. Their code is the principles that form Latin grammar and a specific message is produced by the syntactic combination of the signs and the language, which are the elements of the inscription. However, as demonstrated in this chapter, the syntactics of inscriptions can create a code capable of integrating the message contained both in images and words to deliver a single narrative.

On the level of pragmatics, inscriptions, as a model of social communication, can be understood through their textuality. The senders compose the message based on their own cultural code and deliver it to the recipients, who understand such messages according to *their* own cultural code. Compared with image, the pragmatics of inscriptions present fewer problems because inscriptions, working as textual language, can simply be read to discern their basic meaning and so they can be unmistakably understood; they do not require philological knowledge either. In fact, words used for honorific inscriptions were usually those used on a daily basis, at least by the people of Rome.

Hölscher recognises that images on the level of pragmatics stimulate the active participation of the recipients, who according to their own knowledge, understand the images in a certain way, reinterpreting them according to their cultural framework. The active participation of the recipients in reinterpreting the images delivered by the senders was even more important when the relationship between figurative art and epigraphy is considered. This was not only because active participation was necessary when a translation (sign to language) of the epigraphic abbreviations (e.g. '*cos*' in *consul*) was required, but also, as I will show in the remaining sections of Part I, because the syntactic strategy used by senders in the Roman dedicatory inscriptions was intentionally aimed at seeking the active participation of the recipient in restoring the sentence structure by including the image itself in its syntax.

DIE MACHT DER WÖRTER AND MA'S GRAMMAR INTERFACE

In the dialogue between art and text, many other questions arise, and one of the most intriguing is whether it is possible to benefit from their relationship to investigate the evolution of Roman art. In fact, some modern scholars propose that there was no stylistic

norm that regulated Roman figurative art, especially during the social and political events of the Late Republic, which even brought Zanker, even, to talk about 'contradiction imagery'.[25] This view leads to a series of problems when, for example, Zanker explores the artistic tenets of the Augustan order. He avoids explaining the process of the passage of the 'Macht der Bilder' from the Roman Republic to the Principate. That the Roman Republic had a 'Macht der Bilder' system is without doubt, and the Augustan age inherited its mechanics, changing the contents into a well-accepted system. In fact, image and inscription were complementary to the extent that the *Res Gestae* was not just a large inscription, but a monument composed of powerful visual signs. The power of images belonging to imperial art was due to the fact that they were organised in a harmonious set of norms originating from the central source of authority and no longer antagonised by other subjects.

The difficulty of outlining the 'Macht der Bilder' of the figurative art belonging to the Roman Republic can be ascribed to two factors: first, the plurality of subjects involved in creating their own recipe for a powerful visual and textual communicative system – such as Marius and Sulla or Pompey and Caesar, but which can be traced back far beyond the first century BC – hindered the creation of a system such as the one that existed during the Principate; and, second, and most importantly, an analysis that takes into account the role of inscriptions in the figurative art has never been fully explored so far.

To corroborate the idea of 'Macht der Bilder' in the Augustan political setting, Jas Elsner engaged with the deep correlation between the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* and the Mausoleum of Augustus.[26] In this work, Elsner undertook a textual analysis of the *Res Gestae*, showing the 'Macht der Wörter' of the inscribed text and their reception by a large part of the people, and not only in Rome. The importance of this analysis relies on

[25] Zanker 1988, 1–31.
[26] Elsner 1996.

the study of the monumental inscriptions in connection with the surrounding space and other monuments and how the audience responded.[27] Elsner's viewpoint, unlike Nicolet's emphasis on the factual and geographical nature of the *Res Gestae*, recognises how the inscription was a catalyst for the highly symbolic building programme of Augustus.[28] In this sense, Elsner recognises that:

> the impression of a stable and monumental empire achieved by Augustan art and architecture was established both through the power of images and – perhaps even more so – through the power of those epigraphic texts which defined what the images meant.[29]

Elsner's analysis is far from theorising a linguistic framework that can blend text and art as a single set. Yet, his work greatly contributes to emphasising the specific contribution of the inscription in relation to the Mausoleum of Augustus and other monuments. A further major point achieved by Elsner's analysis is the need to drop a formalist approach to Roman art in favour of a more complex integration with other elements such as texts and topography, thus proposing an interpretative model for approaching Augustan monuments. However, Elsner's analysis has a very limited application, focusing only on the rare case of the *Res Gestae*, a highly exceptional monumental inscription, and does not lay out a more general methodology for approaching the combination of inscriptions and artworks as a unique set.

The cases analysed by John Ma's *Statues and Cities* carry on the discussion of the relationship between art and text to investigate honorific practice in Hellenistic cities. Although Ma's analysis focuses more specifically on the relationship between the senders

[27] Elsner 1996, 32–53; Huet 1996 9–31.
[28] Nicolet 1991, 17: 'The *Res Gestae* is not a text with symbolic or allegorical inclinations, rather it is a factual exposé of great sobriety'. 57: 'Its geography was factual and not allegorical. It was based on the actual lay of the land, marking precise boundaries, indicating directions and almost including distances.'
[29] Elsner 1996, 40.

and receivers of honours, the methodology adopted shows an interesting nexus between epigraphy and the history of art and archaeology. Considering the three levels of semiotics, namely semantics, pragmatics and syntactics, Ma focuses on the last one, but in a different way, by demonstrating that a grammatical approach to inscriptions belonging to honorific statues reveals a qualitative relationship between different actors. In this model, the interaction between communities and εὐεργέται through Ma's grammatical approach has a privileged role with regard to understanding the meaning(s) of the compositions' message(s).[30] Ma's *Statues and Cities* attempted to demonstrate through the grammatical analysis of inscriptions engraved on statue bases that in the relationship between the community and the patrons the community took precedence. The hierarchical relationships between communities and benefactors are determined by the language and syntactic construction of the inscriptions on the statue bases, in which nominative and accusative cases define their structure.[31] The grammar (in semiotics 'code'), which is the structure and rules of a specific language, in this case Greek, determines the hierarchy and function of the individual honoured. For example, regardless of the grammatical structure of a sentence, gods and heroes could be rendered in the inscription using the nominative case to emphasise their importance ('reverential' nominative), or for important men and athletes ('great men' nominative), in Ma's words.[32] In other words, the nominative case in an inscription had an intrinsic value regardless of its grammatical function within the sentence.

In other circumstances in which the main actor of the dedication was not a god or a powerful man, but a benefactor or a rich notable, it was the community that put up the dedication. In this case, the inscription for the honoured was rendered with the accusative

[30] Ma 2013. Ma's work does not focus on Roman materials; however, it is considered in relation to the methodology the author adopts.
[31] Ma 2006, 203–20. Cf. Veyne 1962, 49–98.
[32] Ma 2013, 21–2.

case. This epigraphic choice (or the 'politic of the accusative') shows that in this kind of dedication the community was the protagonist of dedications by controlling the grammatical cases of the inscriptions it rendered.[33]

In this sense, the grammatical approach proposed by Ma privileges the civic agency as the protagonist in honouring an individual with a statue, emphasising the main role of the collectivity in this connection, expressed in the nominative case, whereas the honoured is indicated as the object in the accusative case. This hierarchical syntax is not complete without its collocation in space and place, in which the 'topographical serialisation' of honorific statues tends to restrain individuals' significance following an analogous process Ma defined as the 'grammar of space'.[34] Hence, the topographical component of honorific statues exalts communal values that are built through the combined interests of the collectivity and individuals.[35]

A significant difference with Hellenistic *poleis* is that the push and pull between the collectivity and individuals in Rome did not result in a subordination of individuals to the collectivity. Yet, the co-dependency of the collectivity and individuals played a key role in constructing social identity through the mutual participation of both groups in their religious, political and social rites.[36] Further, the topographical arrangement of monuments in the Hellenistic *poleis*, as suggested by Ma, shows the hierarchical prominence of community over the individual through the serialisation of the honorary statues.[37] The monumental topography of Rome, instead, follows a more complex pattern,

[33] Ma 2013, 49–55.
[34] Ma 2013, 130–5 follows the questions of H. Lefebvre's *La production de l'espace* (1974, 154), offering his 'grammar' model.
[35] Ma 2013, 231–4.
[36] A characteristic of the republican (civic) rituals is the complementary role of the actors and spectators in building the performance practices: see Hölkeskamp 2006, 326.
[37] Ma 2013, 125.

ingrained in a system of meanings that changes in time and space, and which often coexists in more than a single place and historical period.

Nevertheless, Ma's methodology can be partly applied, with due precautions, to the Roman case. First, it is useful for considering the artwork not as a 'caption' but an element that cooperates with its inscription, yet taking into account the differences in framework between the Hellenistic *poleis* and Rome. Secondly, as is the case for the Hellenistic *poleis*, it is fundamental to consider the peculiar negotiation of Roman cultural identity as something constantly produced by a 'resistance' against heterogeneous forces, external or internal, that assailed the social body.[38] This scenario fostered the creation of a dynamic cultural backdrop that could be moulded to suit different needs, compatibly with new social and political evolutions. Third, Ma's analysis relies mainly on those texts having a long and complex structure and which are suitable for his syntactic interface. In contrast to the long inscriptions that Ma analyses, the Roman Republican inscriptions that are used along with statues, portraits and monuments present a very different syntactic structure.

The few Republican inscriptions are usually concise and limited in their syntactic structure compared with the Hellenistic and imperial ones.[39] Therefore, the deliberate inclusion of each element in a very limited space has a significant impact on the message conveyed by the whole text. In fact, the conciseness of the inscriptions does not prevent the analysis of their construction, whatever their length and complexity; Roman inscriptions contain elaborate meanings that can emerge even from very short examples.

[38] Wallace-Hadrill opened his work *Rome's Cultural Revolution* (2008, 3) with the significant example of Ennius' *tria corda* (Greek, Oscan and Latin) described by Aulus Gellius (*NA* 17.17.1) showing the complexity of the identity negotiation. In relation to the social and political evolution, it refers especially to the political implications of the *Leges Liciniae Sextiae* (367 BC) and to the same, more generally, from the fourth century onwards.
[39] Salomies 2015, 153–77, especially 173–4. Panciera 2007 is fundamental in retracing the evolution of epigraphic style and its semantics between the republican and imperial periods.

To understand the significance of an inscription, it is crucial to compare words and phrases with other words and phrases and with other non-textual elements. The major difference with Ma's analysis is that, in many cases, Greek inscriptions can contain enough information in their longer text. By knowing Greek language, everybody could read and understand their inscriptions. Conversely, Roman inscriptions contain elaborate meanings, even in short examples. To discern the meanings of Roman inscriptions, it was necessary to be familiar with patterns that only emerge from a large corpus of inscriptions, enabling comparison between different examples. However, most importantly, it was necessary to integrate non-textual elements as part of the inscription syntax.

The relationship between textual and non-textual elements in inscriptions transcends the text as such, but strong links between textual and visual elements are required in order to produce a single narrative that promotes specific strategies of communication. The syntactic structure's strength and efficacy derive from the high level of versatility that it possesses, which allows for a deliberate adoption of a syntactic connection between the words and the image *ad hoc*. This means that the textual formula used has as much variation as the Latin language allows.

The limited space used by Roman inscriptions, however, restricts the textual formula to the essential elements of the deed commemorated, that is, the nominative and the verb, and only includes other cases depending on the purpose to be achieved. The space available for text may appear to be limited but, in fact, the syntax of the inscription uses the visual object and the topographical position of the monument, both of which supply information not explicitly spelled out in the inscription.

In the following sections I will explore how the mechanics of integrating non-textual elements into the inscription syntax work. Through my syntactic approach, the creation of a unique and consistent narrative shows what self-presentation strategy was selected, as dictated by the political strategy adopted. For example, aristocratic lineage

may be emphasised through filiation in those inscriptions belonging to distinguished *gentes*, whereas for *homines novi* political authority and achievement may be particularly stressed by the offices held. There are a multitude of possibilities and combinations: military deeds through the mention of the location conquered; munificence through the presence of the subject's donation; civic and political importance through the sum of consulships held by the individual, and so on.

The ultimate goal of my syntactic model is to enhance our understanding on the reasons behind the specific choice of what to express in words and what to leave out in a composition composed of both textual and visual elements. In fact, the syntactic structure has the potential to increase our understanding of the self-promotion strategies used by the dedicators of honorific monuments. These strategies of communication offer to their audience an interpretative guideline for reading the whole composition through the hierarchical order of importance suggested by its various elements, whether included or implied.

GENERAL PREMISES OF THE SYNTACTIC MODEL

The pattern of Roman republican dedicatory inscriptions is quite simple. These inscriptions usually contain a subject (rendered in the nominative case), the typical filiation that grammatically corresponds to the apposition of the subject, a transitive verb of the sentence and an ablative of separation that indicates the location from where the item was taken (Leucadus, Enna or another city). It is evident that in such a sentence there is something missing. Although the subject of the action, the action and the location are there, there is no trace of the direct object, which, however, must be present due to the transitive verb. In many cases, the recipient of the dedications is also absent, although it is not compulsory for the sentence consistency. The missing elements must be searched

for in non-textual elements and the artwork itself becomes the direct object of the sentence because it is related to the action expressed by the sentence verb (i.e. *capere* or *dare*). In this sense, the artwork assumes the syntactic role as the 'visual accusative'; the physical space in which the artwork was placed might define a metaphorical dative of interest.

The deliberate omission of words by the dedicators has the effect of creating a 'tension' for those who read an apparently incomplete sentence, leaving to the audience the task of completing the meaning. In completing the message, the audience are pushed to look at non-textual elements as part of the inscription's syntax in order to close the textual gap. Hence, the participation of the audience is fundamental and complementary to the metaphorical creation of a syntax that considers both textual and non-textual elements.

Here, an example is called for. A dedicatory inscription carved on the base of a statue by Lucius Quinctius Flamininus at Praeneste in 192 BC offers a concrete example of how non-textual elements are metaphorically part of the syntax:

[L. Quinctius L(uci) f(ilius) Le]ucado cepit / [eidem conso]l dedit.[40]
Lucius Quinctius, son of Lucius, took from Leucadus, he gave as consul.

The first observation is that this category of inscriptions is commonly translated with the inclusion of the direct object in the form of 'this', despite its absence from the text. For example, this inscription is usually translated in manuals and books as: *Lucius Quinctius, son of Lucius took this as booty from Leucas; he likewise made a gift of it when he was consul* (Warmington 1940, 77); or *L. Quinctius, son of Lucius, took this from Leucadus. He gave it as consul* (Riggsby 2006, 218). The word 'this' is absent from the Latin text and should not be translated whatsoever. Including the word 'this' in the translation could, apparently, be correct to reconstruct the meaning of the sentence. However, its inclusion

[40] *CIL* I^2 613. See Appendix, no. 4.

downplays and undermines the significance of the artwork and its relationship with the inscription.[41]

Although the inclusion of 'this' in translations is common practice and can be useful to provide a full understanding of the inscription's texts, it nevertheless affects the meaning of the whole composition because it deprives the real object, the artwork, of its syntactic function. It is important, therefore, to approach the translation of the text of the inscription exclusively from what is actually present in order to understand the interconnection between object and text.[42] Accordingly, my translation is: *Lucius Quinctius, son of Lucius, took from Leucadus, he gave as consul*.

The second observation is that the missing elements that complete the meaning of the sentence and, in fact, of the whole composition, are the accusative dependent on *cepit* (to take) and the dative of interest implied by *dedit* (to give). The accusative can be integrated with the artwork itself, which assumes the role of a 'visual accusative', acting as a surrogate for the textual accusative. Conversely, the textual absence of the dative can be reintegrated by the physical space in which the composition was placed, which points to its destinatary: for example, to the people of a city, if it was set in a public space, to a god, if it was set in a temple. In this syntactic system, both space and audience can assume the role of metaphorical datives. As datives, space and audience not only contribute to completing the meaning of the sentence, but they also strengthen the effectiveness of the dedication message. In this specific case, the Temple of Fortuna Primigenia provides the identification of the indirect object of the composition – the goddess – although this is absent from the text of the inscription. The citizens of Praeneste are the audience looking

[41] In fact, in the *La Trahison des images* by Magritte, determining the relationship between the image and the demonstrative pronoun, '*ceci*' can be particularly controversial The Roman dedicator did not want such ambiguity.

[42] The translations of all inscriptions are mine, without reporting cases not included in the text. In my translations the nominative might present the *cognomen* of the subject, for example, (Marcellus), (Nobilior) etc., to clarify for the reader who the individuals mentioned are.

at this dedication, and they take up the role of the dative of advantage because they indirectly benefit from the consumption of the artwork. The two metaphorical datives represented by space and audience, respectively, do not necessarily overlap. In fact, they assume two different functions: whereas the indirect object exalts directly the relationship of the *Quinctii* with Fortuna Primigenia,[43] the dative of advantage shows the sphere of influence of the *Quinctii* in Praeneste.[44]

The significance of this model in reconstructing the connections between art and text based on a syntactic structure is not a mere intellectual exercise. Its applicability to the honorific dedications has several implications for our understanding of Roman culture and its artistic production. In the first instance, this model can be very helpful in highlighting the complexity and the novelty of the artistic and epigraphic output that the Roman political culture produced. Second, it negates the idea that republican artworks are completely lost, as the most are intellectually inclined to consider. Inscriptions and artworks were conceived as a whole by their patrons and consumed as a whole by their viewers. This means that inscriptions should not be considered as any different from fragments that remain of a statue or monument. By considering inscriptions as fragments of otherwise lost artworks, it is possible to collect more information about the style and the iconography of a monument, no less than an arm, a torso or a capital can provide.

This syntactic model exploits the mechanics of how the text of an inscription has a syntactic link with its artwork. In most of the inscriptions related to spoils, as is demonstrated in the next part of this section, there are no textual accusatives to complete the significance of the verbs in the sentences. The apparently missing direct object exists,

[43] The relationship between the *Quincti* and Fortuna is attested also from a dedication carved on an altar: *CIL* I^2 656 *Fortuna*[(*e*) - - -] / *sac*[(*rum*) - - -] / *T. Quincti*[- - - *de*] / *Senati sente*[*ntiae* - - -].

[44] Clientships and political connections between the *Quinctii* and the citizens of Praeneste began in 380 BC and were started by Titus Quinctius Cincinnatus Capitolinus. See Demma 2011 for a broader discussion of the *Quinctii*, esp. 40–1.

but in a visual form. This intentional omission would avoid the redundancy of repeating the direct object textually, because it is present visually. The missing direct object pushes the audience to participate in order to complete the meaning of the sentence with the inclusion of the visual object as a figurative direct object of the sentence.

The model presented can offer significant insight into the reception of the artworks and inscriptions. The interplay between text and artwork can help us understand how the audience understood and interacted with the honorific practice. When they approached a monument, a complex or any brand new or refurbished building, they searched for the inscriptions. Once found, the viewers could fully appreciate and understand the significance of the whole composition. This is suggested not only by the ubiquitous presence of inscriptions or graffiti that have been found in many kinds of contexts – public, private, sacred and funerary – but also by the attention paid by ancient historians to reporting the presence (or absence) of inscriptions connected to specific monuments.[45] A fundamental element to consider is that the chief aim of writing an inscription is that it should be read. It was crucial in antiquity to carve on a monument your own name as an inscription that could be read and understood by other people. The result of including the visual elements of the artwork in the verbal syntax of the inscriptions was to reinforce the reception of their combined message by its audience.

Monuments were political 'weapons', capable of communicating with their audience.[46] The messages they conveyed could be accepted or rejected but, in any case, the audience were exposed to them. As discussed above, Hölscher demonstrated that different styles became associated with Roman ideals and, thus, were instruments for

[45] The inscriptions of Anicius at Praeneste (Livy 23.19.17–18); or the absence of Metellus Macedonicus' inscription on the two temples of his portico Velleius Paterculus (1.11.4).
[46] For the concept of monuments as weapons and the inevitable exposition of this Hölscher 2006, 27–8, 2018. The visual power was emphasised also by Herod. 1.8.2. In Arist. *Pol.* 7.1336b it is argued that visual images can have a potential corrupting effect. See also Freedberg 1989, 50. Gregory 1994, 83–8.

complex political communication. The construction of a system of meanings, attached to different styles of Roman art monuments, responded to the need to represent different political viewpoints. By including in this analysis those inscriptions that were attached to these kinds of monuments, it is possible to answer *why*, in the first place, a determined style was chosen to represent a specific political claim and, thus, to understand the artistic evolution of honorific production in republican Rome.

The influence of political developments on the artistic production in Rome is widely recognised from the mid-Republic to the Late Republic. However, it would be a daunting and misguided task to only look at single events to explain why a monument has a certain style. Conversely, the syntax between monuments and inscriptions can enhance this reconstruction by looking at the variation of words used, reconnecting, in some measure, the *fil rouge* that followed the path of artistic choices for the honorific dedications and that was abruptly interrupted by the sparse and insufficient evidence that survived after the Republic.

The syntactic model I have outlined linking epigraphic texts with statues as objects can also be applied to parameters that are used in the analysis of figurative art: style and iconography. The result of integrating the written language into a visual communicative system built around different styles associated with Roman ideals (Hölscher's semantic system) shows in a more direct way the political strategy adopted by the dedicators of artwork in promoting their achievements. For example, the name of an individual paired with the word '*consul*' unmistakably shows his personal achievements, represented by the highest office of the *cursus honorum*. The *habitus*, the set of cloths and items that someone wore and that were connected with his social status, would likely have included the *toga praetexta* on his honorary statue, emphasising the civic aspect of his *cursus*

honorum, rather than the *toga picta,* which was connected with military achievements (*imperium* and triumph).[47]

Art needs text to narrow down its range of potential meanings. Yet, the inscriptions of Roman honorific dedications analysed here need artworks to complete their message and they can be combined through the syntax. When an artwork becomes a grammatical component of its inscription's syntax, it behaves like a word and it complements the message of the whole composition.

Every word contains one or more concepts or gives information. For example, the word '*consul*' means the highest office of the Roman republican political system. A series of words creates a sentence. For example, the previous inscription has: *Quinctius, son of Lucius, Leucas, took, consul* and *gave*. Latin syntax organises each word and its meanings to form logical relationships among themselves and create a coherent message: *Quinctius, son of Lucius, took* (what?) *from Leucadus, he gave as consul*. To complete its logical meaning, this sentence requires a direct object that is missing from the text, but is present in a concrete form: the object placed over the inscription base. By making the artwork act as a surrogate for the direct object in the syntax, the sentence is complete, and the message is restored. Once the artwork becomes a metaphorical word of the sentence, with its own grammatical case (a visual accusative in this specific example) it has, like any other word, its own 'meaning'.

The words of the inscription are signs, which are arranged through their code (the grammatical rules of their specific language) to communicate specific messages to anyone who can read Latin. Artworks too are signs, but their arrangement through their code (the figurative language used in that specific period and location) in order to convey specific message is harder to analyse. This is because the code of language is defined by

[47] On the importance of *habitus* as identity in the Roman statuary between the second and first centuries BC Cadario 2010, 115–124.

precise norms, whereas the code of the figurative language is not. By including the artwork in the syntax, it is easier to rebuild the specific message of the whole composition because the precise code (grammatical rules) of Latin can be used to engage both the artwork and the inscription as a unique set.

The 'meaning' of the artwork, once included in the syntax, is manifested by its stylistic form and its iconography, which are the vehicles used by the artwork's concrete visual form to represent a range of general values and ideals.[48] When the artwork is metaphorically included in the syntax, its 'meaning' (stylistic form and iconography) does no longer need to work as a stand-alone object, but is complementary to the other parts of the inscription. The narrative created by the text and artwork in a single syntax is capable of guiding its audience through the complexity of the inscription.

In semiotic terms, the physical traits (denotation) of a statue of *togatus* is for us, as for ancient audiences, the statue of a man wearing a toga. However, its conceptual meaning (connotation) opens up a spectrum of interpretations that will be different according to the personal cultural codes of the viewers and the cultural framework of the statue's context. Inscriptions assist in restricting the various conceptual meanings that might originate from a 'mute' image, making it instead into what the sender actually wanted to communicate to his recipients. If there were no inscription, the conceptual meaning of the *togatus* statue might represent the citizenship of an individual, a magistrate, the passage of a young boy to manhood or a candidate standing for election. Even if the colours of the toga were present, the message would be ambiguous. The representation of a man with a coloured toga might offer an extra level of detail, for instance on his status, rank or office; it is still, however, a silent image in front of spectators. By including the words of an inscription in the conceptual message of the

[48] Hölscher 1987.

statue, the result is to provide the recipients with a clear and understandable narrative. Words combined with an image guide the recipients through the infinite meanings embodied by the image, restricting its spectrum of meanings to one aspect (or a limited number of aspects) that the senders wanted to communicate. In this sense, it is easier for senders and recipients to communicate through both image and text rather than only a 'mute' image, because of the powerful impact of language. Language not only completes the narrative of an image, restoring its visual power, but also provides the prerequisite knowledge, which the image itself does not possess, to make the message that is carried intelligible by its audience.

An example, discussed in depth in Part II, of an intelligible message as result of the combination of artwork and inscription is the inscribed statues of the praetor Marcus Anicius in Praeneste. The only source we know is Livy (23.19.17–18), who informs us that in 216 BC a series of statues and inscriptions was erected in the forum of Praeneste and in the Temple of Fortune to honour Anicius, who managed to bring the Praenestine soldiers back home safely, after the siege of Casilinum by Hannibal. Livy's account describes the statue in the forum as a sum of interesting iconographical elements: Anicius was depicted *capite velato*, wearing both the toga and a cuirass placed underneath it. It was a rather unusual and potentially confusing iconographic choice. The inscription reported by Livy, 'M. Anicius had fulfilled his vow for the safety of his soldiers who defended the garrison at Casilinum' combines the three iconographic elements of the statue in one logical and harmonious narrative. In the inscription, all the steps of Anicius' adventure are represented: the citizen Anicius is shown by his togate statue awarded by his fellow citizens for his public service; the vow he made to bring back his soldiers is represented by his covered head; and, finally, his courage in the defence of Casilinum is represented by the cuirass.

The syntax harmonises the meaning of each word and even the metaphorical words deliver a consistent and logic message. Accordingly, stylistic form and its iconography of an artwork included in the sentence are subject to the syntax, which organises their meaning to work with the other elements of the sentence. That is to say, by altering the words of an inscription, the 'meaning' of the artwork constituted by its style and iconography is affected too.

THE VISUAL ACCUSATIVE AS A SYNTACTIC STRATEGY: THE CASE OF MARCELLUS

The inscription *CIL* I^2 608 relating to Claudius Marcellus (end of the third century BC) offers an ideal test-case in which textual and non-textual elements can be analysed in the proposed syntactic structure: namely, how the visual object becomes part of its syntax. The test-case shows the potential that my syntactic model can offer for analysing epigraphic dedicatory examples, including a second coeval inscription relating to Marcellus (*CIL* I^2 609). Indeed, these two texts offer the chance to observe the dynamism of the self-promotion strategies used by patrons in their dedications. The inscriptions of Marcellus are not an isolated case, but fit into a customary pattern used by many other victorious commanders from the third and second centuries BC. The interplay between text and art was, therefore, a generally accepted system, used by patrons, and understood and consumed by viewers.

The contact point between art and text is established by the role that the artwork acquires if considered within the inscription. By integrating the missing direct object of the inscription with its related artwork, the sentence's syntax is completed by the 'visual accusative', which completes the message of the composition. The integration of the artwork with the inscription's syntax, however, is triggered only by the participation of the audience in reading, looking at and consuming the whole composition. In fact, without

the active participation of an audience familiar with the Latin language, eliciting the meaning conveyed by the artwork and inscriptions of these dedications would not be possible. The contemporary audience were surely accustomed to this process, and their participation was mandatory, as will be discussed later on. For us, the process may not be prompted naturally. In order to rebuild the original meaning of the composition it is necessary to approach the artworks and their inscriptions in the same fashion in which their original audience would have done, and with the same mechanics with which these compositions were conceived during their own time.

THREE ELEMENTS OF THE INSCRIPTION

An epigraphic dedication belonging to a series of inscriptions from victorious commanders who conquered cities during the third and second centuries BC shows both the conciseness and the syntactic co-dependency of the textual elements and the object displayed. The inscription and dedication, now lost, but recorded in *CIL*, was found in Rome on the Esquiline. It was set up after the conquest of Enna in 214 BC by M. Claudius Marcellus, *consul quinquies*, conqueror of Syracuse:

M(arcus) Claudius M(arci) f(ilius) / consol / Hinnad cepit.[49]

Like L. Quinctius Flamininus' inscription in Praeneste, this inscription is commonly translated with the inclusion of the direct object in the form of 'this', despite its absence from the text. For example: *Marcus Claudius, consul, son of Marcus, took <u>this as booty</u> from Henna* (Warmington 1940, 77); or *M. Claudius, son of Marcus, consul, took <u>this</u> from Hinna* (Riggsby 2006, 218). The word 'this' is not present in Latin, and such an omission is respected in my translation in order to better understand the interconnection

[49] Rome; *CIL* I^2, 608. Extensive bibliography in Cadario 2005. See also Edwards 2003 on the displays of spoils as art in Rome. See Appendix, no. 1.

between the object dedicated by Marcellus and its inscriptions. A different translation is thus possible:

> Marcus Claudius (Marcellus), son of Marcus, consul, took from Enna.

This inscription was carved on a base of a piece of artwork taken from Enna and displayed in Rome to celebrate the conquest of the city by Marcellus in 214 BC through the combination of the inscription and the artwork.[50] The text of the inscription is composed of three lines and elements present in the text are grammatically incomplete: the dedicator is expressed in the nominative case followed by the filiation; the status of the dedicator as *consul* is in apposition to the subject; and the active perfect of *capere* together with the ablative of separation identifies the location from which the object dedicated was taken.[51] Missing from this textual construction are at least two elements: the accusative direct object dependent on *cepit*; and the dative of interest, implied by the dedicatory nature of the inscription. The former is syntactically presented as the object dedicated, which plays the role of a visual accusative. The latter is metaphorically defined by the topographical position in an urban context, which, in turn, defines the kind of audience that the whole composition was addressing: the people of Rome.

The analysis of this inscription is here divided into three parts, each of which corresponds to the three lines that constitute the text: the nominative and filiation in the first; the apposition of the subject in the second; and the verb with the ablative of separation in the third.

FIRST LINE: THE NOMINATIVE AND FILIATION

[50] See Livy 24.39 for the narrative of the conquest of Enna.
[51] A first approach to foreign names of cities conquered by Roman people happened during the during the *pompa triumphalis.* See Östenberg 2009b; Tarpin 2011. 683–84; Cadario 2011, 31–2; Cadario 2014, 86–7.

In the first line, the name of the dedicator, *Marcus Claudius* (Marcellus), along with his filiation, is indicated by the nominative case. The hierarchical order created by the syntax suggests the grammatical function of the nominative case as the subject of the action, with the name of Marcellus directly presenting him as the main actor of the whole composition. The filiation, which is rarely omitted in this category of inscriptions, subsequently follows Marcellus' name, completing its semantics.[52]

In this concise inscription, the filiation assumes a meaningful role in strengthening the relationship between the Claudii Marcelli and the Urbs. The Claudii Marcelli family had already produced two consuls: Marcus Claudius Marcellus in 331 BC and his son Marcus Claudius Marcellus in 287 BC. The latter was also the grandfather of the conqueror of Syracuse. The filiation *Marci filius* works both as reminder of the two consulships obtained by Claudius Marcellus' ancestors, and as a means of overshadowing an embarrassing episode related to the consul of 331, who was at the centre of a controversy during his appointment as dictator in 327 BC in spite of his plebeian lineage.[53]

The filiation of the Claudii Marcelli assumed more emphatic tones during the second century BC with M. Claudius Marcellus, consul in 166, 155 and 152 BC and grandson of the five-times consul. He erected three statues near the Temple of Honos and Virtus depicting himself, his father and his grandfather (the *consul quinquies*), and set up an inscription reported by Asconius that read 'III MARCELLI NOVIES COSS'.[54]

[52] The few exceptions include CIL I^2 625 Corneli(us) / Scipio /Cartha(gine) / capta; CIL I^2 627 L. Mummius cos. / vico; CIL I^2 628 L. Mumius / co(n)s(ul) ded(it) N(ursinis); CIL I^2 629 L. Mummius / co(n)s(ul) p(opulo) P(armensi); CIL I^2 631 L. Mummius / co(n)s(ul) Achea capta. These inscriptions were not located in Rome and they follow different self-promotion strategies. The first case adopts the Saturnian meter, typical of the Scipionic epitaphs and inscriptions, in which the filiation is not always canonically used. Through the chiastic position (ABBA) of its textual elements, the inscription emphasises the role of Scipio in conquering Carthagine. Mummius' tituli will be addressed later in this section. See Graverini 2001.
[53] Livy 8.23.14–17. Cf. Oakley 2005, 84–5.
[54] Asc. *Pis.* 12.15–19. See Sehlmeyer 1999, 163–5; Papini 2004, 401–2; Cadario 2005, 165–6; Lewis 2006, 24–5.

In the case of the triple statue, the filiation is not mentioned in the text, but is highly emphasised by the visual juxtaposition of the statues of the three *Marcelli* that a Roman reader might reconstruct as *M. Claudius Marcellus, Marci filius, Marci nepos*. Thus, textual elements strengthen the continuation of a successful career among members of this family, exalting their important role in the Republic through the total of their consulships (*honores*).

The filiation, *filius* and *nepos*, recalling illustrious predecessors, emphasises and confirms the prestigious socio-political status of the protagonist of the dedication. This strategy had been adopted in the inscription belonging to Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, consul in 189 BC, after his victory against the Aetolians and the capture of the Greek city of Ambracia.

M(arcus) Folvius M(arci) f(ilius) / Ser(vi) n(epos) Nobilior / co(n)s(ul) Ambracia cepit.[55]

Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, son of Marcus, grandson of Servius, consul, took from Ambracia.

The grandfather of M. Fulvius Nobilior was Servius Fulvius Paetinus, consul in 255 BC, who celebrated a triumph for the victory over Cossyra and a naval triumph over the Carthaginians in 254 BC as proconsul.[56] The long filiation bridged the triumph celebrated by Fulvius Paetinus with the one of his grandson, showing a continuity of the *gens Fulvia* in defeating powerful enemies of Rome. Furthermore, the parallelism between Nobilior and his grandfather emphasises the consulships that both had held and, at the same time,

[55] Rome, *CIL* I^2 615; Ruck 2004, 485. It is possible that the base and its artwork were dedicated to the Muses in the *Aedes Herculis Musarum*, which was erected by the same M. Fulvius Nobilior. Cf. Cic. *Arch.* 11.17; Plin. *HN* 35.66. Cf. *CIL* I^2 616, Marcus F(ulvius) M(arci) f(ilius)/Ser(vi) n(epos) co(n)s(ul)/Aetolia cepit: a base found in Tusculum's theatre, probably a copy belonging to the Augustan age. See Appendix, no. 5.

[56] Zonar. (Cass. Dio XI) 8.14; Polyb. 1.36.10; Livy 42.20.1; Fasti triumphales: Ser(vius) Fulvius M(arci) f(ilius) M(arci) n(epos) Paetinus a(nno) CDX[CIX]/Nobilior pro co(n)s(ule) de Cossurensibus/et Poeneis navalem egit XIII K(alendas) Febr(uarias).

overshadows the lesser prestige of his father, who did not obtain such an office. In Roman honorific inscriptions, filiation is usually expressed with the father's initial only. In Nobilior's case, however, the slightly less usual choice of including both father and grandfather suggests that the aim of the subtle strategy conveyed is to emphasise specific members and, therefore, their achievements.

A similar strategy was also adopted by the Claudii Marcelli. The evidence is reported by Asconius with the statuary group inscription citing the *III Marcelli novies coss*. The strategy adopted seems to point to the numeric sum of the consulships held by the three members. In this sense, the presence of the illustrious grandfather Marcellus as well as of the father was fundamental in promoting the political weight of the Marcelli and in counterbalancing the unexceptional single consulship that Marcellus' father held in 196 BC.[57] In this case, the strategy adopted to promote and advertise the role of the Claudii Marcelli is even more evident because Marcellus' consulship in 215 BC is included in the total: he was forced to resign after a bad omen.[58]

Similarly to Marcellus' and Nobilior's inscriptions, a substantial number of honorific inscriptions belonging to victorious generals follow this syntactic strategy in displaying the nominative and the filiation in the first line of the text.[59] Thus, not only was the prestige of individuals celebrated through the main position of their names but, in addition, their achievements were framed as a reflection and consequence of being a member of illustrious *gentes* and *familiae*, which were evoked and brought into the action through filiation. In our inscription, then, Marcellus followed an established pattern that emphasised his noble lineage.

[57] Asc. *Pis.* 44; 12 C. See Cadario 2005, 165. Cf. Flower 2000 46–7 for the consulship held by Marcellus' descendants.
[58] Livy 23.31.12–14; Plut. *Marc.* 12.1. See Flower 1996, 71–2.
[59] E.g. *CIL* I^2 48; *CIL* I^2, 608; *CIL* I^2, 623; *CIL* I^2, 615; *CIL* I^2, 616; *CIL* I^2, 2926; *AE* 1993, 0643; *CIL* I^2 613; *CIL* I^2 626; *CIL* I^2 622.

SECOND LINE: THE APPOSITION

In the second line of *CIL* I^2 608, the apposition completes and identifies the subject as *consul*. The apposition following the name is almost ubiquitous in republican honorific inscriptions, qualifying the status of the subject of the dedication with his office. In the case of M. Claudius Marcellus' inscription, *consul* stands alone between the first and third lines. Its position in the line helps to emphasise the meaning of the word, at the same time stressing the relevance of the office obtained by Claudius and members of his family. In other words, the function of the consulship displayed in such a way is not merely limited to emphasising the prestigious office held, but also establishes the connection between his name and the action of the verb in the third line. It was Marcellus' consulship that gave him the authority to lead Rome's army and capture booty to dedicate.[60]

The consulship, expressed syntactically as the apposition of subject, was specifically used as a leitmotif by the Claudii Marcelli in promoting their achievements. For example, the textual strategy adopted by the inscription of the *tres Marcelli novies consules* focuses on the total of the consulates achieved by three members of the family. The adoption of this syntactic strategy persists and is emphasised over time in other inscriptions, connecting the conqueror of Syracuse (*CIL* I^2 608 and *CIL* I^2 609 *Martei / M(arcus) Claudius M(arci) f(ilius) / consol dedit*) to his descendants. For instance, the grandson M. Claudius Marcellus, who was consul in 155 BC, erected his statue in the Forum of Luna[61] to celebrate his victory against the Apuani, a Ligurian community.[62]

M. Claudius M(arci) f(ilius) Marcelus / consol iterum.[63]

[60] For the booty used by M. Claudius Marcellus as 'cultural capital', in the words of Bourdieu 1984, 53–4, see Holliday 2002, 196–7. Cf. Riggsby 2006, 196–7; Beck 2011, 77–96.
[61] Livy 41.13.4–5 for the foundation of the colony of Luna in 177 BC.
[62] Cf. Fasti Triumphales: *[M(arcus) Claudius M(arci) f(ilius)] M(arci) n(epos) Marcellus II co[(n)s(ul)] II a(nno) DX[CIIX] [de ---]us et Apua[neis ---]*; *MRR* I, 448; See also Angeli Bertinelli 1983; Sehlmeyer 1999, 112.
[63] *CIL* I^2 623.

Marcus Claudius Marcellus, son of Marcus, consul for the second time.

The legacy of the consulships held by the Claudii Marcelli is still present and evoked during the middle of the first century BC with a *denarius* minted by the *triumvir monetalis* P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus in 50 BC that shows on the reverse the episode of the *spolia opima* obtained by M. Claudius Marcellus at Clastidium in 222 BC and dedicated to the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius with the inscription *Marcellus cos quinq(uies)*.[64]

In both inscriptions of Marcellus and Nobilior, the consulship (*consol* and *consul*) are placed on the second line; yet, they have slightly different meanings. The second line of Nobilior's inscription includes both the filiation and the consulship to link his office with his famous grandfather, Paetinus, who was victorious against the Carthaginians. This establishes a connection with his own deeds in capturing Ambracia, overshadowing the criticism as to how he conducted his war.[65] Conversely, M. Claudius Marcellus' consulship stands alone to emphasise the outstanding and well-known deeds of the general.[66] The two examples demonstrate the versatility of the textual strategies used: the semantics of the apposition (*consul*) can, or cannot, be reinforced by other textual elements such as the filiation, as in the case of Nobilior.

THIRD LINE: VERB AND ABLATIVE

The third line of M. Claudius Marcellus' inscription is composed of *cepit*, the perfect active verb of *capere* (take), and *Hinnad* as the ablative of separation that identifies the

[64] *RRC* 439 (Figure 2). See Coarelli 1996b; Spannagel 1999, 149; for the identification of Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, consul in 56 BC, on the obverse of the coin, Lahusen 1985. For a possible influence of a painting on this image, Flower 2000, 47; For the debate on the identification of the portrait on the obverse, Papini 2004, 436–7. See also Cadario 2005, 170–3.
[65] Polyb. 21.29–30; Livy 38.9.13; Plin. *HN* 35.36.66. See Östenberg 2009a, 212.
[66] On the campaign, Polyb. 2.34–5; Plut. *Marc.* 6–8; Frontin. *Str.* 4.5.4; Eutrop. 3.6; Oros. 4.13.15; Zonar. 8.20; Livy *Per.* 20; Naev. *Fr. Praetext*. In Varro, *Ling*. 9.78. For the conquest of Syracuse see *MRR* I, 273. The perception of Syracuse as a powerful and beautiful city exalts the propaganda around Marcellus' victory. Marcellus obtained this victory as a consul; therefore, the military and victorious aspects are contained in the meaning of the consulship. See Livy 26.21; Holliday 2002, 112; Cadario 2005, 154. On the comparison between Marcellus and Nobilior's triumphs, see Östenberg 2009a, 208–12.

location in which the object dedicated was originally placed. The verb *cepit* (took) emphasises the action performed by military commanders towards hostile cities and enemies. Syntactically speaking, the verb is at the very heart of the whole text, introducing and combining different elements of the inscription. The subject of the action is *M(arcus) Claudius M(arci) f(ilius)*, who performed it through the *imperium militiae* suggested by the apposition *consol.* The ablative of separation *Hinnad* specifies and brings into the action the victim of the conquest. Therefore, the verb does not only emphasise the action performed by the subject, but also directly address the *iter* that produced the composition through the ablative of separation. Both subject and action act together to emphasise the existence of the whole composition itself as the result of their combination: individual (Marcellus) + legitimate authority (*cos*) + military victory (*cepit*) = benefit to city (artwork). The combination of *cepit* with the inscription's other textual elements achieves the specific aim of celebrating both the military victory and the political dominance of Marcellus.

The grammatical function of *cepit* is to introduce a fundamental part of the syntax: the accusative. The direct object is not textually mentioned; this does not mean that it is not present. The metaphorical syntax can supply the missing textual accusative giving the grammatical function to the artwork itself. The 'visual accusative' embodied by the artwork is integrated with the inscription by the verb that syntactically demands a direct object that is absent in the linguistic form. Primarily, this strategy aims to emphasise the message carried by the whole composition, entailing a dynamic reading process that demands from the audience a scrutiny encompassing both its visuality and its textuality.

The verb *cepit*, in conjunction with *Hinnad*, contains in itself the energetic action that gives life to the composition, this being the result of a series of events. The creation of this kind of *monumentum* starts from the consulship obtained by an individual through which he was able to overcome enemies of Rome, expressed by the location in which the

artwork was originally situated. The energetic action expressed by the verb ends with the creation of the composition. The statue assumes a new role: now, it commemorates the deeds that produced it and emphasises the *exemplum* of the individual's *virtus* as a model to admire and follow.[67] Thus, the verb, in its indispensable function of expressing the action of the sentence and clarifying its meaning, has a privileged role compared to the other elements of the monument in that it renews and perpetuates the political message of the action.

The emphatic tone of *cepit* is strengthened by the ablative of separation, which in most cases is placed immediately before it.[68] In Marcellus' inscription, *Hinnad* is where the action of the verb takes place, recalling the Sicilian military campaign and, thus, the victory of the Roman command. The word *Hinnad* is a Latin word, although archaic, and is a transcription of the toponym Ἔννα.[69] The name of the place from which the Greek artwork was plundered creates a picture in the viewers' mind of the setting of the victorious military campaign conducted against a powerful enemy of Rome. The phrase *Hinnad cepit* makes clear the meaning also demonstrated by the act of putting a piece of Greek captured art on display in Rome.

The artwork would have been Greek, and likely had a Greek inscription in its original location; in Rome it was carved a Latin inscription, which 'translated' and altered its meaning. Both the artwork and the inscription were re-functionalised in favour of Marcellus' self-presentation strategy.[70] It is not surprising that the massive haul of loot taken from the Sicilian campaign was used in this way by Marcellus to decorate the

[67] Cf. Hölkeskamp 2004, 180–3.
[68] *CIL* I^2 608: *...Hinnad cepit*; *CIL* I^2 608: *...Leucado cepit*; *CIL* I^2 615: *...Ambracia cepit*; *CIL* I^2 616: *...Aetolia cepit*; *AE* 1993, 0643: *...Heraclea cepit*; *CIL* I^2, 2926: *...Scarphea cepit*. Cf. *CIL* I^2 626. Another group of inscriptions, although they feature absolute ablatives, follow the same structure: *CIL* I^2 631: *...Achaia capta*; *CIL* I^2 630: *...Corintho capta*; *CIL* I^2 625: *...Carthagine capta*.
[69] Clackson and Horrocks 2007, 131–2; Wallace 2011, 18.
[70] For political implications of displaying spoils of war see Holliday 2002; Hölscher 2006; Östenberg 2009a.

Temple of Honos and Virtus.[71] This behaviour was not uncommon, the *columna rostrata*, dedicated to C. Duilius after his naval victory in 260 BC against Hannibal and the Carthaginians, was adorned with the ramming 'beaks' of captured enemy ships.[72] Through the appropriation and re-functionalisation of concrete objects, the superiority of Rome over powerful and foreign enemies was reaffirmed by specifying the location where the military actions were performed by the Roman commanders.

Hölscher distinguished the function of expressing 'the political entities, states and statements' through their visuality.[73] Accordingly, the monuments are 'power and weapons' leaving no chance for an interpretation other than political importance, whether it was accepted and celebrated or opposed and destroyed. Textual elements, as part of the monument, represent these political entities and states in a more direct way.

The foreign textual name of a place from which the artwork was taken, *Hinnad* in this case, informed the viewer about the geographical military expedition, even before he/she looked at the formal and stylistic features of the foreign artwork. Even when spectators did not know where Enna was, it had the same effect: by not knowing, the viewers acknowledged that the place was far away or even exotic.

Another inscription concerning Marcellus presents a different strategy, although the construction is similar.

Martei / M(arcus) Claudius M(arci) f(ilius) / consol dedit [vov(it)].[74]
To Mars, Marcus Claudius (Marcellus), son of Marcus, consul, gave [(vowed)].

[71] Cf. Livy 25.24.11, 26.21. Not limited to the temple, but also in Marcellus' house. For instance, the disposition of the *sphaerae* of Archimedes: one, the finest, kept in his house as the unique loot that was personally held; and another *sphaera* displayed in his temple for public consumption (Cic. *Rep.* 1.21). See Bravi 2012, 29–32.
[72] Plin. *HN* 34.11.20; Sil. *Pun.* 6.663–6; Quint. *Inst.* 1.7.12.
[73] Hölscher 2006, 27–48 is fundamental, especially 27–8. See also Holliday 2002.
[74] *CIL* I^2 609. See Appendix, no. 2.

The composition comes from the same event, but its textual elements suggest a slightly different meaning. The verb *dedit* ('gave'), replaces the previous inscription *vovit* ('vowed'), which is almost no longer visible. Initially, Marcellus expressed a vow to honour Mars and once his achievement had been accomplished the wording was replaced with the verb *dedit* (to give); the dative of interest, *Martei*, underlines the recipient: Mars.[75] Unlike in the case of *CIL* I^2 608, in which the dative of interest must be inferred from the context, the textual dative of interest and the topographical position of the whole composition suggest that the composition depicts the relationship between Marcellus and Mars.[76] Although the artworks cannot be investigated, it is evident from the different textual elements of the two inscriptions that the political meaning carried by the two compositions followed different strategies and must be read in different ways. *CIL* I^2 608 emphasises Marcellus' legitimation as consul and his military victory; *CIL* I^2 609 adds to the former inscription the *pietas* of Marcellus through the dedication to Mars.

Another interesting example of how the verb(s) of an inscription work(s) with the visual object is the dedication set up by L. Quinctius Flamininus at Praeneste in 192 BC, which was discussed before:

[L. Quinctius L(uci) f(ilius) Le]ucado cepit / [eidem conso]l dedit.[77]
Lucius Quinctius, son of Lucius, took from Leucadus, he gave as consul.

Lucius Quinctius Flamininus was a *legatus* under the command of his younger (and better-known) brother Titus, who conquered Leucas in 197 BC during the war against Philip the Fifth of Macedon. He set up this dedication in the Temple of Fortuna in Praeneste, but only during his consulship in 192 BC. The inscription consists of two lines,

[75] The word *vovit* was not clearly erased and is still visible on the epigraph. This suggests the desire to show the different events simultaneously: the vow to Mars beforehand, and the accomplishment of the vow through *dedit* afterwards.
[76] On Marcellus' piety Val. Max. 1.1.8.
[77] *CIL* I^2 613.

each with a different verb: *cepit* (‘took’) and *dedit* (‘gave’). The syntactic strategy used by Flamininus relies on the double integration of the visual accusative in the sentence meanings. This double integration might be explained considering the different status of Flamininus between the victory and his consulship. The first integration of the visual accusative in the sentence in which the verb ‘take’ appears works as a reminder of the exceptional military deed achieved by Flamininus during the war, although he was not consul. The second integration of the visual accusative represented by the verb ‘give’ emphasises his generosity when he finally obtained the consulship.

Conclusion

The test case and the other examples analysed show the visual accusative as an important feature of the Roman republican dedications in Rome. However, this does not limit the applicability of such a model; more generally, inscriptions should be considered as an integral part of monuments, almost as visual and artistic features of such, and which might be exploited in other contexts and cultures. By considering an inscription as more than a tag or caption of a monument, and rather as a concrete, alive and dynamic object, it may be possible not only to gain a better understanding with regard to how the inscriptions functioned in relationship to their ancient audience, but also to reconstruct a wider picture of how inscriptions worked within their context and space.

This analysis also underlined the existence of a pattern followed by many honorific dedications set by commanders during the third and second centuries BC: artworks dedicated with short inscriptions including the donor’s name, filiation, and office along with a verb indicating the action commemorated and often either an ablative of separation or a dative of interest. The direct object of the verb, the artwork itself, is almost always omitted from the inscription.

The examples are not limited to those already mentioned. The following could be added: a *donarium* erected by the consul M. Fulvius Flaccus in 264 BC to celebrate his

victory against Volsinii;[78] a votive dedication by the dictator M. Minucius Rufus, who celebrated his military victory against Hannibal at Geronium in 217 bc;[79] and two dedications erected in Lunae by M.' Acilius Glabrio, consul in 191 BC, after his victory against Antiochus III and the Aetolian League in 190 BC.[80] In addition, the series of inscriptions erected by Lucius Mummius spread throughout all Italy after his victory against the Achaean League and the destruction of Corinth in 146 BC.

These inscriptions are similar in their structure as they all omit the accusative direct object, but they also differ slightly from each other. The syntactic strategies used by the patrons in their dedicatory texts show a significant amount of dynamism. This is because patrons had different political strategies according to their own life experiences and backgrounds. These strategies, visible as result of a single narrative created by the syntax between text and art, influenced the way the audience understood, interacted with and responded to these compositions. In other words, monuments and inscriptions are intertwined and cannot be separated by carrying out two different analyses, and their syntax created potential 'guidelines' on how to 'read' the whole composition and translate it into a single narrative. At this point, the political significance of the events that produced the whole composition was effectively communicated to the audience, because they actively participated in restoring the meanings of the compositions.

VISUAL ACCUSATIVE AND THE AUDIENCE

So far, I argued that Roman monuments and their inscriptions are strongly interconnected. They are complementary to each other, rather than being two separate and distinct objects merely assembled together. Their connection is established by the combination of

[78] *CIL* I^2 2836a.
[79] *CIL* I^2 607; *ILLRP* 118.
[80] *AE* 1993, 643; *ILLRP* 321a. Angeli Bertinelli 1993.

artworks and inscriptions, the result of which is single and consistent sets. To understand the mechanism behind these combinations it is necessary to look at the way monuments and inscriptions interact with each other. Such a mechanism can be analysed by considering artworks and their inscriptions as part of the same grammatical sentence. As in all sentences, the parts follow rules regulated by a specific syntax.

This mechanism is, however, a passive agent and needs a catalyst to be triggered. The catalyst are the people who approach the monuments. The restoration of a sentence, created by the combination of a monument and its inscriptions, can be accomplished only by the viewers, who were induced to complete the sentence by logically placing each textual and visual element in the right grammatical order. Once the syntax is respected, the narrative of the inscribed monument is restored, delivering its precise and unmistakable message to the audience.

Accordingly, the active participation of the audience was fundamental to accomplish the mechanics of the interaction between the artwork and its inscription. As we have seen in the previous examples, omitting the direct object in the inscriptions of plundered artworks that were rededicated in Rome was a deliberate choice made and a syntactic strategy adopted by dedicators to push the viewers to look at their artworks as the direct objects of the inscriptions.

The relationship between the visual accusative and the audience is discussed here according to three main points: first, the visual accusative mechanism within the honorific practice and its strength in being adopted by the audience; second, the attitude and reaction of the audience towards the use of the visual accusative for restoring the meaning of honorary dedications; and, finally, the result and its effect on the audience.

The strength of the visual accusative relies on the easy way in which it can engage, and be engaged by, the audience. The honorific system in which the visual accusative is

developed as a tool for its syntactic strategies has a peculiar characteristic: it is marked by very simple and concise syntaxes. In the previous example, all the inscriptions paired with plundered artworks are composed of only a very few lines with a very few and simple words. On the one hand, this particular aspect eased the process of integration of the visual artworks as the direct object of the sentence as understood by the audience. A simple text is easy to approach, and the integration of the visual accusative delivers a straightforward message: a certain object has been taken by the military actions of a certain consul of the Republic. On the other hand, the simple and concise syntax responded to the need to address the vast majority of people, even those who were illiterate, in a way that all would understand, by the repetition of the honorific practice and the use of simple inscriptions.

By writing a very simple sentence structure on an ongoing basis – subject and transitive verb – the absence of the direct object was evident. In the previous example the honorific inscriptions are formed by subject, filiation, apposition of the subject (i.e. his title) and the missing direct object. It would be immediately clear to the viewers what the object was that had been plundered and rededicated in one of Rome's public places or in a temple. Looking at Marcellus' inscription, *Marcus Claudius (Marcellus), son of Marcus, consul, took from Enna*, by not including the direct object, the viewers would naturally think about *what* Marcellus took from Enna. To complete the sentence's meaning, a viewer had to literally 'look around' for the missing direct object. This task can be achieved only by considering the artwork itself, which is set up over the inscribed base, as the direct object of the sentence. In fact, there cannot be any other elements that could fit into the syntax.

The catalyst for the completion of the sentence meaning is the viewers. Using the visual object as the direct object they rebuild the syntax of the sentence and, therefore, its meaning. The process of integrating the artwork as the direct object of the inscription

syntax of the visual object in the textual syntax is triggered by the reaction of the viewers in approaching an incomplete inscription. The incompleteness of a very simple and concise inscription prompts a 'tension' in the audience and pushes them to find a way to complete it. The simplicity of these inscriptions is fundamental in triggering such tensions in the audience because it significantly emphasises the missing direct object and, at the same time, avoids the requirement for special knowledge or philological skills to reintegrate it. In fact, it was only necessary to look at the artwork to find the missing element of the sentence. Finally, the tension created by the incompleteness of the inscription secured the reaction of the people by inducing them to actively participate in the syntactic restoration.

The reaction of the people towards an incomplete sentence is prioritised here. It is true that nothing would have stopped the viewers from looking first at the visual object and only afterwards at its inscription. In fact, it is almost certain that for anybody walking towards a composition consisting of an artwork and inscription, the first element to be noticed would be the artwork. In looking at a composition, the visual object is prioritised, but mostly because it is far more scenic that an inscription, especially if approached from a distance.

This scenario is similar to what happens when we step into a museum. We immediately look at the physical objects – the archaeological finds, paintings and statues – and usually only afterwards do we focus on the description of the various items. The main difference is that with regard to the rededicated spoils of war during the Roman Republic, their inscriptions were not captions, but were an inseparable part of the whole composition, and no different from a torso or arm fragments that were once part of a statue. A caption describes an item, but an inscription defines it.

Even by looking first at the artwork and only after this at its inscription, a syntactic reconstruction is required. If a viewer first looked at an artwork, he/she would not easily

understand the meaning of that dedication. In fact, an inscribed monument could be erected for many reasons and by many agents: by a benefactor from the same city; by another community; by a foreign king; or by a commander during his military campaign, as in our cases. The inscription is fundamental in giving a meaning to the whole composition and offering a full experience to the viewers who approach it. In addition, in Latin, the accusative case can also be used at the beginning of a sentence. Similarly, the visual accusative could have been the first element of the syntax that was approached by the viewers; nevertheless, the rest of the sentence must be integrated as well to complete the significance of the artwork.

The result of using the visual accusative as a virtual tool for comprehending honorific dedications shows how the dialogue between artworks and their inscriptions relied on the response of the audience, whose main task consisted of combining these visual and textual elements to form a single and harmonious set. In this case, such dialogue was firmly secured by the synergy between the active participation of the audience and the visual and textual components of the monuments themselves. By using the visual accusative, the viewers transformed two apparently separate and different elements, the artwork and the inscription, into a single narrative, which was, ultimately, embodied by the whole honorific dedication. In other words, viewers completed the final stage of a rededicated plundered artwork and, therefore, the message of its dedicator.

The effect that the syntactic reintegration of the visual accusative within the inscription had on the audience is at the core of the syntactic strategies adopted by patrons. The process of reconstructing the syntax of the monument by the audience also restored its message. As has been argued in the previous sections, the patron's preferences and self-presentation strategies decided the kind of message. What is interesting to observe here is the effect that this process had on the audience. The viewers, by restoring the message created by the combination of textual and visual elements of a single monument

did not only rebuild the message of the patron; the active participation of the audience in re-establishing the full meaning of the sentence helped to reproduce, acknowledge and fix in the memory the event behind the dedication. The memory of a historical fact is renewed in the collectivity. For example, the restoration of Marcellus' inscription analysed before imparts fundamental information: that Marcellus conquered and plundered Enna. Further, more consequences are deduced by the historical fact of Marcellus' conquest of Enna, such as his military abilities, his *virtus*, his success against an enemy of Rome and his generosity towards the people of Rome in decorating the city. Marcellus' victory is constantly repeated over time by whoever engages in reading his dedication.

This kind of honorific dedication worked as 'hubs' of information from which the people of Rome could acknowledge the military achievements of an illustrious member of the *nobilitas*. The process of acknowledgement stems from the active participation of viewers in reconstructing the syntax of the visual and textual elements of these monuments. In other words, the audience renewed the events behind the dedications by actually building them every time they engaged with the compositions. The consequences of their active participation strengthened the shared knowledge of the society about specific events because the restoration process through the syntax could, without a doubt, be performed by anyone and easily shared.

Most importantly, these monuments are fundamental to the understanding the relationship between history and its transformation into memory, in this case, the creation of the Roman republican cultural memory and the topographical 'landscape' of memory in Rome.[81] Such 'monumental memory' was a distinctive feature of the Roman Republic, and its topography focused on the most important public space in Rome, because an

[81] See especially Hölkeskamp 2006a, 2006b.

interplay between locations and history, and between public and religious functions of monuments and past events in Rome was vital for making sense of this type of memory.

Viewers walking through the monumental cityscape and looking around obviously reinforced the construction of the cultural memory of Rome, especially through the exposition of historical events monumentalised and fixed in the urban topography of Rome. Rituals and processions, whether triumphs or public funerals, had a significant role in constructing the cultural memory of Rome.[82] It is true that these processions were fundamental in reinforcing the cultural memory and identity of Rome, especially because their routes passed through the monumental cityscape. However, in much of modern scholarship, it is not stressed enough *how* the audience were 'reading' the spectrum of mythical or historical events embodied by honorific dedications either during the processions or on normal days.[83] The visual accusative gives a more definite answer to this because it avoids sweeping statements about viewers simply 'walking through the monumental landscape of Rome and looking around'.[84]

Finally, the syntactic model also offers a further distinction between the role of dedications, such as spoils of war, and that of other kinds of monuments, such as honorific statues or temples. Through the syntactic reconstruction of their messages by the audience, the events behind them were evoked and fixed into the viewers' memory, once, of course, the task of integrating the visual accusative within the inscription was completed. This series of information was complementary to other forms of

[82] Hölkeskamp 2006b.

[83] There is a wide bibliography on the spectacle, ceremonies and representation of power. A selective list: Veyne 1967; Scullard 1981; Price 1984; Hopkins 1991; Bergmann 1999; Beacham 1999; Flaig 2003; Bell 2004; Flower 2004; Sumi 2005; Hölkeskamp 2004, 2006a; Hölscher 2006; Östenberg 2009a; Galinsky 2016. However, none of these works engages with the practical involvement of the audience with the monuments and their inscriptions.

[84] I here refer to Hölkeskamp 2006a, 483, who argues that: 'not only can such a landscape be **'read' like a text**, since it stores the full spectrum of myths, historical, etiological and other stories – it can also be experienced directly, by Roman citizens as viewers, in the concrete sense of walking through it and looking around'. Hölkeskamp is right to assert the 'readability' of landscape, but has not given a sufficiently strong account of *how* it was read by viewers.

monumentalisation, such as statues of individuals and temples. The heterogeneity of the monuments created a historical and celebrative 'map', simple to understand, and that worked according to the needs of the patrons. For example, the equestrian statue of Q. Fabius Maximus set on the Capitoline in 209 BC was juxtaposed with the statue of Heracles by Lysippus taken from Tarentum and dedicated as an offering to Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Although we do not know what inscriptions were placed on the two statues, it is safe to argue that there *were* inscriptions because these were important monuments. The combination of the artworks (Heracles and the equestrian statue), their inscriptions and the space in which they were located created a very clear narrative for their audience. The statue of Heracles, as a spoil of war, evoked the event of the conquest of Tarentum; Fabius Maximus on his horse was standing next to the statue as the protagonist of this military achievement, and the Temple of Jupiter showed the *pietas* of the dedicator. This was, in effect, a full report of the dedicator's deed embodied in monuments, their inscriptions and the space in which they were located.

CONCLUSION

The syntactic methodology expounded in this chapter shows the potential for considering monuments and inscriptions as a single consistent and inseparable set. In fact, words and visual elements work synergistically to produce a single narrative and fulfil the specific communication strategies of the dedicators.

All the examples discussed above show the importance of reconstructing the connection between art and text, especially with regard to understanding how crucial the role of inscriptions was in reshaping the meaning of the monuments. Further considerations originate from this kind of approach. First, the assumption that the republican artworks are completely lost can be contested. Inscriptions and artworks were

conceived as a whole by their dedicators and consumed as a whole by their recipients. This means that inscriptions should not be considered by us as different from any fragments belonging to a statue or a monument. In this sense, inscriptions give us important information no less than what an arm, a torso or a capital tells us about a monument.

Second, the text of an inscription has a syntactic link with its artwork. In most of the inscriptions related to spoils, for example, there are no accusatives to complete the significance of the verbs in the sentences. The apparently missing direct object does exist, but in a visual form. This intentional omission avoids the redundancy of repeating textually its direct object, which is present visually. The missing direct object also pushes the audience to participate actively to complete the meaning of the sentence with the inclusion of the visual object as its direct object (visual accusative).

Third, the interplay between text and artwork can help us to understand how the audience approached and interacted with the honorific practice. Patrons shaped their messages in a way that best suited their own needs and purposes by adopting specific syntactic strategies. Subsequently, when the viewers approached a monument, a complex or any brand new or recently refurbished building, they searched for the inscriptions. Once found, the viewers could fully appreciate and understand the significance of the whole composition and memorialise the historical event behind it.

Finally, when an artwork was paired with an inscription, as was normal practice in the ancient world, the relationship between art and text became so strong that the two narratives merged into a single and more consistent whole. Only by looking at their syntactic relationship is it possible to fully comprehend the single narrative thus formed. For example, if one or more fragments of an artwork are found, such as a Greek sculpture of an athlete that was plundered somewhere in the East and rededicated in Rome by a victorious consul, its reconstruction can be achieved by analysing the style and

iconography of its surviving fragments. However, what the statue represents cannot be confined only to the definition of 'statue of a Greek athlete', which belongs to a certain period and was crafted in a certain place. The new inscription, combined with the plundered artwork, contributes to the creation of a narrative expressed by the whole composition. The name of the commander and his office, the consulship, is the reason why the sculpture of a Greek athlete can be appreciated by the people of Rome. This means that the actions of consuls, mostly military, provided Rome with some exquisite foreign artwork.

What impact does rededicating an artwork in a different city with a new inscription have on its visual language? In the hypothetical inscription placed under the Greek sculpture of an athlete, the word '*consul*' expresses a specific meaning that redefines the perception of the sculpture's style and iconography by the audience. In this case, the people of Rome would know, thanks to the Latin inscription paired with the foreign artwork, what deeds the dedicator had accomplished - in this instance a great victory over an enemy of Rome. A plundered artwork rededicated in Rome was provided with a new inscription, whose keyword, in this hypothetical case, is '*consul*'. Such a combination produced a narrative for the eyes of the spectators who naturally associated the particular kind of iconography and style with the concept of military prowess and political distinction that the consulship could provide for an ambitious dedicator.

In this case, the Greek style and its iconography were combined with a new epigraphic language to express a new narrative created by both the figurative and textual elements. In other words, the inscriptions do not serve the function of tags or captions but, instead, contribute to redefining the meaning of a statue and how its visual features were perceived, just as the fragment of a monument would contribute to its restoration.

PART II

THE LANGUAGE OF HONOUR DURING THE THIRD AND SECOND CENTURIES BC

INTRODUCTION

In Part I, I outlined the basis and mechanism of my syntactic approach, which demonstrated theoretically and practically how inscriptions and artworks can be analysed on a syntactic level and as part of a unified set. This model also showed how the combination of artworks and inscriptions creates specific messages for their audience, according to the dedicators' self-presentation strategies. In Part II, this syntactic approach is used to show how, during the third and second centuries BC in Rome and Italy, the self-presentation strategies adopted by dedicators to exhibit spoils of war acquired during their military campaigns relied significantly on the use of inscriptions, which were usually placed beneath the plundered artworks.

The words of these inscriptions enhanced the visual impact of the rededicated artworks by including them into their syntax. The inclusion of an artwork into the inscription's syntax created a sort of tension for the viewers, who could reconstruct the meaning of the sentence only by considering visual artworks as direct objects of the inscriptions' sentences, the direct object usually being missing from the text itself. In this sense, an artwork played the role of a 'visual accusative' whose integration into the syntax rebuilt the meaning of the composition and made its message accessible to viewers. The result is that inscriptions combined with artwork create guidelines as to how to approach and understand the whole composition.

In Part II, the interplay between text and art is again at the centre of the argument, but this time to demonstrate the versatility that their relationship had in producing different political messages according to the expectations of the patrons of the

monuments. Inscriptions and artworks can amplify individuals' political claims and their prestige. Part II is comprised of a series of case studies from the third to the second century BC. The diverse nature of the examples is intended to show the wide applicability of the syntactic model constructed in Part I.

The first case study is the comparison between two votive dedications to Hercules: the statuary group erected by Q. Fabius Maximus and the one dedicated by M. Minucius Rufus during his dictatorship. The first part of this analysis focuses on the sacred context as a battle fought between art and text. The sacred context in which the dedications were offered was similar (a temple of a specific god), yet the personal presence of the dedicators in their monuments was considerably different, as is shown in the second part of this dissertation. Although both Fabius Maximus and Minucius Rufus dedicated votive offerings to Hercules, their self-presentation strategies in the dedications were very different, both visually and textually. I explore such differences to demonstrate the complexity of the interplay between text and art.

The second case study considers focuses on how historical backgrounds influence the way in which honorary monuments were conceived. The honorary monuments of individuals were often connected to the celebration of their triumphs, obtained after significant military victories. Yet, there are other ways to commemorate individuals, such as dedications to individuals by a third party, for example, the Senate or the people. This kind of dedication, however, followed a different pattern compared to the dedications controlled entirely by the protagonists of the triumphs. First, the spatial organisation of honorary statues not personally dedicated by the honoured were much more tightly controlled by the Senate. Secondly, the inscription on these statues created a sort of narrative that represented how the community understood and prized the achievement of the honoured. The visual element appears alongside the narrative created by the words, showing the moral qualities and virtues of the person being honoured. This is the case of

the statue of Cato the Elder in the Temple of Salus in Rome and the statue of Anicius in Praeneste. By analysing the narrative of the events, expressed by their inscriptions, that led to the creation of their honorary statues, it is possible to partially reconstruct what kind of iconography and style was used for statues dedicated to important individuals.

The third case study concerns extra-urban complexes erected during the middle of the second century BC by powerful families: *monumenta gentium*. These complexes, influenced by the Hellenistic form of dynastic monuments, are composed of a series of other structures, *aedes – sepulcrum – monumentum*, which are linked not only by their proximity but also by their inscriptions. In fact, textual elements do not only provide a way of approaching the juxtaposed monuments, but also give the viewer a better understanding of their symbolic proximity. The case of M. Claudius Marcellus, grandson of the conqueror of Syracuse, shows how the text of his statuary group is strongly connected with the Temple of Honos and Virtus. Similarly, in the case of the Tomb of the Scipios, triumphal paintings were combined with the statue and inscriptions to create an exceptional *lieu de mémoire* under the auspices of the Temple of Tempestates.

The fourth case-study demonstrates how inscriptions were used to create visual strategies in large complexes. The ghost inscription of Metellus Macedonicus' Temple of Jupiter is a significant example. An inscription being missing does not eliminate its function and, therefore, does not prevent the audience from searching for it. Metellus used this strategy to expand and enhance the visual experience of the audience who stepped into the closed and restricted space formed by his portico. In another example, Mummius used the whole of Rome as his own portico, disseminating his loot thorough the Urbs. Mummius' network of dedications is unified and linked by his textual *res gestae*, written in verse and placed near each dedication. The result is that his temple, mentioned in the inscription, is introduced before the audience can reach its location. The viewers would

immediately recognise the temple once close to it due to the repetition of the inscription placed on each of the dedicatory artworks.

DIVINE GROUND FOR HUMAN COMPETITION: VOTIVE DEDICATIONS OF ROMAN COMMANDERS

During the third and second centuries BC, the behaviour code accompanying the votive offerings dedicated by many individuals, and especially commanders, seems to privilege deities as the recipients through the erection of statues and temples dedicated to them. Only after votive offerings had been set up did the dedicators place their own statues or inscriptions alongside those previously dedicated to gods. This prioritisation has nothing to do with the *pietas* of the dedicators nor with custom, at least not formally speaking. The reason must be seen in the function of the sacred space as a ground for political posturing. Only once the votive offering to a god was physically placed, was it possible to pair it with the dedicator's personal information, which could be either an inscribed statue or a simpler inscription (e.g. in the next section Fabius Maximus' and Minucius Rufus' dedications).

The sacred context was, undoubtedly, favoured by individuals who used spaces that were under the aegis of gods as a channel through which they could communicate their personal achievements to the collectivity. Accordingly, these religious spaces were often the backdrop for testing and experimenting with the self-promotion of individuals.[85] Not

[85] Using the words 'test and experiment' I want to describe the self-representation practice during the Republic. Between the third century and the late first century BC, particularly, there was no standard format for self representation; rather, several different strategies were used and often combined. They involved not only the erection of statues and inscriptions, but also offerings of food and money in front of them, funerary art and rituals, honorary arches, theatres, civic buildings, temples, the restoration of these monuments by the dedicators' heirs and portraits of individuals on coins at the end of the Republic, etc. This wide variety of examples highlights a dynamic and heterogeneous behaviour that was to be significantly regulated only from the Principate onwards. The censorial purge of statues in the Forum in 158 BC that was not authorised either by the Senate or the people of Rome is an example of this (Pliny, *NH* 34.30). Another example can be found in Cicero (*de Officiis* 2.60), who criticises individuals like Pompey the

only votive offerings but magnificent temples, large complexes and exquisite statues were erected by victorious commanders who could, on the one hand, demonstrate the *pietas* towards the god and, on the other, address the collective populace about their achievements. In this range of dedications, only rarely were monumental complexes erected without a specific sacred building.[86]

In Roman culture it was believed that the welfare of Rome and its community depended on the gods' benevolence, which had to be secured by the performance of precise rituals by religious authorities.[87] Cicero gave a straightforward account of the connection between Roman military successes and the Romans' superior cultivation of the gods: 'But in piety, in devotion to religion, and in that special wisdom, which is that we have perceived all things are governed and ruled by the divine power of the gods, we have conquered every race and nation.'[88] The *pax deorum* was formally guaranteed by the *pietas* of dedicators, who erected temples and statues as a tribute to the gods for the victory they had granted. These votive dedications were part of the wider cultural context of Roman society. On the one hand, they fulfilled one aspect of Roman religious practice but, on the other, they became a suitable arena for the political competition of the aristocracy. Indeed, after votive dedications were erected, individuals focused on themselves, placing their own personal images and/or inscriptions in the proximity of their votive dedications.

Great who promoted themselves through the erection of *theatra, porticus* and *nova templa*, compared to those, alluding probably to himself as will be discussed later, who built public services for the community: illae impensae meliores: muri, navalia, portus, aquarum ductus, omniaque quae ad usum reipublicae pertinent.

[86] This is the case of Cn. Octavius who erected his eponymous portico, the *porticus Octavia*, which had bronze capitals, in the Campus Martius in 168 BC (Pliny, NH 34.13). See Torelli 2006, 97. Cf. also Senseney 2011, esp. 423–4, who argues that although *templum* referred only to a consecrated space, it was commonly delimited by porticoes.

[87] See Hölkeskamp and Balbiani 2006, 319–63, with a vast bibliography.

[88] Cic. *Har. Resp.* 9.23–5: sed pietate ac religione atque hac una sapientia, quod deorum numine omnia regi gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes nationesque superavimus. See also Rüpke 2006; Orlin 2007, 58–70.

The significance of this practice, well attested since the earliest period, shows how attention to the public religious sphere was functional to personal and political self-presentation. Dedicators intentionally used the religious context as a common ground for competing among themselves, using the ideal values of *virtus* and *pietas* as weapons in what became their political arena.[89] The way Roman commanders weaponised *virtus* and *pietas* for their political needs was through the combination of artworks and inscriptions, whether this combination included only inscribed votive offerings to a god or whether the composition consisted of an honorific statue of themselves as well as votive offers to a god. In any case, these dedications were erected on sacred ground.

Sacred ground was, therefore, used to promote the self-prestige of ambitious men, and the votive dedications, whether or not the dedicators truly believed this, were the key to participation in the political arena. From a passage of the *Natural History*, Pliny the Elder sketches the last stage of how the bronze technique was used. Although it may seem irrelevant to our periods, an interesting detail, however, reflects in a veiled way the attitude of those men who competed among each other during the Republic. 'After a time this art (bronze sculpture) was commonly and ubiquitously used for the image of gods … The use of bronze passed over from the gods also to the statues and images of humans, in several forms.'[90] Pliny's statement is very clear: the bronze was used first for statues

[89] From the earliest period the 'private' use of war loot seems to be a reason for political conflict. In 391 BC Camillus was accused by the *tribunus plebis* L. Apuleius of using the loot obtained from the Etruscans as *privata opulentia* (Pliny *NH* 34.13, Plut. *Vit. Cam.* 12), decorating his house with bronze doors, instead of handing it over to the treasury. Cf. Holliday 2002, 14; Pape 1975, 73–80. On the debates about the use and the definition of *manubiae*: Shatzman 1972, 188; Orlin 1997, 117–61; Bradford Churchill 1999; Tarpin 2000, 368; Berrendonner 2007, 212.

[90] Pliny *NH* 34.15: Transiit deinde ars vulgo ubique ad effigies deorum … Transiit et a Diis ad hominum statuas atque imagines multis modis. In this passage, Pliny describes its adoption for practical items, such as ornamental furniture (*tricliniorum pedes – NH* 34.9) or thresholds and doors for temples (*limina* and *valvae – NH* 34.13). In addition, Plutarch (*de Pyth. Or.* 2) mentioned the accidental discovery, but the fire described by Plutarch is wrongly connected to the fire during the conquest of Corinth in 146 BC. For the same tradition see also Flor. 1.32 and Petron. *Sat.* 50. Pausanias ascribed the paternity of the bronze to two Samians: Rhoecus and Theodorus (Paus. 8.14.8 and 10.38.6). The legend of the accidental discovery may be explained by the Greeks' preference for the συντυχία (happening, incident), which revealed something new and unknown rather than relying on long, technical and pragmatic experiments (Ferri 2000, 62–

of gods and only afterwards for statues of men.[91] This is an unrealistic theory if we compare the information even with Pliny's following passages.[92] What is of interest in this analysis is that Pliny's account reveals how bronze was employed and regarded, not according to a chronological scale (as he himself presents it) but, in principle, according to an order of importance for its adoption (first dieties, and only after humans). From this perspective, Pliny's account provides a significant hint, not in relation to the chronological evolution of the use of bronze for statuary, but with regard to the relationship existing between the sacred images and the human representations, and how this relationship shifted from the public and religious level to a private one, favouring, progressively, the latter: *transit et a Diis ad hominum statuas atque imagines.*

This 'transition' is evident from the increasingly frequent erection of portrait statues in Rome, showing the significance of this practice in terms of its political implications. In fact, the importance of using bronze, not only for statues of gods but also for statues of men, shows how the political competition of the elites was always the most important factor in votive dedications, to the extent that human statues were crafted in bronze like the statues of gods, almost acquiring their divine overtones. In addition, the transition was fostered by the similarities between the images of deities, concretised as statues, and the statuary representations of human beings.[93]

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3). Pliny distinguished three cities that specialised in producing different bronze items: Corinth (vessels) (34.6); Delos (furniture) (34.9); and Aegina (candelabra) in (34.11).

[91] Jex-Blake and Sellers 1896 noticed the incongruence of this theory through the comparison of the '*primum*' case recorded by Pliny (*NH* 34.15) about the statue of Ceres by Spurius Cassius (484 BC), with other passages: a Hercules by Evander and a Janus by Numa (*NH* 34.33); and statue-columns of the first *prefectus annonae* L. Minucius Augurinus (440–439 BC), Attus Navius (the base was recorded until 52 BC when a fire originating from the *curia* destroyed it), Hermodoros (450 BC), Horatius Cocles (508 BC) and many others (*NH* 34.21–9).

[92] Cf. Pliny *NH* 34.9 with 34.21, 34.29, 34.33, in which the 'first' bronze statue erected alternates between different subjects: Ceres, Hercules and the kings of Rome.

[93] Rüpke 2006 on the rituality of statues. For the concept of statues of gods as human artifacts, see Gordon 1979; Scheer 2000; Rüpke 2004, 78–82. It is interesting to note that Cicero clearly expressed this idea with regard to the Greeks and their attitude towards human statues that contained a divine dimension Cic. *Verr.* 2.2.158, suggesting differences with Roman behaviour but also that there *was*, in fact, a Roman attitude.

Depending on what kinds of inscribed dedications were used, it could be possible, to a certain extent, to define what kinds of political message dedicators wanted to promulgate. The range of dedications I analyse in Part II includes honorific statues juxtaposed with statues of gods, inscribed votive offerings, large complexes, temples and artworks taken usually from the enemy cities plundered by the dedicators and, subsequently, placed on inscribed bases or in dynastic complexes (*aedes sepulcra*), such those of the Cornelii Scipiones or the Claudii Marcelli.[94]

The picture that emerges from the variety of these examples is complex, dynamic and mutable, which suggests the political relevance of this practice. Individuals disseminated their dedications by selecting their situations carefully, specifically in places they believed to have more resonance, such as on the Capitoline, or even using places already 'occupied' by others' dedications. For example, Marcellus rededicated the already existing Temple of Honos erected by Q. Fabius Maximus in 234 BC, to Honos and Virtus, and placed in it the massive loot acquired during the capture of Syracuse. Years later, Fabius Maximus would do the same thing at the expense of Spurius Carvilius, whose dedications, a Hercules set up in 305 BC for the victory against the Samnites and a Zeus dedicated by in 293 BC to celebrate his triumph against the Tarentines and the Samnites, dominated the Capitoline. The colossal statue of Heracles dedicated by Fabius Maximus responded to the previous colossal statues, especially the Zeus dedicated by Spurius Carvilius. The debate about the two colossal statues has led scholars to mainly focus on a possible political dispute between the Spurii and the Fabii: Postumius Megellus, allied with Spurius Carvilius, was a political enemy of a prominent member of the Fabii, Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus. This old dispute might have been reflected in

[94] The dynastic *sepulcra* will be discussed below p. 110–21.

Fabius Maximus' dedication.[95] It is certain that Spurius Carvilius' dedications, consisting of a statue of Zeus juxtaposed with a standing statue of himself, offered a model for Fabius Maximus, who also juxtaposed the plundered artwork he took from Tarentum, Lysippus' Heracles, with his own equestrian statue.[96] The aim of this 'spatial appropriation' was to compete with, or even obscure, the fame of political opponents.

Another example is the bold visual scheme of the large complex built by Pompey the Great (50 BC), which included the Temple of Venus Victrix, a theatre, a portico and a *curia* with a colossal statue of the same Pompey.[97] The statue of Venus Victrix, placed in her temple, faced the whole complex, suggesting a dialogue with the statue of Pompey that was, conversely, placed in the *curia*. The central axis of the whole complex had as protagonists Venus Victrix on the one side, and Pompey with his statue in the *curia* opposite. This visual scheme seems to strengthen the relationship between the goddess and the commander.[98]

These examples demonstrate how the political competition fought by Roman elites with 'weapons' consisting of inscribed monuments reshaped the monumental landscape of Rome. Further, the 'appropriation' of meaningful places in Rome in which to site inscribed monuments was a crucial part of such competition, whereby the deeds of

[95] Especially La Rocca 1990, 347–8 and Cadario 1995, 85–6. See also Celani 1998, 46–7.
[96] Plut. *Fab.* 22.8. Cadario 1995, 86.
[97] For a detailed analysis of the complex, the definition of its spaces and an extended bibliography, Russell 2016 153–86.
[98] App. *B Civ.* 2.115. See Russell 2016, 162–3. Gellius' information about an inscription in aedes Victoriae *NA* 10.1.7 is interesting: 'Cum Pompeius "inquit" aedem Victoriae dedicaturus foret, cuius gradus vicem theatri essent, nomenque eius et honores inscriberentur, quaeri coeptum est, utrum "consul tertio" inscribendum esset an "tertium".' It has been debated whether it was the temple of Venus Victrix or a different shrine in his theatre; in any case, the inscriptions strengthen the relationship of Pompey and the theme of victory. A solution might be to compare the *fasti Amiternini*, in which 12 August indicates a celebration: 'Veneri Victrici, hon(ori), virtvt(i), felicitati in theatro marmoreo'. 'to Venus Victrix, honos, virtvs, and felicitas in the marble theatre'. However in the *fasti Allifani* there is an extra 'v' whose meaning it is not possible to easily discern. For a detailed analysis and an extensive bibliography see Clark 2007, 225–30.

powerful commanders were included in the representation and fixed within Roman cultural memory.

For now, the most relevant aspects I want to consider at this stage are two similarities shared by all kinds of dedications; besides the nature of the dedications themselves, their acquisition as war loot and their relationship with the sacred context. First, any dedication, whether it be a large complex, building, temple, votive offering, honorific statue or inscription, represented and celebrated its dedicators in a similar fashion. This is shown mostly in textual form, with the inclusion of inscriptions. Even if portrait statues or images had physiognomic characteristics, the name of the honoured carved in the form of an inscription was used by all dedicators to inform those viewers who were not familiar with the appearance of the man represented. The way monuments and inscriptions were set up was always similar, creating a system of honour that the audience could understand thanks to its constant repetition.

Secondly, the dedications seem to follow a similar pattern with regard to their contents. This is evident by observing the similarities of the dedications offered by different individuals to a specific god. For example: Hercules by M. Minucius Rufus, Q. Fabius Maximus, M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Mummius, P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, L. Licinius Lucullus and Sulla.[99] A similar pattern of dedications can also be seen at the very end of the Late Republic, during which the political competition tightened and became polarised with only a few individuals involved. In fact, many dedications with similar peculiarities or epithets were offered to different gods: to Venus by Sulla, enclosed in the triad Ἄρες καί Νίκη καί Ἀφροδίτη (Mars, Victory and Venus) in the Greek East, but also with resonance in Italy,[100] or to Venus Victrix by Pompey in 55 BC, which was in turn

[99] For the dedication by Sulla Ov. *Fast.* 6.209–12.
[100] For Sulla, Plut. *Vit. Sull.* 19.9; Paus. 9.40.7. The two monuments dedicated to Ares, Nike and Aphrodite celebrate Sulla's victory at Chaeronea and were placed nearby. However, his connection with Venus spread to Italy through the aureus (RCC 359/2) struck by Sulla between 84 BC and 83 BC, after Sulla's victory over Mithridates VI of Pontus. On the recto, the coin

rivalled by the dedication Caesar made to the same goddess in 46 BC (although Caesar subsequently opted for Venus Genetrix).[101]

POLITICAL RIVALRY OF TWO DICTATORS: FABIUS MAXIMUS AND MINUCIUS RUFUS

During the Hannibalic War, two of the protagonists of the war, the dictator Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus and his *magister equitum* M. Minucius Rufus, were at the centre of a critical situation caused by the outcome of the Battle of Trasimene in June 217 BC, in which the consul Flaminius was defeated by Hannibal and lost his life.[102] In the wake of the tragedy of the event, emergency measures were taken with the nomination of Q. Fabius Maximus as dictator and M. Minucius Rufus as *magister equitum*.[103] Their diverse opinions on how to conduct the war caused a bitter dispute, ending with the attribution of the dictatorship's *imperium* to the *magister equitum* through a plebiscite proposed by Metilius, tribune of plebs: the *lex Metilia de aequando magisti equitum et dictatoris iure*.[104] The political and institutional anomalies that occurred during this year are reflected by the different historiographic traditions. One refers to the Augustan idealisation of the heroism of Q. Fabius Maximus during the Second Punic War as an *exemplum* to follow and the other to harsh criticism of the Cunctator, which sheds light

depicted the head of Venus and the name of Sulla and on the verso was inscribed *IMPER(ATOR) ITERU(M)*. Santangelo 2007, 199–213, especially 204–5.

[101] For the dedication of Pompey to Venus Victrix, Plut. *Vit. Pomp.* 52.4–5; Cic. *Pis.* 65; Asc *Pis* 1.1–6; Cass. Dio 39.38.6; Vell. Pat. 2.48; Tac. *Ann.* 14.20. For the original vow to Venus Victrix by Caesar, App. *B Civ.* 2.68 and 2.102. The *evocatio* of Venus Victrix (tutelary god of Pompey) by Caesar before the Battle of Pharsalus might suggest the use of the rite to deprive Pompey of the protection of his tutelary god, see Ferri 2006, 244.

[102] For the date of the Battle of Trasimene on 21 June 217 BC Ov. *Fast.* 6.7.67–8.

[103] The election of Fabius Maximus as dictator was in late June of the same year. Polyb. 3.86.6–7; 3.87.6; Livy 22.7–8; Cass. Dio 57.8; App. *Hann.* 11.

[104] On the criticism of Minucius Rufus towards the strategy of Q Fabius Maximus App. *Hann.* 12; Livy 22.12.11–12 and the speech of Minucius 22.14.3–15; Polyb. 3.90.6, 92.4, 94.8; Plut. *Fab.* 5.5. On the plebiscite Livy 22.25.1–16; Polyb. 3.103.1–4; Cass. Dio 57.16; Zonar. 8.26; App. *Hann.* 12; Plut. *Fab.* 8.4, 9.1; Nep. *Hann.* 5; Val. Max. 3.8.2, 5.2.4; Aur. Vict. *De vir. ill.* 43.3.

on a more realistic view of the situation and the opposition to his strategy.[105] In this section I investigate these two men with a magnified focus on two single events, Geronium and the capture of Tarentum, to demonstrate what political strategies were adopted by these two protagonists and political opponents in monumentalising their victories through monuments and inscriptions.

HERCULES DEDICATION BY M. MINUCIUS RUFUS

Regardless of which tradition is considered, a surviving inscription contributes significantly to the narrative of the political and institutional clash between Fabius Maximus and Minucius Rufus. In fact, this inscription, which mentions a *M(arcus) Minuci(us)*, refers to our M. Minucius Rufus, who as a dictator, vowed, according to the text, a dedication to Hercules:

Hercolei / sacrom / M(arcus) Minuci(us) C(ai) f(ilius) / dictator vov / it.[106]
To Hercules, as a sacred (…), vowed by Marcus Minucius (Rufus), son of Gaius, dictator.

The dedication not only seems to confirm the success of the plebiscite in giving the (co-)dictatorship to Minucius Rufus, but also glorifies his military victory against Hannibal at Geronium in 217 BC. Consulship and dictatorship were privileged institutions capable of fulfilling the ethos of serving the *res publica*. They were of particular importance to the republican nobility, manifested by the countless dedications and temples erected to

[105] For the irregularities we have different accounts to consider. For example, Livy (28.5.6) informs us that the *dictio*, which should regularly be performed by the actual consul (Gn. Servilius Geminus in this specific case), was replaced by a popular election with the nomination of the dictator and his *magister equitum.* For the same position also Polyb. 3.87.6; Cass. Dio 57.8; App. *Hann.* 11. *Contra* for Plutarch (*Fab.* 3.5) Q. Fabius Maximus nominated his *magister equitum*. See also the *interregni caus(sa)* reported by the *Fasti* (*Inscr. Ital.* XIII, 1, 44.5) is problematic as the *interregnum* would not be possible if one of the consuls was alive, in our case Gn. Servilius Geminus. For the historiographic traditions with regard to the dictatorship of 217 BC and the *lex Metilia* see Bellomo 2015.
[106] *CIL* I^2 607.

those who held these offices.[107] Minucius Rufus did not lose the chance to commemorate his own victory, although it was more a skirmish than a battle. He vowed an offering to Hercules, certainly at his own expense, as the nature of the battle did not allow the general to acquire any *manubiae*. This detail is significant in order to reconstruct the nature of the dedication. The peperino tufa base, inscribed with the dictatorship of Minucius Rufus, has two footholds on its top that indicate the anchor points of the object dedicated. This element is fundamental in defining the typology of the dedication, which was certainly a statue. The right foothold cut stands slightly behind the left one, which, conversely, is advanced and slightly widened. The disposition of the footholds might suggest that the statue is of the foot-rise type adopted for (semi)heroic nudity and widely used in Greek mythological imagery, in this case, a Hercules.[108]

It is more complicated, however, to reconstruct its subject.[109] The dimensions of the stone base (0,96m x 0,70m x 0,69m) could have been enough to support a life-size portrait statue of Minucius Rufus. However, this hypothesis should be rejected by a textual hint provided by the inscription: the predicative *sacrom*, which completes the meaning of the verb *vovit* and refers to the object dedicated. As with the inscription of Marcellus analysed as a test case in Part I, the visual accusative must be integrated into the syntax of the inscription. The difference in Minucius Rufus' inscription is that the presence of the predicative emphasises even more the syntactic connection between the direct object and the verbs: the vow made by Minucius Rufus ruled by *vovit*, is to dedicate an item which

[107] Hölscher 1994, 94–6; Roller 2011, 182–4.
[108] A curious example by the Andokides Painter (530 BC) shows on a neck amphora Hercules himself in a 'raised foot' posture playing a *kithara* to Athena (cf. Beazley 1956, 256, n. 16; Boardman 1974, 118, Fig. 165). Another plausible interpretation could be the Hercules playing the lyre, which can be reconstructed by *RRC* 410/1 (Appendix, no. 3, Fig. 3.3). On the coin minted in 66 BC by Q. Pomponius Musa, Hercules shows his right leg slightly widened and downwards from the left one, which is the same typology used by Nobilior in dedications to Hercules Musarum.
[109] Gordon 1983, 82 argued that the dedication consisted of the statue of Hercules, yet there is no further discussion to support such a claim.

is ‘sacred’ (*sacrom*). The visual accusative is integrated by the verb *vovit* and qualified in its content by the predicative *sacrom*.

If it was a statue, as the footholds suggest, it is likely that the statue was a *simulacrum* or *signum* (ἄγαλμα) of the god, rather than an *imago* (εἰκών), a portrait statue of the dedicator. A second hint comes from the historical circumstances that produced this dedication. The victory at Geronium in 217 BC had not given Minucius Rufus any spoils of war, both because of the modest scale of the skirmish and because of its non-conclusive resolution of the conflict against Hannibal. He had no *manubiae* to dedicate for the fulfilment of a vow to Hercules, unlike other commanders such as M. Claudius Marcellus or L. Mummius, who had such loot.[110] If *manubiae* could not be used on this occasion, then the *sacrom* object dedicated to Hercules was consciously planned and calculated by Minucius Rufus at his own expense.

The devotion of the *gens Minucia* to Hercules is another significant element that corroborates the hypothesis of this dedication. The topographical area of influence of the *gens Minucia* seems to be strongly connected with the cult of Hercules. In Porta Trigemina, near the site where it is thought the Temple of Hercules Custos was erected, the *praefectus annonae* L. Minucius conducted *frumentationes* during the mid-fifth century BC. The *Fasti Filocaliani* (mid-fourth century AD) record that on 4 June *Ludi in Minicia* took place, without mentioning, as was common during the Christian period, the pagan deity as dedicatee: *pridie (nonas Iunias) Ludi in Minicia*.[111] Although from a later source, the presence of Hercules in this area is attested by a *Hercules signum aeneum … in Minucia* that was recorded as sweating.[112] Four centuries earlier, the Augustan *Fasti Venusini* reported on the deity to whom those games were dedicated: *pridie (nonas*

[110] *Contra* Davies 2017, 118, who argues that Minucius Rufus’ dedication to Hercules comes from the spoils of war, yet without explanation: ‘an inscription indicates that the bronze statue it supported, probably sized from a sanctuary in Campania or Samnium, was dedicated to Hercules’.
[111] *Inscr. It.* XIII, 02, 42.
[112] *Hist. Aug. Comm.* 16.5.1: Hercules signum aeneum sudavit in Minucia per plures dies.

Iunias) Herc(uli) Magn(o) Custo(di).[113] From all these observations it seems that Minucius Rufus' dedication was a statue of the god depicted nude in the foot-rise style.

Monumentalising military victories was fundamental for political competition between the elites. Minucius Rufus, as dictator, dedicated his offering immediately after the victory at Geronium; this hastiness in celebrating a military achievement with the title of *dictator* is no surprise if we compare it with the attitude of other commanders, such as the two consuls during 217 BC and 216 BC, Cn. Servilius Geminus and M. Atilius Regulus. The chance to display and celebrate significant military successes with monuments and inscriptions drove Minucius Rufus, as well as the two consuls, to exploit any opportunity for doing so, even the small skirmish won by Rufus at the expense of Hannibal.[114]

Nevertheless, I want to contribute to this series of valid interpretations with further considerations, which consider the political clash between Fabius Maximus and Minucius

[113] *CIL* IX, 00421, Degrassi, *Inscr. It.* XIII 01, 8a; *Inscr. It.* XIII 02, 6. The area was already meaningful for the *gens Minucia*. because the *prefectus annonae* L. Minucius undertook *frumentationes* during the mid-fifth century BC (Livy 4.12.8–10). Cf. Apul. *De Mundo* 35: (*et alius ad Minuciam frumentatum venit*). Cf. La Rocca 1987, 347–72. Zevi 1993 680–1, refers to a *tessera* studied by Rostovzev (1903, n. 337) with an image of a Hercules standing with a club and a *skyphos* on one side, and on the other the inscription *minuciae*, which is, according to Zevi, a locative: 'che in certo modo ribadisce la presenza del dio nell'edificio' (*porticus Minucia frumentaria*).

[114] Livy 22.33.9–10 says that the two consuls were asked to come back to Rome in order to hold elections. Both declined under a pretext, claiming that the military situation was so critical they could not leave their command. During the winter of 217–216 BC there was no imminent danger from Hannibal to justify the negative responses of the two consuls to the request to hold elections in Rome. Gruen 1978, 63–4; cf. Livy 22.32.1–4; Cass. Dio 57.21; Zonar. 8.26; App. *Hann.* 12. For Gruen the pretext seems to have had its effect in extending their *imperium* for the following year. Livy 22.33.12; Gruen 1978, 71. Instead, they suggested an *interregnum* to the Senate, a suggestion not taken up, the Senate requesting that one of the consuls nominate a dictator in order that elections could be held. Gruen rightly pointed out that the ambitions of the consuls in 217 BC seemed to be the leitmotif of their answers. Accordingly, the real reason could have been that the two consuls did not have the opportunity of performing any meaningful military successes to justify the possibility of celebrating a triumph or of recording any notable achievement; besides, the two consuls lost the command of their armies during the six months of Fabius' dictatorship, established in their absence. The suffect consul M. Atilius Regulus' time was even more limited, as he was elected after the death of Flaminius at Trasimene. In this case, the reluctance of the two consuls to return to Rome before obtaining military recognition was an implicit way of straining the political institutions of Rome. Such eagerness demonstrated by commanders in command to distinguish themselves in battle could also drive them to risky actions, such as the naval initiative of Servilius Geminus (Livy 22.31.1–6).

Rufus, the different strategies used to represent their achievements and the similarity of their dedications.

The importance of Minucius Rufus' dedication is that it contributes to a more realistic view of the strong opposition to Fabius Maximus, especially during the year 217 BC. In fact, the plebiscite successfully elevated the *magister equitum* to the (co-)dictatorship for that year. Furthermore, according to Livy (22.34.5–11) Fabius Maximus encouraged the elections of the consuls in 216 BC through an *interregnum* and he opposed the dictatorship of L. Veturius Philo and his *magister equitum* M. Pomponius Matho, forcing them to abdicate shortly after their election due to an irregularity during their nomination (*vitio creati*).[115] However, it seems that this political subterfuge did not work in favour of the Cunctator. During the second *interregnum* by P. Cornelius Asina – the first *interregnum* under C. Claudius Cento did not provide any consuls – the nominated consul was C. Terentius Varro (*sine conlega*). Varro and the tribune of the plebs, Q. Baebius Herennius, were the protagonists of a strong political opposition to Fabius Maximus.[116]

The historiographic tradition that favours Fabius Maximus describes his providential military intervention that prevented the catastrophic defeat of Minucius Rufus, who voluntarily submitted the command of his army to the Cunctator.[117] However, we know that when the six months of the dictatorship ended, the consuls took over the two armies, not just the one as this historiographic tradition suggests.[118] This idealised

[115] According to Livy, it seems that the Cunctator thought he could influence the election of the consul through an *interregnum* (Livy 22.34.5–11); For the irregularity of the nomination of the dictator, Livy 22.33.11–12. Cui non apparere, id actum et quaesitum esse, ut interregnum inireturm, ut in patrum potestate comitia essent? (Livy 22.34.9).
[116] Polyb. 3.106.1–4; Val. Max. 3.4.4; Plut. *Fab*. 14.1–5; App. *Hann.* 17; Cass. Dio 57.23–4. Gruen 1978, 61–2; Bellomo 2015, 14–15.
[117] Livy 22.30.4; Cass. Dio 57.19; Zonar. 8.26; App. *Hann*. 13; Plut. *Fab*. 13.
[118] Livy 22.32.1; consules Atilius Fabiano Geminus Servilius Minuciano exercitu accepto hibernaculis mature communitis, quod reliquum autumni erat, Fabi artibus cum summa inter se concordia bellum gesserunt.

picture of Fabius Maximus becomes a more concrete and realistic image when eight years later, as a consul, he captured Tarentum. His choice of taking the Heracles statue by Lysippus replied mainly to the events that had seen him at the centre of that strong political clash with his opponents, especially Minucius Rufus.

Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS' STATUARY GROUP

It may be a coincidence, but a very interesting one, that Minucius Rufus' dedication is vowed to Hercules and that eight years later, in 209 BC, Fabius Maximus set up in Rome the colossal Heracles sculpted by Lysippus that had been taken from Tarentum. He almost seems to be 'replying' to his political opponent Minucius Rufus through his own military achievements. The disagreements between Fabius Maximus and his *magister equitum* Minucius Rufus did not only have political and institutional consequences, but they also reflect the similar artistic choices for the dedications that the two commanders used to celebrate their own achievements.

A standard behavioural code was, undoubtedly, generally accepted by all the commanders eager to display their conquests, and Fabius Maximus was not far behind. After eight years, in 209 BC, Fabius Maximus, as consul for the fifth time, conquered Tarentum and plundered the city. The literary traditions seem to emphasise the extent to which the *pietas* of Fabius Maximus mitigated such plunder, probably as a way of condemning the uncontrolled and massive plunder of Syracuse carried out by M. Claudius Marcellus two years earlier.[119] However, this is a distorted picture of what really happened and comes from a literary tradition in favour of the Cunctator. In fact, Fabius Maximus adhered indistinctively to the behavioural code followed by all the other commanders.[120] Among many other riches, he transported to Rome a colossal statue of

[119] For the literary sources Pape 1975, 8; La Rocca, 1990, 347–8; Celani 1998, 45–8; Sehlmeyer 1999, 128–9; Cadario 2005, 150–3.
[120] Cf. Livy 27.16.7–8. Östenberg 2009a, 87 is right to point out how Fabius Maximus was no different from the other commanders, appropriating a massive portion of treasures from Tarentum, almost equal to Marcellus' loot from Syracuse: prope ut Syracusarum ornamenta

Heracles sculpted by one of the most famous Greek artists, Lysippus.[121] The statue was placed on the Capitoline as an offering to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, along with an equestrian statue of Fabius Maximus himself.

Fabius Maximus' choice of this statuary group has been attributed to the connection between the cult of Hercules and the *gens Fabia*.[122] In addition, La Rocca suggested that the colossal size of the previous dedication by Spurius Carvilius on the Capitoline was 'challenged' by the prestigious fame of the Lysippus' Heracles.[123] Literary sources suggest that the Cunctator did not bring any other statues of gods from Tarentum. This idealised picture of Fabius Maximus, supported to a certain extent by modern scholarship, sympathises with his *pietas*, perhaps to emphasise his nomination as *pontifex* in 216 BC, and it gives a significant hint as to why, among all the other artworks, the Cunctator brought the statue of Heracles to Rome and placed it on the Capitoline.[124] The famous paternity of the artwork, the association of the *gens Fabia* with the cult of Hercules and the visual competition with previous colossal statues on the Capitoline are certainly solid explanations.

With the Lysippean Heracles, Fabius Maximus wanted to celebrate the great success of his consulship and he sought to reaffirm his military skills, overshadowing the old polemics. Although while he was dictator Minucius Rufus had hastily dedicated an offer to Hercules after a minor skirmish against Hannibal, the Cunctator waited for the

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aequaverint. However, Livy distinguishes the different behaviour adopted by Fabius Maximus to loot the city, compared to Marcellus's sack of Syracuse: Sed maiore animo generis eius praeda abstinuit Fabius quam Marcellus.

[121] Pliny *NH* 34.40; Plut. *Fab.* 22.8; Strabo 6.3.1.

[122] For Moreno 1981, 181 the privatisation of the divinity by the *gens Fabia* is the reason why Fabius Maximus took only the statue of Heracles, leaving the other statues, such as the famous Zeus by Lysippus, in Tarentum. See also Bayet 1926; Dörig 1964; Moreno 1971; Cadario 1995; Celani 1998, 46–7; *Contra* Pape 1975, 86.

[123] La Rocca 1990, 348.

[124] For the problem of the manipulation of the *Fasti*: Taylor 1946, 1–11; Braccesi 1981, 44; Nedergaard 2001, 107–27; Panciera 2006, 96. For Fabius Maximus as exemplum followed by Augustus App. *Hann.* 13. Gruen 1978, 66; Masi Doria 2000, 188; Bellomo 2015, 18–19; Canfora 2015, 404–6, 456.

right occasion to celebrate his deeds in order to maximise their communicative effects, dedicating his own statue and challenging Minucius Rufus using a prestigious artwork taken in a brilliant military action.

The dedication chosen by Fabius Maximus also has another interesting aspect: the statue of Heracles was paired with an equestrian statue of himself. If the content of the two dedications was similar (Heracles), the self-presentation of their dedicators was different. The inscription of Minucius Rufus shows a clear syntax, common to this kind of dedication: the name of the god, the predicative, the name of Minucius Rufus and his office of dictator.[125]

It is not known whether or not the statuary group dedicated by Fabius Maximus had inscriptions. It is very likely that it had, if we compare it with any other example of Roman statuary. What is important to focus on is that the statuary group of Fabius Maximus used a visual strategy that served the same purpose, either alone or in conjunction with an inscription. The juxtaposition of the equestrian statue of Fabius Maximus with the Lysippean Heracles creates a sort of narrative between the two monuments: the proximity of the two statues represents the strong relationship between the subjects and their actions, which gives life to this composition. A similar example was provided by Aemilianus, who, when he was censor (142 BC), erected his own statue on the Capitoline juxtaposed with both the Heracles Πολυκλέος (work by Polykles) and a temple dedicated to Hercules, to celebrate his triumph over Carthage.[126] Such an interconnection between subject (the equestrian statue of Fabius Maximus) and object (the statue of Heracles) can be

[125] See Appendix, no. 3.

[126] For the juxtaposition of the statues of Aemilianus and the Hercules by Polykles, Cic. *Att.* 6.1.17. For the Temple of Hercules erected by Aemilianus Plut. *Prae. ger. reip.* 20.4. For the relationship between the Scipiones and Hercules see Cadario 1995, 88–90. Cf. *RRC* 461/1 representing Hercules minted by Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio 47–46 BC (Figure 3). Coarelli 1990, 659. For the Scipiones, the cult of Hercules seems also to be reflected by the brother of Aemilianus, Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus, consul in 145 BC, who performed a sacrifice (*evocatio?*) to Herakles (*Melqart*) of Gades before attacking Viriathus. See. App. *Hisp.* 65.

metaphorically 'read' as a textual dedication, with its own syntactical structure. The spectators might have read the composition in this way: *Q(uintus) Fabius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Maximus / consol / Tarento cepit.*[127] The subject (*Q. Fabius Q. f. Maximus*) is introduced by the equestrian statue of himself that celebrates his conquest of Tarentum through the object placed beside it – the prestigious sculpture of Heracles by Lysippus. The statue of Heracles was not only the direct object of this hypothetical sentence, but also suggests the power though which it was acquired: the *imperium* held by Fabius Maximus as a consul (*consol*) that culminated in the successful conquest of the city (*Tarento cepit*).

Another point of difference between the small skirmish of the dictator with the large-scale siege of Tarentum by Fabius Maximus is that the Cunctator, unlike Minucius Rufus, certainly came back to Rome with *manubiae* taken from rich Tarentum. In using the pair of statues to communicate the political relevance of the conquest of Tarentum instead of only placing an inscription beneath the dedication to Hercules, the aim was not only to emphasise the difference between a skirmish and a stable and significant victory, but also to reaffirm the consequences of their outcomes: the former a modest dedication; the latter a rich sculpture group, realised from the *manubiae* and consecrated by the famous artwork taken.

The collocation on the Capitoline completed the visual scheme using one of the most important spaces in Rome.[128] The symbolic parallelism between the original

[127] My reconstruction avoids the use of *Verrucosus* after the filiation (*Quinti filius*) purely to follow the style of inscriptions at the end of the third century BC, in which the cognomen, likewise the agnomen (in this case *Cunctator*), were not commonly used. It may be argued that an inscription was placed under the statue of Fabius Maximus. However, it is significant that literary sources omit the detail for a prestigious character such as him, whereas it is present for others: for example, the information given intentionally by Livy on T. Quinctius Cincinnatus Capitolinus (Livy 6.29.9, cf. Festus 498 Lindsay), or even in informal letters, for example, the irony of Cicero with regard to the historical confusion and misunderstanding of Q. Caecilius Metellus Scipio Nasica, who ascribed the wrong offices and *cognomina* to the statue of his ancestors on the Capitoline (Cic. *Att.* 6.1.17). Neither under Augustus, during whose reign the heroism of Fabius Maximus was emphasised by the historiography, do we have evidence of any inscription.

[128] Moreno 1981, 181 suggested that the connection between the original collocation in Tarentum and the new context in Rome was due to his *pietas*, which left the other 'angry gods' to the

collocation of the Heracles in Tarentum and the collocation on the Capitoline does not suggest only the appropriation by the Fabii of their patron deity, but also the symbolic appropriation of the city itself.[129] It is doubtful that such parallelism between the two collocations of the statue, first in Tarentum and later in Rome, was crucial for its communicative effect on a Roman metropolitan audience, who would not have known where the statue originally stood within the city of Tarentum.[130] In fact, it is more

Tarentines and associated the *gens Fabia* more closely with the cult of Heracles: Non si trattava dunque di una normale preda di Guerra, ma del trasferimento sull'acropoli di Roma di un culto propizio, mentre alter divinità, quali Zeus dell'Agora o il Satiro del Tempio di Hestia erano state lasciate a Taranto per il loro carattere ostile. Portando a Roma il simulacro di Eracle, il dittatore compiva inoltre un gesto di pietà domestica, poiché I Fabi erano legati da antica data al culto dell'eroe. This is a hypothesis that seems to be strongly affected by the ancient literary traditions of favouring the *pietas* of Fabius Maximus.

[129] Another hypothesis with regard to the processes by which the statue of Heracles was transported to Rome is the ritual of *evocatio*. This rite was performed immediately before the conquest of a city, to obtain from its patron god/goddess permission to take the city without committing any act of impiety. In addition, the god is invited to support the Roman cause and to join the Roman pantheon in Rome, leaving the inhabitants of his former city to their destiny. The literary sources are silent about this, and it has been explained as a lack of interest from ancient authors in describing such an ordinary practice during war and peace. For example, Festus (268 Lindsay), who probably used Verrius Flaccus' *de verborum significatu* as a source, gives us a significant account of when the rite was performed: 'Those are called peregrina sacra which were either brought to Rome when gods had been summoned away in the assaulting of cities, or which were sought in peace time, on account of particular religious scruples, like the rites of the Magna Mater from Phrygia, Ceres from Greece, and Aesculapius from Epidauros: they are worshipped according to the customs of those from whom they were taken.' Dumézil 1970, 425 suggested that the rite was performed especially in relation to gods already belonging to the Roman tradition and worshipped in the enemy cities, in this case Jupiter, the tutelary god of Tarentum (Hor. *Carm.* 1.28.27–9; Porph. *Hor. comm.* 1.28.29) fits in with this hypothesis. Cf. also Alcock 1993, 140–1, 175–80 for the political implications of the removal of the cult images. According to Pliny, Fabius Maximus would have liked to have transported both of Lysippus' Tarentine statues – Zeus and Heracles – but because of logistical problems he brought only the second (*NH* 34.40). Although the tutelary god was the one to *evocare*, during the conquest of Falerii Veteres in 241 BC Minerva Capta was taken (Ov. *Fast.* 3.835–48), although the tutelary goddess of Faleri Veteres was Iuno Curitis. Ferri 2010a, 39–41; Ferri 2010b. In another passage, Pliny (*NH* 28.4.18) tells us that the *evocatio* would guarantee *eundem aut ampliorem apud Romanos cultum* to the gods of the hostile cities. Therefore, if an *evocatio* took place, the Capitoline seems to be the perfect destination for the collocation of statues of gods who were familiar to the Romans, even though in this case Heracles was taken in place of Zeus.

However, if this dedication implied only the private devotion of Fabius Maximus to Heracles as Moreno 1981, 181–2 argued, then the ritual of *evocatio* might not be required according to Arnobius of Sicca (Arn. *Adv. Nat.* 3.38: Cincius pronunciat solere Romanos religiones urbium superatarum partim privatim per familias spargere, partim publice consecrare); Ferri 2006, 209. On the *evocatio*: Dumézil 1970; Sini 1999 (on juridical aspect); Glinister 2000, 62–4; Rüpke 2004; Ferri 2010a, 2010b; Cinaglia 2016, 51–78 (on *Minerva Capta*). See especially Ferri 2010b with a wide bibliography. Cf. Livy (5.22.47) on the *evocatio* of Juno brought from Veii in 396 BC to Rome and collocated on Aventine Hill.

[130] It is unlikely that the generation following Fabius Maximus, or even his contemporaries, could know or remember the precise collocation of the Heracles in Tarentum.

probable that, for Fabius Maximus, as for many others, the Capitoline was one of the most suitable and prominent places to collocate dedications or statuary groups in order to maximise the communication of their ideological message, especially towards the elite.[131] Although the choice to take the statue of Heracles might have been prompted by the devotion of the *gens Fabia*, as the Livian tradition suggests, Pliny tells us that Fabius Maximus also wanted to transport the colossal statue of Zeus by Lysippus from Tarentum.[132] However, the size and shape of the statue did not allow him to easily remove it from its original position. This detail reveals much more about the intent of the Cunctator. It seems that more than his *pietas*, as the literary tradition proposes, the fame of Lysippus' artworks led Fabius Maximus to wish to transport both the Heracles and Zeus statues to Rome.[133] Only the practical difficulty of removing the statue of Zeus from Tarentum, rather than his *pietas*, prevented the Cunctator's plan from being carried out.

POLITICAL RIPOSTES BY USING TEXT AND IMAGE

The political clash between Fabius Maximus and Minucius Rufus, eight years before, seems to be reignited by the statuary group set up by Fabius Maximus on the Capitoline Hill. The criticism with regard to how the Cunctator conducted the war during 217 BC appears to be deeper than the literary sources reveal, and the two dedications shed light on how the two commanders used their military achievements to corroborate their political positions.

[131] It is worth noting that the appropriation of space in a prominent place such as on the Capitoline was at the centre of political issues. The case of M. Manlius Capitolinus' house on the Capitoline is an example. The house was destroyed and a law forbade the patrician to live permanently on the Capitoline (Livy 6.19–20).

[132] Pliny *NH* 34.40: Itaque magnitudinem propter difficultatemque moliendi non attigit eum Fabius Verrucosus, cum Herculem qui est in Capitolio inde transferret.

[133] Here, it is not suggested that it was philhellenism on the part of Fabius Maximus in selecting only the statue of a famous Greek artist, nor is the fact that he was a connoisseur of such things taken into account. Rather, I refer manly to the 'colossal' fame of Lysippus that not only justifies the appropriation of his artworks, but was also used to compete against the physical colossality of other statues, as suggested by La Rocca 1990, 348.

The choice of subject also responded to their political needs: as a dictator, Minucius Rufus deliberately dedicated a statue of Hercules with its own inscriptions; Fabius Maximus used the statue of Heracles along with his own, reinforcing or replacing the content of the inscription with the visuality of his own statue in order to enhance the communicative effect of the group. Fabius Maximus celebrated his success eight years later, overshadowing not only the previous colossal statue on the Capitoline dedicated by Spurius Carvilius, but also the more modest dedication by Minucius Rufus. The whole representation denoting the backdrop of the polemic triggered by his nomination to a co-dictatorship. It seems that the epithet of *Cunctator* does not apply only to the military strategy of Fabius Maximus but also to his self-promotion scheme.

Minucius Rufus' self-promotion strategy can be reconstructed by his dedication. No matter what the artwork was, whether an image of Hercules or something else, the importance of this dedication relies on the narrative that is restored by viewers and only by including the artwork in the inscription's syntax. This inscription contains the subject, Minucius Rufus, along with his dictatorship, the military victory against Hannibal and the accomplishment of the vow dedicated to Hercules, embodied by the visual accusative. In addition, this scheme consolidated a dedicatory pattern that was used as model for other dedications, such as that by Fabius Maximus, in order that the people honoured could compete in the same political arena; the result inevitably emphasises the different grades of opponents' achievements.

Fabius Maximus' self-promotion strategy cannot be reconstructed from inscriptions, but only through the few details we have about his monuments. Even if two separate inscriptions were used for the equestrian statue and the Lysippean Heracles, the juxtaposition of the statues enhanced their significance. Whether or not an inscription was present, the information was conveyed visually. The presence of inscriptions would only have reinforced and harmonically combined the two monuments into a single and

consistent narrative. If there was a long inscription on the base, this could potentially have distracted the audience who attempted to read it, with the risk of dampening the visual effect of the two juxtaposed statues. A more plausible aesthetic would have been a pair of shorter inscriptions, restricted to the homonymous name and his office on Fabius Maximus' statue and the vow on the Heracles statue. Shortening the length of the text accordingly might have given more space to the paratactic visual effect of the statuary group.

Overall, the textual strategy adopted, whether only implied by the visual juxtaposition of the two statues or also integrated through the epigraphy, greatly enhanced the communicative effect of the whole composition and, therefore, its dedicator. In this specific case, as has been demonstrated, Fabius Maximus did not only want to compete against Minucius Rufus, he also wanted to allay any doubts about his military skills and political abilities, a direct response to the critics moved to speak against him eight years previously. The best way to achieve this strategy was to glorify, through the distribution of *manubiae*, his conquest of Tarentum with a prestigious composition: the Heracles by Lysippus. To maximise the political message, Fabius Maximus paired his own bronze equestrian statue with the artwork and erected them on the Capitoline. The group contains and provides information about the personal achievement of the Cunctator; Minucius' dedication does the same. Both follow a similar pattern in their content and they are also alike because they address the same deity. I have argued that they are similar in the system of communication created by the combination between art and text. Yet, their political resonance diverges significantly – in favour of Fabius Maximus – by the choice of their visual and textual schemes.

SENATUS AUT POPULI SENTENTIA

The creation of an inscribed monument began with an event or an action performed by one or more individuals that was recognised as exceptional by the collectivity or society that shared a specific system of values, as in the case of Fabius Maximus and Minucius Rufus. However, honorific monuments and inscriptions could be created directly or indirectly by the Senate and the people of Rome.

The event and action worth celebrating were symbolically monumentalised in a concrete and material form. For example, Livy considers the erection of a statue as the proof that an event happened: *statua eius indicio fuit*.[134] Usually, those events that were monumentalised in the Roman Republic were related to military victories. Following on from this, it is unsurprising that the textual elements of these monuments were conceived against a military backdrop, whether they were a public honour or a private initiative.

In the following three subsections, I demonstrate how the collectivity, comprised of the Senate and the people of Rome, could monumentalise, control and reward the actions of exceptional individuals. In the first of the three subsections, attention is focused on the triumphs, which were awarded to Roman commanders by the Senate, and the way in which they were monumentalised. Celebrating a triumph was the greatest achievement for a commander, and it also determined the way in which the inscribed monuments were conceived to transform an ephemeral event into a long-lasting moment in the collective memory In the second subsection, I focus on the role of the Senate and the people of Rome in granting honours through inscribed statues and control of the space in which they were placed. In the third subsection, I show two examples of how people awarded an honour to a member of their collectivity by exalting shared values, and by concretising those values in visual and textual elements for their respective honorific statues.

[134] Livy 23.19.17–18. This passage is discussed below.

AWARDING TRIUMPHS, CREATING MEMORY.

A victorious commander could use the loot plundered during his military campaign to promote his political prestige by erecting dedications in meaningful places in Rome. However, when a victorious commander was also awarded a triumph, the fame of the commander increased and so too did the possibilities for holding more prestigious offices.[135]

Those ambitions realised that were to be remembered through a monument were, therefore, strongly connected to the magistracies holding *imperium*, and among these the consulate was the highest office. However, these magistracies, and more specifically the consulate, were not enough to automatically guarantee either a victory, or any material celebrative records. The number of consulates held during the Roman Republic is quite significant; however, only a small number of consuls obtained the greatest honour that the consulship could provide: the triumph. Normally, a triumph could have been granted through the decision of the Senate, and only in certain circumstances.[136] However, there were some cases in which commanders celebrated their triumphs without the Senate's consent.[137] The purpose of the triumph was to celebrate military achievements in Rome

[135] The city was considered to be a stage and interactive space on/in which the triumph became a ritualistic procession with civic implications and concerns, Östenberg 2009a, esp. 11–12.

[136] Valerius Maximus (2.8) gives an account of the requirements needed in his so-called chapter *de iure triumphandi*; Aulus Gellius (5.6.21) adds further information on the 'quality' of the enemy as another requirement for fulfilling the request that a triumph be granted. Another important source is Livy's long account on triumph, see Pittenger 2008. For an overview of the debate I report a selected bibliography, excluding the oldest works: Gruen 1990, 131–3, 1995 esp. 63; Favro 1994, 2014; Brennan 1996; Coarelli 1997, 126–35; Auliard 2001; Hölscher 2001; Holliday 2002; Itgenshorst 2005; Bastien 2007, 321–24; Beard 2007, Pittenger 2008; La Rocca and Tortorella 2008; Östenberg 2009a; Lundgreen 2011; Lange and Vervaet 2014; Lange 2015, 133–43; Lange 2016.

[137] The way in which the Senate decreed triumphs seems to have been regulated by the disbursement of funds (or not) in response to the requests of commanders. Another senatorial vote was on the *supplicationes* (thanksgiving to the gods), which came before the triumph. In case of a senatorial rejection of commanders' requests, the Senate could vote an *ovatio* (a minor version of the triumph) in place of a triumph. Similar rituals could also take place, such as an *ovatio* in place of a triumph, a minor triumph or *supplicationes* before the triumph took place. The case of

in order to show the Roman people who the protagonists of victorious campaigns against their enemies were. Accordingly, the triumph was a significant tool for use in political competitions, not only for ambitious commanders in achieving it, but also for the Senate in granting it.[138] The importance of the triumph had significant repercussions on the practice of erecting honorary statues. In fact, the *pompa triumphalis* was an ephemeral event and it was experienced only by those who could attend it in Rome – or on Alban Mount if a less prestigious kind of triumph. As Hölkeskamp pointed out, the *pompa triumphalis* was a 'trasposizione monumentale della memoria'. However, since it lasted only temporarily in the people's minds, it was necessary to conceptualise its ephemeral experience, lived throughout the triumph, into everlasting monuments.[139]

In an attempt to perpetuate the memory of the triumphs and of the commanders' deeds, it was necessary to transform the triumphal ephemeral ceremony into something long-lasting. The monuments of victorious commanders suit this task by adopting specific visual and textual languages: on the one hand, the iconography and style that expressed the conceptualisation of the triumph (for example, the use of the *toga picta*, and the equestrian statue). On the other, the inscriptions contained specific words to highlight the status of the commander (*consul*, *dictator*, *imperator*) and the action performed by him

the refusal to fund the triumph of Minucius Rufus in 196 BC is a case in point. Lundgreen 2014, 25; Lange 2014, 72–3.

[138] Cf. Cic. *Fam.* 15.4.13: et eum honorem qui a senatu tribui rebus bellicis solet. Wallace-Hadrill 1990, 160 downplayed the role of the senate: 'the senate did not grant the triumph. The *imperator* conducted it in his own right, and only turned to the senate for certain enabling decisions'. Recent debates have shown, conversely, how very important the senatorial decision was in granting the triumph, which triggered significant political implications. These debates seem to retrace the diverse ancient positions: on the one hand, Livy for the crucial role of the Senate in awarding the triumph; on the other hand Valerius Maximus and Gellius for the minor influence of the Senate. It is true that some commanders were celebrating a triumph without the Senate's consensus, but it was less common and the triumph didn't have the same political significance as one formally granted by the Senate. Lundgreen 2011; 2014, 21–2 with a list of triumphs p. 29; Lange 2014, 67–79; especially Rich 2014, 197–243.

[139] The quotation is from Hölkeskamp 2006b, 346; in addition, Rüpke 2006 considered the protagonists of triumphs as being in line for an honorific statue, and the Senate, granting triumphs, controlled to a certain extent the award of the honorific statuary. See Hölscher 2006.

(take, give).[140] The only surviving witnesses of these celebrative monuments, especially the honorific statues, are often only the inscriptions, sometimes fragmentary, which were recorded on stone bases used as supports. As I have demonstrated in Part I, the inscriptions surviving offer the potential to magnify those events and also the political message given out by the self-presentation strategies of the dedicators. It seems that the monumentalisation of their triumphs and, more generally, their victories, achieved the purpose of their creation: to fix their military success into the collective memory, as with Marcellus' conquests – such as Nobilior, Flamininus, Glabrio.

An important observation is that the audience were not a passive agent of triumphal (as well as funerary) processions.[141] When the route of these processions crossed meaningful places in Rome, landmarked by monuments, the audience interacted with these monuments and their inscriptions to restore their meanings, firmly positioning them in the collective memory.

The Senate was obviously linked with the memorial construction of these individuals too. In fact, by granting or limiting Roman victorious commanders' opportunities for celebrating victorious triumphs, the Senate participated, although indirectly, in consolidating these individuals' places in the collective memory, and in fostering the monumentalisation of their achievements.

SPACE CONTROL AND HONORIFIC MONUMENTS

[140] Hölscher 2006, 27–48; Hölkeskamp 2010; 2006a.
[141] Hölkeskamp 2006b, 361–2, argues that ceremonies and rituals (such as triumphs and funeral processions) were essential for engaging Roman people with the city's political life, although they were finite events and participation could only be limited. They compensated for 'la funzione del *populus Romanus* e dei cittadini di Roma consisteva però prevalentemente in una sorta di "partecipazione passiva" in tutti gli altri contesti di comunicazione e di interazione con i rappresentati della classe politica (quali magistrati, detentori dell'*imperium* e generali), nelle istituzione come comizi e assemblee, nei procedimenti come le elezioni, la promulgazione delle leggi o i processi davanti ai tribunali popolari o ancora nelle operazioni di leva'.

It is not certain to what extent the Senate and the people of Rome intervened in public honorific practice in favour of victorious commanders. However, it is true that literary sources often mention the agency of the Senate and the people of Rome in honouring individuals. For example, Ennius, praising Scipio's valour, rhetorically enquires: 'What statue, what column, shall the Roman people make, to tell of your deeds?'[142] Another example is that of the first honorary equestrian statues that were dedicated under senatorial approval in 338 BC *in rostris* to consul L. Furius Camillus in *toga sine tunica*, and to consul C. Maenius, perhaps on top of the same *columna*.[143] Livy says that these consuls celebrated the triumphs *omnium consensu*, suggesting the approval of all the people of Rome, and that as part of the awards they also obtained another special honour (*honos additus triumpho*): two equestrian statues, rare at that time.[144] In 306 BC another equestrian statue dedicated to Q. Marcius Tremulus for his victory against the Hernici was placed near the Temple of Castor and Pollux.[145] The Senate was often summoned to rule on anything to be placed in this area, *locus celeberrimus* as Cicero says, evident from the text of a *senatus consultum* in 159 BC, suggesting senatorial control of this space.[146] This is not intended to be misleading because, in point of fact, the majority of honorific statues were erected privately, for example, the one dedicated to L. Stertinius, who obtained the proconsular *imperium* in Hispania ulterior, after his victory in Spain in 199 BC. To celebrate his victory he erected two *fornices de manubiis* in the Forum Boarium

[142] Fragment of Ennius as interpreted by Trebellius Pollio in *Historia Augusti*, *Claudius*, 7.7: quantam statuam faciet populus Romanus, quantam columnam quae res tuas gestas gestas loquatur.
[143] Livy 8.13.9; Eutr. 2.7.3 Plin. *HN* 34.23.
[144] Livy 8.13.9: 'praesidiis inde dispositis per recepta oppida Romam ad destinatum omnium consensu triumphum decessere. additus triumpho honos, ut statuae equestres eis – rara illa aetate res –in foro ponerentur.'
[145] Pliny *HN* 34.23; Livy 9.43.22; Cic. *Phil.* 6.13. Cf. *RRC* 293/1 by L. Marcius Philippus 113–112 BC, in which there is a representation of an equestrian statue whose characters carry a laurel wreath – the symbol of victory (Figure 4). The equestrian statue refers to Q. Marcius Tremulus, the only victorious member of the *familia* before 113 BC. La Rocca 1990, 347; Spencer 2007, 92–3.
[146] Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.129; 2.5.186; for the *senatus consultum ILLRP* 512. Newsome 2011, 303–4.

and another in the Circus Maximus, all decorated with gilded statues. There was no request to the Senate for a triumph, which it probably would have denied anyway.[147] Nevertheless, the Senate and the people of Rome appear to have had a significant role in determining and controlling the space used for the dedication of honorary statues, whose political messages were to a certain extent emphasised by the location in a specific public space in Rome and in other cities.

It has been pointed out how Rome did not have a formalised system of honour such as in classical and Hellenistic Athens.[148] However, honorific practice was certainly normalised by custom and tradition, rather than by well-established senatorial regulation. The importance of the Senate and the people of Rome as agents in honouring individuals lay more in controlling the space than in granting public honorific statues themselves, which, in fact, was commonly a private initiative.[149] It is worth considering two examples of the relevance of space in honorific practice as shown in Pliny's Book 34. First: 'Octavius was killed while on this embassy, and the Senate ordered a statue to be set up in his honour "in the most visible place": it stands on the Rostra.'[150] Second: 'I find a decree giving a statue to Taracia Gaia or Fufetia, a Vestal Virgin, "to be placed where she pleased", a clause no less to her honour than the actual dedication of a statue to a woman.'[151] In both examples it is evident that the focal point of the honorific statues is not the award itself but the place in which they were to be collocated, *ut poneretur ubi*

[147] Livy 33.27.3–4: L. Stertinius ex ulteriore Hispania, ne temptata quidem triumphi spe, quinquaginta milia pondo argenti in aerarium intulit et de manubiis duos fornices in foro bovario ante Fortunae aedem et matris Matutae, unum in maximo circo fecit et his fornicibus signa aurata inposuit. On the arch of L. Stertinius: Coarelli 1968, 71–3, 88, 1988, 371–2, 1995, 267; Kleiner 1985, 14; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 71–4; Aberson 1994; Hrychuk Kontokosta 2013; Popkin 2016; 57–62, 193.
[148] Smith 1981; Wallace-Hadrill 1990; Tanner 2000; Stewart 2003, 28–35.
[149] See especially Wallace-Hadrill 1990, 170–3, who, arguing against G. Lahusen's cases (1983), stresses the exceptionality of the honorific statues granted by the Senate.
[150] Pliny *HN* 34.24: In qua legatione interfecto senatus statuam poni iussit «quam oculatissimo loco», eaque est in rostri.
[151] Pliny *HN* 23.25: Invenitur statua decreta et Taraciae Gaiae sive Fufetiae virgini Vestali, 'ut poneretur ubi vellet,' quod adiectum non minus honoris habet quam feminae esse decretam.

vellet, as in the last case.[152] The Senate's concerns with regard to the use of public space as a stage on which honorific statues of private citizens could be erected is evident when considering the censorial activities of P. Cornelius Scipio and M. Popilius in 158 BC, who removed from the Forum those statues not authorised by *populi aut senatus sententia* (by decree of the people or the Senate).[153] Certainly, this purge also responded to the censors' political *ambitio* (ambition), through which they wanted to demonstrate their moral integrity. Cato the Elder's censorial activities were no less appreciated three decades prior to this (184–180 BC), and for his service he was awarded a portrait statue in the Temple of Salus with an inscription underneath. From Livy (40.51.3) we know that M. Aemilius Lepidus, a censor in 179 BC, removed those statues that were placed *incommode* (awkwardly) close to the columns of the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline, in order to clean up the temple.[154] The cleansing also affected the ex-voto of military victories, the control of which was a prerogative of the censors.[155]

There is no doubt that the censorial activities were concerned with the restoration of control over public space and the limitation of abuse of honours. However, it is not necessary to read any more into this than Livy's and Pliny's words: the purge is from the Area Capitolina, from the Forum, eventually extended to the statue of Spurius Cassius placed near the Temple of Tellus in the fifth century BC, nothing more.

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[152] Cf. also Cic. *Phil.* 5.41. The honour of being awarded a gilt equestrian statue was proposed by Cicero to the Senate on behalf M. Aemilius Lepidus *eiusque in rem publicam meritorum* (for his services to the State); Val. Max. 3.1.1 mentions a statue dedicated by the Senate to another Aemilius Lepidus: Capitolio statua bullata et incincta praetexta senatus consulto posita (maybe the consul of 187 BC).

[153] Pliny *HN* 34.30: L. Piso prodidit M. Aemilio C. Popilio iterum cos. a censoribus P. Cornelius Scipione M. Popilio statuas circa forum eorum qui magistratum gesserant sublatas omnis praeter eas quae populi aut senatus sententia statutae essent.

[154] Livy 40.51.3: aedem Iovis in Capitolio, columnasque circa poliendas albo locavit; et ab his columnis, quae incommode opposita videbantur, signa amovit clipeaque de columnis et signa militaria affixa omnis generis dempsit.

[155] Cf. fr. 26 Peter, Nonius (364, 22) quotes L. Cassius Hemina's second book of *Annales* (or *Historiae*): et in area Capitoli signa quae erant demoliuntur. On L. Cassius Hemina, see Becker 2008, 67–75.

The political relevance of the Forum is clear, but many other places were also important, in certain cases more so than the Forum itself, the Capitoline, for example, followed by Quirinal Hill, on which the cult of Jupiter Victor had a significant monumentality to the extent that it suggests the existence of a strong connection between the triumphal ideology and the hill.[156] Yet, we have no indication that any purge of statues not authorised by the Senate and the people took place on the Capitoline, where, conversely, large numbers of statues were erected by private individuals, mostly members of a limited numbers of *gentes*.[157] This suggests that senatorial spatial control does not seem to have been extended to every part of Rome.

Nevertheless, the role of the Senate and the people of Rome in granting honours still played a crucial role in defining the style and inscription of the statues awarded. Through the confirmation of a triumph to victorious commanders, the Senate indirectly fostered the creation of those monuments whose style and iconography were entirely managed by the same individual honoured, according to his self-representation strategy.

The primary evidence of this practice can be retraced through the meaning of the statues' inscriptions. In fact, the reasons how, and why, a subject could be permitted an honorific statue for his public service by the Senate and the people of Rome must have guided the hands of the sculptors, who realised the statues according to the ideological

[156] Although probably outside of the *Via Triumphalis*, Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus vowed a temple to Iuppiter Victor on Quirinal Hill in 295 BC, Livy 10.29.14. Cf. with an inscription found in the Quirinal dedicated by T. Aebutius Carus: *CIL* I^2 802, *ILLRP* 187: [D]iovei Victore / T(itus) Mefu[…] M(arci) f(ilius) / IIIvir [resti]tuit. Ziolkowski 1992, 80–4 especially 91–4; Coarelli 1996b, 161; Miano 2011, 39–40.

[157] And build activities that began from the third century BC to reach an intense level during the second century BC until the Late Republic. Cf. La Rocca 1990, 470; Reusseur 1993, 48; the most intense activities have been recognised in the *gens Aemilia* and *gens Cornelia* among which the *Cornelii Scipiones* had a privileged role. Cadario 1995, 93; 94–8 with a list of monuments that 'occupied' the Capitoline. Among them, La Rocca also includes the *Caecilii Meteli* with the restoration of the Temple of Ops and the *turma inauratarum equestrium* (Cic. *Att.* 6.1.17) dedicated by Q. Caecilius Metellus Scipio consul in 52 BC, which represented the *Cornelii Scipiones* and probably the *Caecilii Metelli,* establishing a connection with the Granikos Group by Metellus Macedonicus in 147 BC. La Rocca 1990, 470–1.

meanings of the reasons behind the award. In the next section I follow this perspective in approaching two specific cases belonging to the end of the third and the first half of the second century BC whose remains are only literary: the statue of Cato the Elder in Rome and the monuments to Marcus Anicius in Praeneste.

AWARDS FOR PUBLIC SERVICE: FROM TEXT TO SCULPTURE

The largest number of honorific statues and monuments were deeply imbued with military aspects; they were the symbolic transposition of successful military actions and long-lasting memories of the triumphal processions that took place to celebrate those victories. These monuments were dedicated by the same protagonists of the triumphs who promoted their achievements and the triumph through monuments.

However, honorific statues were also granted for other diverse reasons. The statue of Cato the Elder placed in the Temple of Salus, as recorded by Plutarch, had, in fact, an inscription that did not record any military commands or triumphs, but Cato's civic services:

> 'It would seem that the people reacted marvellously to his censorship. For after they had set up a statue of him in the Temple of Salus on the Quirinal, they added an inscription commemorating not his military commands nor his triumph, but "that, on becoming censor, he set the Roman state aright again through noble principles of guidance and wise prescriptions for customary behaviour, and through education at a time when it was declining and sinking into degeneracy."'[158]

Although we have no evidence of the stylistic choice used for Cato's bronze statue, the inscription gives a very distinctive interpretation of the honour granted to him. The inscription evokes the exceptional civic service of Cato, whose wise guidance restored

[158] Plut. *Vit. Cat. Mai.* 19.4: φαίνεται δὲ θαυμαστῶς ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν τιμητείαν ὁ δῆμος, ἀνδριάντα γοῦν ἀναθεὶς ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ὑγιείας ἐπέγραψεν οὐ τὰς στρατηγίας οὐδὲ τὸν θρίαμβον τὸν Κάτωνος, ἀλλ᾽, ὡς ἄν τις μεταφράσειε τὴν ἐπιγραφήν, 'ὅτι τὴν Ῥωμαίων πολιτείαν ἐγκεκλιμένην καὶ ῥέπουσαν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον τιμητὴς γενόμενος χρησταῖς ἀγωγαῖς καὶ σώφροσιν ἐθισμοῖς καὶ διδασκαλίαις εἰς ὀρθὸν αὖθις ἀποκατέστησε.

the *mos maiorum*. In this sense, it is very unlikely that the statue was represented either as gilt equestrian statue, dressed up with heavy armaments, or with the *toga picta*, or as a heroically nude sculpture with a 'pathetic stare' at the horizon that resembled a Hellenistic king or a god. Those styles and iconography were used to celebrate military achievements or monumentalise the triumphs of commanders.

More likely, it was the statue of a *togatus*, which suggested his censorship and citizenship: a civic *exemplum* to follow. His portrayal would have been an austere face carrying deep wrinkles that framed a severe stare – a blend of pride and disdain that would have fitted perfectly into the inscription's rebuke. Not surprisingly, the ideological message of the composition was framed in the Temple of Salus on Quirinal Hill, in which people deliberately link the figure of Cato as a bulwark of the *mos maiorum* with the preservation of *salus publica*.[159] Accordingly, after his death, the *imago* of the Censor was kept in the *Curia Hostilia*, in the same manner as the house *atrium*.

In this case, both the inscription and the statue play different roles compared to other honorific statues and their inscriptions, such as the military ones of victorious commanders. The crystallisation of the figure of Cato, not as a victorious commander, but as a keeper of Roman traditions, followed different rules and we should probably expect a different stylistic resolution of his statue. In fact, the conceptualisation of values held by individuals was not a novelty: for instance, in the third century BC the statue of

[159] Sehlmeyer 1999, 147 dated the statue of Cato starting from the Gracchians, based on the idea of the *res publica restituta* which fits more with the end of the second century BC; see also Alföldi 1971, 60. Astin 1978, 103 argued that an inscription without the explicit mention of the consulate and other offices was scarcely believable for a dedication to individuals who were still alive. *Contra* Gruen 1992, 122 who accepts that the honorific statue was contemporary with Cato. Papini 2004, 366–7 notes that the title of *Conservator* o *Servator* (= *Sotér*) is missing from the inscription. This was usually used in the first century BC to qualify the protector of the *salus publica*, see Winkler 1995, 31. On the link between Cato and *salus publica* see Hölscher 1994, 36; Clark 2007, 181.

Pythagoras and Alcibiades in the Comitium already expressed *exempla* of *sapientia* and *virtus* to follow.[160]

The assumption that all the surviving honorific inscriptions – mostly belonging to commanders – should necessarily (and uncritically) follow a similar pattern to the Roman system of honours, whose formalisation has been questioned by many scholars, is misleading. An example can be seen in the attempt to ascertain the date of the statue of Cato due to the absence of the epigraphic indication of his consulate and other offices. Astin proposed that the statue was created long after Cato's death because of the impossibility of his consulate not having been epigraphically expressed. This is a position that clearly feels the influence of other surviving evidence, that is 'generals' inscriptions', using Riggsby's words, but it cannot be applied to a dedication made not by its same subject but by the people, who did not necessarily follow the same epigraphic habit of private dedications.[161] This approach might generate two potential misconceptions: first, it does not give enough credit to the more than plausible hypothesis of the contemporaneity of the statue and who it is honouring, in this case Cato. Second, and most importantly, it underestimates the significance of this kind of statue, in which the idealisation of the figure of Cato is expressed through a substantially different kind of inscription. Considering the interconnection between the inscription and the artwork, the style and iconography of the honorific statues of victorious commanders seem not to be a suitable model for Cato's statue. As I have demonstrated in Part I, monuments and inscriptions have a strong relationship, and are mutually part of a unique set, which the audience approach and understand by actively participating in rebuilding the harmonious

[160] Pliny *HN* 34.26.
[161] Astin 1978, 102–3. For the quotation of Riggsby 2006, 195–6. Astin considers Cato's inscription to be the same as those of victorious commanders. This interpretation cannot be accepted because people might not have been knowledgeable enough to mention the offices of Cato.

narrative produced by combining art and text. There is no reason to believe that in the case of the Cato statue the combination of art and text followed a different system.

Further, Cato was honoured with an inscribed statue by the people, who did not need to follow the epigraphic habit used by individuals for their own monuments. On the contrary, they have prioritised the idealised figure of Cato as a keeper of Roman values, a sort of *exemplum* for the whole community to follow. Mentioning the offices of Cato would have rejected the symbolism of the composition in favour of an unnecessary realism and verisimilitude. We cannot be sure exactly what the statue looked like, or be clear as to what the precise words used in its inscription were, but a clear fact is evident: the composition used a quite different register compared to other kinds of honorific statues. Conversely, in the next example we have a more detailed description of what the honorific statue of Marcus Anicius might have looked like and this could offer significant methodological parallelism with the statue just examined.

During the Second Punic War in 216 BC, Casilinum was the scene of a long siege conducted by Hannibal. The small military force defending the city was composed of a few Romans, a cohort of Perusinians and around 500 Prenestines.[162] At first, this small force bravely held the city, until due to starvation they surrendered to the protracted siege of the Carthaginians. The commanding officer of the Prenestines, the praetor Marcus Anicius, managed to return safely to Praeneste with the rest of his men (less than half their original number), unharmed. We have no definite information about the background of Marcus Anicius; the only detail is always given by Livy, who informs us that Anicius was a former clerk. To honour the courage of these men and their commander, a statue

[162] Livy 23.19.17. Livy specifies that the Penestines were 570 strong men.

with an inscription was erected in the forum at Praeneste, and three other *signa*, which had the same inscription as the forum statue, were placed in the Temple of Fortuna:[163]

> Most of the men were from Praeneste. Of the 570 men of the garrison, not less than half lost their lives by the sword or famine, the rest returned unharmed to Praeneste with their commander, M. Anicius, who had formerly been a clerk. His statue was proof of this event, it was erected in the forum of Praeneste, wearing a cuirass, a toga, and his head was covered; with an inscription on a bronze plate saying that 'M. Anicius had fulfilled his vow for the safety of his soldiers who defended the garrison at Casilinum.' The same inscription was placed beneath three other images set up in the Temple of Fortuna.[164]

It is unclear who the dedicator of this statue was; however, Livy, a few lines later, specifies that the Senate of Rome decided to reward the valour and courage demonstrated by the Prenestine soldiers, granting them a double salary and a five-year exemption from military service, but even more:

> The Senate through a decree doubled the military salary to the Prenestine soldiers, and awarded them a five-year exemption from military service. They were offered Roman citizenship in recognition of their valour, but they refused, keeping their own.[165]

Certainly, the Senate is involved in honouring the courage demonstrated by the Prenestines during the siege, for the brave action certainly, but especially as a political strategy, aiming to encourage the other allies of Rome not to join Hannibal's force. However, it seems that the dedicator of Anicius' statues was the people of Praeneste.

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[163] I translated *signum* as image. It could be either the statues of Anicius or the statue of the goddess; in fact, it is often used as a synonym of *simulacrum.* It is not certain here what kind of object was dedicated in the temple. For the terminology used for *statua*, *signum, imago, effigies, simulacrum* Stewart 2003, 20–8.

[164] Livy 23.19.17–18: Praenestini maxima pars fuere. Ex quingentis septuaginta, qui in praesidio fuerunt, minus dimidium ferrum famesque absumpsit; ceteri incolumes Praeneste cum praetore suo M. Anicio – scriba is antea fuerat – redierunt. Statua eius indicio fuit, Praeneste in foro statuta, loricata, amicta toga, velato capite, cum titulo lamnae aeneae inscripto 'M. Anicium pro militibus, qui Casilini in praesidio fuerint, votum solvisse.' Idem titulus signis in aede Fortunae positis fuit subiectus.

[165] Livy 23.20.2–3: Praenestinis militibus senatus Romanus duplex stipendium et quinquennii militiae vacationem decrevit. Civitate cum donarentur ob virtutem, non mutauerunt.

Livy's account seems to attribute an important memorial function to this kind of monuments:

> More obscure is the fate of the Perusinian soldiers, as it was not revealed by any monuments erected by the same Perusinians nor by any decree of the Romans.[166]

Although the fate of Perusinians is not clear, there is a difference between the two possible ways through which they might be remembered and honoured: one through a monument that could be erected by the same Perusinians '*ipsorum monumento ullo*', and the other through a possible intervention by Rome: '*decreto Romanorum*'. It can be assumed that with regard to the monuments of Anicius, likewise the Perusinians' unrealised monument, Livy considered that the dedications to Anicius and his men were erected by the people of Praeneste *populi sententia*.

The statue of Anicius described by Livy has very peculiar features; in fact, three distinctive elements are combined: the cuirass, the toga and the *capite velato*. The visual sequence of these three elements is indicative of the communicative message and the narrative that the statue expresses, aided by its inscription. The cuirass is hidden by the toga, which, because of its irregularity of form, clearly shows the presence of the armour beneath its folds. The head is covered, exalting the *pietas* of the character. These three elements retrace the history of the siege of Casilinum. Marcus Anicius was a citizen and clerk of Praeneste administration and his toga shows him as a proud citizen who is called to arms to discharge his military duty. The armour is worn beneath the toga to indicate his temporary role as a soldier and commander of the Prenestine soldiers before he dons the toga again, the garment representing his non-military state. The cuirass is a military synmbol. Yet the fact that it was positioned underneath the toga might indicate that his

[166] Livy 23.20.3: Perusinorum casus obscurior fama est, quia nec ipsorum monumento ullo est illustratus nec decreto Romanorum.

role in battle was less prominent, because he fought defensively rather than offensively. Further, the location of the statue in the forum of Praeneste suggests the highly civic values connected with this kind of honorific statue. The veiled head stands for the *pietas* of Marcus Anicius, who fulfilled the vow to bring his soldiers safely back to their home.

Such a reading of the statue is confirmed by the inscription: M. Anicium pro militibus qui Casilini in praesidio fuerint votum soluisse – M. Anicius had fulfilled his vow for the safety of his soldiers who were in the garrison at Casilinum. The narrative created by the inscriptions combined with the artwork iconography retraces all the events in which Anicius was involved. The whole message of such a narrative seems to point to the qualities of an ideal citizen. Called to arms, Marcus Anicius took off the toga to wear the cuirass, which could not be worn with any other garment over it. He fought to defend Casilinum with his men and he brought them back home fulfilling his vow to Fortune. The inscription guides the viewers, who step into the forum of Praeneste to imagine all the actions performed by the honoured man, not only indicated by the three main visual features of the statue (cuirass, toga and covered head), but also through the combination of these elements with the inscription and the collocation in the forum. Livy states that this inscription was set up three more times beneath three *signa* dedicated in the Temple of Fortuna in Praeneste. The repetition of the inscription from the public space in the sacred context of the temple emphasised the *pietas* of Anicius, who guaranteed the safe return to Praeneste. Further, the *fil rouge* that connected the two different collocations – the statue and the temple *signa* – renews the memory of the event for the citizens of Praeneste, as Livy said: *statua eius indicio fuit*. The collective memory of the Prenestines was imbued with the knowledge of this event as well as its implications because the statue was located in the most important space of Praeneste: the forum and the Temple of Fortuna. The aim was to refresh and reinforce the memory of Anicius' deeds; his actions were offered as a model to his fellow citizens.

Inscriptions and monuments dedicated to an individual by third parties – the Senate and the people – undergo a significantly different process compared to the inscriptions and monuments erected by the same characters that they celebrated (i.e. victorious commanders). Where we have an inscription or its content, such as in the two passages studied in this section, it is possible to understand how the statue was perceived by the community that conceived it.

Whereas honorific statues and *spolia* erected by Roman conquerors focus mostly on the military aspects of the dedication and proactive enterprises, in a statue erected not for self-glorification but by the community there is more room for values that are commonly shared among the community itself. In the case of Anicius, his defensive courage seems to be a key factor, and a reason for his actions to be an example to be imitated by other citizens. If the representations of victorious Roman commanders with an armour, or the triumphal toga, suggest their military valour and skills, Anicius' cuirass is hidden underneath his toga to prioritise civic and religious values. Anicius certainly did not win in the battlefield like other commanders; however, his victory is carried by the accomplishment of his vow, represented by the *caput velatum*. Although the text is only reported from a literary source, it seems that the emphasis is on the *pietas* and the *virtus* of Anicius. Conversely, in the epigraphic texts of honorific statues dedicated by victorious commanders, the office *cum imperio militiae* (praetorship, consulship or dictatorship) plays a central role in promoting their own political and military achievements, thus influencing the visual scheme adopted for the statues or dedications.

Overall, the inscription is fundamental in reconstructing the *iter* of Anicius' actions during the siege of Casilinum as it was understood, codified and monumentalised by his fellow citizens. His heroism is narrated by the textual inscription that also defines the visual scheme used for Anicius' honorific statue. In fact, he is depicted as a model to imitate – the ideal citizen who was honoured by his fellow citizens (*populi sententia*) for

his public service, *virtus* and *pietas*, both in the forum of Praeneste and in the Temple of Fortuna.

INSCRIPTIONS AS PATHWAYS TO MONUMENTS

The whole of the second century BC was a period of numerous military campaigns and significant political events, whose outcomes left significant traces in Roman historiography as well as in the morphology of Rome: the victory of T. Quinctius Flamininus over Philip V of Macedon in Macedon; the victory of L. Aemilius Paullus Macedonicus over Perseus; the victory of Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus over Andriscus; the victory against Corinth and the Achaean League by L. Mummius; the destruction of Carthage; the Lusitanian War; and the Jugurthine War. All of these demonstrate how Rome was fighting and expanding in many directions. The positive outcomes of all these actions ensured the flow of treasures of all kinds that were increasingly carried as war loot from the defeated enemies of the Republic. Rome was decorated and enriched with large, complex temples and statues by the same protagonists of those military actions who were competing through a 'battle of *honores*' against the backdrop of Rome. Statues were notable among the spoils due to their sophistication, the quality of their materials and their transportability. In addition, statues could be set up on bases that were inscribed with the name of their conqueror and other information.

The artworks captured from enemies, once set up on plinths, functioned as representations of their dedicators. First, the inscriptions not only provided a significant body of information but, more importantly, identified the dedicators of the compositions. Second, the excellence, foreignness and fine quality of the artworks themselves expressed the military successes of the dedicators. The huge wealth that flowed to Italy from military conquests was only the first step in emphasising the positive outcomes of the

wars. The protagonists of successful military actions needed to plan the right strategy to profit by their loot in the most effective way in order to maximise the fame and prestige they had achieved. In this way, a skirmish, a less crucial battle or a more peaceful resolution of a campaign could all be represented as major achievements. When Ambracia surrendered after being besieged by Nobilior in 189 BC, the consul did not hesitate to plunder, although he did not take the city with the force that was customary in such a situation (*Ambraciam vi captam esse non videri*).[167] However, the plunder was still of such an extent that Cato the Elder accused Nobilior of improper conduct.[168] The consul seems to have distributed crowns among his soldiers as a way of rewarding them for unimportant achievements in order to increase his popularity.[169] Cato, a keen political observer, knew that the crowns, as well as Nobilior's *manubiae*, would have impressed the people, presenting the soldiers as actors in Nobilior's extraordinary campaign, despite the fact that the reason for the prizes was unjustified and the *consuetudo* had not been respected. Triumphs and spoils of war, however, had the desired effect: Nobilior dedicated the Temple of Hercules Musarum, which was decorated with manubial statuary, in the Circus Flaminius. The loot acquired was used to reshape the significance of commanders' military achievements, their aim being to influence the people's perception of their successes through a skilful usage of the captured wealth. In this regard, inscriptions are extremely helpful in understanding this process, not as mere captions that simply identify the dedicator or the monument's subject, but in guiding the viewers through the significance of the monuments and their ideologies, enhancing or diminishing the visual effects, according to the strategy adopted.[170]

[167] Livy 38.44.6.
[168] Cf. Livy 38.43.6: bare walls and door posts had been left to the Ambracians to adore, to pray before and to use when supplicating - parietes postesque nudatos, quos adorent, ad quos precentur et supplicent, Ambraciensibus superesse. See Östenberg 2009a, 44–5.
[169] Gellius (5.6.242–6) affirms that Nobilior was accused by Cato of giving his soldiers crowns for unimportant achievements.
[170] Ma 2013, 15–17.

Temples, porticoes and other buildings were erected in Rome bearing the name of their dedicators along with other information; they were never left anonymous even when the inscription appears to be missing (e.g. the *Porticus Metelli* discussed below). However, one of the most common ways of emphasising the self-assertion of victorious commanders was through the erection of *spolia* paired with inscriptions. The spoils of war were used to emphasise the conquest, and using them in that way was intended as a deliberate action by commanders when expanding the control of Rome over enemy territories and acquiring foreign wealth, easily traceable in some of their inscriptions through the textual presence of ablatives of separation (e.g. *Ambracia* or *Aetolia cepit*) or ablative absolute (e.g. *Corintho* or *Carthagine capta*). Further, spoils of war were donated to other Italian cities as well as to Rome, with the aim of emphasising the prestige and generosity of the dedicators. When people approached these spoils of war the very first impression they received was that they were looking at something that was brought there by an action: the military outcome of a victorious commander. The name of the commander clearly followed the steps of this logical narrative, with its textual inclusion in the inscription, along with other syntactic elements. These kinds of dedications had a slightly different reception compared with portrait statues, which were organised in a different conceptual order. In a portrait statue, the subject represented is evident along with the textual name, which is followed by the textual celebration of the protagonists' *virtus* and *honos*. The monuments that fall into this category focus entirely on the subjects who were represented and, especially in Rome, on the members of their families. The function of text, likewise, in the statue looted and rededicated (see Part I), appears to be significant for the reading and reception of the portrait statues and *monumenta gentium* by the audience. In the next section I shall analyse two monuments belonging to illustrious families, erected between the end of the second and the beginning of the first

century BC. The aim is to show how inscriptions actively contribute to giving a more complex reading of the monuments, and how they were received by their audience.

MONUMENTA GENTIUM AND THEIR VISUAL–TEXTUAL STRATEGIES

The picture that emerges from the battle of *honores* during the second century BC is reflected by the erection or refurbishment of monuments that represented the dignity of the greatest families of Rome. The funerary monuments of the Roman elite were gradually but constantly influenced by the Greek models. Only during the time of the Late Republic did the construction of funerary monuments reach its maximum expansion, with an emphasis on architectural structure, and a range of typologies.[171] The second-century funerary monuments left only *disiecta membra*, which include architectural elements. Epigraphic remains or sculpture fragments from the more prolific necropoleis on the Esquiline, the Via Labicana, the Porta Maggiore and the Via Appia suggest that there are two phases of funerary monumentalisation: the first between the second and first century BC, and a second one during the Late Republic.

The mid-Republican artistic tradition was influenced by Greek taste, and during the second century it can be seen on the architecture of funerary buildings, for example, the Arieti Tomb on the Esquiline with the exedra that shows a connection with the funerary structure used at Tusculum for the family tomb of the *gens Furia*.[172] Whereas the front area of the Furii monument introduced the viewers to the carved, uniform design for the graves, the vestibule of the Arieti Tomb had a different function: it honoured the deceased through paintings. The fresco seems to be connected with the southern Italian tradition both for iconography (scenes of battles) and content (triumphs), but also fits with the

[171] Hesberg and Zanker 1987; Hesberg 1994; Gros 2001; Gros 2002; Lippolis 2006; Giatti 2007, 2011.
[172] Borda 1956–58; Devoti 1981; Poccetti 1982.

artistic tradition during the mid-republican period and is aligned with the communicative system of self-promotion. The grave style with a podium and kiosk (whose shape was functional in incorporating the diverse types of statues placed within) that originated from Greece and the East became popular for the elites during the second century BC.[173] The statue of the deceased was placed into the structure (*naiskos*), giving the elite a valid artistic choice for the personal promotion of their status.[174] In the more architecturally flamboyant Tomb of the Scipios, the influence of both architectural elements can be seen: the exedra with its fresco as in the Arieti Tomb, and the *naiskos*.

The competition with regard to personal merit permeated the funerary context too, and in the second century BC this was evident in a rich dynamism characterised both by experimental designs of the architecture of funerary monuments and a high level of emulation, just as in the case of the honorific statues and dedications that commanders erected after their victorious military campaigns. The exceptional status of these individuals is reflected by the construction of complexes that could include temples, sepulchres and villas. This is the case of the Cornelii Scipiones in relation to the Temple of Tempestates, but also the Claudii Marcelli in relation to the Temple of Honos and Virtus, and the *Sepulcrum Claudiorum*, situated close to the slopes of the Capitoline and near to the Temple of Bellona.[175] Overall, the binomial composition of *aedes – sepulcrum* seems to have been adopted and emulated among the elites' funerary representations.[176]

[173] Coarelli 1996, 207.
[174] La Rocca 1990, 2011; Gros 2002, 14–18; Lippolis 2006, 2007; Hesberg 2006; Giatti 2011.
[175] Suet. *Tib.* 1.1 atque in patricias cooptata agrum insuper trans Anienem clientibus locumque sibi ad sepulturam sub Capitolio publice accepit. It was accepted that the Claudian family, among the patrician families, received from the State lands located beyond the Anio river for its clients, and a place for burial (for its family) at the foot of the Capitoline Hill. La Rocca 1999, 279; Cf. Pliny 35.12 for consul Appius Claudius' decoration of the Temple of Bellona with *imagines clupeatae* of his ancestors. Pliny refers to the consul of 495 BC but the temple did not exist at that time. La Rocca 1990, 356 and 412 proposed that the consul was Appius Claudius Pulcher in 79 BC.
[176] Coarelli 1972, 71–3; Zevi 1999, 282.

The definition of these complexes as the consolidation of familiar burial sites and temples risks overshadowing the artistic decoration of the funerary monuments. Statuary groups and architectural structures were more than a decoration for the burials; rather, they had an independent function in celebrating the status and political relevance of the family. Furthermore, the reconstruction of the statuary groups and their own inscriptions can not help only to better understand the importance of the socio-political competition among the *gentes*, but also to recalibrate our knowledge with regard to surviving complexes such as the Tomb of the Scipios. A premise seems to be necessary before considering the cases studied. It is suggested here that these complexes are formed by a trinomial composition: *aedes – sepulcrum – monumentum*, which offers a more suitable division for their spatial organisation and functions.[177]

In fact, it might be deceiving to strictly identify a statuary group placed near a burial site or encased in a funerary building façade as a part of its location's funerary ideology, devoid of any independent function. Further, considering a statue placed near a burial site as a funerary monument is more in keeping with modern approaches to celebrating the deceased. Rome, as well as other cities, was, in fact, crowded with statues of all kinds. Funerary steles, graves or small monuments such as statues in kiosks on inscribed plinths cannot be compared with the large complexes erected by powerful members of the elites

[177] The word *monumentum* has a plurality of meanings. It might refer to any kind of buildings, temples, burial sites or statues. In this work I confine the word *monumentum* to the statuary of individuals who wanted to 'remind' (from the same root of *monere*) people of their *res gestae*. This is also a concept expressed by Varro, *Ling.* 6.49: Ab eodem monere, quod is qui monet, proinde sit ac memoria; sic monimenta quae in sepulcris, et ideo secundum viam, quo praetereuntis admoneant et se fuisse et illos esse mortalis. Ab eo cetera quae scripta ac facta memoriae causa monimenta dicta. The statues of powerful individuals, more than any other monuments, had a stronger impact on the viewers, almost as if the people they represented were physically present or alive. It could be helpful to cite how during the *funus publicum* of Sulla, his equestrian statue and that of a lictor were carried during the procession. Plut. *Vit. Sull.* 38.1.6. The spectacular procession of Sulla's dead body and his army was a reason for many people to be afraid, because, apparently, Sulla was actually still alive and marching in the procession (App *B. Civ.* 1.106). The presence of his statue and that of the lictor concurred to enhance such an effect. On the definition and use of *monumentum*, see Miano 2011.

during the third century BC along the Via Appia, which need to be analysed in a different way.[178]

The first example are the *monumenta Marcelli*, consisting of a tripartite statuary group erected by M. Claudius Marcellus between 151 BC and 148 BC near the Temple of Honos and Virtus, representing his father, consul in 196 BC, and his grandfather, the famous Marcellus *consul quinquies*. This statuary group, which was inscribed on its base, is recorded by Asconius (*In Pisonem*):

> This same man on erecting statues to himself, his father, and his grandfather, he added an inscription at the tomb of his grandfather near to the Temple of Honos et Virtus: 'III Marcelli nine time consul.' For he was himself three times consul, his grandfather five times, and his father once.[179]

According to Asconius, this dynastic statuary group was erected near the Temple of Honos and Virtus *ad Portam Capenam*, and placed *extra pomoerium*.[180] It is not exactly certain where the statuary group was placed. La Rocca suggested that this monument was placed not as part of the tomb but in a *sacellum* or *herôon*, separate from the tomb and in proximity with the temple.[181] Another option is that, similar to the configuration of the Tomb of the Scipios' *sepulcrum*, the statuary group worked as a façade for the *sepulcrum*

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[178] The location favoured by powerful *gens* was the first section of the Via Appia Cf. Cic. *Tusc. 1.7.13:* an tu egressus porta Capena, cum Calatini Scipionum Serviliorum Metellorum sepulcra vides, miseros putas illos?

[179] Asc. *Pis.* 12 C. s15–19 (Lewis 24): idem, cum status sibi ac patri itemque avo poneret in monumentis avi sui ad Honoris et Virtutis, decore subscripsit: III MARCELLI NOVIES COSS. Fuit enim ipse ter consul, avus quinquies, pater semel. For the chronology: Stein 1931, 27; Flower 1996, 71; Sehlmeyer 1999, 163–5; Papini 2004, 401–2; Cadario 2005, 165–6.

[180] Cic. *Att.* 4.1.5; Livy 29.11.13. Ziolkowski 1992, 58; Aberson 1994, 145; Cadario 1995, 165; Palombi 1996, 32; Papini 2004, 402. *Contra* Richardson 1978, 244; Sehlmeyer 1999, 164, who argues that the Temple of Honos and Virtus was inside the Porta Capena, but this is not acceptable. For example, compare with *ad Portam Capenam* for Scipio's tomb (Livy 38.55.4) and another use of *ad Portam Capenam* (Ziolkowski 1992, 59). Finally, it is very hard to argue against the hypothesis of the Temple of Honos and Virtus *intra pomerium*, considering that the *sepulcrum Marcellorum* had a strong relationship with this temple.

[181] La Rocca proposed that this configuration followed the Tomb of Scipio, in which he argued that the statuary group is separated from the *sepulcrum* in order to explain the presence of the statue of the poet Ennius. I will come back to this matter subsequently in this section. La Rocca 1990, 356. Cf. Papini 2004, 401 who argues that such a reconstruction is not acceptable because it does not follow the literary sources.

Marcellorum.[182] The integration of the statuary group with the tomb, either as an architectural solution, such as a façade, or standing alone but in close proximity to the tomb, does not mean that the statuary group has the same function as that of the tomb, or that it is a mere appendage to the *sepulcrum*. There is no doubt that the Temple of Honos and Virtus with the *ornamenta* (Livy 25.40.3), the *sepulcrum* and the statuary group has political strength as a whole in promoting the exceptional status of the Marcellus family, similar to other complexes, not only the Tomb of the Scipios, but also complexes that do not include a burial site, such as the Porticus Metelli. However, the way in which each element composing the trinomial *aedes – sepulcrum – monumentum* communicates its political message and engages in dialogue with the audience is significantly different. For example, the Temple of Honos and Virtus directly addresses the personification of two specific Roman values as belonging to the Claudii Marcelli.[183] The *ornamenta* dedicated in the temple suggest the military achievements of the conqueror of Syracuse (see Part I). In terms of size and prominence the monumental tomb overcame many other more modest *sepulcra* that were disseminated along the Via Appia, a status symbol crucial for informing those people who were approaching the Urbs about the most notable families of Rome. What is missing in this system of monuments is a more effective personal presence of the most illustrious family members, which was, in fact, dedicated during the middle of the second century BC by M. Claudius Marcellus (consul in 166 BC, 155 BC and 152 BC). The tripartite statue shows the three Marcelli along with the sum of the consulship. Rather than offering a single inscription for each statue, the dedicator wanted to emphasise strongly the political role of the family as a whole.[184]

[182] Coarelli 1996, 208–9; 1999, 280
[183] Hölscher 1978, 341; Hölkeskamp 1996, 325; Papini 2004, 401.
[184] The sum of consulships as an instrument of self-presentation is interestingly used by the same Claudius Marcellus for his own statue in Luni, whose inscription focuses on the number of his consulates (*consol iterum*).

In Rome, although the inscriptions recorded for the statuary group do not follow a customary formula, which specifies filiations such as *M(arci) f(ilius)* and *M(arci) N(epos)*, the disposition of the three statues was likely to form a logical order: from the grandfather, conqueror of Syracuse, at the start, to the father at the centre and then, finally, reaching Claudius Marcellus.[185] According to Asconius, the inscription had only the sum of consulships without the filiation. Whether or not the filiation was included in the real inscription, the presence of the three statues reinstates the missing textual part by their juxtaposition, suggesting the filiation of Marcellus in visual form. Furthermore, the three statues might also suggest a way to 'read' the statuary group and, therefore, to perceive the narrative promoted: from the greatest deeds of the *quinquies* consul, to his grandson, Marcellus. He was the epitome of the successes and honours obtained by the Claudii Marcelli.

The collegiality present in the inscription, as reported by Asconius, might offer a speculation on the typology of the composition. As opposed to the inscribed statue base in Luni, which has only one subject, Claudius Marcellus, the plural nominative '*III Marcelli*' contains three subjects, discouraging a prioritisation of one subject above another but representing all three subjects in a (presumably chronological) sequence. Conversely, the statue of Claudius Marcellus in Luni, the design of which is likely to be the foot-rise type, benefits from the visual impact and ideological meaning of the (semi-)heroic style used for his statue.[186] Depicting him alone, in a prominent place such as the Capitolium, the statue focuses on his personal, heroic charisma more than on his lineage and, thus, its message would have clearly stood out for its audience.[187]

[185] For an interesting case, which might have similarities with Marcellus' monument, see the *Domitii Ahenobarbi* inscription: Coarelli 1996, 300–11; Sehlmeyer 1999, 192–3.
[186] Cadario 2005, 162–3.
[187] Angeli Bertinelli 1983, 68; Frova 1984.

However, the triple honorary monument in Rome was placed next to both the *sepulcrum* and the Temple of Honos and Virtus. This location might suggest that the statue types would be chosen appropriately to show the military commands of the people they represented: a toga (*picta*) for the triumphs celebrated;[188] less likely, a senatorial toga for the conqueror of Syracuse who celebrated both an *ovatio* and a triumph on the Alban Mount in 211 BC, or a mix of these iconographic solutions. It is not possible to know what kind of statues were employed for this honorary monument; however, it is unlikely that the type used was the (semi-)heroic style.[189] The reason is that the inscription identifies the three subjects as consuls; because the location was outside the pomerium in a military zone, and especially given the connection with the Temple of Honos and Virtus, linked to consular military achievements, this suggests cuirassed statues or ones dressed in triumphal vests.[190] More importantly, the inscription focuses on their similarity, so we should probably expect three identically dressed and posed statues.

Nevertheless, the Hellenistic influence should be seen in how the monument was conceived, rather than in the choice of the statue type. The monument followed the Hellenistic 'dynastic' monuments and was enclosed by a system of *monumenta* that formed the whole complex. What emerges from this picture is that the style of the statuary group of the Marcelli is both defined by its inscription, in which the military qualities are emphasised by the number of the consulships, and determined by the dialogue between the statuary group and the other monuments. In fact, the ideological significance of the

[188] M. Claudius Marcellus celebrated one triumph in 222 BC, *de Galleis Insubribus et ger[ma(neis*)], and one *ovatio* and one Alban Mount triumph in 211 BC (de Syracusanis). It is less likely that he was represented with the normal senatorial toga used for both the *ovatio* and the Alban Mount triumph. His son had one triumph in 196 BC: *de Gal[leis Insubribus]*). The grandson and dedicator of the statuary group, Claudius Marcellus, celebrated two triumphs, the first in 166 BC: *de Gallis Contrubriis, Liguribus (V)eliatibis*, and the second in 155 BC: [de …]us et Apua[neis]. Cf. Degrassi 1947, 534–71.

[189] The (semi-)heroic style works better in a stand-alone space, such as the same Marcellus' statue in Luni 155–148 BC, the statue of Cartilius Poplicola in Ostia and the statue of Caesar on the Capitoline as reported by Cassius Dio (43.14.6); all three were placed on the Capitolium of their respective cities.

[190] For *virtus* as ideal value connected to military achievements, Hölscher 1994, 36.

Temple of Honos and Virtus was strongly connected with the exceptional status of its dedicator's illustrious family, suggested by the juxtaposition of the tomb with the temple.

The second phase of the Tomb of the Scipios, during which the complex was significantly enlarged with a monumentalised façade, is characterised by the opening of a new section.[191] We do not know for sure who was the responsible for the refurbishment; it is, however, plausible that it was carried out by Scipio Aemilianus, adoptive grandson of the famous Africanus, in the second century BC (between 150 BC and 130 BC).[192] The timespan is crucial for an understanding of the new façade. In the reconstruction by Coarelli, the façade contained three statues placed in niches flanked by semi-columns.[193] According to Livy, the subjects of the statues seem to be Scipio Africanus and Asiaticus, along with the poet Ennius.[194]

Before the refurbishment of the tomb and the erection of the '*III Marcelli*' statue, Aemilianus and Marcellus were the protagonists of a political clash during the conduct of a military operation by Marcellus in *Hispania Citerior* against the Celtiberian tribes, which was opposed by the Senate.[195] Aemilianus, although young, had partially influenced the Senate in its decision.[196] Despite this, Marcellus concluded the war,

[191] Coarelli 1996, 201–3.
[192] Coarelli 1996, 203 noted that the material used, tufa from the Anien river, was used in architectural construction (*aqua Marcia*) for the first time in 144 BC. The statues were made in marble: Cic. *Arch.* 22 Carus fuit Africano superiori noster Ennius, itaque etiam in sepulcro Scipionum putatur is esse constitutes ex marmore. Cf. Coarelli 1996, 216–17; Papini 2004, 396. A new reconstruction has been proposed by Volpe 2014, 182–5 with a narrow disposition of the semi-column compared to Coarelli's reconstruction and, therefore, smaller in size to the other three statues.
[193] Coarelli 1972.
[194] Livy 38.56: Romae extra Porta Capenam in Scipionum monumento tres statueae sunt, quarum duae P. et L. Scipionum dicuntur esse, tertia poeatae Q. Enni.
[195] Polyb. 35.3; App. *Hisp.* 49. The contraposition between the two families can also be traced back to their grandfathers, M. Claudius Marcellus and Scipio Africanus, who both distributed dedications and donatives in the temples and cities of Sicily. Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.11: qui illum eius peculatum vel acerrime vindicandum putent, quod iste M. Marcelli et P. Africani monumenta, quae nomine illorum, re vera populi Romani et errant et habebantur, ex fanis religiosissimis et ex urbibus sociorum atque amicorum non dubitarit auferre.
[196] Polyb 35.4.8; App. *Hisp.* 50–1.

securing a large amount of loot.[197] The monument of the '*III Marcelli*' was built shortly after Marcellus' return. The new façade for the Tomb of the Scipios followed the triumph of Aemilianus over the Carthaginians during the Third Punic War in 145 BC.[198]

The short timespan in which the two monuments were erected, each of them decorated by three statues, assumes more weight than a mere coincidence. The monument of the '*III Marcelli*', built prior to the refurbishment of the Tomb of the Scipios, might have provided a guide for Aemilianus' decision (or that of another Scipio) to provide a similar scheme for his family tomb.[199] Ancient sources have attested the existence of the three statues, now lost, although their identity is uncertain.[200] The whole composition was enriched by fine triumphal paintings on the podium over which the façade was placed.[201] The different layers of the paintings show the versatility of the composition, certainly updated in the second phase of the complex when the façade was built along with the marble statues. Undoubtedly, inscriptions were placed beneath the three statues, creating a suggestive effect and reinforcing the propagandistic messages of the entire monumental façade.[202] If the monument of the '*III Marcelli*' and its inscription was the model followed by Aemilianus, the togate statue, attributed to the poet Ennius, could have represented

[197] Livy *Per.* 48: Cum M. Claudius Marcellus pacasse omnes Celtiberiae populous videretur. For the loot, Strabo 3.4.13: φησὶ δὲ Ποσειδώνιος Μάρκον Μάρκελλον πράξασθαι φόρον ἐκ τῆς Κελτιβηρίας τάλαντα ἑξακόσια, ἐξ οὗ τεκμαίρεσθαι πάρεστιν ὅτι καὶ πολλοὶ ἦσαν οἱ Κελτίβηρες καὶ χρημάτων εὐποροῦντες, καίπερ οἰκοῦντες χώραν παράλυπρον.
[198] Livy *Per.* 52.7: Q. Caecilius Metellus de Andrisco triumphavit, P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus de Carthagine et Hasdrubale.
[199] Cadario 2005, 165–6.
[200] Cicero uses a *putatur*, whereas Livy uses a *dicuntur esse* showing the ty of their identification. The presence of three statues is a significant detail that has been crucial for the reconstruction of the façade.
[201] The dimensions of the painting were significant – 2 m high. This allowed the figures to be almost human size. La Rocca 1977; La Rocca 1990, 355; Talamo 2008, 62–5; Valeri 2010.
[202] It is impossible to believe that such statues were set up in this famous complex without any inscriptions. This would go against both the honorary and funerary practice of Roman culture. Cicero informs us about the statues in 62 BC (the date of the *pro Archia*), although their erection was 80–90 years before this. It has been demonstrated that there is a chronological gap with regard to the use of the tomb. Between the end of the second century BC and its reuse during the first century AD, the tomb seems not to have been used for burial and to have been abandoned. Coarelli 1996, 181–201.

instead the triumphal *toga picta* of the same Aemilianus, who would, thus, stand along with his adoptive grandfather (the famous Africanus) and his brother Asiaticus.

In both complexes, the inscriptions had a fundamental role in defining both the way to approach the monuments and their significance. The monument of the '*III Marcelli*' introduced the viewers to the *honores* of the three illustrious members, visually presented as a whole, in direct connection with the nearby Temple of Honos and Virtus. The visual and textual scheme that was chosen for the Tomb of the Scipios seems to guide the viewers along the triumphal pathway created by the interplay of paintings, statues and inscription. The result is the glory of the Cornelii Scipiones, a political response to the competition among the *nobilitas*, and especially with the Claudii Marcelli. Whatever the solution chosen in rebuilding the Tomb of the Scipios, the three statues should remind us of the epigraphic habit of tracing filiation back to the grandfather (Figure 5). The relationship between inscriptions and monuments on a syntactic level can be very useful in reconstructing their physical features. This is because in a single set, inscriptions and monuments follow the same syntax.[203]

[203] There is an interesting hypothesis that the monument of the Domitii Ahenobarbi also followed a similar tripartite scheme, both visual and textual. We know that this monument was not connected with the burial site of the family, but was erected as a donative on the Capitoline before being destroyed shortly after (Coarelli 1996, 300–11; Sehlmeyer 1999 192–3) Coarelli rebuilt this monument in tripartite format, at the same time reconstructing the surviving inscription: […] *Domitio Cn(aei) f(ilio) Cn(aeo) Do[mitio …]* as *Cn(aeo Domitio Cn(aei) f(ilio) Cn(aeo Domitio Cn(aei) f(ilio) Cn(aeo Domitio Cn(aei) f(ilio)*. Coarelli's argument relies on the size of letters and the shape of the marble stone. The size of the letters (10.9 cm high) is proportional to the size of the podium, whose length has been calculated at around 3.2m (Coarelli 1991, 213–14). In Coarelli's prosopographical reconstruction, it appears that the identities of the three *Domitii* were: Gn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the grandfather of the dedicator, the consul of 162 BC; his father, the consul of 122 BC; and, finally, the dedicator himself, consul in 96 BC. The height of the three hypothetical statues was calculated by Coarelli as 2–2.3 m. The argument supporting this hypothesis is not only the proportions of the monument based on the height of the letters, but also that: per vari motivi, il cosiddetto 'principe ellenistico' del Museo delle Terme può restituirci un'immagine adeguata di tali statue. Although the proportion of the statues was also dependent on the long inscriptions, there is no evidence to support the suggestion that the Hellenistic Prince was a model for the three statues. Further, the inscription, which is dated the first decade of the first century BC, suggests that this type of heroic nudity might be too early for statues placed *in Capitolio*.

The epigraphic use of a filiation that could be traced back to the grandfather (*filius*, *nepos*) in honorary and funerary inscriptions seems to have had an impact on the visuality of the monuments set up by the *nobilitas*. The presence of grandfather, father and grandson, the latter usually being the dedicator himself, worked to reaffirm and strengthen the ties of a subject with his family, or his adoptive family. The filiation inscription has contributed to creating a pattern for the visual scheme chosen for monuments of families, whether they have a funerary/honorary context, whether they are only celebrative, like the Domitii Ahenobarbi, or whether they are presented in a 'small version', like the Barberini Togatus. Furthermore, these kinds of monuments addressed the collectivity, informing them who the protagonists of the glorious military actions of Rome were. Displaying the genealogy both in a visual and textual way was crucial for dedicators to consolidate their triumphs and add them to those of their ancestors. In the case of the Tomb of the Scipios and the Claudii Marcelli, the monuments and their inscriptions were placed at the pivotal point of their complexes' spatial organisation. The interplay between the trinomial elements (*aedes – monumentum – sepulcrum*) of these complexes enhanced their political message to the audience who approached them alongside the Via Appia. The complexity created by the spatial combination of visual, textual and architectural elements was functional in relation to what communicative strategies were used by the family, whose aim was to enhance the visual and memorial experience of the audience. The left-to-right orientation of the inscription also indicated the direction in which the sculptural monuments should be 'read'. At the end of the reading, the audience would have integrated the statuary group with its surrounding space, intensifying the visual experience. The monument of the Claudii Marcelli connected with the Temple of Honos and Virtus emphasised the *honores* of the family, whereas the Cornelii Scipiones followed a different monumental strategy to advertise their *honores.* The Tomb of the Scipios statuary, framed in a sumptuous façade, was surrounded by sophisticated

triumphal paintings under the aegis of the Temple of Tempestates, which was dedicated by the son of Barbatus, L. Corenlius Scipio, the consul of 259 BC (Figure 6).[204] The monument of Domitii Ahenobarbi was framed *in Capitolio*, probably close to the Temple of Ops Opifera.[205]

The *monumenta gentium,* following the Hellenistic model of dynastic monuments, fit perfectly with the artistic role that Rome was going to assume: a city decorated in the manner of a Hellenistic capital. Different from the dynastic monuments of the Hellenistic cities, the Roman versions have represented the most illustrious members of the families in question without giving space to any other subjects, such as women or children.[206] It would be helpful to quote Pliny (*HN* 35.12):

> But the first person to institute the custom of privately dedicating the shields with portraits in a temple or public place, I find, was Appius Claudius, the consul with Publius Servilius in the 259th year of the city. He set up his ancestors in the shrine of the Bellona, and desired them to be in full view on an elevated spot, and the inscriptions stating their honours to be read. This is a seemly device, especially if miniature likenesses of a swarm of children at the sides display a sort of brood of nestlings; shields of this description everybody views with pleasure and approval.

This meaningful passage shows the concern to display *maiores suos in sacro vel publico*, and that the *imagines clupeatae* of ancestors should be provided with inscriptions indicating the offices they held in the past. However, the most striking part is the perception of the people viewing the monuments: nobody could look at them without feeling joy and approval. This demonstrates how entrenched the Roman custom was with

[204] Ziolkowski 1992, 162–3. *CIL* I^2 8-9, *ILLRP* 310. Ov. *Fast.* 6.193–4.
[205] Coarelli 1996, 310–11.
[206] In the Late Republic it becomes a more common practice both in Rome and Greece, for example: the family group of L. Valerius Flaccus at Magnesia in 62 BC, in which three women of the family were represented, his mother, wife and daughter; Cicero's monument at Samos with members of his family. Cf. Cadario 2005, 167–8; Kajava 1990; Rose 1997, 7–8.

regard to showing both ancestors and inscriptions in sacred space, public space and private space.[207]

Monumental complexes in Rome: Mummius' temple and Metellus' porticus

I have demonstrated how the extra-urban complexes of the *nobilitas* adopted visual and textual solutions conjoined with a strategic spatial organisation to self-promote and commemorate their political successes. Two similar cases, this time inside Rome, can be observed: the construction of the Temple of Hercules by L. Mummius; and the ambitious project of the *Porticus Metelli* by Metellus Macedonicus. The first has a very long inscription that evokes the '*res gestae Mummi*', a sort of first monumental inscription. This introduces the audience to the temple Mummius dedicated after his victory against the Achean League and the destruction of Corinth in 146 BC. The latter has no inscription at all, but a very complicated spatial organisation that consists of architectural structures built *ex novo* – the portico itself, the Temple of Jupiter Stator and the refurbished Temple of Juno Regina – in which monuments plundered after the victory of Metellus against Andriscus in the Fourth Macedonian War feature. The first part of this section explores how there was no need for any inscriptions on Metellus' portico because it engaged the audience with other elements in order to execute his propagandistic strategy. The second part investigates the strategy followed by L. Mummius in presenting his conquest through the erection of the Temple of Hercules, the importance of which was demonstrated by its inscription. The inscription has a very long text, suggesting that the viewers were exposed to his message for a prolonged period of time before approaching the temple and its cult statue. The self-representation strategy followed by Mummius responds to different needs

[207] Pliny *HN* 35.13. Pliny refers to M. Aemilius Lepidus, who placed the clipeate images both in the Basilica Aemilia and in his own house: non in basilica modo Aemilia verum et domi suae posuit.

compared to those of Metellus Macedonicus, whose characteristics are explored in this section.

THE GHOST INSCRIPTION OF METELLUS' PORTICO

After his triumph in 146 BC over Andriscus, Q. Metellus Macedonicus built the Temple of Jupiter Stator in Pentelic marble, and he refurbished the pre-existing Temple of Juno Regina (179 BC).[208] The commission of the Temple of Jupiter Stator was given to Hermodorus of Salamis, a famous Greek architect active in Rome during this time.[209] The cult statues of Jupiter and Juno were created by the Athenians Polycles and Dionysius, both sons of Timarchides.[210] The two temples were enclosed by a huge quadriporticus, which formed a sort of *temenos*, and the entrance to the portico was through two monumental porches. The portico gave Metellus the opportunity to display his vast amount of loot, including a famous artwork created by the Greek sculptor Lysippus known as the Granikos Monument.[211] It has been pointed out how the spatial organisation of the portico was intentionally conceptualised to maximise the visual impact on the audience when approaching the group and the other artwork plundered, especially by the creation of a very controlled space almost separate from the city.[212] The restricted access into the portico 'forced' the people to be exposed to a real scenography, which had been set up by Macedonicus and was similar to the Greek model.[213] The rigidity of this

[208] Vell. Pat. 1.11.2–5; Livy *Per.* 52; Val. Max. 7.5.4; Eutr. 4.14; Macrob. *Sat.* 3.4.2.
[209] Vitr. *De arch.* 3.2.5; Vell. Pat. 1.11.3–5; Pliny *HN* 34.31; Festus 496L.
[210] Pliny *HN* 36.35; Festus 363L.
[211] Vell. Pat. 1.11.3–4; Pliny *HN* 34.64. Celani 1998, 66–8; Papini 2004, 416–18. The group consisted of bronze statues representing the 25 'companions' (εταίροι) of Alexander the Great, who died in 334 BC at the Battle of the Granikos River. The statue of Alexander was also placed among them. Originally, Alexander set up the group in the Macedonian sanctuary of Zeus at Dion. Arr. *Anab.* 1.16.4.
[212] Russell 2016, 120–6 on the controlled space of Metellus' complex; and 145–6 on the Granikos Monument.
[213] Cf. There are several reminders of Greek models: such a disposition of the artwork is similar to how monuments were displayed in the *Athena Nikephoros* in Pergamon; the temple in Pentelic marble; the Greek artists; the *turma*; etc.

architectural scheme works to focus the audience's attention on the exceptionality of twenty-six bronze statues set against a background of the Temple of Jupiter Stator, which was built entirely of marble, and the refurbished Temple of Juno Regina next to it. Ritual ceremonies were performed in the space around the temples within sight of many other plundered artworks that were organised in the portico. The parallelism between the dedication to Zeus by Alexander in Dion and that of Metellus Macedonicus in Rome is unquestionable, and the effect is exceptional: the fine Greek artworks had the sought-after effect of projecting the audience into another dimension, more precisely where Metellus Macedonicus won his epithet. Consider the look of the fine materials used by the talented Greek sculptor's hand, the polychromic effects created by the reflection of the 26 bronze statues hit by the sun and the smoke and scent of the incense during sacrifices, the viewers' journey progresses in a series of powerful sensorial experiences deep in the architectural complexes. Ultimately, the restriction created by the two entrances of the portico controls and emphasises the audience's sensorial experience.[214] All the elements of Metellus' portico and temples support his propagandistic message: a new Alexander, a conqueror who defended Rome in Macedonia and who defeated the enemy under the aegis of Jupiter Stator. It seems that Metellus Macedonicus pointed to the association with the tradition of Romulus' vow to Jupiter Stator, which made the Romans stand against Titus Tatius' Sabines at the Palatine gate and push the enemy back.

We would now expect all this information to be carved on stone or written on bronze and hung somewhere in the complex or on the façades of the temples, as was the

[214]Macaulay-Lewis 2008, 89–147; Macaulay-Lewis 2011; Russell 2016, 122. Further, Russell 2016, 123 argued that there is 'a strict distinction between sacred (and public) temple and semi-private portico'. In fact, the interplay between the different spaces (sacred, public, semi-private) can be seen in Metellus' portico and is pivotal to his self-celebration. Russell concludes that ceremonies were performed in 'Metellus' space', that is, the sort of *temenos* formed between the temple and the portico. In this space the looted statues and the architecture limited the movement of the participants in ceremonies. They perceived '[in these larger complexes] that the private power of the general achieved spatial expression in a sacred context' (126). See also Russell 2016, 96–100 for the argument in relation to sacred space.

cultural habit of the Roman Republic. Before considering this crucial detail, which is the centre of my argument, it is important to be reminded of the chronology of Metellus' portico in the light of the political competition.

It has been demonstrated in the previous section entitled '*Monumenta gentium* and their visual–textual strategies' that time was a crucial factor for the erection of monuments of any sort. In the middle of the second century BC, within a relatively short time frame, commanders competed to erect the most beautiful, rich and decorated monuments in Rome, transforming the Urbs into a Hellenistic capital. Examples include the *Porticus Octavia* and the Palatine house constructed by Octavius between 167 BC and 165 BC to celebrate his triumph against Perseus of Macedon, and the monument of the Claudii Marcelli.[215]

Between 146–145 BC, three commanders, Scipio Aemilianus, Metellus Macedonicus and L. Mummius almost simultaneously celebrated their triumphs. Eutropius recorded these three triumphs as *celeberrimi*: *Africani ex Africa … Metelli ex Macedonia … Mummi ex Corintho.*[216] They competed among each other by erecting marvellous buildings and decorations: the refurbished Temple of Juno Regina; the Temple of Hercules; and the colossal statue of Apollo taken from Carthage and set up in the Circus Flamininus by Scipio Aemilianus;[217] L. Mummius' temple; and Metellus Macedonicus' portico. It is clear that time was an issue for them. Accordingly, Metellus'

[215] Welch 2006, 121–3. For the *Porticus Octavia*: Viscogliosi 1999 139–41. Cicero (*Off*. 1.138) explains clearly how very important it was to build even a house to achieve political favour and how such a house attracted visitors to see the artworks displayed: 'Cn. Octavio, qui primus ex illa familia consul factus est, honori fuisse accepimus, quod praeclaram aedificasset in Palatio et plenam dignitatis domum; quae cum vulgo viseretur, suffragata domino, novo homini, ad consulatum putabatur' –'We have heard that Gnaeus Octavius – the first of that family to be elected consul – distinguished himself by building upon the Palatine an attractive and imposing house. Everybody went to see it, and it was thought to have gained votes for the owner, a new man, in his canvassing for the consulship.'
[216] Eutr. 4.14.2.
[217] For the *aedes Aemiliana Herculis*: Festus 282L; Pliny *HN* 35.19; Plut. *Prae. ger. reip*. 816C; Livy 10.23.3. Cf. Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 134–8; Coarelli 1988, 84–103, 166; Ziolkowski 1988, 314; Fridh 1991, 11–12. For the statue of Apollo, Plut. *Vit. Flam.* 1.1. Cf. Coarelli 1988, 156.

complex was made out of peperino covered with stucco, making it quicker and cheaper to erect; meanwhile, the Temple of Jupiter Stator itself, which was constructed out of Pentelic marble, took longer to complete.[218] An explanation can be found in the consulship that Metellus Macedonicus achieved in 143 BC (he was also consul in 131 BC). The political competition within the *nobilitas* seemed to demand that whether or not an important victory had been achieved, once an individual obtained the higher office of consulship, his status had to be represented in order to be remembered. This attitude, evident throughout the republican period and especially in the middle of the second century BC, pushed these powerful men to keep up with elaborate reconstruction, refurbishment or decoration of their own monuments. Such political competition, therefore, explains what architectural solutions and decorations were employed for all the commanders of that period, and why.

What sets Metellus' portico apart is the absence of any inscription, which, as previously mentioned, is so atypical that it cannot be understood as a particular case, but as a specific strategy of self-promotion. Velleius Paterculus (1.11.4) gives a very important account of how Metellus' portico was conceived by Metellus:

> hic est Metellus Macedonicus, qui porticus, quae fuerunt circumdatae duabus aedibus sine inscriptione positis.
>
> It is this Metellus Macedonicus who had built the portico which surrounded the two temples placed without inscriptions.

The decision not to inscribe the name of a dedicator over a temple is something that historians from to the first century AD, such as Velleius Paterculus, find quite

[218] It was dedicated in 131 BC. See D'Alessio 2010, 52. The author pointed out the peculiarity of the Roman architecture as 'dimensione sincretistica', 'ibrida' e 'di libera interpretazione', unacceptable for a Greek. On the 'revolution' of using marble for manubial temples see Davies 2017, esp. 83–5.

remarkable.[219] During the imperial period people were accustomed to find imperial textual dedications ubiquitously disseminated in buildings and temples in cities across the empire. However, this is not the only reason. Velleius Paterculus was very well aware of the common practice during the Republic that involved individuals placing inscriptions on the monuments they erected and dedicated to celebrate their own victories. The choice not to follow this practice was perceived as noteworthy for reporting.

The strategy adopted by Metellus Macedonicus of not placing any inscriptions over the Temple of Jupiter or in the portico might be obscure at first glance. However, there are two hints that can shed light on a possible explanation. The first is the name of the portico itself. Scholars have already noted how confusing it was for authors in ancient Rome to have to describe both the Temple of Jupiter and the portico itself as *aedes Metelli*.[220] The confusion does, in fact, address an important issue: both the temple and the portico were in an intimate association as indicated by the genitive *Metelli* quoted by Pliny, that is, the composition consisted of both the temple *and* the portico.[221] In fact, part of the strategy of Metellus Macedonicus was intentionally *not* to specify what was carrying his name and what was not. The portico was known to be *Metelli*, likewise the Temple of Jupiter he built, as evidenced by the literary sources. In this way, it is possible that because Metellus did not restrict himself to an inscription only on one monument, the temple, he managed to achieve control of the whole of the complex's spaces: the temples, the surrounding space, the double porticos on the long sides, the porches and, of

[219] In the imperial period it is worth mentioning the example of Augustus' 'modesty'. He restored the Theatre of Pompey 'without any inscription on my own name' (*RG* 20) 'refeci sine ulla inscriptione nominis mei'. Consider also Tiberius' restoration without any concern for including a dedication on completion (Tac. *Ann.* 7.45; Suet. *Calig.* 21, *Tib.* 47).
[220] Pliny *HN* 36.40 quotes Varro, calling the temple *Metelli aedes*, although Festus 496L refers to it as *in aede Iovis Metellinae*. Cf. Boyd 1953, 154, who wrongly argued that the words *aedem ex marmore* in Velleius Paterculus indicate the portico, which, in fact, was not constructed of marble. More convincing is his reading of Festus *in aede Iovis Metellianae (porticus)*. Cf. Russell 2016, 123–5 for a detailed analysis.
[221] Russell (2016, 125) suggests that Pliny's *Metelli aedes* is more 'suitable for the portico, but since portico and temple are so intimately associated the word … comes to apply to both'.

course, all the artworks he included. Metellus shuffled the cards of the dedicatory game, omitting the inscription that was supposed to be there. The result of this strategy was to connect all parts of the complex to himself. He thus enriched and emphasised his figure as a conqueror with plundered loot who was a protector of Rome, using the Temple of Jupiter Stator to this end.

The second reason is related to the perception that people had of the complex. The omission of the inscription played a fundamental part in focusing the attention of the audience on the other elements that comprised the portico. Entering the complex, an individual would have expected to see an inscription, as was common to find in any kind of building in Rome. However, because of the way the complex was organised, placing an inscription over the Temple of Jupiter Stator would have risked lessening the visual experience of the viewers. In fact, in focusing on reading, an individual would have missed the exceptional view of the complex as a whole, with all the artworks framed against the background of the two temples.[222] The visual strategy of Metellus' portico induced the visitor to search for an inscription – one which was, in fact, not there. This action required a visitor to expand his/her visual range from one side of the complex to the other once he/she was inside the portico.

In considering the peculiarity of the complex, this visual strategy managed to achieve the same effect that an inscription placed on a dedicated monument would have had. Once the audience had looked unsuccessfully for an inscription, the only hint was, then, the name of the complex that was evidently included in the oral tradition of the topography of Rome: *porticus Metelli*, and/or *aedes Metelli*. What the audience obtained

[222] According to Velleius Paterculus 1.11.5: Hic idem primus omnium Romae aedem ex marmore in iis ipsis monumentis molitus (huius) vel magnificentiae vel luxuriate princeps fuit. There is no doubt from Velleius' words that Metellus used marble for decorating a temple. This information does not exclude the possibility that Metellus might have decorated more than one temple using marble. In this sense, it is possible that Metellus also used marble to refurbish the Temple of Juno Regina next to the Temple of Jupiter Stator to maintain a visual unity between the two temples.

from their unsuccessful research was an enrichment of their experience of the wonderful work all around them. Not having found any inscription they would focus on the rest. Both these mental exercises greatly emphasised Metellus Macedonicus' patronage of the whole complex and, at the same time, his parallelism with Alexander the Great. The dynamism of the combined and intertwined different spaces, sacred, public and semi-private, completed and enriched the self-promotion strategy of Macedonicus. The absence of any epigraphical text did not diminish his self-representation. In fact, it was enhanced by such an omission. Although the inscription is absent, its function is present.

THE RES GESTAE MUMMI: THE TEMPLE OF HERCULES VICTOR AND ROME AS ITS 'PORTICO'

After the triumph over the Achaean League and the destruction of Corinth in 146 BC, Lucius Mummius Achaicus planned a huge celebration programme that was not limited to Rome, but also included many cities in Italy and Greece.[223] In fact, immediately after the destruction of Corinth, he, as proconsul, remained in Greece to reorganise its affairs with the help of a commission sent by the Roman Senate, in which Mummius' brother, Spurius, was a *legatus*.[224] Mummius, therefore, travelled throughout Greece restoring and decorating the cities affected by the conflict. The evidence of these activities is reported not only by Polybius, but also by a series of inscriptions that mention the cities' gratitude to the commander.[225]

[223]For the *tituli Mummiani* in Italy some examples: *ILLRP* 327, 328, 329, 330, 331. See Pietiliä-Castrén 1978, 115–23, who implied a relationship between the communities and L. Mummius.
[224] Cic. *Att.* 13.4.1, 13.5.1.; 13.6.4; 13.30.2; 13.32.3; 13.33.3; Polyb. 39.3.3. Cf. Walbank 1979, 731.
[225] Polyb. 39.6.1–5. Paus. 5.24.4. Pausanias states that Mummius was the first Roman to dedicate votive offerings (ἀναθήματα) to a Greek temple (a Zeus at Olympia). Before him, Flamininus offered his own war shield and some silver buckles to Apollo at Delphi. Plut. *Vit. Flam.* 12. Also M.' Acilius Glabrio (Livy 36.30.3); Aemilius Paullus (Livy 48.28.5), Scipio Africanus at Delo. Cf. Guarducci 1937, 42. Graverini 2001, 123 pointed out that ἀνάθημα refers only to the statue of Zeus; if this is the case, Pausanias' statement is correct. Another votive offering, perhaps a statue, by Mummius was dedicated to Apollo Ismenios AD 13 (1930/31) 107. From the detail of

The loot that Mummius acquired was without equal and, therefore, it was possible for him to distribute *signa et tabulae pictae* as it was transported back to Rome.[226] Once he had celebrated the triumph, he could still dispose of further huge quantities of artworks, for example by 'lending' them to his friends. This is the case of L. Licinius Lucullus who dedicated the Temple of Felicitas with the *manubiae* Mummius obtained from his war in Spain. According to Dio, Mummius' willingness to donate the statues is explained by his euergetic nature, even when Lucullus refused to give them back to him.[227] We can deduce, therefore, that Mummius' strategy to self-promote his victory was to disseminate his loot in Greece, where he received honours from friendly cities and allies, and also in Italian communities and in Rome, where he gave his own spoils to decorate Lucullus' Temple of Felicitas. This behaviour does not reflect Mummius' generosity; it reflects his subtle strategy to represent himself as a benefactor to the different communities and his political rivals.

Mummius was well aware of the importance of using not only artworks, but also inscriptions for his political self-presentation strategy. In Greece, he offered two

another inscription, we have a further inscription dedicated by Mummius to Apollo. Mummius' refurbishing activities in Greece were significant. For instance, he accomplished repairs at Isthmus, Polyb 39.6.1; Walbank 1979, 735–6 and at Nemea, SEG XXV 541; SEG XXIII 180. Mummius also received a series of statues on bases from many cities: Olympia *IvO* 278, 279, 280, 281, 319; 19; Argos *SEG* XXX 365; Epidauros *IG* IV^2 1; Tegea *IG* V 2,77; Aulis *SEG* XXV 541; Thebes *IG* VII 2478, 2478a, *SEG* XXXII 491; Thespies *IG* VII 1807, 1808; Oropus *IG* VII 434; Cf. Knoepfler 1991; Guarducci 1937, 41–58; Pietilä-Castrén 1978; 1991; Graverini 2001. Knoepfler 1991 270 ff. pointed out the differences between dedications donated by Mummius to allied cities and those re-dedicated in enemy cities to the same gods and left in place with a small additional inscription: τοῖς θεοῖς. Cf. Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.4. Although Mummius brought the Muses from Thespies (placed *ad aedem Felicitas* in the Velabrum built by L. Licinius Lucullus) he did not touch the marble statue of a cupid because it was consecrated. See Cadario 2014, 87–90.

[226] Cic. *De or*. 232; Cic. *Off.* 2.76; Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.55; Livy *Per.* 52; Pliny *HN* 33.53.149–50, 34.36, 35.24, 37.12; Polyb. 39.2; Strabo 8.6.28; Eutr. 4.14; Frontin. *Str.* 4.3.15; Vell. Pat. 1.13.4–5; Zonar. 9.13.5–6; Aur. Vict. *De vir. ill* 60.3. Cf. Östenberg 2009a, 89, 91–3; Rutledge 2012, 42–3.

[227] Cass. Dio. 22.76: In fact, he was of such an amiable nature that he even lent some statues to Lucullus for the consecration of the Temple of Felicitas (which he had built from the booty gained in the Spanish war), and then when that general was unwilling to return them on the grounds that they had become sacred as a result of the dedication, he showed no anger, but allowed his own spoils to lie there offered up in the other's name.

dedications in the Asklepieion of Epidauros, the federal sanctuary of the Achean League: one near the Temple of Asklepios and the other on the Sacred Way.[228] The first is a small base, which considering the cuttings on its surface, probably supported two small statues, suggesting that it was a traditional votive dedication with, perhaps, the image of the god.[229] The second was a reuse of a previous monument, carved in the form of a ship's prow and representing the naval victory of the Achaean *koinon*, probably against Nabis of Sparta. Mummius appropriated this dedication and reused it to promote both the victory of Rome over the Achaean League and his *pietas* to the viewers of the sanctuary. However, the most striking fact is that he did not erase the previous inscription, but added his own inscription in Greek, in direct contrast to the appropriation of Perseus' pillar by L. Aemilius Paullus after the battle of Pydna. Paullus had represented himself as the unique subject, and used a Latin inscription.[230] In this way, it seems that Mummius, by inscribing his name in sacred and public spaces in the sanctuary, wanted to be included in the collective memory of the Greek communities and the local nobility, not stressing his role as conqueror, rather transforming his actions into a positive resolution for the communities themselves. In fact, Greek towns became used to inscribing the names of Roman magistrates in their spaces, replacing their status of *victi* with that of *clientes*.[231] These Greek examples show that Mummius knew how the power of inscriptions could produce different meanings in dedicated artworks, even those appropriated and reused.

The technique that Mummius used in Rome was based on the diffusion of his artworks throughout the area. The spatial organisation of Mummius' artwork was significantly different from the way in which Metellus Macedonicus organised his. In fact, Metellus deliberately restricted the space where he displayed the artwork with a

[228] IG IV^2 306; Melfi 2010; Melfi 2013, 146–7.
[229] Melfi 2010, 21–2.
[230] Yarrow 2006, 67.
[231] I follow here the interpretation of Cadario 2014, 88–9.

portico. The restricted entrance, the large space of the portico and the absence of inscriptions, as discussed earlier, amplified and intensified the visual experience for the viewers and supported the political claim of Metellus to be a new Alexander. Conversely, Mummius' strategy is based on just the opposite. His 'portico' is the whole of Rome and beyond, and this can be demonstrated by two factors. The first argument is based on Mummius' choice of distributing his plundered loot in all corners of Rome (*replevit urbem*), in Italian cities and even in Pergamon.[232] He went beyond this, and used his loot to decorate other people's triumphal and architectural projects, such as Lucullus' Temple of Felicitas that was enclosed by a portico. In doing so, Mummius emphasised and reinforced even more his representation as εὐεργέτης.[233] In addition, the Cassius Dio passage testifies to the fact that Mummius' strategy worked successfully; three centuries later the historian is describing Mummius' benevolent attitude towards Lucullus when the latter would not return the donated statues.

A painting by Aristeides of exquisite quality that depicted Bacchus was dedicated by Mummius in the Temple of Ceres, Liber and Libera on the slopes of Avantine Hill in

[232] In Rome, Pliny (*HN* 34.36) uses the verb *replevit* (*urbem*), literally 'filled up the city'. Strabo 6.381: the greatest number and the best of public monuments of Rome come from it [the plunder of Corinth by Mummius], and the cities which surround Rome also have a part of it. In Pergamon, Pausanias 7.16.8: The most admired votive offerings and works of art were carried off by Mummius; those of less account he gave to Philopoimen, the general sent by Attalus; even in my day there were Corinthian spoils at Pergamus. The fact that those spoils given to Philopoimen were less prestigious than those carried off by Mummius does not mean that they were not precious as well. Mummius seems also to be concerned about showing his magnanimity even outside of Greece. *Contra* Yarrow 2006, 62. She argues that the spoils in Pergamon might be the spoils of war belonging to Attalus or his general, Philopoimen, because Pausanias does not report 'a particular monument nor any inscription bearing the name of Mummius, although he assures his readers that some of the booty is still on display in his own time'. However, it is Mummius who decided which spoils of war to give to Attalus. Second, it is not necessary to specify a monument or an inscription to determine the origin of the dedication, which is in any case attributed to Mummius. In addition, Pausanias does not mention either a particular monument or any inscription bearing the name of Attalus or his general. I do not see any reason to doubt Pausanias, who confirms that Mummius was the real winner of the conflict and the only one in charge to dispose of the war loot.

[233] For the Temple of Felicitas enclosed by a portico see Strabo; 8.6.23. Cf. also Suet. *Iul*. 37.2; Cass. Dio 43.21.1. For the architectural similarities between this kind of complex, including the *Porticus Metelli*, and the Greek models, see Popkin 2016, 58–60.

Rome: 'in Cereris delubro posuit, quam primam arbitror picturam externam Romae publicatam'.[234] It is acknowledged from Pliny's tale that King Attalus offered an incredible price for it. We are not certain about the truth of the anecdote of the sale involving Attalus and Mummius, but it is certain that Mummius understood the painting for its cultural capital and used it to self-advertise his being a connoisseur.[235] For this reason, he decided to publicly display the painting for the benefit of the people of Rome. Therefore, thanks to Mummius, the painting became public property.[236] It is possible to identify at least two places where the spoils of war carried to Rome by Mummius were definitely placed: the Temple of Felicitas in the Velabrum on the slopes of Aventine Hill; the area of the Temple of Ceres, Liber and Libera; and the Temple of Luna.[237] Another two locations are easily recognised: the Forum Boarium, where Mummius dedicated a temple to Hercules Victor; and Caelian Hill, where a long inscription bearing the name of the conqueror was found in 1786.[238] Mummius considered Rome as a stage on which his conquests could be displayed. His plan worked; as we have seen, his loot was described by many authors of Ancient Rome as some of the wealthiest and finest that Rome had ever seen. It was only possible to maximise the effect of the artwork placed on the stage of Rome with the addition of inscriptions that were, without doubt, placed along with Mummius' decoration and artworks in order to certify their provenance. This

[234] Pliny *HN* 35.24. It is worth noticing that Mummius, as a *homo novus*, also dedicated booty to a plebeian temple, perhaps to establish a personal connection with Liber Pater. Cf. the triumph of Cn. Manlius Vulso in 186 BC, who presented himself as a Dionysus using the Asian wealth he conquered. Livy 39.6.6; Pliny *HN* 34.14. Bravi 2012, 48–8; Cadario 2014, 86.
[235] Pliny *HN* 35.24 says that Mummius was amazed by the significant sum of 600,000 denarii, which aroused his suspicions of the real origin of the painting. For cultural capital Bourdieu 1984. See Holliday 2002, 195–203; Rutledge 2012, Russell 2016, 149–50.
[236] I follow the translation of Pollitt 1995, 47. 'this, I believe, was the first foreign picture to become public property in Rome'.
[237] Mummius dedicated *de manubiis* (bronze vessels taken from Corinth) votive offerings to the Temple of Luna, which was close to the Temple of Ceres, Liber and Libera. Vitr. *De arch.* 5.5.8. See Lippolis 2004, 40–1; Cadario 2014, 91–2.
[238] *CIL* I^2 626, *ILLRP* 122 (Figure 7).

hypothesis can be expanded thanks to the inscription that was found on Caelian Hill and which introduces the second part of the argument discussed here.

The inscription offers a key insight into the spatial organisation of Mummius' donatives was conceived.

L(ucius) Mummi(us) L(uci) f(ilius) co(n)s(ul) duct(u)
auspicio imperioque
eius Achaia capt(a) Corint(h)o
deleto Romam redieit
triumphans ob hasce
res bene gestas quod
in bello voverat
hanc aedem et signu(m)
Herculis Victoris
imperator dedicat.

> Lucius Mummius, son of Lucius, consul, when under his guide, auspices and command, Achaia was conquered and Corinth destroyed, he returned to Rome in triumph. For these admirable deeds, the general dedicates this temple and statue of Hercules Victor that in war have been vowed.

This inscription is significantly different from other examples by victorious commanders and from other *tituli Mummiani*. The difference is not only defined by the length, which in most of the other instances is shorter and more concise, but also by the different functions the inscriptions had. Other inscriptions took into account in their syntax the artwork dedicated, or the statue of the patron. This case is substantially different and I propose that the inscription connected with Mummius' monuments had a different use. It can be divided into three main parts. The first line starts with the name, filiation and office, similar to many other inscriptions. From the last word of the first line (*duct[u]*) to the first half of the fifth, conversely, the *iter* is narrated followed by the commander's achievements during his military campaign. Already holding *imperium militiae*, Mummius had had the *auspicia maxima* conferred upon him and was, therefore, entitled to go to war. He guided his military action against the Achaean League and Corinth with

a disastrous outcome for the enemies (*capta/deleto*).[239] After the capitulation of his enemies, Mummius came back to Rome to celebrate his triumph. This is the chronological order of the actions. From the second half of the fifth line to the tenth, Mummius celebrates his victory and the inscription informed the viewers about the vow Mummius took during the war (*in bello voverat*), which is paired with the last line (*imperator dedicat*). Between these two lines is the prayer that commanders and the Senate used to say (*res bene gesta*), which works to reinforce the avowed oath to Hercules Victor.[240] The text of the inscription suggests a narrative, beginning in Rome, passing through the military conquests and coming back to Rome again to celebrate the triumph. These are real *res gestae* that were monumentalised through the repetition of similar inscriptions that decorated the *monumenta Mummiani.* The inscription relating to Mummius on Caelian Hill cannot, in fact, be connected with the Temple of Hercules Victor.[241] This is evident from three elements: first, the inscription was found on the Caelian Hill and, therefore, was not in the proximity of the temple; second, the letters are irregularly carved, therefore they would not be suited to such an impressive temple built in marble; third, the dimensions of the inscription are too small for it to be used on a large temple, it being impossible to read the writing should the inscription be set on top of such a temple.[242]

[239] Cf. with Mummius' inscription: *CIL* I^2 630–1 and Scipio's inscription *CIL* I^2 625 for the absolute ablatives.
[240] The language used pertains to a prayer register: in Plaut. *Stich.* (lines 402 and 411) Epignomus used *bene re gesta* to thank Neptune, his Tempestates and Mercury for a safe return from his journey, a prayer that is also used for a safe return in the military context: Plaut. *Amph.* 655 re gesta bene, uictis hostibus. Plaut. *Persa* (753–4). Livy (41.28.8): re prospere gestas in Hispania ductu auspicioque Ap. Claudi proconsulis. Such a prayer seems to have been widely used before the hoped for success of a war. Cicero distinguishes the actions of commanders from his own: Cic. *Cat.* 4.20: Ceteris enim bene gesta, mihi uni conservata re publica gratulationem decrevitis. Cf. also Cic. *Verr.* 2.5.34. This is also the formula that the Senate requested the people use: Livy 21.17.4; 31.8.2.
[241] For the debate concerning the identification of Mummius' Temple of Hercules Victor with the Round Temple on the Tiber by Ziolkowski 1988, 309–33. *Contra* Coarelli 1988, 84–92. See also Loar 2017.
[242] Ziolkowski 1988, 316.

The only solution is that this specific inscription was for another monument, perhaps a small shrine. The inscription we have, then, belongs to a small and presumably unimportant shrine far from the Temple of Hercules Victor itself. Why would such a long and complex inscription be used for such a minor monument? It seems reasonable to believe that what we have is a copy of a text that was set up in many places, including in the Temple of Hercules Victor. The inscription is written in Saturnian metre. The practice of writing poetry in various forms to promote military and political actions was not new. For example, in Greece, Nobilior's capture of Ambracia in 189 BC was remembered by the *praetexta* written by Ennius, *Ambracia*. In a funerary context, the *elogia* of the Cornelii Scipiones are an example. The most interesting parallel is given by Cicero (*pro Archia* 27), who informs us about a temple dedicated to Hercules Callaicus by D. Junius Brutus Callaicus to celebrate his triumph in 136 BC for his several victories in Spain.[243] In fact, the Temple of Hercules Callaicus and other monuments erected by Brutus Callaicus were inscribed with poetic verses by Accius.[244] The sources are explicit in saying that Callaicus used his verses on the Temple of Hercules Callaicus and on other monuments he erected, and it is likely that Mummius did the same. It is plausible that Callaicus followed the example of Mummius. Both commanders dedicated their temples to Hercules and both used poetry verses for their adornment. Cicero also specified that Brutus Callaicus adorned *templorum ac monumentorum* with verse, suggesting that Accius' verses decorated many buildings to honour his patron. This might be a significant parallelism with Mummius, which might have been difficult not to imitate, not only because of the similar pattern that commanders followed in dedicatory practice, but also

[243] Cf. Cic. *Balb.* 17; Livy 55.56; App. *Hisp.* 71–73; Vell. Pat. 2.5; Plut. *Vit. Ti. Gracch.* 21; Val. Max. 6.4; Flor. 2.17; Oros. 5.5.

[244] Brutus Callaicus was the patron of Accius. Cic. *pro Arch.* 27: Decimus quidem Brutus, summus vir et imperator, Accii, amicissimi sui, carminibus templorum ac monumentorum aditus exornavit suorum - Also Decimus Brutus, great man and general, adorned the vestibules of the temples and monuments which he raised with the poems of his friend Accius.

for the sumptuous scenario created by Mummius in Rome, by which Brutus Callaicus was certainly influenced and to which he was directly exposed ten years earlier.[245]

In both cases, the use of a poetic metre would make the text more memorable; these could be snatches of song. If the intention was to get Romans to remember and repeat the phrase, this would be easier if it was repeated over and over again, rather than having a multitude of dissimilar *carmina* placed with respect to each monument.[246] There are, thus, multiple reasons to suspect that Mummius' long inscription was one of several identical examples.

The peculiarities of the inscription point to the fact that as the huge amount of loot was widely distributed throughout Rome, the same text of the inscription accompanied it. The repetition of the similar inscription in verse tends to be an easy mnemonic exercise and became almost Mummius' signature on artworks that were scattered around. Further, in approaching the Temple of Hercules Victor, the audience would immediately recognise it for three reasons: the repetition of the inscription on the temple, which was also found on many other minor monuments dedicated by Mummius; its Greek material – Pentelic marble; and its stylistic choices.[247] This commemorative strategy also works in reverse: any minor monuments, such as the one on Caelian Hill whose inscription was found, are a constant reminder that Mummius built the Temple of Hercules Victor. The result obtained by this strategy is opposite to that of Metellus. Mummius benefited from scattering his war loot throughout the city to create a network of communications, which

[245] For example, Africanus Minor also made a dedication in the same area as Mummius' Temple of Hercules Victor. Brutus Callaicus' triumph was celebrated in 136 BC, Mummius' triumph in 146 BC. The chronological difference of only ten years is a fact to note.
[246] Ziolkowski 1988, 317.
[247] The architectural similarities between Mummius' Temple of Hercules Victor and Metellus' Temple of Jupiter Stator might suggest that the architect of both was Hermodorus of Salamis. See Ziolkowski 1988, 327–8.

through their same poetic inscriptions emphasised the *res gestae Mummi* and the Temple of Hercules Victor.

Overall, Metellus played on the discovery and suspense created by a closed, restricted and controlled space, in which the absence of any inscription enhanced the viewers' visual experience. Conversely, Mummius' strategy focused on a narrative of events, the inscriptions relating to which appeared in a number of different places in Rome. The audience would initially approach Mummius' Temple of Hercules Victor with a sort of suspense. However, similar inscriptions were already in their subconscious, as was the associated style of monument, and when they saw the temple they would immediately recognise it. This pre-knowledge (although perhaps not necessarily conscious) emphasises the impact on the audience of approaching a monument that in their minds they already knew, thanks to the repetition of the same inscriptions in many other places in Rome.

Both for Metellus Macedonicus' portico and L. Mummius' monuments, pathways were created by the spatial arrangement of monuments and inscriptions, facilitating the physical way of approaching them. However, these pathways were also cognitive. This means that by approaching a monument, its meaning is unpacked and acknowledged by its audience. However, a cognitive pathway exists only if there is a real pathway, along whose space the audience physically move, to approach the visuality of the monument. This means that inscriptions are more than captions: they interact with the audience, who not only complete their significance by including the artworks in their syntax, but are also guided to learn their narratives only by physically approaching the monuments in a specific way.

CONCLUSION

A first observation that emerges from the body of evidence analysed in Part II is the significant versatility of the syntactic approach developed in Part I. In fact, regardless of the nature of the dedications, votive offers, statues of gods, honorary statues, temples, porticoes and funerary complexes, all share a fundamental characteristic: an inscription was included and was combined with the visual elements of the dedication. Even when a temple did not have an inscription, and this was quite an exception, its function was still perceived and used as a strategic expedient to reinforce the visual experience of the audience. The power of inscriptions was disruptive to the extent that control over them was sought by ambitious men and were widely used as political tools.

All these examples demonstrated that strategies with regard to how text and art were combined for dedications set by individuals or by a community to honour individuals could be very different:

Triumphs were the main event responsible for the inscribed monumentalisation in Rome. Yet, other actors could intervene in this sort of monumental competition. The Senate and the people could celebrate individuals who had contributed their service for the benefit of the community. The Senate could benefit from spatial control of a certain location in Rome, whereas victorious commanders built their own semi-private, public space through their conquests, even when they did not obtain formal permission from the Senate to celebrate their triumph. The building of extraordinary monuments, bronze statues, decorations, temples, complexes, and so on, was easy to remember at the point of their construction. However, a few years later, the memory of the events they represented was likely to have become blurred in people's minds.

Including the inscriptions along with the monument was a solution that the patrons used to reinforce the permanence of their achievements in the collective memory. Each

of them tried to reshape the collective memory of the glorious past of Rome in the light of his own deeds and his family's. Multiple histories of Rome were, therefore, proposed to those who were living in Rome and others who were in the capital for a limited period of time. Ancestors' deeds were the key point regarding the legitimation of their heirs. This is also reflected by the epigraphic habit of mentioning, in certain cases, the grandson (*nepos*).

A person who could not rely on glorious ancestors had to find his own way through the construction of his memory. Mummius, *homo novus*, could not compete against the Scipiones or the Metelli by the prestige of his name. Therefore, he transformed his triumph almost as an act of euergetism to Rome in order to challenge the fame of the conqueror of Carthage, Scipio Aemilianus. Mummius scattered his extraordinarily large amount of loot across Rome and he decorated temples: he built one to Hercules, likewise one to Aemilianus; and he loaned artworks to decorate Lucullus' Temple of Felicitas. These were extreme measures that were sacralised in the collective memory through the inscriptions of his *res gestae*. On the other hand, Metellus Macedonicus used the function of an inscription, rather than its material presence, something that Velleius Paterculus thought noteworthy to report, to give the audience an exceptional visual and spatial experience of his portico.

The outcome of this repetitive exercise performed by a whole variety of individuals was a huge monumentalisation in Rome during the mid-second century. This cultural and political competition increasingly escalated to such an extent that even erecting monuments with inscriptions was not enough. For individuals to distinguish themselves the solution was to be original, exceptional and extraordinary. The models (and the materials) taken from the Hellenistic world responded perfectly to the needs of this challenge. However, it was important to be compatible with the social fabric, especially in Rome. The inscription per se seems to have played the role of an intermediary, capable

of translating the new way of self-representation into a 'Roman language', which also helped patrons to mitigate possible criticism of there being a deviation from traditional values and principles.

Greek artworks with their foreign appearance were perceived as the suitable choice for self-representing the deeds of the Roman commanders. For example, Fabius Maximus appropriated the statue of Heracles by Lysippus, which had a great impact on the viewers. Yet, the Cunctator placed his own statue close to it, whereas Marcellus' huge amount of loot from Syracuse was organised in the Temple of Honos and Virtus, almost as a museum.[248] The inscriptions were the cement between the new artworks and the tradition of Rome. In fact, all the kinds of inscriptions contained words in Latin that referred to Roman offices (*consul*, *dictator, imperator*), recognisable gentilician names and other words immediately recognisable (*cepit*, *capta*), all elements well known within the Roman social fabric.

The monuments and their inscriptions could not be separated. Far from being standardised, each monument, statue, complex, temple, had its own specific inscription that responded to fulfilling the self-presentation strategy of the dedicator. This section has demonstrated how the interplay between inscription and monument could be weaponised to counterattack the strategy of political opponents expressed by their own monuments and inscriptions. The dynamism of this struggle had the merit of enriching the landscape of Rome with countless monuments that reshaped not only its topography, but also the collective memory of Romans. Many of these monuments are now lost, yet we have a better understanding of their function and their appearance thanks to their mention in ancient texts or through the physical remains of inscriptions.

[248] Bravi 2012, 29–34.

PART III

TOWARDS A NEW FIGURATIVE AND TEXTUAL LANGUAGE

INTRODUCTION

The military campaigns that took place between the third and second centuries BC extended the control of Rome over a substantial range of territories. The prestige acquired on the battlefields gave the *imperatores* significant political leverage that was used to affirm their political presence on the Roman scene. They competed among each other, decorating Rome with countless trophies acquired during their military campaigns. The monumental landscape in the public spaces in Rome was, thus, increasingly developed, and the people of Rome were inevitably exposed to its presence.[249] These honorific monuments expressed the achievements of their patrons by using both inscriptions and artworks.[250] The way in which these monuments carried their messages was always the same: an inscribed statue, an inscribed temple or other inscribed building, an inscribed *donarium*, and so on. In this way, such monuments were intelligible to the audience, who were able to 'read' them through the repetition of the dedicatory practice. However, the content of honorific monuments, carried by their inscriptions and their artworks, changed according to what the patrons wanted to communicate to their audience.

[249] Hölscher 2006 convincingly explored the concept of people being 'inevitably' exposed to messages conveyed by political monuments set up in public space of Rome. See also Hölscher 2018 with a vast bibliography on this topic.

[250] I use the term 'honorific monuments' so as not to confine their functions only to the representation of victory and its transformation into political power. For this interpretation Hölscher 2003, 2006, 27–48. Hölscher argues that political monuments are the symbolic transformation of military victories into political power that is displayed by a variety of means, rituals, celebrations and signs, the latter including 'powerful monuments'. Political monuments are signs of power because in the public sphere they represent not only large political entities such as states, cities or communities, but also individuals. For the concept of 'monument' see Gregory 1994; Stocker 1996; Hölscher 1998, 156–7, 2003, 2006, 2018; Holliday 2002; Hölkeskamp 2005; Dillon and Welch 2006; Miano 2011, in all of which a further bibliography is available.

The resiting of looted artworks by commanders created a sort of communications system. This was assisted by the artworks' inscriptions and worked to convey information to the viewers who were contemplating the monumental landscape of Rome. In this way, the interplay between text and art modelled the political message that the patrons of the monuments wished to deliver in accordance with the specific strategies they had chosen.

In the previous chapter, the focus was on how the combination of art and text was beneficial to the political agenda of members of the *nobilitas* during the third and second centuries BC. In this section, I want to point out how the political and social scene of the first century BC was substantially different from the preceding centuries. The rise of a small number of powerful individuals, who almost entirely dominated Rome's political scene in the first century BC, resulted in a need for different ways of promoting achievements from the previous methods of communication. New formulae were required through which individuals could distinguish their own successes, theirs and theirs alone, in different ways from the methods used to indicate the achievements of the old *nobilitas*. The previous system, however, was used as a basis for the new one. This means that artworks and inscriptions were still used in the first century BC in a similar manner to what was the case in the third and second centuries BC, but the information that they contained changed significantly. The recipients, namely, the people of Rome, had first-hand experience of these changes in Roman self-presentation art in the first century BC. On the one hand, it was offered to the people of Rome as an innovative model compared to the one in vogue during the third and second centuries BC. On the other hand, the innovative nature of the new model was greatly emphasised because it was present simultaneously in a monumental landscape of Rome firmly established according to the previous paradigm. The result exposed the audience to a new, strong model for combining art and inscription in self-presentation strategies that quickly and systematically surpassed the old ones following the political evolution through which the relationship

between power and politics in Rome significantly changed. Why was this evolution of Roman art so rapid in the first half of the first century BC, given that the structure of Roman celebrative and honorific representation was already deeply consolidated?

The basic structure of honorific representation remained the same, for example, an artwork set up on an inscribed podium in a public space. However, the political significance that patrons wanted to communicate changed during the first century BC. To support the new needs, patrons used different iconographic and stylistic choices in their use of artworks. In order to be able to deliver these new messages, the new artworks needed to be 'translated' into Roman terms, and the inscriptions were instrumental in doing this. In fact, inscriptions were so effective in this evolutionary process because they were a more immediate and unmistakable vehicle of communication compared to figurative language, which required a level of conceptualisation that was not always accessible.

This chapter argues how a new visual and textual language was used to support and promote the political aims and aspirations of the protagonists in Rome during the first century BC. The argument will focus on Sulla, Pompey and Caesar, and seeks to demonstrate how their self-presentations were different from those displayed by victorious generals in the second and third centuries BC. There is little surviving evidence for Sulla's, Pompey's and Caesar's statues or trophies; the remains are confined to scattered fragments, a few coins, and scarce information in literary texts. Although the visual elements are absent, we have, however, inscriptions through which it is possible to reconstruct the political significance of these generals' statues and how they might have been received by the audience. The argument focuses on two principal aspects of the epigraphic style in relation to artwork during the first century BC. The first is the use of the Latin word *imperator* over the Latin word *consul*.

I demonstrate how, in artistic compositions accompanied by epigraphs, the adoption of *imperator* rather than the use of *consul*, as in earlier artworks, was perceived by the audience to be significant. This methodological approach demonstrates that the significance of the statues of the first century BC is substantially different to the significance of the statues erected in the third or second century BC, even though it might at first glance seem similar. For example, the equestrian statue of Sulla might not have had remarkable differences in its iconographic layout from previous equestrian statues erected by commanders of past centuries. However, the differences between Sulla's equestrian statue and previous cases are about how and where its inscription was used, and what its content was. The new epigraphic vocabulary suggests that the audience understood statues bearing the word *imperator* to have different meanings from the earlier artworks on which the word *consul* was used.[251] The Latin word *imperator* is connected with the *imperium* and, therefore, it has a strong political and religious dimension. However, this title is unconnected with the political institution of the Roman Republic *stricto sensu* and, in fact, the title of *imperator* could be achieved by the acclamation of the commanders' armies. This last feature is very important, because the title of *imperator* evokes individual skills and recognition of a commander's superior attributes, rather than an office obtained by career progression in the Roman political system.[252]

Conversely, the title *consul* expresses directly and unmistakably the institutional office of the *res publica*, framing the individual as being part of, and dependent on, the political organisation of Rome. The consulship granted the military command (*imperium militiae*), and it was an elective office, the highest of the *cursus honorum*. The people of Rome voted to elect the consuls by following the institutional process of the Roman

[251] By comparing the epigraphic employment of *consul* and *imperator* in honorific dedications belonging to the third and second century BC, we find that the former is frequently used, whereas *imperator* is seldom adopted. However, during the first century BC, the epigraphic use of *imperator* started to be inscresingly used for honorific dedications.
[252] See Assenmaker 2014, esp. 22–5, 97–145.

Republic. The consulship was a product of the republican system and, therefore, the military command granted by the consular *imperium* was bound to this system. By using *imperator*, the implication of the Roman institutions is eliminated and the emphasis is only on the commanders who were acclaimed *imperatores* by their own troops after a decisive victory. The political power of the *imperatores* was based on the individual skills and abilities of the people concerned and they were increasingly presented as being in a close relationship with 'divine qualities'.[253]

The second aspect is related to the epigraphic use of the agnomen and epithet. The agnomen was used to emphasise the traits of individuals, especially in the cases of Sulla, Pompey and Caesar. Its epigraphic usage significantly affected the impact of the message that the patrons wanted to promote. The use of the agnomen transcends the family identity and focuses entirely and distinctively on the individual. This aspect is critical to understanding the new way in which Sulla, Pompey and Caesar wanted to represent their extraordinary powers. It may be argued that the cognomen might also work similarly to the agnomen, because its function expresses individuality according to someone's physical or moral qualities. However, the cognomen was initially inherited by members of the Roman aristocracy.[254] Therefore, the cognomen reinforced the existence of each family group, expanding and promoting its existence in wider society. In fact, its usage reinforced the lineage of an individual, and it was a distinctive trait easily recognised on the social level. As has been argued, during the third and second centuries BC, competition among individuals was represented by individuals' achievements supported by their families' deeds. However, the agnomen goes beyond the idea of an individual as part of

[253] Clark 2007.
[254] The cognomen was an exclusive privilege of the Roman aristocracy; only subsequently was it increasingly used by the plebs, but with a different function: as an individual's name that was not inherited (Kajanto 1982; Solin 1991). The statistical analysis by Salomies 1987 (esp. 277 ff.) showed that during the first decade of the Principate the use of the cognomen became a common practice. For a complete and statistical analysis of the cognomina Kajanto 1982.

a restricted group, such as his *familia*, and presents an individual as unique. This individuality, which increasingly encompassed a religious element as well, presents these men as having divine and exceptional qualities. In this light, it seems that the powerful protagonists of the military and political events of the first century BC relied on their self-representation strategies to illustrate a remarkable difference between themselves and previous successful men during the mid-Republic. Accordingly, the way in which Sulla, Pompey and Caesar wanted to be represented was significantly different on an artistic and epigraphic level from the previous system.

Although the shortage of visual evidence restricts the comparisons to a few cases for both the third and second centuries BC and the first century BC, the differences between the epigraphic styles can still shed light on the details of the artistic change over time. The aim of a visual composition is to deliver information through interaction with the audience. As has been demonstrated with the integration of the visual accusative in commanders' honorific statues by their audience in the third and second centuries BC, the inscriptions are firmly linked with the meanings of the artworks and are the main vehicle through which interactions between the audience and the artworks take place. This is true for contemporary artworks and inscriptions, and even more so for those belonging to different centuries. In considering the artworks as such and their inscriptions, the latter were more likely to affect how people understood the political message of the ensemble. This is because inscriptions were more responsive to political and social changes; artworks also responded to these changes, but more slowly. The inscriptions were part of the language, and language is more immediate than the more elaborate semantics of Roman art. For example, the statue of a *togatus* erected to honour an individual carried a set of information that might not be immediately clear. The attribute of the toga for instance, points to the status of the individual: a citizen of Rome, a member of a noble family, a range of diverse offices, a victorious commander. It can be argued that the colour

of the toga, which was visible in the past, or its style, might have been more explanatory to the people of Rome in identifying the status of the person honoured. In this case, however, not only the toga, but also its colour or style needed to be conceptualised from its concrete form to an abstraction to fully discern its meaning against the backdrop of Roman culture and the Roman political system. By considering extra elements in this conceptualising process, such as the colour of the toga or its style, more levels of abstractions are added to the cognitive processes of the audience. Although a toga, enriched by a specific colour/style, can evoke a fairly accurate picture of who the individual was, the use of the words *dictator*, *consul*, *imperator*, *censor* or any other office/attribute meant that the statue was immediately and unmistakably understood.

For the ancients, as for us, understanding the iconography of Roman republican art is the most striking and immediate method of comprehending the meanings of an artistic composition. However, it is not the only way. Inscriptions are even more powerful in affecting the meaning of artistic compositions because their words contain precise meanings. For example, when Caesar removed the inscription *hemitheus* from his statue on the Capitoline in 46 BC, he reduced the criticism levelled at him by the people of Rome. Another example is the political significance of an honorific statue that bears the word *dictator* in place of *consul*. The power of words can also blur or completely change the meaning of an image. In the first decades of the twentieth century, the painting entitled *La Trahison des images* by the surrealist painter René Magritte would not have produced countless debates, or even the correspondence between Foucault and Magritte himself, if it had not included the problematic sentence, 'Ceci n'est pas une pipe.'

The process of cognition is different when relating to *words* as compared to *images*. Whereas words can be learned, explained and understood even without having a concrete visual representation of their meaning, visual objects and images need to be interpreted by both looking at their concrete form and, in many cases, by using words (spoken or

written) to define their meaning. This is the reason why from antiquity until the present day most monuments have inscriptions: to allow viewers to interpret their meanings.

In this chapter, I show how substantial changes occurred during the first century BC in the artistic self-presentation strategy adopted by powerful individuals by analysing the epigraphic style used alongside their images. In fact, these changes correspond to the adoption of a new artistic register combined with the use of innovative epigraphic terms. If, at first glance, the artworks of the first century BC do not always indicate a significant difference from the previous centuries, their inscriptions reveal, however, that the perception of these new monuments by their audience must have changed significantly according to the new terminology of their inscriptions. By analysing the epigraphic styles of honorific monuments erected by the major characters of the first century BC, it will be possible to gain a closer insight into how the monumental stylistic evolution occurred at this time, even if most of these artworks are now lost, by looking at their inscriptions.

It is impossible to identify the turning point of a renewed honorific self-presentation system without retracing the steps that led to it in the first place. For this reason, in the next section, I demonstrate how this unique self-presentation system can be traced back to two conflicts that Rome faced at the end of the first century BC: the Jugurthine War and the Cimbrian War. The outcome of these wars had a significant impact on the way victory was promoted and perceived, as will be demonstrated with regard to Sulla, Pompey and Caesar.

APPROPRIATING VICTORY AND MONUMENTALISATION

The first century BC was preceded by two conflicts fought a few years before the turn of the century by Rome on two opposite fronts: the Jugurthine War and the war against the Cimbri and the Teutones. The importance of these two conflicts is reflected by different

practices used by the commanders in celebrating their victories compared to the past. The monumentalisation of these victories and, thus, the self-presentation strategies of their protagonists, were the expression of a new attitude that not only commanders but also the people of Rome had towards these two conflicts.

The contextual premises, briefly outlined here, aim to show how during those conflicts, a change occurred in the way the system of honour developed, especially when it was connected with the theme of victory. This change should not be seen in the way the commanders used dedications to commemorate their victories; in fact, their methods remained unchanged from the traditional way of representing Roman victories and their protagonists. Rather, a change occurred in the different perception that both senders and recipients had towards the self-presentation messages. Temples, *spolia* and honorific statues were always set up along with their inscriptions. However, the way in which these monuments were created and understood, both by the dedicators and by the recipients of their messages, changed. The key point was still to present the theme of victory, just as in the monumentalisation of the past, but with a major difference: the victory of Rome in the Jugurthine War and the Cimbrian War came about only because of the military interventions of men with unique qualities.

The unsatisfactory outcome of the military and diplomatic actions of Rome in dealing with Jugurtha forced the Senate to issue a command to the consul in 109 BC, Quinctius Caecilius Metellus, nephew of Macedonicus. Renewed in his command in 108 BC as proconsul, Metellus defeated Jugurtha without obtaining a decisive victory. With a vote from the *concilium plebis* Gaius Marius, a *novus homo* from the equestrian order and supported by them, who obtained the consulship in 107 BC, and as result of that he

obtained the Numidian command.[255] This moment should be seen as a turning point: it was the first time that the people had selected their choice of general for a major campaign in defiance of the Senate's wishes. If we are to believe Sallust, Marius relied on his personal charisma and support from across society to win the command. Between 107 BC and 105 BC Marius defeated the combined armies of Jugurtha and Bocchus, Jugurtha's father-in-law, several times. The Marii were hereditary clients of the Caecili Metelli and the success of Marius in the war conducted by Metellus created political tension between the two commanders.[256] The Senate, hostile to Marius, granted the triumph and the agnomen of Numidicus to Metellus, although he did not conclude the war. The appropriation of victory became a strong political weapon to undermine political opponents and was widely used, especially during these two conflicts.

The repeated defeat of Roman armies by the Germanic tribes aroused concern in Rome, especially when the consul Gnaeus Papirius Carbo suffered heavy losses in the Noricum in 113 BC. Again, in 105 BC, the consul Gnaeus Mallius Maximus and his army were completely defeated by Germanic tribes at Arausio. This was a defeat matched only by Cannae in its severity (and concern). The second consul of that year, Publius Rutilius Rufus, organised the defence as it became clear that Italy would have been the next target for the Cimbri and the Teutones. The fear and concern pushed the people of Rome not only to elect Marius, who was still in Numidia, as consul again in 104 BC, breaking the law that forbade the reiteration of the consulship, but also to nominate him as consul for the following year, adding to the reiteration the illegality of the continuity. The panic of

[255] It is interesting to note that on a legislative level with the *rogatio Mamilia* in 110 BC, the role of commanders became very difficult since they were made responsible for their actions, including their defeats.
[256] Plutarch (*Mar.* 10.2) gave a moralistic reading of the ingratitude of Marius toward Metellus: 'And in the end a retribution fell upon Marius; for Sulla robbed him of the glory of his success, as Marius had robbed Metellus.' Giardina 2012, 333 correctly argues that the gratitude (*gratia*) a younger individual should have had towards an older and more authoritative person was, inevitably, weakened in the competitive political context of the Late Republic.

the people of Rome was increased by a slave rebellion that started in Sicily in 104 BC and would last until 101 BC. Marius' victories were total: he defeated the Teutones at Aquae Sextiae in 102 BC and the Cimbri at Vercellae in 101 BC. The prestige of Marius increased so much that he was elected consul even for the following year, when Rome was no longer at risk. The excess of (illegal) honours was paired with the celebration of his triumph, which was a joint one with Quintus Lutatius Catulus.

Marius and Catulus each attributed the success of the war to themselves through the erection of Marius' temple to Honos and Virtus, and Catulus' temple, generally identified with that of Fortuna Huiusce Die.[257] Similarly to the past, the erection of monuments to celebrate a victory was customary for victorious commanders. However, in this case, not only did both commanders celebrate the same victory and attempt to appropriate its success by displaying marvellous works of art, they also focused on two specific messages to demonstrate their unique skills and exceptional qualities. By erecting a temple each, Marius stressed his *virtus*, whereas Catulus emphasised his *fortuna*, two exceptional qualities that were presented as their own personal qualities that granted them victory.[258]

Just as Metellus' and Marius' triumphs competed to claim the success of the Jugurthine War, Catulus' temple (and, later, his portico on the Palatine Hill) and Marius' temple aimed to appropriate the success of the Cimbrian War in a permanent way by expressing two different exceptional qualities held by the commanders. Undermining political opponents was a way of fixing the achievements of individuals in the collective memory but, in this case, the message became ambiguous. The monumentalisation of these commanders' victories expressed specific values and competed for the same

[257] Such identification was proposed first by Boyancé 1940.
[258] On the use of these divine qualities as expression of Marius' and Catulus' monuments Clark 2007, 127–131. On the relationship between *virtus – fortuna* as a rhetorical topos borrowed from the Greek ἀρετή – τύχη and their divine or human characteristics, see McDonnell 2006, 84–104.

achievement. Marius' *virtus* was juxtaposed with Catulus' *fortuna* for the very same victory, meaning that the war was won neither by one nor the other. The viewers of the *Monumenta Marii* (including the Temple of Honos and Virtus) and the sets of victory monuments erected by Catulus were probably uncertain as to who was the real protagonist of the victory against a difficult and important enemy of Rome, and which one of the two qualities of the commanders was connected with the defeat of the Cimbri and the Teutones.

Marius' *virtus* was different from previous examples of *virtutes* that were expected of any Roman citizen and, more specifically, any commanders with *imperium*. Marius continuing to hold the consulate illustrated the special status of Marius' *virtus*. He could have been elected praetor and, therefore, been legally authorised to instigate a war against the German tribes in 104 BC. This solution, however, was not perceived as adequate to solve the imminent problem Rome had. The combination of Marius' *virtus* and his consulship was apparently the only way the Roman people could respond to the threat of the Cimbri and Teutones. The continuity of Marius' consulship was illegal, but it was connected to his ability to address military emergencies. This ability was underpinned by the special *virtus* that was symbolised by his triumph over Jugurtha in 104 BC and that he had proved through his preceding victories. In this sense, Marius' *virtus* was not a normal quality that any commander had, but was unique and special.

Marius's personal *virtus* came into conflict not only with Metellus and Catulus, but also with Sulla. When the Bocchus Monument was erected around 91 BC on the Capitoline, Marius' reaction was to immediately attempt to destroy it.[259] However, he was unable to succeed until Sulla left Rome. Not only was Marius' victory over Jugurtha undermined by the presence of a monument that celebrated, instead, Sulla's enterprise in

[259] Plut. *Sull.* 6.2.

the same war, but the Bocchus Monument was also juxtaposed with another of Marius' monuments, also erected on the Capitoline: a statuary group that celebrated Marius' victory over the Cimbri, and was composed of a statue, probably Marius, with two Victories bearing trophies.[260] It is remarkable that even if only a few details are recorded in ancient sources, these two monuments seem to have similarities in their stylistic and iconographic constructions that were quite unprecedented in Roman art.

The protagonists of these two conflicts represented their actions as decisive for success, and their victories were granted by their special and unique qualities. It is not my aim in this thesis to discover why and how the changing political situation had come to require such new messages, although the fact that the huge popular enthusiasm that had granted them command, as it did with regard to the Jugurthine war, said a great deal about the influence of the people in foreign and military affairs, against a Senate that had not been left with much choice, considering the imminent danger.[261] What is important for my purposes is that the way the two commanders communicated their self-presentation strategies did not allow the presence of any other subject and the appropriation of victory became an instrument for both to parade their the self-presentation strategies in the political arena. Different actors used different strategies, for example: the Senate granted the triumph to Metellus, even if he did not conclude the war; the people of Rome granted Marius continuity of his consulate, despite the fact that this was illegal; Marius stressed his *virtus* and Catulus his *fortuna* to celebrate the victories; Sulla made his point by appropriating the victory over Jugurtha with the erection of the Bocchus Monument that had similar features to Marius' monument celebrating the victory against the Cimbri and was placed near it.

[260] Plut. *Caes.* 6.1.
[261] See Rosenstein 1993. Cic. *Leg. Man.* 60; Plut. *Mar.* 12.1; Cass. Dio fr. 94.1. It seems that few senators tried to get benefit from the popularity of Marius see Badian 1958, 200–1. On the enemies toward Marius Cic. *Prov. Cons.* 19; Cass. Dio fr. 94.1.

During this short period, victory assumed an exclusive dimension: it was performed by single and unique individuals with a power that came from the battlefield and their troops, rather than solely from the office held, as was more evident during the second and third centuries BC. During the latter time, commanders struggled to associate their names to military victories, at the expense of other political individuals. Now, in the first century BC, these victories were not perceived as the combined effort of the Roman republican institutions and its military capability, as had been the case in earlier decades when men like Marcelli, Nobilior, Flamininus, Glabrio and Mummius, for example, stressed their consulship. In the first century BC, they were presented as the outcome of actions by enterprising individuals who could act outside of legal institutions during military and political emergencies of Rome. During the second and third centuries BC, commanders competed with each other through the erection of their own monumentalised victories. With regard to the Jugurthine War and the Cimbrian War, commanders competed by seizing and arrogating these victories and celebrating them as the inevitable outcome of their own special and unique military qualities.

The final stage in this development would come with the civil wars, in which Roman commanders fought each other. The war between Marius and Sulla rewrote the rules of monumentalisation with their mutual destruction of their own monuments in different phases.[262] The victory of civil war was not celebrated in the same way as the military achievements obtained against external enemies of Rome; however, by each destroying the monument of his counterpart, Marius and Sulla were able to affirm their own successes in the civil wars.

By erecting inscribed single monuments and large complexes, and by conveying political messages through the coinage it minted, the *nobilitas* aimed, as did Sulla, to fix

[262] Stein-Hölkeskamp 2016

their exceptional deeds permanently in the cultural memory of the Roman people.[263] The difference with regard to Sulla is that he claimed absolute dominance not only for his political position, but also in the way the monumental memory was created and preserved. In this sense, Stein-Hölkeskamp rightly emphasised this aspect by saying that 'this claim, and the manner of its enforcement, marked at least the beginning of the end of equality within the aristocracy and hence of the fundamental precondition for its collective rule'.[264]

SULLA FELIX: THE IMPERATOR ITERUM

What we know about Sulla's self-presentation agenda in term of visual content is contained in a few images from his own coinage and that of his son, Faustus Cornelius Sulla. From such scarcity of evidence, however, emerges a clear picture: the way Sulla was represented breaks with the more traditional imagery of the past, introducing a series of elements that responded better to his self-presentation agenda. It is hard for us to reconstruct Sulla's image from a few coins but, again, inscriptions come to support its reconstruction and, more specifically, indicate the political significance of Sulla's self-presentation.[265]

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[263] Hölkeskamp 2006b 350–1 rightly argues that the worth of the *nobilitas* lasts in the cultural memory but it may quickly expire on a social level, as a communicative memory, unless the acquisition of more achievements and honours constantly fuels it. The achievement rather than the *nobilitas* themselves seems to have a concrete impact on the collective memory. Cicero (*Mur.* 16) affirms that Sulpicius Rufus' nobility was remembered by scholars and not acknowledged by the people, especially the voters: 'Although, Servius Sulpicius, your nobility is second to none, it is better known to men of letters and antiquarians and less familiar to the people and the voters. Your father was only of equestrian rank and your grandfather was not particularly distinguished. The evidence for your nobility, then, has to be unearthed not from current talk but from ancient documents.' However, the words of Cicero must be understood as the words of a *homo novus*, who became famous thanks to his personal skills, rather than a prestigious lineage. However, one condition does not necessarily undermine the other: the fame of a victorious commander could have been greatly enhanced if he was also a member of an illustrious family, as Sulla himself was.

[264] Stein-Hölkeskamp 2016, 231.

[265] On this issue see Balsdon 1951; Keaveney 1982, 1983, 2005; Stewart 1997; Mackay 2000; Santangelo 2007; Mayer 2008.

The novelty of Sulla's political self-presentation was characterised by a rich and compressed iconographic scheme that reflected his entire political and military life. However, the merit of Sulla's self-presentation agenda is, at the same time, its very problem: the complexity of his iconographic programme, which was increased by it being used both in the East and in Rome. Hence, we face considerable difficulty in decoding the meaning of his visual programme, especially if we are unable to accurately pinpoint each phase during which Sulla built his propaganda. All these problems are also exacerbated by there being little surviving evidence from his period, a consequence of the battle of monuments fought by Sulla against his great rival Marius, which was to undermine the memory of their successes.[266] The removal of monuments and images was so effective that both for the ancients and for us, the reconstruction of their personalities and their ideological causes is difficult.

In this section, I aim to demonstrate how the new epigraphic and visual language used by Sulla were firmly linked together. The political use of epigraphy by Sulla was paired with a specific visual programme with a precise purpose: to provide the Roman people with the key for decoding the highly compressed iconographic scheme used in his monuments. As a protagonist, Sulla's life witnessed one of the crucial stages of the history of the Republic: the first civil war fought in the city. Sulla's military and political career, intertwined with the events that led to the civil war, did not only have an impact on the political dimension of Rome, but also, and in fact predominantly, on the way in which Sulla's power was displayed, especially in his use of inscriptions and monuments.[267]

BETWEEN *IMPERATOR* AND *FELIX*: THE GENESIS OF SULLA'S FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE

There is a distinction between *imperium* and *imperator*: the first means the military command held by a commander whether or not any military actions are undertaken and

[266] Plut. *Sull.* 6.2 (cf. Plut. *Mar.* 32.5).
[267] For the political use of epigraphy by Sulla, the article by Mayer 2008, 121–136 is fundamental.

the second was the title acclaimed by a victorious general's troops only after an important victory.[268] Such a distinction becomes more evident during the Marian military campaigns at the end of the second and beginning of the first century BC, when the theme of the victory and the triumph acquired a new importance on Rome's political stage. Accordingly, self-presentation strategies followed the new rules created by the ideology of victory. The war of monuments between Marius and Sulla is a perfect example of this new tendency. Although the ideologies of victory and triumph were always present in any phase of Roman culture and especially during the mid-Republic, at the time of Marius and Sulla they became a strong political expression of individualistic ambition.

During the third and second centuries, as has been demonstrated in the previous chapters, the commanders' ambitions were monumentalised within parameters established by customary honorific practice, which significantly emphasised the importance of the consulship. This does not mean that the individualistic ambitions of the protagonists of the third and second centuries BC did not exist at all. On the contrary, they tried to express their achievements by stressing the honorific custom, but never really going outside its accepted limits. This provided stability for the population and gained consensus from both the elite and the people of Rome with regard to the methods adopted.

During the first century BC, the socio-political climate that developed in the first Roman civil war marked a fundamental change in the way that political power was expressed by the monuments erected by the commanders because the enemies of the Republic were now not external, but internal. The political power expressed by the monumentalisation of the protagonists could not coexist in this new climate, because in

[268] For the acclamation of *imperator* during the Republic, Zonar *Epitome Historiarum* 7.21 (Cass. Dio 6.21); for a study on this practice see Combès 1966 and the more recent Rivero Gracia 2006. For recent works on the *imperium*, wider discussions are provided by Vervaet 2014 and Drogula 2015.

civil war, there cannot be more than one 'rightful' or victorious faction.[269] Conversely, in the previous centuries the plurality of monuments not only could (more or less harmoniously) coexist, but reinforced and normalised the honorific custom.

In the first century BC, the rise of new powers and prerogatives legitimised by the decisive military and political victories fostered the move from old customs to new ones. It was not possible to celebrate the military prowess of a victorious commander of the Roman Republic against an enemy who was actually Roman. By emphasising exceptional qualities and divine favour commanders could re-functionalise the same essence of that narrative used for foreign enemies (victory and exceptional abilities) in a way that also worked for 'internal enemies' (Romans) during civil wars. In this sense, the renewed ideology of victory rewrote the shared and commonly agreed non-written rules of the self-presentation strategies of the nobility in favour of an intense individualism and special qualities held by individuals that left no room for any other subject than the honoured.

Sulla was hailed by his troops as *imperator* twice, once after his victory over Mithridates certainly, and probably again after his command in Cilicia before the 90 BC.[270] Between 84 BC and 83 BC, Sulla struck denarii and aurei to celebrate his successes during the Mithridatic War. The majority of these coins have been found in southern Italy, from where in 83 BC Sulla marched towards Rome.[271] Sulla's campaign was accompanied by a strong ideological message spread by his coinage, which seems to represent his

[269] This is evident with the problematics of the celebration of triumphs during the civil wars. On this subject Lange and Vervaet 2014 and Lange 2016 are fundamental.
[270] For the date of Sulla's command in Cilicia see Badian 1959; Crawford 1974, 373–4; Keaveney 1995; Brennan 2000, 357–87; Santangelo 2007, 29–30; Assenmaker 2014, 159–60.
[271] Sulla presumably used these coins to finance his military campaign in Italy. Crawford 1964, 150. Assenmaker 2014, 203. See also *RRC* 367, 368 struck in 82 BC (Figure 8–9). See Crawford 1974, 80, 373–4, 732. Cf. Martin 1989 and Mackay 2000, 198–206. On the chronology of *RRC* 367, 368 and 359 Assenmaker 20013a.

efforts during the Mithridatic War.[272] On the verso of *RRC* 359 there are two trophies referring to the victories at Chaeronea, one monument erected on the plain and the other on Mount Thourion (Figure 10).[273] A jug and a *lituus* are in the middle of the trophies. The legend on the verso is *IMPER(ATOR) ITERV(M)*. On the recto the legend reads *L. SULL(A)*, and this side depicts the head of Venus carrying a diadem with a small cupid holding a palm leaf on the right. The ideological theme of Sulla's coinage is strongly connected to the concept of victory and triumph and the legend *imperator iterum* expresses this message in a very straightforward fashion. The use of *imperator iterum* for Sulla's coinage was unprecedented. There is some epigraphic evidence for *consul iterum*, or *imperator*, but no evidence of *imperator iterum*.[274]

The word *imperator* was already used for honorific inscriptions (e.g. Aemilius Paullus' and Mummius' inscriptions) and they might have offered a solid base on which a new model could be built.[275] However, these two inscriptions were not from Rome, and they used *imperator* immediately after the filiation, as in Sulla's epigraphic text. At Italica (Spain) an inscription that was restored during the Hadrianic period, Mummius' inscription is: *[L(ucius) Mumm]ius L(uci) f(ilius) imp(erator) / [ded(it) Co]rintho capta*

[272] Santangelo 2007, 204. See Hölscher 1994 75–89, who convincingly argued how the abstraction of the iconographic elements in the coinage created a dynamic system of meanings whose elements were strictly dependent on each other. This phenomenon can be traced back to the late second century BC and reaches its peak during the Late Republic.

[273] Plut. *Sull* 19.9–10. Picard 1957, 174–5; Hinard 1985, 107–08; Ramage 1991, 109; Camp 1992; Keaveney 2005, 95; Assenmaker 2014, 194–200.

[274] Cf. *ILLRP* 325 (*consol iterum*). For *imperator*: two dedications in Delphi by Minucius Rufus in 106 BC (*ILLRP* 337) and by Aemilius Paullus in 167 BC (*CIL* I^2 614 and 622); Mummius 146 BC (*ILLRP* 122, 331) and a few other inscriptions. For a detailed list and the use of *imperator* during the second century BC Assenmaker 2012, 121–6.

[275] Aemilius Paullus in Delphi, *CIL* I^2, 622: L(ucius) Aimilius L(uci) f(ilius) inperator de rege Perse / Macedonibusque cepet), and Mummius in Italica *CIL* I^2, 630 *ILLRP* 331: *[L(ucius) Mumm]ius L(uci) f(ilius) imp(erator) / [ded(it) Co]rintho capta / [vico Ital]icensi)* .The inscription as we have it dates from a restoration in 101–130 AD. I follow the reconstruction of Mummius' inscription as proposed by Mommsen and recorded in *CIL* and *ILLRP*. On this reconstruction see also Graverini 2001 and Lippolis 2004. This reconstruction is however not entirely secure. Canto 1985, 9–19, proposed *[L. Aimi]lius L(uci) f(ilius) imp(erator) / [ded(it) Za]kintho capta / [civit(ati) Ita]licensi*; but it is no possible to verify since the surviving letters of the inscriptions are: *]L F IMP /]CAPTA /]NSI*. On the different interpretations see Yarrow 2006, esp. 61–2 and cf. Cadario 2010, 85–6.

/ *[vico Ital]icensi).* However, in Rome, the use of *imperator* only by the victorious commander was less straightforward. In another of Mummius' inscriptions (*CIL* I^2 626), this time situated in Rome, he represented himself as consul in the very first line: *L(ucius) Mummius L(uci) f(ilius) co(n)s(ul)*.[276] However, only in the last line is his acclamation as *imperator* by his troops mentioned: *imperator dedicat*. This highlights how in Rome and outside the city as well, the same commander adopted two different strategies. Whereas in Spain he had no problem in using a formula that stressed mainly his acclamation and his military victories, in Rome he used *consul* in the very first line as it was customary in the third and second centuries BC. Mummius was eager to include his acclamation as *imperator*, but the inclusion of the single word *imperator* at the beginning of the inscription was not the fashion at that particular time. It might have been a provocative message because the acclamation of *imperator* by the commander's troops and not the office held within the Roman political institution would have been emphasised as would the celebration of military individual skills rather than the collective and shared virtues that all members of the *nobilitas*, and even more the consuls, were supposed to have. By placing *imperator* at the end, however, he reinforced the idea that only by holding the consulship was he hailed *imperator* for his dedication to Hercules Victor. With Sulla, it is exactly the opposite; the acclamation of *imperator* by Sulla's troops was at the centre of his political leverage.

In Sulla's case, the awkwardness of *imperator* as a stand-alone word was not an issue. In addition, by adding the word *iterum* to *imperator*, the semantics of the inscription were substantially altered. On the one hand, this strategy, based on a similar epigraphic custom, created a more intelligible message for the audience, who were already accustomed to reading similar inscriptions from the past. On the other hand, it

[276] The dedication of the temple was in 142 BC (Plut. *Mor. Prae. ger. reip.* 20) when Mummius was censor and not consul.

introduced new elements, *imperator* and not *consul*, and the word *iterum* that takes the meaning of the whole sentence to a new, yet familiar dimension: Sulla's exceptional skills obtained by his divine favour.[277] This novelty introduced by Sulla had a strong influence on his political propaganda in terms of his self-presentation strategy and the response to his enemies.[278] In 87 BC, the Senate and the consul Cinna declared Sulla a *hostis* (enemy), which resulted in the appropriation of Sulla's wealth and the destruction of his house, the same measures that Sulla had taken against his enemies before leaving Italy.[279] The legitimation of Sulla's victories and his *imperium* were not endorsed by the Senate, hostile towards him at that time, but were granted by his loyal troops who hailed him *imperator* after the victory during the Mithridatic War.[280] The acclamation of *imperator* in this way reflects how prestige and power could be acquired independently from Roman institutions such as the consulate or the proconsulate, and the Senate itself. This is because although the *imperium militiae* was embodied by some of the higher offices of the *res publica*, it did not automatically grant the acclamation of *imperator*.

A further example from the mid-second century BC underlines the earlier importance of specific elected magistracies, rather than individual achievements: in 155 BC, Marcellus erected his statue in Lunae and its inscription contained the words *consul iterum* (he had been consul in 166 BC). The same Marcellus erected a statuary group of himself, his father and grandfather with the inscription reported by Asconius: *III*

[277] An example of the influence that Sulla's epigraphic formula of *imperator iterum* and the agnomen (*Felix*) had can be found in Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius, who adopted a similar formula on an inscription now lost but found in Tivoli: *ILLRP* 366, CIL I^2 733, CIL XIV, 3588: *[Q(uintus) Caeci]lius Q(uinti) f(ilius) / [L(uci) n(epos) Mete]llus Pius / [imp(erator)] iter(um)*.
[278] Before Sulla, C. Flavius Fimbria issued a coin in 85 BC Asia Minor with the legend *FIMBRIA IMPERAT(OR)*, Witschonke and Amandry 2004–2005, 87–92. Fimbria took the command of the army sent to fight Mithridates in 86 BC after a mutiny. Assenmaker 2012, 126–7 rightly emphasised that the first coin with the title of *imperator* comes from commanders whose *imperium* was contestable. See also the case of C. Valerius Flaccus, proconsul in Gaul in 82 BC, who issued a coin *RRC* 365/1a and 1/b: *C. VAL FLA IMPERAT*. Another example is Q. Caecilius Metellus' coin: *RRC* 374/2 *IMPER(ATOR)*, (Figure 11).
[279] Bennett 1923, 29–30; Gabba 1958, 200; Bauman 1973, 289–91; Keaveney 2005, 70–1.
[280] The first recorded *imperator* acclamation is for Scipio Africanus during his campaign in Spain 209–208 BC. Livy 27.19.3–4; Polyb. 10.40.2–5. See Assenmaker 2014, 119–20.

MARCELLI NOVIES COSS (three Marcelli, nine times consul). For Marcellus and his contemporaries, the consulship was the highest institution of Rome and a focal point for the political self-presentation in mid-second century BC.[281]

Seventy years later, Sulla adopted a new system of self-presentation based on the exceptional achievements of the individual, quite apart from endorsement by any institution; *imperator* focuses on the unique skills and abilities of a commander without taking into account any other subject, including the Senate. There is no indication on *RRC* 359 of any of the offices that are included in the *cursus honorum*. Conversely, it exalts Sulla's military prowess with two acclamations as *imperator*, paired with the image of his two trophies from two decisive victories; this visual scheme aimed to promote Sulla's propaganda. The two acclamations of *imperator* belong to two different historical moments, whereas the trophies refer to the Mithridatic War only. However, the aim of Sulla's coinage is not to present historical events accurately, but to promote his political discourse. *RRC* 359 was certainly used to finance his new campaign in Italy, but its distribution was not limited to his soldiers, who knew quite well where Sulla fought and won.[282] Before the decisive battle at the Porta Collina in 82 BC, Sulla fought a more complicated war, whose battlefield was his self-presentation strategy in Italy in general and in Rome in particular.[283] After his proclamation as a *hostis* in 87 BC, Sulla needed to clear his name and justify his supreme power, anticipating his military actions in Italy with a strong ideological message.[284] When Lucius Valerius Flaccus, *consul suffectus* in

[281] Asc. *Pis.* 12.15–19: See Sehlmeyer 1999, 163–5; Papini 2004, 401–2; Cadario 2005, 165–6.
[282] *Contra* Assenmaker 2014, 285–6, who argues that the coin 'adressés prioritairement aux soldats de l'armée syllanienne'.
[283] Flower 2006, 86–8 describes the situation in Rome as *stasis*, enforced by the clash of two members of the extended patrician *gens* of the Cornelii: Cinna and Sulla.
[284] App. *B Civ.* 1.65; 1.73. Lange 2016, 103–5 speculatively argues that Sulla, after the *hostis* declaration, was 'non-Roman, at least in principle'. For a thorough analysis on the *hostis* declaration, the origin of this concept and the legal and political aspects, Allély 2012. What is certain is that Sulla's authority was questioned: App. *B Civ.* 1.81. See also Crawford 1964, 148–9; Keaveney 1982, 155–6. However, Sulla cannot be considered as a warlord with his own personal client army (Fields 2008, 101; Keaveney 2007, 41; Flower 2010, 93, *contra* Zoumbaki 2017, 352–3). Sulla never completely broke his allegiance with the Senate (Zoumbaki 2017 354–

86 BC after the death of Marius, was authorised to deal with Mithridates, Sulla's position was clearly undermined.[285] The circulation of Sulla's coinage in Italy aimed to spread the crux of his ideological propaganda to a wider audience. His political legitimation had as its base the acclamation of the title *imperator* (*iterum*), itself based on the idea of victory and triumph.[286] However, to be effective, Sulla's *imperium* had to be *iustum*.[287] The presence of the religious symbols of traditional religion was, therefore, necessary to complete the iconography of Sulla's ideological message.

Sulla's status was not based on the boundaries of the traditional power of Rome and its institutions, but on a new concept of power, created by his charismatic leadership and his exceptional ability, two qualities that were increasingly associated with the divine sphere.[288] On the verso of *RRC* 359, between the two trophies, there is a jug and a *lituus*, the curved staff used by augurs that represents the authority at the rituals (auspices, sacrifices and vows) undertaken before the investiture of Roman magistrates and before political actions.[289] It was thought that failure to perform the correct augural and pontifical rituals might result in catastrophic consequences of military actions.[290] The iconographic presence of the sacrificial jug and the augural *lituus* symbolises the auspices and sacrifices carried out by the augurs and guaranteed by the *pontifices*, sanctioning and

7); on the contrary, he built his new dialogue with the Senate by introducing a new system of legitimation and self-presentation, mostly based on his acclamation as *imperator*.

[285] Plut. *Sull.* 20.1; App. *B Civ.* 1.75.

[286] On the legitimation through the triumph see also Sumi 2005, 29–35.

[287] Keaveney 1982, 158–61; Stewart 1997, 177–8; Assenmaker 2014, 203–13.

[288] Flower 2006, 89–90.

[289] Cf. the coin issued by Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius *RRC* 374/2, which has a jug and a *lituus* with the legend of *IMPER(ATOR)*. This coin, like Sulla's, supports the validity of Metellus' command by showing the auspices and sacrifices taken before the office. App. *B Civ.* 1.80; Livy *Per.* 84. See Stewart 1997, 179–80. *Contra* Berthelet 2013 who questions the jug as a symbol of pontifical instrument, comparing Sulla's *RRC* 359 with the coin struck by Caesar between 47–46 BC when he entered into the augural college: *RRC* 456/1a and 456/1b. See also Koortbojian 2013, 63–73 for different interpretations of the *lituus* as an augural symbol used in different coinage.

[290] See Rosenstein 1990, 54–91. Stewart 1997, 177. C. Flaminius left Rome in 217 BC without performing the ritual (Livy 22.1.5–7; Livy 21.63.6–9); Cf. Cic. (*Div.* 1.77–78; 2.21; 2.71) who refers to Flaminius' non-observance of the ritual norms.

legitimising the political, military and religious prerogatives of the commander.[291] The new image of Sulla links his personal leadership with the victory and the 'rhetorical value of allusions to ritual in Roman political life'.[292] In other words, Sulla's *imperium* is a *ductus imperium auspiciumque*, which embodied the legitimation of his command (*imperium*), the public auspices (*auspicium*) and his personal leadership (*ductus*).[293]

The legitimation of Sulla's power was reinforced by the representation of his patron deity, Venus, responsible for his success, along with the legend *L. SULL(A)*.[294] The juxtaposition of cultic instruments with the deity symbolically suggests that the legitimation of Sulla's *imperium* is sanctioned by divine favour.[295] The link between the goddess and Sulla's warlike nature is emphasised even more by a cupid holding the palm leaf of victory.[296] Appian informs us that Venus *armata* appeared to Sulla in a dream to help him in battle.[297] In return, Sulla sent a golden crown and an axe with an inscription

[291] Frier 1967, 115–18; Crawford 1974, 373–4; Keaveney 1982, 158–61; 2005, 98–99; Stewart 1997, 178–9; Assenmaker 2014 209–13. For a detailed summary of a scholars' debate on the priesthoods that Sulla may have held Assenmaker 2014, 203–9.
[292] Stewart 1997, 186. Koortbojian 2013, 71 also connects Sulla's legitimacy with the symbol of the *auspicia* and his accomplishments as a magistrate and commander with the word *imperator*.
[293] For this formula Vervaet 2014a, 22–8 who focuses on the relationship between *auspicium publicum* and *ductus* (leadership). Also cf. Plaut. *Amph.* 196 (*ductu imperio auspicio suo*) and the inscription of Mummius *CIL* I^2 626, *ILLRP* 122: *ductu auspicio imperioque.* Livy addresses the command during war with a different formula: *imperio auspicioque* (22.30.4; 27.44.4; 28.27.4; 28.27.5; 29.27.4; 41.28.8); *ductu auspicioque* (3.17.2; 3.42.2; 5.46.6; 8.31.1; 8.33.22; 28.12.12; 28.16.14); only: *auspicio* (4.20.6; 21.40.3); *ductu* (3.61.12); *imperio* (29.27.2). On the relationship between *imperium* and *auspicium*, Dalla Rosa 2003 and Vervaet 2014a. See also Alföldi 1976, 156–8 for the *ductu auspicioque* as the dual symbolism of the *imperium.* Cf. Keaveney 1983, 62. For the debates on the augural symbol of the coin, see the different positions in Martin 1989, 20–4.
[294] *RRC* 359. The trophies erected at Chaeronea bear the inscriptions in Greek letters of 'To Ares, Nike, and Aphrodite'. *SEG* 41.448. Paus. 9.40.7; Plut. *Sull.* 19.9–10; *Mor* 318d.
[295] Assenmaker 2014, 212–13.
[296] The military aspect of Venus was already present in Italy before Sulla, as a cult of independence from Rome. Koch 1955 (1960, 57–8). Fabius Fabricianus, kinsman of Fabius Rullianus, plundered a statue of Venus Victrix (Aphrodite Νικηφόρος) worshiped by the Samnites from the Samnite city of Tuxium and sent it to Rome (Plut. *Mor.* 37b). The cult of Venus Erycina was brought to Rome by Q. Fabius Maximus in 217 BC during the conflict against Carthage. The association of the goddess with war, although present, was however not as strong as her aspect of *Aeneadum genitrix*, see Assenmaker 2014, 275–6.
[297] Cf. with *RRC* 480/1 minted in 44 BC representing Sulla's dream on the reverse: Sulla reclining, Luna, and Victory behind with outstretched wings holding staff. See Crawford 1974, 487, 492.

to the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias in Caria.[298] The inscriptions on the trophies dedicated to the victory at Chaeronea during the Mithridatic War, and the dedication erected at Sicyon by Sulla, this time as *imperator*, to honour Mars – (*L(ucius) C(ornelius) L(ucii) f(ilius) Sulla imper(ator) Martei*) – demonstrate how the celebration of victory is at the centre of the relationship between Sulla and his patron deities.[299]

In adopting the agnomen of *Epaphroditos* in the Greek world, Sulla presented his mythical kinship with Aphrodite/Venus, already acknowledged by the Delphic oracle in his response when Sulla was addressed as the offspring of Aeneas.[300] The special relationship between Sulla and Aphrodite responded to a religious discourse that was clearly intelligible in the East. Similarly, Mithridates' self-presentation strategy relied on his association with Dionysus. Sulla certainly did not assume the title of *Epaphroditos* in response to Mithridates' ideological strategy.[301] Conversely, his adoption of *Epaphroditos* as an agnomen should be understood in the light of Sulla's imperial agenda, which established a dialogue with both Greek cities and elites, but also with Italian

[298] App. *B. Civ* 1.97. It may be possible that Sulla's dream happened before the battle because Aphrodite and Ares are mentioned in the inscription of the trophy erected at Chaeronea. This suggests that the dedications to the Aphrodisias sanctuary are dated after the battle. See Santangelo 2007, 208–9.

[299] The inscriptions are, respectively, *SEG* 41.448 and *ILLRP* 224; AE 1939, 43. See Ramage 1991, 109–10; Assenmaker 2014, 217–18.

[300] For the epigraphic sources see: *s.c. de Stratonicensibus* (*RDGE* 18, l. 74, 103, 125); *s.c. de Thasiis* (*RDGE* 20, Col. IID, l. 7), *s.c. de Oropiis* (*RDGE* 23, l. 52) the letter of Sulla to the Asiatic artists (*RDGE* 49, l. 2–3). See also App. *B Civ* 1.97 Plut. *Sull.* 34.4. Marinoni 1987, 192–209, especially 224: 'l'oracolo è alla fonte del particolare rapporto di protezione di Silla da parte di Afrodite/Venere'. On the favoured relationship between Sulla and Venus, Balsdon 1951, 8–9; Cabrero 1994, 128: 'y a los ojos de los griegos, este hecho (that Sulla adopted *Ἐπαφρόδιτος* title) hacia que le vieran en un plano superior al de sus compatriotas y al de ellos mismos'. See also Assenmaker 2014, 258–64; 270–1. The importance of Σύλλας *Ἐπαφρόδιτος* connected with Aphrodite/Venus in the Greek world, more than in the Roman, has been rightly pointed out by Santangelo 2007, 207ff. and Assenmaker 2014, 281–5.

[301] Santangelo 2007, 209. *Contra* Hind 1994, 164; Gisborne 2005, 115–16, who argue that Sulla's kinship with Aphrodite was a political response to Mithridates' self-presentation as a new Dionysus. If it was a political response, it would have had to wait too long to have a concrete delegitimising effect on Mithridates' self-presentation strategy during the war. It is likely that Sulla unofficially adopted *Epaphroditos* after Chaeronea and his consultation of the Delphi oracle. (App. *B Civ.* 1.97). For a list of official acts in Greece in which Sulla appears as *Epaphroditos*, Santangelo 2007, 212.

communities and local elites, by using a system of punishment and rewards that fostered the consolidation of the interest shown by Greek communities in acquiring the patronage of Roman magistrates.[302] Further, Sulla strongly renewed the kinship between Rome and Venus in the Greek East, and the adoption of *Epaphroditos* reinforced the dialogue with the Greek world, accustomed to such religious rhetoric.[303]

The meaning of *Felix*, the fourth name that Sulla adopted in Rome, clearly differed from the *Epaphroditos* used in Greece, and has no direct reference to Aphrodite/Venus.[304] Almost any study about Sulla has debated widely about the nature of the title *Felix*, mostly in the light of his relationship with the gods and the establishment of a divine *felicitas*.[305] Assenmaker defines Sulla's *felicitas*, directly expressed by *Felix*, as a divine favour not bound to a specific god.[306] The agnomina given by the Senate to characters from the third and second centuries BC – Africanus, Numidicus, Asiaticus, Achaicus – expressed the idea of victory by mentioning specific achievements. *Felix*, defined as *superbum cognomen* by Pliny,[307] has nothing to do with geographical areas, but has a broader meaning and takes into account the concept of luck (εὐτυχής) as a divine attribute.[308] This charismatic gift was not given by any specific deity but, at the same time, it was suggested that its provenance was of a divine nature, which greatly amplifies the figure of Sulla and

[302] For an extensive discussion of Sulla's imperial policy, Santangelo 2007.
[303] But also with the Roman world: Assenmaker 2014, 285 identifies the development of an 'idéologie religieuse « globale », à l'échelle du monde hellénique, centrée sur une divinité conçue, dans le double sillage de la tradition grecque et romaine, comme le trait d'union entre la ville des Énéades et l'Orient grec'.
[304] Schilling 1954, 279–80 identifies the two epithets as the same. Cf. Balsdon 1951, 8. Ramage 1991, 100–1 argues that the use of *Felix* represented his relationship with gods.
[305] Ericsson 1943; Balsdon 1951; Erkell 1952, 41–128; Schilling 1954; Keaveney 1982; Ramage 1991; Sumi 2002; Thein 2009; Eckert 2016. For *felicitas* as a Roman concept rather than Greek, Keaveney 1983, 63.
[306] Assenmaker 2014, 287.
[307] Pliny *HN* 22.19. In Pliny's time, in the first century AD, the use of the cognomen become more frequent and it was used by all social classes, unlike in the republican period. The cognomen was, in fact, a privilege inherited by the Roman aristocracy and became widely used by the plebs only during the imperial time. On the evolution of the cognomen Kajanto 1982; Solin 1991.
[308] See Ramage 1991, 101. However, the author overemphasises the military aspect of *Felix*.

the legitimacy of his actions.[309] In other words, the title *Felix*, and its concept of *felicitas*, are bound together with Sulla's individuality, leaving no room for any other subjects, deities included. The ideal of *felicitas* was an important personal virtue for all Roman *imperatores*, but none of them had used the title of *Felix* before Sulla. This is because previous *imperatores* were conforming to their office duties within the Roman institution, and their *imperium* was sanctioned by their auspices and good fortune, which guaranteed them victories.[310] There was no need to stress their *felicitas*; they communicated this virtue by dedicating temples and gifts to gods once back in Rome after their victories.[311] Conversely, Sulla had to rebuild a dialogue with the Senate and the people of Rome, especially after his victory at the Porta Collina in 82 BC, to complete the process of self-legitimation of his political agenda.[312] The use of *Felix*, like the use of *imperator*, helped him work towards this.[313]

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[309] Fears 1981, 794 gives a very striking definition of a 'charismatic gift of divine favour … an alienable aspect of his personality'. See also Ramage 1991, 100 and Sumi 2002, 416. However, *Felix* does not automatically embody the concept of victory; it is related to it, but it cannot stand alone to represent the military victory, as *Epaphroditos* could potentially be understood in the Greek world. *Epaphroditos* directly addresses the relationship with Aphrodite (Balsdon 1951, 8, note 91), yet its complexity goes behind this interpretation (Keaveney 1983, 64–5). For this debate see Santangelo 2007, 210–13.

[310] Among all the other temples dedicated by *imperatores*, the temple of Felicitas was erected by L. Lucinius Lucullus from the loot taken in his campaign in Spain 150–151 BC (Strabo 8.6.23; Cass. Dio 22.76); the temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei vowed by Catulus in 101 BC (Varro *Rust.* 3.5.12; Plut. *Mar.* 26.) in which Aemilius Paullus also dedicated a Phidias' Minerva (Pliny *HN* 34.54 and 60). On the traditions of the Lutatii associated with Fortuna, Ziolkowski 1992, 40–5. See also Clark 2007, 129–31.

[311] Sumi 2002, 415–16 argues about the importance of *felicitas* for all the *imperatores*. It is less clear if he is referring to *imperatores* of the third and second centuries BC or those after Sulla, and to what extent the theme of *felicitas* was used for their self-presentation.

[312] Sulla not only re-established a dialogue with the Senate, but he enlarged this body. Through this political decision and his dictatorship, a parallel with Romulus was strongly introduced. By reconquering the empire, concluding the civil war, pacifying Italy and expanding the *pomerium*, such parallelism became quite evident. In the ancient sources, this parallelism, although criticised, was evident: Sallust *Hist.* 1.55.5 addressed Sulla as *Scaeuos Romulus* – sinister Romulus, which points in the opposite direction to his *felicitas*. On Sulla as new founder of Rome Santangelo 2007, 214–23. The victory in the East was presented in Rome not only as the destruction of an enemy, but as Sulla's attempt to rethink the role of Rome as being at the centre of the Greek–Roman world by, for example moving the Olympic Games to Rome; see Matthews 1979; Newby 2005; Keaveney 2005, 156–67; Santangelo 2007, 216–18).

[313] Ramage 1991, 101 focuses on the polysemy of *Felix*: a personal relationship to the gods that granted Sulla military successes in the past and in the future; a connotation of prosperity that brings public good; an attribute of salvation and hope; a blend of ideals that culminate in a climax.

Sulla's triumph lasted for two days; during the first day the spoils from the Mithridatic War were paraded and on the second the 'spoils' of Praeneste were displayed.[314] Sulla's triumph had two different aspects, one related to the foreign affairs of Rome and the other to internal politics.[315] The first concerned the ideology of victory, which is evoked by Sulla's *imperium* and his acclamation as *imperator*, the outcome of his victories over an enemy of Rome, Mithridates. The second, masterfully connected with the first,[316] stressed the legitimacy of Sulla and his troops during the civil war, which is manifested by both the victory and the concept of *felicitas*. The concept of *felicitas* was connected, at least during the triumph, with the restoration of the wealth taken from Rome illegitimately[317] and, most importantly, the return of the exiled senators.[318] After the

Cf. Sumi 2002, 421 on Sulla's *felicitas* as material prosperity and abundance. For the construction of Sulla's *felicitas* in his autobiography Noble 2014.

[314] Pliny *HN* 33.5.16: quod ex Capitolinae aedis incendio ceterisque omnibus delubris C. Marius filius Praeneste detulerat, XIIII pondo, quae sub eo titulo in triumpho transtulit Sulla et argenti. See also Val. Max. 7.6.4. For Crawford 1974, 637 it is the treasures melted down in Rome to fight Sulla. The second day of Sulla's triumph seems to be perceived as the return of the illegitimate gold taken to finance the Marian factions at the expense of the Roman people, on this point see also Havener 2014, 168. This is suggested by the fact that Sulla spared the lives of Roman citizens after the siege of Praeneste, whereas he killed the Samnites and the Praenestines. App. *B Civ*. 1.94; Plut. *Sull*. 32, see also Östenberg 2009a, 212–13. Val. Max. 2.8.7 suggests the attitude of Sulla towards the Roman citizens during his celebration: iam L. Sulla, qui plurima bella civilia confecit, cuius crudelissimi et insolentissimi successus fuerunt, cum consummata atque constructa potentia sua triumphum duceret, ut Graeciae et Asiae multas urbes, ita civium Romanorum nullum oppidum vexit.

[315] The importance of the triumph for Sulla was to the extent that his funeral resembled a real triumph, during which the statue of Sulla was carried along with the statue of a lictor, a symbol of the power he held in his life. See Plut. *Sull.* 38; App. *B Civ.* 1.105.

[316] The potential issue of celebrating a triumph after the conclusion of a civil war has been investigated by Lange 2016. The author argued how the civil aspect was not denied when an element of something 'foreign' could be connected to the conflict. In this regard, it is possible that the first triumph over Mithridates, although not connected with the civil war, was very close to the second triumph after the conclusion of the civil war and, therefore, the two wars fought by Sulla were incorporated into one, ascribing an element of 'foreignness' to the joint conflict.

[317] The restoration as a legitimate act performed by Sulla might also be connected with the restoration of the Temple of Fortuna Primigenia in Praeneste, stronghold of the Marian party. Pliny *HN* 36.64.189; Fasolo and Gullini 1955, 271–2; 301–23; On the relationship between Sulla and Praeneste: Santangelo 2007, 137–40 with bibliography. According to Plutarch (*Sull.* 38.5) the concept of *felicitas* seems to have also accompanied Sulla during his *pompa funebris*.

[318] The returning prisoners used as a triumphal theme seems to have been employed by Flamininus during his triumph in 194 BC. Havener 2014, 168 (note 25) overemphasises this point quoting Plut. *Flam.* 13. According to Plutarch, Flamininus' triumph was greatly exaggerated by the return of enslaved Roman citizens: 'this appears to have furnished his triumph with its most glorious feature'. However, a few lines before this, the Greek biographer affirms that: 'these men Titus

triumph, Sulla reported all his achievements (*πράξεις*) to the public assembly, stressing both his good fortune and his valour:

> And when at last the whole spectacle was over, he gave an account of his achievements in a speech to the people, enumerating the instances of his good fortune with no less emphasis than his deeds of valour, and finally, in view of these, he ordered that he receive the surname of Fortunate (for this is the closest approximation to what the word 'Felix' means).[319]

It seems to have been important for Sulla to distinguish between goals attained through his personal abilities and those attained thanks to his *eutuchia*. However, we do not know how Sulla made the distinction between his military and political career. What is certain is that the title of *imperator* was acclaimed by his troops, whereas *Felix* was awarded to him by the Senate and the people of Rome. This suggests that the two titles had different, yet complementary roles in Sulla's self-presentation strategy and the resulting propaganda. The 'luck' and the ideology of victory symbolising Sulla's divine favour are combined with the use of both *Felix* and *imperator*, which is actually what created the polysemy of Sulla's *felicitas*. In *RRC* 359, the legend *imperator* (*iterum*) links the two trophies, symbols of military victory, with the *lituus* and jug, ritual instruments associated with the *felicitas*. The name of Sulla is connected with the image of Venus and a cupid holding the symbol of victory.[320] On the verso of *RRC* 367/1–5, Sulla, riding in a quadriga, is depicted *togatus* and *capite velato*; he holds a caduceus and he is crowned by a flying Victory. The fact that Sulla is holding a caduceus suggests the idea of *felicitas*, bestowed on him by his special relationship with the divine sphere. His *felicitas* and, therefore, his officialised agnomen, *Felix*, are bound together along with the image of

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would not take away from their owners', but that the Achaeans offered their freedom to Flamininus'.

[319] Plut. *Sull.* 34.3: ἤδη δὲ συνῃρημένων ἁπάντων, ἀπολογισμὸν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν πράξεων ποιούμενος οὐκ ἐλάσσονι σπουδῇ τὰς εὐτυχίας ἢ τὰς ἀνδραγαθίας κατηριθμεῖτο, καὶ πέρας ἐκέλευσεν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τούτοις Εὐτυχῆ προσαγορεύεσθαι: τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ Φῆλιξ μάλιστα βούλεται δηλοῦν.

[320] Although the Venus–Sulla relationship had a wider significance in the Greek world, the Roman nobilitas knew the subtle implication that the title of *Epaphroditos* had when it was used in the Greek official documents and dedications in Sulla's self-presentation in Rome (App. *B Civ.* 1.97).

imperator, suggested not only by the quadriga, an emblem of triumph under the divine favour of Victory, but also by the legend *L. SULL(A) IMP(ERATOR)*.[321] Sulla's *felicitas* extends the symbolism of prosperity to Rome itself, whose helmet head is depicted on the recto of the coin.[322] The result of this complicated symbolism reinforces the legitimation of Sulla's *imperium* connected with his *felicitas* as a prelude to his inevitable destiny that is bound together with that of the *res publica*.

The epigraphic use of *imperator* and *Felix* play a central role in the political use of epigraphy strongly entangled with Sulla's self-presentation strategy as representative agents of the epitome of his achievements. This new paradigm introduced by Sulla's coinage was used on his equestrian statue in the Comitium in front of the *rostra*. We have two sources for the statue's inscription: one, Appian, quotes the inscription in the genitive, whereas the second, a coin, gives the inscription in the nominative.

Appian reports that the gilded equestrian statue was erected after the triumph in 82 BC[323] and that it bore an inscription – Κορνηλίου Σύλλα ἡγεμόνος Εὐτυχοῦς.[324] The Latin

[321] Crawford 1974, 386. Crawford explains the caduceus as *anticipation of the title Felix* (732). Cf. Ramage 1991, 103 who considers *felicitas* connected with *pax* (Sullana) and prosperity for the state fostered by divine favour. See also Sumy 2002, 428–31; Assenmaker 2014, 142–3.

[322] The symbol of the caduceus is also used for Pompey's coinage paired with the title of *Magnus* and *imperator* (*RRC* 470/1a-d) and for Caesar's coinage: *RRC* 480/6; 485/1; 494/24; 494/39a; 494/39b). It is also used in denarii minted by the two *imperatores* Octavian and Antonius in 39 BC (*RRC* 529/2a; 529/2b; 529/2c; 529/3). See Assenmaker 2014, 143, note 177.

[323] App. *B Civ.* 1.97: οἳ καὶ πάντα, ὅσα διώκησεν ὁ Σύλλας ὑπατεύων τε καὶ ἀνθυπατεύων, βέβαια καὶ ἀνεύθυνα ἐψηφίζοντο εἶναι εἰκόνα τε αὐτοῦ ἐπίχρυσον ἐπὶ ἵππου πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων ἀνέθεσαν καὶ ὑπέγραψαν "Κορνηλίου Σύλλα ἡγεμόνος Εὐτυχοῦς." Appian reports that the acts of Sulla as consul or proconsul were confirmed and ratified. The following phrase tells us about the erection of a gilded equestrian statue (*εἰκόνα*) of Sulla. It is not clear who the subject was; however, the paratactic structure of the Appian text seems to suggest that the subject must be the same. It is likely that both the people and the Senate were involved in the dedication as well as the ratification of Sulla's act. However, it is worth noticing that the control of the dedication on the *rostra* by the Senate is well attested. Cf. *RRC* 381/1a with the comment in Crawford 1974, 397.

[324] For the Greek inscription see App. *B Civ.* 1.97. According to Velleius Paterculus (2.61.3), this honour seems to be unprecedented: 'Eum senatus honoratum equestri statua, quae hodieque in rostris posita aetatem eius scriptura indicat (qui honor non alii per trecentos annos quam L. Sullae et Cn. Pompeio et C. Caesari contigerat).' 'The senate honoured him with an equestrian statue, which is still standing upon the rostra and testifies to his years by its inscription. This is an honour that in three hundred years had fallen to the lot of Lucius Sulla, Gnaeus Pompeius and Gaius Caesar, and to these alone.' Cf. Suet. *Iul.* 75; Cass. Dio 42.18. Balsdon 1951, 4, note 50; Gabba

translation of Appian's inscription was proposed by Balsdon and Gabba in the dative, *Cornelio Sullae Imperatori Felici*, probably referring to the formula used in the series of Italic inscriptions about Sulla (*ILLRP* 352–356), in which Sulla's name is in the dative.[325] In the traditional patterns of Roman dedicatory practice, the message would be that communities are the main actors in the dedication of monuments, whereas those honoured are at a subordinate level. The genitive *Κορνηλίου* reported by Appian is not the epigraphic transcription of the equestrian statue inscription of Sulla. The fact that Sulla's praenomen is missing from the inscription in Appian's text, although it was certainly present in the inscription itself, suggests that Appian's information should be used with caution.[326] Mackay rightly pointed out that the inscription, which is rendered in the nominative case, presented Sulla as the main actor of the dedication,.[327] The evidence is given by *RRC* 381/1b, which shows that the inscription of Sulla's equestrian statue has his name in the nominative: *L. SVLLA FELIX DIC*.[328]

The comparison between the inscription on Sulla's statue in the Comitium with the surviving example of Sulla's honorific statues in Italian cities might be potentially confusing, rather than giving a further hint on the former's reconstruction.[329] In fact, the potential issue in comparing Sulla's inscription in the Comitium with Sulla's inscriptions *ILLRP* 352–356 is that this latter series of inscriptions was set up by different dedicators

1958; Ramage 1991, 110–11; Papi 1995, 227–28; Sehlmeyer 1999, 204–9; 231–2;). For Cicero, the first (yet not equestrian) gilded statue is Sulla's: *L. Sullae primum statuta*.

[325] Balsdon 1951; Gabba 1958.

[326] Mackay 2000, 183 rightly argues that the genitive *Κορνηλίου* cannot be taken as literally true. The Latin conversion is not a direct translation of Appian's text, but only an interpretation, which however does not consider the relationship between the inscription and its monument, or where the composition was erected.

[327] Mackay 2000, 183 suggests L. Cornelius L. f. Sulla Felix dictator.

[328] Cf. *RRC* 381/1a*: L. SVLL FELI DIC*. It is interesting to note that his *nomen* is absent in this coinage in favour of other elements. In such a short space, the privilege was given to the name, *agnomen* and title of Sulla, the three elements being a summary of his exceptional divine and military qualities.

[329] For example, the incorrect translation made by Balsdon and Gabba with Sulla in the dative, or even Mackay 2000, who argues that all Sulla's other inscriptions were 'clearly modelled on the inscription on Sulla's equestrian statue in the Comitium'.

in various geographical areas, far from Rome, with different chronology, different epigraphy and for various purposes, which changed according to the different relationships the dedicators had with the honoured. The political impact that a statue erected on the Comitium had on its audience, namely the people of Rome, cannot be compared with a similar circumstance in an Italian city.

However, Mackay is right to emphasise the absence of a syntactic subordination of Sulla, rendered in the nominative, to any other subject in the Comitium inscription, as compared with the other inscription of Sulla (*ILLRP* 352–356), in which the dedicator wanted to be textually present.[330] It is worth noting that such a distinction (nominative in Rome and dative in Italian cities), obvious to us, was likely unknown to the people of Rome. This is because the people of Rome were exposed to the dedications and inscriptions in Rome, rather than those set in Italian cities.

To reinforce the evidence of *RRC* 381/1b and demonstrate the nominative form of Sulla's inscription in the Comitium, we need to look at other factors (Figure 12). The use of the nominative for Sulla and the epigraphic absence of the Senate and the people of Rome as dedicators should be explained by the nature of the statue: the monumentalisation of Sulla's triumph in which there was no space for any other subject. A more striking fact, which should be stressed further, is that none of the other inscriptions (*ILLRP* 352–356) were dedicated in the Comitium in front of the *rostra*, one of the most prominent places in Rome. Such a location suggests that the gilded equestrian statue of Sulla followed completely different rules, working more directly to fulfil his legitimation and self-presentation programme. However, the equestrian statue of Sulla, with his name in the nominative case, can still be considered as an honorific statue

[330] Mackay 2000, 183: 'the dictator beloved of the gods stood there in his own right in the nominative case, in no way subordinated syntactically to a dedicator just as in the real world he was not subject to anyone else's control'. Other inscriptions were 'clearly modelled on the inscription on Sulla's equestrian statue in the Comitium'.

dedicated by the people of Rome and approved to be erected *in rostris* by the Senate.[331] In fact, a decree to honour Sulla with an equestrian statue in the Comitium would contribute to completing the long process of legitimation that started when Sulla was declared to be a *hostis*, especially if the main dedicator was the Senate.[332] In this case, the dedication of the equestrian statue to Sulla did not need to last forever in a concrete epigraphic form; it was principally used to legitimise Sulla's deeds at that moment in time. Sulla's contemporaries acknowledged that such an honour was granted by the Senate. Yet, Sulla's inscription was aiming for something more lasting: to permanently fix his *res gestae* in the collective memory of Rome.

It can be beneficial to look at the Bocchus Monument as another example of an honorific monument offered by a different dedicator (Bocchus) but managed by Sulla. This monument was erected by Sulla on the Capitoline using Bocchus' wealth to celebrate the capture of Jugurtha. It is almost certain that this spectacular monument had an inscription; the text could have arguably included the name of Sulla in the dative, as someone being honoured, and the name of Bocchus as dedicator in syntactical prominence, using the nominative case. The interpretative key is given by what we know about its figurative programme: Sulla on a chair in a prominent position, surrounded by two kings, both kneeling, similar to what is represented by *RRC* 426/1 (Figure 13). The visual programme presented Sulla as the principal character, and the inscription would

[331] *Contra* Mackay 2000, 182–3. Vell. Pat. 2.61.3 talking about Caesar's statue affirms that: 'Eum senatus honoratum equestri statua, quae hodieque in rostris posita aetatem eius scriptura indicat, qui honor non alii per trecentos annos quam L. Sullae et Cn. Pompeio et C. Caesari contigerat.' Similarly to Caesar, the Senate might have been the main dedicator for Sulla's statue too, if we interpret *qui honor* as the award of an equestrian statue *given* by the senate, and not *qui honor* as referring only to the equestrian statue.

[332] It is worth noting that the declaration of a statue in the forum and *in rostris* was a prestigious honour that often reflected the effort in favour of the *res publica*: Pliny *HN* 34.23–24: the equestrian statue of Q. Marcius Tremulus erected in 306 BC after his victory against the Hernici and Samnites and the freed of Anagnia (see also Livy 9.43.22; Cic. *Phil.* 6.13 and Pliny *HN* 34.24; both the equestrian statues of Tremulus and Sulla were *equestris togata*. For more decoration *in rostris* during the beginning of the first century BC: M. Antonius' spoils of war against the Cilician pirates (Cic. *De or.* 3.10); L. Licinius Lucullus' Hercules in the Tunic with the three inscriptions (Pliny *HN* 34.93), Pape 1975, 47–9.

have accordingly shown Sulla's name in the nominative case. Similarly, the gilded equestrian statue of Sulla, as is also suggested by *RRC* 381/1a and 381/1b, must be understood as an honour entirely organised by the honoured, rather than being a concession prompted by the people of Rome and the Senate.

The coins *RRC* 381/1a and 381/1b minted in 80 BC by A. Manlius A. f. *quaestor* might be the closest representation of Sulla's equestrian statue erected in the Comitium near the *rostra*, and they give significant epigraphic hints about its possible inscription.[333] As we have seen, their legends (*L. SVLL FELI DIC* and *L. SVLLA FELIX DIC*) suggest that the inscription on the statue followed a similar pattern.[334] The likeliest wording of the inscription on Sulla's equestrian statue in the Comitium is: *L. Cornelius L. f. Sulla Felix Imperator*.[335] Only an epigraphic discovery could shed light on the detail of the inscription content, but it is certain that it contained three key elements of Sulla's self-presentation agenda: *Sulla*, *Felix*, *imperator*.

The gilded monument shows Sulla, with the *corona triumphalis*, wearing a tunic and a toga and with his right arm raised, seeming to evoke an orator demanding attention from his audience before performing his speech. The equestrian statues to honour the victory of M. Marcius Tremulus in 306 BC might offer a significant comparison with the iconographic change introduced by Sulla's equestrian statue. Tremulus' equestrian statue is, like Sulla's, represented only by a coin (*RRC* 293/1) struck in 113 BC or 112 BC by the moneyer L. Marcius Philippus, consul in 91 BC (Figure 14).[336] Tremulus' equestrian

[333] Crawford 1974, 397. Mackay 2000, 182–3, used this coin to translate *ἡγεμόνος* as *dictator*. However, *RRC* 381 was minted two years after the erection of the equestrian statue in the Forum, when Sulla was still *imperator*. It was normal practice to 'update' inscriptions after the acquisition of different titles or offices.
[334] The position of the legend in *RRC* 381/1a and *RRC* 1/b seems to reproduce the inscription at the bottom of the equestrian statue, although due to space constraints the statue is depicted on its left side.
[335] Cf. Stein-Hölkeskamp 2016, 216 who translates it: *Cornelius Sulla Felix Imperator*.
[336] Crawford 1974, 307–8; *contra* Sehlmeyer 1999, 57–9, who argues that the identification of Tremulus' equestrian statue is on *RRC* 425/1.

statue, *togata* according to Pliny, is carrying a laurel branch, the symbol of his triumph, and the horse is depicted as in motion. It was located near the Temple of Castor and Pollux: *statua equestris in foro decreta est, quae templum Castoris posita est*.[337]

The iconography of Tremulus' statue focuses on the victory, as was customary for a victorious commander who celebrated a triumph, and it followed the same iconography of examples of previous equestrian statues.[338] The tradition of honorific equestrian statues of triumphators was established by precise iconographic elements to express the theme of victorious commanders of the *res publica*. Sulla drew from the same iconographic tradition for his own equestrian statues but, in doing so, had to modify some of its elements in order to present his new narrative. Both Tremulus' and Sulla's equestrian statues represent togate triumphators, but Sulla is represented in a different way: his horse is standing still.[339] Sulla's statue does not carry a laurel branch, as would be expected for the representation of a victorious commander, but his right hand is demanding attention from his audience. The gesture might be seen as the act of an orator recalling the attention of his audience, an *adlocutio*, but to the people of Rome in general, rather than only to

[337] Livy, 9.43.22–3. See also Pliny *HN* 34.23, Cic. *Phil.* 6.13. See Hölkeskamp 2001, 115–17; Morstein-Marx 2004, 81.

[338] Tremulus' victory was monumentalised in a visual and spatial context that greatly emphasised and blended the myth and the real events in a single narrative by interconnecting the mythical deeds of Castor and Pollux with the successful campaign of Tremulus. This process was enhanced and fuelled by other elements such as other honorific monuments, for example: the equestrian statues of Furius Camillus and C. Maenius, consuls of 338 BC; and the institution of the *transvectio equitum* that was introduced by the censor Q. Fabius Maximus in 304 BC, two years after Tremulus' victory, which constantly refreshed the importance of the mythical intervention of the twins that determined the victory of Rome. These monuments were interconnected by visual, spatial and conceptual proximity to mythical 'hotspots', such as the temple of Castor and Pollux and the Lacus Iuturnae, radiating constantly the importance of the victorious protagonists that lead to the hegemony of Rome in the collective memory. The dynamic interconnections of these kinds of monuments, events, space, images and myths form a symbolic network, a chain of association, which establishes and renews a synergy between Roman memorial culture and the people of Rome. Fundamental Hölkeskamp 2016, 194–9; 202–4. See also Hölkeskamp 2001, 115–17.

[339] Cf. *RRC* 367/1–5 struck by the pro quaestor L. Manlius Torquatus in 82 BC. Sulla is depicted during his triumph in a quadriga. The horses are trotting, which is represented by their hooves being raised.

his soldiers.[340] It is worth noting that in 88 BC Sulla blurred the differences between *contiones* and the military *contiones* by inviting his soldiers to discuss civil business rather than only military matters.[341] Once more, Sulla seems to have blurred the distinction between civil and military affairs, but this time by using a monument and its inscription to deliver a unique, clear and consistent message to both the military and civil domains.

The location in which Sulla's equestrian statue was placed tends to present him in the role of an orator. However, Sulla is on his horse, an attribute that does not fit the representation of an orator, but it certainly does that of an *imperator.* The introduction of a different iconography for a new type of equestrian statue must be extremely intelligible by its audience, and by adopting a well-known type as a model, such as Tremulus' equestrian statue, the decoding process can be greatly simplified. By adding new visual and textual elements, Sulla led the audience through a familiar and well-established 'path' to a new figurative language, whose main points follow Sulla's self-presentation programme. On the textual level, the novelty was adding an inscription, similar in its syntax and structure to the previous honorific statuary, distinguished, however, by a syntactical arrangement of diverse content, i.e. the titles of *imperator* and *Felix*. On the visual level, the novelty was using a similar honorific type of statue, i.e. Tremulus' equestrian statue, enriched and renewed in its iconography by new elements (the gesture, the absence of a laurel branch). Finally, the combination of the textual and visual elements of Sulla's equestrian statue in one single set produced a strong new message that was

[340] A possible interpretation is given by Morstein-Marx 2004, 57 who argues that Sulla's gesture helped to rebuild his figure as a peacemaker who was revitalising the constitutional government, thereby diminishing the view of him as 'a man deeply stained with the blood of citizens'. However, such an interpretation does not specify what kind of representation Sulla aimed to present to the people; it is unlikely that the statue represents only a 'citizen' on a horse who is raising his hand.

[341] On the *contiones* Pina Polo 1995. Sulla's 'abolishment' of the differences between the civil and the military *contiones* Keaveney 2005, 52, 106–7; Keaveney 2007, 37–42. Cf. Morstein-Marx 2011.

extremely clear and easily understood. This combination of visual and textual elements was necessary after a chaotic and disrupted political situation, the consequences of which deeply affected the way in which each individual displayed his power. There was a need for clarity to identify the victorious individuals who needed to be represented in the most intelligible way, and the monumental landscape before and during the civil war might have been potentially confused, unless a coherent re-alignment was established according to the new political order set by Sulla at the end of the civil war. The removal of monuments was, as is well known with regard to Marius and Sulla, a strong and effective measure to clarify the status of the political situation. However, this measure revealed to be ephemeral, unless assisted by a new visual and textual monumental language that could interact with the surrounding space to create a more harmonious and clear narrative for its audience.

Starting from the triumph of Sulla, the establishment of a new, radical visual and textual monumental language in a renewed monumental landscape moved towards maturity. The equestrian statue of Sulla, raising his hand to call the attention of his audience, seems to have a logical connection with the phases of his triumph. According to Plutarch, after Sulla's two-day triumph, he gave an account of all his deeds and achievements:

> And when at last the whole spectacle was over, he gave an account of his achievements in a speech to the people.[342]

[342] Plut. *Sull.* 34. The role of Sulla's *Autobiography* is crucial in the reconstruction of his speeches, although we cannot with certainty identify the passages that are supposedly drawn directly from the *Autobiography* in Plutarch's *Life of Sulla* and in works by other authors such as Velleius Paterculus and Appian. For the fragments of Sulla's memoirs see *HRR*[2] 1.195–204; Chassignet 2004, 172–84; see also Smith 2009; *FRH* 3.295–7; Assenmaker 2013b. For the *Autobiography* of Sulla: Valgiglio 1975; Lewis 1991; Ramage 1991; Brennan 1992, 106–11; Behr 1993; Suerbaum 2002, 453–6; Russo 2002; Scholz 2003; Chassignet 2003, 75–7. The creation of Sulla's public image was not only crafted by monuments, but it was also expressed through his *Autobiography*. Noble 2014, 224 (following Chassignet 2004, 244–5 and *FRH* 3.297) argued that the *Autobiography* was the 'centrepiece of Sulla's sophisticated and matured attempt to create a striking public image of himself'. In her well-documented and detailed analysis of Sulla's

The way he represented himself during his triumph, as both *imperator* with the spoils of the Mithridatic War, and *Felix*, which includes in its polysemy the idea of 'restoration', is proposed by and monumentalised in his equestrian statues. The inscription of *imperator* and *Felix* capture for posterity the last moment of the triumphal procession and the statue was not placed in the Comitium purely by chance.[343] This location had an immense impact in terms of visibility and, therefore, in the 'mnemonic energy', but the location alone is not enough to fuel such energy.[344] On the contrary, *lieux de mémoire* are created by a network of elements in which the location, the inscribed monument, its dialogues with the audience and the surrounding landscape, work synergically as a whole. The equestrian statue of Sulla controls the most prominent political space in Rome.[345]

His statue not only represented him as a victorious commander, but also as the legitimate *imperator* who had the divine favour (*felicitas*) to legitimately restore the power of Rome.[346] In fact, both the location of the statue and the statue itself were greatly emphasised by the new surrounding monumental landscape. The restoration by Sulla of major buildings in Rome played a significant role in how the statue communicated with the audience. Sulla rebuilt and expanded the *Curia Hostilia*, which became the *Curia Cornelia*, and repaved the Comitium.[347] There was also the project of the Tabularium,

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Autobiography she demonstrates how Sulla's *felicitas* had a pivotal role in creating his public image. However, I believe that Sulla's *Autobiography* was another, yet very important, piece of his puzzle that must be compared with his monumentalisation. The aim of Sulla's monuments was to give an immediate impression of his image and victories to his audience, whereas the *Autobiography* had a far more limited audience of educated men. Overall, Sulla's attempt to create his image was performed on different levels; his, unfortunately, lost *Autobiography* as well as his monumentalisation were two ways in which his public image was built.

[343] On the importance of this area as a 'path to fame in the *res publica*' Morstein-Marx 2004, 34–68, esp. 54.

[344] Stein-Hölkeskamp 2016, 217: The visibility of these monuments and their 'mnemonic energy' was immense, thanks simply to their location.

[345] Nora 1984–1983, 1989.

[346] Assenmaker 2014, 213 pointed out how in the violent context and the unstable political situation, Sulla claimed his legitimacy: 'la faveur dont les dieux font montre à l'égard du chef d'armée qu'ils ont eux-mêmes reconnu comme l'imperator légitime'.

[347] Cass. Dio 40.50.2.

and the restoration of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus that had burned down during the civil war and was magnificently restored by Sulla after his triumph.[348] The renewed political heart of Rome, the Forum and the Capitoline, was the stage on which the Sulla equestrian statue perpetuated the memory of his *res gestae*, symbolically evoked by the semantic of *imperator* and the agnomen *Felix* that were paired with a new iconography – a clear and intelligible representation of Sulla's political order.

THE BOCCHUS MONUMENT IN SULLAN ROME

According to Plutarch, Sulla decided to represent the scene of Bocchus handing over the captured Jugurtha to himself on his personal ring.[349] The same image was depicted on a *denarius* minted by the *triumvir monetalis* Faustus Sulla, the son of the dictator, in 56 BC.[350] This unprecedented imagery was different from the canonical iconography used by the Roman elite. A victorious commander, sitting on a chair, almost like a king, accompanied by two kings, one subordinate the other subjugated, had never been represented in Roman republican art before.[351] It had a disruptive effect in reshaping the rule of the self-presentation behavioural code shared by the group in favour of the singularity of the individual. This scene depicted the capture of Jugurtha by Sulla, with

[348] Pliny *HN* 36.45; Val. Max. 9.3.8; Tac. *Hist.* 3.72. See Tucci 2014, 43–123 for a wide-raging discussion about the renewal of the northern summit of the Capitoline, especially the Tabularium.
[349] Plut. *Sull.* 3.8–9; Cf. Plut. *Mar.* 10.8–9; Plut. *Mor. Prae. ger. reip.* 806 c–d; Pliny *HN* 37.4; Val. Max. 8.14.4. It is not certain when this ring was created by Sulla. Plutarch seems to use this episode more as a narrative tool to emphasise the futility of the *casus belli* between Sulla and Marius. Giardina 2012, 336. See also Hölscher 1994, 56–60, esp. note 52. If this ring was created after the capture of Jugurtha, it did not immediately provoke Marius' disagreement; Sulla was the *tribunus militum* during the Cimbrian War. Giardina 2012, 337; See also Flower (2006, 89–90), who suggests that Sulla may have created the ring after the triumph of Marius, celebrated on 1 January 104 BC. Cf. Kuttner 2013, 248–72 who argues that the coin/gem does not illustrate the Bocchus Monument, giving a dubious reconstruction that traces the monument back to the second century BC and Scipio Aemilianus Africanus as the subject represented.
[350] *RRC* 426/1. It is not certain whether the coin faithfully represents the scene on Sulla's ring. However, this coin reveals how the capture of Jugurtha was important for Sulla's propaganda. Giardina 2012, 334–5. Santangelo 2007, 206.
[351] The chair cannot be the *sella curulis* if the scene refers accurately to the moment of the capture of Jugurtha in 106 BC by Sulla, who was appointed as quaestor by Marius. (See my note 368).

Victories holding trophies.[352] The Bocchus Monument was probably only funded by the king, leaving the task of its visual programme to Sulla, the real protagonist of the statuary group. To erect a monument in such an important location would be possible only after the authorisation of the Senate.[353] It is probable that Sulla obtained permission from the Senate, a reflection of his increasing influence. Furthermore, the authorisation to erect this monument around 91 BC also reflected the political hostility on the part of the Senate towards Marius.[354] This monument was in direct opposition to the one erected on the Capitoline by Marius for his victory over Jugurtha.[355] The battle of self-presentation fought between Marius and Sulla was represented by the erection and destruction of their monuments.[356] Marius celebrated his victory against Jugurtha and the Germanic tribes with two monuments: one on the Capitoline, the other erected in an unknown place in Rome.[357] Destroyed by Sulla and rebuilt by Caesar in 65 BC, Marius' monuments represented himself between two Victories carrying trophies.[358] Sulla tried to undermine Marius' self-presentation strategy by erecting a monument with similar features – and in

[352] Plut. *Sull.* 6; *Mar.* 32. Hölscher 1967, 142ff.; Picard 1973, 181–2.
[353] Cf. Livy 28.39.18, 43.6.6-7, 45.44.8. Badian 1970, 12: 'we must recall that a foreigner did not simply walk into Rome's sacred temple and leave some statues there'. See also Giardina 2012, 338.
[354] Sulla certainly did not want to lose the chance to publicise his senatorial influence over Marius and his supporters or leave such an important authorisation to a discussion between the Senate and a foreign king. See Mackay 2000, 163–4; Stein-Hölkeskamp 2016, 226–7. Plutarch (*Mar.* 32.3) gives a vivid image of the political situation, stating that Sulla ruined Marius' political career: 'Of all those who eclipsed him in popular esteem he was most vexed and annoyed by Sulla, whose rise to power was due to the jealousy which the nobles felt towards Marius.' See also Badian 1970, 11 for the Bocchus Monument as the beginning of Sulla's political rise; cf. Brennan 1992, 132–7.
[355] Hölscher 1967, 142; 1994, 58. Mackay 2000, 162; Spannagel 2003, 337; Di Cesare 2010, 286; Giardina 2012, 342; Stein-Hölkeskamp 2016, 224–9.
[356] Plut. *Sull*. 6.2; cf. Plut. *Mar.* 32.4. Mackay 2000, 164; Giardina 2012, 342.
[357] Suet. *Iul.* 11; Plut. *Caes.* 6; Vell. Pat. 2.43.3. According to Plutarch the monument on the Capitoline was the one celebrating Marius' victory over the Germanic tribes. *Contra* Hölscher 1967, 141. See also Picard 1973, 182.
[358] Plut. *Caes.* 6; Suet. *Iul.* 11.2; Val. Max. 2.43.4. Assenmaker 2014, 128–30. Further, the monument celebrating Marius' victory over the Germanic tribes was decorated with two trophies: Val. Max. 6.9.14 *cuius bina tropaia in urbe spectantur*. It is interesting to note that the coin *RRC* 426/1 does not include the two trophies. This might be important for establishing the chronology of Sulla's ring, whose imagery could have been created before Marius' monuments were erected in 104 BC and obviously before the Bocchus Monument was erected in 91 BC.

the same place.[359] His monument also depicted him carrying trophies and standing between two Victories. However, the fact that the same pattern was used for the visual scheme of both monuments is a point of reference with honorary practice in the third and second centuries BC. Victorious commanders dedicated their honorary monuments in a similar fashion (type and iconography) to celebrate their achievements, both to compete among themselves and to effectively communicate to an audience accustomed to those particular visual programmes.[360] However, the Marian coinage introduced a new language for the self-presentation of the *imperator triumphans*. C. Fundanius' coin (*RRC* 326/1), struck in 101 BC, shows for the first time on Roman coinage a man riding in a quadriga, an image that had always been reserved for deities (Figure 15).[361] The character represented is Marius during his triumph in the Cimbrian War against the Teutones.[362] Sulla's representation as triumphator in a quadriga (*RRC* 367/1–5) should be understood as a political response to Fundanius' coin and the Marian propaganda, almost ten years later.[363] The portrayal of Sulla as *imperator* and his self-presentation strategy seems not to be limited either in time or to monuments. Furthermore, the more sophisticated symbolism in all of his representations (*RRC* 367/1–5, 359, 381/1a and 381/1b, the trophies erected at Chaeronea and the equestrian statue in the Comitium) is always achieved by pairing a known iconography with a powerful use of epigraphs (or legend

[359] A point of view that rightly follows the ancient sources, especially Plutarch (32.3).
[360] Marius and Sulla followed the same pattern of behaviour. However, their political clash had a significant impact on the development of a new iconography and their self-presentation strategies became the focus of their political views and differences.
[361] For *RRC* 326/1 Crawford 1974, 328. Assenmaker 2014, 135 pointed out the beginning of a new way of expressing the triumph ideology: 'l'idéologie triomphale et impératoriale venait de se doter d'un nouveau moyen d'expression'. Hölscher 1967, 76–7 for the representation of a god in a quadriga related to a general idea of triumph, especially during the second century BC. From these premises, Fundanius' coinage resumed the general idea of triumph being represented in a new way, specifically addressing the victories of Marius and, therefore, the triumph ideology.
[362] *Contra* Fears, 1981, 789; Mattingly 1998, 202, 221 who argue that the coins represent the concept of triumphant *virtus*. Cf. Assenmaker 2014 136–7 for objections to this interpretation.
[363] See Assenmaker 2014, 141–2. The author stresses the ideology of triumph in Sulla's coinage, which shows the claim of *imperator* along with the honour of a triumph. The coinage would be more a vehicle of persuasion than a commemoration. Within this framework, Sulla's message is represented as *le triumphator par excellence*.

for that matter). Caesar restored Marius' monuments and Plutarch informs us that their inscriptions were also restored: 'they bore inscriptions setting forth the Cimbrian successes of Marius'.[364] There was no doubt that Sulla placed inscriptions on his own monuments too. By following the very same pattern of Marius' monuments, his purpose was definitely to challenge Marius's achievements by replacing them with his own.[365] The Bocchus Monument was destroyed by Marius when Sulla left Rome to take charge of the Mithridatic campaign. Once he returned to Rome in 82 BC, Sulla restored it as part of his building programme, which included the Forum and the Capitoline. According to Plutarch, the monument consisted of a statuary group of Sulla, Bocchus and Jugurtha decorated by two Victories carrying trophies:

> (Bocchus) dedicated on the Capitol some Victories bearing trophies, and beside them gilded figures representing Jugurtha being surrendered by Bocchus to Sulla.[366]

Such new imagery for the Roman people, a Roman commander celebrating his victory sitting on a chair, with two foreign kings on their knees in front of him, would have never been set alone without an inscription, not only because of the novelty of the iconographic style, but also because of the importance of what the monument represented in Sulla's ideological agenda. The two Victories carrying trophies were used originally in Marius' monuments and Sulla adopted the same dual imagery following his acclamation as *imperator iterum*. On the verso of Sulla's *RRC* 359 there are no Victories carrying trophies, but there are two trophies, referring to those he erected at Chaeronea, paired with the legend *imperator iterum*.[367] The Victories were probably absent from the original

[364] Plut. Caes. 6: διεδήλου δὲ γράμμασι τὰ Κιμβρικὰ κατορθώματα.
[365] See Hölscher 1994, 58. Giardina 2012, 342 explored the specific use of trophies in the iconography of Sulla's monument on the Capitol as a political response to the iconography used by Marius for his monument.
[366] Plut. *Sull.* 6. It is important to note that this monument did not exist any more during Plutarch's time, and probably during the time of his sources as well.
[367] An iconographic scheme that was possibly employed to visually upgrade the monument in light of Sulla's recent achievements in East on the second reconstruction of Bocchus Monument in Rome. Further, the two trophies and the legend *imperator iterum* on the verso of *RRC* 359

Bocchus Monument dedicated on the Capitoline in 91 BC, considering the limited military achievements of Sulla.[368] However, the adoption by Sulla of Marius' double trophy-bearing Victories in his reconstruction of the Bocchus Monument represents perfectly his own victories. On the one hand, this figurative scheme strongly contrasted with the memory of Marius' military victories that were monumentalised on the Capitol; the Sullan commemorative landscape of the Capitol could not accept the presence of any opponents, especially considering the proximity of the Bocchus Monument to the Temple of Jupiter, newly restored by Sulla.[369] On the other hand, the composition corroborated the image of *imperator iterum* that Sulla created for himself. The framework of the 'second' Bocchus Monument had plenty of scope to devise a much more detailed theme compared to the two trophies represented on the verso of *RRC* 359. In this way, the trophy-bearing Victories could have been more easily understood by the audience as the symbol of Sulla's victory over his enemies. They were framing the scene of the capture of Jugurtha, a new iconography that was unprecedented in Rome. In order to be intelligible to the audience, the elements of this new iconography used by Sulla needed to be unified in a coherent and organised package of information. In this sense, the addition of the inscription worked as a common factor that unified all the scattered and complicated iconographic elements to create a new figurative language that focused on

might be related to the iconographic scheme of St. Omobono relief, as it will be showed in in the next section.

[368] See Schäfer 1979, who argued that the Bocchus Monument was reconstructed after Sulla's triumph in 81 BC. The original monument dedicated in 91 BC showed that the self-presentation of Sulla's career was 'updated' with the *sella curulis* (cf. Faustus' coin *RRC* 426/1), an honour that Sulla could not have had during the Jugurthine War when he was quaestor. An extensive discussion about the trophies depicted on Sulla's and Marius' monuments is in Giardina 2012, 338–42. The author correctly argues that: 'Silla poteva rivendicare il proprio ruolo di catturatore di Giugurta e quindi di vincitore sostanziale della campagna numidica, ma non poteva certo usurpare segni ed emblemi che si addicevano soltanto al prestigio di un comandante e non a quello di un alto ufficiale: non attribuiamo a Silla un'ingenuità tanto autolesionistica, ma non attribuiamo nemmeno al senato, che approvò l'installazione del monumento, una così clamorosa deviazione da quelle regole di misura, di moderazione e di autenticità che disciplinavano la pubblica celebrazione dei comandanti vittoriosi.' However, in his conclusion, Giardina affirms that the Bocchus Monument and the St Omobono reliefs belong to two different times.

[369] On the contested memory between Marius and Sulla, see Stein-Hölkeskamp 2016, 224–9.

the triumphal ideology and the divine favour held by the victorious Sulla. It is not possible to reconstruct this inscription, but the presence of the three key words of Sulla's epigraphic language and his political self-presentation can be safely posited: *Sulla, Felix, imperator.*[370]

The triumph of Sulla in the St Omobono reliefs

This section aims to add a few remarks to the debate on the identification of the St Omobono reliefs as being part of the 'second' Bocchus Monument that was restored by Sulla after his triumph. We have no archaeological traces of this monument or its inscription, except for literary and numismatic sources. In 1937, a series of blocks of monumental reliefs in limestone were found in Rome near the church of St Omobono. Their identification has been at the centre of countless debates, and the problem is still far from being resolved unless new archaeological findings come to light. One of the most probable readings is that they belong to the Bocchus Monument.[371] Such an interpretation

[370] Sulla's name was obviously written on the monument. *Felix*, instead of *Sulla*, was displayed on the coinage of Faustus *RRC* 426/1, suggesting that people were accustomed to identifying Sulla as *Felix*. For *imperator*, it is reasonable to assume that both Sulla's equestrian statue and the 'second' Bocchus Monument were erected/restored shortly after his return to Rome in 82 BC, and both the monuments followed the same epigraphic and ideological programme.

[371] For the St Omobono reliefs as part of the Bocchus Monument Hölscher 1994, 60–74 with extensive bibliography; Santangelo 2007, 206; Di Cesare 2010, 285–7. On the relationship between the St Omobono monument and Sulla's victory over Mithridates, Picard 1957, 263–73; Ramage 1991, 112–13. *Contra* Davies 2017, 124–7 who identifies the recipient as Scipio Africanus Minor because 'he was one of only five Romans to earn a *corona graminea*' (Pliny *HN* 22.13; Livy 37.2.2; Vell. Pat. 1.12.2). The problem with this interpretation is that even Sulla obtained the *corona* after the siege of Nola in 89 BC, Pliny *HN* 22.12; Kuttner 2013, 248–67 argues that the monument belongs to the third or second century BC, rejecting the idea that it could belong to Sulla's time. Kuttner defines the Bocchus Monument as 'one of the weirdest victory monuments we know for Rome and the Hellenistic world, because it was set up fifteen years after the event portrayed'. However, the peculiarity of this monument is in its visual programme rather than in the time frame, because it was unprecedented in Roman dedicatory practice, and even for Sulla. For example, in 192 BC in Praeneste, and only after he obtained the consulate and not immediately after his military success as *legatus*, Lucius Quinctius Flamininus dedicated a plundered work taken from Leucas five years earlier in 197 BC (see Part I). Roman commanders' self-presentation strategies were carefully planned to maximise their effect. It is more than probable that even Sulla waited for the right political opportunity to astonish the viewers by erect his striking monument, as happened with the issue of his coin *RRC* 367/1–5 as a response to Fundanius' *RRC* 326/1 ten years later.

of them being part of a Sullan monument offers many interesting considerations. The stone comes from North Africa, and the iconography has similarities with the Numidian royal monument at Kbor Klib and those at Chemtou (Simitthus in Roman times), all in Tunisia, although the friezes are in the Hellenistic style.[372] The reliefs were constructed following a Numidian fashion, and were presented to the Roman audience with aesthetic elements that were part of Roman culture.[373] The iconological studies of the St Omobono reliefs by Hölscher meticulously emphasised the rich, elaborated core elements of the Sullan ideological system that represented the divine favour of Sulla and his affinity with the deities (Venus, *Victoria Sullana*, Rome, Jupiter, Hercules and the Dioscuri).[374] This interpretation covers, to some extent, the full self-presentation agenda that Sulla introduced to the monumental landscape of Rome; however, the themes of victory and triumph was even more emphasised. The two trophy-bearing Victories mentioned by Plutarch were placed over the monument and in the middle was the statuary group of Sulla, Bocchus and the captured Jugurtha.[375] It is suggested that the St Omobono reliefs are, in fact, the 'second' Bocchus Monument that was rebuilt by Sulla. Further, the rebuilding of this monument by him, with renewed content, should be seen as the monumentalisation of Sulla's triumph, working similarly to his equestrian statues to

[372] Kuttner 2013, 216–72, esp. 248–9. Davies 2017, 123–25. For the Hellenistic style Bertoldi 1968, 41–8. It is worth mentioning that the lucky find of Sulla's trophy at Orchomenos in Greece by a farmer in 2004 shows a similar iconography (shield and armour), a possible connection to the St Omobono reliefs that will need to be explored.
[373] For the Numidian fashion, discussion in Kuttner 2013.
[374] Hölscher 1994, 60–74, 201.
[375] Plut. *Sull.* 6.1. Giardina 2012, 342, suggested that the two Victories might be those represented on the central block of the St Omobono reliefs: 'le "Vittorie che reggevano trofei", di cui parla Plutarco, potevano forse essere le stesse Vittorie raffigurate nei rilievi del basamento, soprattutto se consideriamo che il motivo centrale della fronte doveva essere appunto quello con la raffigurazione delle Vittorie'. Yet, they are not carrying trophies but a tablet with a name inscribed on it. I measured this tablet as 22 x 6 cm, which restricts the inscription to a few letters that can be read, realistically, from a distance of 8–10 m. It is possible that the inscription could contain the name of Sulla (Hölscher 1994, 65). However, it is more likely that the tablet contains Sulla's title: *Felix*. Evidence for this interpretation comes from the verso of *RRC* 426/1, on which the possible representation of the Bocchus Monument is paired only with the name of *Felix*, not Sulla. In addition, by using *Felix* rather than *Sulla*, the divine dimension represented by St Omobono's deities will be completed with the inclusion of the divine favour of the protagonist, a *fil rouge* that alluded to Sulla's ideological agenda.

constantly fuel in the collective memory of the Roman people the *pompa triumphalis* that was celebrated in Rome for two days.[376] In fact, the ideology of victory and triumph was a wide-ranging leitmotif that accompanied Sulla all of his life and was depicted on his monuments both in the East and in the West (the trophies at Chaeronea, the dedication to Mars at Sicyon, the equestrian statue in the Comitium, the coinage *RRC* 426/1, 367) and present, finally, at his funeral.[377] By looking at Sulla's monumentalisation which is inextricably linked with the ideology of victory and triumph, well attested in other evidence, the problem of the incongruities of an early attribution of the St Omobono reliefs to the original Bocchus Monument dedicated in 91 BC can be solved. In that year, Sulla had not yet achieved his most important military achievements, and he was not free to express such an emphatic iconography. The rich iconographic scheme of the St Omobono reliefs shows that the monument does not represent a starting point, but the zenith of a military and political career, similar to what the second Bocchus Monument should have represented with regard to Sulla. Accordingly, the St Omobono reliefs as part of the 'second' Bocchus Monument contain and emphasise the dual aspect of Sulla's self-presentation strategy: as favoured by deities (*Felix*) who accompanied the *imperator* during his *pompa triumphalis*. As has been argued before, the restored Bocchus Monument that was originally destroyed by the Marian faction was certainly updated in its visual programme, following the new image that Sulla presented to his audience. The new restoration might have included not only the statuary group, with the addition of the two Victories carrying trophies, similar to the Marian monuments, but also the St Omobono reliefs as a base and a long and detailed inscription on an additional plinth. The addition of the two Victories would mean the statuary group would contain five figures.

[376] The celebration of the triumph is intended here in broad terms, including not only the *pompa triumphalis* but also the ritual involved in worshipping the gods and the sacrifices offered to them, for example, the *polluctum* to honour Hercules, during which a tenth of his goods were offered to the god, Plut. *Sull.* 35.1. Cf. Plut. *Crass.* 2.2; 12.2; *Quaestiones Romanae* 297E; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.40.2–6; Plaut. *Bacch.* 633–634; *Stich*. 233.
[377] Cf. Plut. *Sull.* 38.5.

The full length of the St Omobono reliefs is *c*. 4.5–5 m, enough to display the full scene together with a long inscription carved on an extra base, the whole representing both the new epigraphic title of Sulla (*Felix imperator*) and his achievements in relation to Jugurtha.[378]

Conclusion

Sulla introduced a new way of representing the political power and imperialistic ideology that accompanied the process of the dissolution of the Roman Republic. His self-presentation agenda was not restrained by the old artistic honorific canon, but was offered to its audience using new elements. The result was the formation of a new figurative language that had its roots in the old honorific custom, but had been reworked in its exterior elements to deliver new content. In this way, the audience could easily recognise the elements of a well-known honorific practice but, at the same time, explore the novelty of something new. One of the elements of the previous paradigm was the use of space. The location of his honorific monuments was crucial to Sulla's visual programme. Roman people were accustomed to recognising certain spaces in Rome as stages for self-presentation programmes. The choice of the *loci* had always been organised by the *nobilitas*, according to the messages promoted by their monuments. However, the relationship between the topography and the monuments' meanings assumed an important new dimension from Marius and Sulla onwards.[379] Sulla and Marius erected their own monuments on the Capitoline to celebrate their victories. However, Sulla introduced a new, unprecedented visual scheme (the Bocchus Monument), but by using

[378] (*de rege Jugurtha?*). Once Sulla secured his power in Rome and started his building activity, as a victorious *imperator* his self-presentation agenda was favoured by the deities. This is not quite in line with the historical accuracy of his military achievements, but it allowed him to update his titles and link them to previous events, such as the capture of Jugurtha.

[379] The choice of traditional *loci* as stages for the erection of monuments would be even more emphasised with Caesar's monuments and the construction of his new representation of power. See Cadario 2006, esp. 56–7 for the *locus*.

the Capitoline as a stage it was more easily understood by the people as an honorific monument. The equestrian statue of Sulla was placed in the Comitium near the *rostra*, the heart of Roman politics. The statue was not created *ex manubiis*, neither did it represent an orator; it displayed the triumph of Sulla, who addressed his audience, recounting his achievements. Another element was the construction of a new iconological image of Sulla, on his coinage, for example. The theme of the deities riding in quadrigas was replaced by Sulla riding in a quadriga. The legitimation of Sulla's *imperium* by using the ideology of victory represented by the trophies was juxtaposed with the divine sphere represented by the symbol of the auspices: a jug and a *lituus* on the verso of *RRC* 359.

The use of space and/or images was, therefore, taken from the traditional corpus of honorific practice and transformed into something new. The use of inscriptions was fundamental in shifting from a traditional representation to an innovative one that would still be intelligible to the audience. The equestrian statue of Sulla in the Comitium could not be understood as being his triumphal monument only by looking at its context; the inscription completed the meaning by suggesting to the audience that Sulla was an *imperator* who possessed divine favour for achieving his victories. Furthermore, the epigraphic absence of the Senate (EX S C) or any other subject, such as the people as dedicator, shows Sulla's predominance over everything else.

In a passage of the *Life of Sulla*, Plutarch narrated an anecdote, probably a direct reference to Sulla's *Commentarii*,[380] in which Sulla's character is summed up in the answer that Valeria gave to the surprised Sulla:

> A few months afterwards there was a gladiatorial spectacle, and since the places for men and women in the theatre were not yet separated, but still promiscuous, it chanced that there was sitting near Sulla a woman of great beauty and splendid birth; she was a daughter of Messalla, a sister of

[380] Plutarch consistently used Sulla's *Commentarii*, or at least an intermediate source of the *Commentarii*, as proved by his explicit reference to them in many passages (4.5; 5.2; 6.8–13; 14.3; 14.10; 16.1; 17.2; 19.8; 23.5; 27.6; 27.1–12; 28.15; 37.1–3.

> Hortensius the orator, and her name was Valeria, and it so happened that she had recently been divorced from her husband. As she passed along behind Sulla, she rested her hand upon him, plucked off a bit of nap from his mantle, and then proceeded to her own place. When Sulla looked at her in astonishment, she said: 'It's nothing of importance, imperator, but I just want to take a little part of your good luck (εὐτυχίας).' Sulla was not displeased at hearing those words, it was clear that he was flattered.[381]

This passage shows how the binomial *imperator – Felix (felicitas)* – is the pivotal point on which his self-presentation was built, not only in his monumentalisation, but also in aspects of his public life. This might be a fictional tale that could have been written by Sulla in his *Commentarii*, by Plutarch or by his source, and that can be interpreted within the range of several flatteries reserved for the dictator. However, the use of these specific words shows how the memory of Sulla was recorded and conveyed as inextricably combined with an ideology of triumph and victory, and his divine favour, summoned in the text by his title of *imperator* and his *felicitas*. He was not just a person to be flattered per se.

The cases examined showed how inscriptions had a fundamental role in the meaning-making of Sulla's visual self-presentation programme and its assimilation into Roman culture. It is evident how, after Sulla, the other protagonists of the political events of the mid-first century BC followed Sulla's example in representing themselves through the ideology of victory. Pompey used the formula of *imperator* (*iterum*) with the agnomen of *Magnus*. His relationship with the divine sphere and, more specifically, with Venus Victrix, not only emphasised the traits he shared with Sulla, but also showed how the relationship with the divine had evolved in a more explicit way as a direct concept that was strategically used in self-presentation, as had never happened during the third and second centuries BC. For example, the relationship between individuals and their patron deities was reaffirmed by the crafting of specific spaces, stages on which to perform the

[381] Plut. *Sull.* 35.5–9. The correct translation of αὐτόκρατωρ is not *dictator* (cf. Perrin 1916, 439) but *imperator*.

association between humans and gods (e.g. Pompey's complex or Caesar's Forum Iulium). Pompey and Caesar would use the same concepts, pushing the boundaries of the self-presentation non-written rules to an even more radical outcome: presenting a monumental landscape in which their representation of power became solitary and unique. The Senate, in fact, could only be part of the monumental landscape as the dedicator of an increasing amount of honours.

Epigraphy had a very important role in supporting these honours. The new content of the inscriptions fostered the development of a new representation of powers that required the introduction of different iconographies and themes, highly influenced by those of royal Hellenistic art. The outcome of this evolution is a monumental landscape of Rome completely different from the past centuries, in which the public spaces once used for the monumental visual and textual representation and competition of the *nobilitas* came to be used to great effect by sole individuals.[382]

POMPEIUS MAGNUS IMPERATOR AND HELLENISM IN ROME

The war between Sulla and Marius was not only fought by weapons, but also through the construction and destruction of their own monuments. Such a war of monuments followed an irreversible course of action that defined how powerful individuals expressed their own military and political successes. The monumentalisation of their achievements not only fuelled the political significance of these powerful men, but was also used to interact with and respond to their opponents. At the end of the civil war, Sulla had created his image as a brilliant political man who owned his own success. This was thanks to his

[382] Even the restoration of Sulla's and Pompey's statues by Caesar on the *rostra* (Cass. Dio 42.18.2, 43.49.1–2; Suet. *Iul.* 75.4) focused attention on Caesar himself and his *clementia*, and not on the political significance of the two subjects. Plutarch (*Caes.* 57.6) reported that 'Cicero said that in setting up Pompey's statues Caesar firmly fixed his own.' The *exempla* erected in the Forum of Augustus is the evolution and conclusion of this process in which the representation of the past is read under the ideological (and spatial) control of Augustus.

military expertise, with his acclamations as *imperator*, and his divine favour, denoted by the title of *Felix/Epaphroditos*. The ideology of victory played a crucial role in his imperialistic agenda, and it was the basis of his political legitimation and of his personal power. Sulla's self-presentation aimed at using his epigraphic titles clearly and unmistakably and he combined his inscriptions with his monuments to form communicative, cohesive wholes. The conceptualisation of the victory granted by divine favour was displayed by combining new iconographies and themes with an unprecedented epigraphic lexicon. This blend of visual and textual languages conveyed to the audience a spectacular and innovative message, which was framed in the most prominent places in Rome or in space created ad hoc to maximise the celebration of the patrons' personal power. When the Theatre of Pompey was constructed, it was equipped with multifunctional spaces in which political (*Curia Pompeia*), religious (Temple of Venus Victrix) and leisure spaces (portico, garden and the first permanent theatre) were combined in harmony for the celebration of Pompey the Great. Even before this, larger complexes played an important role in terms of self-presentation, such as the Temple of Honos and Virtus, the Temple of Hercules Musarum and the *Porticus Metelli*, but the stylistic grandiosity of the complexes of the first century BC was never reached during the third and second century BC. The new complexes of the first century were understood as manubial gifts to the people of Rome, but at the same time they were spectacular scenes of the self-glorification of their patrons. Furthermore, they were created with the aim of becoming active centres of politics with the definition of specific space. Both the Theatre of Pompey and the Forum Iulium had their *curiae*, which were surrounded by a highly symbolised landscape formed by the exceptional monuments of their patrons.

This section focuses on the epigraphic use of Pompey's titles and how they were combined with the monumentalisation of his victories. The titles that Pompey acquired, *Magnus* and *imperator*, were used to prepare the audience to anticipate an image of

Pompey that resembled one of a Hellenistic king, more specifically, Alexander the Great. Sulla established a paradigm, an *exemplum*, that Pompey and Caesar would follow, obviously with their own adjustments, to monumentally display their own prerogatives and powers.

Sulla's use of the ideology of victory for his self-presentation strategy created a perfect example and precedent for an ambitious man such as Pompey to follow. He had served under Sulla's command during the civil war and had experienced Sulla's celebratory programme at first hand. The portrayal of Pompey as depicted by Plutarch is of a young man who was eager to demonstrate and obtain credit for his military skills, regardless of his *cursus honorum*.[383] In fact, Pompey, at 23, privately recruited and commanded three legions from Picenum to support Sulla, in other words, a self-made *imperium militiae*.[384] After Pompey's brilliant command he was reunited with Sulla, who awarded him the title of *imperator*, sharing this honour with him.[385] Sulla employed Pompey's military skills in different theatres of war: to support Metellus Pius during the early stages of the Sertorian War in 80 BC; in Sicily against Perpenna and Papirius Carbo; and in Africa against Gnaeus Domitius.[386] During the expedition in Africa, Pompey was hailed as *imperator* by his troops and was given the title of *Magnus* ('the Great').[387] After Pompey's return from his expedition, he celebrated a triumph, not initially endorsed by Sulla due to institutional custom being violated: Pompey was an equestrian, not a senator,

[383] In sections 6–16 of Plutarch's *Life of Pompey*, the events that happened between 83–78 BC are narrated, emphasising how Pompey sought the recognition of Sulla. On Pompey career see Vervaet 2009.
[384] Plut. *Pomp.* 6.5.
[385] Plut. *Pomp.* 8.3; See also Plut. *Mor.* 806E; App. *B Civ.* 1.80; Val. Max. 5.2.9. However, it is more probable that Sulla confirmed Pompey being hailed as *imperator* by his troops, as he would do for *Magnus* after the African expedition.
[386] By a decree of the Senate, Pompey was legally invested with praetorian *imperium*. Cic. *Leg. Man.* 61; Livy *Per.* 89; App. *B Civ.* 1.92, 1.95–6; Eutr. 5.8.2.
[387] Plut. *Pomp.* 12.4; 13.7–8; Pliny *HN* 7.26; 37.6. Plutarch mentions two possible courses of events leading to the award of the title of *Magnus*: one, the title was awarded by Sulla upon Pompey's return to Rome; the second and more plausible explanation was that the title was acquired during the war in Africa.

and he did not hold a consulship or proconsulship, compulsory for a triumph to be acknowledged and, most importantly, he held no *imperium*.[388] Pompey was an *imperator* without *imperium*.

An inscription discovered in the sacred area of Largo Argentina shows the dedication of *negotiatores* of Agrigentum was given to Pompey.[389]

[Cn.] Pompeio / Magno / [Imperatori] / [I]talicei qui / Agrigenti negoti[antur][390]

The inscription addresses Pompey with the titles of *Magnus* and *imperator*, suggesting that its object was dedicated after Pompey's first triumph.[391] The greatest surprise is the absence of the filiation, which would not be casually omitted, especially in relation to a dedication in Rome. The omission of Pompey's filiation can provide a clue as to how his own image was perceived by the people of Rome or other communities. As matter of fact, the epigraphy does not focus on his belonging to a gentilician group as, for example, was emphasised on the inscription relating to Nobilior's conquest of Ambracia in 189 BC, which includes his father and grandfather, *M(arci) f(ilius) / Ser(vi) n(epos)*, or on the statuary group erected by M. Claudius Marcellus, consul in 155 BC, which includes his father and grandfather (*III MARCELLI NOVIES COSS*).[392] Rather, it emphasises the sole figure that had specific attributes, *Magnus* and *imperator*, a very striking similarity with the political use of Sulla's inscriptions. In other words, the epigraphic absence of Pompey's

[388] Plut. *Pomp.* 14. Beard 2007, 14–18. Pompey was the first *eques* to celebrate a triumph: Cic. *Leg. Man.* 61; Livy *Per.* 89; App. *B Civ.* 1.80; Cf. Vell Pat. 2.30.71. On the date of the first triumph Badian 1955.
[389] They probably formed a *conventus civium romanorum* in one of the most important trade centres in Sicily (cf. Strabo 6.2.1, 6.2.5; Cic. *Verr.* 2.2.153, 2.4.93). This dedication might have been erected by a *conventus Siculorum* active in Rome, Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.138.
[390] *ILLRP* 380.
[391] The presence of only one *imperator* may date the inscription after the Sicilian campaign, or few years later during Pompey's first triumph in 79 BC, as argued by Degrassi. However, it could also be possible that it was dedicated after Pompey's pirate campaign in 67 BC. For a discussion of the inscription's date and the relationship between the *negotiatores* and Pompey, Amela Valverde 2006. For the triumphal carrer of Pompey Vervaet 2014b is fundamental.
[392] Nobilior's inscription *CIL* I^2 607; *ILLRP* 118 (Appendix, no. 5; Marcellus' inscription Asc. *Pis.* 12 C. s15–19 (Lewis 24).

filiation might indicate that the intention was to focus entirely on his uniqueness by using only a combination of his titles to indicate his name.

The second triumph of Pompey *ex Hispania* was celebrated in December 71 BC when he was 35 years of age, again stretching the institutional custom of the Republic, albeit less spectacularly than in the first triumph.[393] On the one hand, the acclamation of Pompey as *imperator* and the acquisition of the title *Magnus*, despite the institutional issues, reflected Sulla's methods: building his image and his legitimacy on his military victories (*imperator*) and his personal divine favour (*Felix*/*Epaphroditos*). On the other hand, the standing of the republican institution was weakened; no more was it perceived as the unique path for achieving political success and personal power. When Pompey was reconciled with Crassus at the end of their joint consulship in 70 BC, according to Plutarch, Crassus said:

> I think I do nothing ignoble or mean, my fellow citizens, in yielding first to Pompey, whom you were pleased to call Magnus when he was still beardless, and to whom you decreed two triumphs before he was a senator.[394]

Whether or not these words were pronounced by Crassus, this passage shows how historiographic traditions recorded Pompey's peculiarities, and how Pompey's self-presentation agenda was channelled through the celebration of triumphs and the acquisition of titles. A statue, now lost, was dedicated by the citizens of Clusium to Pompey, and bore an inscription that was the epitome of Pompey's celebrative programme during this particular phase of his career:

Cn(aeo) Pompeio Cn(aei) f(ilio) / Magno / imper(atori) iter(um)[395]

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[393] Plut. *Pomp*. 22.1; Cf. Livy *Per*. 97 who reports that Pompey was elected consul after a special senatorial decree because he had not occupied the quaestorship and was still a Roman knight.
[394] Plut. *Pomp.* 23.2.
[395] *ILLRP* 381, *CIL* I^2 768. The inscription is dated between 71 BC and 61 BC because of the word *iterum* that gives a *terminus post quem* and *ante quem*.

This is a formula that not only refers directly to Sulla's acclamations as *imperator iterum* but, more importantly, shows how the pattern of Sulla's epigraphic dedications (*ILLRP* 352–356) was emulated in Pompey's.[396] With the *lex Gabinia* of 67 BC, Pompey held an unprecedented command over all the provinces connected with the Mediterranean Sea. The following year the *lex Manilia* was voted, giving Pompey the command of the war in Asia Minor. The *imperium* of Pompey assumed a significant status whether it was *maius* (greater than) or *aequum* (equal to) to those of the governors in the provinces.[397] Appian reinforces the idea of the uniqueness of Pompey's *imperium*, linking it with the title of *Magnus*:

> They gave him command of all the forces beyond the borders of Italy. All these powers together had never been given to any one general before; and this is perhaps the reason why they call him Pompey the Great.[398]

The title of *Magnus* was given to Pompey during the civil war, but this passage shows how the perception of Pompey's *imperium*, and his acclamation as *imperator*, assumed a further dimension. The exceptionality of Pompey's *imperium*, superior to the other governors, was not seen in the light of the institutions of the Roman Republic, but became part of his personal qualities and, therefore, part of his title of *Magnus*.[399] Cassius Dio states that during his third triumph Pompey not only displayed all his trophies from all of

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[396] Especially *ILLRP* 356, *CIL* I^2 723 also found at Clusium. It is an inscribed statue base dedicated to Sulla: *L(ucio) Cornelio L(uci) [f(ilio)] / Sullai Feelic[i] / dic(tatori)*.

[397] On the imperium of the *lex Gabinia* there is a contrasting opinion in the ancient sources: Vell. Pat. 2.31: to the effect that Gnaeus Pompeius should be sent to crush them, and that in all the provinces he should have a power equal to that of the proconsular governors to a distance of 50 miles from the sea. For Tacitus (15.25) it was an imperium maius. In relation to the lex Manilia, Appian (Mith. 25.97) refers that his imperium was the same unlimited power as before. For a detailed discussion about Pompey's imperium Seager 2002, 44–52. The exceptional status of the proconsular imperium is well discussed in Vervaet 2014a, 216–23. For Pompey's consulare imperium during 49–48 BC, Vervaet 2006.

[398] App. *Mith*. 25.97.

[399] Two Greek inscriptions placed on the bases of the statues of Pompey celebrate him after his war against the pirates. From Delos: *Syll*^{3} I 749A: *The demos of the Athe[nians and the koinon] of the Pompeis[tai in Delos (dedicated) to Apollo (this statue of) Gnaeus] Pompeius [son of] Gna[eus, (the) Great], autokrator*. From Samos *Syll*^{3} I 749B: *The demos of the Samians (dedicated this statue of) Gnaeus Pompeius, son of Gnaeus, (the) Great, autokrator, the benefactor and saviour –.*

his achievements, even the smallest, but also chose a specific strategy for self-presentation and promoting his achievements during the *pompa*:

> He did not, however, add any other title to his name, but was satisfied with that of Magnus alone, which, of course, he had gained even before these achievements. Nor did he contrive to receive any other extravagant honour, or even accept such as had been voted him in his absence, except on a single occasion. These consisted of the privileges of always being able to wear the laurel wreath and the cloak of a general at all public games and being able to don the same triumphal garb at the horse races.[400]

Two important aspects of Pompey's self-presentation strategy are brought out in this passage by Cassius Dio. One is related to Pompey's titles, the second is what kind of honours he accepted. According to Dio, Pompey decided to use only his epithet *Magnus*, rather than the word *imperator*, which could certainly have been used for someone who had been granted three triumphs from victories in three different continents (the first Roman to achieve this). However, *imperator* was, in fact, used in the epigraphic dedication offered to Pompey. Cassius Dio's assertion that *Magnus* was the only title used by Pompey is demonstrated by its epigraphic inclusion in Pompey's *tria nomina*, and it is important to note that the title of *Magnus* was also assumed by Pompey's sons.[401] However, an ideology of victory is still represented and symbolised by the privilege of wearing a laurel wreath and triumphal clothing during public sporting occasions, when the majority of the Romans could see Pompey; he chaired the public games in all but name after his triumph. In this way, *Magnus*, no longer a title but part of Pompey's name, and the representation of his acclamation to *imperator* by his being allowed to wear the laurel wreath and the *toga picta*, were combined in one single and united message. The title *Magnus* increasingly assumed the same implications as the word *imperator*. This is

[400] Cass. Dio 37.21.
[401] The elder son of Pompey, Cn. Magnus, the daughter Pompeia Magna, and the youngest Sextus Pompey: *Magnus Pius Imp(erator)* in Spanish and Sicilian coinage Crawford 1974, 487; see also Syme 1979, 369 ff. and *ILRRP* 426: *Mag(no) Pompeio Mag(ni) f(ilio) Pio, imp(eratore), augure / co(n)s(ule) desig(nato), por[ta]m et turres / ...*; *Magnus Pompeius Gnaei filius* in Cic. *Phil.* 13.50 (Cf. *Sextusque Pompeius, Gnaei filius, Magnus* Cic. *Phil*. 5.41).

not surprising if we consider that the title was intentionally connected with Alexander the Great and established a strong parallelism between the victories of a young Pompey, and the Greek king, which were reflected in many aspects of Pompey's self-presentation strategy.[402]

The figurative language of Pompey's portraits follows Hellenistic royal iconography and, more specifically, the iconography of Alexander the Great.[403] Unfortunately, Pompey's statuary is lost, but the literary sources, his coinage and the epigraphic evidence can show the direction taken by the commander in his self-presentation programme. Two statues of Pompey are known from the sources: an equestrian statue placed on the *rostra* next to the equestrian statue of Sulla;[404] and a second statue, which, according to Plutarch, was dedicated by the people to Pompey for the inauguration of his theatre in the Campus Martius.[405]

The Pompey equestrian statue on the *rostra* surely had a similar epigraphic content to Pompey's dedications in Rome: his name, the agnomen *Magnus* and the title *imperator* (probably with the form *iterum* after). But its syntax was likely different: it was rendered not in the dative case but in the nominative case; likewise, Sulla's equestrian statue, which

[402] The similarities between Pompey and Alexander are not only reflected by the use of *Magnus* for Pompey and the use of *megas* for Alexander. In 61 BC Pompey celebrated his third triumph wearing a purple chlamys that was found among the treasures of Mithridates IV, and was said to have belonged to Alexander the Great (App. *Mith.* 117). Pompey was accompanied by Theophanes, who was from Mytilene and who was to write his achievements: scriptorem rerum suarum (Pompeii) – a writer of his (Pompey) deeds (Cic. *Arch.* 24). Theophanes appears in Cicero's Pro Archia as a Greek historian who obtained a citizenship from a Roman commander, see Gold 1985. For Pompey's appearance Plut. *Pomp.* 2.1: 'there was a slight *anastolé* in his hair and a fluidity in the shape of his face around the eyes that produced a resemblance, more talked about than obvious, to the portraits of Alexander the King'. Cf. with the Venetian-type head of Pompey, more similar to the Plutarchean description compared to the Copenhagen-type head of Pompey. The latter type shows a more mature Pompey and is chronologically closer to the inauguration of the Theatre of Pompey in 55 BC, although it is not possible to connect this head with the statue of Pompey in the newly built theatre. See La Rocca 1987–1988, 273.

[403] The similarities between Alexander's portrait and Pompey's have been widely discussed. See Pollitt 1986, esp. 34–7 with bibliography; La Rocca 1987–1988, 272; Strong 1988, 336; Kleiner 1992, 42–3.

[404] Cass. Dio 43.49.1–2. An honour also given to Caesar and Octavian: Vell. Pat. 2.61.3.

[405] Plut. *Brut.* 14.2. Sehlmeyer 1999, 219–20.

stood next to Pompey's on the *rostra*. The reason is not only a consideration of the proximity of the two statues and the influence of the wording of Sulla's inscriptions on Pompey's statue, but also the prominent location of the *rostra*, where honorific inscriptions seem to privilege the honoured, rather than the dedicators, by using the nominative case, as in the case of Sulla's equestrian statue.

This is evident in Clusium, where Pompey's inscription (*ILLRP* 381, *CIL* I^2 768), as far as its syntax and content are concerned, closely mirrors Sulla's inscription (*ILLRP* 356, *CIL* I^2 723).[406] By emulating Sulla's inscription, the text from at Clusium suggests that the citizens dedicated these (and the statue) in the same fashion as Sulla's inscription, symbolising what the wording and format of 'power' should be for a honorific epigraphy.[407] The similar pattern of the two inscriptions suggests that the political message of Pompey was linked to a message already established by Sulla and familiar to its audience, the people of Clusium, to such an extent that Pompey's statue and inscription could not have been misinterpreted.

There is no reason to believe that in Rome there was any more of a difference between Sulla's and Pompey's equestrian statues on the *rostra*. On the contrary, there was a need in Rome to deliver a clear message with a format and content that was intelligible to people, because this was pivotal in ensuring the success of individuals' self-presentation strategies. Further, there is also no reason to discourage a dedicatory formula that included Pompey's titles of *Magnus* and *imperator* and his representation as *triumphator*.[408] This could be suggested by the example of Sulla's equestrian statue that

[406] The substantial difference between Sulla's and Pompey's Roman inscriptions in the Forum is the use of the dative case for the honoured. This emphasises the role of the people of Clusium in honouring the two commanders.
[407] Although the epigraphic similarities can safely be compared by analysing Sulla's and Pompey's inscriptions, assuming some iconographic similarities between the two statues is not possible, unless further archaeological discoveries are made.
[408] Gellius (*NA* 10.1.7) preserves a letter of Cicero's freedman Tiro, who reports doubt as to whether Pompey wrote the inscription '*consul tertio*' or '*consul tertium*' on the temple of Venus Victrix in the Theatre of Pompey in 52 BC. The importance of stating the number of consulships

normalised the 'format' for the dedications of *triumphatores* in the Comitium. By being able to follow Sulla's epigraphic pattern in Pompey's dedication, the audience would have immediately recognised what kind of message the new equestrian statue of Pompey promoted.

For the first time, in the light of his unprecedented pacification of three different continents, the triumphs of Pompey were celebrated both in the Forum as well as in the Campus Martius. From a formal and stylistic point of view, the two surviving portrayals of Pompey are very much based on the figurative language used for Alexander the Great.[409] The Copenhagen-type head diverged to some extent from the portrayal of Alexander the Great: it shows an aged Pompey, and is a figurative expression of his political, rather than military virtues, his strength relying on the balance and control of his emotions.[410] The use of the Copenhagen-type head seemed more fitting for the end of Pompey's career (and life), when his military prowess and political actions were blended in a unique and more balanced interpretation. However, the inclusion of heroic features that recall Alexander the Great, such as the representation of the *anastolé*, should be noted (Figure 16).

On the other hand, the Venetian-type head more resembles the imagery of Alexander the Great, showing that Pompey's portrayal, although mature, is infused by an intense heroic and dramatic aura, suggested by the torsion of the stare – the lips are tightened and shaken by a slight nervous tension, the forehead carries a frown, the hair has an *anastolé* and the figure is staring dramatically towards the horizon (Figure 17).

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was not new but it may be helpful in reconstructing the inscription of Pompey's equestrian statue in the *rostra. ILLRP* 381 shows the expression of *imperator iterum*, a formula that might suggest its adoption for the equestrian statue, which could display a formula such as *imperator tertium.* A further hint is the will to surpass the honours received by Sulla who was only *imperator iterum.* The proximity of the two statues might have exalted the achievements of Pompey.

[409] La Rocca 1987–1988 traces a dossier of evidence and speculation that aims to recreate Pompey's representation, including his portrayal, and provides an extensive bibliography on the topic.

[410] Poulsen 1973; Giuliani 1986; La Rocca 1987–1988; Zanker 1988, 8–11; Kleiner 1992, 23–4.

The use of this portrait seems to successfully visually render the concept of victory and triumph that Pompey's epigraphic formula of *imperium* and *Magnus* expressed. There is no reason to discourage the adoption of the Venetian-type portrayal, or a very similar type, for the equestrian statue of Pompey in the Forum.[411] In this case, the Hellenistic formal language was introduced into the Forum for the self-presentation of a political man, similarly to the equestrian statue of Sulla, but taking the narrative introduced by Sulla's visual and textual elements a step further forward. Pompey used a similar epigraphic formula, which by that time was well established by Sulla's monumentalisation, especially by the equestrian statue in the Forum. Yet, Pompey paired the use of a similar formula with new visual content, paralleling what Sulla did with the equestrian statue of Tremulus in introducing an updated and renewed narrative. The result is that the ideology of victory and the *imitatio Alexandri* of Pompey's portrait were harmonised and made more intelligible to the audience through the epigraphic use of a well-acknowledged formula that was introduced by Sulla and adopted by Pompey with the words *imperator* and *Magnus*.[412]

The statue of Pompey erected in the Theatre of Pompey was a more independent representation of the Hellenistic form of expression compared to the equestrian statue in the Forum. The reason is that the complex erected *ex manubiis* by Pompey was not subject to following, even partially, the non-written rules of self-presentation and, therefore, its

[411] Cf. for the Venetian-type portrait of Pompey used for the equestrian statue Schweitzer 1948, 88; Giuliani 1986, 320; La Rocca 1987–1988, 273. It is remarkable that the *denarius* of Sextus Pompey issued in Sicily between 42–40 BC (*RRC* 511/3a) shows the profile of Pompey the Great, with a significant affinity with the profile of Pompey's Copenaghen portrait.

[412] Pliny *HN* 7.97 refers to an inscription placed on a shrine of Minerva erected by Pompey dedicated *ex manubiis*. The beginning of the inscription is: *Cn. Pompeius Magnus imperator*. Orlin 1997, 133–4 argues that the temple was not in Rome, as Pliny does not specify where it was erected, and that it was not built from *manubiae*. However, as noted by Morrell 2017, 75–6 the text seems to refer to a Roman audience. Another inscription, which reports the achievements of Pompey during his expedition to the East, is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus (40.4) and begins in a similar way to Pliny's passage: Πομπήιος Γναΐου υἱὸς Μέγας αὐτοκράτωρ. It is not known where Diodorus Siculus' inscription was set up; one possibility could be the Temple of Venus Victrix (Nicolet 1991, 32 Girardet 1991, 213) but, more likely, the dedication was erected in the East (Vogel-Weidemann 1985 asserts that it was in the Temple of Artemis of Ephesus).

space was innovatively built around the celebration of Pompey's achievements. In fact, Pompey's equestrian statue placed in the public space of the Forum, in the Comitium, needed to follow certain accepted and acknowledged criteria in order to establish a dialogue with its audience. Conversely, in a mixed (public–private) space such as the Theatre of Pompey, the 'rules' of self-presentation were much more liberal, and different and bolder forms of expression could be used.[413] The location where the fourteen statues were set is unknown. It is possible that they were set in the *quadriporticus* or within the theatre. These were the work of the Rhodian sculptor Coponius, and represented the *Nationes* defeated by Pompey.[414] There was also an extensive garden complex with shady walks under rows of plane trees.[415]

It is worth noting that not only was the content of the statue of Pompey in his *curia* characterised by strong Hellenistic visual language, but the way in which this dedication was obtained by Pompey showed similarities with the relationship between Hellenistic cities in Greece and Asia Minor with their εὐεργέται. Following Plutarch, this statue was dedicated by the people of Rome,[416] showing their gratitude to Pompey, their benefactor. The space, however, was controlled and organised by Pompey.[417]

[413] Not only during the Late Republic but also during the second century BC, for example, the Temple of Hercules Musarum by Nobilior, the *Porticus Metelli* and the massive *Porticus Catuli*, in which the self-presentation programmes were, to a certain extent, released from accustomed honorific practice.
[414] On the iconography of the *gentes devictae* Smith 1988; Liverani 1995, 220–49; Parisi Presicce 1999, 83–105; For the *Nationes* by Coponius See Pliny *HN* 36.41, Suet. *Ner.* 46. La Rocca 1998, 203–74; Monterroso Checa 2009; 2010, 377–88. According to Östenberg 2009a, 119–220, the *Nationes* was the 'major Roman monument for displaying an assembly of peoples'.
[415] For the relationship of Pompey's triumph and the *Nationes*, see Kuttner 1999. For the relationship between the *porticus* and the surrounding building, that is, the theatre, the temple, the *curia,* see Gleason 1994.
[416] Plut. *Brut.* 14.2.
[417] See Tanner 2000 18–50. For the similarity of the relationship between Pompey and the people of Rome and the Greek cities and their benefactors, Cadario 2011, 47–48. However, without having the statue's inscription, it is not possible to clarify further the extent of the similarities with honorary practice in the Greek world and in the East.

The novelty of this ambitious project, a permanent theatre, was perceived by a part of the *nobilitas* as a provocative statement that undermined the moral costume of Rome. For Hölscher, the erection of a permanent theatre, and of the whole complex in general, was an 'aggressione eloquente contro i fondamenti morali dei gruppi autorevoli del Senato'.[418] He correctly asserts that Pompey could have invested his massive loot to erect a celebrative monument that would have achieved popular recognition instead of erecting a provocative complex. However, the reason given by Hölscher for this, that Pompey was not interested in erecting a building to achieve popular recognition, is somehow contradicted by all the aspects of Pompey's self-presentation agenda. On the contrary, Pompey would introduce the conquest of the East by displaying a triumph so rich that Pliny described it as 'being more the triumph of luxury than the triumph of conquest'.[419] Pompey was, in fact, creating new popular recognition by building a celebratory space for his image as *imperator*, as a new Alexander the Great who was expanding and reaffirming the control of Rome over the East.[420] The Hellenistic artistic style and iconography was used for the statue of Pompey, which was erected in his *curia*, to complete and emphasise the Hellenistic landscape offered by the spectacular *quadriporticus*, in which the defeated *Nationes* appeared as statues, and other parts of his loot were displayed.[421] The style of the Theatre of Pompey more than hinted at Hellenistic taste, evoking the Roman *porticus* with garden and exedrae in a similar fashion to the Hellenistic gymnasium.[422] Further, for the first time in Rome, Pompey promoted his

[418] Hölscher 2008, 96–7. Not only of the senatorial groups, but more in general of the people of Rome.
[419] Pliny *HN* 37.6: erat et imago Cn. Pompei e margaritis, illo relicino honore grata, illius probi oris venerandique per cunctas gentes, ficta ex margaritis, ita severitate victa et veriore luxuriae triumpho!
[420] There was also a painting of Alexander the Great painted by Nicia, a strong link between Pompey and the Macedon. Pliny *HN* 35.132; Celani 1998, 86.
[421] The *Curia Pompeia* was used for a short time and for safety reasons during the disorder and the chaos after the death of Clodius. See Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 167–8. This means that the statue of Pompey was inadvertently exposed to the Senate, but its iconography and message were never created with the intention of this happening.
[422] Sauron 1987, 457–73; Kuttner 1995, 171; Wallace-Hadrill, 2008, 175; Cadario 2011, 16–17.

military achievements by displaying the fourteen *Nationes* he had defeated as the allegories of the *gentes devictae*, similarly to how the Hellenistic kings promoted their own achievements. In fact, the iconographic similarities of Pompey's *Nationes* with the female personifications of the regions subjected to the Attalid *basileis*, represented on the Pergamon Altar of Zeus, is remarkable.[423] The reason for choosing Hellenistic figurative language has to been seen in its effectiveness in responding to the need to represent the concept of Pompey's conquest over the East and, in general, to represent the *oikoumene*, which until this point in time was not considered as something that had to be compulsorily translated into Roman art.

In the Theatre of Pompey, the title of *Magnus* was certainly included in the epigraphy of Pompey's huge statue, as can be seen from the surviving inscriptions.[424] There is no reason to suppose a different title might have been used on Pompey's statues in his theatre. The combination of the epigraphic language with his huge statue was crucial in creating a visual experience of the Hellenistic expression of the *oikoumene* to a Roman audience.[425] The iconography is unknown, yet there are many hints that suggest the statue could have been of the foot-rise type.[426] A further possibility is that the statue was in a heroised style that would complete the Hellenistic monumental landscape created in conjunction with the other sculptures.[427] What is fundamental to bear in mind here is

[423] Kuttner 1995; Monterroso Checa 2010, 381–3; Cadario 2011, 18–19.
[424] In Rome *ILLRP* 380, in Clusium *ILLRP* 381, in Auximum *ILLRP* 382. Also Weinstock 1971, 53 claims the presence of *Magnus* on Pompey's statue in the Theatre, yet without further arguments.
[425] Vell. Pat. 2.31: By this decree the command of almost the entire world was being entrusted to one man.
[426] As pointed out by La Rocca 1987–1988, 274 who discards the hypothesis of a *togatus* type considering that the *curia* was used temporarily only after dramatic events. For the foot-rise type, the coinage of Pompey's son has an incredible range and variety of representations. See La Rocca 1987–1988 for a complete analysis. Cadario 2006, 33–4 (note 43) points out that Pliny *HN* 34.18 reports that the statuary type of the *loricatus* was used for the first time by Caesar. This excludes its adoption for Pompey's statue in his complex. Christodorus (*Anth. Pal*. 2.398–402) in his ἔκφρασις of 80 statues in the baths of Zeuxippus in Constantinople, described the statue of Pompey standing over a pile of weapons (see La Rocca 1987–1988, 271–2; Cadario 2011, 51).
[427] The representation of Pompey like a Poseidon although possible is not likely. Such interpretation belongs to the propaganda created by the son of Pompey Magnus, Sextus Pompeius

that the Hellenistic representation of the pacified *oikoumene* for the Roman audience was strongly linked with the titles that Pompey was keen to adopt. Among them, the title *Magnus* had a special role, because it was the pivotal conceptual tenet of Pompey's self-presentation strategy, which represented the parallel with Alexander the Great.

The artistic allusion to Alexander the Great had already been introduced in the Roman self-presentation strategies, for example, by Metellus Macedonicus in his own complex. However, there is a substantial difference between the *Porticus Metelli* and the Theatre of Pompey that is also an important indicator of the two different historical periods. The twenty-six Hellenistic statues that compose the Granikos Monument in Metellus Macedonicus' portico were used as *spolia* by the commander to indirectly establish a strong link between Alexander the Great and himself. Metellus was not physically represented among them, but allusively present to the audience. Pompey left no allusion for the spectators of his complex to comprehend, but he represented his conquered *spolia*, the representation of his victories over the *oikoumene*, controlled by the presence of his own statue. This was a straightforward, representation of Pompey as a new Alexander with no allusion whatsoever. From the direct contrast between the choices Metellus and Pompey made, we can conclude that the political context of Rome during the mid-second century BC was not the ideal stage on which to perform a direct reference to Alexander the Great for the self-presentation of commanders. Metellus wanted the same things as Pompey, but was not able to use such direct means to achieve them. If the head of Alexander the Great on the Granikos Monument was replaced by the one of Metellus Macedonicus, it would have probably created enormous friction between him, the senatorial groups and the people of Rome, which in return would have created the opposite effect of a successful celebration, compared to the milder allusion he settled

to antagonize the self-presentation of Octavian as son of a divinized Caesar. Octavian 'replied' to Sextus by presenting himself as Neptune-like on his coinage. See La Rocca 1987–1988.

for. As far as Pompey was concerned, the direct connection with Alexander the Great became more accepted, and in relation to Caesar, who actually dedicated an equestrian statue of Alexander the Great with the head replaced with his own, it was almost as naturally integrated and expected.

The Theatre of Pompey was a sort of test run in experimenting with a complex and provocative message centred on the ideology of victory embedded into the Hellenistic figurative language. The result was a translation of the old political values into a new system, in which the shadow of the Roman institution gradually faded to give space to the uniqueness and divine qualities of powerful individuals, as will be even more evident with regard to Caesar. This new dimension, which owed its creation to the Hellenistic figurative language, reshaped not only the topography of the political heart of Rome (especially of the Campus Martius, the Capitoline and the Forum), but also affected the language used, both textual and visual, for the representation of Roman power. The use of inscriptions played a fundamental role in this process because they helped to translate the Greek Hellenism used for the visual monumentalisation of victory into the Roman 'language'. This transformation allowed the self-presentation programmes of patrons to be increasingly accepted by the Roman mentality, albeit not without resistance. The quality of the commanders became exceptional. Pompey is connected with the *divina virtus*, and his *virtus* is connected to the ideal of invincibility (*Pompeius invictissimus*).[428] His *imperium* was exceptional and unprecedented. The representation of such a power cannot simply be achieved through a visual monumentalisation, but also requires the use of a specific epigraphic lexicon that reflects the extraordinary status of these men for the representation to be understood completely by its audience.

[428] For Pompey's *virtus* McDonnel 2006, 295–300 with many references to the ancient author who addressed the military *virtus* of Pompey.

CAESAR: DIVINE COMPETITION ON HUMAN GROUND

In the political climate of the first century BC, self-presentation strategies were inextricably combined with the monumentalisation of military victories. In the course of previous centuries, the traditional form of self-presentation of the *nobilitas* had allowed, to a certain extent, the coexistence of a larger number of subjects, all monumentalising their achievements. Furthermore, the presence of more subjects fostered the creation of a communications system with a common ground set by the acceptance of non-written rules, through which the dialogue between patrons and audience was easily established and defined by the patrons' self-presentation strategies. The Senate had an important role in setting the boundaries with regard to the self-presentation strategies of powerful men and, in some cases, it could directly intervene, for example, in determining whether or not a public space such as the Forum or the Capitoline could be used, in order to block or facilitate the erection of honorific monuments.

With the ambitions of powerful men, such as Catulus, Marius, Sulla, Pompey, Caesar and Clodius, during the first half of the first century BC, the previous system evolved into a form of celebration that dramatically limited the coexistence of more individuals, and the role of victorious commanders connected with the Republic was reformulated. This new relationship was expressed by using a visual programme, in which the Hellenistic canon was increasingly employed to translate the glory of just a few individuals, those who held extraordinary offices and, thereby, increasingly executed absolute power, into a meaningful language for the audience.

At the very end of the second century BC, after the Jugurthine campaign and the difficult Cimbrian War, the ideology of victory was celebrated by being exalted by single, unique and skilled men to the extent that their appropriation of a victory became a political weapon not only to undermine their political rivals but also to glorify their own successes (whether manufactured or real). This change can be traced back to Catulus'

portico near his house on Palatine Hill, a structure that appropriated and celebrated the victory against the Cimbrians and Teutones not as a joint action with Marius, but as Catulus' own enterprise only.[429] The monuments of victorious commanders began to be less restrained by boundaries set by the honorific Roman custom, and were now free to explore new celebrative dimensions. In this media effort, the figurative language found fertile ground on which to express and communicate its new messages, in line with the political propaganda of the victorious commanders.[430] On this new stage, their titles, rendered on inscriptions connected to monuments, became fundamental in guiding the audience towards the new visual dimension.

This new visual dimension was defined by increasingly introducing Hellenistic features into Roman honorific monuments, especially those related to the self-representation of royal Hellenistic dynasties, which were 'translated' in Roman terms by using an epigraphic habit familiar to the Roman people.[431] In this way, Hellenistic art was merged with Roman art, creating a new figurative language that was intelligible to the audience thanks to the inscriptions that fostered the integration of artwork and text. Titles had also been used to support the legitimation of power that was undermined by the civil wars, as in the case of Sulla. After his victory, *imperator* and *Felix/Epaphroditos* were conceptualised as the justification and legalisation of his power, granted both by human skills and divine favour. Pompey was hailed as *imperator Magnus*, and these titles depicted the commander as a new Alexander the Great who was favoured by the deities and dominated the *oikoumene*.

[429] The *Porticus Catuli* was erected on the foundation of the house belonging to Fulvius Flaccus, the tribune of plebs in 122 BC and supporter of Gaius Gracchus. Cic. *Dom.* 102–3, 114; Val. Max. 6.3.1.
[430] The consequences of the military expansion (and the creation of a new elite formed by patricians and plebeian families) led to a deep change in Roman society that was reflected by how the political culture and values were celebrated and monumentalised. See Hölscher 2008, 99–100.
[431] Hellenistic art was already familiar in the Roman private context, but it was much less familiar with regard to honorific public monuments.

The spectators in Rome were exposed to the performance of extraordinary powers and achievements of these two men by the celebration of their triumphs and, subsequently, by the triumphal monumentalisation that perpetuated the memory of their successes. Celebrating their successes without assigning special and unique epithets to their figures could potentially have not emphasised enough the significance of their individual achievements against the backdrop of the military successes during the Republic. The acquisition and display of titles became key to comprehending the new outstanding significance of these victorious commanders. Once they acquired epithets and titles, these were included in the inscriptions of their monuments. This solution introduced a new figurative language to the monuments that also affected the perception of their visual features. By using a well-known and accustomed communicative system that the audience understood, the meaning of new contents readily became very clear to them.

The use of titles helped Roman audiences to interact with the monuments and to establish a connection between their iconographies and themes and certain messages. In the second century, for example, a victorious Nobilior connected his consulate to the deeds of his illustrious grandfather by using a long filiation, the *cognomen* and his title, *M(arci) f(ilius) / Ser(vi) n(epos) Nobilior / co(n)s(ul)*, and M. Claudius Marcellus listed the number of consulships that he, his father and his grandfather (*III Marcelli novies coss*) obtained. From the time of Marius and Sulla, this preconditioned model was adapted to forge consensus with regard to new iconographies and new messages to honour individuals that were strongly connected with the ideology of victory. The use of titles was a significant landmark in the introduction of different iconographies and themes into the Roman honorific tradition. By reading titles included in inscriptions on new monuments, the audience were able to use cognitive processes that had already been well tested, thanks to the similar syntax adopted by the inscriptions on previous monuments.

By using *Felix imperator*, Sulla advertised the return of a stable situation after a serious crisis to the Roman people. This was based on his *felicitas* under his legal authority, which was granted by his victories. The representation of Sulla riding in a quadriga, an image previously only used for deities, became in this sense easier to understand and to accept. A monument depicting King Bocchus delivering the captured Jugurtha to Sulla, with Sulla sitting in the same way as a Hellenistic ruler, would be more easily accepted because Sulla was being presented not simply as a man, but as a man possessing superhuman qualities. Pompey celebrated an exceptionally elaborate triumph in which every single victory was displayed and the quantity of loot overwhelmed the spectators. He was the first to triumph over three continents and his title *Magnus* prepared the audience to anticipate the highly Hellenistic monumental landscape of his complex and the image of Pompey as a hero who had conquered the world. The use of titles (*imperator* and *divus*) in epigraphic form meant that Caesar's propaganda assumed a crucial role in expressing new ideas and concepts that would only be fully exploited and normalised from Augustus' Principate onwards. The representation of Caesar's new visual language appeared in different places and on different monuments in Rome, but during a very limited time frame, between 46 BC and 44 BC. The monuments, now lost, were erected almost as the climax of Caesar's form of self-presentation: no more human but divinised. The three areas of interest that will be discussed are: the Area Capitolina, with the statue of *Oikoumene* and the ἅρμα Καίσαρος; the Forum Iulium, with its two representations of the *imperator*; and, finally, the statue of Caesar placed in the Temple of Quirinus with the *deo invicto* inscription. The statue of Caesar known as *inter reges* set up on the Capitol among the kings of Rome (and placed next to Brutus, the liberator from the tyranny of Tarquinius Superbus) will not be discussed here in detail, but it forms an important part of the context for Caesar's other honorific statues. The importance of this statue for Caesar's political agenda has no doubt, and its political effect was well

known to Caesar's contemporaries, political opponents and in the ancient sources.[432] In this work, however, the focus is reserved for Caesar's honorific statues for which we know more about the iconography and inscriptions.

A DEMI-GOD ON THE CAPITOLINE: THE STATUE OF OIKOUMENE AND THE ΑΡΜΑ ΚΑΪΣΑΡΟΣ

Between 46 BC and 44 BC, by senatorial decree, Caesar received a set of *honores* unprecedented both in their number and uniqueness. An account of them was given by Cassius Dio, who selected a series of honours granted to Caesar in 46 BC after the victory at Thapsus, explaining that these were the only ones accepted by him:

> These are the only measures I have recorded, not because they were the only ones voted – for a great many measures were proposed and of course passed – but because he declined the rest, whereas he accepted these.[433]

Among these honours, the monuments erected on the Capitoline to honour Caesar were particularly important:[434] a chariot (ἅρμα), dedicated by senatorial decree to Caesar and placed in front of the statue of Jupiter; a statue (εἰκόνα) of Caesar in bronze, depicting him striding over the *oikoumene* (a globe representing the civilised/inhabited world), with

[432] For the inter reges statue of Caesar Cic. *Deiot*. 33: te in invidia esse, tyrannum existimari, statua inter reges posita animos hominum vehementer offensos; 34: nam si locus adfert invidiam. Suet. *Iul*. 76.1: statuam inter reges; 80.3: subscripsere quidam...statuae...Caesaris; Cass. Dio 43.45.3–4; and the statue of Brutus Cass. Dio 43.45.4; Plut. *Brut*. 1.1. On the inter reges statue of Caesar Weinstock 1971, 145–8; Cadario 2006, 38–41, 56–7; Koortbojian 2013, 98–9 are fundamental. The information provided by Suetonius (*Iul*. 80.3) is however interesting, concerning how the statues of Brutus and the statue inter reges of Caesar were used by supporters and political enemies to express criticism about Caesar's actions: Subscripsere quidam Luci Bruti statuae: "Utinam viveres!" item ipsius Caesaris: "Brutus, quia reges eiecit, consul primus factus est; hic, quia consules eiecit rex postremo factus est". It is worth nothing how important statues and their inscriptions were in delivering political messages if their inscriptions were "rewritten" by political opponents.

[433] Cass. Dio 43.14.7. Cf. Cass. Dio 44.1–12 and 43.46.1.

[434] A full analysis of Caesar's honorific monuments in Cadario 2006 with an extensive bibliography. On the honours of Caesar still connected to a religious dimension fundamental Weinstock 1971. See also Zanker 2009, 289–95; Koortbojian 2010, 257–60; Koortbojian 2013, 95–100.

an inscription addressing him as a demi-god (ἡμίθεος); and the inscribing of his name instead of Catulus' on the Temple of Jupiter.[435] This series of honours immediately shows the importance that inscriptions had for Caesar's monuments. Although the statue of Caesar standing over the globe had an inscription, we do not know much about the chariot. It may be possible that the chariot was inscribed as well, yet Cassius Dio is silent about it, whereas he reports the inscription on the *oikoumene* statue. What Dio does report about the chariot, however, is its position directly connected with the statue of Jupiter, whose temple was going to be inscribed with Caesar's name. This means that whether or not the chariot was inscribed, the monument was supposed to be visually aligned with Caesar's name.

The two monuments did not form a single group, but they were distinct in themselves.[436] Cassius Dio focused on listing the Caesarean honours and he gives only indirect information about the disposition of these monuments. In another passage from Dio (43.21.2), Caesar, climbing up to the Temple of Jupiter, 'noticed' the two monuments, which the author distinguishes from each other by a paratactic construction. The statue of Caesar was a direct reference to the dictator and his exceptional victory, but the gilded quadriga might also be interpreted as a votive dedication; in fact, we have evidence of the dedication of chariots on the Capitoline during the third and second centuries BC.[437] Whereas the coinage of Marius, Sulla and Pompey shows each of them

[435] Cass. Dio 43.14.6: 'And they decreed that a chariot of his should be placed on the Capitol facing the statue of Jupiter, that his statue in bronze should be mounted upon a likeness of the inhabited world, with an inscription to the effect that he was a demi-god, and that his name should be inscribed upon the Capitol in place of that of Catulus on the ground that he had completed this temple after undertaking to call Catulus to account for his building of it.' See also Cass. Dio 43.21.2. The name of Caesar was never added to the temple: Tac. *Hist*. 3.72: Among all the great works built by the Caesars the name of Lutatius Catulus kept its place as far as Vitellius' day.

[436] *Contra* Koortbojian 2013, 95–6 who points out how the relationship between the chariot and the statue of Caesar results in vagueness from Cassius Dio, and he summarises a series of reconstructions.

[437] Livy 29.38.8 erected by C. Livius and Servilius Geminus in 204 BC; 35.41.10 with the money collected from usurers by the aediles Marcus Tuccius and P. Iunius Brutus; 38.35.4 P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica erected a chariot on the Capitoline with an inscription dedicating it to Scipio: et

riding in a quadriga, Caesarean coinage is different; Victory is riding in the quadriga, not Caesar, which suggests that the quadriga mentioned by Cassius Dio probably did not include the statue of Caesar.[438] A further element is that the quadriga worked both as an honorific monument to Caesar and, *stricto sensu*, as a dedication to Jupiter. Its connection with the Temple of Jupiter is obvious: the quadriga was facing the statue of the god.[439] Accordingly, once completed, and viewed topographically, the Temple of Jupiter, with Caesar's name inscribed on it, would have been deliberately aligned with the ἅρμα Καίσαρος. In this spatial configuration, it might be possible that the chariot did not need an inscription. This strategy might have enhanced the visual experience of the audience, who in approaching the quadriga, had to look at the Temple of Jupiter to read its inscription. A further hint of its absence is, as has been said, the silence of Cassius Dio, who oddly reported only the inscription of the *oikoumene* statue. A precedent of an inscribed quadriga on the Capitoline is the one dedicated by Scipio Nasica in 189 BC. However, at that time the spatial control of the Capitoline was not as strong as it would later be with Sulla and Caesar, and it was crucial to cleary specify the recipient of a honorific monument, because many other monuments were erected in the same area.[440] This means that Caesar's quadriga was created under different rules than Scipio Nasica's, and Caesar might have benefited from a strategic topographical arrangement in which the

seiuges in Capitolio aurati a P. Cornelio positi; consulem dedisse inscriptum est. See Weinstock 1971, 54–9.

[438] Cf. *RRC* 464/4–5. The parallelism with Romulus' dedication of a *statua et quadriga* to Vulcanus is striking: Plut. *Rom.* 24.3; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.34.2 Weinstock 1971, 55–6; Sehlmeyer 1999, 74–6; Cadario 2006, 28.

[439] Weinstock 1971, 58 excludes the possibility that the statue was facing the cultual statue of Jupiter because the chariot was not placed inside the temple, juxtaposed with the *cella*. However, ἀντιπρόσωπος means not only 'facing' but can also be translated as 'opposite to', which can suggest that the chariot was facing the cultual statues of Jupiter. It is important to mention that the statue of Jupiter was wonderfully reconstructed after its destruction in 65 BC (Cic. *Div.* 2.46) with a chryselephantine version, similar to the statue of Zeus at Olympia, perhaps by a Greek sculptor called Apollonius (Chalcid. *In Tim.* 337 [361]). This might have influenced the decision to place the chariot facing towards a renewed and colossal Jupiter in ivory and gold.

[440] For the inscribed quadriga dedicated by Scipio Nasica, Livy 38.35.4: et seiuges in Capitolio aurati a Cornelio positi; consulem dedisse inscriptum est.

inscription of the Temple of Jupiter was metaphorically transferred to his quadriga. In this view, the name of Caesar, which was going to be inscribed on the Temple of Jupiter, worked both to show his victory over the *orbis terrarum* under the protection of the gods and, at the same time, to indicate to whom the chariot was dedicated.

The honours voted by the Senate to Caesar are imbued with a great symbolic value that is used as a *fil rouge* to compose the narrative portrayal of the dictator as the sole protagonist of the Capitoline. In another passage of Cassius Dio we have unmistakable evidence on how inscriptions play a crucial role in determining not only the intended meaning of a monument, but also its reception:

> On this occasion, too, he climbed up the stairs of the Capitol on his knees, without noticing at all either the chariot which had been dedicated to Jupiter in his honour, or the image of the inhabited world lying beneath his feet, or the inscription upon it; but later he erased from the inscription the term 'demi-god'.[441]

The analysis of the statue of Caesar mounted over the *oikoumene* has been widely discussed.[442] What it is interesting to observe here is the power that the inscription had on the reception by the audience of the message introduced by this statue. The self-presentation agenda of Pompey offered a monumental landscape that was centred on the idea of Roman victory and its control over external forces. The extension of Pompey's *imperium* to all the provinces connected with the Mediterranean Sea (*lex Gabinia* in 67 BC) and to the war in Asia Minor (*lex Manilia* 66 BC) was unprecedented.[443] This horizon of his *imperium* was not, strictly speaking, limited by any territorial boundaries to embracing the *orbis terrarum*. The Hellenistic language responded perfectly to the need

[441] Cass. Dio 43.21.2: καὶ τότε μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἀναβασμοὺς τοὺς ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ τοῖς γόνασιν ἀνερριχήσατο μηδὲν μήτε τὸ ἅρμα τὸ πρὸς τὸν Δία ἀνιδρυθὲν αὐτῷ μήτε τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν ὑπὸ τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτοῦ κειμένην μήτε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα αὐτῆς ὑπολογισάμενος, ὕστερον δὲ τὸ τοῦ ἡμιθέου ὄνομα ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἀπήλειψεν.
[442] Weinstock 1971, 40–50; Klöckner 1997, 55–7; Zanker 2009, 289–90; Koortbojian 2013, 95–6. See esp. Cadario 2006, 27–32.
[443] See my note 397.

to supply a new visual register for the representation of such power, yet not without being translated into Roman values by using intelligible textual elements. The Theatre of Pompey celebrated his victory over the *oikoumene* and it was decorated with a *porticus* on which the *Nationes devictae* were displayed in a Hellenistic tradition.[444] The honours that Caesar received followed the same rules but differed in the way that the monuments were conceived. Pompey planned the construction of his theatre to maximise the ecumenical representation of his victory, whereas Caesar's honours were dedicated by the Senate while he was away from Rome after the Battle of Thapsus.[445] This indicates that, without a doubt, the Senate took the lead role in deciding on the new form of dedication to represent Caesar's victory over the *oikoumene*, looking to Hellenism as the source for its iconography and using Pompey's self-presentation style as a model. If the ecumenical representation of Pompey's victory was organised by combining different monuments and spaces to create the visual experience of the *oikoumene*, more specifically the *orbis terrarum*, by which the audience were guided, Caesar's statue condensed the same elements into a smaller and more compact monument, which, however, had in its inscription and its *locus* at least the same effect as the Theatre of Pompey, if not a greater one.[446]

The inscription on Caesar's *oikoumene* statue, as reported by Cassius Dio, is straightforward: ἡμίθεος ('demi-god').[447] Cassius Dio mentioned only one of word of this

[444] On the iconography of the *gentes devictae* Smith 1988; Liverani 1995, 220–49; Parisi Presicce 1999, 83–105.
[445] The statue of Pompey was dedicated by the city according to Plutarch: Plut. *Brut.* 14.2; see also Sehlmeyer 1999, 219–20. Pompey's agency over the Senate was probably the main factor influencing the dedication of his statue in the *Curia Pompeiana*; Cadario 2011, 46–7.
[446] It is significant that Cicero describes Caesar as the conqueror of the whole word *victorem orbis terrae* (Cic. *Deiot*. 15) and his victories was extended on *Rhenum, Ocenaum, Nilum* (Cic. *Marc*. 28), probably as a representation of the entire world.
[447] The problems of the reconstruction of this statue have been already discussed (Cadario 2006; Koortbojian 2013, 95–6). Hoverer it is worth pointing out that the hypothesis of Caesar's statue being of the foot-raise type over a *sphaera*, symbol of the *oikoumene*, has been reinforced by comparing it with a possible model: the iconography used on the *denarius* by P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther in 74 BC, in which the *Genius populi Romani* has its foot resting on the globe (*RRC* 397). Further, 15 years later Octavian adopted a similar iconography for his *denarius*, a

inscription, and of course not in its original Latin text, only its translation in Greek.[448] There is no doubt that the inscription was longer and in Latin, surely containing Caesar's name and his title(s): *imperator* and/or *dictator*.[449] Reporting only the word ἡμίθεος suggests that the Greek historian highlighted the most significant and unexpected element of the inscription, whose other textual elements were so common that it was not required to report them in his historical reconstruction. The syntax of Caesar's inscription was probably no different from Sulla's and Pompey's. The use of *Felix* and *Magnus* as titles for Sulla and Pompey, respectively, show that they introduced themselves by indirectly proposing their superhuman dimension. These allusions were supported by specific figurative programmes, whose contents were 'translated' and driven by the epigraphic custom to deliver a clear message to the people, who were accustomed to this epigraphic system. Conversely, Caesar's inscription pointed in a straightforward fashion to his divine nature by using the word ἡμίθεος. Further, by integrating this word with a highly symbolic iconography of the statue, the whole composition had a disruptive effect in

possible reference to the symbolic representation of the statue on the *oikoumene* of his adoptive father.

[448] Taylor 1931, 65 for the use of the Greek term on the inscription by using the commentary of Servius Danielis *ad Ecl.* 9.46: eique in Capitolio statuam, super caput auream stella habentem, posuit: inscriptum in basi fuit: 'Caesari emitheo', in which the posthumous statue of *divus Iulius* is confused with the one erected on the Capitoline. Cadario 2006, 27. Cf. Sauron 1994, 246–8. *Contra* Weinstock 1971, 53, who rejects the possibility of *Hemitheus* as it is found in Rome only in late antiquity (Serv. *ad Ecl.* 4.24; 9.46; *Aen*. 8.314; Mart. Cap. 2.156; 160.) and *semideus* as invented by Ovid (*Ib.* 82; *Met.* 14.673; *Her.* 4.49) but, in fact, it was already used in Grattius Faliscus' hunting poem (*Cynegeticon* 1.62–6: nonne vides veterum quos prodit fabula rerum **semideos** – illi aggeribus temptare superbis caeli iter et matres ausi attrectare deorum – quam magna mercede meo sine munere silvas impulerint?). For *semideus,* Cf. Zecchini 2001. 54. *Heros* (already used by Cicero and Varro) would be suitable but Weinstock rightly pointed out that Dio would not have replaced it with another Greek term. For *divus*, Gradel 2002, 62–9. For the comparison between *divus* and *deus* for this inscription see Koortbojian 2013, 88, note 26. Without further evidence the problem with the inscription translation remains unanswered. Regardless of its translation, this discussion emphasises the importance of its presence and its combination with Caesar's statue.

[449] Cf. *ILLRP* 406 from Bovianum, dated between 48 BC and 46 BC: [C. Iul]io Caesari im[p(eratori)] / dictat(ori) iteru[m pont]ufici max[umo]. AE 1967, 107 in Vibo Valentia dated in 46 BC: C. Caesar[i] pontiff(ici) max(imo) / imp(eratori) co(n)s(uli) tert(ium) / ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) populus / patrono. See more examples in Weinstock 1971, 105, (note 3) and Raubitschek 1954.

communicating its message to the audience, to the point that its inscription was consequently removed.

However, an inscription had to be included in the senatorial interpretation of Caesar's victory, which could only be completed by adding the inscription to the statue. Their combination resulted in the monument conveying a somewhat different meaning from Pompey's ecumenical visual programme. Caesar was not only controlling all the inhabited lands, as did Pompey, but he reached a cosmological dimension that was perfectly represented by the symbolic image of a *sphaera*, and by the location of the statuary group next to the Temple of Jupiter. The inscription and the *locus* are fundamental for the reception of the statue, because they made clear to its audience that the deeds of Caesar were projected in a divine dimension, represented by the content of the inscription and by the proximity of the Temple of Jupiter. As reported by Cassius Dio, in the first place, Caesar seems to have accepted the honour of the configuration of his statue depicting him striding over the *oikoumene* with the inscription of ἡμίθεός.[450] However, he subsequently removed the inscription in order to contain criticism and to prevent loss of popular recognition in being awarded honours that were unfamiliar and unprecedented in Roman culture. Caesar removed the inscription, *not* the statue, nor did he change the statue's iconography or its location. This act of modesty deprived the statue's message of its troubling effect, leaving its structure as well as the epigraphic name of Caesar intact. Without reading ἡμίθεος, the audience understood the statue's new message as celebrating an *imperator* who had conquered the *orbis terrarum*, similar to Pompey with the statue in his *curia*, under the protection of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and with a 'human' *divina virtus*. The power of the inscription in influencing how the image should be read could not be more evident. This case demonstrates how Caesar's

[450] Cassius Dio (43.21.2) seems to praise Caesar's act. The suspicion is that Dio follows pro-Caesar sources in reconstructing the event.

tituli and his monuments work together to generate a powerful effect on the eyes of the people, with a negative or positive implication for the propagandistic message of the monument. By depriving his statue of such an important inscription that represented Caesar's divinity the statue lost its impact. Why, then, did Caesar deprive himself of such an important means of self-presenting himself as superhuman via the inscription of ἡμίθεος? The answer can be found on the spatial arrangement of the other honours received by Caesar. Their physical and semantic configuration supplied the loss of the inscription ἡμίθεος. Caesar's honours in the Area Capitolina reported by Cassius Dio created a system of meaning that was based on the many facets of Caesar's victory: the quadriga as the representation of his *imperium*; achieving his divine essence with control of the cosmos, represented by the *oikoumene*; and his affinity with Jupiter, restated by the site itself. Removing the inscription surely meant the loss of Caesar's *plausus* with those people of Rome hostile to him. Nonetheless, the interconnection between the monumentalised honours dedicated on the Capitoline continued to support the Caesarean self-presentation programme centred on his divinity.

CAESAR IMPERATOR AND THE STATUES IN THE FORUM IULIUM

The new Forum Iulium was dedicated on 26 September 46 BC, and we know that it was decorated with two statues of Caesar: a bronze *statua loricata*, and an equestrian statue. We know about the loricate statue from both Pliny the Elder and Pliny the Younger; Statius tells us about the equestrian statue.[451] The loricate statue of Caesar, following Pliny the Elder, was 'permitted' and accepted by Caesar (*passus est*), and was included in the series of honours that the Senate offered him, but not specifically reported by

[451] Plin. *HN* 34.18; Plin. *Ep.* 8.6.13, who specifies that a *senatusconsultum* in 52 AD was set up near the statue of Caesar; for the *equus Caesaris* Stat. *Silv.* 1.85. See Weinstock 1971, 87; Corbier 1997, esp. 22–30; Sehlmeyer 1999, 22–30; Cadario 2004, 86–7; Cadario 2006, 33–7; Zanker 2009, 290–92; Koortbojian 2013, 95–7; Esp. Koortbojian 2010.

Cassius Dio.[452] Furthermore, Pliny the Elder specifies that the loricate statue was the first of its kind to be erected.[453] It has been pointed out that this information should be interpreted as the first of its kind to be erected inside the *pomerium*, usually the boundary beyond which any commander could not go in military garb; other loricate statues were known to be located outside Rome, such as the cuirassed statue in Frascati.[454] The argument that the statue did not have the *toga picta*, the dress worn by commanders in their triumphs, because Caesar celebrated his triumph only in 46 BC, could be misleading, if we consider some of his previous achievements: he was acclaimed *imperator* in 61 BC as promagistrate in Spain; he obtained the consulship in 60 BC; and he was first appointed dictator in 49 BC and then a second time in 48 BC.[455] Whatever the chronology of the statue was, the choice of the *loricata* was certainly unusual and deliberate, but it cannot be seen as second best only for the reason that Caesar was not entitled to wear the *toga picta*. If there was no opposition to the erection of his statue in full military garb inside the *pomerium*, then certainly nobody would oppose a statue of Caesar in *toga picta*.[456] The *loricata* proclaimed the *imperator* and, at the same time, his status of dictator, who was

[452] Plin. *HN* 34.18: Caesar quidem dictator loricatam sibi dicari in foro suo passus est. See Stemmer 1978, 145. Cf. Cass. Dio. 43.14, 43.43–46.1.
[453] Lahusen 1983, 52–3; Corbier 1997, 19–20.
[454] For this interpretation see Zanker 2009, 291; Cadario 2006, 34–5; Koortbojian 2010, 247–60. The statue of Horatius Cocles might have been a precedent, but from the ancient sources it is not possible to give a clear reconstruction of this statue. The sources that mention his statue are: Cic. *Off.* 1.6; (in *comitium*) Livy 10.2.12 Pliny *HN* 34.21–22. In Volcanal: [Aur. Vict.] *De vir. ill.* 11.2; Plut. *Publ.* 16.9; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.25.2 says that his statue was fully armed; for the relocation from the *comitium* to the volcanal: Gell. *NA* 4.5. for the location at the Volcanal; Plin *HN* 34.21; See Lahusen 1983; 12–13, 33–34; Sehlmeyer 1999, 92–6; Tucci 2011–2012; Roller 2004; Koortbojian 2010, 250–4.
[455] For the first dictatorship: Caes. *BC* 2.21.5; Cass. Dio. 41.36 in December 49, cf. Cic. *Att* 9.15 in March 49. The second dictatorship Cass. Dio. 42.40.3. The denial of Caesar's triumph by Cato see Cic. *Pis.* 59; Cass. Dio 44.41.3; App. *B Civ.* 2.8.27. See Gruen 1995, 89.
[456] Koortbojian 2010, 250–60 and 2013, 95 determined the chronology back to 48 BC by arguing that although the *toga picta* could not be used because Caesar was unqualified to wear it before his triumph in 46, as suggested by Itgenshorst 2004, 453; his second dictatorship in 48 BC, after Pharsalus (August 48), allowed him to dedicate the statue inside the *pomerium.* After the battle Cassius Dio (42.19.3) reports the *eikones* voted by the Senate to Caesar. See also Weinstock 1971, 41.

allowed to cross the *pomperium* bearing arms. A clear message to the Senate and the people of Rome.

It is worth noting that Caesar had already been granted the honours in the Area Capitolina listed by Cassius Dio before he arrived in Rome to celebrate his triumph, and on his return he was portrayed not only as a *vir triumphalis*, but as a conqueror – a demi-god – of the inhabited world, and this does not seem to fit with his not being able to be depicted wearing the *toga picta* simply because he had not yet celebrated his triumph.

The statue voted by the Senate was anticipating the return of Caesar as *vir triumphalis* and it created an impressive effect, along with the *equus Caesaris*, when the Forum Iulium was inaugurated on 26 September 46 BC. The audience could admire two Caesars: the first was himself in the flesh as a *vir triumphalis* actually wearing the *toga picta*; the second, which could be viewed at the same time and in the same space, was Caesar as represented by his two statues, *statua loricata* and *equus Caesaris*, in full military garb, expressing the idea of his dictatorial *imperium*.

The reasons for this kind of iconography can be found once more in the *locus* where it was erected and in the titles and inscriptions used by Caesar. The Forum Iulium was created *ex manubiis*, as was custom for victorious *imperatores* to erect their *monumenta*, and it was configured to celebrate Caesar and his victories, as well as his relationship with Venus.[457] He dedicated the Temple of Venus Genetrix, which dominated an area of the Forum Iulium. In a move away from Pompey, who chose the Campus Martius for his celebrative *monumentum*, Caesar focused on the very heart of Rome, and provided the Forum Iulium with both public and political spaces: the *tabernae*, and the *Curia Iulia* for

[457] Suet. *Iul.* 26: forum de manubiis incohauit. See Ulirch 1993, 49–80 for the topographical evolutions of the Forum of Julius Caesar connected with the political events that took place, especially between Pharsalus in 48 BC and Caesar's assassination in 44 BC, and as the first imperial Forum.

the senatorial assembly.[458] The semi-private dimension of the Forum Iulium allowed Caesar to create a bolder figurative programme that clearly challenged Pompey's complex, and which reminded the senators and the people of Rome of his *imperium*.[459] The extraordinary *imperium* of Pompey was challenged by the one held by Caesar as dictator, his *imperium* being both *domi* and *militiae*. The loricate statue of Caesar expressed not only the supreme *imperium* that was extended to all the Roman provinces, as did Pompey's *imperium*, but also the dictatorial *imperium*, whose intrinsic value could surpass even the *pomerium*.[460] Accordingly, the *locus* emphasised the strength of Caesar's *imperium*, which successfully undermined the *imperium* evoked by Pompey's statue placed in the exedra of his complex, the *Curia Pompeia.*

What kinds of inscriptions would the audience expect to read on the *statua loricata* and the *equus Caesaris* in order to understand the message of their iconographies and, more generally, of the message that the whole *monumentum* promoted to them? Caesar's title of *imperator* appears not only in a series of Cicero's letters but in almost all of his inscriptions both in the East and in the West.[461] The few surviving inscriptions of Caesar in the West show the formula *imperator* often paired with *dictator*.[462] A series of inscriptions dedicated in Greece and in Asia Minor show how the title of αὐτοκράτωρ

[458] For the different function of the *tabernae*, see Ulrich 1993, 77–80.
[459] Cadario 2006, 33 argues that the choice of the loricate statue might have been deliberately made to draw a distinction with the statue of Pompey in his *curia*: 'la statua loricata di Cesare doveva gareggiare apertamente con quella di Pompeo, differenziandosi probabilmente nella scelta di un diverso tipo statuario, pensato in funzione del ruolo di imperator che Cesare rivestiva quale dedicante del nuovo foro'.
[460] Koortbojian 2010, 260 straightforwardly pointed out that Caesar as a dictator was legally entitled to 'cross the *pomerium*' and wield the powers of bearing arms and employing his *imperium* within the city of Rome.
[461] Cic. *Fam.* 7.5. in 54 BC. *Att.* 9.6A in 49 BC; *Fam.* 9.16.; *Fam.* 10.8A. The title was ironically described as *imperator unicus* by Catullus (29.11, 54.7). See Weinstock 1971, 105–6.
[462] From Bovianum in 48 BC or 46 BC *ILLRP* 406: [C. Iul]io Caesari im[p(eratori)] / dictat(ori) iteru[m / pont]ufici max[umo / aug(uri) c]o(n)s(uli) oatribi mu[nicipi] / d(ecurionum) c(onsulto). From Vibo Valentia in 46 BC AE 1967, 107: C. Caesari pontif. Max. imp. Cos. tert. ex s.c. populus patrono. From Curubis in 45 BC *ILLRP* 580: C. Caesare imp(eratore) co(n)s(ule) II[II … In Urso in 44 BC *CIL* II, 5439: … qui iussu C(ai) Caesaris dict(atoris) imp(eratoris) et lege Antonia / senat(us)que / c(onsultis) pl(ebi)que.

(often paired with ἀρχιερεύς) follows Caesar's name.[463] There is no reason to discount a different interpretation for the loricate statue in the Forum Iulium.

The inscriptions placed on the statue base contained the name of Caesar followed by *imperator* and *dictator*, which perfectly represent the ideology of the victory, and were enhanced by the military prowess of the *loricata* iconography. Pairing the *loricata* statue of Caesar with the epigraphic title of *dictator* was a very helpful (and likely) strategy for delivering a clear message to the audience when they approached the statue within the *pomerium*. Further, by also including *imperator*, the iconography of the full military garb acquired the same meaning that was normally assigned to the *toga picta*.

Cassius Dio reports in a further passage of Book 43 the honours granted to Caesar in 45 BC that he considered important:

> These were the measures that were passed in honour of his victory, I do not mention all, but as many as have seemed to me notable.[464]

Among such measures Caesar obtained the right to use as a proper name the title of *imperator*:

> Moreover, they now applied to him first and for the first time, as a kind of proper name, the title of imperator, no longer merely following the ancient custom by which others as well as Caesar had often been saluted as a result of their wars, nor even as those who received some independent command or other authority were called by this name, but giving him once for all the same title that is now granted to those who hold successively the supreme power.[465]

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[463] For the full dossier of inscriptions from the Greek East see Raubitschek 1954. On the use of *imperator* by Caesar and the discussion of the *praenomen Imperatoris* (Suet. *Iul*. 76.1 and Cass. Dio 43.44.2) see Weinstock 1971, 103–6.

[464] Cass. Dio 43.46.1. Cf. Cass. Dio 43.14.7 where he reports only the honours that Caesar had accepted.

[465] Cass. Dio 43.44.2: τό τε τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα οὐ κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἔτι μόνον, ὥσπερ ἄλλοι τε καὶ ἐκεῖνος πολλάκις ἐκ τῶν πολέμων ἐπεκλήθησαν, οὐδ᾽ ὡς οἵ τινα αὐτοτελῆ ἡγεμονίαν ἢ καὶ ἄλλην τινὰ ἐξουσίαν λαβόντες ὠνομάζοντο, ἀλλὰ καθάπαξ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ καὶ νῦν τοῖς τὸ κράτος ἀεὶ ἔχουσι διδόμενον ἐκείνῳ τότε πρώτῳ τε καὶ πρῶτον, ὥσπερ τι κύριον, προσέθεσαν. Cf. Suet. *Iul*. 76, who criticises the excess of his honours: 'for not only did he accept excessive honours, such as an uninterrupted consulship, the dictatorship for life, and the censorship of public morals, as well as the forename Imperator, the surname of Father of his Country, a statue among those of the kings, and a raised couch in the orchestra; but he also allowed honours to be bestowed on him

This becoming part of Caesar's name shows how significantly the perception of the ideology of victory changed when it became personified by him. Following Dio's account, the inclusion of the title *imperator* in Caesar's name might be giving a hint as to when the *statua loricata* was set up, indicating 45 BC as the possible date, after the victory at Munda in Spain.[466] However, this argument cannot be substantiated because Caesar used the title *imperator* before this date. It is more likely that after the award of further honours in 45 BC, including the dictatorship for life, the inscription on the *statua loricata* in the Forum Iulium was updated, either including *imperator* or swapping the already present *Caesar imperator* with the new *Imperator Caesar* to represent the new honour. This diverged from the epigraphic custom of placing *imperator* after the name of the honoured.

What it *is* safe to assume is that the perception of the title *imperator* significantly changed with Caesar after 45 BC, and with such a change the visual self-presentation was also affected to the extent that the *loricata* iconography as an expression of absolute power became popular among future emperors.[467] The title of *dictator* emphasised the

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which were too great for mortal man: a golden throne in the House and on the judgment seat; a chariot and litter in the procession at the circus; temples, altars, and statues beside those of the gods; a special priest, an additional college of the Luperci, and the calling of one of the months by his name. In fact, there were no honours which he did not receive or confer at pleasure.'

[466] The *terminus post quem* of Caesar's cuirassed statue can be safely set at September 46 BC when Caesar's forum was inaugurated: Cadario 2006, 34. However, Koortbojian 2010, 250–60 and 2013, 95 speculated that later in 48 BC during the second dictatorship, after Pharsalus (Cass. Dio 42.20.3), might be a suitable date, considering that *eikones* were voted to Caesar by the Senate (Cass. Dio 42.20.1–3), and perhaps the cuirassed statue was among them. It may be possible that in 45 BC the inscription of the already existing *loricata*, erected either in 48 or 46 BC, was updated following the new privilege reported by Cassius Dio (43.46.1) although he is silent on this specific honour.

[467] As also noted by Cassius Dio (43.44.3–4): 'from him this title has come down to all subsequent emperors, as one peculiar to their office, just like the title "Caesar"'. In addition, he specifies that a second meaning of *imperator*, the one known by the ancient custom, was added after a military victory: 'the ancient custom has not, however, been thereby overthrown, but both usages exist side by side. Consequently, the emperors are invested with it a second time when they gain some such victory as has been mentioned. For those who are imperatores in the special sense use this title once, as they do the other titles, and place it before the others; but those of them who also accomplish in war some deed worthy of it acquire also the title handed down by ancient custom, so that a man is termed imperator a second or a third time, or as many more times as the occasion may arise.'

right to wear military garb inside the *pomerium*, whereas the title of *imperator*, took up a new dimension, represented the ideology of victory, and sole power as an inherited quality that belonged only to the person of Caesar.

The *equus Caesaris*, the equestrian statue of Caesar, was certainly provided with a similar inscription to the *statua loricata*, emphasising the ideology of victory for the visual experience of the audience who entered the Forum Iulium. It is known from Statius that the statue was, in fact, the one created by Lysippus and erected for Alexander the Great.

> Let that horse, that stands in the Forum of Caesar, facing the temple of Dione Latina (Venus Genetrix) cede its place, the one that you, Lysippus, dared to produce for the Pellan commander, (that horse) which soon bore the head of Caesar atop his astonished neck.[468]

The equestrian statue of Alexander the Great was brought to Rome and dedicated by Caesar, probably as part of his loot, and the Forum Iulium was the perfect place in which to express his analogy with Alexander. On the one hand, the equestrian statue of Caesar certainly challenged Pompey's comparison with Alexander the Great as the 'Roman Alexander'.[469] On the other hand, the erection of the statue set a precedent; it was voted by the Senate and set up inside the *pomerium*, in the Forum and, thus, legitimated the dedication of Lysippus' artwork that Caesar had set up and modified to represent himself. Furthermore, the Forum Iulium, as a semi-private space, was the best place to dedicate a spoil (or a private acquisition of the statue), a significant precedent being the *Porticus Metelli* and its Granikos Monument.

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[468] Stat. *Silv.* 1.85; Suet. *Iul.* 61; Plin. 8.155. See Bergemann 1990, 160; Stewart 1993, 397; Corbier 1997, 16–17; Sehlmeyer 1999, 230; Stewart 2003, 54; Cadario 2004, 87, 2006 35–37; Zanker 2009, 291; Koortbojian 2013, 96–8.

[469] Cf. Greenhalgh 1980, 27; Giuliani 1986, 80; Sauron 1994, 257; La Rocca 1987–1988, 272; Moreno 2004. The substitution of Alexander's head with that of Caesar seems to be a 'reply' to Pompey (Cadario 2006, 36).

In conclusion, the people of Rome were aware that Caesar in military garb represented his dictatorship in Rome and that in his capacity as dictator he was allowed to cross the *pomerium* wearing military garb. The representation of a *vir triumphalis* with the *toga picta* paired with the epigraphic word *imperator* (like Sulla's equestrian statue, and probably Pompey's too) was not enough to fully represent the new prerogatives of Caesar.

The solution was found in two complementary directions. First, Caesar ordered the restoration of the equestrian statues of Sulla and Pompey on the *rostra* that had been destroyed after the news of Caesar's victory at Pharsalus.[470] Caesar gained political advantage from this form of *clementia* but, in fact, it directly emphasised his own equestrian statue on the *rostra* dedicated by the Senate: 'eum senatus honoratum equestri statua'.[471] It was obviously a gesture of *clementia* that was significantly different to Sulla's vindictiveness. However, by restoring the two equestrian statues of Sulla and Pompey and placing his own next to them, Caesar's draw also a distinctive line between the outdated *imperatores* and himself. In this sense, on the one hand, the formulaic epigraphy and the topographic serialisation of these three statues helped to emphasise their similarities: they were three inscribed equestrian statues on the *rostra*.[472] On the other hand, the differences between Sulla's and Pompey's equestrian statues and Caesar's were now highlighted. Caesar's statue was a monumental landmark that presented him as *imperator*, like Sulla and Pompey, with the difference that it dominated and controlled

[470] Cass. Dio 42.18.2. See Flower 2006, 104–11 on the *clementia* Caesaris and Caesar's behaviour towards the memory of his 'predecessors' such as Sulla or Q. Lutatius Catulus.
[471] On the restoration of Sulla's and Pompey's statues, Cass. Dio 43.49.1; Suet. *Iul.* 75.4; Plut. *Caes.* 57.6; Plut. *Cic.* 40.5. On the three equestrian statues on the *rostra* Vell. Pat. 2.61.3: Eum senatus honoratum equestri statua, quae hodieque in rostris posita aetatem eius scriptura indicat (qui honor non alii per trecentos annos quam L. Sullae et Cn. Pompeio et C. Caesari contigerat), pro praetore una cum consulibus designatis Hirtio et Pansa bellum cum Antonio gerere iussit - The senate honoured him with an equestrian statue, which is still standing upon the rostra and testifies to his years by its inscription, (this is an honour which in three hundred years had fallen to the lot of Lucius Sulla, Gnaeus Pompeius, and Gaius Caesar, and to these alone).
[472] Cf. Ma 2013 who highlights the 'power' of serialisation of statues in Hellenistic cities.

the space including and surrounding the *rostra*, because of its visual connection with other monuments of Caesar near the Forum. The Caesarean monumental landscape, as with Sulla's equestrian statue during his period of rebuilding the centre of Rome, enhanced the importance of Caesar compared to any other *imperatores.* The presence of Sulla's and Pompey's equestrian statues was crucial for creating this effect.

The equestrian statues of Caesar on the *rostra* also worked as a reminder of Caesar's restoration of Sulla's and Pompey's equestrian statues, and it was also the last stage of their serialisation, introducing alternative iconographic and epigraphic solutions. In fact, thanks to the serialisation of these three statues, Caesar's equestrian statue, and its new information, could be easily understood by its audience exactly because it was juxtaposed to *old* examples that the people had already encountered: the statues of Sulla and Pompey. Further, Caesar's equestrian statue on the *rostra* helped to introduce its audience to the most sophisticated *equus Caesaris* that was placed in the nearby Forum Iulium, establishing a connection between the tradition of the equestrian statue on the *rostra* and a simplified monumentalisation.[473]

Second, the solution to representing Caesar's new prerogatives was to combine the title *imperator* with a different iconography: the *lorica* in replace of the *toga picta*. This new combination symbolised the prerogative of Caesar to be both an *imperator* and a dictator. Further, whereas the equestrian statue, appropriately garbed with armour, represented Caesar's affinity with Alexander the Great, and showed the Hellenistic representation of his military prowess, the loricate statue was the personification of

[473] It is unlikely that the equestrian statue of Caesar on the *rostra* would not have had some sort of iconographic and epigraphic reference to the one in his Forum. It would have created confusion in delivering potentially conflicting messages, especially because of the close proximity of the statues. Further, it is unreasonable to think that Caesar's statue on the *rostra* was similar to Pompey's and Sulla's statues, because it was appropriate that there should have been a substantial difference (perhaps epigraphic?), consistent with the *honores* offered to the dictator.

Caesar's dictatorial *imperium*, which became a central feature of his public image when in 45 BC Caesar was entitled to use *imperator* as his *praenomen*.

The space plays an important role not only in defining the iconography of the statues, but in determining the choice of the inscriptions that were paired with them. Space, text and iconography work synergically to create and communicate a specific narrative. Space and iconography are clearly fundamental, but what must be emphasised is that the messages conveyed by the equestrian statue and the loricate statue would have been unintelligible if textual elements were not included to support the other two elements.

DEO INVICTO IN THE TEMPLE OF QUIRINUS

Cassius Dio reports a second series of honours that were dedicated by the Senate to Caesar after his victory at Munda on 17 March 45 BC:

> And they decreed at this time that an ivory statue of him, and later that a whole chariot, should appear in the procession at the games in the Circus, together with the statues of the gods. Another likeness they set up in the Temple of Quirinus with the inscription, 'To the Invincible God', and another on the Capitol beside the former kings of Rome.[474]

The news of the victory at Munda was delayed until 21 April so that it coincided with the celebration of the *Parilia*.[475] As well as celebrating the day on which the city of Rome was founded, the festival came to celebrate Caesar's victory, connecting the mythical past with contemporary events.[476] During the *pompa circensis* Caesar's statue (εἰκών) was

[474] Cass. Dio 43.45.3–4: καὶ τότε μὲν ἀνδριάντα αὐτοῦ ἐλεφάντινον, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἅρμα ὅλον ἐν ταῖς ἱπποδρομίαις μετὰ τῶν θείων ἀγαλμάτων πέμπεσθαι ἔγνωσαν. ἄλλην τέ τινα εἰκόνα ἐς τὸν τοῦ Κυρίνου ναὸν Θεῷ ἀνικήτῳ ἐπιγράψαντες, καὶ ἄλλην ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον παρὰ τοὺς βασιλεύσαντάς ποτε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἀνέθεσαν.

[475] The account of Weinstock 1971, 175 on the picture of Caesar as a new Romulus remains fundamental. For the character of the *Parilia* Weinstock 1971, 184–6, 188–97.

[476] Between the victory at Munda and the celebration of the *Parilia* thirty-fours days passed, suggesting that the news was 'strategically' delayed until the day before the celebration. See Gradel 2002, 68–9; Cadario 2006, 38; Koortbojian 2013, 86.

carried along with the *agalmata* of gods, and it was then placed in the Temple of Quirinus. An account of this is provided in Cicero's letters to Atticus, who sarcastically described Caesar as the 'fellow-lodger of Quirinus' (*contubernalis Quirini*), sharing the same temple with the god, and suggesting Caesar to be σύνναος θεός.[477] In a second *pompa* honouring Victory in July, in the procession preceding the *Ludi Victoriae Caesaris*, the image of Caesar was once more carried among the gods. This did not take place without significant criticism and demonstrated the irreversible direction of Caesar's self-presentation strategy, in which the relationship between Caesar and Romulus–Quirinus played a significant role.[478] The event was used by Cassius Dio to explain the loss of Caesar's popular recognition and assessed by Suetonius as being an excessive honour for a man.[479]

When these honours were granted to Caesar, he had not yet arrived in Rome. This detail is important for understanding how the statues with their inscriptions were dedicated. Carrying Caesar's ivory statue (ἀνδριάς), along with the ἀγάλματα of the gods in procession during the *Parilia*, was intended to portray Caesar as present at the ceremony. Using a statue to represent the presence of a real person had been done before; in another example, Sulla's statue and one of a lictor had been carried during his funeral. According to Appian, many people attending the *pompa funebris* were still afraid of Sulla; the statue of a lictor symbolised the power he held. Accordingly, many political enemies of Sulla watched the funeral procession and cried to show their public support even in

[477] 26 May 45 BC, Cic. Att. 13.28.3: tu hunc de pompa Quirini contubernalem his nostris moderatis epistulis laetaturum putas? Cf. the veiled criticism in Cicero's letter on 17 May 45 BC, Cic. Att. 12.45.2: de Caesare vicino scripseram ad te, quia cognoram ex tuis litteris. eum σύνναον Quirini malo quam Salutis. See also Cic. Att. 12.47.3, Caesar, who was 'living' in the Temple of Quirinus, was now a neighbour of Atticus, whose house was on Quirinal Hill. For σύνναος θεός Nock 1930, 1–62.
[478] Fishwick 1975, 628; 1987, 56–60.
[479] Cass. Dio 44.1–12; esp. 44.6.3; Suet. *Iul.* 76. Cf. Cic. *Phil.* 2.43.110.

front of his dead body.[480] A similar effect was achieved with Caesar's statue during the *Parilia*, symbolising him as present and celebrating his victory next to the gods, whose protection was granted to Caesar. He was then permanently memorialised, as he was by the monumentalisation in 46 BC, by the placing of the statue carried during the *pompa* in the Temple of Quirinus and the erection of the statues *inter reges* on the Capitoline.

The inscription on Caesar's statue in the Temple of Quirinus was ambiguously rendered with the formula *deo invicto* (Θεῷ ἀνικήτῳ). Two possible interpretations suggested are: the statue of Caesar was a dedication to Quirinus; or *deo invicto* refers to Caesar, and that his statue was closely associated with Quirinus, the deified Romulus.[481] Yet, the statue of Caesar was not an ἄγαλμα, a cult statue, but an εἰκών (*imago*) as Cassius Dio specifies, meaning that it was more likely a honorific statue.[482] The *deo invicto* inscription seems more to be part of the dedication of Caesar's statue to Quirinus. The first observation is that Cassius Dio, as for the statue of Caesar *hemitheus*, reports only the words *deo invicto*. It is possible that Caesar's inscription might have used a very

[480] App. *B Civ.* 1.106: 'loud cries of farewell were raised, first by the Senate, then by the knights, then by the soldiers, and finally by the plebeians. For some really longed for Sulla, but others were afraid of his army and his dead body, as they had been of himself when living.' See also Plut. *Sull.* 38.

[481] The debate on these two interpretations, and possible issues, is well summarised and discussed in Koortbojian 2013, 84–93. See also Zanker 2009, 292–3 for a spontaneous creation of a Romulean programme; *contra* Cadario 2006, esp. 31 and 57, who affirms that in placing his statue in the temple of Quirinus and *inter reges* on the Capitoline, (and following the Romulean example of the *statua et quadriga*), Caesar deliberately aimed to link himself with the Romulan tradition. That Caesar followed a 'Romulan programme' seems to be validated by the omen of Cicero with regard to Caesar's presence in the temple of Quirinus (*Att.* 12.45.2).

[482] The Greek word εἰκών corresponds precisely to the Latin *imago*, which is frequently used for honorific representation and portraits in public and private contexts. However, εἰκών in some cases was used in sacred context as meaning offerings to gods, such as the statue of Ptolemy I in the temple of Apollo at Miletus and also the εἰκών of Philip II in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. The Greek word ἀνδριάς means a statue or image of a man, whereas ἄγαλμα refers to *simulacrum* and *signum*. See Stewart 2003, 20–35 for a detailed analysis on the terminology used for statues, including a vast bibliography; Koortbojian 2013, 88. For the Greek terminology on statues see Price 1984, 176–9; Fishwick 1987, 21–3, for the specific case of εἰκών – ἀνδριάς – ἄγαλμα of Caesar's Θεῷ ἀνικήτῳ statue, Fishwick 1987, 56–60. The word *imago* (εἰκών) is used during the Empire to distinguish between the sacrifice relating to the cult of the emperor from the sacrifice relating to the *simulacra* of the gods. Plin. *Ep.* 10.96.5–6: 'cum praeeunte me deos appellarent et imagini tuae (Trajan)' and 'omnes et imaginem tuam deorumque simulacra venerati sunt et Christo male dixerunt.' On this aspect cf. Price 1988.

standard honorific dedication: name of the dedicator, filiation, title, verb (*dedit*, *vovit*) and the name of the honoured, in this case Quirinus in the dative case. However, it seems that only the element of novelty, which was the expression *deus invictus*, was recorded by Dio. However, even if this was the case, *deo invicto* unbalanced the meaning of the whole inscription, whose other words were somehow subordinated to the semantic weight of such a title. The grammar of this inscription has a fundamental role in shaping the message of the statue, as in the case of Caesar's *oikoumene* statue, and the structure of the inscription was intentionally used in that sense.

Dedications set up by communities in the third and second centuries BC used the dative case to mention the recipient. In this way, the honorific dedication shared its political weight between two subjects: the community and the individual. This epigraphic form, also well attested in the first century BC, was used with a similar intention to Caesar's inscriptions, not only to introduce new contents, but to test the response to it by using the dative case in the inscription and its sacred context to soften any potential criticism. What is certain is that the inscription intentionally omits part of its text, which is not only evident from Dio's passage, but also by the presence of three agents: the Senate, who voted the decree for the honour, Caesar who received it and Quirinus, the personification of Romulus.[483]

A typical dedication, if erected by Caesar, would contain his name, his title and the verb of the action, for example: *C. Iulius C. f. Caesar* / *Imp(erator) dict(ator) pontifex*

[483] For the origin of Quirinus: Varro, *Ling.* 5.73; Ov. *Fast.* 2.477–8. Cf. Enn. *Ann.* 1.99 with the prayer of Romulus to Quirinus suggesting there was a distinction between them, but Ennius may have also depicted Romulus' apotheosis in 1.105–8. See also Ver Eecke 2008, 382–8 on the problem with regard to distinguishing Quirinus before and after Caesar. Although the identification of Romulus as Quirinus is not clear in Ennius, it is important to note that Romulus was not perceived simply as a mortal man, but had a special status. For Quirinus' identification as Romulus, Koortbojian 2013, esp. 85–6. See Neel 2014, 113–18 for Caesar's association with Quirinus, rather than his identification with him, in terms of a new and better model, and interesting observations about Cicero's unsympathetic depiction of Romulus–Quirinus in his late work.

maximus / *donum dedit* (or *donavit*) */ Quirino deo invicto*. However, in our case the statue was voted by the Senate and the people of Rome to Caesar or to Quirinus on Caesar's behalf, complicating a possible reconstruction. In fact, a votive dedication is usually given by single subject, which can be a single person or even a collective group, such as a community or a city, to another subject: a god or goddess. In this case, the hypothetical inscription would begin with *ex senatus consulto (populique)* followed by the dative form C. *Iulio C. f. Caesari* and his titles, to finish with Quirino *deo invicto.*[484] Not only is this reconstruction very unlikely if it is compared with other both earlier and contemporary inscriptions, but it would also create enormous confusion and ambiguity for the audience because the recipients of the dedication are two people: the datives *Caesari* and *Quirino*.

The subjects involved were only two, Caesar and Quirinus, and the ambiguity of this honorific/votive statue works in favour of the Caesarean programme. The Capitoline statue of Caesar striding over the *oikoumene* (erected the year before) demonstrated that he had already attempted to push the boundaries of honorific practice to an unacceptable degree, risking loss of popular recognition, and so he took a step back, removing the accompanying inscription of 'demi-god', showing more humility to the people of Rome. A dedication such as the *oikoumene* on the Capitoline carried much more weight than the statue of Caesar in the Temple of Quirinus, shown by the concern to remove 'demi-god' from the statue on the Capitoline, whereas *deo invicto* was not contentious enough to consider removing it from the statue in the Temple of Quirinus.

Caesar was able to be more flexible with regard to the statue in the Temple of Quirinus because of its location, and the ambiguity of its dedication reflects this. This is even more evident if we compare the different reactions of the ancient sources: whereas

[484] See Koortbojian 2013, 88–91. Weinstock 1971, 175, who translates with *deo invicto*. see also Vogt 1953, 1141 and cf. Koch 1960, 32 (*deo victori* comparing it with a gemstone inscribed with *Veneri Victrici* / ᾽Αφροδείτῆ τῆ ἀνεικήτῳ *Aphrodite Aniketo*). Fishwick 1975, 627–8; 1987, 60 proposes a possible *Caesari Romulo* arguing that Dio might have misinterpreted the two images of Caesar and Quirinus.

the statue of Caesar as *contubernalis* of Quirinus was more of a mockery, the statue *inter reges* and the removal of the 'demi-god' inscription from it, together with the episode of the diadem placed at nighttime on the statue of Caesar in the *rostra* in early 44 BC, are far more significant. It has been suggested that the diadem was placed by flatterers of Caesar as a way of indicating they wished him to be addressed as king instead of dictator. His power was increasing, and he had sought to regain popular recognition by removing the inscription 'demi-god' from the statue on the Capitoline, although its position among other kings remained. Then, during the Lupercalia in February 44 BC, Mark Antony went up to Caesar as he watched from the *rostra* and offered him a laurel wreath, the symbol of kingship, a gesture that some in the crowd applauded. However, when it was rejected (ostensibly), there was a roar of approval, which demonstrated to Caesar that his being crowned did not have the support of the majority of the people. Exactly one month later, he was assassinated.[485] Koortbojian claims that *deo invicto*, if referring to Caesar, should not be taken literally. He asks 'why the people would have tolerated *deo*, but not *rex*'. Perhaps *deus* had little real meaning, and was understood merely as a metaphor or flattery?

What we have observed so far is the remarkable contribution that inscriptions made to self-presentation during the first century BC. Their use not only influenced the adoption of a specific iconography for monuments, but they formed the basis for its introduction into Roman culture; inscriptions provided the interpretative key to make the monuments' meanings intelligible. The new iconography, very much in line with Hellenistic artistic tradition, could efficiently exploit the ideology of the victory of single men, distinguished from their social group, during the first century BC. The cases of Sulla and Pompey show how their titles contained an indication of divine, superhuman qualities, and how their

[485] For the statues of Caesar on the *Rostra* Cass. Dio 44.4.5; Plut. *Brut.* 9.8, Cass. Dio 44.9.2 reports how the statue on the *Rostra* was adorned with a diadem, evoking the title of king that Caesar refused, or a real diadema following Plutarch (*Caes*. 61.4.).

self-presentation, reinforced by the use of such titles, normalised the expectation that the audience would understand their association with gods and, more specifically, with the virtues of the gods. Caesar's victory was the result of his invincibility, which was emphasised by the presence of his statue in the Temple of Quirinus that carried an inscription employing the use of ambiguity to dilute the symbolism represented by the statue being placed next to that of Quirinus;[486] Caesar had no wish to risk the loss of more popular recognition by identifying himself too closely with the divinised Romulus. The *deus invictus* title could not merely be downplayed as flattery; such a type of wording was expected for *imperatores*, but it could perhaps have been expressed in a more moderate way.[487] Another difference between *deus invictus* and *rex* relies on the divine dimension of *invictus*. This attribute cannot be compared to the human and political significance of *rex*, which, in fact, generated considerable disapproval.[488] The message of *deo invicto* was not criticised as much as the title of *rex* for two other reasons. First, there was the ambiguity of the inscription, which omitted the subject and verb of the action, referring only to a vague recipient.[489] If Caesar erased the inscription 'demi-god' from his statue on the Capitoline, he then seemed inclined to promote his message in a subtler and less problematic way on the statue placed in the Temple of Quirinus.

[486] See Cadario 2006, 48.
[487] For example, by leaving the allusion of Caesar as *deus Invictus* not to the epigraphic text, but solely to the spatial organisation of his statue within the Temple of Quirinus.
[488] Cf. with the statue of Caesar *inter reges*, which was also associated with Romulus and the other kings, but not with a divinised Romulus as in the Temple of Quirinus. Cass. Dio 44.12.3 is significant on this point, reporting how the statue of Brutus in the Temple of Jupiter was summoned to come back to life in order to overthrow the new king once more. The statue of Caesar was probably meant to represent himself as a Roman hero, yet its presence *inter reges* created the opposite effect – it was seen as a new king. See Cic. *Deiot.* 33–4; Suet. *Iul.* 76, 80; Cass. Dio 43.45.3–4. It is significant to compare this with the attitude of Caesar when he received the senators while he was sitting on the stairs of the Temple of Venus, a gesture that prompted criticism (Cass. Dio 44.8).
[489] The inscription on the statues of Caesar erected by Mark Antony on the *Rostra* in 44 BC had a formula in the dative, which refers to Caesar: *Parenti Optime Merito*, Cic. *Fam.* 12.3; Suet. *Iul*. 85. This formula might offer a comparison with the dative form used on the statue of Caesar in the Temple of Quirinus.

Second, the iconography of the Caesar statue is unknown. However, we have two feeble hints: a statue of Caesar was carried during the *pompa* among the gods; and the *deo invicto* inscription was placed on his statue in the Temple of Quirinus. When the *pompa* was celebrated Caesar was not present in Rome; however, to some extent, Caesar's statue confirmed his participation in the event to the spectators.[490] In other words, Caesar was personified by his statue carried during the *pompa*. If this hypothesis is correct, we could image the statue of Caesar, carried next to the other gods, as a *vir triumphalis* and, therefore, its likeliest iconography was that the statue was dressed in the *toga picta*. Not only was this one of the several honours granted to Caesar by the Senate, but also a reminder of his victory at Munda.[491] However, once the statue was placed in the Temple of Quirinus with the dedication *deo invicto*, a different kind of iconography from the *toga picta* is suggested: heroic nudity. This effectively reflects the wording of the inscription, at the same time supporting and completing the ambiguity of its message.[492]

Conclusion

Whatever the iconography of these statues was, by looking at their inscriptions, the concepts and messages promoted by these artworks can, to a certain extent, be understood by us. In fact, although we can hardly reconstruct the monuments of Caesar, we know, thanks to the language used in his inscriptions, that their iconography and style diverged significantly from the statuary of the first half of the first century BC. What is, however, similar, is the system used to introduce the new messages communicated by Caesar's self-presentation. For example, in a honorific statue, the word *consul* had a pivotal role in

[490] Cf. Cic. *Att.* 13.28.3. It seems that the statue carried during the *pompa* and the one placed in the temple of Quirinus were similar, if not identical statues.
[491] Cass. Dio 43.43.1; App. *B Civ.* 2.106. See Weinstock 1971, 103–11.
[492] Perhaps not different from the iconography used for the Caesar represented over the *oikoumene*.

establishing a strong connection between the honoured represented and the acquisition of the highest office of the Republic. But when the word *consul* was replaced by other words: *deus invictus, hemitheus*, *Imperator Caesar* (and not Caesar ... *imperator*), and they were combined in new stylistic choices, the message was still clear to the audience. The reason is not because the people of Rome were used to reading (or ready to read) these new words in the monumental landscape of Rome, or because they were Greek or Roman art connoisseurs; the clarity was prompted thanks to the people's knowledge on how to approach inscriptions and monuments as a whole picture. They knew the system for integrating inscriptions and monuments into a single narrative whose message was easily and logically arranged. The messages were not received without criticism, however, if they were perceived as awkward, as in the case of Caesar's *hemitheus*.

Caesar, however, moved between ambiguity and consistency in pushing new contents of his self-presentation by using the old, well-known system. The reason for this strategy might be seen in the possible rejection of his message, or his worrying about communicating his victory to the Senate and the people of Rome effectively.[493] However, I believe that the major difficulties of this communication consisted in integrating a new visual and textual language into the monumentalisation of Caesar's honours, a language whose content was unprecedented and, therefore, hard to understand in the cultural framework of Rome. The relationship between inscriptions and artworks was one of the most productive systems for introducing new figurative languages and contents, and it worked successfully because its structure was rooted deep in the Roman culture and customs. The difficulties in communication were overcome with the combination of visual and textual elements that interacted with the surrounding space. The use of the

[493] Here, I follow Cadario 2006, 26–7: 'l'ambiguità dell'interpretazione degli onori di Cesare, che più volte suscitarono dissenso mentre il dittatore era in vita, attesta anche una certa difficoltà di comunicazione da parte cesariana, consistente soprattutto nella definizione del ruolo del vincitore in rapporto alla repubblica, difficoltà che il dittatore non seppe o non volle risolvere, andando così incontro al suo destino'.

particular space to communicate the new contents of Caesar's monuments was crucial to establishing a dialogue with their audience, and to help in resolving communication issues. In fact, the audience were not only accustomed to a system in which inscriptions and artworks were combined, but were also accustomed to expecting these compositions to be displayed in certain spaces in Rome. In this case, the familiar place might have diminished possible interpretative issues that a language different from the established epigraphic tradition and paired with the new visual representation of Caesar's monuments might have presented the audience with.

CONCLUSION

The self-presentation agenda and visual programmes of powerful individuals from the first century BC was characterised by distinctive traits that were significantly different from previous centuries. The military victory was increasingly combined with the idea of political supremacy, which itself was no longer expressed by gentilitial groups but as the sole prerogative of individuals. The reason is that the only political distinction granted by the institutions of Rome, such as obtaining the consulship, was not always guaranteed to be successfully celebrated; especially during the first century BC, when the influence of political factions was uncontrolled and unstable. A military victory was a concrete fact that could support, along with a political claim, the status of a commander without risk of ambiguity.

The difficulties in monumentalising the ideology of victory, which expressed the military and political success of single individuals, was enhanced by the backdrop of the turbulent events in Rome during the first century BC, above all the first civil war fought in. In the third and second centuries BC, the ideology of victory was not less important, to the extent that granting a triumph was perceived almost as more outstanding than holding

the consulship. However, the celebration of a triumph was framed and organised within the political institution of Rome. In the first century BC, Sulla, Pompey and Caesar celebrated their respective triumphs in exceptional fashion, recorded by the ancient sources, during which their abilities and successes were celebrated as unique and completely centred on their own person. The monumentalisation of their triumphs and their exceptional status needed, on the one hand, to be represented in a new way to reflect the individuals' uniqueness and preferences. On the other hand, their monumentalisation needed to be clearly expressed to communicate their message to the audience.

At first glance, it might seem problematic to communicate something new to an unprepared audience. In fact, the response was not always positive and devoid of criticism. The system used to introduce a new figurative art, more suitable for expressing the representations of such powerful individuals, was to combine inscriptions in a different and strange iconography and style, often based on Hellenistic art and not used in honorific self-presentation until this time. The inscriptions consisted of familiar Latin words that could 'translate' the new figurative language into Roman terms. This system was already known in the third and second centuries BC, but the content of Sulla's, Pompey's and Caesar's inscriptions had a deep impact on the perception of the new figurative language they introduced.

Sulla used *imperator iterum* to redirect attention from his political legitimation to his military deeds, whose success was the consequence of his personal *felicitas*. He framed his self-presentation agenda by reshaping the topography of Rome's political heart, damaged by the civil war, to create a perfect stage on which to display his honorary monuments. Pompey followed the same path. He used the same epigraphic expedient by using *imperator* and his title of *Magnus* to represent his victory over the *oikoumene*, represented with a spectacular composition erected in a newly built space, and following a well-known tradition of erecting semi-public complexes (for example, Nobilior's

Temple of Hercules Musarum or Metellus' portico). Caesar used the relationship between art and text to create a bold message that was not always positively accepted but that established a paradigm used during the Empire. He directly presented himself as connected with a divine dimension, not only as holder of exceptional qualities (*hemitheus, deus invictus*), but also using ambiguity to soften any possible criticism, for example, by using *deo invicto* in the dative, or by using *Imperator Caesar* instead of *Caesar ... imperator*, a slightly visual difference in text, which, however, was of enormous political significance. With the *loricata* statue, Caesar used *imperator* in a new way that allowed him to justify the introduction of a new iconography inside the *pomerium*. He rearranged the space in Rome to emphasise his self-presentation agenda, not only by controlling the Capitoline, as did Sulla, but by building his own semi-public space, as did Pompey.

The self-presentation programme of these powerful men used a new figurative language that was created by the combination of art and text using a specific syntactic system that the people of Rome were already familiar with, since it had been widely used in the past. In this system it was necessary only to replace the iconography and the contents of inscriptions to create a new narrative that would introduce new and intelligible messages to their audience. The use of space made the compositions more intelligible and mediated the shift towards a new figurative language by using the same spaces that had been used before for the self-presentation strategy of the *nobilitas*. Like the syntactic system, the erection of monuments in specific spaces in Rome established a continuity with the previous honorific tradition. Yet, by replacing their content, but maintaining their same spatial arrangement, the effect was to create a new narrative that was intelligible to its audience.

CONCLUSION

In this project, I have analysed how monuments and inscriptions in republican Rome were interconnected and strongly bound as an integral whole. The monuments and the inscriptions were dependent on each other, and their combination created clear and intelligible messages for their audience. A preliminary observation is that the combination of art and text could only be 'activated' by the audience itself, who, by reading and looking at the inscribed monuments, merged and rebuilt their two narratives into a logical and consistent whole.

In general, monuments were erected because of their ability to manifest the personal achievements and political power of their dedicators. Hölscher expressed an analogy between monuments and weapons to demonstrate the strong results and reactions monuments could achieve. In fact, monuments inevitably prompted a reaction from their audience, whether viewers accepted monuments' messages or not. However, one of the most interesting questions with regard to these monuments and the reaction of the people in looking at them is *how* the audience understood their messages. Inscriptions help in this respect, because they do not function as captions simply tagging their dedicators' names on the monuments, but rather as constitutive elements of the whole narrative.

This study restores inscriptions as an integral part of monuments that work alongside the artwork to form and deliver specific messages which are easy to understand thanks to the simplicity of the language. Without inscriptions, a statue would be an exquisite artwork to admire, leaving to the audience the task of its interpretation. The key to promoting personal power and achievements through monuments was to use a very clear and simple communication system that eradicated any chance of potential confusion. Following Hölscher's analogy, monuments are not simply weapons, but are

blunt weapons, and only by pairing them with inscriptions is their sharpness restored. In fact, inscriptions narrow down the meaning of a monument, simplifying its content and guiding the audience in understanding its message. By inscribing the word *consul* on a spoil of war rededicated in Rome, its audience understood that this precious artwork was the prize for the battle fought and won by a commander, whose achievements in correctly fulfilling his role as Rome's supreme magistrate was thus emphasised.

My investigation into the mechanics of interaction between monuments and inscriptions is based on the development of a methodology that uses linguistic tools, as shown in Part I. With regard to inscriptions attached to dedications of spoils, there is always a missing element in their syntax: the direct object. It is absent only from the text because it is, in fact, present visually. The artwork or object plundered plays the role of the accusative in its inscription: a visual accusative, in fact. The inclusion of the artwork as the visual accusative of the sentence allows the audience to rebuild the meaning of the sentence. Once the narrative is restored, the message of a dedicator can reach its full potential through the restoration of the monument's communicative power. With my syntactic approach, the textuality of inscriptions and the visuality of artworks, regardless of their different natures, can, thus, be analysed with a single and powerful tool.

All the inscriptions encountered were textually incomplete and they present small differences in their content; this is because all dedicators had their own political agendas, and their self-presentation strategies were based on their personal life, military and political achievements, lineage, offices held, and so on. The reintegration of their incomplete text was easily and intuitively performed by the audience, because it was only necessary to have a basic knowledge of Latin and to literally just look at the artwork to see the missing direct object. The integration process was vital for remembering the events behind the erection of inscribed monuments, and it demonstrates how the audience were a strong, active agent in the construction of the collective memory, especially during

ceremonies such as triumphs or funeral processions, whose routes passed near memorial landmarks of Rome that were overcrowded with inscribed monuments.

One of the most remarkable contributions of my syntactic model is that it emphasises the importance of inscriptions for determining the style and iconography for honorific statues. The language of images in Roman art, following Hölscher's analysis, is formed by categories of ideal qualities, which were codified through Greek stylistic forms and, thus, adopted by Roman art. This research demonstrated that the codification of ideal values into concrete form did not happen arbitrarily, but was strongly influenced by the language of inscriptions to guide the audience in identifying which ideal values from the Roman cultural system were selected and then implemented in a specific composition.

What emerges from developing this syntactic model to approach inscribed monuments is that inscriptions *are part* of the monuments. As such, a logical deduction is that we must reasses those monuments of the Roman republic for which only inscribed bases survived not as lost, but as fragments that can be restored into a new whole. The reason is not only the syntactic connections that existed between the artwork dedicated and its inscription, but also the information that we can retrieve about the artwork from its inscription.

The syntactic model proposed has been tested with a wide range of examples drawn from the third and second centuries BC in Rome, to demonstrate its versatile application. The dedications set by commanders proved how the combination of monuments and inscriptions played a fundamental role in their political competition. Inscriptions for monuments erected as spoils of war followed a similar pattern in their textual arrangement. This created a system of honour familiar to the audience, thanks to its constant repetition, and easy for them to understand, especially because the system employed assigned a grammatical role to the artworks plundered, which became the direct

objects of the inscriptions' sentences. What is interesting to observe is the importance of the different textual strategies adopted by individuals in shaping the messages of their political achievements through votive dedications in similar contexts.

In that competition, what distinguished a commander from others was obviously the magnitude of his military victory, which had to be memorialised and monumentalised to maximise the resonance of its political implications. In this respect, the statuary group of Fabius Maximus and his Lysippean Heracles overshadowed the dedication of his political opponent, the dictator Minucius Rufus. However, the most interesting aspect here is how they competed by using similar 'weapons' in the same honorific system embodied by art and text, the artworks only being differentiated from each other by their quality.

Not only individuals, but also the Senate and the people had roles in constructing this honorific system. The Senate could grant triumphs to Roman commanders, and this concession could also be used to limit the power of individuals (e.g. the triumph granted to Metellus Numidicus to limit Marius' success). By granting a triumph, the Senate indirectly secured the memorialisation and monumentalisation of Roman commanders, who could at that point exploit the combination of artworks and inscriptions to set their self-presentation strategies.

Honorific dedications could also be erected by the people to celebrate individuals, such as the statue of Cato the Elder in the Temple of Salus in Rome and the statues of Anicius in Praeneste. In this case, the combination of inscriptions and monuments diverged from self-presentation dedications, not in their arrangement and relationship, which used the same system, but rather in their contents. Once the combination of the visual elements with their inscriptions was completed, the restored narrative celebrated not only these individuals as honoured members of their community, but especially their

exceptional actions as instances of ideal values that were shared among the same community and proposed as a model to follow.

For Romans, and especially for distinguished commanders, death was not the end of their political existence, but a passage into another dimension of the political competition that was used by the entire family of the deceased for their own advancement. In this sense, it is correct to talk about funerary strategies in monuments that were set up by family members to boost their own political careers. *Monumenta gentium* were paired with inscriptions that best represented their members, for example, the sum of the consulships obtained by the Claudi Marcellii, and they were placed close to spaces that had meaning for the families' personal histories, such as near to the Temple of Honos and Virtus for the Claudii Marcelli, or close to the Temple of Tempestates for the Cornelii Scipiones. These monumental landscapes were, in fact, *inscribed* monumental landscapes. Inscriptions guided viewers in engaging with this kind of funerary complex and in understanding not only who the most prestigious previous family members and their deeds had been, but also who the living members actually were.

In addition, inscriptions show another of their polyvalent function in relationship to monumentalisation: inscriptions not only guided their viewers in understanding the meaning of monuments through the visual–textual integration in the same sentence, but also gave an indication as to *how* monuments and large complexes were consumed. Lucius Mummius' massive loot was spread throughout Rome, decorating its spaces and even loaned to other Roman commanders. The repeated inscriptions celebrated Mummius' deeds and were found everywhere. Viewers would constantly find this information by frequenting the most prominent places in Rome (and even spaces controlled by other commanders) and be constantly reminded of Mummius' worth.

Metellus Macedonicus' portico and temples demonstrate how the absence of any inscription does not undermine the function of the composition. Although no inscription

was placed, the choice seems to be a strategy to emphasise the visual experience of viewers who entered into the highly controlled space of his portico. By looking around and searching for inscriptions, as an audience accustomed to the epigraphic landscape of Rome, they would have found, instead, a spectacular monumental landscape, decorated by the Granikos Monument and other exquisite spoils of war, placed around the Temple of Jupiter Stator and Juno Regina that dominated the centre of the area. The relationship between monuments and inscriptions could, thus, create a pathway along which the audience were encouraged to move to consume the specific space, and which stimulated cognitive process through which people learned about events and their protagonists.

The political and military events that Rome faced at the end of the second century BC had a significant impact on the way in which Roman commanders celebrated their successes. The crises caused by the Cimbrian War and the Jugurthine War unbalanced the power relations between the Roman commanders and the institutions of the Republic. Exceptional commands were granted to Marius directly by the people, and the reiteration of his consulship was a breach of established practice. Marius' victories were celebrated in Rome, but other ambitious Roman commanders, such as Catulus and Sulla, attempted (and to some extent succeeded) to secure the victories for themselves.

With the first civil war fought in Rome, both the battle of monuments and the way the commanders' power was celebrated radically changed from previous centuries, when the enemies of Rome were only external. Sulla's political agenda relied on the theme of victory in a new way as compared to previously. The political legitimation of his personal power was monumentalised as before, by using inscribed monuments. The honorific system well known to the people remained unchanged; what did change was the content of the system. Sulla's victory was promoted by focusing both on his exceptional abilities as commander by using *imperator* (*iterum*) on his inscriptions, and on his divine favour by using the agnomen *Felix* (and *Epaphroditos* in Greece). Sulla's use of different

epigraphic lexicon signified the change of content. These inscriptions, because of their linguistic nature, created new, yet intelligible messages for the audience that were conveyed by being attached to their respective monuments.

Pompey's monumentalisation followed the same path that Sulla laid out, using the theme of victory achieved through exceptional military skills (*imperator* (*iterum*)) and extraordinary qualities (*divina virtus*, *Magnus*) to present his personal power and to establish a direct connection (and no more an allusion as with Metellus Macedonicus and the Granikos Monument) to Alexander the Great. The introduction of this kind of epigraphic lexicon in the monumental landscape of Rome was accompanied by renewed visual choices that found a valid model in the Hellenistic formal language.

The analysis of Caesar's monumentalisation demonstrates how the relationship between monuments and inscriptions became fundamental to the task of introducing new messages in relation to his self-presentation strategy and for making them intelligible to the Roman audiences. However, most importantly, the inscription on the statue of Caesar that depicts him striding over the *oikoumene* included a certain iconographic choice, the disruptive effect of which necessitated the removal of the inscription. What is most important to note here is that it was not the statue itself that created such trouble for the audience. The statue was probably a heroic nude statue of the dictator of the foot-rise type, a strong image and unprecedented in Rome; but even so, it was allowed to remain. The element that triggered the criticism was the word added to it: *hemitheus*.

Caesar's monuments pushed the boundaries of the relationship between monuments and inscriptions almost to an extent that he was 'testing the water' to see how far he could go. The ambiguity displayed by some of his statues, such as the one in the Temple of Quirinus, relied on the use of inscriptions, rather than on their iconography. The title of *imperator* paired with Caesar changed the meaning, no longer a title but part of his name. This might also have affected the visual self-presentation and, in fact, we know about his

statue erected in his forum wearing a cuirass, despite it being situated in the *pomerium*: a sign of Caesar's new prerogatives and dictatorship. In addition, Caesar undisputedly identified himself with Alexander the Great: he set up the statue of the Greek general in his forum with the head of Alexander the Great replaced with his own. This was certainly no allusion.

From all the observations that have been put forward across the whole project, and which are summarised in this conclusion, an important insight emerges. The system of honour used by dedicators and the people of Rome relied on the strength of two powerful communication systems: language and visual art. Their combination was at the core of this system of honour and it required the active participation of the audience to extrapolate the messages being disseminated.

The syntactic approach I developed produced a model of how such mechanics worked. This model demonstrated how the combination between monuments and inscriptions effectively responded to the need to introduce new content in Roman figurative art, especially from the beginning of the first century BC, when individuals wanted to monumentalise their new powers and prerogatives. However, the mere adoption of new stylistic and iconographic choices could not fulfil the needs of ambitious individuals, because they may have created potential confusion for an audience not accustomed to a different figurative language. However, by using inscriptions in combination with the visual elements of the monuments, not only did the monuments' messages became clear, but dedicators were also relying on an honorific system that the people know how to approach. Whether or not inscriptions and artworks had a different language, by using the same system developed over centuries, there was no risk of misunderstanding their messages. At this juncture, the point in question was whether or not to accept their political significance, as in the case of Caesar's *oikoumene* statue on the Capitoline.

The scope of this work was limited to rethinking monuments and inscriptions as part of a same set that offered a new window on the way monumentalisation in Rome was conceived and organised. However, from this analysis, new thoughts emerge on the function of the space in which these compositions were placed; it also played a fundamental role. Not only did Roman commanders use a system of honour familiar to the audience, but they selected specific places in Rome where it was expected these monuments would be found. Space played a crucial role in strengthening the communicative power of inscribed monuments to the point that Sulla, Pompey and Caesar reorganised key spaces in Rome not only according to their own political agenda but also to reinforce their monumentalization, which was thus organised with these controlled spaces as its setting.

Monuments and inscriptions have much more to offer when they engage together as a unique set, and the syntactic approach I developed offers just one of the possible models that can be constructed to studying them. In this sense, ultimately, my approach demonstrated that it is possible to collect information about monuments that are completely lost by looking at their inscriptions, and vice versa. Overall, its applicability can go beyond republican Rome and be be extended to other Roman cities. This approach is highly versatile, and can offer a model for engaging with other periods in the history of Roman art, as long as due precautions are taken, and cultural and contextual differences are factored in.

APPENDIX

This appendix collects a range of inscriptions without intending to provide a comprehensive collection of documentation. I have not attempted to treat all examples, nor to treat all in the same detail, but to expand on questions of relevance to this dissertation. The analysis of the next five examples aims to support with extra details their treatment in the main text. Each entry contains: the title with a brief description of the object investigated, the inscription's text with its translation, the commentary, the date or the period range (in the case that the date is unknown), the present location, the editions of the different *corpora*, the relevant bibliography and the picture(s). The size, if the inscription is documented, is indicated by the height (H), the width (W), the thickness (T) and the character's size (CS); the values are in centimetres (cm).

1. Inscribed base with a dedication of an object taken by M. Claudius Marcellus from the loot of Enna, conquered in 214 BC

M(arcus) Claudius M(arci) f(ilius)
consol
Hinnad cepit

Marcus Claudius (Marcellus), son of Marcus, consul, took from Enna

COMMENT: The inscription and donation come from the conquest of Enna in 214 BC by M. Claudius Marcellus, *consul quinquies*, conqueror of Syracuse and victorious at Clastidium in 222 BC. On the episode see Livy 24.39, in which he gave a dramatic narration of the conquest of Enna. The inscription, no longer existing, was discovered in S. Pietro in Vincoli on the Esquiline Hill. It is noteworthy that the collocation of such dedication, as other loot from Syracuse, could be placed in other locations than the temple of *Honos* and *Virtus* (*aliis in locis* - Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.121). The word *Hinnad* is an ablative of separation, with the Latin archaic ending in *–ad*. The use of geminate consonant *–nn–* seems to oppose the archaism form suggested by *–ad*, showing a 'modern' use of the double consonant, absent in the archaic inscriptions. The tradition ascribed the Latin gemination starting from the time of Ennius (Festus 374 Lindsay). It has been argued (Degrassi 1957-1963 I 167-8; 1969, 169-70; Prag 2006, 734; Wallace 2011, 18; Tribulato 2012, 303) that the word *Hinnad* has Greek origin, as it is the transcription of Ἔννα.
DATE: 211 BC.
PROVENANCE: Esquiline, Rome.
PRESENT LOCATION: Lost.
EDITIONS: *CIL* I^2 00608 (p. 918); *CIL* VI 01281 (p. 3134, 3799, 4669); *ILLRP* 295; *ILS* 0012.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Cadario 2005; Celani 1998, 44; Pape 1975, 7. For the Greek transcription of *Hinnad*: Degrassi 1957-1963 I 167-8; 1969, 169-70; Prag 2006, 734; Wallace 2011, 18; Tribulato 2012, 303.

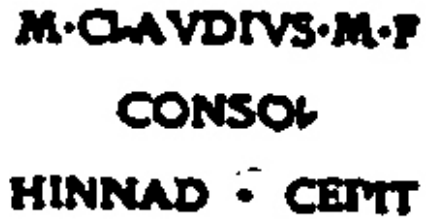

Fig. 1.1. Draft of the inscription as recorded in CIL I^2 608.

2. **Inscribed base with a dedication by M. Claudius Marcellus to Mars**

Martei
[M(arcus)] Claudius M(arci)[f(ilius)]
consol ded[it] - [[vov[it]]]

To Mars, Marcus Claudius (Marcellus), son of Marcus, consul, gave [(vowed)]

COMMENT: The inscription and donation come from the conquest of Enna in 214 BC by M. Claudius Marcellus (Cf. my No.1) The inscription was found outside Porta Capena suggesting that its original collocation was the temple of Mars. This temple is well attested by literary sources: *in Appia via extra urbem* by Livy 22.1.12; Serv. *ad Aen.* 1.292. and *extra portam Capenam* Livy 7.23.3; Ov. Fast. 6.191-2; Paul. Fest. 115 L. The temple of Mars is also mentioned in the *Notitia Urbis* as collocated in the Region I along with the temple of Minerva and Tempestates: *Aedem Martis, et Minervae et Tempestatis.* The original verb of the inscriptions was *vovit* (vowed), which shows that the dedication was originally a vow taken by the general before his victory. With the fulfilment of the vow, the word *vovit* was not erased in order to leave the place for *dedit* (gave). This choice emphasises Marcellus' intention to show both the two temporal actions: taking the vow before and fulfilling the vow after his victory with the use of *dedit*. This strategy might have suggested to the audience Marcellus' *pietas* and his relationship with Mars (Plut. *Marc.* 1.1). It is noteworthy to mention that the *trasvectio equitum*, the parade of *iuventus* of Roman *equites*, started from the temple of Mars (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom* 6.13.4; Cf. Aur. Vict. *De vir. ill.* 32.2). This procession was, if not instituted, certainly revised and innovated by the censor Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus in 304 BC (Livy 9.46.15; Val. Max 2.2.9; Aur. Vict. *De vir. ill.* 32.2). The victory of Marcellus at Clastidium was, according to Plutarch (*Marc.* 6-7), one of the greatest Roman cavalry victories. Both Marcellus' renovation and dedication of the temple of *Honos* (and *Virtus*), originally built by a member of the *gens Fabia* (Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus?), and the dedication placed in the temple of Mars, from which the *trasvectio equitum* started might be framed in the political-cultural competition specifically between Marcellus and Q. Fabius Maximus. The appropriation and refunctionalization of these *lieux de mémoire* as well as the Roman ritual, contribute to reignite the cultural (and political) battle between the *nobilitas*. Not

surprisingly, greater attention had been paid to the political dimension of the temples of *Honos* (built by Q. Fabius Verrucosus) and the temple of Mars, (backdrop of the *trasvectio equitum* reorganised by Q. Fabius Rullianus), not only for their religious and symbolic values but also as a political focus of M. Claudius Marcellus' agency. The resulting of Marcellus' manipulation aimed to overlap and extend his political sphere of influence over the Fabian's.
DATE: 211 BC.
MEASURES: (H) 26.5 (W) 41 (T) 28 (CS) 5.5-7.5.
MATERIAL AND OBJECT: Stone, tufa.
PROVENANCE: outside Porta Capena, Rome.
PRESENT LOCATION: Naples National Archaeological Museum, Inv. 2595, Naples.
EDITIONS: *CIL* I^2 00609 (p. 918); *CIL* VI 00474 (p. 3005, 3757); *CIL* VI 30774; *ILLRP* 218; *ILS* 0013; *ILS* 3139; *LTRU* – Suburbium 4, 45; *SupplIt Imagines* – Roma IV, 4173.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: For the discussion on the location of the temple of Mars, see Ziolkowsky 1992, 162-4. For the *trasvectio equitum* McDonnell 2006 with a wide bibliography and debate, (see especially p. 187-9; see also 216-7 for the 'strengthening' role of this inscription with the *transvectio equitum* and the temple of Honos and Virtus). On the relationship between Marcellus and Mars Cadario 2005, 156 with bibliography.

Fig. 2.1. Dedication to Mars by Marcellus with 'ded(it)'. (Gettyimages.com).

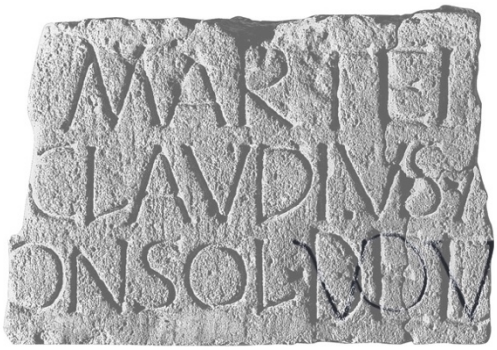

Fig. 2.2. Dedication to Mars by Marcellus showing the original 'vov(it)' with my marks. (Gettyimages.com).

3. **Inscribed base with a dedication by M. Minucius Rufus to Hercules**

Hercolei
sacrom
M(arcus) Minuci(us) C(ai) f(ilius)
dictator vov / it

To Hercules, Marcus Minucius (Rufus), son of Gaius, dictator, gave as a sacred item

COMMENT: The inscription and donation refer to the accomplishment of a vow to Hercules by M. Minucius Rufus after his victory against Hannibal at Gerconium in 217 BC. The inscription suggests that the *magister equitum* M. Minucius Rufus became *de facto* a (co-)dictator, with his political rival Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus Cunctator, who was already dictator (Cf. App. *Hann.* 12*;* Polyb. 3.90.6, 92.4, 94.8 Livy 22.12.11-2, 14.1-15; Plut. *Fab*. 5.5*)*. Through a plebiscite, the *lex Metilia de aequando magistri equitum et dicatoris iure* was approved giving to Minucius the same prerogative (*rei gerundae causa*) of a dictator (Livy 22.25.1-16; Polyb. 3.103.1-4; Dio Cass. 57.16; Zonar. 8.26; App. *Hann.* 12; Plut. *Fab.* 8.4, 9.1; Nep. *Hann.* 5; Val. Max. 3.8.2, 5.2.4; Aur. Vict. *De vir. ill.* 43.3). The official formalization of Minucius' dictatorship is not plausible as, for example, in the *Fasti* only Q. Fabius Maximus is recorded as dictator for the 217 BC. (Cf. *Inscr. Ital*. XIII, 1, 44-45) with the problematic definition: *interregni caus(sa)* (Mazzotta 2013). The inscription is carved on the upper part of the base (ca. 94-62 cm). The word *Hercolei* shows the old use of *o* and the dative ending with *–ei* instead of (*–ī*) typical at that time (Cf. with my No.2: *Martei*). The word *sacrom* is written with an archaism form: the neutral ending in *–om* for (*–um*) (Clackson 2007, 90-182 with wide bibliography).
On the right side the two letters (*–it*) complete the verb *vov* placed at the centre (*vov-it*).
On the left side of the base there is another inscription: *L · I · XXVI* with uncertain identification, maybe used to indicate the altar's position by the stone-cutter.
DATE: 217 BC.
MEASURES: (H) 96 x (W) 70 x (T) 69 (CS) 8-8.5.
MATERIAL AND OBJECT: The stone base is in peperino tufa. The base has, on its upper surface, two foot-holes cut stone which suggest that they were anchor points for the object dedicated: in this case, a statue. The subject is unknown, but Gordon (1983, 82-3) speculated that this is a statue of Hercules.[494]
The *gens Minucia* seems to be devoted to Hercules cult, which was connected to the area outside Porta Trigemina were the *frumentationes* took place by L. Minucius in the fifth century. BC. (Zevi 1993). It is worth mentioning the meaningful connection between the site of *Porticus Minucia frumentaria* and the temple of Hercules Custos (Cf. *tessera* inscribed on one side with *minuciae* and with an image of Hercules on the other (Rostovzev 1903, No. 337; Nicolet 1976, 695-716; Zevi 1993, 680-1. Cf. *Hist. Aug. Comm.* 16.5.1: *Herculis signum aeneum per plures dies sudavit in Minicia*). For the

[494] The right foot-hole cut stands slightly behind the left one, which conversely is advanced and slightly widened. The foot-holes' disposition might suggests that the statue can be the 'raised foot' type adopted for (semi)heroic nudity, widely used in the Greek mythological imagery. A curious example by the Andokides Painter (530 BC) shows on a neck amphora Hercules himself in a 'raised foot' posture playing a *kithara* to Athena (Fig. 3.2. Cf. Beazley 1956, 256, n. 16; Boardman 1974, 118, fig. 165). Another plausible interpretation could be the Hercules playing the lyre, which can be reconstructed by *RRC* 410/1. In the coin minted in 66 BC by Q. Pomponius Musa (Fig. 3.3), Hercules showing the right leg slightly widened and downward from the left one, which is the same typology used by Nobilior as dedications to Hercules Musarum (cf. no. 5).

location of the temple of Hercules Custos: Ov. *Fast. 6.209-212;* cf. Ziolkowski 1992, 50-6; La Rocca 1987-1988, 265-292; Viscogliosi 1996, 13-14 (*LTUR*, III).
PROVENANCE: found in 1862 in Campo Verano, nearby S. Lorenzo outside the wall, Rome.
PRESENT LOCATION: Capitoline Museum, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Braccio Nuovo, Sala I, NCE 2901, Rome.
EDITIONS: *CIL* I^2 00607 (p. 918); *CIL* VI 00284 (p. 3004, 3756); *ILLRP* 118; *ILS* 0011; *AE* 1991, 00211a; *SupplIt Imagines* – Roma I, 0135.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: On the plebiscite Brennan 2000, 44-5; Vervaet 2007, 197-232. For the debate on the different literary traditions addressing the events, and for a complete bibliography see Bellomo 2015. For a general overview on the dictatorship see Cornell 2015, 101-25; Drogula 2015 161-80.

Fig.3.1. Dedication to Hercules by Minucius, with a detail of one side of the stone (Wikimedia.org).

Fig. 3.2. Neck amphora by Andokides Painter (530-525 BC): Hercules playing a kithara to Athena. (Boardman 1974).

Fig. 3.3. *RRC* 410/1 verso of Q. Pomponius Musa's coin (66 BC) Hercules playing lyre. (Crawford 1974).

4. Inscribed base with dedication by L. Quinctius Flamininus to Fortuna Primigenia

[L. Quinctius L(uci) f(ilius) Le]ucado cepit
[eidem conso]l dedit

Lucius Quinctius, son of Lucius, took from Leucadus, gave as consul

COMMENT: Lucius Quinctius Flamininus' dedication to Fortuna Primigenia shows the uninterrupted sphere of influence of the *Quinctii* in Praeneste from the time of Titus Quinctius Cincinnatus Capitolinus. Cincinnatus defeated Praeneste during his dictatorship in 380 BC and dedicated a statue of *Iuppiter Imperator* taken from Praeneste on the Capitoline Hill (Livy 6.29.8) or a golden crown (cf. Festus 398 Lindsay). For this episode, see Torelli 1989, 11-13; Cadario 1995, 84-5. Cincinnatus obtained from Praeneste a *deditio* (Livy 6.28-29; Diod. 15.47.8; Dion. Hal. 14.5; Eutr. 2.2; Oros. 2.3.5), and the city probably became a *cliens* of the dictator (Cic. *Off.* 1.11.35; For other cases of *deditio in fidem*: Val. Max. 4.3.6 for C. Fabricius Licinus, consul in 282 BC; Livy 25.29 and 26.32 on the more famous case of Marcellus and Syracuse). For the heredity of *clientelae*, see Badian 1958, 7-20; Harmand 1959, 13-30. The dedication to Praeneste reinforced Lucius' relationship with the city which was probably involved in the recruitments commissioned by Lucius (Livy 35.41.4-7). The relationship between the *Quincti* and Fortuna is attested also from a dedication carved on an altar dedicated probably by T. Quinctius Flamininus consul in 123 BC: *CIL* I^2 *656, CIL VI 30870, ILLRP 95: Fortuna[(e) - - -] / sac[(rum) - - -] / T. Quincti[- - - de] / Senati sente[ntiae - - -].*
The language used has similarities with the group of inscriptions belonging to generals between the end of third century and the second century BC for example with Marcellus' inscriptions (Cf. No. 1, No. 2): the ablative of separation and it position before the verb *cepit*.
DATE: 192 BC.
MEASURES: (H) 25.30 (W) 57.50 (T) 00 (CS) 4-4.2.
MATERIAL AND OBJECT: Molded base in limestone composed by an abacus placed over a *cyma reversa*. The shape has significant similarities with archaic sacred altars (Cf. Sanctaury of the Thirteen Altars in *Lavinium*) and coeval sacred podiums and altars: e.g. the one dedicated by Postumius Albinus to *Verminus* in 175 BC (*CIL* I^2 0804), and the altar that he restored (*reficiundam curavit*) in front of the Temple C in the sacred area of Largo

Argentina (*CIL* I^2 2711); the altar inscribed with a dedication to Mars (*Martei*) in the sacred area of Sora between 171 and 130 BC (Gallina Zevi 1978, 64-8).
Through the integration of the missing words it is possible to calculate that the full width of the base is 123 cm. The object dedicated is unknown.[495]
PROVENANCE: nearby via del Borgo in Palestrina, Rome.
PRESENT LOCATION: Staatlichen Museenm, Antikenabteilung, Inv. 1519, Berlin.
EDITIONS: *CIL* I^2 0613 (p. 918); *CIL* XIV 02935; *EphEp* 09 (p. 432); *ILLRP* 321; *SupplIt Imagines* – Latium I, 0764; *AE* 2010, 0255.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Pape 1975, 9 and 210; Celani 1998, 48-51; Arata 2005, 33; Agnoli 2010; Demma 2011, 3-57.

Fig. 4.1. Base with dedication by L. Quinctius Flamininus. (Demma 2011).

[495] During the excavation in 2004 in Piazza Regina Margherita, a female torso was found. Agnoli 2010, 263-92 identified the statue as the Aphrodite by the Messenian sculptor Damophon. Through a decree we know that Damophon was honoured with the proxeny and a bronze statue by the Leukadians for his construction of the statue of Aphrodite *Limenis* (protector of navigations) in the temple of the goddess in Leukas. (*IG* IX² 1, 4, 1475; *SEG* 51 446; Cf. Pollitt 1995, 174-6). This might suggest that Lucius, as commander of the Roman fleet between 198 and 194 BC, decided to take specifically this statue from the temple, which evokes also a meaningful connection between his family and the founder of the temple of Aphrodite in Leukas: Aeneas (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.50; Serv. Dan. *Aen.* 3.279; Vanotti 1995, 156-8). The more recent study of Demma (2011) supports convincingly this hypothesis, through a detailed analysis of the relationship between the *Quinctii*, Praeneste and Aeneas. Furthermore, Plutarch (*Flam.* 12.6-7) reports that Titus Quinctius Flamininus' inscription, dedicated along with a golden crown and a silver shield to Apollo and the Dioscuri in Delphi, addresses him as Αἰνεάδας Τίτος, which highly emphasises his association with Aeneas (See Demma 2011, 51-4).

Fig. 4.2. Female torso found during the excavation in Palestrina (Demma 2011).

5. **Inscribed base with dedication by M. Fulvius Nobilior in Rome**

M(arcus) Folvius M(arci) f(ilius)
Ser(vi) n(epos) Nobilior
co(n)s(ul) Ambracia
cepit

Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, son of Marcus, grandson of Servius, consul, took from Ambracia

COMMENT: After the victory against the Aetolians and the conquest of Ambracia, situated on the cost of the Epirus, by the consul M. Fulvius Nobilior in 189 B.C., he celebrated a magnificent triumph two years later (Livy 39.5.13) as censor, not without trouble (Livy 39.5.6). Following his victory, between 189 and 187 BC, Nobilior erected the temple of Hercules Musarum in the Circus Flaminius (for debates on the interpretations of the temple: Pape 1975; Olinder 1974; 57-65; Abersone 1994, 199-216; see especially Coarelli 1997, 452-84), which was decorated with part of the loot taken (Livy 38.9.13; 39.5.14-17; cf. Orlin 1997, 132-33 for the use of *manubiae*). Among the loot, a group of famous Greek statues of nine Muses and Hercules playing a lyre was used by Nobilior to decorate the temple (Plin. *HN* 35.66; Cic. *Arch.* 11.27; Eum. *Paneg.* 4.7). According to Coarelli (1997, 482-3) the nine dots inscribed in little squares related with the temple of Hercules Musarum in the *Forma Urbis*, indicates precisely the setting of these statues.
DATE: 189 - 179 BC.
MEASURES: (H) 104 (W) 72 (T) 43 (CS) 4-5.
MATERIAL AND OBJECT: The artworks are not preserved but the model of the Muses and Hercules playing a lyre can be retraced by coins minted by Q. Pomponius Musa in 66 B.C. and 56 B.C. (*RRC* 410; For Hercules cf. No. 4).
PROVENANCE: nearby via di S. Ambrogio, Palazzo Ferrazza, Rome.
PRESENT LOCATION: Capitoline Museum, passaggio Muro Romano, NCE 2911, Rome.
EDITIONS: *CIL* I^2 0615 (p. 833, 919); *CIL* VI 01307 (p. 3799, 4677); *ILS* 0016; *ILLRP* 124; *Imagines*, 0064; *SupplIt Imagines* – Roma I, 0137. *Mitt. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. (Roemisch.)* 111, 2004, p. 485.

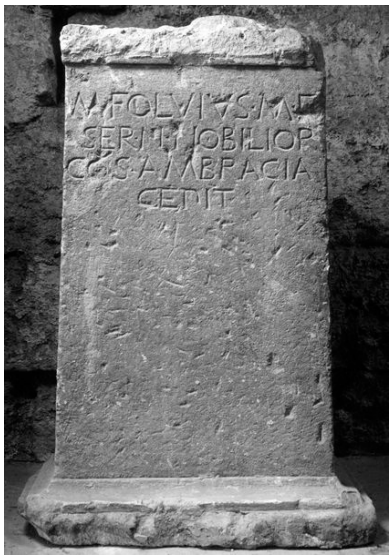

Fig. 5.1. Base with dedication by M. Fulvius Nobilior. (Gettyimage.com).

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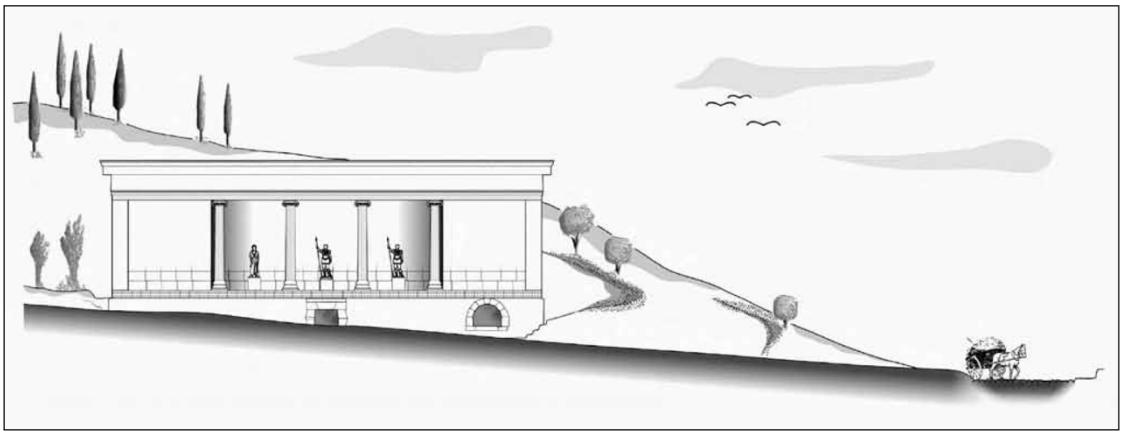

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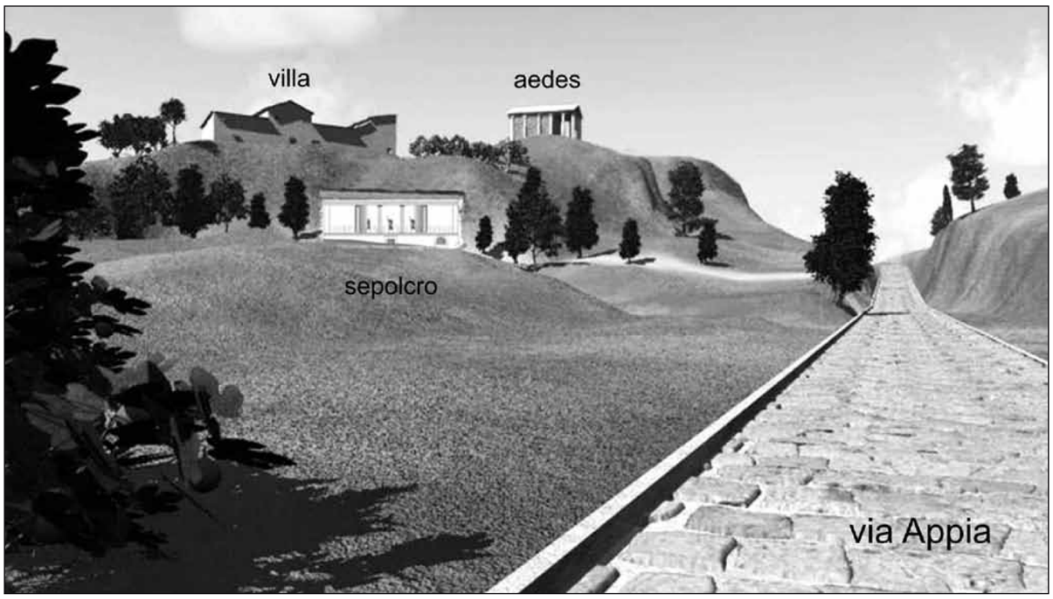

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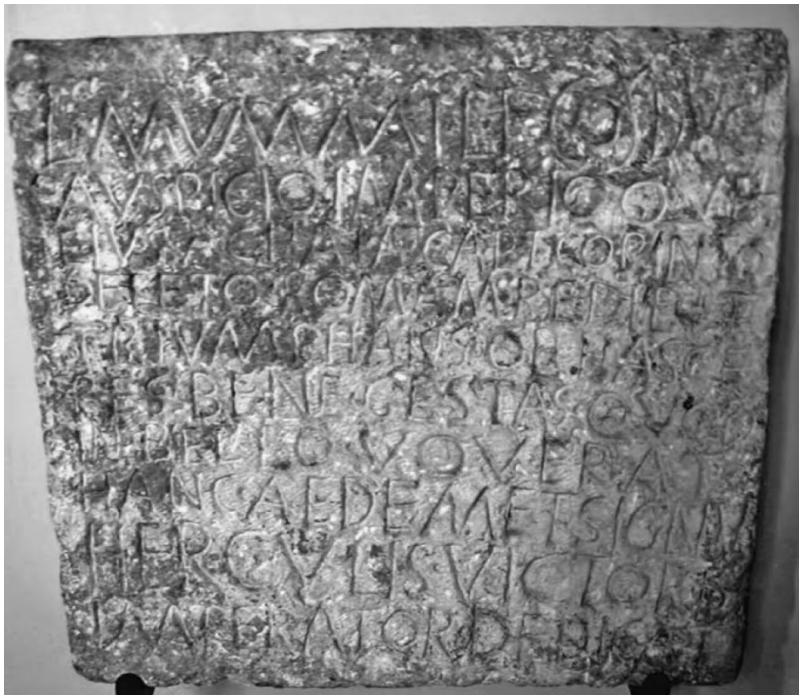

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Figure 15. *RRC* 326/1. C. Fundanius 101 BC. (numismatics.org).

Figure 16. Portrait of Pompey the Great: on the left the Copenhagen-type. (Wikimedia.org).

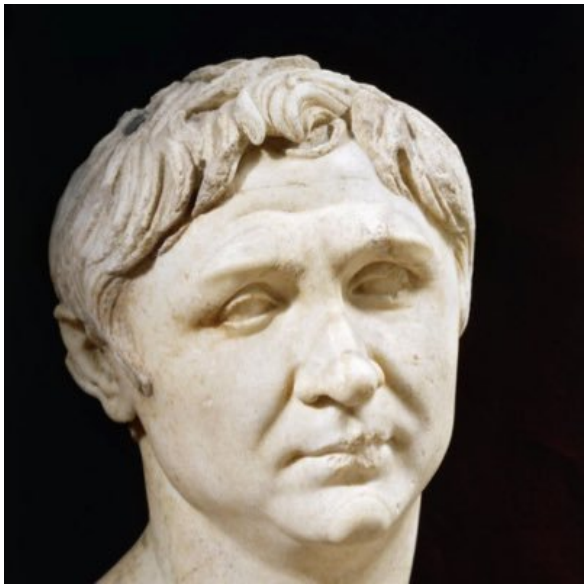

Figure 17. Portrait of Pompey the Great: on the right the Venetian-type. (gettyimages.co.uk).

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